

August 2025 Declaration of Dr. Matt A. Barreto and Michael B. Rios, MPP

1. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. section 1746, I, Matt Barreto, and my co-author, Michael Rios, declare as follows:
2. My name is Matt Barreto, and I am currently Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was appointed Full Professor with tenure at UCLA in 2015. Prior to that I was a tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Washington from 2005 to 2014. At UCLA I am the faculty director of the Voting Rights Project in the Luskin School of Public Affairs and I teach a year-long course on the Voting Rights Act (VRA), focusing specifically on social science statistical analysis, demographics and voting patterns, and mapping analysis that are relevant in VRA expert reports. I have written expert reports and been qualified as an expert witness more than four dozen times in Federal and State voting rights and civil rights cases, including many times in the state of Texas. I have published peer-reviewed, social science articles specifically about minority voting patterns, racially polarized voting, and have co-authored a software package (eiCompare) specifically for use in understanding racial voting patterns in VRA cases. I have been retained as an expert consultant by counties across the state of Texas to advise them on racial voting patterns as they relate to VRA compliance during redistricting. I have written expert reports and provided testimony specifically about the intent of map drawers and redistricting, as it relates specifically to racial and ethnic communities. As an expert witness in VRA lawsuits, I have testified dozens of times and my testimony has been relied on by courts to find in favor of both plaintiffs and defendants.
3. I have also published books and articles specifically about the intersection of partisanship, ideology and racially polarized voting. My 2013 book, *Change They Can't Believe In* was published by Princeton University Press and was about the inherent connectedness between partisanship and racial attitudes in America today, and won the American Political Science Association award for best book on the topic of racial and ethnic politics. My CV can be found in Appendix C.
4. I most recently submitted an expert report in Texas redistricting in March and April 2025, and testified during the trial in May 2025 in El Paso. Previously I submitted an expert report in this matter in November 2021 and a rebuttal report in January 2022, and gave expert testimony in this court in January 2022, which the court found reliable and credible. And I submitted a declaration in May 2022. I am continuing to rely on my earlier reports and testimony as they are directly related to voting patterns and redistricting boundaries in Texas.

5. I am the primary author of this report and collaborated in its development with my co-author Mr. Michael Rios, MPP, senior data scientist at the UCLA Voting Rights Project. I have worked closely with Mr. Rios for over five years and he has extensive expertise with racially polarized voting analysis in the state of Texas, including authoring reports on racially polarized voting in Galveston County in 2021 and 2023 and performing a racially polarized voting analysis in *Portugal et al. v. Franklin County et al.*, a lawsuit involving the Washington Voting Rights Act. Mr. Rios's report was cited and found credible in support of Petteway plaintiffs in Federal Court in Galveston, Texas. Emma Kim, data science fellow, assisted in downloading and compiling election results from TLC website.
6. In this declaration I was asked to analyze the new congressional map and determine the extent to which it dismantled districts that were majority-minority but lacked a single race majority of eligible voters under the 2021 map. I also analyzed whether the 2025 map dismantled various Hispanic opportunity districts that existed in the 2021 map. I was asked to analyze voting patterns by race and ethnicity through the lens of the new Texas Congressional maps (C2333) to determine who the candidates of choice are for the Anglo, Hispanic, and Black communities in those districts. In particular, I looked at the 2021 benchmark map and the new 2025 maps for districts 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 18, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38. In some instances I refer to my analysis already completed in my March/April 2025 report that also covered many of the same 2021 enacted districts. In particular, I reviewed Plan C2193 and C2333 for U.S. Congress to determine what impact C2333 has on Hispanic and Black opportunities to elect candidates of choice.
7. I was also asked to assess the degree to which the state of Texas relied on racial population patterns in drawing the new 2025 map boundaries. Finally, I was asked to determine the probability that the various racial features of the map boundaries (C2333) as passed by the Texas legislature would have been drawn at random using a redistricting simulation programmed to achieve the purported partisan goals, or if they are considered "outliers" as very unlikely boundary scenarios to have arisen absent racially motivated intent.
8. I obtained data from the Texas Legislative Council (TLC) and the Capitol Data Project for statewide election results by county and voter demographics by county. I obtained district map data from the Texas Red Apple system and from Texas District Viewer. All data are available at the voting precinct (VTD) level and I have merged together the election returns with voter racial/ethnic demographics to create a standard dataset for analyzing voting patterns. Race and population data were obtained from the U.S. Census 2010 and 2020 PL-94 Redistricting files, as well as Spanish Surname Registered Voters and Spanish Surname Turnout, which was obtained from TLC repository. Updated racial and ethnic population data comes from the annual Census American Community Survey (ACS) for which 2024 is currently the most

recently available data. I also received the statewide voter registration and vote history database from the Texas Secretary of State's office on March 26, 2025 to use for BISG analysis of validated voters.

I. Background Conclusions

9. The 2025 map (C2333) dismantles several majority-minority districts, including many that lack a single race majority and also several Hispanic opportunity districts.
 - a. In Harris County two majority-minority districts that lacked a single-race majority, CD 9 and CD 18, are dismantled and instead collapsed into a newly configured, Black CVAP majority CD 18.
 - b. CD 29 is eliminated as a Hispanic CVAP majority district, which its Hispanic CVAP dropped by 20 points. And CD 9 is entirely newly configured to be a bare Hispanic CVAP majority district but drawn in a way that will not perform to elect Hispanic preferred candidates.
 - c. In the Dallas Fort Worth area, Plan C2333 eliminates one of the two majority minority districts. CD 33 and CD 32 are collapsed into a single district, leaving Tarrant County minority voters fragmented across several Anglo-majority districts.
 - d. While all three of CD 30, CD 32, and CD 33 were majority-minority under the 2021 map (C2193), each lacked a single race majority. The 2025 map changes that, adding Black voters to bring CD 30 above 50% Black CVAP, and shedding non-Black voters from CD 30 to the new CD 33.
 - e. CD 32 is converted to an Anglo majority district that stretches many counties to the east.
 - f. Near San Antonio, CD 35 is dismantled and converted into a bare majority Hispanic CVAP district that will not likely perform to elect the preferred candidates of Hispanic voters in the district.
 - g. In the coastal area and central Texas, CD 27 is converted from a Hispanic CVAP plurality district that lacks a single-race majority to a majority Anglo CVAP district. While CD 27 was Republican performing in the 2021 map, the 2025 map actually reduces its Republican performance while converting it to a single-race, Anglo majority district.
10. These features of C2333 eliminate three majority-minority districts that were performing to elect minority preferred candidates and as constituted they will not allow minority voters to elect their candidates of choice.

11. In key regions of Texas, election results for recent elections in 2022 and 2024 reveal a strong and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting. This analysis holds across 16 congressional districts analyzed for multiple elections, using two complementary court-approved ecological inference techniques (EI and RxC), and relying on Census CVAP data, and racial analysis of validated voters. Here, we conduct Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) among actual turned-out voters in 2022 and 2024 to use in our EI models. BISG has been found to be an accurate methodology for assessing the race and ethnicity of turned-out voters in EI models of voting patterns in Texas (*Petteway v. Galveston*, “The court finds that BISG is a reliable methodology for assessing racially polarized voting patterns.”).
12. The result was more than 600 ecological inference models that overwhelmingly demonstrate a pattern in which Hispanic voters were cohesive in their support for Hispanic preferred candidates. Similarly, Black voters are strongly cohesive for their preferred candidates, which are consistent with Hispanic voters who support the same candidate of choice in Texas. Last, the analysis makes clear that Anglo voters consistently bloc vote against Hispanic and Black candidates of choice in 2022 - 2024 elections in Texas across the regions we analyzed. I have included numerous data tables, maps and analysis in the appendices which I expect to provide testimony on in this case. Further, I have also been provided with and reviewed numerous TLC reports related to this new August 2025 redistricting, and I will provide testimony on the information reported by the TLC in those reports, including the characteristics of the districts, their electoral performance and the population makeup of individual districts, precincts, geographic areas, and comparing racial and partisan characteristics of geographies that were moved from one district to another. All TLC data is publicly accessible on their website¹ through the Capitol Data Portal.
13. The new 2025 U.S. Congressional map (C2333) adopted by the Texas Legislature dilutes the Hispanic vote by eliminating performing districts that had elected Hispanic candidates of choice. Indeed, the map eliminates Hispanic opportunity districts by dismantling CD 35 and CD 29, and replacing them with bare majority Hispanic districts that are unlikely to perform to elect Hispanic-preferred candidates. The map further eliminates Black opportunities by eliminating districts in both Dallas Fort Worth (CD 32/33) and Houston (CD9) in which Black voters had voted cohesively with others to elect Black members of Congress.
14. The new 2025 adopted map (C2333) is an extreme outlier that relies heavily on race in drawing certain Hispanic and Black CVAP majority districts. Using a popular redistricting software package ‘redist’ we demonstrate that both the Black CVAP majority districts (CDs 18 and 30) and two Hispanic CVAP majority districts (CDs 9 and 35) are extreme outliers across more

¹ <https://data.capitol.texas.gov/dataset/planc2333>

than 100,000 simulations. The analysis reveals that the State of Texas statistically could not have achieved a Black CVAP majority configuration of CDs 18 and 30 while adhering to its purported partisan goals without making that an intentional target the adherence to which could not be compromised. Likewise, the analysis reveals that the configuration of CDs 9 and 35 as bare Hispanic CVAP majority districts with the Republican performance of Plan C2333 statistically could not have occurred without an overriding purpose to achieve the majority Hispanic CVAP target. In this way, analysis shows that race, not partisan goals, was the overriding purpose in drawing these districts.

15. The map boundaries closely hue to racial populations in neighborhoods making it plainly obvious that map drawers relied heavily on race when drawing districts in order to try and achieve greater than 50% Hispanic or Black CVAP. Looking at the maps presented in Appendix A, we can clearly see the addition of Black neighborhoods to CD 30 (Maps 5, 6, 8, 9) along with the removal of Hispanic and Anglo neighborhoods to increase the overall Black population. Likewise, CD 9 (Maps 1, 2, 14, 15) shows the same slicing and dicing of the new district to keep the Hispanic population at just above 50% while adding Anglo communities in Liberty County to dilute the vote of the majority Hispanic population. These same trends are observable in CD 18 and CD35. CD18 shifts south to trace Black populations and create a new majority-Black district that packs Black voters in Harris County (Maps 3, 14, 15). CD35 completely abandons a performing Hispanic district and carefully follows a racial map of high-density Hispanic neighborhoods in South Bexar (Maps 7, 12, 13) and then adds high-density Anglo areas to the east to create a bare majority Hispanic district that does not perform for Hispanic preferred candidates. These race-based decisions are confirmed by TLC Plan Overlap Population Analysis reports, which show the racial compositions of the populations shifted in and out of districts.

16. The state of Texas's racial and ethnic population demographics changed significantly over the last decade with Anglos declining from 46% of the state population in 2010 to 39% in 2020. At the same time, the Hispanic population grew by nearly 2 million and by 2020 surpassed Anglos as the largest racial or ethnic group in the state. Hispanic population growth alone accounted for 49.5% of the entire population growth in the state of Texas. Further, when looking only at the citizen voting age population (CVAP) the state of Texas was reported to be 47% Anglo, and 53% racial/ethnic minority (31.7% Hispanic and 21.3% Black, Asian and other racial groups) in 2023.² This is a sharp change in just four years looking at the 2019 ACS, which reported Texas was 50.1% Anglo and 49.9% racial/ethnic minority among citizen adults. Using Census ACS data from 2017 to 2023, Texas has experienced consistent linear decline in the Anglo

² United States Census American Community Survey:
<https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2023.S2901?q=S2901:+Citizen,+Voting-Age+Population+by+Selected+Characteristics&g=040XX00US48>

CVAP share each year and projecting to 2025, today Texas is estimated to be 45.7% Anglo and 54.3% racial/ethnic minority among citizen adults.

17. Since the May 2025 trial in El Paso the United States Census Bureau has released the Vintage 2024 1-year ACS population counts by race and ethnicity³. Looking to the data for the state of Texas⁴ the Census reports the Hispanic population to be 12,602,294 in July 2024, up from 12,266,156 in July 2023. This represents an increase of 1,114,868 from 2020 to 2024. Using the annual yearly data from 2020 to 2024 estimates that July 2025 Census estimate would be 12,841,274 which would represent growth of 1,353,848 in just 5 years since Census 2020.
18. Data for African Americans reveals a similar pattern of growth. The new census data for July 2024 reports a total Black population of 4,238,358 and given linear patterns a population of 4,341,873 for July 2025. This represents an increase of 507,224 in the Black population from 2020 to 2025.

II. Dismantling of Majority Minority Districts

19. The map passed in August 2025 eliminates a performing majority-minority district in each of Harris County, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Austin/San Antonio regions. The state of Texas accomplished this goal by targeting multiracial majority districts, as instructed by the DOJ, and increased the number of single-race majority districts. To do this, map drawers clearly used race as their guiding factor. In a state as diverse as Texas where no single racial group is a majority statewide, but among the eligible voting population there are sizable populations of Hispanics, Anglos and Blacks, the creation of multiracial majority districts is not evidence of racial gerrymandering necessarily but rather is the normal or natural distribution of racial communities in Texas.
20. In Dallas-Fort Worth, the state eliminated CD 33 as it existed as a Tarrant County-based district and consolidated one-third of it with one-third of existing CD32 and one-third of existing CD 30. The CD 30 portion they took was the least Black segment, meaning that one-third of the voters placed into new CD 33 were put there to achieve their race-based goal of increasing CD 30's Black CVAP to majority status, making race the predominant feature in both CD 30 and 33's creation. That particular change had no partisan benefit - they just shifted voters between two Democratic districts to service a racial target goal.

³State Population by Characteristics: 2020-2024. Published June 2025. <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2020s-state-detail.html>

⁴ Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: Annual Estimates of the Resident Population by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: April 1, 2020 to July 1, 2024 (SC-EST2024-SR11H). Texas Excel sheet link: <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/2020-2024/state/asrh/sc-est2024-sr11h-48.xlsx>

21. In the Austin-San Antonio region the state dismantled a performing Hispanic district, CD35. The state removed the entire Austin portion of the district and instead drew their map around large Hispanic neighborhoods in south Bexar county and then extended the district east to include large Anglo communities that are distinct from Bexar county and dilute Hispanic voting. Yet the state was careful to create a district that was just bare majority HVCAP, clearly focusing on race to achieve this goal, despite the fact that the district would never perform for Hispanic candidates of choice.
22. In Houston the state substantially changed CD9, an existing minority-performing district and carefully excluded Black population, which had formerly been the largest share of eligible voters in the district. The newly created CD9 pushed to the eastern side of Harris County and traced the Hispanic population to create a majority-HCVAP district. However if the true goal had been creating a more Republican performing district the state did not need to make the district majority Hispanic CVAP. However, the state completely dismantled the existing majority-minority CD9 and placed a bare majority HCVAP community in a district with all of majority-Anglo Liberty County which votes in direct contrast to Harris County Hispanic voters.
23. There are numerous TLC reports⁵ that document these changes and detail the composition of the old pieces of the districts and the new additions to the district which I relied on in drawing conclusions. The same TLC reports can be examined in reverse, meaning to show the old C2193 district boundaries and what components were changed to form the new districts. These types of reports provide clear evidence that the state of Texas was aware of the racial demographics of communities being shifted in and out of the districts.

III. Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

24. We next examine whether voters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds tend to prefer different or similar candidates in a wide range of electoral settings. The phenomenon called *racially polarized voting* (RPV) is defined as voters of different racial or ethnic groups exhibiting different candidate preferences in an election. It means simply that voters of different groups are voting in polar opposite directions, rather than in a coalition. Voters may vote for their candidates of choice for a variety of reasons, and RPV analysis is agnostic as to why voters make decisions, instead RPV simply reports *how* different voters are voting. It measures the outcomes of voting patterns and determines whether patterns track with the race/ethnicity demographics of neighborhoods, cities, and voting precincts. In prior reports in May 2022 and

⁵ https://data.capitol.texas.gov/dataset/748c952b-e926-4f44-8d01-a738884b3ec8/resource/7a659353-b0f2-48d6-be5c-c0ad756a1dcf/download/planc2333_vs_planc2193_r340_election24g.pdf and https://data.capitol.texas.gov/dataset/748c952b-e926-4f44-8d01-a738884b3ec8/resource/965b081f-cf1a-4ed1-9676-bd7df21f5072/download/planc2193_vs_planc2333_r340_election24g.pdf

March 2025 I discussed RPV methodologies in-depth, and I continue to rely on the descriptions in that report, including the detailed explanations of how to run ecological inference, including providing extensive sample code in R.

25. In regions across Texas that have sizable populations of both Anglo and minority voters, ecological inference models point to a clear pattern of racially polarized voting. The finding reported in this August 2025 report is consistent with hundreds of pages of statistical analysis that we previously submitted in understanding Texas voting patterns in May 2022 and March/April 2025. Beyond my own report, Dr. Stephen Ansolobehere of Harvard University also documented racially polarized voting across enacted Congressional districts in Texas in his own extensive analysis of March 2025 (see Table 4 in particular). Thus, these findings come as no surprise; Hispanic voters, but also Black voters demonstrate unified and cohesive voting, siding for the same candidates of choice in the recent 2022 and 2024 elections in Texas. In contrast, Anglo voters tend to bloc-vote against minority candidates of choice. Anglo bloc voting varies by degree and by region. In some specific neighborhoods of Austin, Houston or Dallas, for example, Anglos evidenced some cross-over voting in support of minority voters. However, in most instances outside of these three cities, Anglo voters demonstrate considerable bloc voting against Hispanic and Black candidates of choice, often voting in the exact opposite pattern of non-white minorities.
26. Therefore, when a bare majority of Hispanic citizens is grouped with a very large Anglo population, the result is a district in which Hispanic and Anglo voters are at odds with each other on candidate preference and the higher rates of Anglo registration and voter turnout, coupled with very strong Anglo cohesion for Republicans will leave Hispanic voters, even if they are a CVAP majority, always seeing their candidate of choice lose the election.
27. In analysis of RPV patterns the emphasis is on the patterns, not necessarily one particular election. Social science research regularly attempts to take a broad view of data and to distill complex data into general patterns. We borrow these approaches to scientific inquiry from the general sciences, acknowledging outliers and describing established patterns. For example, if a biologist encounters a tree in the forest with beautiful orange foliage, they do not conclude their report that trees in general have orange foliage. Instead, they examine a wide swath of trees in the forest and discover that most of the trees have green leaves and conclude that trees generally have green foliage. We take the same approach to election data, attempting to look at many models, a wide variety of data, and a wide variety of elections, and careful not to put too much weight on any one particular example. To that end, between my original reports from 2022 to April 2025, and now this new August 2025 report, I have examined more than 25 different elections, using 10 different ecological inference models, ranging from 2014 to 2024 and considering multiple district arrangement boundaries. The new analysis reported here, for

2022 and 2024 under Map 2333 confirms the general pattern already reported of racially polarized voting across the state of Texas, and is consistent with Federal Court findings in prior decades redistricting that Texas elections are indeed characterized by racially polarized voting.

28. In particular, this report finds strong and consistent evidence of Hispanic cohesion, Black cohesion, and Anglo bloc voting in the new map (C2333) for analyzed districts 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 18, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38 across 2022 and 2024 elections as well as in districts 9 and 18 under the prior map (C2193). Previous expert reports submitted during litigation in *LULAC v. Abbott* and detailed at length in El Paso in May 2025 by Plaintiffs expert Dr. Stephen Ansolobehere as well as Defense expert Dr. John Alford, and my own prior expert reports all conclude that candidate choice in Texas is characterized by polarized voting in elections from 2014 to 2024.
29. Several methods are available to assess the *Gingles* preconditions of minority cohesion and Anglo bloc voting.⁶ One popular software program that has been relied on by Federal Courts is *eiCompare*, which imports data and runs both King's EI and RxC models and offers comparison diagnostics.⁷ Collingwood, et al. (2016) have concluded that both EI and RxC produce similarly reliable regression estimates of vote choice, and RPV analysis using *eiCompare* was found to be methodologically reliable for the state of Texas (see *Petteway v. Galveston*: "Ecological inference is a reliable and standard method of measuring racially polarized voting. PXs-384 ¶¶ 18–21; 476 ¶ 25; Dkt. 223 at Case 3:22-cv-00057 Document 250 Filed on 10/13/23 in TXSD Page 43 of 157 216–17, 219. Two forms of ecological inference, King's Ecological Inference ("King's EI") and RxC EI, use aggregate data to identify voting patterns through statistical analysis of candidate choice and racial demographics within a precinct. *Id.* at PXs-384 ¶¶ 18–21; 476 ¶ 25; Dkt. 223 at 216–17, 219.")
30. To conduct analysis on a state as diverse as Texas, I rely on four different types of racial/ethnic demographic data. First, I used VAP data from the U.S. Census, downloaded for each voting precinct/VTD from the TLC website. VAP data is useful for Anglo and Black⁸ racial estimates which are more difficult to derive from a surname analysis alone. The second data source is Spanish surname registration, downloaded for each voting precinct/VTD from the TLC website. Spanish surname lists can be used to flag Hispanic voters on the actual voter file, a

⁶ For an approachable overview of this material, see Bruce M. Clarke & Robert Timothy Reagan, Federal Judicial Center, *Redistricting Litigation: An Overview Of Legal, Statistical, and Case-Management Issues* (2002).

⁷ Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia Rios, and Matt Barreto, *eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI:R x C*, 8 R J., 93 (2016).

⁸ In some areas with large Black populations adjacent to Latinos, EI models may control for percent Black to isolate the effect for Latinos so that Latinos are not compared directly to Black voters but rather independent effects are obtained for Latino vote estimates. Gary King describes this process in the basic EI algorithm as the Zb covariates (<https://gking.harvard.edu/files/gking/files/ei.pdf>)

service that is provided by TLC. Two other sources of data for citizen voting age population⁹ (CVAP) and Spanish-speaking adults, come from the U.S. Census ACS at the census block group level, and using relevant shapefiles merged with VTDs. Finally we can rely on BISG analysis of voters' race off the vote history file and use those estimates in our EI models as well.

31. BISG was developed by demographic experts¹⁰ and has been widely published and applied in the domain of political science to understand voting trends by race and ethnicity. It has been used by experts in Section 2 voting rights trials and found credible and reliable by two different federal district courts¹¹ and the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.¹² It has been published in peer-reviewed political science, social science methodology, and law review journals as an appropriate technique for understanding voter race or ethnicity.¹³ The method relies on a combination of Census surname analysis and Census block-level racial demographics to provide an overall probability assessment of the voter's race or ethnicity.¹⁴ Demographers and social scientists already utilize both of these methods separately; matching Census data to geographic units is widely used for understanding racial demographics and density of an area,¹⁵ and surname analysis is regularly used against the voter file to understand race and ethnicity.¹⁶ Using both data sources makes it possible to gain a more precise understanding of voter demographics—two pieces of evidence, instead of just one, provides more precise estimates.¹⁷

32. BISG analysis begins by undertaking surname analysis, a method that federal courts in Texas have found reliable. Indeed, for many years defense experts in Texas have regularly used

⁹ United States Citizen Voting Age Population by Race and Ethnicity: <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html>

¹⁰ Fiscella, Kevin, and Allen M. Fremont. "Use of geocoding and surname analysis to estimate race and ethnicity." *Health services research* 41, no. 4p1 (2006): 1482-1500

¹¹ *Petteway v. Galveston Cty.*, 698 F. Supp. 3d 952 (S.D. Tex 2023); *NAACP vs. East Ramapo Central School District*, No. 17-CV-8943-CS-JCM, May 25, 2020

¹² *Clerveaux v. E. Ramapo Cent. Sch. Dist.* UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT. No. 20-1668. January 6, 2021

¹³ Jesse T. Clark, John A. Curiel and Tyler S. Steelman. 2021. Minmaxing of Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding and Geography Level Ups in Predicting Race. *Political Analysis*. (Nov); Kevin DeLuca and John A. Curiel. 2022. Validating the Applicability of Bayesian Inference with Surname and Geocoding to Congressional Redistricting. *Political Analysis*. (May); M Barreto, M Cohen, L Collingwood, C Dunn, S Waknin. 2022. "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding" *New York University Review of Law & Social Change*

¹⁴ Imai, Kosuke, and Kabir Khanna. "Improving ecological inference by predicting individual ethnicity from voter registration records." *Political Analysis* 24, no. 2 (2016): 263-272.

¹⁵ Jorge Chapa, Ana Henderson, Aggie Jooyoon Noah, Werner Schinkiv, & Robert Kengle, The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, *Redistricting: Estimating Citizen Voting Age Population* (2011)

¹⁶ Grofman, Bernard, and Jennifer R. Garcia. "Using Spanish Surname to Estimate Hispanic Voting Population in Voting Rights Litigation: A Model of Context Effects Using Bayes' Theorem." *Election Law Journal* 13, no. 3 (2014)

¹⁷ Barreto, Matt, Michael Cohen, Loren Collingwood, Chad Dunn, and Sonni Waknin. "A novel method for showing racially polarized voting: Bayesian improved surname geocoding." *New York University Review of Law & Social Change* (2021).

Spanish surname matching¹⁸ to reliably identify Hispanic voters on the voter file for EI analysis. Surname analysis in BISG starts by taking each last name in the voter file and checking it against the published directories created by the Census Bureau.¹⁹ This list, assembled based on research by demographers at the Census Bureau, has created a racial/ethnic probability for each last name in the United States based on the official Census records.²⁰ When a person fills out the Census form, they record their last name and their self-reported race and ethnicity. The resulting probability estimate for each name can then be cross-referenced with the voter file. So, a surname database can assign a probability for nearly every last name found on a voter file. In previous reports in March and April 2025 I detailed BISG methodology, including footnotes with direct links to the software package and sample code. In addition, Mr. Rios and I created a “how to” video tutorial to demonstrate how BISG works with Texas voter file analysis and EI that can be found on my voting rights research website.²¹

33. Across the elections analyzed for 2022 and 2024 there is a clear, consistent, and statistically significant pattern of racially polarized voting in Texas (full results reported in Appendix B). Time and again, Hispanic voters in Texas are cohesive and vote for candidates of choice typically by a 2-to-1 margin, and always in contrast to Anglo voters who bloc-vote against Hispanic candidates of choice. These voting patterns have been widely reported for at least three decades of voting rights litigation and Federal courts in Texas have routinely concluded that elections in Texas are racially polarized. In the more than 1,000 ecological inference statistical models I performed for this report, based on well-established social science published methodology, I conclude that across more than a dozen regions analyzed, elections in Texas are defined by racially polarized voting. Appendix A, attached as part of this report, provides full tables of our RPV analysis with eiCompare, reporting both Kings EI and RxC results.²²
34. As we should expect, each region of Texas contains somewhat different voting patterns, however, all regions are characterized by some degree of racially polarized voting. Even in instances where the patterns are not so stark as to be in complete opposite directions, they still provide clear evidence of racially polarized voting. For instance, if Hispanics are voting 60% – 40% for their preferred candidate and Anglos are voting 40% – 60% against the Hispanic preferred candidate, this is still a finding of polarized voting. Further, even if one or two

¹⁸ For example in *Cisneros v. Pasadena ISD*, 2013.

¹⁹ Elliott, Marc N., Allen Fremont, Peter A. Morrison, Philip Pantoja, and Nicole Lurie. "A new method for estimating race/ethnicity and associated disparities where administrative records lack self reported race/ethnicity." *Health services research* 43, no. 5p1 (2008): 1722-1736.

²⁰ “Decennial Census Surname Files (2010, 2000).” Perma.cc. <https://perma.cc/9JLV-7NQJ>.

²¹ http://mattbarreto.com/vra/bisg/galv_bisg_demo.mp4

²² Using the R software package eiCompare, data scientists can extract additional plots, charts, figures, confidence interval bounds, standard errors and much more, depending on any additional metrics they are interested in. These pieces of information are readily contained within the analysis presented in this report and easily extracted when necessary

election analyses are less conclusive, as political scientists our training informs us to look at the overall patterns and trends in the data to make conclusions with a reasonable degree of scientific certainty. In the case of elections in Texas, the statistical analyses point to an unmistakable pattern of racially polarized voting.

35. For elections in 2022 and 2024 patterns of racially polarized voting were conclusive across the state of Texas including in those analyzed in this report, the enacted Congressional districts 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 18, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38.
36. The 2024 presidential election between Donald Trump and Kamala Harris sometimes shows a different pattern than other elections for Hispanic voters, depending on the region. But the overall vote results still reflect largely racially polarized voting, despite some gains amongst Hispanic voters for President Trump in certain regions of Texas. Those gains, however, did not translate clearly down ballot for candidates not named Trump, generally across the entire State, or specifically in the regions where the Plaintiffs are presently asserting claims. This election should be seen as quite unique, with a very well-publicized candidate in Trump. What's more the 2024 election was different than almost any other in that Trump's opponent changed almost near the end of the election cycle and the eventual opponent, Ms. Harris had far less time to develop a campaign and connect with voters than any other presidential candidate in modern history. When examining the overall Hispanic vote in Texas across all VTDs contained in this report from Dallas to San Antonio to Houston, Ms. Harris won an estimated 63.6% of the Latino vote. In contrast, Anglos overwhelmingly rejected Ms. Harris with 26.4% of their vote in Texas within the districts analyzed in this report.
37. Variation did exist in the Hispanic vote for Harris or Trump. For example, in districts such as the new 5th, 25th, and 32nd, Hispanics gave Harris 74-77% of the vote, while in the new 35th and 38th districts Hispanics gave Harris 65-66% of the vote, all clear majority support in line with historic voting patterns in Texas. In other districts the Hispanic vote for Harris was still majority, but somewhat lower in November 2024, however even in areas where the Hispanic vote for Harris was a bit lower, the same districts suggest Hispanic vote for Allred was 7-10 points higher, and support for Garza or O'Rourke in 2022 was about 10-12 points higher. Thus the official election results and data here suggest the Trump candidacy in 2024 can be seen as an outlier within the larger Hispanic voting trends in Texas. Indeed, looking at the full pattern of elections for the past 10 years from 2014 to 2024, the Trump-Harris election stands as a clear outlier whereby Hispanic cohesion is quite consistent, even as it varies by degree, across different regions in Texas.
38. In regions of Texas that have large Black and Hispanic populations we find clear and consistent evidence that the two minority groups vote cohesively, together, for like candidates of choice in

2022 and 2024. In particular, the analysis reveals that Black and Hispanic voters are cohesive in districts in the greater DFW region (Dallas, Tarrant, Denton, Collin) and in the greater Houston metro. At the same time, Anglo voters in these geographies' bloc-vote against minority candidates of choice. Anglo voters in U.S. House and State House Districts bloc-vote such that Black and Hispanic voters have less opportunity to elect their candidates of choice the DFW region.

39. Throughout this report, the ecological inference RPV analysis provides extensive data examples of very unified Latino voting patterns that are regularly surpassing 70% and even 80% in many instances, In particular, the 2022 election confirms widespread evidence of Latino cohesiveness always 2-to-1 and more often 3-to-1 for their candidates of choice.

IV. District Boundaries and Racial Population Patterns in 2021 and 2025 Maps

40. Using ARCGIS software we imported the shapefiles from the TLC District Viewer website for the 2021 benchmark²³, the 2025 passed (C2333)²⁴ and the 2025 proposed (C2331)²⁵ plans and overlaid them on the same map of the state of Texas to allow readers to compare exactly where lines were moved. In addition to the district boundaries, we imported Census data for the population by race/ethnicity or the voting-age population (VAP) and the citizen voting-age population (CVAP) as layers on the same map. Using the software DRA we also included a layer for partisan election results for the 2024 presidential election as well as composite scores from 2020 to 2024 for partisan lean.

41. Appendix A presents screenshots of maps comparing the prior 2021 boundaries to the new 2025 boundaries on top of racial shading at the block or block-group level from U.S. Census data. These visualizations help illustrate what the intent behind the map drawers might have been as they moved lines from the 2021 to 2025 maps. Important to this assessment, we can start by learning *why* Texas embarked on mid-decade redistricting in the first place, to understand what their objectives were when drawing new districts. On July 7, 2025 the U.S. DOJ sent a letter²⁶ to Texas Governor Greg Abbott instructing him that the racial population of at four districts needed to be examined and that new districts needed to be redrawn to specifically alter the Black and Hispanic populations in key districts from their 2021 map. The DOJ letter referenced the racial composition of the Texas map 15 times, specifically telling

²³ <https://dvr.capitol.texas.gov/Congress/2/PLANC2193>

²⁴ <https://dvr.capitol.texas.gov/Congress/85/PLANC2333>

²⁵ <https://dvr.capitol.texas.gov/Congress/83/PLANC2331>

²⁶ On July 7, 2025 U.S. Department of Jomstice, assistant attorney general for voting rights Harmeet Dhillon sent a letter to Texas instructing them to rectify race-based districts in their 2021 enacted map. <https://electionlawblog.org/wp-content/uploads/7-7-2025-DOJ-Letter-re-Unconstitutional-Race-Based-Congressional-Distric.pdf>

Texas that if they did not alter the racial population of their districts that the United States might seek legal action against the state.²⁷ The map reveals that the map drawing proceeded as DOJ instructed, with districts lacking a single-race majority eliminated and the targeted districts dismantled.

42. Indeed, Texas Governor Greg Abbott publicly stated that their new map took care to create four new majority-Hispanic districts. During the floor debate in the Texas State House, bill author Representative Todd Hunter stated their goal was to create new majority-Hispanic districts. Even beyond taking these political leaders at their word, we can closely inspect the map lines and the neighborhood demographics to assess what was done, and why.
43. Looking to the comparison of the 2021 and 2025 boundary lines laid out in Appendix A, Maps 1 - 15 there is evidence that map drawers relied on the racial composition of neighborhoods, and not primarily partisan performance data in crafting the new maps in August 2025. In particular, map drawers decided to split VTDs more than 440 times and instead draw boundaries on census blocks, for which only racial data exists. Census blocks do not contain election results for such small pieces of neighborhoods and no map drawer can be certain of partisan performance within a census block.
44. The specific district boundaries for Plan C2333 clearly focus on race, whether it is excluding specific Anglo/White neighborhoods, or drawing lines firmly along boundaries to include high-density Black and Hispanic communities in Districts 9, 18, 27, 33, and 35, among others. Beyond the specific regional analysis in Maps 1 - 15, we also provide six maps for the entire state of Texas that identify neighborhood populations by Black, Hispanic and Anglo with either the 2021 (C2193) or the new 2025 (C2333) boundaries overlaid (Maps 16 - 21). These maps provide the ability to zoom in to any county or region of the state to see closer detail down to individual city blocks and neighborhoods.
45. In particular, Congressional District 9 in Harris County shows clear evidence that race predominated the boundary changes. As per a letter from the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) the State of Texas sought to reduce the Black population and increase the Hispanic population in District 9 which was 47.2% Black CVAP, 24.8% Hispanic CVAP and 18.9% Anglo CVAP in 2021 and voted 27.2% for Trump in 2024. In their first attempts, Plan C2308 and Plan C2331, the State created a District 9 that was 50.4% Hispanic CVAP, 12.5% Black CVAP and 34.2% White CVAP in 2023 and now voted 57.1% for Trump in 2024. However, in testimony in the Texas State Legislature, Representative Hunter stated the desire to further increase the

²⁷ Dhillon writing "If the State of Texas fails to rectify the racial gerrymandering of TX-09, TX-18, TX-29 and TX 33, the Attorney General reserves the right to seek legal action against the State, including without limitation under the 14th Amendment."

Republican performance in District 9 and they decided to add the entirety of Liberty County to the north and east. The addition of Liberty County added more than 91,000 total population, but did achieve the partisan goal, as the County had voted 80.6% in favor of Trump in 2024. However District 9 was now overpopulated by 91,000 persons and needed to shed population.

46. The rest of the changes between C2331 and C2333 were made within Harris County and focused specifically on race, not partisanship as the next changes made the map more Hispanic and less Republican. The map drawers next cut portions of District 9 west of Liberty County that were also majority Republican and majority Anglo, however they were not *as heavily Republican* as Liberty County. It was entirely possible for the map drawers to shed exactly 91,000 persons and result in a map that was even more Republican, at 60.3% vote for Trump in 2024 but was only 49.4% Hispanic CVAP, below the 50% target that map drawers were clearly focused on. Thus, the map drawers of Plan C2333 did not stop there. Instead they cut out a total of about 120,000 residents within Harris County, 30,000 more than necessary, and then added back in 30,000 additional new residents, notably from adjacent District 36 to specifically increase the Hispanic population and be able to state they had created a majority-Hispanic CVAP district. These voters were Democratic leaning. The final map in Plan C2333 reports a 59.5% vote for Trump in 2024 and is 50.1% Hispanic CVAP. If their goal was *actually* partisan performance they would have opted for the middle map that only cut 91,000 residents from Harris and had a higher Trump support of 60.3%. However this map was only 49.4% Hispanic CVAP and thus they continued to make unnecessary population changes, swapping out portions on the eastern boundary adjacent to District 36 to remove majority-Republican Anglo areas and replace them with majority-Hispanic Democratic areas *from* District 36, exactly contrary to partisan objectives. This particular swap, made of neighboring areas of Baytown, could only have been made by viewing racial, rather than partisan, shading because it was necessary to achieve the racial goal but counterproductive to the purported partisan goal.

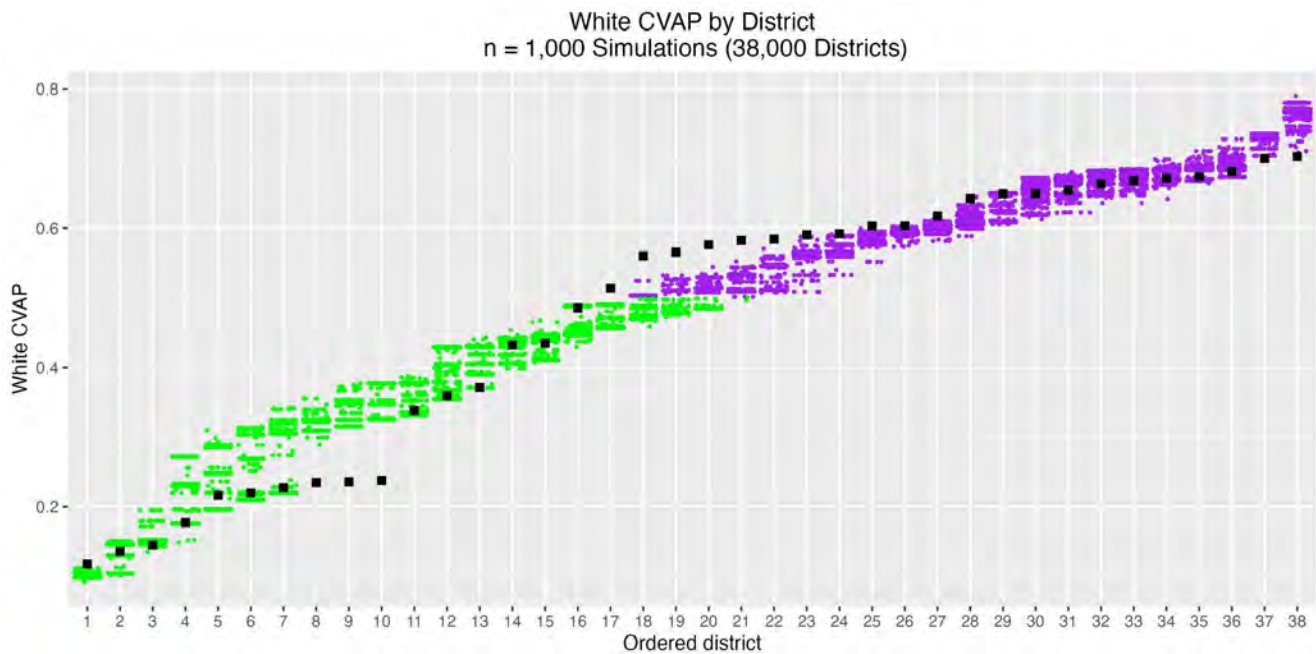
V. Redistricting Simulations Reveal Texas Map C2333 is an Extreme Outlier

47. The map passed by the Texas Legislature was drawn with purposeful intent to carefully dilute the Hispanic and Black voting communities. Using a scientific statistical software package that courts have regularly relied on, the R software package *redist*,²⁸ we can establish the baseline estimated district structure in Texas for both partisan performance and race.
48. Figure 1 demonstrates what a normal random distribution of 38 Congressional districts in Texas would look like, across 1,000 simulations, drawing 38,000 districts (1,000 x 38) and then distributed across the White CVAP in each district. In Texas, the mean average districts that

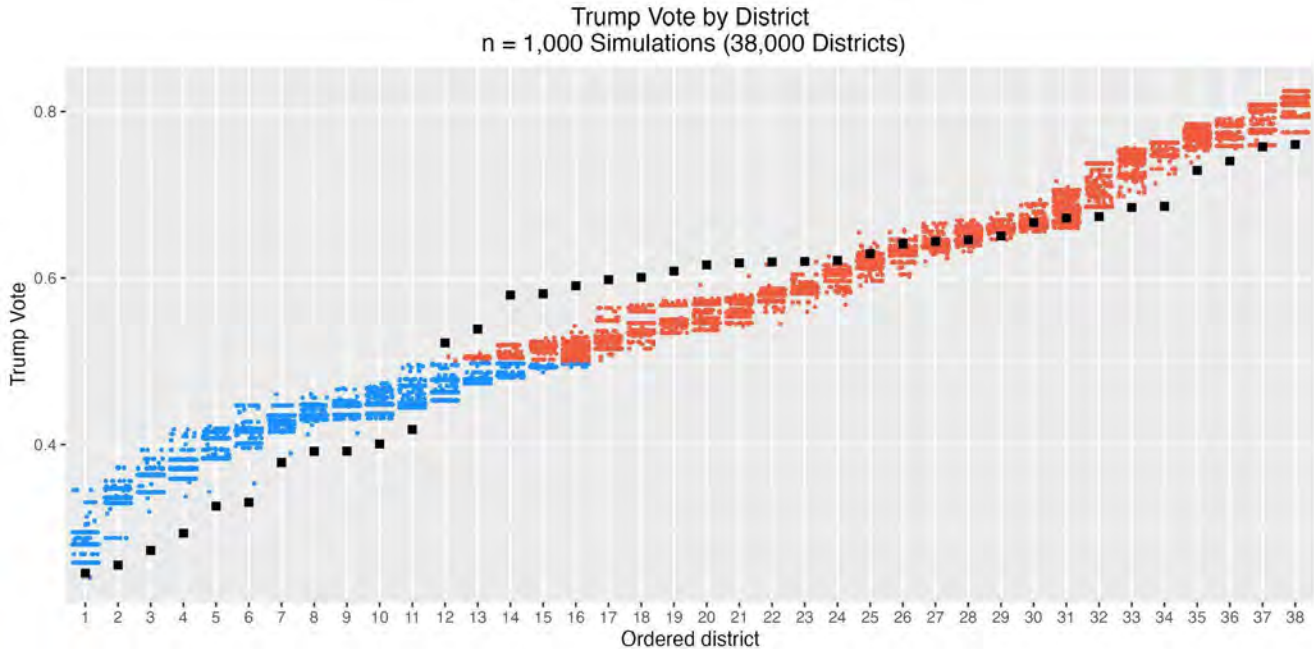
²⁸ <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/redist/index.html> and <https://alarm-redist.org/redist/>

would be majority-White CVAP is in the middle at 19 of 38. According to the redist simulations, when drawing districts blind to race or partisanship, 99% of the time a map should produce 18 districts that are majority White-CVAP and 95% of the time a map should produce 18 districts that are majority-minority CVAP. Further, when considering the Hispanic population eight districts are estimated to be majority Hispanic CVAP. No other racial group would normally be expected to exceed to 50% CVAP within a district on a race-blind draw.

Figure 1: Redist simulations on Texas Statewide map: Race



49. Figure 2 demonstrates what a normal random distribution of 38 Congressional districts in Texas would look like, across 1,000 simulations, drawing 38,000 districts (1,000 x 38) based on the 2024 Trump vote in each district. In Texas, the mean average districts that would be majority-Trump vote is 24 of 38. According to the redist simulations, when drawing districts blind to race or partisanship, 95% of the time a map should produce 23 districts that are majority Trump vote and 95% of the time a map should produce 13 districts that are majority Harris vote.

Figure 2: Redist simulations on Texas Statewide map: Partisanship

50. In Map C2333 passed in August 2025, the state legislature drew a map to produce 30 Trump-performing districts and 24 majority-White CVAP districts and only 4 multiracial CVAP districts; all three indicators do not fall in the expected normal distribution of partisanship or race for the state of Texas and are extreme outliers from a statistical perspective²⁹.
51. Drawing on the same data from a normal random distribution of 38 Congressional districts in Texas across 1,000 simulations, drawing 38,000 districts (1,000 x 38) based on the CVAP by race in each district, the mean average districts in which one racial group would constitute a CVAP majority is 24 of 38. In a state as diverse as Texas where no single racial group is the majority, having upwards of 14 multiracial districts is not evidence of racial gerrymandering, it is just the natural state of play. According to the redist simulations, when drawing districts blind to race or partisanship, 95% of the time a map should produce 24 districts that are single race CVAP majority and 95% of the time a map should produce 14 districts that are mixed race with no single racial majority. The newly passed map is an extreme outlier by creating 34 single-race majority CVAP districts and only 4 mixed-race no majority districts.
52. We refine the redist simulations to either the San Antonio or Houston metro regions to further test the extent to which the creation of majority HCVAP districts in which Trump prevails at the margins found in Plan C2333 districts is probable, or even possible.

²⁹ I intend to continue computing analysis using redist and will supplement as appropriate.

53. In Simulation Plots 1-2 (Appendix A) we test the probability of a district arising in the counties in which CD35 is now located that matches CD 35's Trump vote share and is majority Hispanic CVAP. Out of 332,000 simulations that created one Trump 55% or higher district exactly zero were majority Hispanic CVAP. While about 100 out of 332,000 simulations came in around 49% HCVAP, none were generated by the model simulation that exceeded 50% HCVAP.
54. Finally, Simulation Plot 3 (Appendix A) examines the probability of creating a majority Hispanic CVAP district in the Houston metro region. First Simulation Plot 3 combines Harris, Ft. Bend, and Liberty counties which can contain 7 districts and we instruct the model to create 4 districts that are at least 59% in favor of Trump. Plot 3 displays the results for HCVAP across the 4 Trump districts and suggests that zero majority HCVAP districts are possible across 332,000 simulations.
55. The new map and accompanying TLC reports have only recently been made public. I expect to provide additional analysis, and as more data becomes available, or new data is posted, I will provide additional data and analysis of population statistics and election results to supplement this report. All materials I have relied on are publicly available and all databases have already been produced as part of my previous March and April 2025 reports. Produced herewith is a Dropbox folder including the materials listed in Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26.
56. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true to the best of my personal knowledge.

August 24, 2025



Dr. Matt A. Barreto

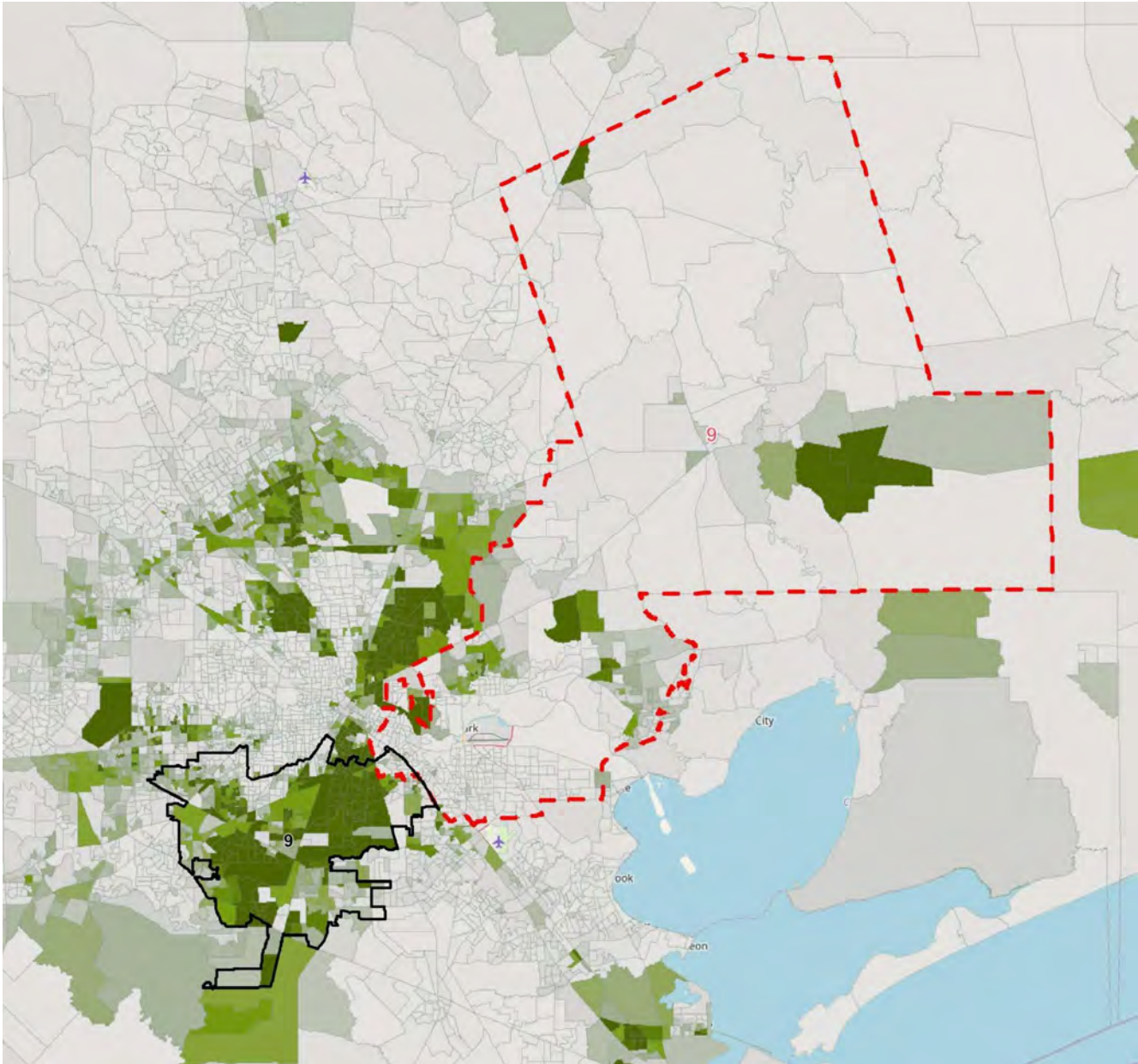
Los Angeles, California

Appendix A: Map Plots and Simulations

Appendix A: Map Plots and Simulations

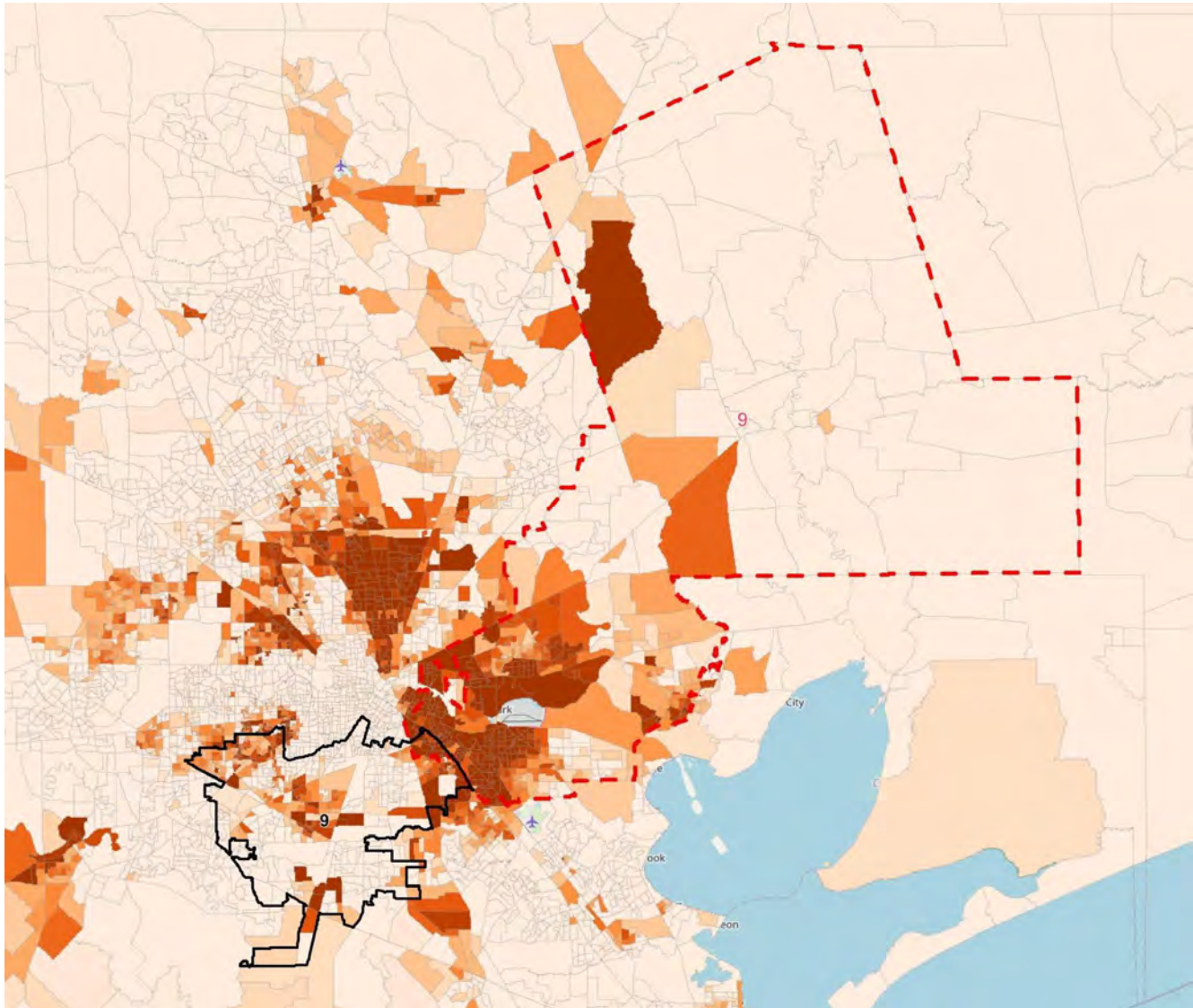
Map Figure 1: Congressional District 9 boundaries by Percent Black shading (green)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)



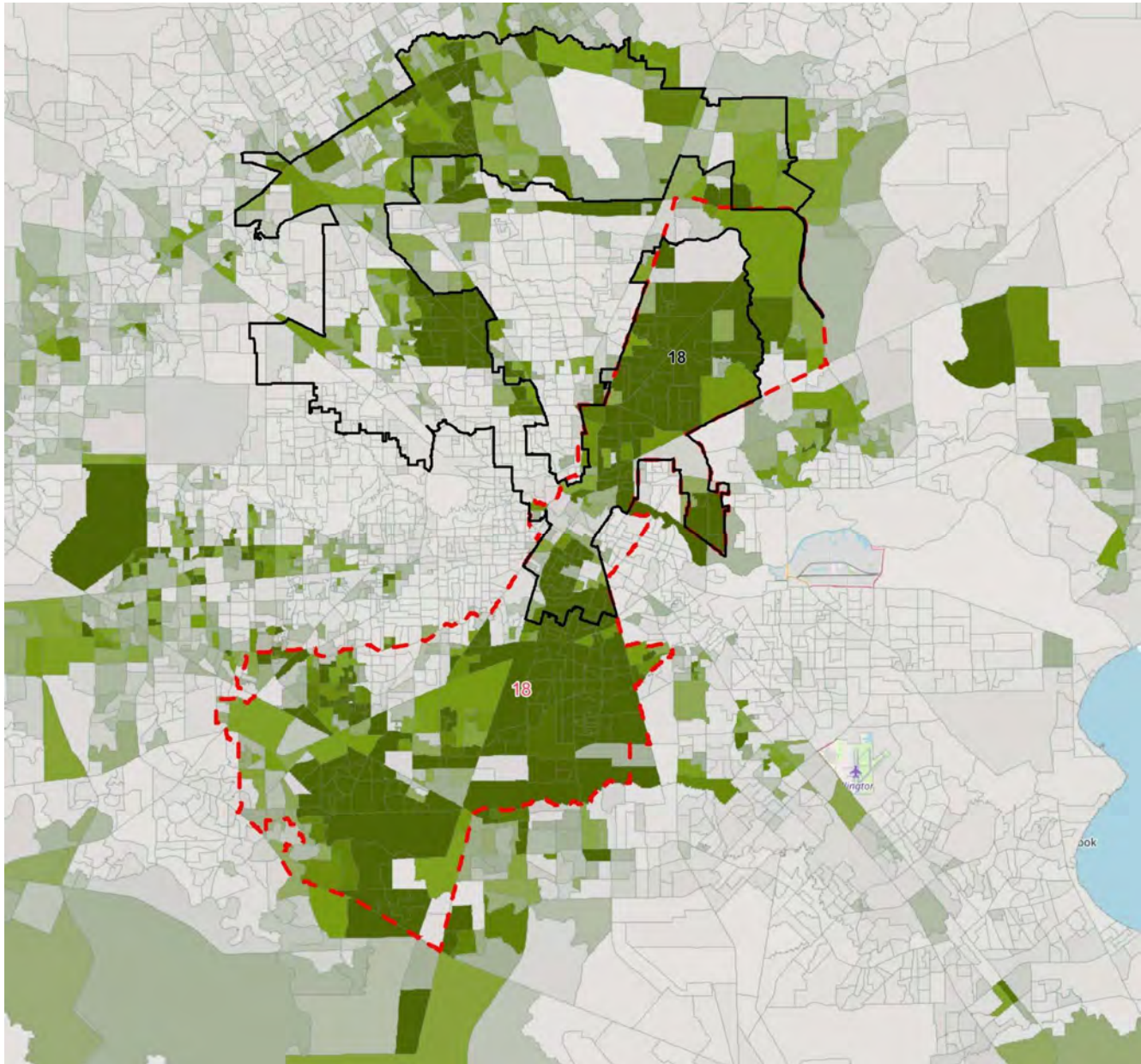
Map Figure 2: Congressional District 9 boundaries by Percent Hispanic shading (orange)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)



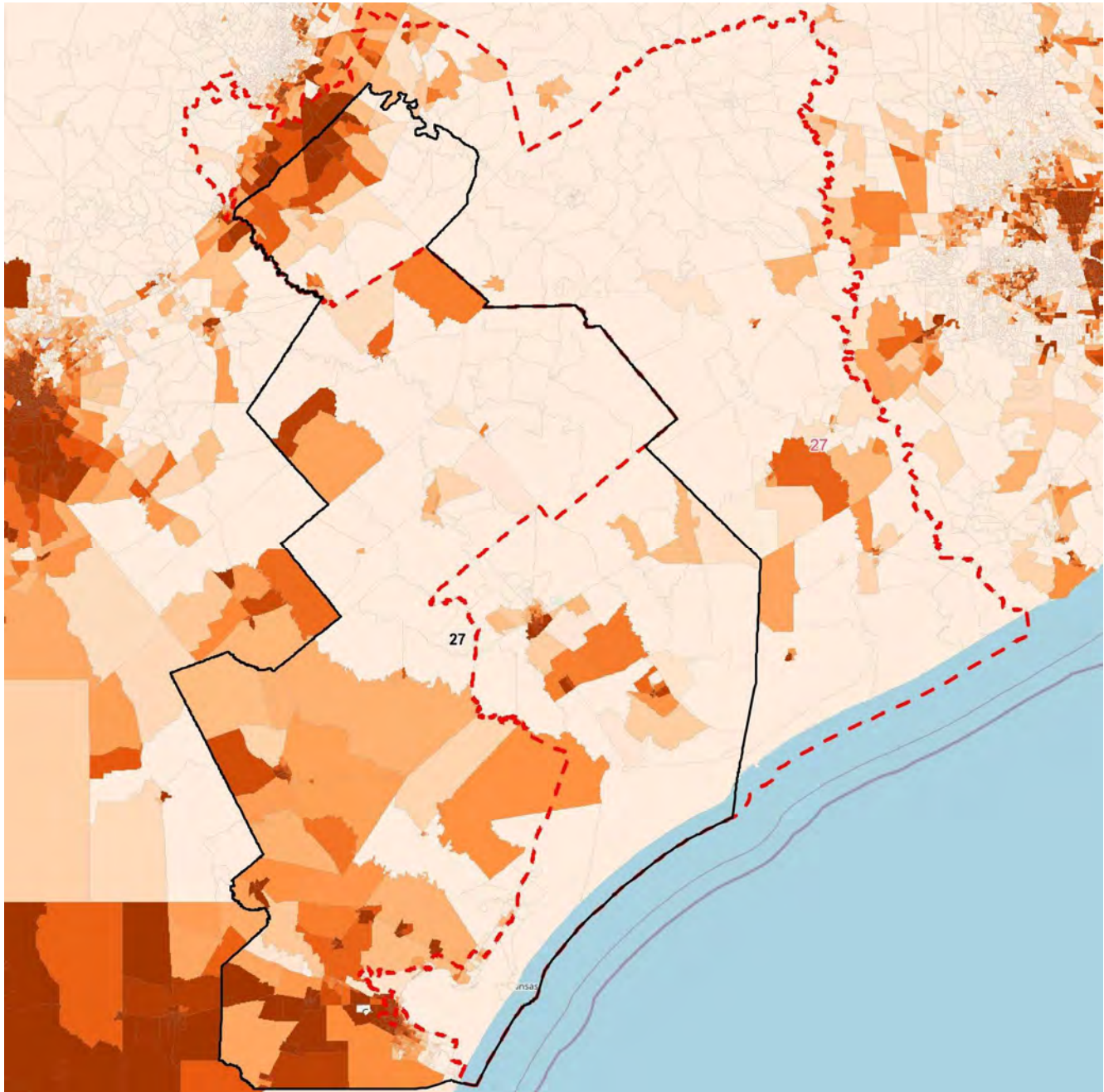
Map Figure 3: Congressional District 18 boundaries by Percent Black shading (green)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)



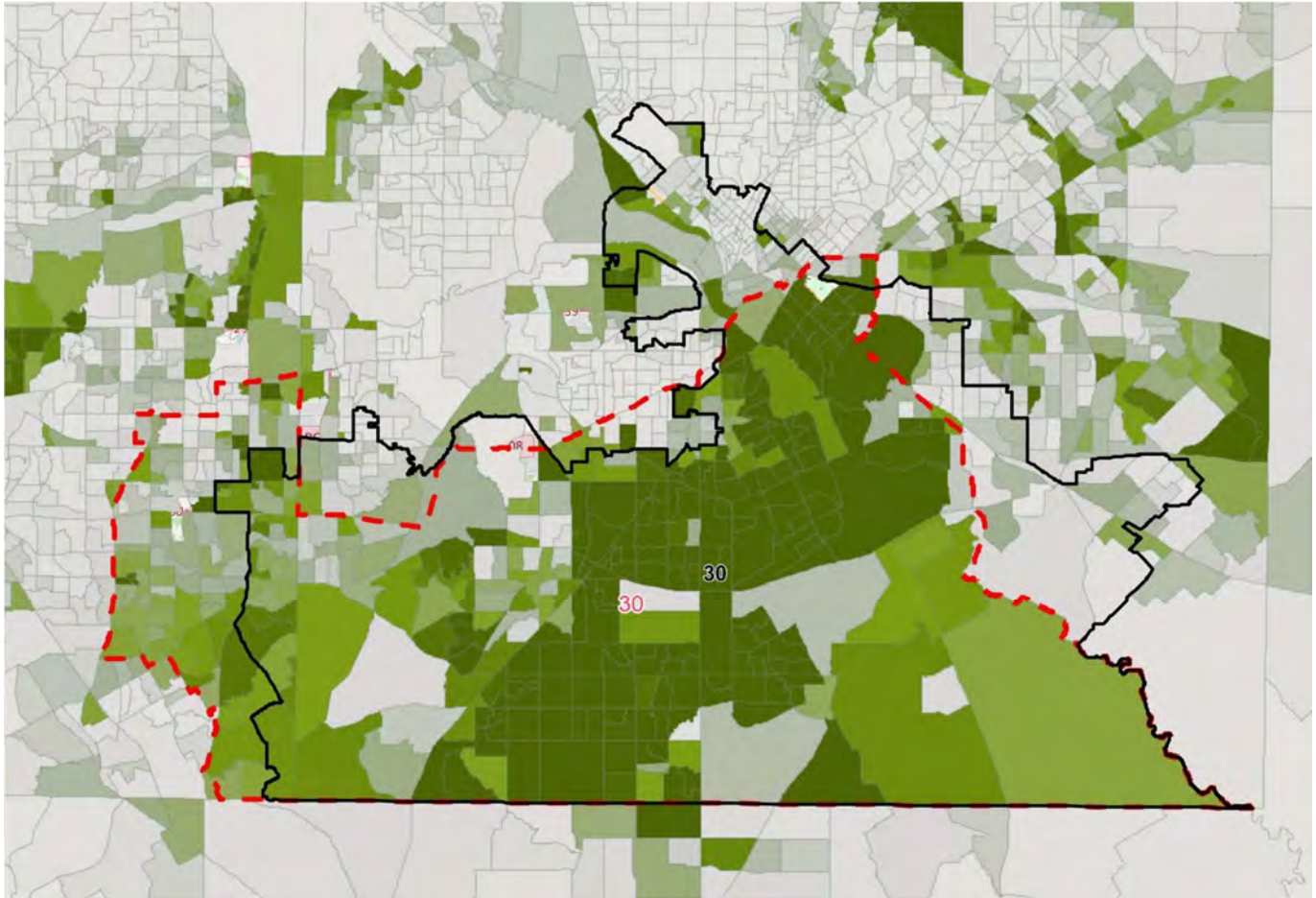
Map Figure 4: Congressional District 27 boundaries by Percent Hispanic shading (orange)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)



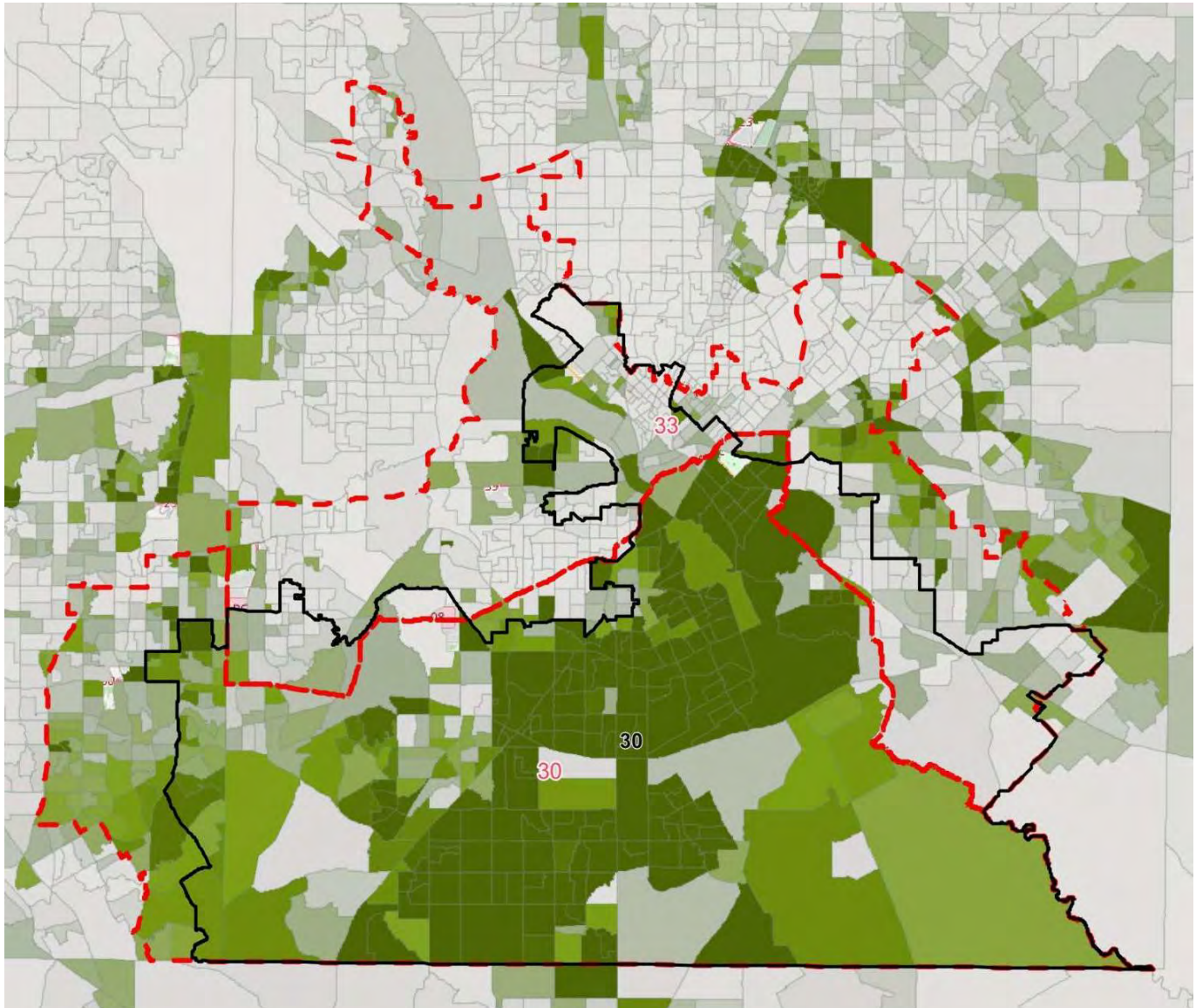
Map Figure 5: Congressional District 30 boundaries by Percent Black shading (green)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)



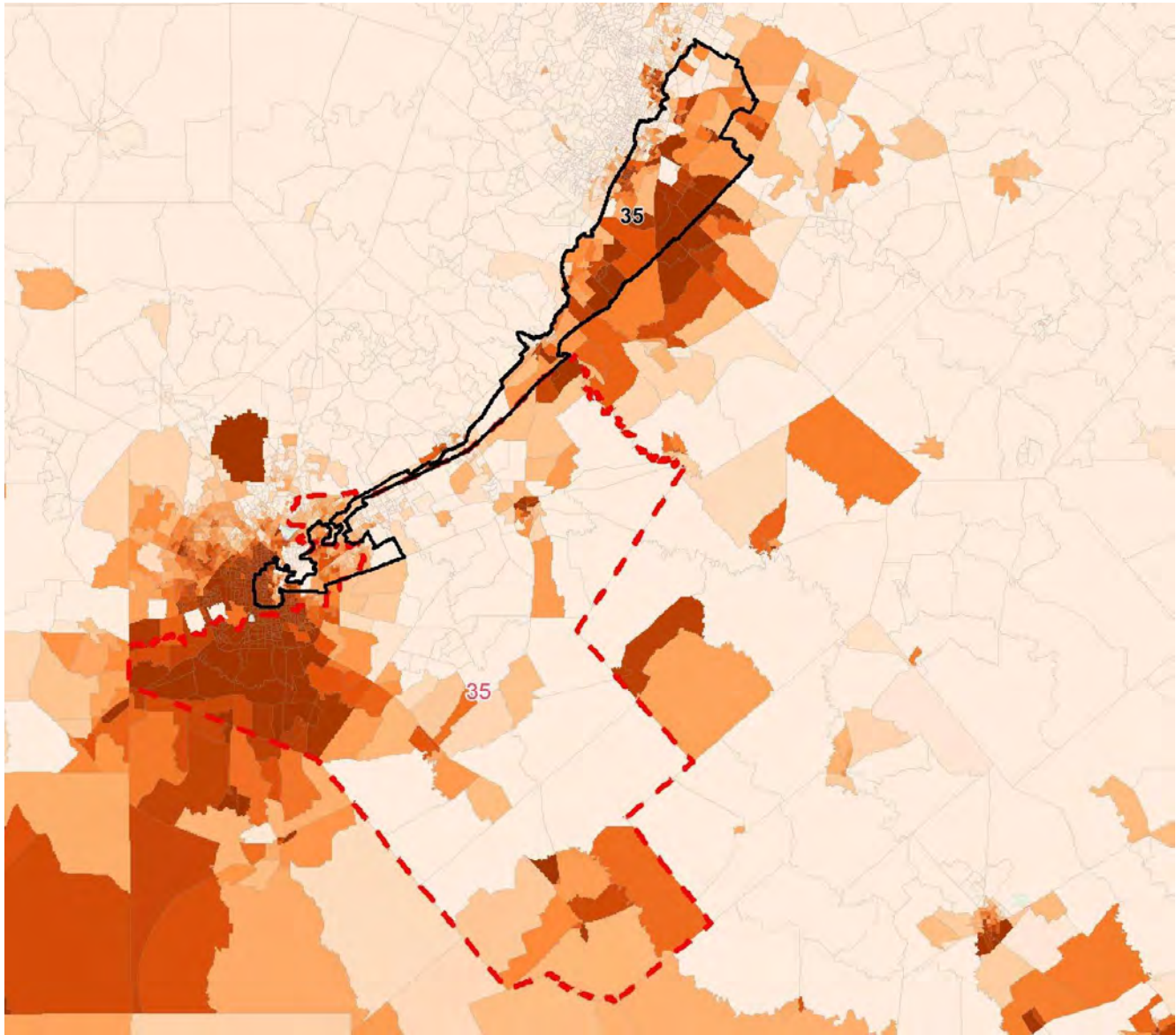
Map Figure 6: Congressional Districts 30 & 33 boundaries by Percent Black shading (green)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)

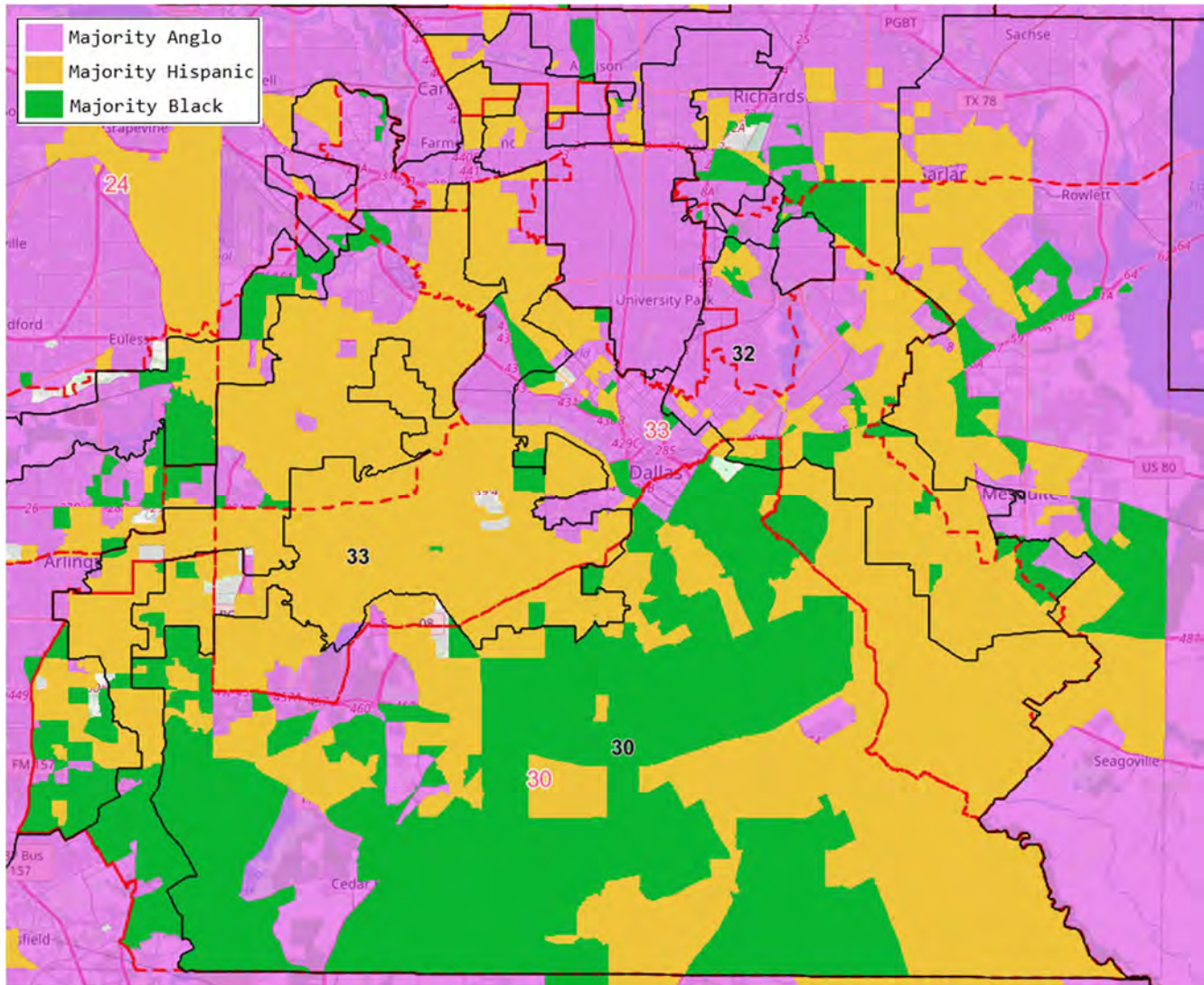


Map Figure 7: Congressional District 35 boundaries by Percent Hispanic shading (orange)

2021 enacted boundaries (black) vs. 2025 proposed boundaries (red dash)

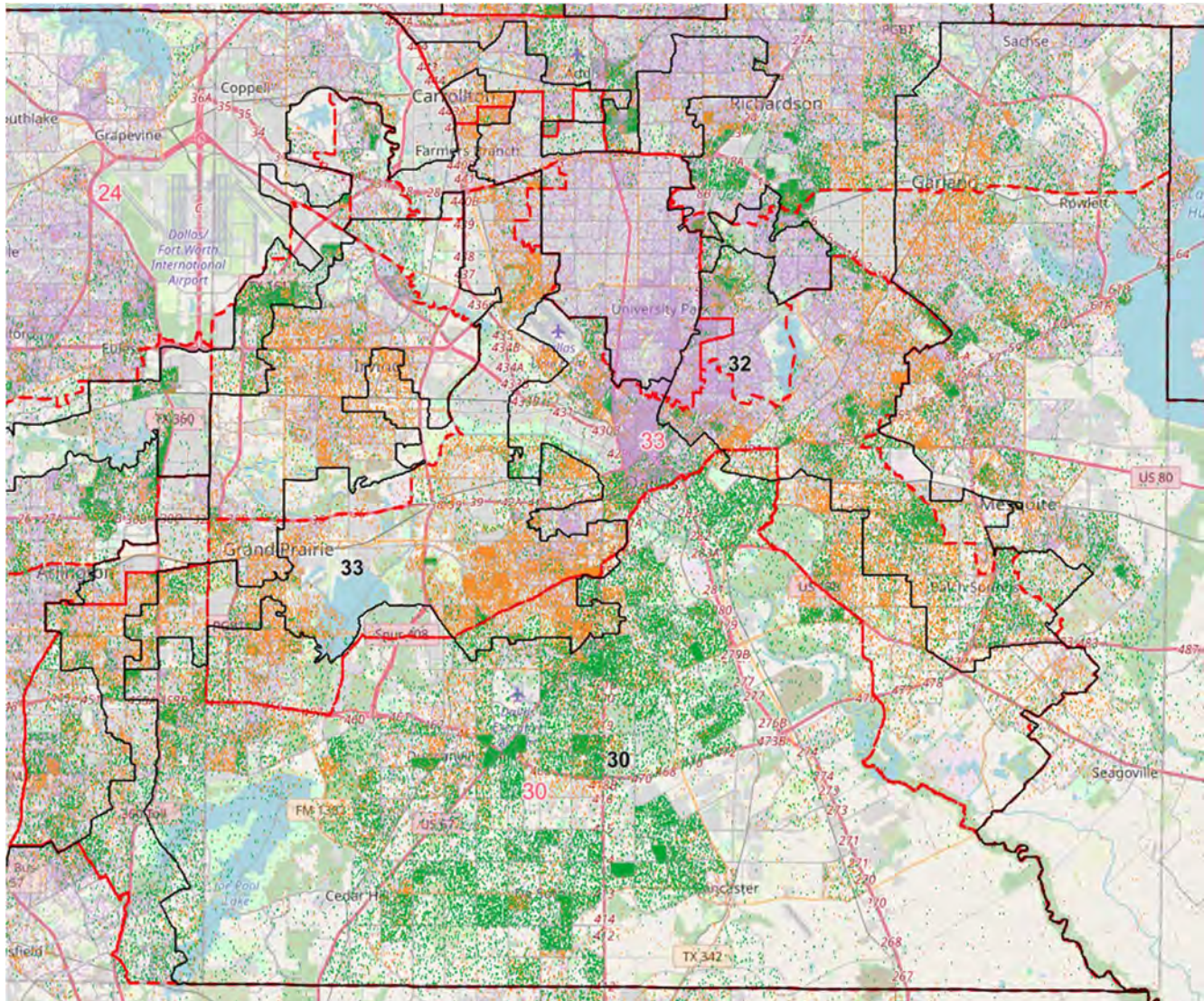


Map Figure 8: Dallas County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

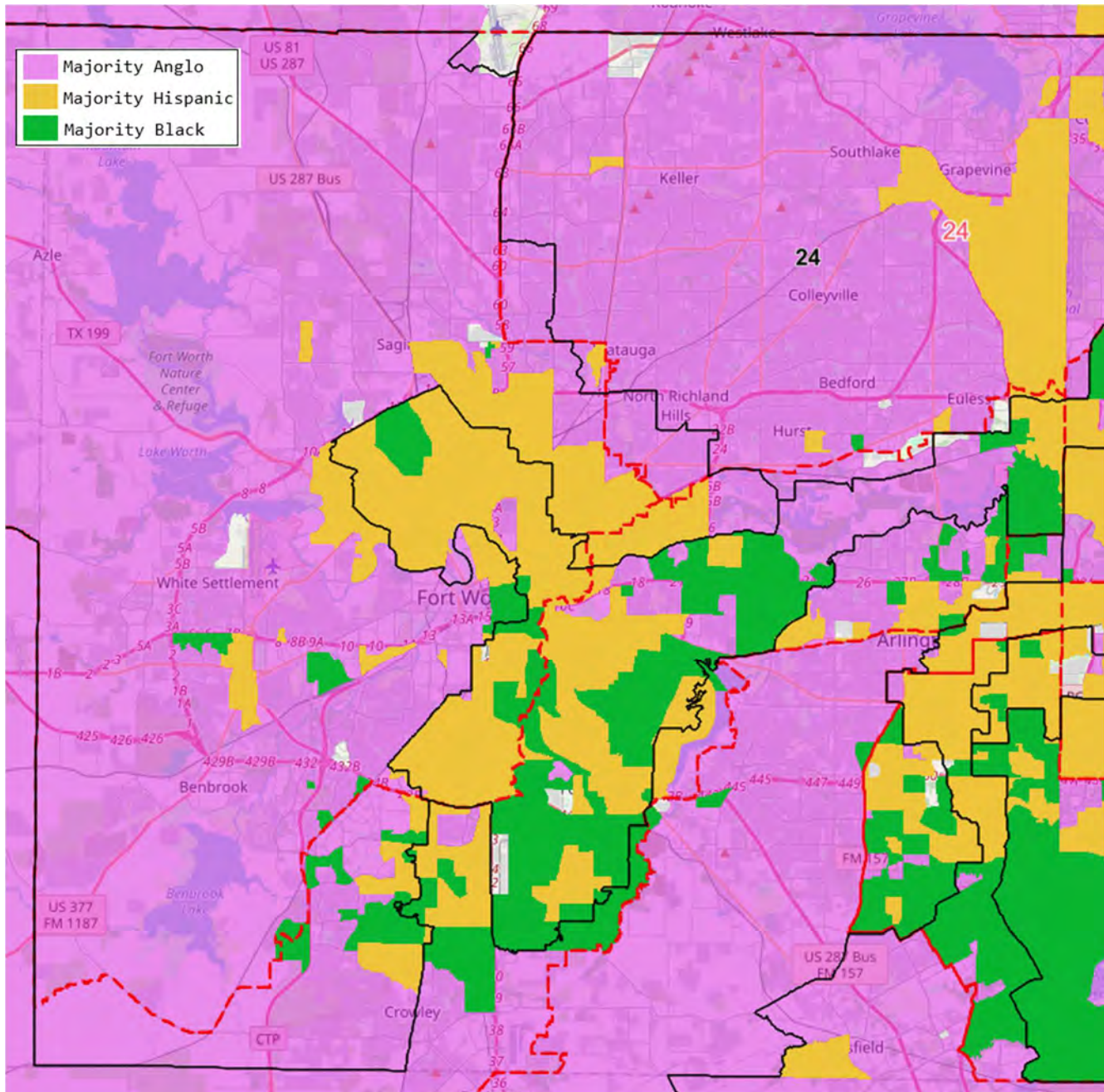


Map Figure 9: Dallas County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

Racial groups displayed as dot-density plots 2019-2023 CVAP

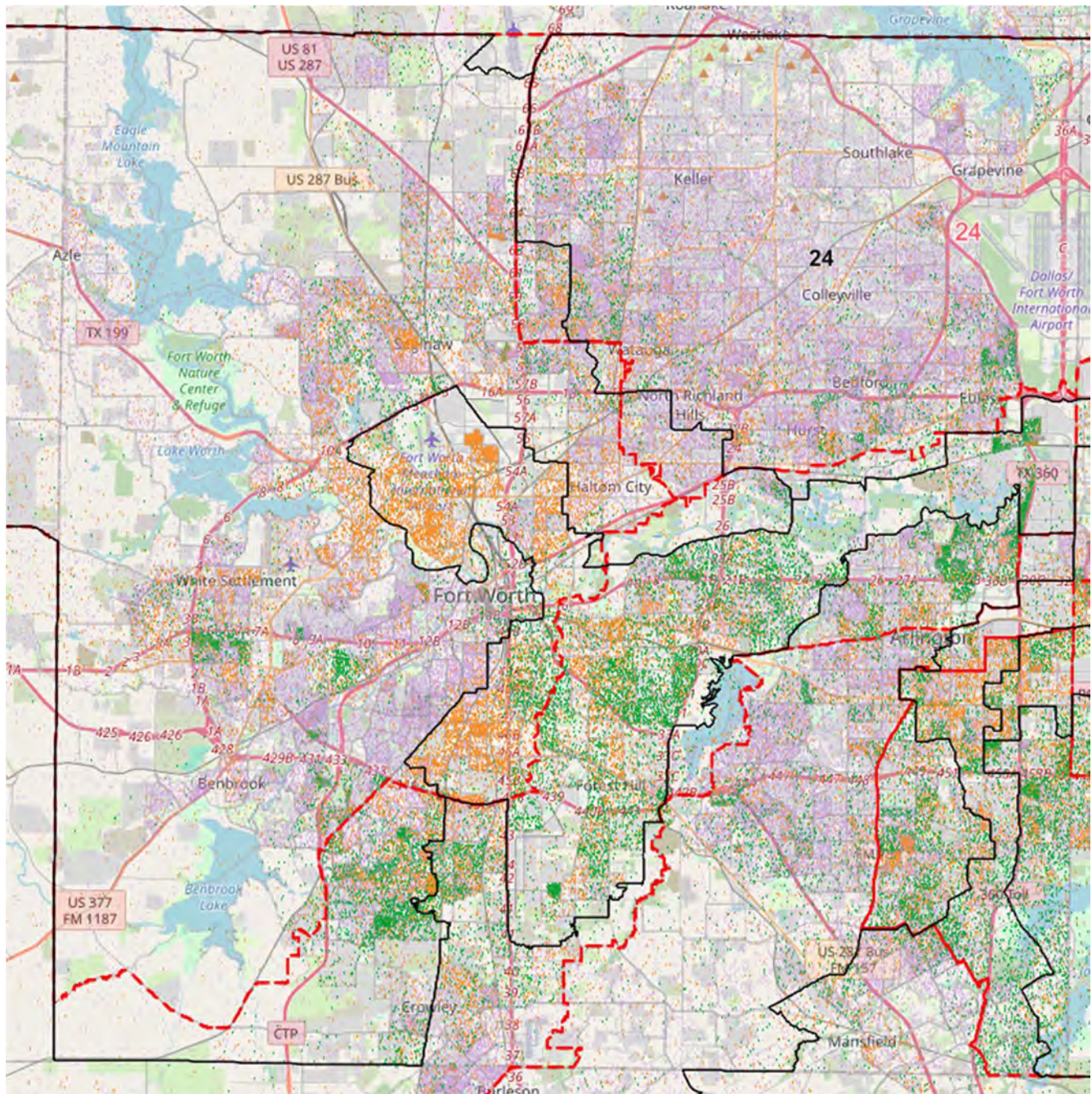


Map Figure 10: Tarrant County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

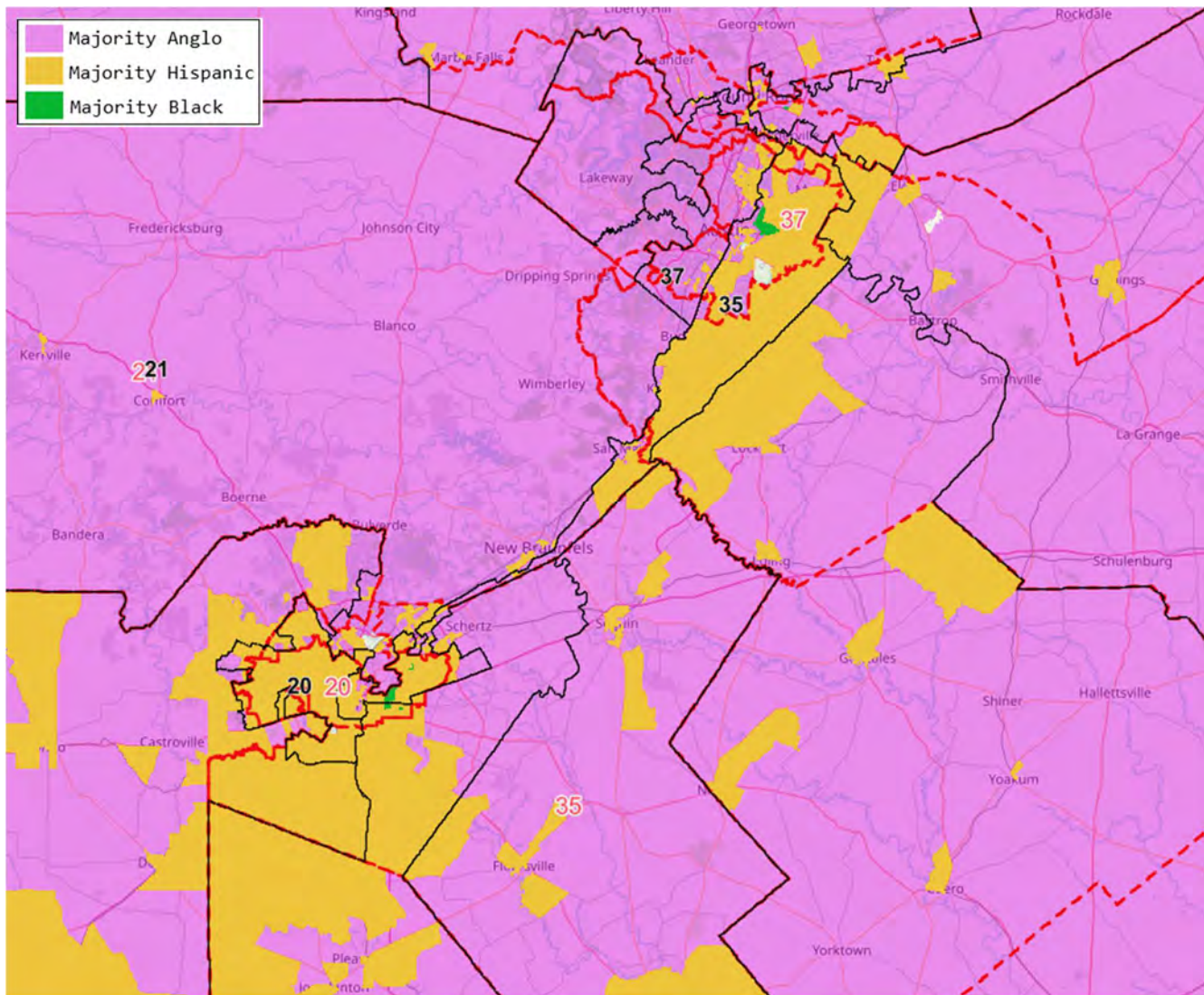


Map Figure 11: Tarrant County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

Racial groups displayed as dot-density plots 2019-2023 CVAP

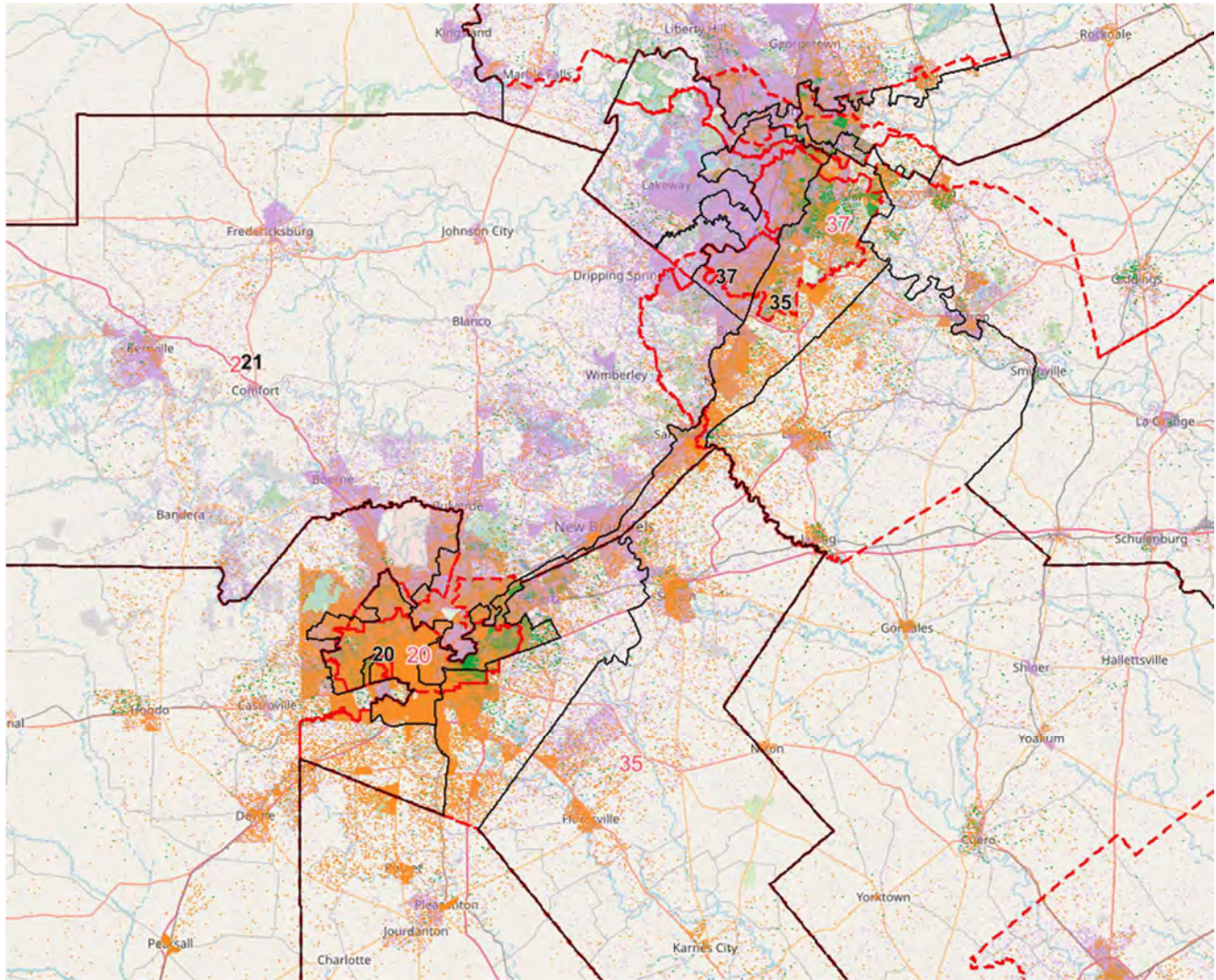


Map Figure 12: Austin-San Antonio Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

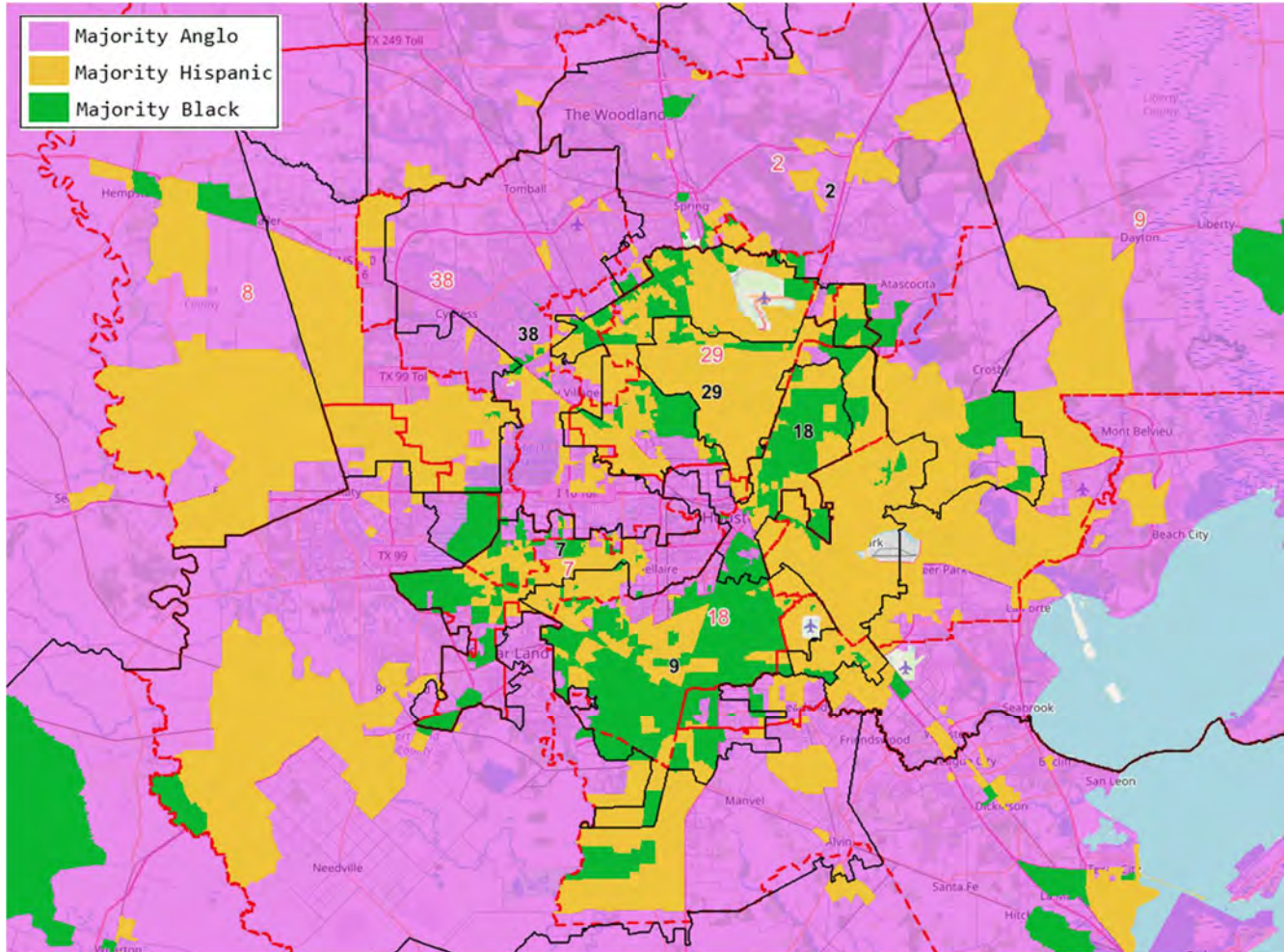


Map Figure 13: Austin-San Antonio Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

Racial groups displayed as dot-density plots 2019-2023 CVAP

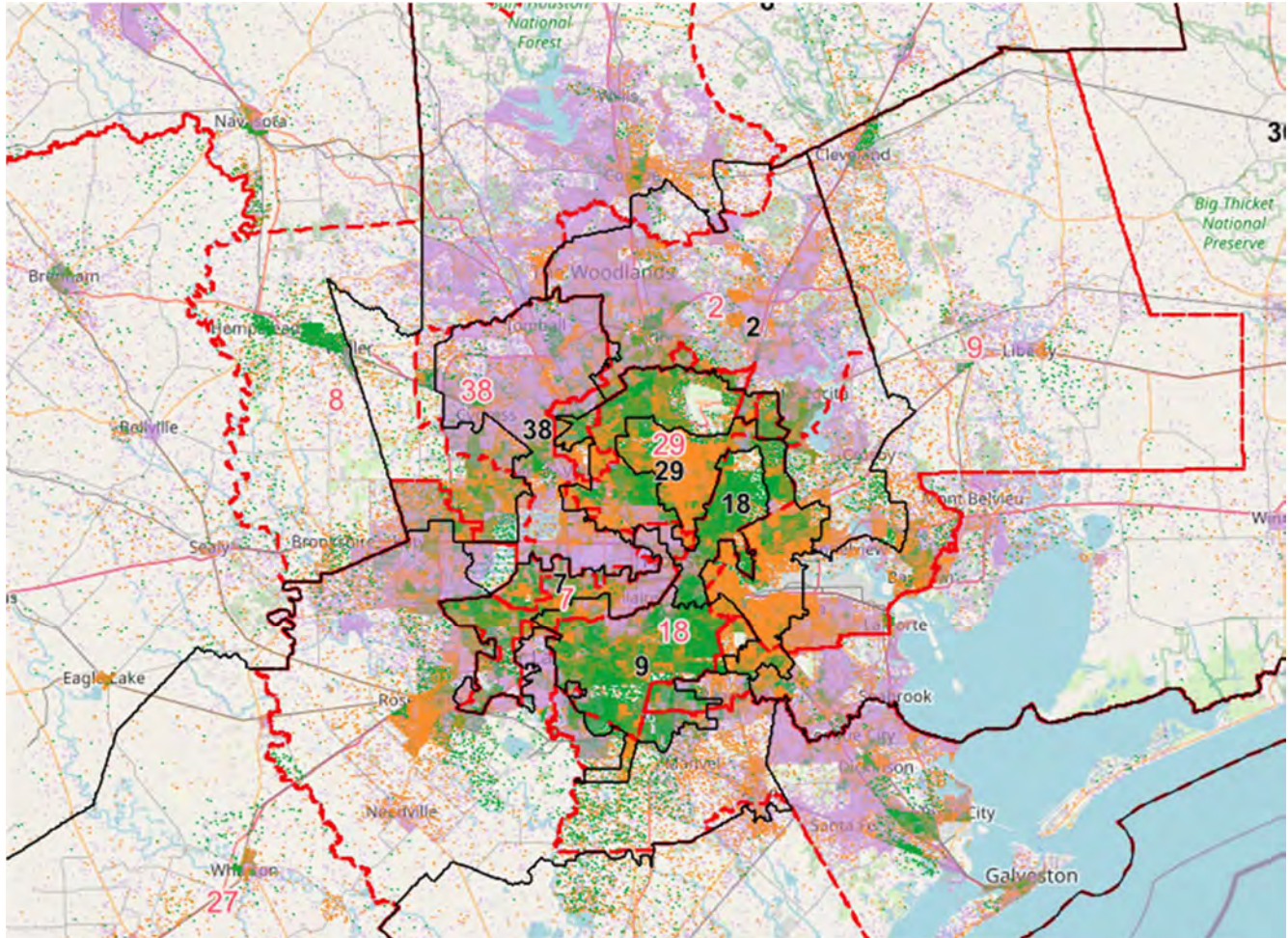


Map Figure 14: Harris County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

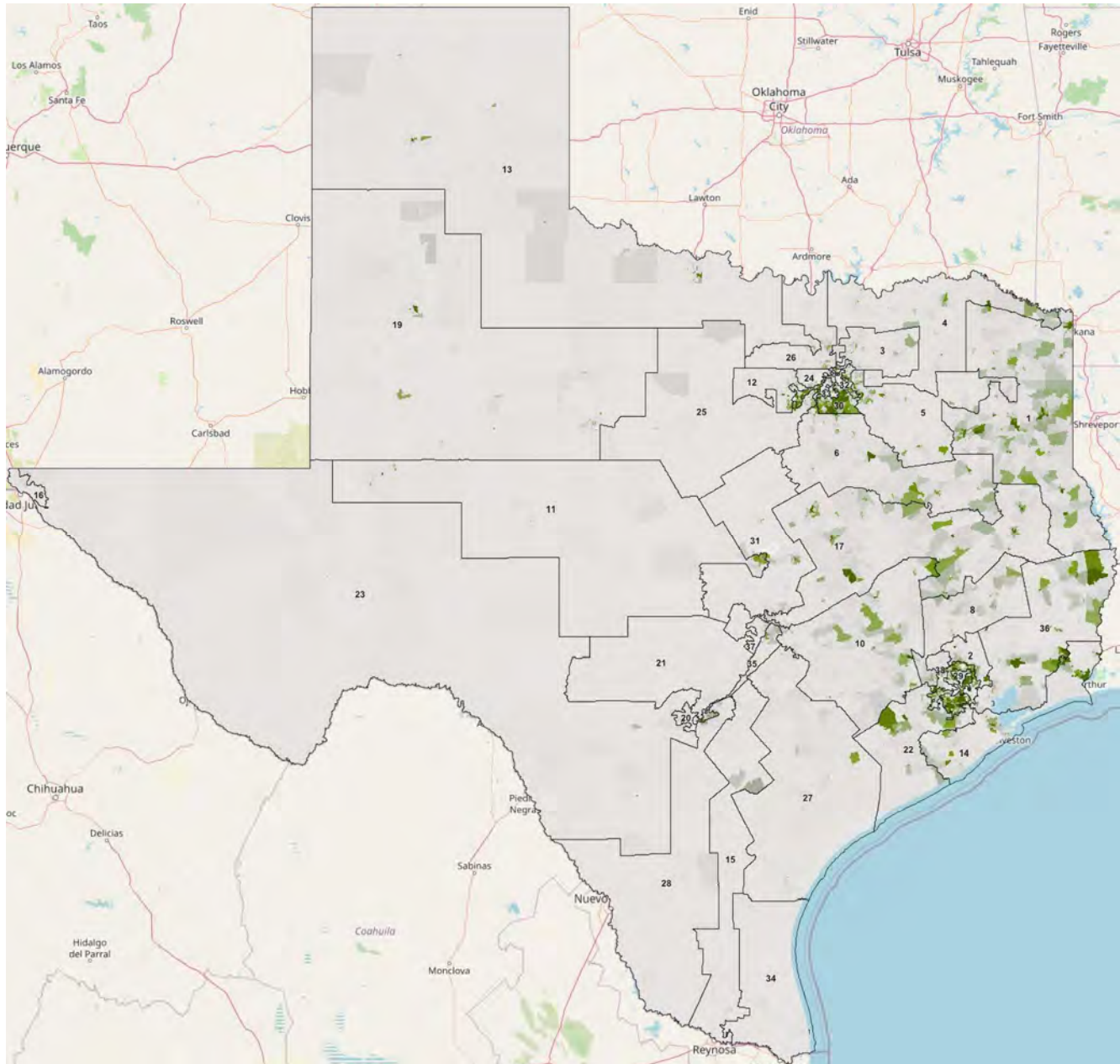


Map Figure 15: Harris County Congressional Districts 2021 enacted (black) and 2025 passed (red)

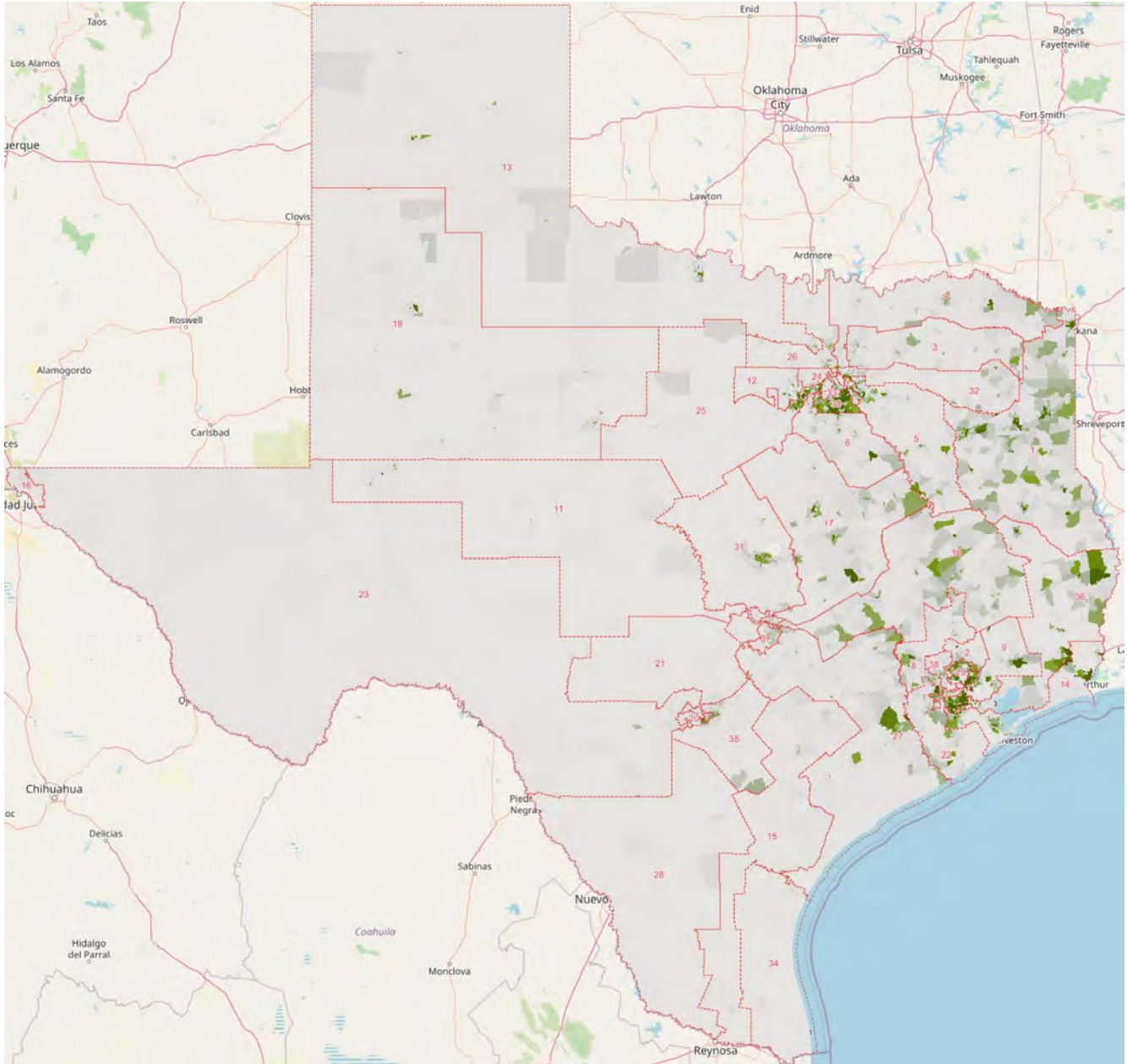
Racial groups displayed as dot-density plots 2019-2023 CVAP



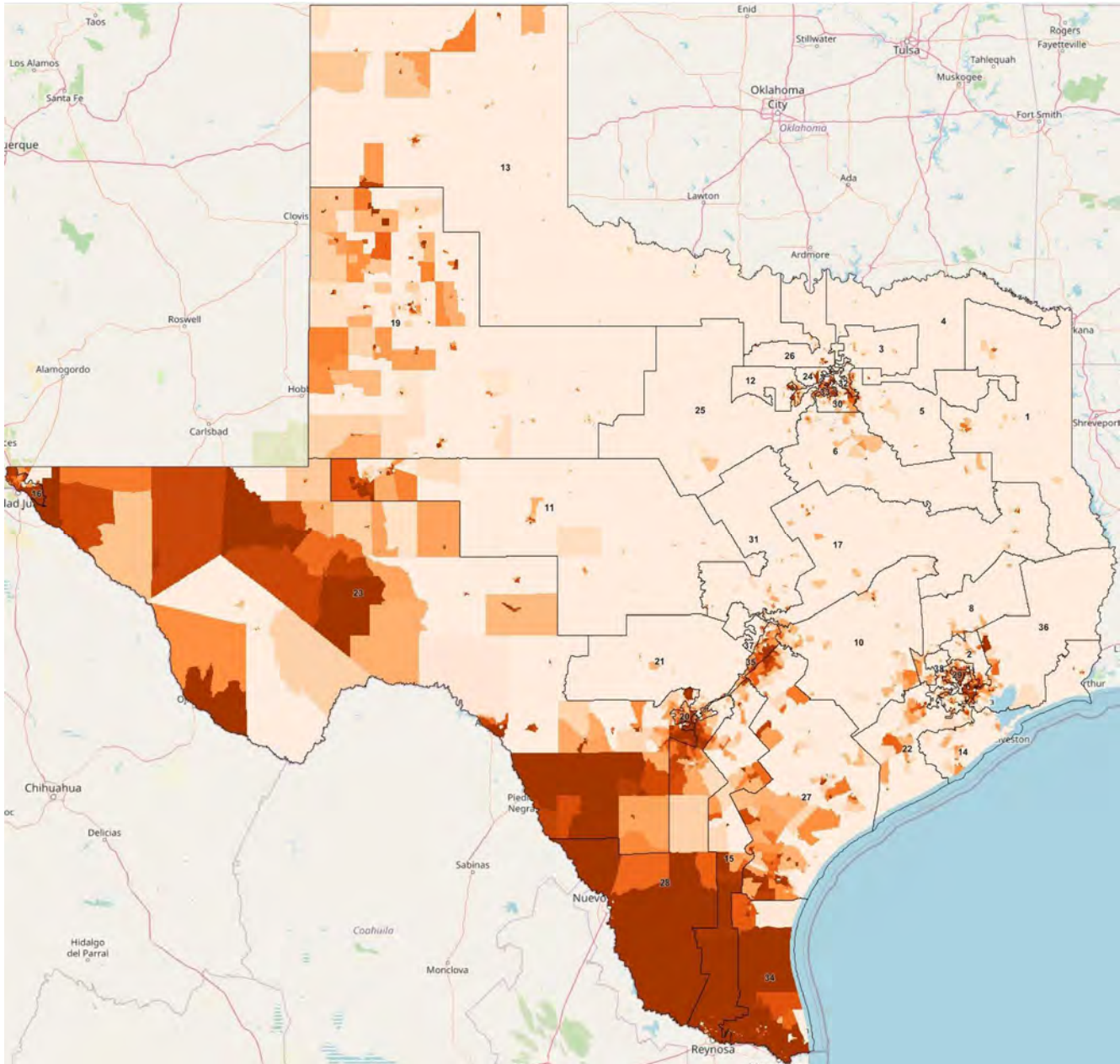
Map 16: State of Texas with C2193 (2021) boundaries (black) shaded by percent Black



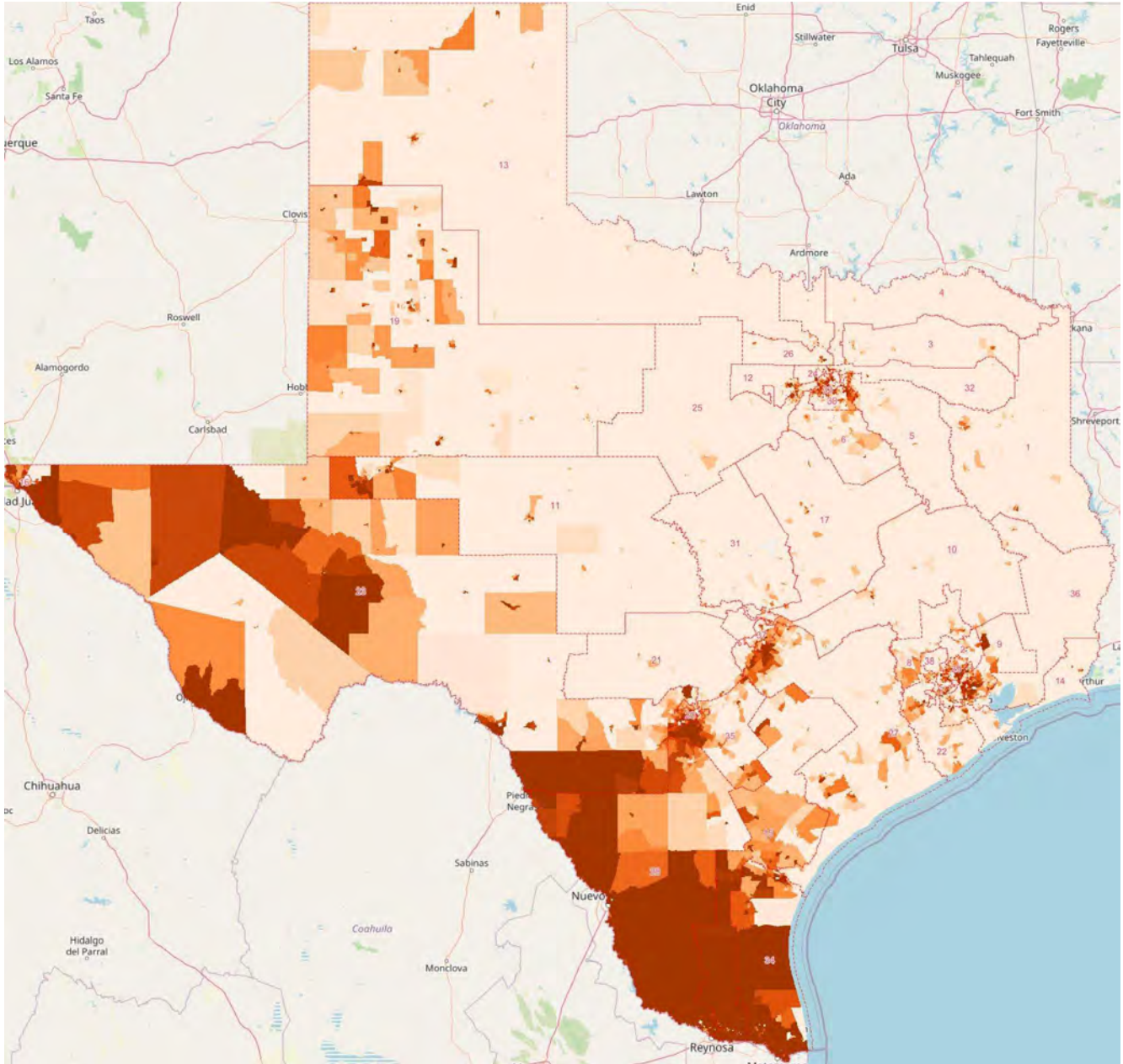
Map 17: State of Texas with C2333 (2025) boundaries (red) shaded by percent Black



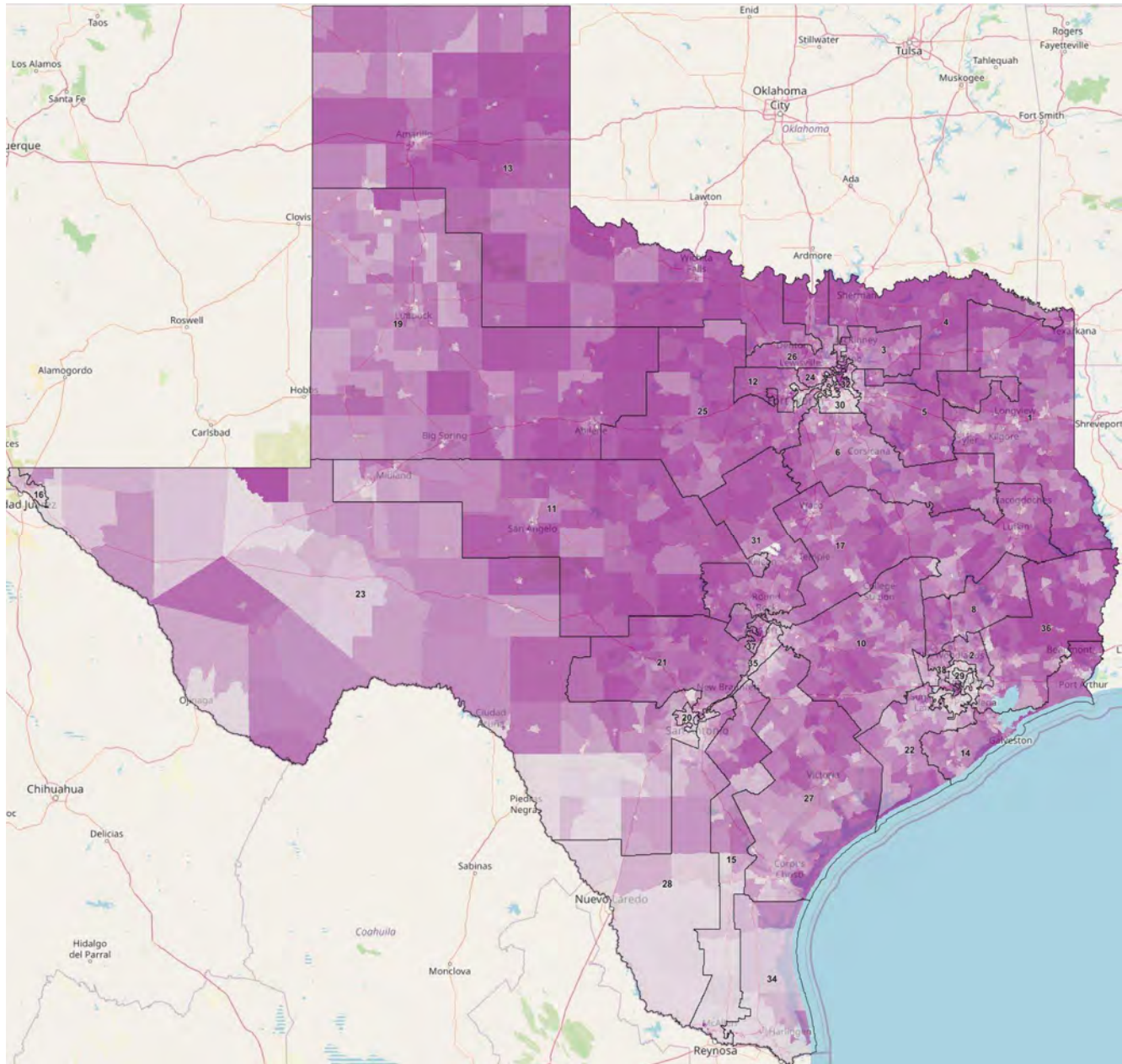
Map 18: State of Texas with C2193 (2021) boundaries (black) shaded by percent Hispanic



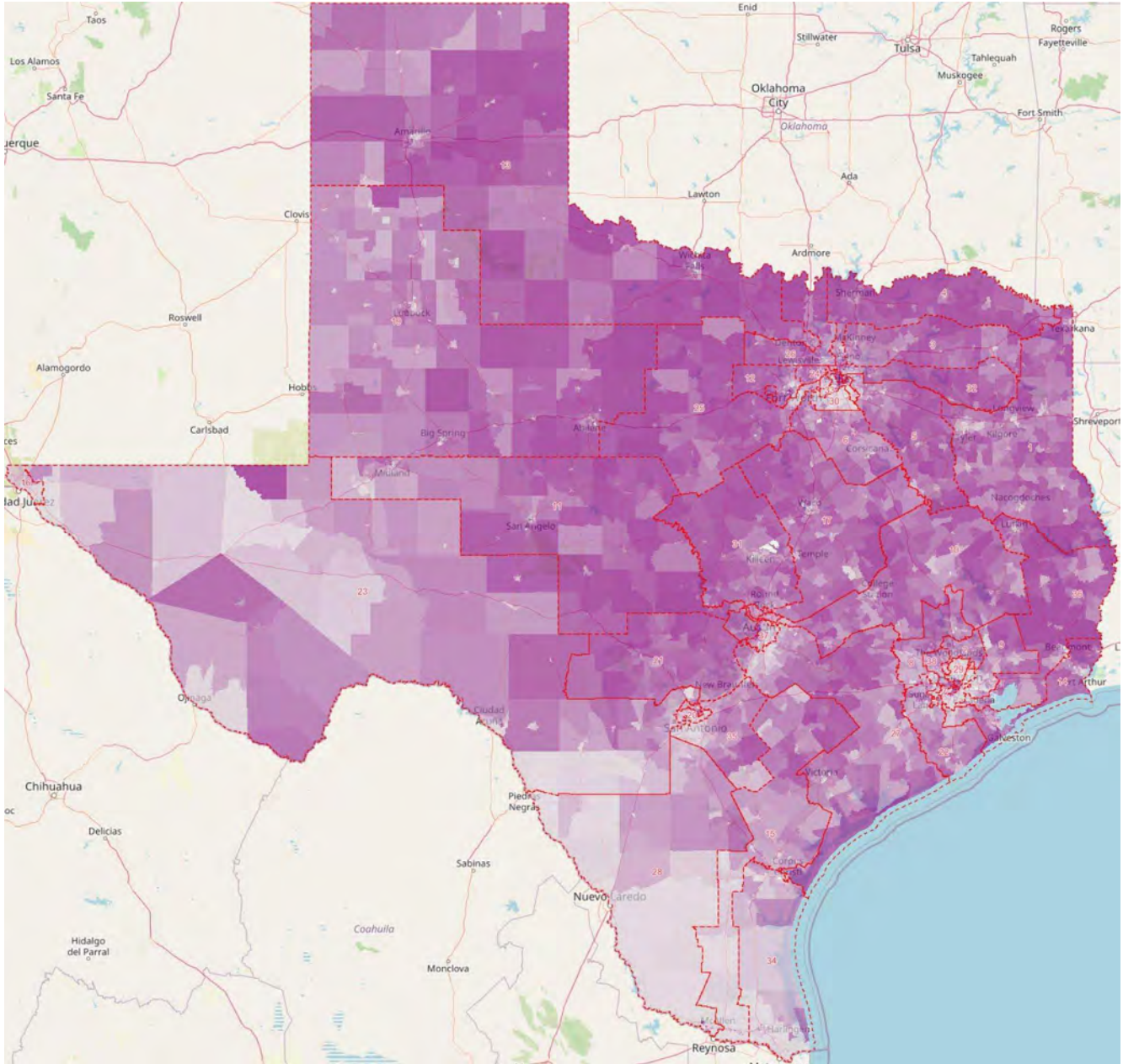
Map 19: State of Texas with C2333 (2025) boundaries (red) shaded by percent Hispanic



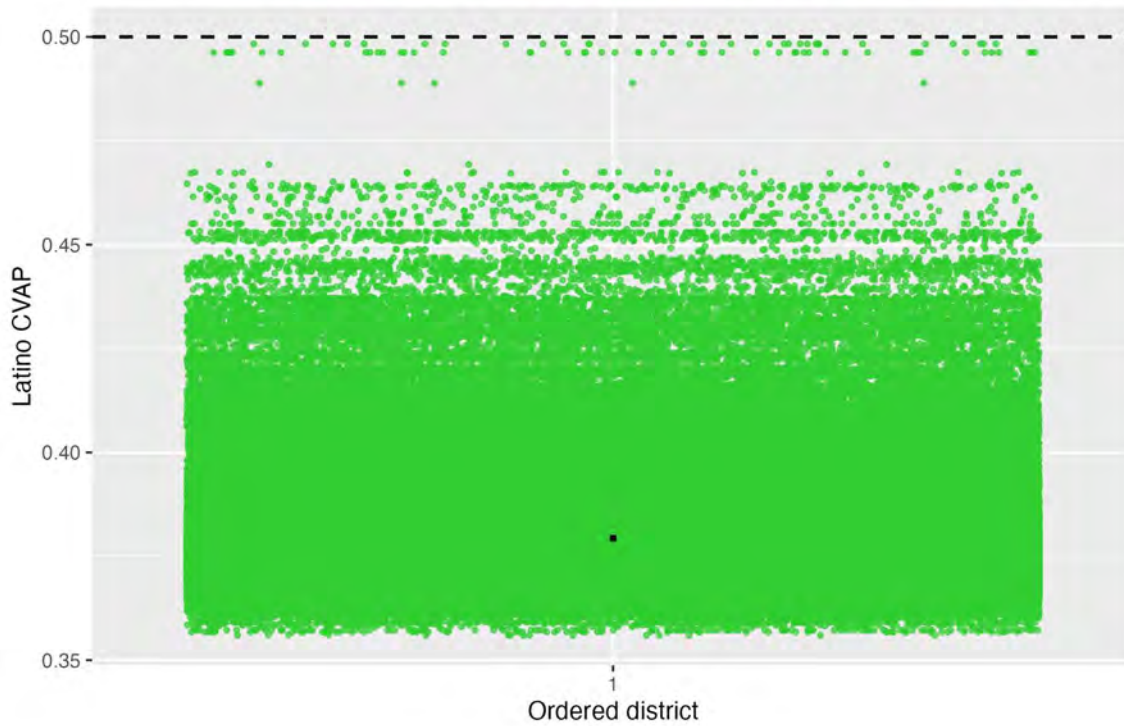
Map 20: State of Texas with C2193 (2021) boundaries (black) shaded by percent Anglo/White



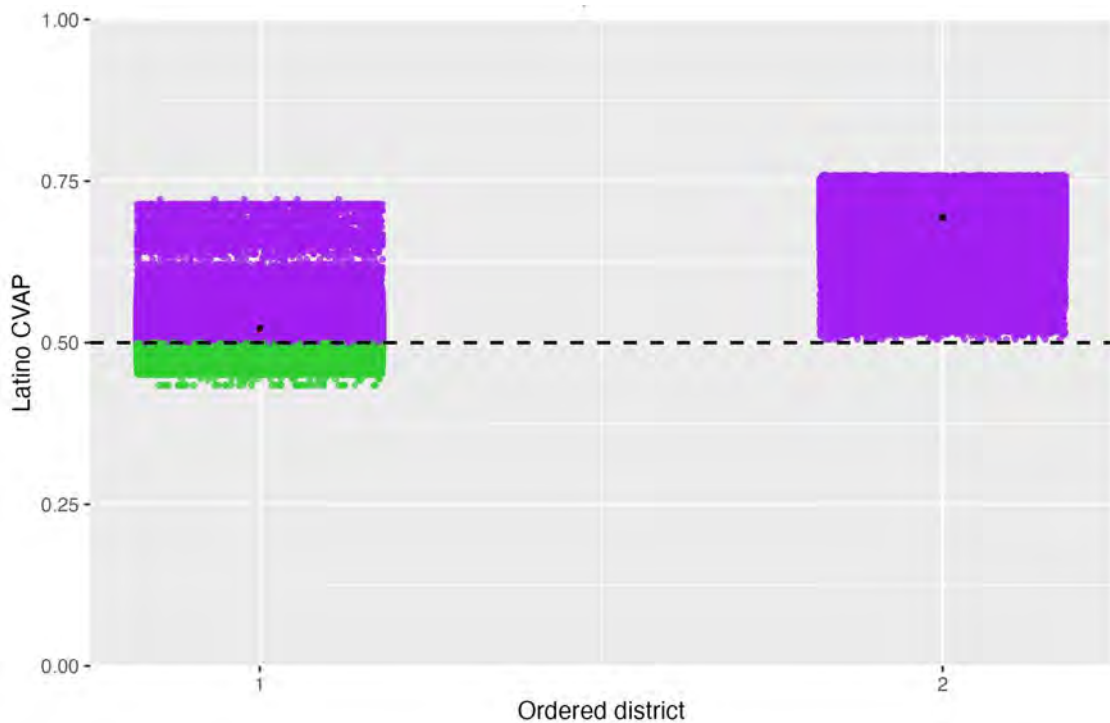
Map 21: State of Texas with C2333 (2025) boundaries (red) shaded by percent Anglo/White



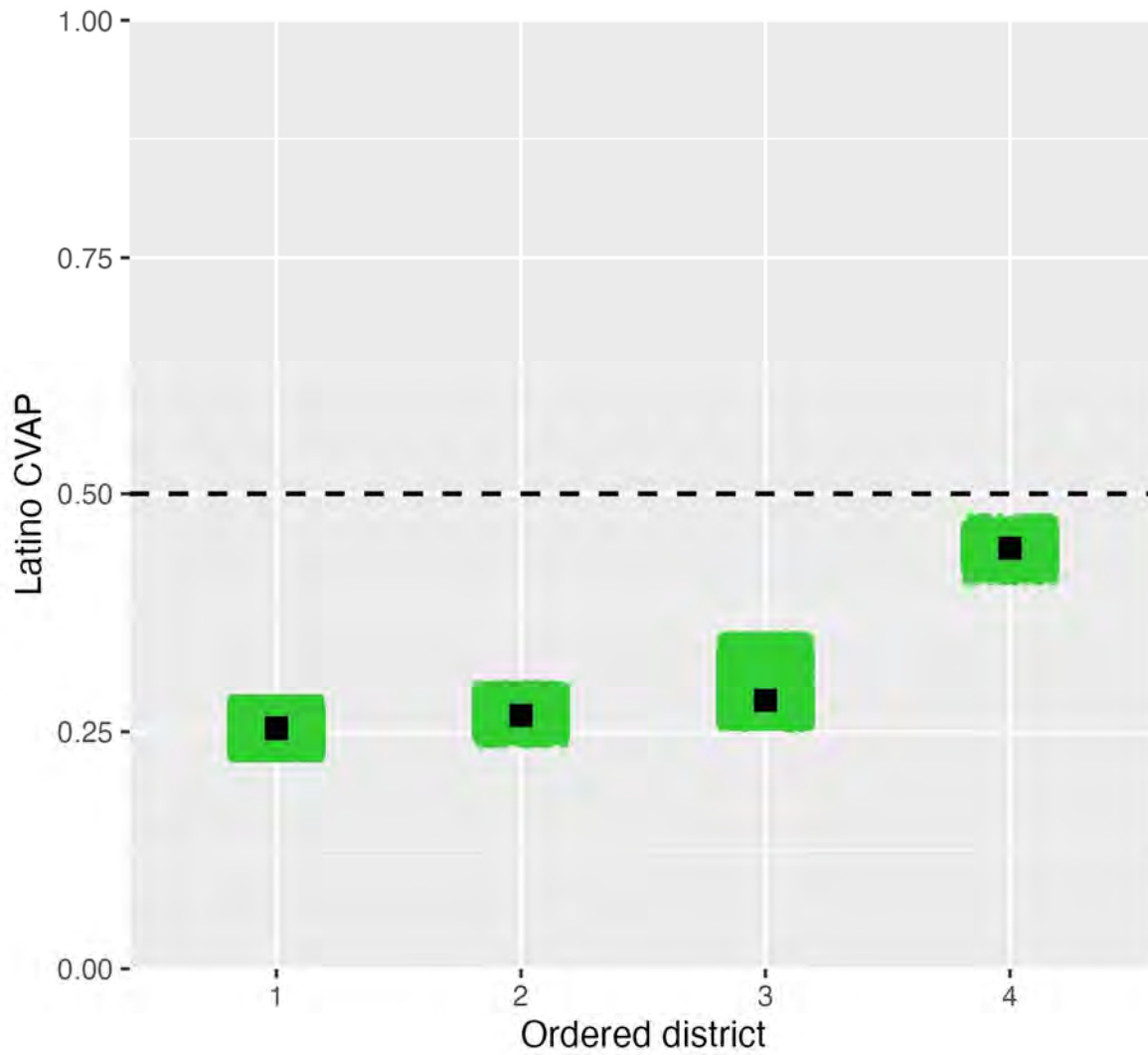
Simulation Plot 1: Probability of majority-Hispanic CVAP in District Trump carries in Bexar region (Bexar, Guadalupe, Wilson, Karnes) out of 332,000 simulation draws



Simulation Plot 2: Probability of majority-Hispanic CVAP in District Harris carries in Bexar region (Bexar, Guadalupe, Wilson, Karnes) out of 332,000 simulation draws



Simulation Plot 3: Probability of majority-Hispanic CVAP in 4 districts Trump carries in Harris region (Harris, Liberty, Fort Bend) out of 332,000 simulation draws



Appendix B:
Racially Polarized Voting Tables

Congressional District 2 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	76.09	38.96	8.91	74.95	48.14	14.28
		Harris	23.63	61.66	90.83	25.05	51.86	85.72
	US Senate	Cruz	75.07	31.05	8.08	74.25	43.34	13.87
		Allred	24.67	67.69	91.58	25.75	56.66	86.13
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	77.96	32.07	8.77	77.06	45.07	17.65
		Garza	22.08	68.16	91.62	22.94	54.93	82.35
	Governor	Abbott	78.21	31.57	8.59	77.35	44.66	16.62
		O'Rourke	21.85	68.58	91.2	22.65	55.34	83.38
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	77.47	34.4	9.05	76.35	47.06	16.95
		Collier	22.44	65.09	90.54	23.65	52.94	83.05

Congressional District 5 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	81.49	21.27	18.77	80.35	32.97	17.79
		Harris	18.56	78.68	80.93	19.65	67.03	82.21
	US Senate	Cruz	79.41	18.53	17.35	78.52	25.3	15.91
		Allred	20.49	81.53	82.64	21.48	74.7	84.09
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	79.51	20.77	16.92	80.11	24.88	19.65
		Garza	20.58	79.08	82.88	19.89	75.12	80.35
	Governor	Abbott	80.1	20.95	17.44	80.7	26.1	19.56
		O'Rourke	19.91	78.84	82.85	19.3	73.9	80.44
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	79.25	19.43	16.22	79.61	24.68	20.09
		Collier	20.79	80.31	83.45	20.39	75.32	79.91

Congressional District 6 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	81.52	31.83	14.94	79.84	37.53	14.73
		Harris	18.52	68.33	85.28	20.16	62.47	85.27
	US Senate	Cruz	79.96	24.72	13.77	78.25	30.44	12.47
		Allred	19.98	75.68	86.13	21.75	69.56	87.53
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	83.2	23.28	15.15	82.51	29	13.96
		Garza	16.8	76.72	84.77	17.49	71	86.04
	Governor	Abbott	83.83	24.16	15.62	83.14	29.95	13.3
		O'Rourke	16.25	75.81	84.72	16.86	70.05	86.7
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	82.95	23.74	14.74	81.86	29.7	13.15
		Collier	17.11	76.47	84.82	18.14	70.3	86.85

Congressional District 8 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	88.65	30.47	10.3	86.56	41.46	15.99
		Harris	11.29	67.9	89.63	13.44	58.54	84.01
	US Senate	Cruz	87.55	24.55	7.61	85.81	35.26	12.77
		Allred	12.55	76.19	92.15	14.19	64.74	87.23
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	89.73	23.59	10.37	89.44	34.06	13.75
		Garza	10.33	75.6	89.56	10.56	65.94	86.25
	Governor	Abbott	89.85	23.96	11.71	89.68	32.54	15.27
		O'Rourke	10.18	75.96	88.46	10.32	67.46	84.73
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	89.43	24.39	9.63	89.01	34.42	13.28
		Collier	10.59	76.26	90.51	10.99	65.58	86.72

Congressional District 9 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	94.25	38.04	24.16	93.34	39.48	23.56
		Harris	5.64	61.96	75.98	6.66	60.52	76.44
	US Senate	Cruz	92.98	30.14	21.01	92.39	31.92	21.43
		Allred	6.97	69.9	78.8	7.61	68.08	78.57
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	95.18	25.56	24.12	94.71	28.99	26.9
		Garza	4.73	74.31	75.53	5.29	71.01	73.1
	Governor	Abbott	94.92	25.4	24.88	94.74	28.67	27.02
		O'Rourke	4.98	74.69	75.4	5.26	71.33	72.98
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	94.91	26.53	24.28	94.63	30.08	25.31
		Collier	5.1	73.33	75.5	5.37	69.92	74.69

Congressional District 12 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	78.15	29.83	1.2	78.05	31.81	7.22
		Harris	21.68	69.55	98.72	21.95	68.19	92.78
	US Senate	Cruz	76.3	24.8	1.24	76	25.53	7.51
		Allred	23.96	75.52	98.71	24	74.47	92.49
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	78.83	17.75	0.64	78.38	20.82	6.35
		Garza	21.19	82.22	98.94	21.62	79.18	93.65
	Governor	Abbott	79.48	17.3	0.98	79.12	20.4	7.13
		O'Rourke	20.45	82.25	99.21	20.88	79.6	92.87
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	78.05	18.03	2.53	77.69	20.82	7.06
		Collier	21.88	81.56	97.48	22.31	79.18	92.94

Congressional District 18 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	43.46	35.37	7.8	40.92	37.14	7.42
		Harris	56.68	64.71	92.23	59.08	62.86	92.58
	US Senate	Cruz	43.53	28.13	6.67	40.52	30.63	5.87
		Allred	56.51	71.93	93.32	59.48	69.37	94.13
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	48.22	21.92	5.69	43.88	23.15	4.32
		Garza	51.65	78.03	94.24	56.12	76.85	95.68
	Governor	Abbott	48.66	21.83	6.04	44.34	22.51	4.46
		O'Rourke	51.48	78.18	93.99	55.66	77.49	95.54
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	47.78	22.79	5.8	43.58	23.54	4.33
		Collier	52.29	77.01	94.04	56.42	76.46	95.67

Congressional District 25 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	87.9	28.03	3.7	87.8	28.04	4.66
		Harris	12.04	72.03	96.32	12.2	71.96	95.34
	US Senate	Cruz	86.11	25.34	3.35	86.32	20.69	4.05
		Allred	13.85	74.78	96.6	13.68	79.31	95.95
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	86.8	32.77	3.55	88.04	22.22	3.83
		Garza	13.16	66.92	96.33	11.96	77.78	96.17
	Governor	Abbott	87.1	34.99	4.23	88.67	22.22	4.15
		O'Rourke	12.94	65.3	95.81	11.33	77.78	95.85
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	86.38	31.97	3.72	87.43	21.34	4.05
		Collier	13.73	67.59	96.19	12.57	78.66	95.95

Congressional District 29 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	54.13	47.17	11.05	50.43	45.25	9.89
		Harris	45.87	52.81	88.8	49.57	54.75	90.11
	US Senate	Cruz	52.57	39.73	9.35	50.14	37.9	7.34
		Allred	47.25	60.44	90.5	49.86	62.1	92.66
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	59.61	35.68	7.46	55.76	31.34	6.35
		Garza	40.24	64.38	92.48	44.24	68.66	93.65
	Governor	Abbott	60.62	34.61	6.88	56.76	30.86	5.79
		O'Rourke	39.92	65.41	93.18	43.24	69.14	94.21
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	59.44	36.45	7.26	55.24	32.94	6.07
		Collier	40.03	63.39	92.84	44.76	67.06	93.93

Congressional District 30 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	75.12	40.02	6	68.46	30.82	6.3
		Harris	24.93	60.29	93.97	31.54	69.18	93.7
	US Senate	Cruz	72.97	31.44	4.16	66.76	23.83	4.66
		Allred	27.34	68.96	95.84	33.24	76.17	95.34
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	74.01	33.82	3.05	70.7	18.26	4.09
		Garza	25.94	66.34	97.07	29.3	81.74	95.91
	Governor	Abbott	74.3	35.42	2.85	71.71	18.17	4.37
		O'Rourke	25.35	64.66	97.28	28.29	81.83	95.63
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	73.45	33.84	2.56	70.7	18.72	3.7
		Collier	26.36	65.31	97.41	29.3	81.28	96.3

Congressional District 32 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	77.18	28.12	11.36	75.56	26.22	15.12
		Harris	22.74	72.43	88.62	24.44	73.78	84.88
	US Senate	Cruz	74.78	19.85	10.38	73.41	19.87	13.53
		Allred	25.44	80.55	89.7	26.59	80.13	86.47
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	74.27	13.04	19.58	73.61	19.85	14.56
		Garza	25.73	86.86	80.35	26.39	80.15	85.44
	Governor	Abbott	75.62	13.08	19.08	75.05	20.71	13.87
		O'Rourke	24.46	86.85	80.65	24.95	79.29	86.13
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	74.26	12.8	19.37	73.42	20.16	14.99
		Collier	25.66	87.54	80.61	26.58	79.84	85.01

Congressional District 33 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	39.79	33.13	11.64	39.13	35.46	15.3
		Harris	60.37	67	88.3	60.87	64.54	84.7
	US Senate	Cruz	37.27	25.58	10.24	37.18	27.92	13.52
		Allred	62.59	74.15	90.21	62.82	72.08	86.48
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	36.35	19.31	7.29	34.94	23.84	11.96
		Garza	63.81	80.57	92.61	65.06	76.16	88.04
	Governor	Abbott	37.8	20.15	6.37	36.57	24.13	11.48
		O'Rourke	62.21	80.06	93.76	63.43	75.87	88.52
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	36.72	20.91	6.6	35.42	24.8	11.07
		Collier	63.6	79.26	93.18	64.58	75.2	88.93

Congressional District 35 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	84.63	35.25	34.1	83.87	35.75	18.7
		Harris	15.73	64.93	64.93	16.13	64.25	81.3
	US Senate	Cruz	83.8	28.64	33.13	82.36	30.3	16.74
		Allred	16.05	71.28	65.23	17.64	69.7	83.26
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	88	25.82	34.58	86.39	28.46	18.04
		Garza	12.11	74.23	64.92	13.61	71.54	81.96
	Governor	Abbott	88.01	25.5	33.12	86.92	28.06	17.69
		O'Rourke	11.84	74.27	66.77	13.08	71.94	82.31
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	88.2	27.2	36.32	86.78	29.75	17.75
		Collier	11.62	72.89	63.61	13.22	70.25	82.25

Congressional District 38 (C2333): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	71.21	35.23	23.94	71.99	39.59	35.45
		Harris	28.42	64.26	77.08	28.01	60.41	64.55
	US Senate	Cruz	70.4	29.03	17.3	70.96	32.48	32.51
		Allred	29.59	70.45	82.98	29.04	67.52	67.49
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	72.6	33.43	19.75	74.29	34.76	33.64
		Garza	27.49	66.78	79.65	25.71	65.24	66.36
	Governor	Abbott	73.4	30.87	18.43	75.33	32.26	33.5
		O'Rourke	26.66	69.83	82.09	24.67	67.74	66.5
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	71.76	33.4	20.12	73.44	34.68	34.49
		Collier	28.25	66.54	80.27	26.56	65.32	65.51

Congressional District 9 (C2193): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	52.16	41.65	9.87	52.71	40.98	8.09
		Harris	48.3	58.94	90.22	47.29	59.02	91.91
	US Senate	Cruz	51.9	34.89	7.53	52.52	33.92	6.55
		Allred	48.06	64.91	92.33	47.48	66.08	93.45
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	55.96	31.54	6.69	55.39	26.32	5.27
		Garza	44.45	68.41	93.19	44.61	73.68	94.73
	Governor	Abbott	56.09	30.74	6.71	55.69	26.54	5.02
		O'Rourke	44.11	69.62	93.29	44.31	73.46	94.98
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	54.99	32.14	7.05	54.35	27.32	5.2
		Collier	45.42	67.95	92.96	45.65	72.68	94.8

Congressional District 18 (C2193): EI and RxC using CVAP by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White CVAP - EI	Latino CVAP - EI	Black CVAP - EI	White CVAP - RxC	Latino CVAP - RxC	Black CVAP - RxC
2024	President	Trump	45.59	48.2	7.47	35.94	47.93	6.22
		Harris	54.58	52.01	92.38	64.06	52.07	93.78
	US Senate	Cruz	43.43	47.11	5.69	35.56	44.57	4.75
		Allred	56.43	53.43	94.32	64.44	55.43	95.25
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	48.2	46.48	2.53	38.63	38.09	4.04
		Garza	52.03	54.92	97.41	61.37	61.91	95.96
	Governor	Abbott	48.56	47.19	2.31	39.52	37.13	4.03
		O'Rourke	51.38	53.61	97.63	60.48	62.87	95.97
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	48.26	48.07	2.67	38.75	38.6	4.08
		Collier	52.11	52.27	97.21	61.25	61.4	95.92

Congressional District 2 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	77.25	25.76	0.54	75.45	47.02	8.27
		Harris	22.67	74.07	99.14	24.55	52.98	91.73
	US Senate	Cruz	76.35	18.51	0.42	74.73	40.28	8.66
		Allred	23.77	81.26	99.27	25.27	59.72	91.34
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	77.97	11.67	0.48	77.32	37.42	8.27
		Garza	22.08	87.96	99.27	22.68	62.58	91.73
	Governor	Abbott	78.15	10.31	0.74	77.62	35.42	9.03
		O'Rourke	21.67	89.82	99.37	22.38	64.58	90.97
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	77.52	12.95	0.48	76.79	38.74	8.59
		Collier	22.56	88.12	99.2	23.21	61.26	91.41

Congressional District 5 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	80.64	25.22	1.82	81.41	26.41	11.7
		Harris	19.26	74.59	99.07	18.59	73.59	88.3
	US Senate	Cruz	78.75	6.24	0.8	79.43	18.22	9.97
		Allred	21.13	93.86	98.71	20.57	81.78	90.03
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	80.77	4.93	0.86	80.64	12.05	7.79
		Garza	19.18	95.06	99.44	19.36	87.95	92.21
	Governor	Abbott	81.43	2.9	1.28	81.4	12.6	7.61
		O'Rourke	18.54	97.13	98.73	18.6	87.4	92.39
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	80.27	3.68	0.88	79.95	13.58	7.51
		Collier	19.78	96.65	99.01	20.05	86.42	92.49

Congressional District 6 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	79.9	28.92	5.15	79.92	35.21	6.68
		Harris	20.21	71.62	94.63	20.08	64.79	93.32
	US Senate	Cruz	78.62	21.03	4.66	77.88	27.17	6.29
		Allred	21.48	79.71	95.21	22.12	72.83	93.71
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	81.24	12.34	1.49	80.77	16.55	7.22
		Garza	18.71	87.81	98.49	19.23	83.45	92.78
	Governor	Abbott	81.93	13.37	4.66	81.46	17.2	6.69
		O'Rourke	18.11	86.59	95.44	18.54	82.8	93.31
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	80.59	14.77	3.49	80	17.84	7
		Collier	19.31	85.96	96.9	20	82.16	93

Congressional District 8 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	87.3	20.07	3.47	85	44.5	9.73
		Harris	12.63	80.54	96.4	15	55.5	90.27
	US Senate	Cruz	85.42	9.57	2.86	84.15	35.38	9.86
		Allred	14.51	90.48	97.05	15.85	64.62	90.14
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	87.89	7.61	1.74	86.88	26.56	9.04
		Garza	11.98	92.32	98.25	13.12	73.44	90.96
	Governor	Abbott	88.21	7.25	1.42	87.2	25.03	9.62
		O'Rourke	11.93	92.72	98.53	12.8	74.97	90.38
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	87.25	7.53	1.69	86.23	27.51	8.96
		Collier	12.7	92.36	98.42	13.77	72.49	91.04

Congressional District 9 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	93.32	40.11	6.11	93.21	41.81	9.37
		Harris	6.68	59.73	93.48	6.79	58.19	90.63
	US Senate	Cruz	91.5	32.39	6.22	91.66	34.21	8.99
		Allred	8.41	67.51	93.39	8.34	65.79	91.01
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	93.16	25.63	1.09	93.74	26.96	8.34
		Garza	6.77	74.08	98.52	6.26	73.04	91.66
	Governor	Abbott	93.11	25.73	0.15	93.68	26.78	8.28
		O'Rourke	6.88	74.2	99.21	6.32	73.22	91.72
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	92.43	27.28	0.83	93.08	28.5	8.08
		Collier	7.51	72.89	99.07	6.92	71.5	91.92

Congressional District 12 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	76.11	32.3	0.47	76.01	33.56	7.45
		Harris	23.96	67.74	98.77	23.99	66.44	92.55
	US Senate	Cruz	74.01	26.86	0.81	73.93	27.07	7.04
		Allred	26.01	73.21	99.05	26.07	72.93	92.96
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	75.04	18.24	1.07	74.73	19.19	6.36
		Garza	24.92	81.57	99.09	25.27	80.81	93.64
	Governor	Abbott	75.75	17.68	0.68	75.45	18.82	6.47
		O'Rourke	24.3	82.44	99.08	24.55	81.18	93.53
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	74.32	19.51	0.77	74	19.88	6.36
		Collier	25.67	80.38	98.81	26	80.12	93.64

Congressional District 18 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	46.32	42.63	4.4	38.97	45.72	4.54
		Harris	54.01	57.27	95.62	61.03	54.28	95.46
	US Senate	Cruz	45.05	34.55	2.23	38.83	38.66	3.73
		Allred	55.14	65.37	97.79	61.17	61.34	96.27
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	45.93	30.13	1.46	40.51	33.17	2.58
		Garza	53.87	69.7	98.53	59.49	66.83	97.42
	Governor	Abbott	46.09	29.48	2.03	41.09	33.26	2.33
		O'Rourke	53.98	70.47	97.99	58.91	66.74	97.67
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	45.74	31.59	1.1	40.4	33.8	2.46
		Collier	53.94	68.39	98.86	59.6	66.2	97.54

Congressional District 25 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	86.24	13.7	0.6	84.87	25.19	3.7
		Harris	13.76	86.3	99.51	15.13	74.81	96.3
	US Senate	Cruz	83.99	10.36	0.01	83.04	16.76	3.49
		Allred	16.03	89.65	99.97	16.96	83.24	96.51
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	83.98	12.58	0.35	83.83	11.41	2.74
		Garza	15.98	87.25	99.65	16.17	88.59	97.26
	Governor	Abbott	84.42	14.72	4.34	84.49	10.9	3.07
		O'Rourke	15.57	85.37	95.76	15.51	89.1	96.93
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	83.28	12.39	0.09	83.11	10.98	2.92
		Collier	16.73	87.82	99.42	16.89	89.02	97.08

Congressional District 29 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	49.86	48.7	7.57	51.36	46.88	6.95
		Harris	50.22	52.1	92.41	48.64	53.12	93.05
	US Senate	Cruz	50.76	42.14	5.8	51.43	40.63	5.22
		Allred	49.58	58.04	94.06	48.57	59.37	94.78
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	57.46	39.42	4.1	55.78	34.42	4.44
		Garza	42.03	60.56	95.8	44.22	65.58	95.56
	Governor	Abbott	57.85	38.25	4.6	56.38	33.89	4.12
		O'Rourke	41.61	61.65	95.36	43.62	66.11	95.88
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	57.35	41.09	3.98	55.13	36.56	3.97
		Collier	42.83	58.85	96.02	44.87	63.44	96.03

Congressional District 30 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	81.88	41.99	4.06	75.99	35.34	5.06
		Harris	18.29	57.49	96.01	24.01	64.66	94.94
	US Senate	Cruz	80.56	33.12	2.13	75.41	28.09	2.93
		Allred	19.44	67.08	97.88	24.59	71.91	97.07
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	81.36	36	1.87	79.16	16.77	3
		Garza	18.57	65.24	98.05	20.84	83.23	97
	Governor	Abbott	82.12	34.21	1.78	80.66	17.07	2.94
		O'Rourke	17.92	64.96	98.22	19.34	82.93	97.06
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	81.67	29.11	1.67	79.46	17.41	2.51
		Collier	18.3	70.31	98.34	20.54	82.59	97.49

Congressional District 32 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	73.22	28.64	10.71	73.26	22.72	10.7
		Harris	26.83	71.28	89.44	26.74	77.28	89.3
	US Senate	Cruz	71.12	21.66	7.18	71.05	15.56	9.21
		Allred	28.9	78.38	92.73	28.95	84.44	90.79
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	70.92	5.48	12.84	70.35	9.74	8.73
		Garza	29.12	94.32	87.19	29.65	90.26	91.27
	Governor	Abbott	72.29	5.13	14.52	72.11	7.52	8.09
		O'Rourke	27.73	94.8	85.11	27.89	92.48	91.91
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	70.86	6.2	10.84	70.39	10.25	7.66
		Collier	29.18	93.25	89.24	29.61	89.75	92.34

Congressional District 33 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	37.52	34.47	6.05	38.89	37.3	10.82
		Harris	62.26	65.21	94.06	61.11	62.7	89.18
	US Senate	Cruz	35.84	27.13	2.72	36.75	29.93	9.09
		Allred	63.97	72.56	98.04	63.25	70.07	90.91
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	34.96	19.7	0.03	34.12	24.87	8.86
		Garza	65.26	80.58	97.38	65.88	75.13	91.14
	Governor	Abbott	36.2	19.97	0.9	35.45	25.09	8.99
		O'Rourke	63.83	79.91	98.67	64.55	74.91	91.01
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	34.95	21.14	0.02	34.22	25.91	8.94
		Collier	65.16	79.18	99.98	65.78	74.09	91.06

Congressional District 35 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	79.97	34.77	11.3	82.12	35.01	7.33
		Harris	19.95	65.22	88.85	17.88	64.99	92.67
	US Senate	Cruz	79.33	28.21	10.17	80.49	29.13	6.55
		Allred	20.47	71.51	89.74	19.51	70.87	93.45
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	83.72	24.08	1.61	83.53	24.57	6.23
		Garza	16.14	76.15	96.05	16.47	75.43	93.77
	Governor	Abbott	84.92	22.99	21.47	84.06	24.09	5.7
		O'Rourke	15.16	77.11	78.38	15.94	75.91	94.3
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	83.91	25.7	0	83.68	26.01	6.97
		Collier	16.27	74.41	95.28	16.32	73.99	93.03

Congressional District 38 (C2333): EI and RxC using BISG by Race

Year	Office	Candidate	White BISG - EI	Latino BISG - EI	Black BISG - EI	White BISG - RxC	Latino BISG - RxC	Black BISG - RxC
2024	President	Trump	72.39	20.2	1.15	72.55	33.81	30.54
		Harris	27.94	79.42	97.69	27.45	66.19	69.46
	US Senate	Cruz	71.1	14.83	0.26	71.58	27.9	23.23
		Allred	28.69	85.05	98.58	28.42	72.1	76.77
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	73.56	12.23	5.23	74.84	20.69	23.27
		Garza	26.46	87.96	94.03	25.16	79.31	76.73
	Governor	Abbott	74.21	10.57	4.97	75.55	18.26	23.36
		O'Rourke	25.78	89.46	94.44	24.45	81.74	76.64
	Lieutenant Governor	Patrick	72.51	13.02	5.68	73.63	22.29	24.75
		Collier	27.4	86.39	93.94	26.37	77.71	75.25

Appendix C:
Barreto CV



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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT:

Professor, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Professor, Chicana/o & Central American Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Lecturer, School of Law, University of California Los Angeles (2018 – present)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP) (2018 – present)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI) (2017-2024)

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington

Professor (2014 – 2015)

Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)

Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)

Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race

Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

Affiliated Research Centers

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

PERSONAL:

Born: San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Political Science

University of California – Irvine

Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology

Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation

Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner

Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities*, 04-05

University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05

University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05

Master of Science, Social Science

University of California – Irvine

Bachelor of Science, Political Science

Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM

Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 6,660 h-index: 39 i10-index: 72 i100-index: 19 Cites/year: 333

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3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ram rez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

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RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Apr 2025	Haas Jr. Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project	\$325,000 – 24 months
Apr 2025	Levi Strauss Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project With Sonni Waknin	\$150,000 – 24 months
Jan 2024	Four Freedoms Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project With Sonni Waknin	\$105,000 – 12 months
Jan 2023	Open Societies Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project With Arturo Vargas Bustamante	\$2,500,000 – 36 months
Jan 2022	California Secretary of State UCLA Voting Rights Project With Michael Rios	\$550,000 – 12 months
June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Sonja Diaz	\$2,500,000 – 24 months
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Sonja Diaz	\$900,000 – 18 months
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Chad Dunn	\$90,000 – 24 months
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Sonja Diaz	\$200,000 – 18 months
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Sonja Diaz	\$250,000 – 12 months
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative With Sonja Diaz	\$100,000 – 12 months
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	\$200,000 – 12 months
April 2012	American Values Institute With Ben Gonzalez Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	\$40,000 – 3 months
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation With Gabriel Sanchez Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	\$60,000 – 6 months
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	\$60,000 – 3 months
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) With Karam Dana Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	\$50,000 – 18 months
Jan 2011	impreMedia With Gary Segura Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	\$30,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) With Gary Segura Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	\$128,000 – 6 months

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RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...

Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) With Gary Segura Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	\$79,000 – 3 months
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) With Gary Segura A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	\$25,000 – 3 months
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) With Karam Dana Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	\$50,000 – 18 months
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) With Gary Segura Health care reform and Latino public opinion	\$25,000 – 3 months
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) With Gary Segura 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	\$46,000 – 3 months
July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) With Gary Segura Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	\$72,000 – 3 months
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	\$220,000 – 10 months
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	\$95,000 – 6 months
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	\$39,000 – 12 months
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University with Stephen Nuo and Gabriel Sanchez Indiana Voter Identification Study	\$40,000 – 6 months
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division with Gary Segura American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	\$750,000 – 24 months
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	\$12,000 – 6 months
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant with Gary Segura Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	\$40,000 – 18 months
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	\$8,000 – 12 months
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant with Fernando Guerra Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$30,000 – 6 months
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	\$21,000 – 12 months
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	\$14,700 – 9 months
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	\$12,000 – 9 months
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	\$4,700 – 3 months
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant with Fernando Guerra Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$20,000 – 12 months

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2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality with Harry Pachon Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tom s Rivera Policy Institute	<i>\$150,000 – 12 months</i>
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development with Louis Tornatzky Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tom s Rivera Policy Institute	<i>\$150,000 – 18 months</i>
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	<i>\$24,000 – 9 months</i>

EXPERT REPORTS:

- Orange County, NY, 2024, Newburgh town council, under NYVRA
- Florida 2024, State Senate districts, *Nord Hodges v. Passidomo and Byrd*
- North Carolina 2024, *North Carolina NAACP v. Hirsch*, SB 824 Voter ID law
- North Carolina 2023, State Senate redistricting, *Democracy Project II. Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections*
- Dodge City, Kansas 2022-23, city redistricting, *Coca et al. vs. Dodge City, KS.*
- Florida 2022-23, Statewide redistricting, *Common Cause et al. vs. Byrd*
- Galveston County, Texas 2022-23, county redistricting, *Petteway et al. v. Galveston County, TX.*
- Benton, Chelan, Yakima counties signature rejection, 2022-23, *Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al.*
- San Juan County, New Mexico 2022-23, county redistricting, *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, NM*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2022, *LULAC v. Abbott* (on behalf of Mexican American Legislative Caucus)
- Franklin County, WA, 2021-22, county redistricting, rebuttal expert for Plaintiffs, *Portugal et al. vs. Franklin County*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2021-22, *Brooks v. Abbott* Senate District 10 (Tarrant County)
- Baltimore County Council, 2021-22, *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, (on behalf of NAACP and ACLU-MD)
- Maryland Office of Attorney General, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Pennsylvania House Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Washington State Senate Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- City of San Jose, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of city redistricting
- Santa Clara County, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of county redistricting
- Pennsylvania, 2020, *Boockvar v. Trump*, Expert for Intervenor, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation
- Missouri, 2020, *Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- Georgia, 2020, *Black Voters Matter vs. Raffesnsperger*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876
- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, *NAACP v. Cooper*
- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, *New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce* (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, *Harding v. Dallas County*
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, *Fish v. Kobach* 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, *Brakebill v. Jaeger* 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, *Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama* 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, *Veasey v. Perry* 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting

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- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County
- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, *Frank v. Walker* 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case

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- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case
- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

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**TEACHING
EXPERIENCE:**

UCLA & UW

2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant

University of California, Irvine

2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002**
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003**

**BOARD &
RESEARCH
APPOINTMENTS****Founder and President**

Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC

2021 - Present**Founding Partner**

Latino Decisions

2007 – 2020**Board of Advisors**

American National Election Study, University of Michigan

2010 – 2017**Advisory Board**States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project
*CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project*2014 – 2021**Research Advisor**

American Values Institute / Perception Institute

2009 – 2014**Expert Consultant**

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee

2011 – 2012**Senior Scholar & Advisory Council**

Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA

2006 – 2008**Board of Directors**

CASA Latina, Seattle, WA

2006 – 2009**Faculty Research Scholar**

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California

1999 – 2009

PHD STUDENTS**Committee Chair or Co-Chair**

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Lanionu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – Harvard University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Ana Oaxaca – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Estefania Castañeda-Perez – University of Pennsylvania (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Tye Rush - University of California, Davis (UCLA Ph.D. 2023)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Jessica Cobian – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Michael Herndon – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member

- Alexandra Davis – *in progress* (UCLA, 2025)
- Erik Hanson – University of Southern California (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Joy Wilke – Director of Polling, Blue Labs (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Christine Slaughter – Boston University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castan – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)