

**From:** [applications.administrator@capitol.local](mailto:applications.administrator@capitol.local)  
**To:** [Senate Redistricting](#)  
**Subject:** INETMAIL: Redistricting Public Input  
**Date:** Thursday, September 30, 2021 11:49:27 AM  
**Attachments:** [9\\_16 Sen Powell to Sen Huffman Letter and Attachments.pdf](#)

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Date: 2021-09-30  
First Name: Beverly  
Last Name: Powell  
Title: State Senator, District 10  
Organization: Self  
Address: [REDACTED]  
City: Burseson  
State: TX  
Zipcode: [REDACTED]  
Phone: [REDACTED]

Affirm public info: I agree

Regarding: Senate

Message:  
See attached for letter and mentioned attachments.

[REDACTED]



**SENATOR BEVERLY POWELL**  
DISTRICT 10

September, 16 2021

State Senator Joan Huffman  
Chair, Senate Special Committee on Redistricting  
P.O. Box 12068, Capitol Station  
Austin, TX 78711

**VIA EMAIL**

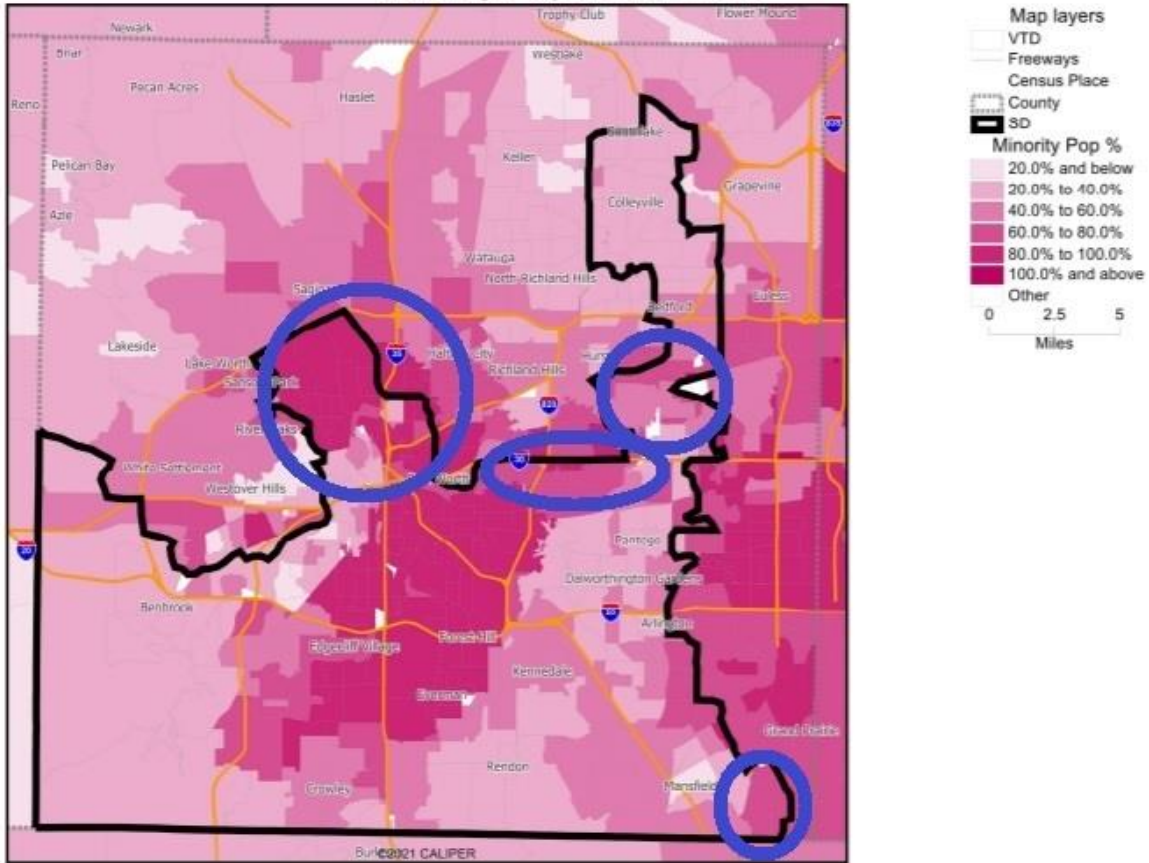
Dear Senator Huffman:

At our September 14, 2021 meeting, I provided you with information that confirmed what you already knew (and what public testimony to the Committee had already highlighted)—SD10 is a performing coalition and crossover district in which Black and Hispanic voters (and other minorities) have succeeded in electing their preferred candidates. I have attached electronic copies of the information that I provided you in hard copy: (1) maps showing the location of minority voters within SD10 and showing how they have succeeded electorally, and (2) a copy of the 2012 federal court decision ruling that the Legislature's prior effort to dismantle SD10 in 2011 was unlawful intentional discrimination against minority voters. I have also attached to this letter (1) a fact sheet explaining SD10's status as a performing coalition and crossover district for minority voters and (2) information from the Texas Legislative Council about the demographic makeup of SD10.

Although you did not provide me a copy of the Committee's draft proposed plan (please do so immediately upon receipt of this letter), the plan you displayed on the computer screen during our meeting cracks Black and Latino communities apart and would destroy SD10's status as an effective coalition and crossover district for minority voters.

Based on my recollection of the map you displayed during the meeting, I have highlighted below several legal deficiencies with the proposed plan. The map below shows, in blue circles, the concentrations of minority voters that you apparently propose to cleave from SD10, splitting SD10's minority voters apart and submerging them into separate districts dominated by white bloc voting against minority-preferred candidates. I cannot be certain of the exact figures, because I have not been provided a copy of the proposed plan and must instead rely upon my recollection from our meeting, but the areas shown in blue circles include nearly 190,000 voters with a CVAP of about 41% Anglo, 33% Latino, and 23% Black.

# SD 10 Benchmark Minority Population 2020

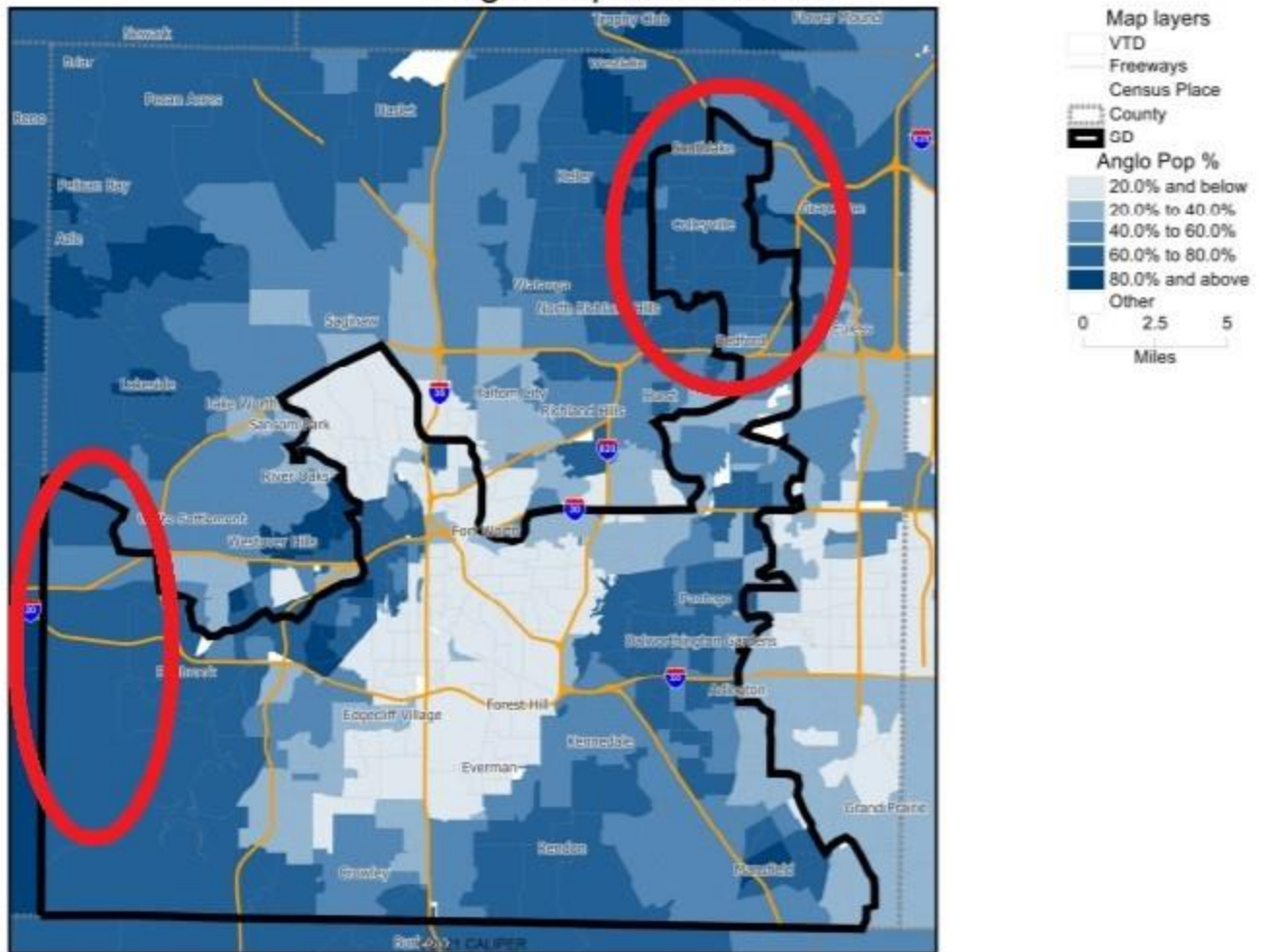


SD10 currently has an Anglo citizen voting age population (“CVAP”) of 53.9%, a Black CVAP of 20.5%, and a Latino CVAP of 20.4%. In addition to being politically cohesive within SD 10, minority voters in SD10 also have consistently succeeded electorally by working together with a minority of Anglo voters who “crossover”—as the United States Supreme Court has characterized it—to vote for minority-preferred candidates.

You propose to dismantle SD10 as a functioning coalition and crossover district. Based upon my recollection of the map shown during our meeting, it appears that you propose to redraw SD10 to have an Anglo CVAP of roughly 63%, a Black CVAP of 16%, and a Latino CVAP of 17%—a nearly 10% increase in the Anglo share of the district. Moreover, in addition to cleaving SD10’s politically cohesive minority voters, you also propose to eliminate the Tarrant County “crossover” Anglo voters with whom SD10’s minority voters have formed a political coalition and replace them with Anglo voters in Johnson and Parker Counties who uniformly reject minority-preferred candidates. The map below shows in red circles areas including roughly 110,000 voters with an Anglo CVAP of 77.8%:

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Anglo Population 2020



In the areas shown in red, a portion of Anglo voters crossover to support minority-preferred candidates. Together, the areas shown in red have a roughly 78% Anglo CVAP, but the Anglo-preferred candidates generally receive vote percentages of 13-17 points below that number (*i.e.* Anglo-preferred candidates receive about 61-65% of the vote in the areas shown in red).<sup>1</sup>

You propose to replace these voters—along with around 190,000 (majority minority) voters shown in blue circles above—with voters from Johnson and Parker Counties. Together, Johnson and Parker Counties have an Anglo CVAP of 82.4%, but Anglo crossover voting for minority-

<sup>1</sup> For example, in these areas, Trump prevailed 61.0% to 37.5% in the 2020 presidential election, Cornyn prevailed 64.5% to 33.4% in the 2020 senate election, Cruz prevailed 62.6% to 36.6% in the 2018 senate election, Paxton prevailed 63.0% to 34.7% in the 2018 attorney general election, and Patrick prevailed 63.9% to 33.9% in the 2018 lieutenant governor election.

preferred candidates is nearly nonexistent. Unlike the Anglo voters in Tarrant County, the Anglo-preferred candidates in Johnson and Parker Counties combined generally receive vote percentages of just 3-6 points below the counties' Anglo CVAP percentage.<sup>2</sup> Dismantling SD10 and including Johnson and/or Parker Counties is unlawful.

Your proposal thus achieves its purpose of dismantling SD10's status as an effective coalition and crossover district for minority voters in two ways: (1) it cracks apart and harms the district's minority voters, substantially decreasing SD10's minority population, and (2) it eliminates the Anglo crossover voters who have joined together with minority voters to support minority-preferred candidates.

This is unlawful. As the Supreme Court has explained, "if there were a showing that a State intentionally drew district lines in order to destroy otherwise effective crossover districts, that would raise serious questions under both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments." *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 24 (2009) (Kennedy, J., Roberts, C.J., and Alito, J., plurality); *Campos v. City of Baytown, Tex.*, 840 F.2d 1240, 1244 (5th Cir. 1988) (holding that Section 2 protects minority coalition districts). In the proposed plan that you previewed on September 14, it is clear that you have "intentionally dr[awn] district lines in order to destroy [an] otherwise effective crossover district[]." And if you did not previously know that the Supreme Court has warned against this precise unlawful scheme, now you do. Furthermore, the Fifth Circuit decision cited above—binding precedent that the Legislature must follow<sup>3</sup>—also held that coalition districts are protected under federal law, so there is ample legal support for the argument that destroying a coalition district would also be intentionally discriminatory.

Not only are you aware that SD10, which you intend to dismantle, is an effective coalition and crossover district, you are also aware that the 2011 Legislature's same effort to dismantle SD10 was ruled to be intentional racial discrimination. *See Texas v. United States*, 887 F. Supp. 133, 166 (D.D.C. 2012) ("The Senate Plan was enacted with discriminatory purpose as to SD10."). At our September 14, 2021 meeting, a Committee attorney indicated that this decision was vacated. But the discriminatory intent ruling was not overruled. In fact, the federal court later ruled that Sen. Davis was the *prevailing party* in her lawsuit challenging the discriminatory scheme and awarded her attorneys' fees.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Trump carried the counties 78.8% to 19.9%, Cornyn prevailed 79.0% to 18.6%, Cruz prevailed 78.2% to 20.9%, Paxton prevailed 76.7% to 20.7%, and Patrick prevailed 77.5% to 20.5%.

<sup>3</sup> In 2017 testimony in federal court, the prior chair of the House Redistricting Committee—a lawyer—expressed confusion that Texas is in the Fifth Circuit and that the Fifth Circuit's rulings are binding on the State of Texas. I hope this clarifies those facts.

The D.C. Circuit affirmed that ruling, rejecting Texas’s argument that it had ultimately won the case: “To say that Texas ‘prevailed’ in this suit because a different litigant in a different suit won on different grounds that Texas specifically told the district court it would *not* raise is, to say the least, an unnatural use of the word ‘prevailing.’” *Texas v. United States*, 798 F.3d 1108, 1116 (D.C. Cir. 2015) (emphasis in original). Instead, the D.C. Circuit held that Texas mooted the lawsuit by *acquiescing* to the district court’s intentional discrimination ruling, abandoning its effort to dismantle the district, and adopting SD10’s current configuration—which has now persisted for twenty years. *Id.* at 1118. It did so before *Shelby County* had any effect on the decision. *Id.* The Supreme Court denied Texas’s petition for certiorari. *Texas v. Davis*, 577 U.S. 1119 (2016) (Mem.). Moreover, the Fifth Circuit explained why it was strategically wise for Texas to abandon the changes to SD10 that the D.C. federal court had found intentionally discriminatory. After the Section 5 preclearance formula was invalidated, the Fifth Circuit explained, “it is far from clear that Texas could have automatically prevailed on the merits” had it continued to defend its dismantling of SD10, and instead the San Antonio court could (and likely would) have invalidated the changes to SD10 again “based on Plaintiffs’ Section 2 and constitutional claims.” *Davis v. Abbott*, 781 F.3d 207, 215 (5th Cir. 2015). After all, the DC federal court had just found the effort was intentional racial discrimination.

Sen. Davis and her co-plaintiffs won her claim that Texas intentionally discriminated against racial minorities by cracking SD10’s minority population and submerging them in Anglo-dominated rural districts—a victory that the Supreme Court left undisturbed and that cost Texas taxpayers over \$1 million in legal fees. Yet that is what you are proposing to do again.

Moreover, a similar effort to crack apart Tarrant County’s minority population was ruled intentionally discriminatory in the 2011 congressional plan. *Perez v. Abbott*, 253 F. Supp. 3d 864, 945-961 (W.D. Tex. 2017). Although Circuit Judge Jerry Smith dissented from most of that three-judge court’s decision, he *agreed* that the cracking of minority populations in Tarrant County was unlawful intentional discrimination: “Relatively little about the 2011 Congressional redistricting passes the smell test as to DFW, the largest metropolitan area in Texas with 6.4 million residents in 2010 but where the apparent choice of minority voters in 2010 was reflected only in CD30 (veteran African-American Democrat Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson).” *Id.* at 986 (Smith, J., dissenting). The three-judge court actually redrew the congressional lines in Tarrant County to remedy this intentional fracturing and dilution of minority voting strength.

The 2020 Census reveals that Tarrant County now has over 1 million Black and Latino residents—250,000 *more* than it had following the 2010 Census. By contrast, Tarrant County now has just over 900,000 Anglo residents—over 300,000 *fewer* than it had following the 2010 Census. Yet you propose to eliminate the *one* senate district in which Tarrant County’s minority voters have succeeded in electing their preferred candidate. You propose to do this even

though the *same scheme* was found to be intentional racial discrimination after the last Census—*when there were substantially fewer minority voters.*

When the San Antonio district court declined to “bail in” Texas to the Voting Rights Act Section 3 preclearance regime, it unanimously (with the votes of District Judges Rodriguez and Garcia and Circuit Judge Smith) warned the Legislature that it “would be well advised to conduct its redistricting process openly” in 2021 and to abandon its effort from “the 2011 session . . . [of] engag[ing] in traditional means of vote dilution such as cracking and packing in drawing districts” if it wished to avoid federal oversight of its electoral decisions. *Perez v. Abbott*, 390 F. Supp. 3d 803, 820-21 (W.D. Tex. 2019).

On behalf of my constituents, I urge you to heed that warning, and preserve SD10 as an effective coalition and crossover district for minority voters.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Beverly Powell". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Senator Beverly Powell

## **Senate District 10 Facts**

### **Minority voters in SD 10 elect candidates of their choice**

#### **2020 Census Report Shows Senate District 10 Population Near Ideal**

- Just as in the Court-ordered map in 2012, a new State Senate map can be configured without making any boundary changes in SD10.
- SD10 has a population of 945,496; just 5,318 above the ideal. Its 0.57% deviation is the fourth lowest in State, and well within the 10% threshold permitted by courts.
- No surrounding district requires population changes that justify altering SD10. Most nearby districts are well within 10% deviation: SD2: +0.47%, SD8: +6.16%, SD9: - 1.65%, SD16: -1.42%, SD22: +0.41%, SD23: -5.64%.
- The only nearby district near or above the 10% threshold, SD12 (+15.55%) and SD30 (+9.26%), can be equalized nearly exactly by shifting population to adjoining districts SD28 (-15.33%) and SD31 (-7.54%).

#### **The 2011 Attempt to Destroy SD10 Was Ruled Intentionally Discriminatory by a Federal Court**

- In 2012, a federal court ruled that the legislature’s dismantling of SD10 was intentionally discriminatory. *See Texas v. United States*, 887 F. Supp. 2d 133 (D.D.C. 2012).
- “The dismantling of SD10 will have a disparate and negative impact on minority groups in the district.” *Id.* at 229
- “[T]he Senate Plan was enacted with discriminatory purpose as to SD10.” *Id.* at 166.

#### **SD10’s Minority Population Has Increased Significantly Since the Federal Court’s 2012 Order**

- When the federal court ruled it was intentional discrimination to dismantle SD10, the 2010 Census showed its total population was 47.6% Anglo, 19.2% Black, and 28.9% Hispanic. Its Anglo citizen voting age population (“CVAP”) was 62.7%.
- SD10’s minority population has substantially increased. Per the 2020 Census, SD10 total population is 39.5% Anglo, 21.5% Black, and 32.2% Hispanic. Its Anglo CVAP has fallen to 53.9%.

#### **SD10 Is an Effective Crossover District Where Minority Voters’ Elect Their Preferred Candidate**

- When the federal court ruled it was discriminatory to dismantle SD10, it had only ever elected one minority candidate of choice—Wendy Davis in 2008—and no Democrat for statewide office had carried the district. SD10 now regularly elects minorities’ preferred candidates:
  - In 2012, Wendy Davis was reelected.
  - In 2018, Sen. Powell won election over an incumbent Republican Konni Burton (51.7% to 48.3%), SD10 was carried by O’Rourke over Cruz (53.3% to 45.9%) in the U.S. Senate race, by Nelson over Paxton (51.6% to 46.1%) in the AG race, and by Collier over Patrick (50.8% to 46.9%) in the Lt. Gov. race.
  - In 2020, SD10 was carried by Biden over Trump (53.1% to 45.4%) in the presidential race, by Hegar over Cornyn (49.8% to 47.7%) in the U.S. Senate race, and by Black Sheriff candidate Vance Keyes over Anglo Republican incumbent Bill Waybourn.

#### **A Renewed Effort to Dismantle SD10 Would Violate Federal Law**



- The U.S. Supreme Court has explained that it violates the 14th and 15th Amendments to destroy a functioning crossover district: ***“If there were a showing that a State intentionally drew lines in order to destroy otherwise effective crossover districts, that would raise serious questions under both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.”*** *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1, 24 (2009)
- Black and Hispanic voters, together with a minority of crossover Anglo voters, control the electoral outcomes in SD10, as illustrated by the attached maps showing the location of the SD10 minority populations and the precincts carried by Sen. Powell and other minority preferred candidates.

#### **The Only Lawful Change Would Be to Remedy the Cracked Minority Population in SE Tarrant County**

- Although no change should be made in SD 10, if a change were made it would be to exchange the largely Anglo “arm” into SD9 for the cracked minority population in SE Tarrant County currently in SD22.
- The “arm’s” CVAP is 75.6% Anglo while the Tarrant County portion of SD22 has CVAP of 34.0% Black, 22.3% Hispanic, 12.3% Asian, and 30.1% Anglo.
- The Tarrant County portion of SD22 votes cohesively with SD10’s minority voters, with Democratic candidates prevailing in the area by large margins (Biden: 67.2%, Hegar: 64.7%, O’Rourke: 70.2%, Valdez: 63.7%, Nelson: 68.4%, Collier: 67.2%, Clinton: 64.3%). Thus, remedying the cracked minority population in SE Tarrant County would be legal and nondiscriminatory.

**American Community Survey Special Tabulation  
 Using Census and American Community Survey Data  
 SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100**

Special Tabulation of Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) from the 2015-2019 American Community Survey with Margins of Error														
2020 Census			Hispanic CVAP	Not Hispanic or Latino Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP)										
District	Total	VAP		CVAP	% Hispanic	% Black Alone	% Black + White	% Black + American Indian	% White Alone	% American Indian Alone	% Asian Alone	% Native Hawaiian Alone	% American Indian + White	% Asian + White
1	845,787	647,407	603,980 (±6,938)	8.0 (±0.4)	17.9 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	71.7 (±0.5)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.7 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
2	944,576	695,983	565,690 (±6,287)	17.4 (±0.5)	14.4 (±0.5)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	64.3 (±0.5)	0.5 (±0.1)	2.0 (±0.2)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
3	877,170	678,053	634,495 (±7,158)	8.9 (±0.4)	12.5 (±0.4)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	76.7 (±0.5)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
4	1,019,150	754,208	637,885 (±8,053)	14.9 (±0.6)	14.2 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	67.1 (±0.6)	0.3 (±0.1)	2.4 (±0.2)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
5	1,060,800	814,153	690,955 (±7,631)	18.2 (±0.5)	10.0 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	66.5 (±0.4)	0.2 (±0.1)	3.2 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
6	833,989	597,899	417,284 (±6,219)	62.0 (±0.9)	17.3 (±0.7)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	17.3 (±0.5)	0.1 (±0.1)	2.4 (±0.2)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
7	1,009,368	741,905	613,725 (±7,657)	21.8 (±0.7)	15.5 (±0.6)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.0)	52.8 (±0.6)	0.2 (±0.1)	8.2 (±0.4)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
8	998,133	750,559	609,245 (±6,647)	10.6 (±0.4)	11.8 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	63.9 (±0.5)	0.4 (±0.1)	11.4 (±0.4)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
9	924,657	684,713	551,380 (±6,793)	22.8 (±0.6)	13.9 (±0.6)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	54.9 (±0.5)	0.5 (±0.1)	6.1 (±0.4)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
10	945,496	708,665	596,090 (±6,681)	20.4 (±0.6)	20.5 (±0.6)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	53.9 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	3.2 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
11	933,256	704,652	609,235 (±7,377)	22.9 (±0.7)	12.1 (±0.6)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	58.1 (±0.6)	0.3 (±0.1)	5.1 (±0.3)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
12	1,086,379	809,228	677,635 (±6,979)	14.7 (±0.5)	9.7 (±0.5)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	68.0 (±0.5)	0.4 (±0.1)	5.5 (±0.3)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
13	891,837	672,728	487,220 (±7,650)	23.3 (±0.7)	52.3 (±0.9)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	16.0 (±0.5)	0.1 (±0.1)	7.3 (±0.4)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
14	1,044,307	823,529	669,680 (±7,245)	21.9 (±0.6)	9.4 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	61.3 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	5.1 (±0.3)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.7 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
15	943,568	702,919	549,755 (±7,052)	30.0 (±0.7)	27.2 (±0.7)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	35.9 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	5.3 (±0.3)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
16	926,818	721,088	546,940 (±5,826)	17.0 (±0.5)	13.8 (±0.6)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	58.8 (±0.4)	0.3 (±0.1)	8.0 (±0.4)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)
17	957,529	735,558	600,015 (±7,025)	19.4 (±0.6)	14.4 (±0.6)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	52.0 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	12.5 (±0.4)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
18	1,036,193	764,077	620,790 (±7,523)	23.6 (±0.6)	13.0 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	55.1 (±0.6)	0.3 (±0.1)	7.2 (±0.4)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
19	952,214	696,433	587,725 (±7,639)	62.6 (±0.8)	7.5 (±0.4)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	27.1 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	1.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
20	907,674	661,833	532,205 (±7,227)	73.7 (±0.8)	2.3 (±0.2)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	22.1 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	1.3 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
21	901,254	668,648	546,610 (±6,726)	63.5 (±0.7)	4.1 (±0.3)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	30.4 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.8 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
22	944,022	707,084	625,060 (±6,714)	17.2 (±0.5)	12.4 (±0.5)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	66.6 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	2.1 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
23	887,105	664,473	518,200 (±6,822)	27.7 (±0.7)	47.6 (±0.8)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	21.7 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	1.6 (±0.2)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
24	926,790	708,848	628,520 (±6,596)	16.7 (±0.5)	11.0 (±0.4)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	67.5 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	1.8 (±0.2)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.9 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)
25	1,103,479	844,709	723,800 (±7,316)	28.8 (±0.6)	4.9 (±0.3)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	62.2 (±0.5)	0.1 (±0.1)	2.4 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
26	840,565	644,877	587,830 (±7,381)	64.7 (±0.8)	7.3 (±0.4)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	24.6 (±0.5)	0.2 (±0.1)	1.8 (±0.2)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
27	831,674	588,385	440,540 (±6,821)	86.4 (±0.7)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	12.3 (±0.4)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)
28	796,007	607,986	574,260 (±6,054)	32.3 (±0.6)	5.8 (±0.3)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	59.5 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.8 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.5 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)
29	879,174	655,733	514,840 (±6,667)	78.1 (±0.7)	3.7 (±0.3)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	15.9 (±0.4)	0.4 (±0.1)	1.0 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
30	1,027,265	773,135	664,810 (±6,715)	11.1 (±0.4)	5.6 (±0.3)	0.4 (±0.1)	0.0 (±0.1)	79.8 (±0.4)	0.7 (±0.1)	1.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.7 (±0.1)	0.3 (±0.1)	0.2 (±0.1)
31	869,269	637,232	554,765 (±6,378)	33.9 (±0.7)	4.9 (±0.3)	0.2 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	58.3 (±0.4)	0.5 (±0.1)	1.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.6 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)	0.1 (±0.1)

The American Community Survey provided estimated citizen voting age population (CVAP) data at the block group level in a Special Tabulation. Because the MOE can only be calculated using whole block groups, all block groups with more than 50% of the population in a district are included in the analysis. The Red-118 report provides a summary of the block groups used in the analysis.  
 The percent for each CVAP population category is that group's CVAP divided by the CVAP total.  
 Numbers in parentheses are margins of error at 90% confidence level.

**District Population Analysis with County Subtotals**  
**SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100**

Total State Population	29,145,505
Total Districts Required	31
Ideal District Population	940,178
Unassigned Population	0
Districts in Plan	31
Unassigned Geography	No
Districts Contiguous	Yes

	<b>Population</b>	<b>-----Deviation-----</b>	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Plan Overall Range		307,472	32.70%
Smallest District (28)	796,007	-144,171	-15.33%
Largest District (25)	1,103,479	163,301	17.37%
Average (mean)	940,178	62,569	6.65%

PLANS2100

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 1</b>	-94,391	Total:	845,787	523,195	322,592	12,698	152,162	135,853	284,487	61.9	38.1	1.5	18.0	16.1	33.6
	-10.04 %	VAP:	647,407	423,117	224,290	9,040	110,647	86,370	195,560	65.4	34.6	1.4	17.1	13.3	30.2
Bowie (100%)			92,893	55,855	37,038	1,506	25,188	7,602	32,451	60.1	39.9	1.6	27.1	8.2	34.9
Camp (100%)			12,464	6,734	5,730	154	2,092	3,222	5,262	54.0	46.0	1.2	16.8	25.9	42.2
Cass (100%)			28,454	21,028	7,426	199	4,941	1,336	6,224	73.9	26.1	0.7	17.4	4.7	21.9
Franklin (100%)			10,359	7,876	2,483	104	534	1,455	1,943	76.0	24.0	1.0	5.2	14.0	18.8
Gregg (100%)			124,239	68,050	56,189	2,137	27,498	24,040	50,879	54.8	45.2	1.7	22.1	19.3	41.0
Harrison (100%)			68,839	42,039	26,800	718	14,553	9,839	24,107	61.1	38.9	1.0	21.1	14.3	35.0
Lamar (100%)			50,088	35,354	14,734	645	7,310	4,412	11,570	70.6	29.4	1.3	14.6	8.8	23.1
Marion (100%)			9,725	6,869	2,856	96	2,026	389	2,380	70.6	29.4	1.0	20.8	4.0	24.5
Morris (100%)			11,973	7,716	4,257	98	2,705	1,182	3,850	64.4	35.6	0.8	22.6	9.9	32.2
Panola (100%)			22,491	16,098	6,393	178	3,509	2,190	5,633	71.6	28.4	0.8	15.6	9.7	25.0
Red River (100%)			11,587	8,499	3,088	97	1,895	766	2,608	73.3	26.7	0.8	16.4	6.6	22.5
Rusk (100%)			52,214	32,022	20,192	349	9,032	9,579	18,445	61.3	38.7	0.7	17.3	18.3	35.3
Smith (100%)			233,479	134,452	99,027	5,402	41,819	47,281	87,936	57.6	42.4	2.3	17.9	20.3	37.7
Titus (100%)			31,247	13,410	17,837	329	3,347	13,680	16,829	42.9	57.1	1.1	10.7	43.8	53.9
Upshur (100%)			40,892	31,287	9,605	319	3,592	3,986	7,462	76.5	23.5	0.8	8.8	9.7	18.2
Wood (100%)			44,843	35,906	8,937	367	2,121	4,894	6,908	80.1	19.9	0.8	4.7	10.9	15.4
<b>DISTRICT 2</b>	4,398	Total:	944,576	447,698	496,878	28,943	140,474	309,693	444,417	47.4	52.6	3.1	14.9	32.8	47.0
	0.47 %	VAP:	695,983	360,724	335,259	21,297	96,736	200,985	295,310	51.8	48.2	3.1	13.9	28.9	42.4
Dallas (17%)			442,107	117,953	324,154	18,446	88,625	214,019	299,087	26.7	73.3	4.2	20.0	48.4	67.7
Delta (100%)			5,230	4,189	1,041	63	402	394	765	80.1	19.9	1.2	7.7	7.5	14.6
Fannin (100%)			35,662	27,042	8,620	319	2,628	4,218	6,760	75.8	24.2	0.9	7.4	11.8	19.0
Hopkins (100%)			36,787	25,976	10,811	420	2,847	6,484	9,237	70.6	29.4	1.1	7.7	17.6	25.1
Hunt (100%)			99,956	65,598	34,358	1,552	9,374	19,673	28,642	65.6	34.4	1.6	9.4	19.7	28.7
Kaufman (100%)			145,310	78,626	66,684	3,026	24,448	36,165	59,668	54.1	45.9	2.1	16.8	24.9	41.1
Rains (100%)			12,164	10,130	2,034	103	360	1,109	1,446	83.3	16.7	0.8	3.0	9.1	11.9
Rockwall (100%)			107,819	70,198	37,621	4,533	9,772	20,560	29,811	65.1	34.9	4.2	9.1	19.1	27.6
Van Zandt (100%)			59,541	47,986	11,555	481	2,018	7,071	9,001	80.6	19.4	0.8	3.4	11.9	15.1
<b>DISTRICT 3</b>	-63,008	Total:	877,170	586,514	290,656	9,909	107,232	151,955	256,410	66.9	33.1	1.1	12.2	17.3	29.2
	-6.70 %	VAP:	678,053	474,050	204,003	7,058	79,110	99,745	177,628	69.9	30.1	1.0	11.7	14.7	26.2
Anderson (100%)			57,922	33,098	24,824	543	12,253	11,111	23,107	57.1	42.9	0.9	21.2	19.2	39.9
Angelina (100%)			86,395	49,970	36,425	1,169	14,115	19,732	33,448	57.8	42.2	1.4	16.3	22.8	38.7
Cherokee (100%)			50,412	30,095	20,317	418	7,069	11,797	18,714	59.7	40.3	0.8	14.0	23.4	37.1
Hardin (100%)			56,231	46,934	9,297	608	3,559	3,417	6,891	83.5	16.5	1.1	6.3	6.1	12.3
Henderson (100%)			82,150	61,854	20,296	794	5,694	11,242	16,696	75.3	24.7	1.0	6.9	13.7	20.3
Houston (100%)			22,066	12,957	9,109	186	5,462	3,071	8,439	58.7	41.3	0.8	24.8	13.9	38.2
Jasper (100%)			32,980	23,795	9,185	193	5,950	2,198	8,107	72.1	27.9	0.6	18.0	6.7	24.6

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 3</b>	-63,008	Total:	877,170	586,514	290,656	9,909	107,232	151,955	256,410	66.9	33.1	1.1	12.2	17.3	29.2
	-6.70 %	VAP:	678,053	474,050	204,003	7,058	79,110	99,745	177,628	69.9	30.1	1.0	11.7	14.7	26.2
Liberty (100%)			91,628	50,044	41,584	734	8,052	30,797	38,563	54.6	45.4	0.8	8.8	33.6	42.1
Montgomery (13%)			82,949	58,619	24,330	1,181	4,045	16,666	20,455	70.7	29.3	1.4	4.9	20.1	24.7
Nacogdoches (100%)			64,653	37,158	27,495	1,066	11,610	13,597	24,950	57.5	42.5	1.6	18.0	21.0	38.6
Newton (100%)			12,217	9,249	2,968	50	2,253	344	2,571	75.7	24.3	0.4	18.4	2.8	21.0
Orange (100%)			84,808	64,935	19,873	1,451	8,941	7,265	15,988	76.6	23.4	1.7	10.5	8.6	18.9
Polk (100%)			50,123	34,808	15,315	490	5,422	7,345	12,617	69.4	30.6	1.0	10.8	14.7	25.2
Sabine (100%)			9,894	8,307	1,587	82	852	393	1,200	84.0	16.0	0.8	8.6	4.0	12.1
San Augustine (100%)			7,918	5,270	2,648	64	1,897	639	2,487	66.6	33.4	0.8	24.0	8.1	31.4
San Jacinto (100%)			27,402	19,170	8,232	176	2,412	4,822	7,143	70.0	30.0	0.6	8.8	17.6	26.1
Shelby (100%)			24,022	14,416	9,606	458	4,095	4,685	8,702	60.0	40.0	1.9	17.0	19.5	36.2
Trinity (100%)			13,602	10,533	3,069	100	1,269	1,314	2,561	77.4	22.6	0.7	9.3	9.7	18.8
Tyler (100%)			19,798	15,302	4,496	146	2,282	1,520	3,771	77.3	22.7	0.7	11.5	7.7	19.0
<b>DISTRICT 4</b>	78,972	Total:	1,019,150	546,031	473,119	47,261	146,614	260,391	401,196	53.6	46.4	4.6	14.4	25.5	39.4
	8.40 %	VAP:	754,208	430,392	323,816	33,190	104,336	170,158	271,757	57.1	42.9	4.4	13.8	22.6	36.0
Chambers (100%)			46,571	29,858	16,713	879	3,763	10,952	14,512	64.1	35.9	1.9	8.1	23.5	31.2
Galveston (1%)			2,770	2,289	481	38	37	321	349	82.6	17.4	1.4	1.3	11.6	12.6
Harris (4%)			175,789	105,053	70,736	8,568	15,581	42,780	57,346	59.8	40.2	4.9	8.9	24.3	32.6
Jefferson (100%)			256,526	96,047	160,479	11,256	88,504	58,915	145,686	37.4	62.6	4.4	34.5	23.0	56.8
Montgomery (87%)			537,494	312,784	224,710	26,520	38,729	147,423	183,303	58.2	41.8	4.9	7.2	27.4	34.1
<b>DISTRICT 5</b>	120,622	Total:	1,060,800	585,040	475,760	84,192	117,540	257,915	366,873	55.2	44.8	7.9	11.1	24.3	34.6
	12.83 %	VAP:	814,153	476,525	337,628	59,634	84,805	177,706	258,273	58.5	41.5	7.3	10.4	21.8	31.7
Brazos (100%)			233,849	123,035	110,814	16,856	27,910	63,067	88,787	52.6	47.4	7.2	11.9	27.0	38.0
Freestone (100%)			19,435	12,817	6,618	143	3,038	3,155	6,112	65.9	34.1	0.7	15.6	16.2	31.4
Grimes (100%)			29,268	16,910	12,358	195	4,217	7,361	11,400	57.8	42.2	0.7	14.4	25.2	39.0
Leon (100%)			15,719	11,659	4,060	153	1,059	2,446	3,469	74.2	25.8	1.0	6.7	15.6	22.1
Limestone (100%)			22,146	12,530	9,616	245	4,117	5,013	8,945	56.6	43.4	1.1	18.6	22.6	40.4
Madison (100%)			13,455	6,984	6,471	131	2,724	3,415	6,099	51.9	48.1	1.0	20.2	25.4	45.3
Milam (100%)			24,754	15,367	9,387	193	2,520	6,264	8,582	62.1	37.9	0.8	10.2	25.3	34.7
Robertson (100%)			16,757	9,505	7,252	145	3,381	3,528	6,789	56.7	43.3	0.9	20.2	21.1	40.5
Walker (100%)			76,400	39,823	36,577	1,335	17,359	16,578	33,580	52.1	47.9	1.7	22.7	21.7	44.0
Williamson (100%)			609,017	336,410	272,607	64,796	51,215	147,088	193,110	55.2	44.8	10.6	8.4	24.2	31.7
<b>DISTRICT 6</b>	-106,189	Total:	833,989	82,009	751,980	22,116	112,350	620,231	724,381	9.8	90.2	2.7	13.5	74.4	86.9
	-11.29 %	VAP:	597,899	70,005	527,894	17,166	80,026	430,464	506,262	11.7	88.3	2.9	13.4	72.0	84.7
Harris (18%)			833,989	82,009	751,980	22,116	112,350	620,231	724,381	9.8	90.2	2.7	13.5	74.4	86.9

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 7</b>	69,190	Total:	1,009,368	400,979	608,389	108,606	178,105	314,396	482,266	39.7	60.3	10.8	17.6	31.1	47.8
	7.36 %	VAP:	741,905	318,117	423,788	79,795	121,527	213,508	330,000	42.9	57.1	10.8	16.4	28.8	44.5
Harris (21%)			1,009,368	400,979	608,389	108,606	178,105	314,396	482,266	39.7	60.3	10.8	17.6	31.1	47.8
<b>DISTRICT 8</b>	57,955	Total:	998,133	471,726	526,407	213,052	132,796	164,666	292,219	47.3	52.7	21.3	13.3	16.5	29.3
	6.16 %	VAP:	750,559	379,606	370,953	151,150	93,611	112,209	203,272	50.6	49.4	20.1	12.5	15.0	27.1
Collin (80%)			855,489	414,023	441,466	194,946	104,142	128,210	227,961	48.4	51.6	22.8	12.2	15.0	26.6
Dallas (5%)			142,644	57,703	84,941	18,106	28,654	36,456	64,258	40.5	59.5	12.7	20.1	25.6	45.0
<b>DISTRICT 9</b>	-15,521	Total:	924,657	359,833	564,824	77,850	148,920	324,820	465,913	38.9	61.1	8.4	16.1	35.1	50.4
	-1.65 %	VAP:	684,713	292,419	392,294	57,586	103,578	218,171	317,934	42.7	57.3	8.4	15.1	31.9	46.4
Dallas (8%)			214,865	40,951	173,914	11,414	28,241	133,038	159,538	19.1	80.9	5.3	13.1	61.9	74.3
Tarrant (34%)			709,792	318,882	390,910	66,436	120,679	191,782	306,375	44.9	55.1	9.4	17.0	27.0	43.2
<b>DISTRICT 10</b>	5,318	Total:	945,496	373,902	571,594	53,541	203,632	304,689	500,464	39.5	60.5	5.7	21.5	32.2	52.9
	0.57 %	VAP:	708,665	311,021	397,644	39,148	143,890	203,819	344,139	43.9	56.1	5.5	20.3	28.8	48.6
Tarrant (45%)			945,496	373,902	571,594	53,541	203,632	304,689	500,464	39.5	60.5	5.7	21.5	32.2	52.9
<b>DISTRICT 11</b>	-6,922	Total:	933,256	441,837	491,419	69,631	126,520	283,159	402,305	47.3	52.7	7.5	13.6	30.3	43.1
	-0.74 %	VAP:	704,652	358,661	345,991	50,870	89,666	192,455	278,887	50.9	49.1	7.2	12.7	27.3	39.6
Brazoria (74%)			274,233	109,938	164,295	28,062	51,329	82,513	131,415	40.1	59.9	10.2	18.7	30.1	47.9
Galveston (99%)			347,912	189,069	158,843	15,598	49,137	88,315	134,914	54.3	45.7	4.5	14.1	25.4	38.8
Harris (7%)			311,111	142,830	168,281	25,971	26,054	112,331	135,976	45.9	54.1	8.3	8.4	36.1	43.7
<b>DISTRICT 12</b>	146,201	Total:	1,086,379	584,227	502,152	112,796	130,987	237,245	360,982	53.8	46.2	10.4	12.1	21.8	33.2
	15.55 %	VAP:	809,228	463,844	345,384	79,199	89,823	157,794	244,165	57.3	42.7	9.8	11.1	19.5	30.2
Denton (82%)			747,584	397,439	350,145	97,774	92,723	145,266	233,269	53.2	46.8	13.1	12.4	19.4	31.2
Tarrant (16%)			338,795	186,788	152,007	15,022	38,264	91,979	127,713	55.1	44.9	4.4	11.3	27.1	37.7
<b>DISTRICT 13</b>	-48,341	Total:	891,837	87,673	804,164	83,325	359,794	366,202	714,241	9.8	90.2	9.3	40.3	41.1	80.1
	-5.14 %	VAP:	672,728	77,764	594,964	68,800	274,320	253,519	520,963	11.6	88.4	10.2	40.8	37.7	77.4
Fort Bend (16%)			129,465	10,047	119,418	13,324	66,474	40,856	105,499	7.8	92.2	10.3	51.3	31.6	81.5
Harris (16%)			762,372	77,626	684,746	70,001	293,320	325,346	608,742	10.2	89.8	9.2	38.5	42.7	79.8
<b>DISTRICT 14</b>	104,129	Total:	1,044,307	500,168	544,139	100,712	104,059	327,880	423,128	47.9	52.1	9.6	10.0	31.4	40.5
	11.08 %	VAP:	823,529	423,611	399,918	77,514	77,803	232,239	305,178	51.4	48.6	9.4	9.4	28.2	37.1
Bastrop (100%)			97,216	45,751	51,465	1,287	6,873	41,484	47,762	47.1	52.9	1.3	7.1	42.7	49.1
Travis (73%)			947,091	454,417	492,674	99,425	97,186	286,396	375,366	48.0	52.0	10.5	10.3	30.2	39.6
<b>DISTRICT 15</b>	3,390	Total:	943,568	226,738	716,830	58,385	231,324	426,052	647,386	24.0	76.0	6.2	24.5	45.2	68.6
	0.36 %	VAP:	702,919	193,626	509,293	46,291	166,966	291,967	453,752	27.5	72.5	6.6	23.8	41.5	64.6
Harris (20%)			943,568	226,738	716,830	58,385	231,324	426,052	647,386	24.0	76.0	6.2	24.5	45.2	68.6

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 16</b>	-13,360	Total:	926,818	382,450	544,368	135,241	126,913	272,218	393,365	41.3	58.7	14.6	13.7	29.4	42.4
	-1.42 %	VAP:	721,088	323,526	397,562	100,951	95,074	191,456	283,450	44.9	55.1	14.0	13.2	26.6	39.3
Dallas (35%)			926,818	382,450	544,368	135,241	126,913	272,218	393,365	41.3	58.7	14.6	13.7	29.4	42.4
<b>DISTRICT 17</b>	17,351	Total:	957,529	378,959	578,570	167,274	162,686	243,220	396,938	39.6	60.4	17.5	17.0	25.4	41.5
	1.85 %	VAP:	735,558	310,148	425,410	126,728	117,544	174,123	286,700	42.2	57.8	17.2	16.0	23.7	39.0
Brazoria (26%)			97,798	51,895	45,903	1,935	9,789	32,689	41,611	53.1	46.9	2.0	10.0	33.4	42.5
Fort Bend (29%)			242,215	79,715	162,500	73,264	41,520	46,783	86,586	32.9	67.1	30.2	17.1	19.3	35.7
Harris (13%)			617,516	247,349	370,167	92,075	111,377	163,748	268,741	40.1	59.9	14.9	18.0	26.5	43.5
<b>DISTRICT 18</b>	96,015	Total:	1,036,193	444,550	591,643	122,416	144,154	315,878	451,868	42.9	57.1	11.8	13.9	30.5	43.6
	10.21 %	VAP:	764,077	354,586	409,491	85,222	100,375	213,565	310,504	46.4	53.6	11.2	13.1	28.0	40.6
Aransas (100%)			23,830	15,816	8,014	655	394	6,158	6,486	66.4	33.6	2.7	1.7	25.8	27.2
Austin (100%)			30,167	18,480	11,687	304	2,791	8,052	10,630	61.3	38.7	1.0	9.3	26.7	35.2
Burleson (100%)			17,642	11,258	6,384	118	2,145	3,712	5,737	63.8	36.2	0.7	12.2	21.0	32.5
Calhoun (100%)			20,106	8,374	11,732	1,169	534	9,858	10,271	41.6	58.4	5.8	2.7	49.0	51.1
Colorado (100%)			20,557	11,761	8,796	132	2,535	5,990	8,336	57.2	42.8	0.6	12.3	29.1	40.6
De Witt (100%)			19,824	10,854	8,970	105	1,867	6,890	8,564	54.8	45.2	0.5	9.4	34.8	43.2
Fayette (100%)			24,435	17,041	7,394	129	1,722	5,216	6,785	69.7	30.3	0.5	7.0	21.3	27.8
Fort Bend (55%)			451,099	153,964	297,135	107,688	75,792	110,941	183,400	34.1	65.9	23.9	16.8	24.6	40.7
Goliad (100%)			7,012	4,246	2,766	60	349	2,288	2,569	60.6	39.4	0.9	5.0	32.6	36.6
Gonzales (100%)			19,653	8,159	11,494	122	1,391	9,897	11,074	41.5	58.5	0.6	7.1	50.4	56.3
Harris (2%)			77,432	27,009	50,423	6,713	13,373	29,825	42,430	34.9	65.1	8.7	17.3	38.5	54.8
Jackson (100%)			14,988	8,510	6,478	228	1,186	4,829	5,877	56.8	43.2	1.5	7.9	32.2	39.2
Lavaca (100%)			20,337	14,564	5,773	114	1,497	3,936	5,316	71.6	28.4	0.6	7.4	19.4	26.1
Lee (100%)			17,478	10,612	6,866	123	1,945	4,479	6,287	60.7	39.3	0.7	11.1	25.6	36.0
Matagorda (100%)			36,255	15,355	20,900	856	4,330	15,455	19,466	42.4	57.6	2.4	11.9	42.6	53.7
Nueces (1%)			3,149	2,706	443	60	17	237	249	85.9	14.1	1.9	0.5	7.5	7.9
Refugio (100%)			6,741	2,864	3,877	61	534	3,306	3,735	42.5	57.5	0.9	7.9	49.0	55.4
Victoria (100%)			91,319	39,330	51,989	1,758	6,843	42,931	48,751	43.1	56.9	1.9	7.5	47.0	53.4
Waller (100%)			56,794	23,494	33,300	1,063	12,827	18,486	30,985	41.4	58.6	1.9	22.6	32.5	54.6
Washington (100%)			35,805	22,023	13,782	694	6,044	6,425	12,288	61.5	38.5	1.9	16.9	17.9	34.3
Wharton (100%)			41,570	18,130	23,440	264	6,038	16,967	22,632	43.6	56.4	0.6	14.5	40.8	54.4
<b>DISTRICT 19</b>	12,036	Total:	952,214	207,184	745,030	28,364	83,272	635,879	707,063	21.8	78.2	3.0	8.7	66.8	74.3
	1.28 %	VAP:	696,433	169,417	527,016	19,936	58,032	445,933	498,594	24.3	75.7	2.9	8.3	64.0	71.6
Atascosa (98%)			47,973	15,428	32,545	383	721	30,847	31,342	32.2	67.8	0.8	1.5	64.3	65.3
Bexar (32%)			636,132	133,256	502,876	25,336	76,783	406,027	472,270	20.9	79.1	4.0	12.1	63.8	74.2
Brewster (100%)			9,546	4,948	4,598	164	287	3,963	4,176	51.8	48.2	1.7	3.0	41.5	43.7
Crockett (100%)			3,098	1,080	2,018	23	36	1,920	1,945	34.9	65.1	0.7	1.2	62.0	62.8

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 19</b>	12,036	Total:	952,214	207,184	745,030	28,364	83,272	635,879	707,063	21.8	78.2	3.0	8.7	66.8	74.3
	1.28 %	VAP:	696,433	169,417	527,016	19,936	58,032	445,933	498,594	24.3	75.7	2.9	8.3	64.0	71.6
Dimmit (100%)			8,615	898	7,717	94	129	7,487	7,570	10.4	89.6	1.1	1.5	86.9	87.9
Edwards (100%)			1,422	651	771	26	17	718	725	45.8	54.2	1.8	1.2	50.5	51.0
Frio (100%)			18,385	3,053	15,332	218	767	14,171	14,897	16.6	83.4	1.2	4.2	77.1	81.0
Kinney (100%)			3,129	1,489	1,640	46	66	1,470	1,517	47.6	52.4	1.5	2.1	47.0	48.5
Maverick (100%)			57,887	1,574	56,313	295	307	54,936	55,107	2.7	97.3	0.5	0.5	94.9	95.2
Medina (100%)			50,748	22,324	28,424	528	1,762	25,455	26,930	44.0	56.0	1.0	3.5	50.2	53.1
Pecos (100%)			15,193	3,473	11,720	183	630	10,845	11,376	22.9	77.1	1.2	4.1	71.4	74.9
Real (100%)			2,758	1,940	818	28	50	692	731	70.3	29.7	1.0	1.8	25.1	26.5
Reeves (100%)			14,748	1,697	13,051	205	332	12,510	12,748	11.5	88.5	1.4	2.3	84.8	86.4
Terrell (100%)			760	352	408	13	22	370	384	46.3	53.7	1.7	2.9	48.7	50.5
Uvalde (100%)			24,564	6,613	17,951	206	268	17,317	17,462	26.9	73.1	0.8	1.1	70.5	71.1
Val Verde (100%)			47,586	7,836	39,750	574	962	38,207	38,861	16.5	83.5	1.2	2.0	80.3	81.7
Zavala (100%)			9,670	572	9,098	42	133	8,944	9,022	5.9	94.1	0.4	1.4	92.5	93.3
<b>DISTRICT 20</b>	-32,504	Total:	907,674	144,610	763,064	19,619	23,353	718,372	736,301	15.9	84.1	2.2	2.6	79.1	81.1
	-3.46 %	VAP:	661,833	120,706	541,127	14,567	16,433	506,457	520,411	18.2	81.8	2.2	2.5	76.5	78.6
Brooks (100%)			7,076	724	6,352	48	47	6,242	6,271	10.2	89.8	0.7	0.7	88.2	88.6
Hidalgo (59%)			511,678	33,464	478,214	8,790	5,230	464,480	467,717	6.5	93.5	1.7	1.0	90.8	91.4
Jim Wells (100%)			38,891	6,963	31,928	216	414	30,835	31,082	17.9	82.1	0.6	1.1	79.3	79.9
Nueces (99%)			350,029	103,459	246,570	10,565	17,662	216,815	231,231	29.6	70.4	3.0	5.0	61.9	66.1
<b>DISTRICT 21</b>	-38,924	Total:	901,254	203,422	697,832	14,823	36,631	641,296	672,273	22.6	77.4	1.6	4.1	71.2	74.6
	-4.14 %	VAP:	668,648	171,826	496,822	11,469	27,831	451,658	476,560	25.7	74.3	1.7	4.2	67.5	71.3
Atascosa (2%)			1,008	638	370	13	15	331	342	63.3	36.7	1.3	1.5	32.8	33.9
Bee (100%)			31,047	8,600	22,447	307	2,558	19,392	21,804	27.7	72.3	1.0	8.2	62.5	70.2
Bexar (1%)			14,846	2,581	12,265	120	307	11,746	11,978	17.4	82.6	0.8	2.1	79.1	80.7
Caldwell (100%)			45,883	16,560	29,323	444	2,932	25,468	28,025	36.1	63.9	1.0	6.4	55.5	61.1
Duval (100%)			9,831	937	8,894	66	208	7,962	8,133	9.5	90.5	0.7	2.1	81.0	82.7
Guadalupe (32%)			55,272	24,439	30,833	635	2,827	26,744	29,101	44.2	55.8	1.1	5.1	48.4	52.7
Hays (31%)			74,518	23,738	50,780	2,356	5,591	42,534	47,260	31.9	68.1	3.2	7.5	57.1	63.4
Jim Hogg (100%)			4,838	414	4,424	36	11	4,281	4,287	8.6	91.4	0.7	0.2	88.5	88.6
Karnes (100%)			14,710	5,388	9,322	196	1,265	7,734	8,910	36.6	63.4	1.3	8.6	52.6	60.6
La Salle (100%)			6,664	1,467	5,197	28	259	4,908	5,132	22.0	78.0	0.4	3.9	73.6	77.0
Live Oak (100%)			11,335	5,968	5,367	66	275	4,790	5,031	52.7	47.3	0.6	2.4	42.3	44.4
McMullen (100%)			600	353	247	13	17	224	231	58.8	41.2	2.2	2.8	37.3	38.5
San Patricio (100%)			68,755	26,613	42,142	1,278	1,725	38,220	39,491	38.7	61.3	1.9	2.5	55.6	57.4
Starr (100%)			65,920	1,171	64,749	152	162	64,393	64,454	1.8	98.2	0.2	0.2	97.7	97.8



## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 21</b>	-38,924	Total:	901,254	203,422	697,832	14,823	36,631	641,296	672,273	22.6	77.4	1.6	4.1	71.2	74.6
	-4.14 %	VAP:	668,648	171,826	496,822	11,469	27,831	451,658	476,560	25.7	74.3	1.7	4.2	67.5	71.3
Travis (13%)			165,271	46,387	118,884	6,753	15,692	95,984	109,688	28.1	71.9	4.1	9.5	58.1	66.4
Webb (100%)			267,114	9,495	257,619	1,774	1,647	254,354	255,249	3.6	96.4	0.7	0.6	95.2	95.6
Wilson (100%)			49,753	27,877	21,876	545	1,101	19,232	20,140	56.0	44.0	1.1	2.2	38.7	40.5
Zapata (100%)			13,889	796	13,093	41	39	12,999	13,017	5.7	94.3	0.3	0.3	93.6	93.7
<b>DISTRICT 22</b>	3,844	Total:	944,022	520,999	423,023	31,190	134,863	236,553	364,713	55.2	44.8	3.3	14.3	25.1	38.6
	0.41 %	VAP:	707,084	418,658	288,426	22,845	92,686	154,311	244,443	59.2	40.8	3.2	13.1	21.8	34.6
Bosque (100%)			18,235	13,621	4,614	148	503	3,321	3,737	74.7	25.3	0.8	2.8	18.2	20.5
Ellis (100%)			192,455	106,495	85,960	2,639	27,000	52,032	77,843	55.3	44.7	1.4	14.0	27.0	40.4
Falls (100%)			16,968	8,707	8,261	106	4,023	3,965	7,845	51.3	48.7	0.6	23.7	23.4	46.2
Hill (100%)			35,874	24,123	11,751	278	2,527	7,884	10,291	67.2	32.8	0.8	7.0	22.0	28.7
Hood (100%)			61,598	49,815	11,783	755	931	7,958	8,774	80.9	19.1	1.2	1.5	12.9	14.2
Johnson (100%)			179,927	119,226	60,701	2,852	8,888	42,613	50,684	66.3	33.7	1.6	4.9	23.7	28.2
McLennan (100%)			260,579	139,693	120,886	6,704	41,799	68,587	107,816	53.6	46.4	2.6	16.0	26.3	41.4
Navarro (100%)			52,624	26,996	25,628	586	7,248	16,049	22,992	51.3	48.7	1.1	13.8	30.5	43.7
Somervell (100%)			9,205	7,011	2,194	93	115	1,687	1,773	76.2	23.8	1.0	1.2	18.3	19.3
Tarrant (6%)			116,557	25,312	91,245	17,029	41,829	32,457	72,958	21.7	78.3	14.6	35.9	27.8	62.6
<b>DISTRICT 23</b>	-53,073	Total:	887,105	125,930	761,175	19,878	339,302	402,104	733,441	14.2	85.8	2.2	38.2	45.3	82.7
	-5.64 %	VAP:	664,473	114,940	549,533	16,382	255,095	275,257	526,405	17.3	82.7	2.5	38.4	41.4	79.2
Dallas (34%)			887,105	125,930	761,175	19,878	339,302	402,104	733,441	14.2	85.8	2.2	38.2	45.3	82.7
<b>DISTRICT 24</b>	-13,388	Total:	926,790	538,914	387,876	35,809	134,417	202,344	324,096	58.1	41.9	3.9	14.5	21.8	35.0
	-1.42 %	VAP:	708,848	441,276	267,572	25,168	90,552	135,063	219,765	62.3	37.7	3.6	12.8	19.1	31.0
Bandera (100%)			20,851	15,595	5,256	219	270	4,010	4,247	74.8	25.2	1.1	1.3	19.2	20.4
Bell (100%)			370,647	156,780	213,867	18,271	100,605	93,467	184,933	42.3	57.7	4.9	27.1	25.2	49.9
Blanco (100%)			11,374	8,707	2,667	100	123	2,092	2,196	76.6	23.4	0.9	1.1	18.4	19.3
Brown (100%)			38,095	26,672	11,423	382	1,881	8,211	9,884	70.0	30.0	1.0	4.9	21.6	25.9
Burnet (100%)			49,130	34,810	14,320	629	1,011	11,199	12,068	70.9	29.1	1.3	2.1	22.8	24.6
Callahan (100%)			13,708	11,555	2,153	109	269	1,306	1,545	84.3	15.7	0.8	2.0	9.5	11.3
Comanche (100%)			13,594	9,197	4,397	62	127	3,867	3,949	67.7	32.3	0.5	0.9	28.4	29.0
Coryell (100%)			83,093	46,213	36,880	3,238	15,290	16,482	30,436	55.6	44.4	3.9	18.4	19.8	36.6
Gillespie (100%)			26,725	19,884	6,841	213	245	5,766	5,941	74.4	25.6	0.8	0.9	21.6	22.2
Hamilton (100%)			8,222	6,805	1,417	63	68	1,045	1,104	82.8	17.2	0.8	0.8	12.7	13.4
Kerr (100%)			52,598	35,791	16,807	851	1,127	13,598	14,502	68.0	32.0	1.6	2.1	25.9	27.6
Lampasas (100%)			21,627	15,132	6,495	512	1,079	4,179	5,135	70.0	30.0	2.4	5.0	19.3	23.7
Llano (100%)			21,243	17,530	3,713	194	233	2,508	2,687	82.5	17.5	0.9	1.1	11.8	12.6
Mills (100%)			4,456	3,498	958	26	52	728	770	78.5	21.5	0.6	1.2	16.3	17.3

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 24</b>	-13,388	Total:	926,790	538,914	387,876	35,809	134,417	202,344	324,096	58.1	41.9	3.9	14.5	21.8	35.0
	-1.42 %	VAP:	708,848	441,276	267,572	25,168	90,552	135,063	219,765	62.3	37.7	3.6	12.8	19.1	31.0
San Saba (100%)			5,730	3,690	2,040	53	150	1,749	1,879	64.4	35.6	0.9	2.6	30.5	32.8
Taylor (72%)			103,806	68,828	34,978	3,641	9,696	19,871	28,598	66.3	33.7	3.5	9.3	19.1	27.5
Travis (6%)			81,891	58,227	23,664	7,246	2,191	12,266	14,222	71.1	28.9	8.8	2.7	15.0	17.4
<b>DISTRICT 25</b>	163,301	Total:	1,103,479	585,939	517,540	59,225	73,516	372,691	435,870	53.1	46.9	5.4	6.7	33.8	39.5
	17.37 %	VAP:	844,709	475,191	369,518	41,946	51,486	261,951	308,531	56.3	43.7	5.0	6.1	31.0	36.5
Bexar (26%)			517,781	237,675	280,106	33,100	41,505	203,782	239,280	45.9	54.1	6.4	8.0	39.4	46.2
Comal (100%)			161,501	105,250	56,251	3,517	5,409	43,590	48,172	65.2	34.8	2.2	3.3	27.0	29.8
Guadalupe (68%)			117,434	59,624	57,810	4,972	13,239	38,489	50,187	50.8	49.2	4.2	11.3	32.8	42.7
Hays (69%)			166,549	97,830	68,719	7,870	7,459	50,337	56,706	58.7	41.3	4.7	4.5	30.2	34.0
Kendall (100%)			44,279	31,767	12,512	743	603	10,029	10,509	71.7	28.3	1.7	1.4	22.6	23.7
Travis (7%)			95,935	53,793	42,142	9,023	5,301	26,464	31,016	56.1	43.9	9.4	5.5	27.6	32.3
<b>DISTRICT 26</b>	-99,613	Total:	840,565	162,220	678,345	36,006	77,602	569,403	635,237	19.3	80.7	4.3	9.2	67.7	75.6
	-10.60 %	VAP:	644,877	141,254	503,623	27,045	55,571	419,612	469,549	21.9	78.1	4.2	8.6	65.1	72.8
Bexar (42%)			840,565	162,220	678,345	36,006	77,602	569,403	635,237	19.3	80.7	4.3	9.2	67.7	75.6
<b>DISTRICT 27</b>	-108,504	Total:	831,674	65,587	766,087	6,737	7,213	751,993	756,001	7.9	92.1	0.8	0.9	90.4	90.9
	-11.54 %	VAP:	588,385	56,194	532,191	5,210	4,629	521,253	524,333	9.6	90.4	0.9	0.8	88.6	89.1
Cameron (100%)			421,017	37,107	383,910	3,637	3,410	376,680	378,477	8.8	91.2	0.9	0.8	89.5	89.9
Hidalgo (41%)			359,103	19,874	339,229	1,906	1,872	335,521	336,180	5.5	94.5	0.5	0.5	93.4	93.6
Kenedy (100%)			350	73	277	10	12	261	264	20.9	79.1	2.9	3.4	74.6	75.4
Kleberg (100%)			31,040	6,728	24,312	973	1,361	21,920	23,006	21.7	78.3	3.1	4.4	70.6	74.1
Willacy (100%)			20,164	1,805	18,359	211	558	17,611	18,074	9.0	91.0	1.0	2.8	87.3	89.6
<b>DISTRICT 28</b>	-144,171	Total:	796,007	407,717	388,290	18,137	58,889	301,525	353,589	51.2	48.8	2.3	7.4	37.9	44.4
	-15.33 %	VAP:	607,986	333,907	274,079	13,745	41,679	207,426	246,621	54.9	45.1	2.3	6.9	34.1	40.6
Baylor (100%)			3,465	2,797	668	22	113	439	534	80.7	19.3	0.6	3.3	12.7	15.4
Borden (100%)			631	528	103	14	16	86	95	83.7	16.3	2.2	2.5	13.6	15.1
Childress (100%)			6,664	3,852	2,812	93	672	1,942	2,585	57.8	42.2	1.4	10.1	29.1	38.8
Coke (100%)			3,285	2,473	812	17	23	661	671	75.3	24.7	0.5	0.7	20.1	20.4
Coleman (100%)			7,684	6,013	1,671	58	236	1,192	1,396	78.3	21.7	0.8	3.1	15.5	18.2
Concho (100%)			3,303	2,097	1,206	47	105	1,033	1,121	63.5	36.5	1.4	3.2	31.3	33.9
Cottle (100%)			1,380	902	478	18	128	327	440	65.4	34.6	1.3	9.3	23.7	31.9
Crane (100%)			4,675	1,342	3,333	39	102	3,158	3,237	28.7	71.3	0.8	2.2	67.6	69.2
Crosby (100%)			5,133	2,076	3,057	41	203	2,829	2,965	40.4	59.6	0.8	4.0	55.1	57.8
Dawson (100%)			12,456	4,590	7,866	86	1,004	6,767	7,665	36.8	63.2	0.7	8.1	54.3	61.5
Dickens (100%)			1,770	1,178	592	21	64	512	548	66.6	33.4	1.2	3.6	28.9	31.0
Eastland (100%)			17,725	13,653	4,072	169	497	2,934	3,380	77.0	23.0	1.0	2.8	16.6	19.1

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 28</b>	-144,171	Total:	796,007	407,717	388,290	18,137	58,889	301,525	353,589	51.2	48.8	2.3	7.4	37.9	44.4
	-15.33 %	VAP:	607,986	333,907	274,079	13,745	41,679	207,426	246,621	54.9	45.1	2.3	6.9	34.1	40.6
Fisher (100%)			3,672	2,496	1,176	27	149	973	1,088	68.0	32.0	0.7	4.1	26.5	29.6
Floyd (100%)			5,402	2,079	3,323	39	207	3,067	3,228	38.5	61.5	0.7	3.8	56.8	59.8
Foard (100%)			1,095	845	250	12	33	197	220	77.2	22.8	1.1	3.0	18.0	20.1
Garza (100%)			5,816	2,162	3,654	56	381	3,272	3,554	37.2	62.8	1.0	6.6	56.3	61.1
Hale (100%)			32,522	10,693	21,829	243	1,807	19,489	21,052	32.9	67.1	0.7	5.6	59.9	64.7
Hardeman (100%)			3,549	2,441	1,108	30	195	818	983	68.8	31.2	0.8	5.5	23.0	27.7
Haskell (100%)			5,416	3,628	1,788	43	268	1,377	1,599	67.0	33.0	0.8	4.9	25.4	29.5
Hockley (100%)			21,537	9,752	11,785	97	803	10,624	11,295	45.3	54.7	0.5	3.7	49.3	52.4
Irion (100%)			1,513	1,112	401	23	30	349	369	73.5	26.5	1.5	2.0	23.1	24.4
Jones (100%)			19,663	11,485	8,178	158	2,187	5,504	7,599	58.4	41.6	0.8	11.1	28.0	38.6
Kent (100%)			753	657	96	9	11	81	86	87.3	12.7	1.2	1.5	10.8	11.4
Kimble (100%)			4,286	3,136	1,150	60	37	986	1,013	73.2	26.8	1.4	0.9	23.0	23.6
King (100%)			265	230	35	4	8	25	31	86.8	13.2	1.5	3.0	9.4	11.7
Knox (100%)			3,353	1,935	1,418	34	210	1,130	1,309	57.7	42.3	1.0	6.3	33.7	39.0
Lamb (100%)			13,045	4,981	8,064	41	544	7,449	7,904	38.2	61.8	0.3	4.2	57.1	60.6
Lubbock (100%)			310,639	154,994	155,645	11,533	31,107	109,170	137,329	49.9	50.1	3.7	10.0	35.1	44.2
Lynn (100%)			5,596	2,960	2,636	34	151	2,352	2,482	52.9	47.1	0.6	2.7	42.0	44.4
Mason (100%)			3,953	2,948	1,005	21	40	883	909	74.6	25.4	0.5	1.0	22.3	23.0
McCulloch (100%)			7,630	4,904	2,726	65	197	2,369	2,517	64.3	35.7	0.9	2.6	31.0	33.0
Menard (100%)			1,962	1,231	731	10	33	662	690	62.7	37.3	0.5	1.7	33.7	35.2
Mitchell (100%)			8,990	4,328	4,662	71	1,072	3,454	4,457	48.1	51.9	0.8	11.9	38.4	49.6
Motley (100%)			1,063	858	205	18	18	153	166	80.7	19.3	1.7	1.7	14.4	15.6
Nolan (100%)			14,738	8,138	6,600	150	953	5,354	6,120	55.2	44.8	1.0	6.5	36.3	41.5
Reagan (100%)			3,385	968	2,417	44	78	2,283	2,339	28.6	71.4	1.3	2.3	67.4	69.1
Runnels (100%)			9,900	6,062	3,838	65	252	3,354	3,560	61.2	38.8	0.7	2.5	33.9	36.0
Schleicher (100%)			2,451	1,102	1,349	28	44	1,275	1,296	45.0	55.0	1.1	1.8	52.0	52.9
Scurry (100%)			16,932	8,637	8,295	140	812	7,139	7,853	51.0	49.0	0.8	4.8	42.2	46.4
Shackelford (100%)			3,105	2,612	493	33	46	363	394	84.1	15.9	1.1	1.5	11.7	12.7
Stephens (100%)			9,101	6,256	2,845	89	327	2,204	2,503	68.7	31.3	1.0	3.6	24.2	27.5
Sterling (100%)			1,372	867	505	29	22	449	465	63.2	36.8	2.1	1.6	32.7	33.9
Stonewall (100%)			1,245	958	287	9	41	226	256	76.9	23.1	0.7	3.3	18.2	20.6
Sutton (100%)			3,372	1,200	2,172	24	32	2,093	2,111	35.6	64.4	0.7	0.9	62.1	62.6
Taylor (28%)			39,402	18,488	20,914	658	4,959	14,885	19,276	46.9	53.1	1.7	12.6	37.8	48.9
Terry (100%)			11,831	4,599	7,232	78	540	6,569	7,009	38.9	61.1	0.7	4.6	55.5	59.2
Throckmorton (100%)			1,440	1,248	192	8	17	145	156	86.7	13.3	0.6	1.2	10.1	10.8
Tom Green (100%)			120,003	62,390	57,613	2,752	6,070	47,066	52,091	52.0	48.0	2.3	5.1	39.2	43.4

## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 28</b>	-144,171	Total:	796,007	407,717	388,290	18,137	58,889	301,525	353,589	51.2	48.8	2.3	7.4	37.9	44.4
	-15.33 %	VAP:	607,986	333,907	274,079	13,745	41,679	207,426	246,621	54.9	45.1	2.3	6.9	34.1	40.6
Upton (100%)			3,308	1,318	1,990	32	120	1,797	1,886	39.8	60.2	1.0	3.6	54.3	57.0
Ward (100%)			11,644	4,506	7,138	113	666	6,325	6,847	38.7	61.3	1.0	5.7	54.3	58.8
Wilbarger (100%)			12,887	7,012	5,875	632	1,259	3,734	4,910	54.4	45.6	4.9	9.8	29.0	38.1
<b>DISTRICT 29</b>	-61,004	Total:	879,174	102,001	777,173	18,605	38,352	724,636	753,266	11.6	88.4	2.1	4.4	82.4	85.7
	-6.49 %	VAP:	655,733	84,788	570,945	13,528	26,028	531,109	552,498	12.9	87.1	2.1	4.0	81.0	84.3
Culberson (100%)			2,188	445	1,743	50	48	1,645	1,673	20.3	79.7	2.3	2.2	75.2	76.5
El Paso (100%)			865,657	98,219	767,438	18,392	38,200	715,351	743,885	11.3	88.7	2.1	4.4	82.6	85.9
Hudspeth (100%)			3,202	1,094	2,108	22	29	2,036	2,049	34.2	65.8	0.7	0.9	63.6	64.0
Jeff Davis (100%)			1,996	1,282	714	39	28	613	627	64.2	35.8	2.0	1.4	30.7	31.4
Presidio (100%)			6,131	961	5,170	102	47	4,991	5,032	15.7	84.3	1.7	0.8	81.4	82.1
<b>DISTRICT 30</b>	87,087	Total:	1,027,265	692,397	334,868	31,554	78,890	190,804	264,790	67.4	32.6	3.1	7.7	18.6	25.8
	9.26 %	VAP:	773,135	547,129	226,006	21,994	53,133	123,513	174,470	70.8	29.2	2.8	6.9	16.0	22.6
Archer (100%)			8,560	7,356	1,204	74	106	742	831	85.9	14.1	0.9	1.2	8.7	9.7
Clay (100%)			10,218	8,941	1,277	87	121	641	745	87.5	12.5	0.9	1.2	6.3	7.3
Collin (20%)			208,976	128,449	80,527	11,938	22,044	40,948	61,952	61.5	38.5	5.7	10.5	19.6	29.6
Cooke (100%)			41,668	29,404	12,264	446	1,687	8,519	10,062	70.6	29.4	1.1	4.0	20.4	24.1
Denton (18%)			158,838	88,207	70,631	8,486	20,915	37,512	57,189	55.5	44.5	5.3	13.2	23.6	36.0
Erath (100%)			42,545	30,006	12,539	557	1,646	9,254	10,774	70.5	29.5	1.3	3.9	21.8	25.3
Grayson (100%)			135,543	95,211	40,332	2,686	9,856	20,868	30,196	70.2	29.8	2.0	7.3	15.4	22.3
Jack (100%)			8,472	6,358	2,114	72	350	1,521	1,836	75.0	25.0	0.8	4.1	18.0	21.7
Montague (100%)			19,965	16,342	3,623	129	206	2,361	2,543	81.9	18.1	0.6	1.0	11.8	12.7
Palo Pinto (100%)			28,409	20,778	7,631	345	857	5,614	6,367	73.1	26.9	1.2	3.0	19.8	22.4
Parker (100%)			148,222	117,747	30,475	1,990	2,929	19,819	22,473	79.4	20.6	1.3	2.0	13.4	15.2
Wichita (100%)			129,350	79,694	49,656	3,968	16,588	25,803	41,265	61.6	38.4	3.1	12.8	19.9	31.9
Wise (100%)			68,632	50,495	18,137	644	1,261	13,694	14,767	73.6	26.4	0.9	1.8	20.0	21.5
Young (100%)			17,867	13,409	4,458	132	324	3,508	3,790	75.0	25.0	0.7	1.8	19.6	21.2
<b>DISTRICT 31</b>	-70,909	Total:	869,269	404,148	465,121	21,331	52,138	377,654	423,959	46.5	53.5	2.5	6.0	43.4	48.8
	-7.54 %	VAP:	637,232	320,965	316,267	14,448	34,849	253,523	286,095	50.4	49.6	2.3	5.5	39.8	44.9
Andrews (100%)			18,610	7,405	11,205	153	376	10,400	10,683	39.8	60.2	0.8	2.0	55.9	57.4
Armstrong (100%)			1,848	1,593	255	28	34	144	162	86.2	13.8	1.5	1.8	7.8	8.8
Bailey (100%)			6,904	2,190	4,714	19	91	4,540	4,600	31.7	68.3	0.3	1.3	65.8	66.6
Briscoe (100%)			1,435	1,008	427	13	30	368	391	70.2	29.8	0.9	2.1	25.6	27.2
Carson (100%)			5,807	4,873	934	33	91	558	636	83.9	16.1	0.6	1.6	9.6	11.0
Castro (100%)			7,371	2,328	5,043	49	155	4,784	4,905	31.6	68.4	0.7	2.1	64.9	66.5
Cochran (100%)			2,547	912	1,635	16	94	1,527	1,594	35.8	64.2	0.6	3.7	60.0	62.6

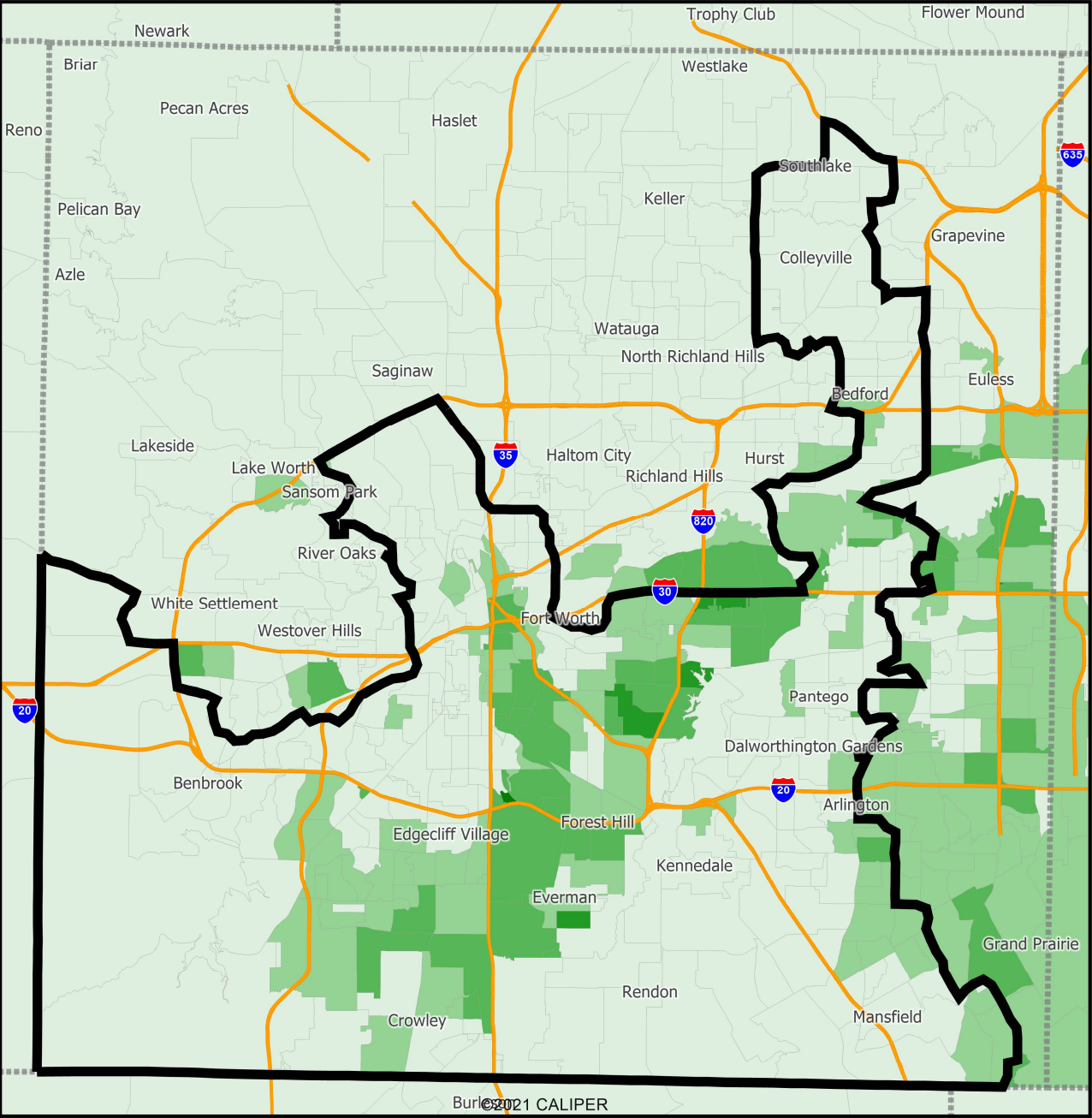
## District Population Analysis with County Subtotals

### SENATE DISTRICTS - PLANS2100

	Deviation		Total	Anglo	Non-Anglo	Asian	Black	Hispanic	B+H	%Anglo	%Non-Anglo	%Asian	%Black	%Hispanic	%B+H
<b>DISTRICT 31</b>	-70,909	Total:	869,269	404,148	465,121	21,331	52,138	377,654	423,959	46.5	53.5	2.5	6.0	43.4	48.8
	-7.54 %	VAP:	637,232	320,965	316,267	14,448	34,849	253,523	286,095	50.4	49.6	2.3	5.5	39.8	44.9
Collingsworth (100%)			2,652	1,617	1,035	32	148	832	955	61.0	39.0	1.2	5.6	31.4	36.0
Dallam (100%)			7,115	3,119	3,996	33	142	3,707	3,837	43.8	56.2	0.5	2.0	52.1	53.9
Deaf Smith (100%)			18,583	4,233	14,350	78	290	13,925	14,080	22.8	77.2	0.4	1.6	74.9	75.8
Donley (100%)			3,258	2,537	721	42	227	356	561	77.9	22.1	1.3	7.0	10.9	17.2
Ector (100%)			165,171	51,023	114,148	2,940	9,522	100,051	108,362	30.9	69.1	1.8	5.8	60.6	65.6
Gaines (100%)			21,598	12,554	9,044	139	356	8,401	8,676	58.1	41.9	0.6	1.6	38.9	40.2
Glasscock (100%)			1,116	710	406	2	27	387	399	63.6	36.4	0.2	2.4	34.7	35.8
Gray (100%)			21,227	13,025	8,202	192	1,039	6,347	7,313	61.4	38.6	0.9	4.9	29.9	34.5
Hall (100%)			2,825	1,589	1,236	30	237	950	1,159	56.2	43.8	1.1	8.4	33.6	41.0
Hansford (100%)			5,285	2,552	2,733	15	43	2,615	2,643	48.3	51.7	0.3	0.8	49.5	50.0
Hartley (100%)			5,382	3,403	1,979	39	249	1,631	1,861	63.2	36.8	0.7	4.6	30.3	34.6
Hemphill (100%)			3,382	2,090	1,292	39	29	1,137	1,156	61.8	38.2	1.2	0.9	33.6	34.2
Howard (100%)			34,860	15,672	19,188	561	2,113	16,174	17,929	45.0	55.0	1.6	6.1	46.4	51.4
Hutchinson (100%)			20,617	13,783	6,834	200	757	4,961	5,589	66.9	33.1	1.0	3.7	24.1	27.1
Lipscomb (100%)			3,059	1,786	1,273	18	22	1,123	1,140	58.4	41.6	0.6	0.7	36.7	37.3
Loving (100%)			64	56	8	3	3	1	3	87.5	12.5	4.7	4.7	1.6	4.7
Martin (100%)			5,237	2,780	2,457	34	128	2,255	2,359	53.1	46.9	0.6	2.4	43.1	45.0
Midland (100%)			169,983	76,487	93,496	4,798	12,731	73,331	84,887	45.0	55.0	2.8	7.5	43.1	49.9
Moore (100%)			21,358	6,499	14,859	1,071	832	12,647	13,398	30.4	69.6	5.0	3.9	59.2	62.7
Ochiltree (100%)			10,015	4,245	5,770	58	66	5,470	5,510	42.4	57.6	0.6	0.7	54.6	55.0
Oldham (100%)			1,758	1,325	433	31	77	313	372	75.4	24.6	1.8	4.4	17.8	21.2
Parmer (100%)			9,869	3,187	6,682	36	137	6,504	6,575	32.3	67.7	0.4	1.4	65.9	66.6
Potter (100%)			118,525	50,153	68,372	6,757	14,438	45,193	58,528	42.3	57.7	5.7	12.2	38.1	49.4
Randall (100%)			140,753	95,457	45,296	3,550	6,592	31,583	37,395	67.8	32.2	2.5	4.7	22.4	26.6
Roberts (100%)			827	717	110	15	21	50	65	86.7	13.3	1.8	2.5	6.0	7.9
Sherman (100%)			2,782	1,362	1,420	24	60	1,315	1,354	49.0	51.0	0.9	2.2	47.3	48.7
Swisher (100%)			6,971	3,219	3,752	44	524	3,147	3,597	46.2	53.8	0.6	7.5	45.1	51.6
Wheeler (100%)			4,990	3,469	1,521	53	137	1,227	1,345	69.5	30.5	1.1	2.7	24.6	27.0
Winkler (100%)			7,791	2,702	5,089	114	210	4,732	4,883	34.7	65.3	1.5	2.7	60.7	62.7
Yoakum (100%)			7,694	2,488	5,206	72	110	4,968	5,057	32.3	67.7	0.9	1.4	64.6	65.7

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Black Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

**Black Pop %**

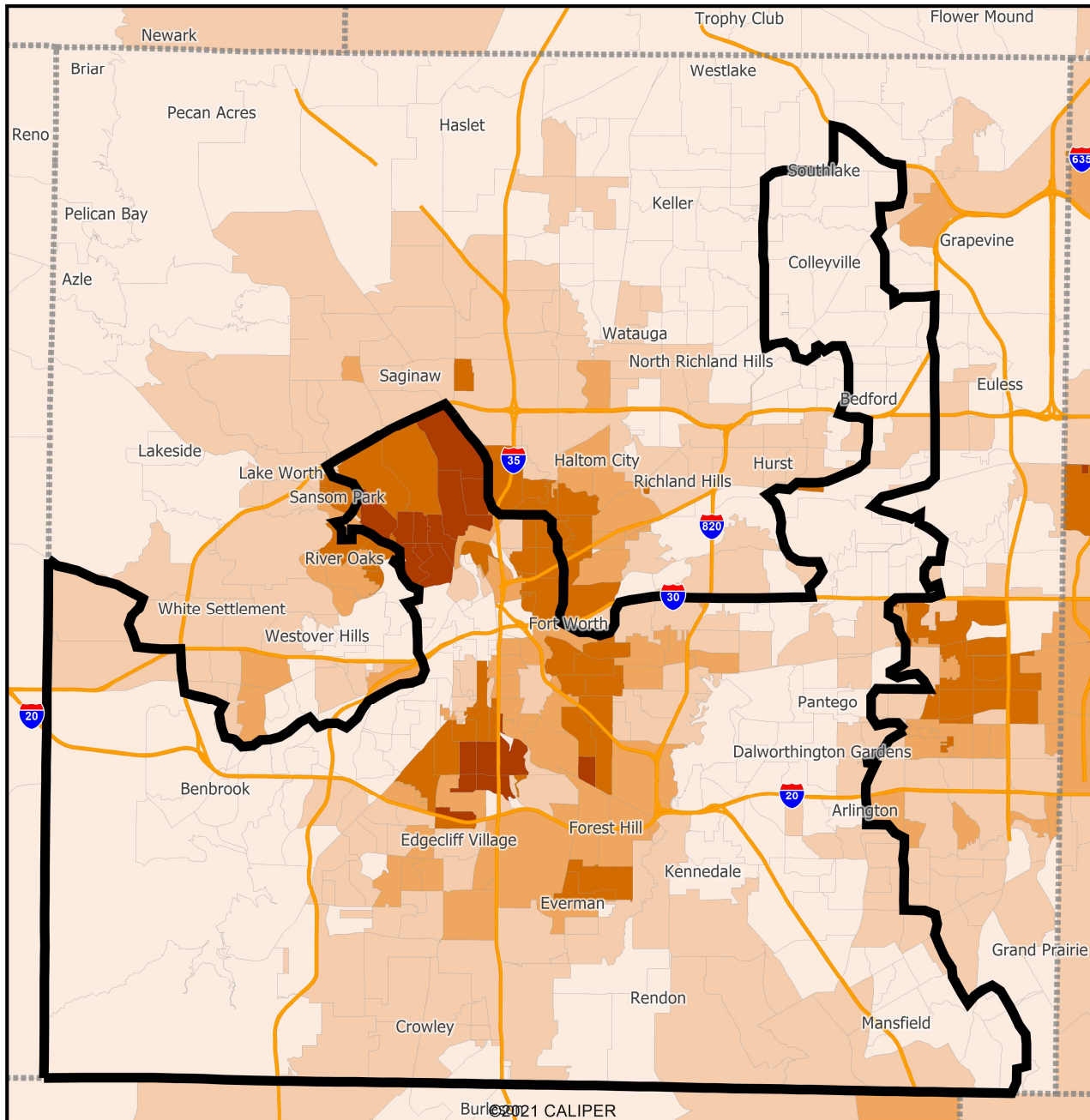
- 20.0% and below
- 20.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% and above

0      2.5      5

Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Hispanic Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

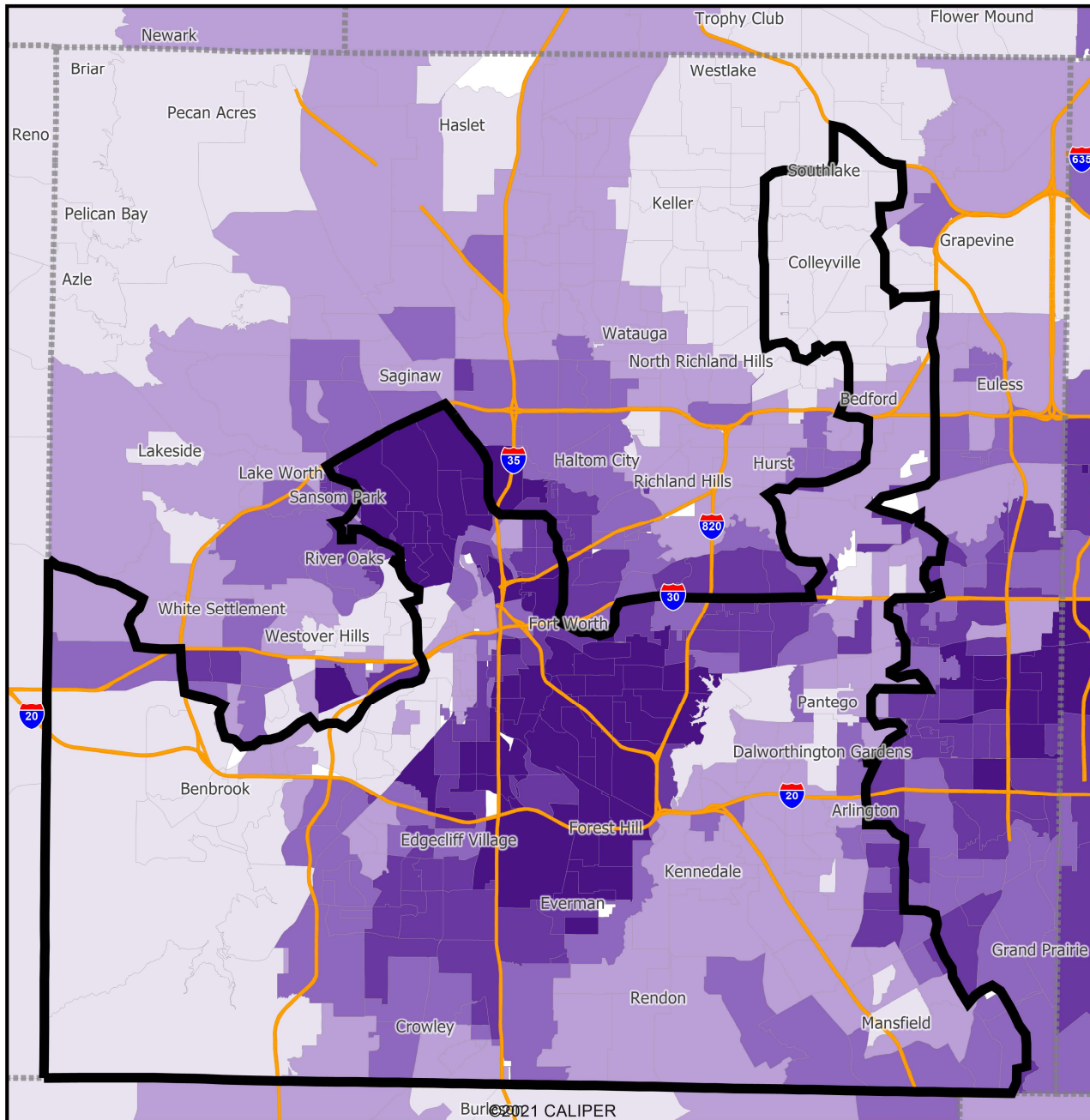
**Hispanic Pop %**

- 0.0% to 20.0%
- 20.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% to 100.0%

0      2.5      5  
Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Black + Hispanic Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

**Black + Hispanic Pop %**

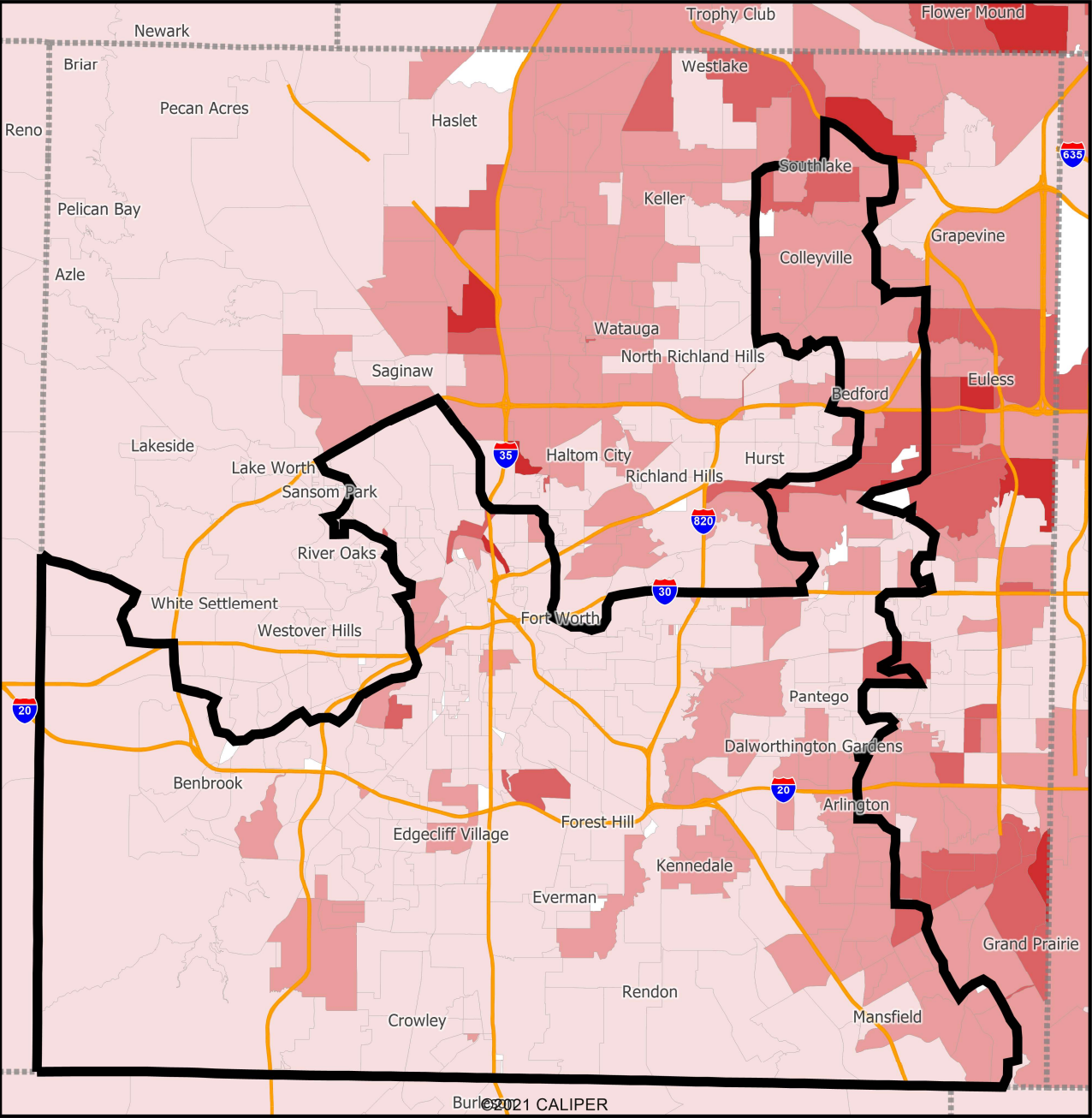
- 20.0% and below
- 20.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% and above
- Other

0 4 8  
Miles



# SD 10 Benchmark

## Asian + Other Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

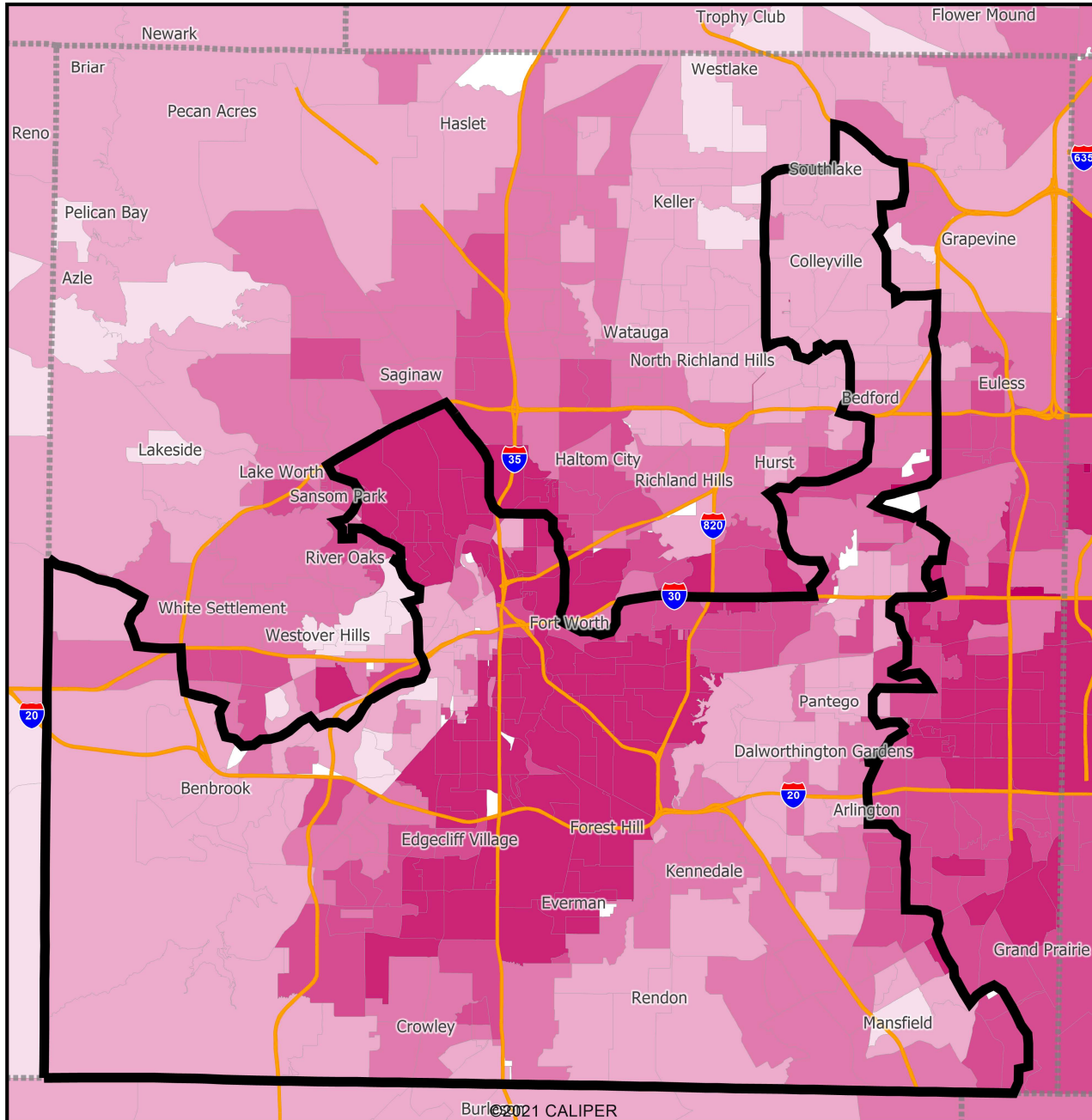
**Asian + Other Pop %**

- 10.0% and below
- 10.0% to 20.0%
- 20.0% to 30.0%
- 30.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% and above
- Other

0                      3                      6  
Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Minority Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

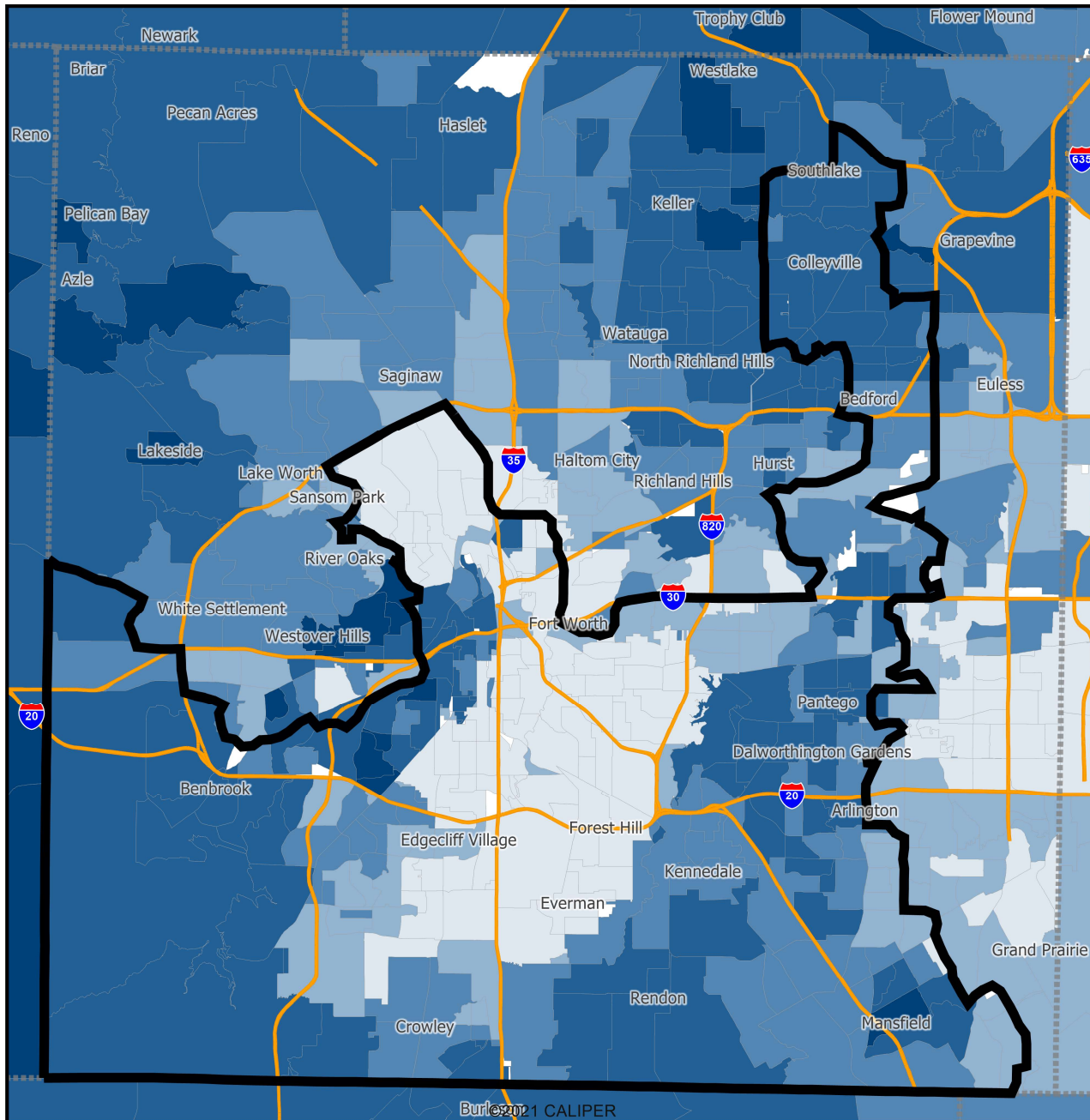
**Minority Pop %**

- 20.0% and below
- 20.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% to 100.0%
- Other

0      2.5      5  
Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Anglo Population 2020



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

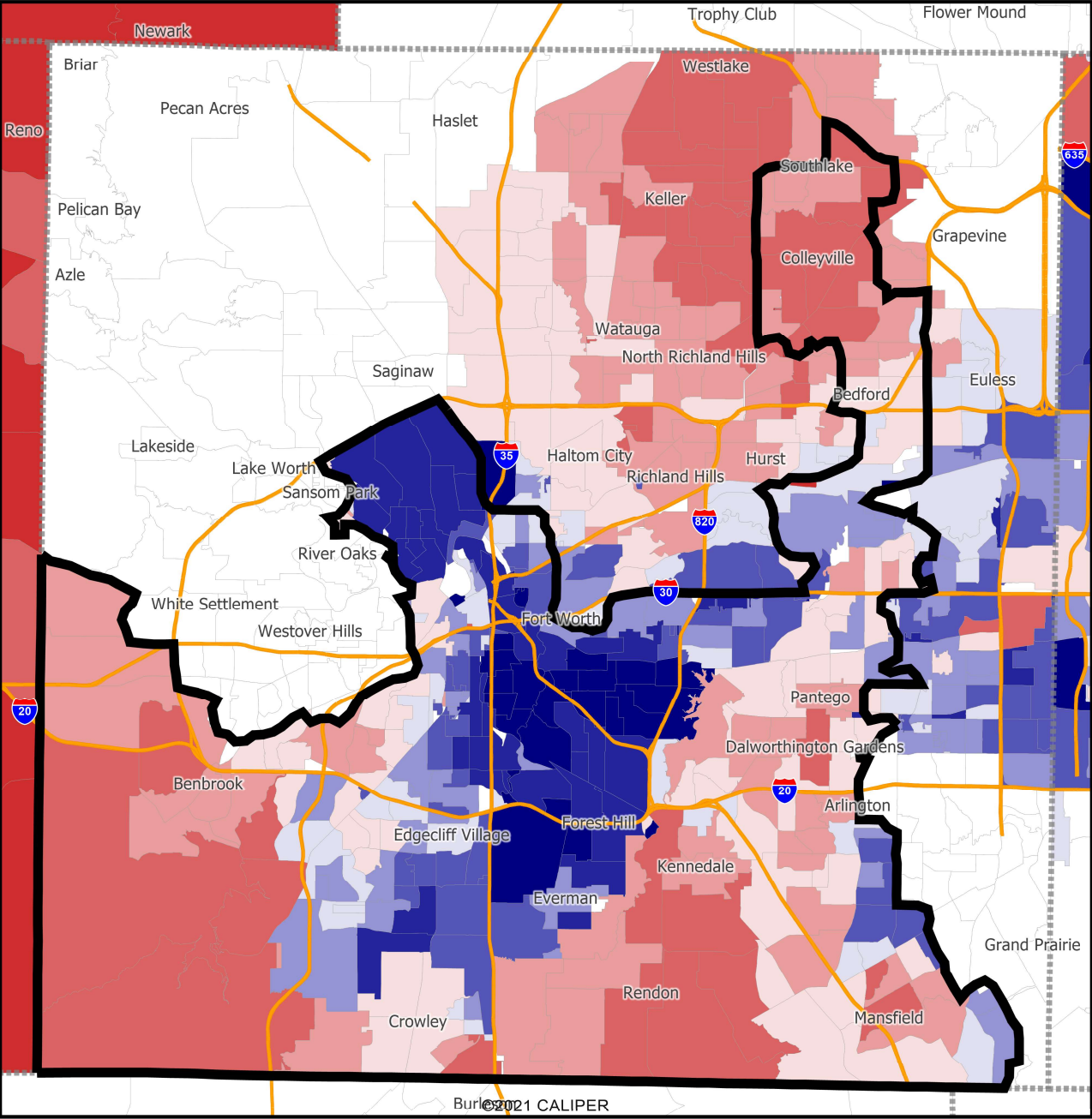
**Anglo Pop %**

- 20.0% and below
- 20.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% and above
- Other

0      2.5      5  
Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Partisan Performance - Senate Districts 2018



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

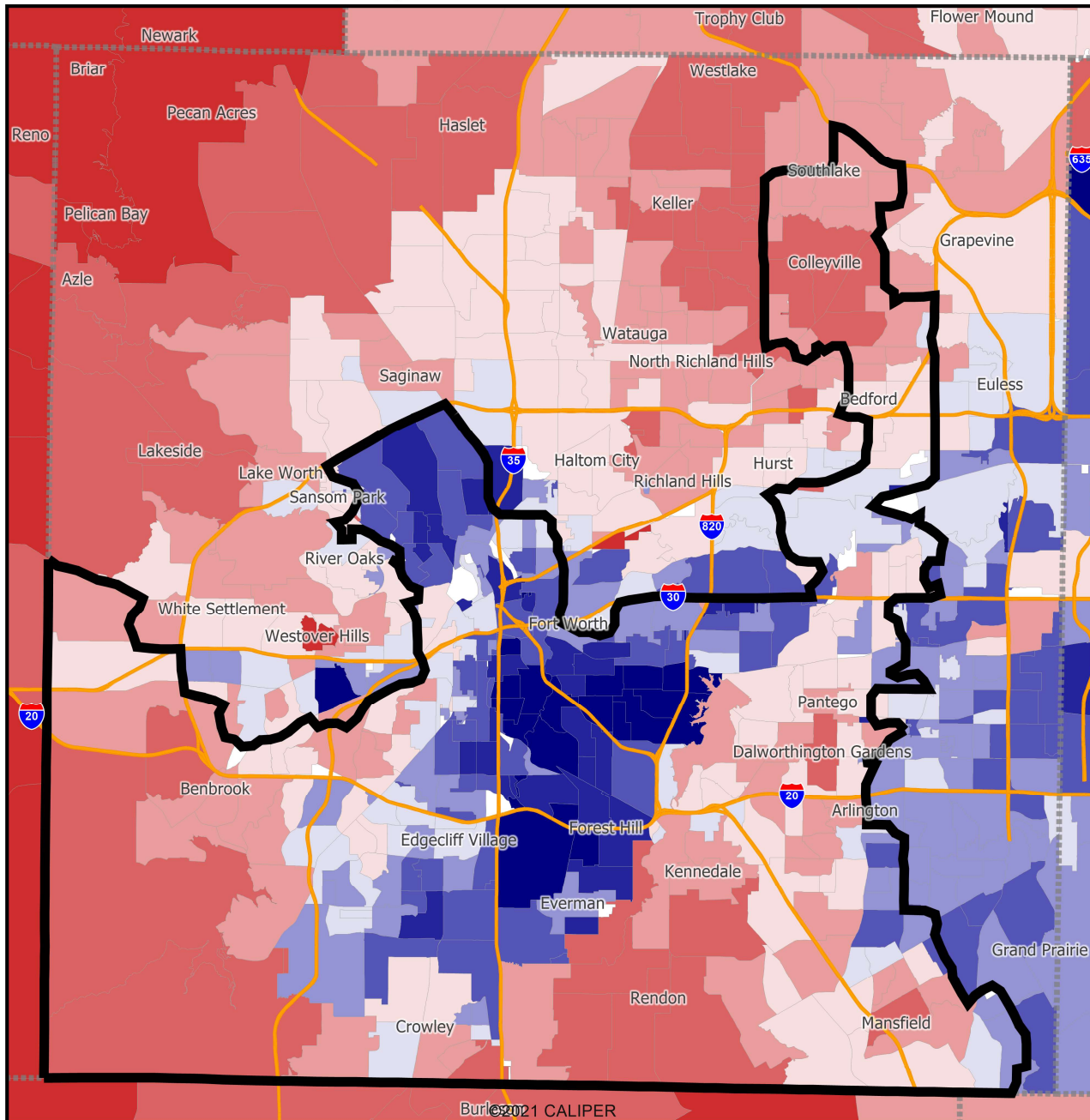
**SD 2018**

- 10.0% and below
- 10.0% to 20.0%
- 20.0% to 30.0%
- 30.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 50.0%
- 50.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 70.0%
- 70.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% to 90.0%
- 90.0% and above
- Other

0 2.5 5  
Miles

# SD 10 Benchmark

## Average Partisan Performance - Top of Ticket



**Map layers**

- VTD
- Freeways
- Census Place
- County
- SD

**Partisan Performance**

- 10.0% and below
- 10.0% to 20.0%
- 20.0% to 30.0%
- 30.0% to 40.0%
- 40.0% to 50.0%
- 50.0% to 60.0%
- 60.0% to 70.0%
- 70.0% to 80.0%
- 80.0% to 90.0%
- 90.0% and above
- Other

0 3 6  
Miles

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

STATE OF TEXAS,	)	
	)	
Plaintiff,	)	
	)	
v.	)	Civil Action No. 11-1303
	)	(TBG-RMC-BAH)
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	)	
and ERIC H. HOLDER, in his	)	
official capacity as Attorney General	)	
of the United States	)	
	)	
Defendants, and	)	
	)	
Wendy Davis, <i>et. al.</i> ,	)	
	)	
Intervenor-Defendants.	)	

**MEMORANDUM OPINION**

Before: GRIFFITH, *Circuit Judge*, COLLYER and HOWELL, *District Judges*.

Opinion for the Court filed by *Circuit Judge* GRIFFITH, in which *District Judge* HOWELL joins and *District Judge* COLLYER joins all except section III.A.3. Separate opinion for the Court with respect to retrogression in Congressional District 25 filed by *District Judge* HOWELL, in which *District Judge* COLLYER joins.

Dissenting opinion with respect to retrogression in Congressional District 25 filed by *Circuit Judge* GRIFFITH.

Appendix filed by *District Judges* COLLYER and HOWELL, in which *Circuit Judge* GRIFFITH joins.

#### **IV. State Senate Plan**

Next we consider Texas's request to preclear its State Senate Plan. The United States has not objected to this plan, but the Davis Intervenors, the Texas State Conference of NAACP Branches, the League of United Latin America Citizens, and the Texas Legislative Black Caucus argue that the Senate Plan retrogresses and was enacted with discriminatory intent. Their arguments concern a single district, Senate District (SD) 10, which they contend is a coalition district in the benchmark plan, and which all parties agree is not an ability district in the enacted plan. These Intervenors also argue that discriminatory purpose motivated the legislature's decision to break up SD 10. We conclude that benchmark SD 10 is not a coalition district, and thus that the Senate Plan is not retrogressive. Nevertheless, we deny preclearance because Texas failed to carry its burden to show that it acted without discriminatory purpose in the face of largely un rebutted defense evidence and clear on-the-ground evidence of "cracking" minority communities of interest in SD 10. Thus, we conclude that the Texas legislature redrew the boundaries for SD 10 with discriminatory intent.

##### **A. Retrogression in the Senate Plan**

Benchmark SD 10 is located entirely within Tarrant County, which includes Fort Worth. When the Texas legislature last drew the district in 2001, the population was 56.6% Anglo, 16.7% Black, and 22.9% Hispanic. Defs.' Ex. 126, 2001 State of Texas Submission for State Senate Preclearance app. I (Aug. 15, 2001). Urging the Department of Justice to preclear the 2001 State Senate Plan, Texas justified SD 10's configuration by arguing that "[t]he voting strength of these minority communities in the future will depend on the cohesion within and between Black and Hispanic voters and the ability of such voters to form coalitions with other

racial or ethnic groups in support of their preferred candidates.” *Id.* at 18. In other words, Texas argued that SD 10 had the potential to become a coalition district.

The Department of Justice precleared the 2001 map, and, over the past decade, the minority population in SD 10 has continued to grow. According to the 2010 Census, 47.6% of the population in SD 10 was Anglo, 19.2% Black, and 28.9% Hispanic. Defs.’ Ex. 151, at 5. Minorities made up a smaller portion of the 2010 CVAP, however: 62.7% were Anglo, 18.3% Black, and 15.1% Hispanic. Pl.’s Ex. 15, at 8. Republicans have won almost every election in SD 10 in the past ten years, including the district’s endogenous State Senate elections from 2000-2008. No Democratic candidate running in a statewide or other exogenous election has ever won a majority of the vote in SD 10. *See* Alford Rep. 30.

The only Democrat to win an election in SD 10 is the district’s current senator, Wendy Davis, who was elected to a four-year term in 2008. Davis’s path to the State Senate began when Democratic candidate Terri Moore lost the 2006 election for Tarrant County District Attorney, yet received nearly half of the vote in SD 10. *See* Trial Tr. 30:10-25, 31:1-17, Jan. 18, 2012 PM. In light of these results, Democratic elected officials and community leaders in Tarrant County were of the view that if the Black and Hispanic communities “came together as a coalition to vote . . . they could win Senate District 10.” *Id.* at 30:15-16. These and other leaders within the district’s minority communities recruited Fort Worth City Council member Wendy Davis to run for State Senate. *Id.* at 32:3-25, 33:1-17; *see also id.* at 16:1-5, Jan. 20, 2012 AM (Senator Davis, testifying, “I was approached by leaders in our minority community in large part because of the work I’d done as a City Council person and asked if I would consider running for the Texas State Senate.”). Senator Davis ran unopposed in the 2008 Democratic primary, *see* Pl.’s Ex. 135, at 3,



then won the general election with 49.9% of the vote, beating the incumbent by 2.4% — approximately 7,100 out of 288,000 votes cast.<sup>33</sup> Pl.’s Ex. 31, at 14.

According to Texas’s expert, Davis received 99.6% of the Black vote, 85.3% of the Hispanic vote, and 25.8% of the Anglo vote. Trial Tr. 32:24-25, 33:1-16, Jan. 25, 2012 AM. Although this is strong evidence that the minority communities in SD 10 voted cohesively in the 2008 election, the argument that SD 10 is a coalition district runs into trouble when looking at evidence that the district’s minority communities have been effective in electing their preferred candidates.

At summary judgment, we noted that “evidence that a coalition had historical success in electing its candidates of choice would demonstrate that the minority voters in that district had, and would continue to have, an ability to elect their preferred candidates.” *Texas*, 831 F. Supp. 2d at 268. The case that SD 10 is an ability district turns on a single, razor-thin election victory, which is not “historical success.” Indeed, SD 10’s decade-long history of electing Republicans shows just the opposite. There is no doubt that the minority community came together to elect a preferred candidate in 2008, but a single victory is not the more exacting evidence needed for a coalition district. If it were, any single victory built upon the support of minority voters would create a claim for ability status.

#### **B. Discriminatory Intent in the Senate Plan**

There is no direct evidence that the Texas legislature acted with a racially discriminatory purpose in its reconfiguration of SD 10, and so we must look to circumstantial evidence. Once again, we look to the *Arlington Heights* factors to determine whether Texas has met its burden of disproving discriminatory intent.

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<sup>33</sup> Richard Cross, a libertarian candidate, received 2.6% of the vote (7,591 votes). Pl.’s Ex. 31, at 14.

Considering first the impact of the redistricting — “whether it ‘bears more heavily on one race than another,’” *Arlington Heights*, 429 U.S. at 266 (quoting *Washington v. Davis*, 426 U.S. 229, 242 (1976)), there is little question that dismantling SD 10 had a disparate impact on racial minority groups in the district. Even Dr. Alford agreed that the enacted plan “diminishes the voting strengths of Blacks and Latinos in [SD 10],” Trial Tr. 39:14, Jan. 25, 2012 AM. In a letter he sent to the Department of Justice objecting to the enacted Senate Plan, Texas State Senator Rodney Ellis explained in detail how the new boundaries eliminate the ability of minority citizens to elect their preferred candidates by submerging their votes within neighboring and predominantly Anglo districts:

The demolition of District 10 was achieved by cracking the African American and Hispanic voters into three other districts that share few, if any, common interests with the existing District’s minority coalition. The African American community in Fort Worth is “exported” into rural District 22 — an Anglo-controlled District that stretches over 120 miles south to Falls [County]. The Hispanic Ft. Worth North Side community is placed in Anglo suburban District 12, based in Denton County, while the growing South side Hispanic population remains in the reconfigured majority Anglo District 10.

Defs.’ Ex. 375, at 3. We find that Senator Ellis’s testimony is well supported by the record. *See also* Defs.’ Ex. 134, Expert Witness Report of Dr. Allan J. Lichtman ¶ 12 [hereinafter Lichtman Rep.] (“The state legislature, in dismantling benchmark SD 10 cracked the politically cohesive and geographically concentrated Latino and African American communities and placed members of those communities in districts in which they have no opportunity to elect candidates of their choice or participate effectively in the political process.”).

Texas does not deny this disparate impact, but responds that its decision to “crack” SD 10 is best explained by partisan, not racial, goals. Tex. Post-Trial Br. 25. While this is a potentially plausible rationale, *Arlington Heights* instructs that “[d]etermining whether invidious discriminatory purpose was a motivating factor demands a sensitive inquiry into such

circumstantial and direct evidence of intent as may be available,” and so we must “look to the other evidence.” 429 U.S. at 266.

These other factors do not support Texas’s case. The second factor is Texas’s history of discrimination, and as we discussed in our analysis of the Congressional Plan above, history is not on Texas’s side. The third considers the “specific sequence of events leading up to the challenged decision.” *Id.* at 267. The Senate’s principal mapdrawer and staff director of the Senate Redistricting Committee, Doug Davis (no relation to Senator Davis), began discussing draft maps of new Senate districts prior to the February 2011 release of official Census data by using projected population increases. Defs.’ Ex. 127, at 38-39. Once the 2011 general legislative session started in January, these maps were kept in an anteroom off the Senate floor, where many Republican members were taken individually by Chairman Seliger and Doug Davis to review the draft plans and provide input. *See, e.g.*, Trial Tr. 39:15-25, Jan. 20, 2012 AM; Defs.’ Ex. 809, Dep. of Senator Judith Zaffirini 29:22-25, 30:1-19, Jan. 6, 2012. Senator Davis was consistently rebuffed when she asked to see the plans for SD 10, even as another senator told her that the proposed plan was “shredding” her district. Trial Tr. 38:2-8, 40:11-14, Jan. 20, 2012 AM. Senator Judith Zaffirini’s uncontroverted testimony shows that this scenario was not unique to Senator Davis, but reflected a larger pattern: every senator who represented an ability district was excluded from this informal map-drawing process and was not allowed into the anteroom to preview the maps. *See* Defs.’ Ex. 809, Dep. of Senator Judith Zaffirini 30:1-3. Indeed, none of the senators representing ability districts were shown their districts until forty-eight hours before the map was introduced in the Senate. *See* Defs.’ Ex. 129.

Texas offered conflicting testimony in response. Doug Davis testified that “we were not printing maps and giving them to members,” Trial Tr. 172:10-11, Jan. 17, 2012 PM, suggesting

that at least part of this informal process that gave Republican senators opportunities to provide input into the plans did not occur. But Chairman Seliger, Davis's boss, testified that he provided paper maps to at least three senators during this period, all of them Anglo. Trial Tr. 68:1-3, Jan. 24, 2012 AM. In any case, it is clear that senators who represented minority districts were left out of the process.<sup>34</sup>

Our skepticism about the legislative process that created enacted SD 10 is further fueled by an email sent between staff members on the eve of the Senate Redistricting Committee's markup of the proposed map. The ostensible purpose of the markup was to consider amendments to the proposed plan, but the email suggests a very different dynamic at work. David Hanna, a lawyer for the Texas Legislative Council, a nonpartisan agency that provides bill drafting and legislative research to the Texas legislature, sent an email to Doug Davis and Senate Parliamentarian Katrina Davis (Doug Davis's wife). Hanna's email responded to an earlier message Texas did not produce, but which concerned "precook[ing]" the committee report, *i.e.*, writing the report before the hearing had been held. Trial Tr. 71:23-25, 72:1-7, Jan. 24, 2012 AM. With a subject line titled, "pre-doing committee report," Hanna's email read:

No bueno. RedAppl [the redistricting software Texas used] time stamps everything when it assigns a plan. Doing [the Committee Report on] Thursday [May 12] would create [a] paper trail that some amendments were not going to be considered at all. Don't think this is a good idea for preclearance. Best approach is to do it afterwards and we'll go as fast as possible.

Defs.' Ex. 359. Although the chairman of the redistricting committee, Kel Seliger, denied knowing of any advance decision to refuse to consider amendments, he acknowledged what is apparent from the email: the boundaries of the new Senate districts would be a *fait accompli* by

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<sup>34</sup> We also note that Texas did not refute testimony indicating that the field hearings held prior to the start of the 2011 legislative session were "perfunctory," Trial Tr. 94:20-21, Jan. 20, 2012 AM, and "a sham," with low attendance, low participation, and little invited testimony or prepared materials. Defs.' Ex. 809, Dep. of Senator Judith Zaffirini 7:11-21.

the time of the markup and the committee did not intend to consider any amendments to the plan. Trial Tr. 71:3-25, 72:1-16, Jan. 24, 2012 AM. We agree with Chairman Seliger that, at a minimum, this email shows that a plan was in place, at least at the staff level, such that no new proposals or amendments to the district map would be entertained at the markup.

*Arlington Heights* instructs that “departures from the normal procedural sequence also might afford evidence that improper purposes are playing a role.” 429 U.S. at 267. This factor focuses on comparing past redistricting cycles to the present one for anomalous behavior. The State held no field hearings after Census data was released and proposed plans were drawn, unlike the hearings that were held after such data was available in the past. Defs.’ Ex. 134, at 13. Additionally, Senator Zaffirini testified that she, a senator of a minority district, “had never had less input into the drawing of any [redistricting] map” in over thirty years of redistricting experience,” Defs.’ Ex. 370, at 1, and that the 2010 redistricting process was the “least collaborative and most exclusive” she had ever experienced. Lichtman Rep. app. 7, Decl. of Senator Judith Zaffirini ¶ 3. We find this unchallenged testimony sufficient to conclude that the 2010 redistricting process was markedly different from previous years.

Finally, *Arlington Heights* states that “the legislative or administrative history may be highly relevant especially where there are contemporary statements by members of the decisionmaking body.” 429 U.S. at 268. Aside from the “No Bueno” email described above, we have no evidence of contemporary statements by the majority members or their staff “concerning the purpose of the official action,” *id.* But that email indicates, at a minimum, that redistricting committee staff feared their actions might create the appearance of impropriety under section 5. We do, however, have a statement published in the Senate journal from the eleven senators representing majority-minority districts and Senator Davis. They alleged that the fact they were

shut out from the map-drawing process until just forty-eight hours before the map was introduced in the Senate showed that the Senate Plan had a “racially discriminatory purpose.” Defs.’ Ex. 129, at 3. Other senators also wrote directly to Chairman Seliger to express their “disappointment in the process used to develop the Senate redistricting plan” and the “exclu[sion] [of] elected representatives of minority citizens” from that process. Defs.’ Ex. 132, at 1. Although statements from the senators aggrieved by the process do not necessarily show that it was racially discriminatory, instead of merely partisan, they do indicate that the majority was aware during redistricting that several members were upset by the irregular process, yet chose not to address their concerns.

We conclude that Texas has not shown that the Senate Plan was enacted without discriminatory intent. Senator Davis and other Intervenors provided credible circumstantial evidence of the type called for by the Supreme Court in *Arlington Heights*, which, as a whole, indicates that an improper motive may have played a role in the map-drawing process. Rather than directly rebut this evidence, Texas asserts only that the legislature’s motivations were wholly partisan, untainted by considerations of race. We agree that a plan that impacts minority citizens more harshly than majority citizens is not necessarily at odds with section 5. But under the VRA and *Arlington Heights*, it is not enough for Texas to offer a plausible, nonracial explanation that is not grounded in the record. It must, at a minimum, respond to evidence that shows racial and ethnic motivation, which it has failed to do. *See Arlington Heights*, 429 U.S. at 266 (“Absent a [clear pattern of discrimination] . . . the Court must look to other [circumstantial] evidence.”). Here, Texas has made no real attempt to engage with the *Arlington Heights* factors, even though it concedes that the Senate Plan has a disparate impact on minority voters in SD 10. We find it telling that the legislature deviated from typical redistricting procedures and excluded

minority voices from the process even as minority senators protested that section 5 was being run roughshod. One would expect a state that is as experienced with VRA litigation as Texas to have ensured that its redistricting process was beyond reproach. That Texas did not, and now fails to respond sufficiently to the parties' evidence of discriminatory intent, compels us to conclude that the Senate Plan was enacted with discriminatory purpose as to SD 10.

## **V. State House Plan**

### **A. Retrogression in the State House Plan**

The United States and the Intervenors argue that the enacted House Plan retrogresses minority voting power by eliminating eight ability districts (House Districts (HDs) 26, 33, 35, 41, 106, 117, 144, and 149) without creating any others. Texas acknowledges retrogression in HD 33, but argues the House Plan works no abridgement of minority voting rights in any of the other districts. Texas maintains that the loss of HD 33 is offset by the plan's provision for at least one and as many as three new ability districts. We conclude that the enacted plan will have the effect of abridging minority voting rights in four ability districts — HDs 33, 35, 117, and 149 — and that Texas did not create any new ability districts to offset those losses. Consequently, we conclude that the enacted plan cannot be precleared. We first analyze each of the eight alleged ability districts before turning to the three alleged offset districts.

#### **1. Alleged Retrogressive Districts**

##### **a. State House District 33**

Nueces County in southeastern Texas includes three State House districts in the benchmark plan. HDs 33 and 34 are entirely within the county; HD 32 partially so. Benchmark HD 33 comprises the core of Corpus Christi. HD 34 includes the western part of the county, and HD 32 covers much of the eastern portion and extends into other counties immediately north of