1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS HOUSTON DIVISION		
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4	THE WOODLANDS PRIDE, INC., 4:23-CV-02847		
5	ET AL.		
6	VS. HOUSTON, TEXAS		
7	ANGELA COLMENERO, ET AL. AUGUST 29, 2023		
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10	TRANSCRIPT OF CONSOLIDATED PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION HEARING AND TRIAL ON THE MERITS - DAY 2		
11	HEARD BEFORE THE HONORABLE DAVID HITTNER UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE		
12	**************		
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PROCEEDINGS 1 THE LAW CLERK: All rise. 2 3 THE COURT: Thank you. Be seated. 4 Good morning, everybody. We're ready to proceed. Ms. Bandit, do you want to take the stand, 5 10:35AM please? 6 7 Go right ahead. Go right ahead. 8 MR. STONE: Thank you, Your Honor. 9 BRIGITTE BANDIT, 10 having been previously duly sworn, testified as follows, to 11 wit: 12 CROSS-EXAMINATION 13 BY MR. STONE: 14 You perform some shows for all ages and other shows for 10:36AM **15** adult-only? 16 Yes. 17 You cater your performances to the age of the audience, Q. 18 right? Α. Yeah. 19 10:36AM **20** What happens at your adult-only shows that doesn't happen Q. 21 at your all-ages shows? 22 I will pull my breasts out. Α. 23 Q. Other than pulling your breasts out, are there any other 24 things that happen at your adults-only shows that wouldn't 10:36AM **25** happen at an all-ages shows?

	1	A. I mean, that's the biggest one, so, yeah. I mean also
	2	I'll change my costuming; but that goes with like pulling my
	3	shirt off and stuff like that, you know.
	4	Q. So let's explore that a little bit. What outfits would
10:36AM	5	you wear at an adults-only show that you wouldn't wear at an
	6	all-ages show?
	7	A. At an adults-only show?
	8	Q. Uh-huh.
	9	A. Like I just said, like something where I'm just like
10:37AM	10	wearing a thong, like having my breasts exposed.
	11	Q. When you say that your breasts are exposed, are they fully
	12	exposed; or are you wearing some form of like like something
	13	covering the nipple?
	14	A. They're fully exposed. The breastplate is fully exposed.
10:37AM	15	THE COURT: Wait. Say that again, ma'am.
	16	THE WITNESS: The breastplate whenever I wear I
	17	have I wear fake breasts, the breastplate; and I'll reveal
	18	the full breastplate.
	19	THE COURT: Oh, okay.
10:37AM	20	THE WITNESS: Yeah.
	21	THE COURT: What is a breastplate? Is it like a shirt
	22	or
	23	THE WITNESS: Yeah, it's kind of like a
	24	THE COURT: A complete shirt?
10:37AM	25	THE WITNESS: It's like a vest, yeah. It's like a vest

that goes all the way around my body, and it has fake breasts 1 2 on it. 3 THE COURT: All right. Go on. 4 BY MR. STONE: Q. When you show your breasts during the adults-only shows, 5 10:37AM are you showing your breasts below the top of your areola? 6 7 It's fully exposed. I'll just be wearing the Α. 8 breastplate and like a, you know, something -- a thong or 9 something to cover --10 Q. Okay. 11 -- the rest of it. I got it. Thank you. I'm sorry. I'm slow. 12 Q. 13 You showed us a picture of you with a large black dildo? 14 Α. Yeah. It's actually purple; but it looks weird in the 10:38AM **15** photo, yeah. 16 Okay. Do you use the dildo during all-ages shows? Q. 17 Α. I would not use that during an all-ages show. 18 Q. Why not? 19 Α. Because it's not something that would appeal to children 10:38AM **20** or would -- I would find appropriate for kids. 21 THE COURT: You're talking an all-adult show, how do 22 you control the admission to it? I know we talked about the 23 restaurants and so forth, but how do you control -- in another 24 one you had a liquor license, that was the reason; but how --

generally when you say, "an all-adult show," how restrictive

10:39AM **25**

and how excluded are those? 1 2 THE WITNESS: I mean I would say it's just like the 3 21-up bars and clubs and stuff like that, so typically we 4 really do not see any kinds of minors in those spaces. THE COURT: Have the minors come in? I mean the 5 10:39AM restaurant or whatever, if they wanted to come into the back, 6 7 there's no exclusion? Do you just mention to them it's 8 inappropriate for kids; or if a parent just brings a child in, 9 do you stop a whole show just because --10:39AM 10 THE WITNESS: I mean yeah, sometimes --11 THE COURT: -- it's adults-only? 12 THE WITNESS: Sometimes you're in the middle of a 13 performance or something like that. It's hard to stop what 14 you're doing if you see somebody in the audience that you may 10:39AM **15** not have expected to be there. 16 THE COURT: But it's not upon your invitation? They 17 have at least some notice that --18 THE WITNESS: They know what they're getting into, 19 yeah. 10:39AM **20** THE COURT: Who does? 21 THE WITNESS: I mean a parent or anybody who's bringing 22 a child into like a drag show. 23 THE COURT: Okay. All right. Go on. BY MR. STONE: 24 10:40AM **25** How do you know that they know what they're getting into Q.

when they bring a child to a drag show? 1 2 Α. When they bring a kid to a drag show? 3 Q. If it's -- let me ask it a little differently. Yeah. 4 Α. Yeah. How do you know that they know what they're getting into 5 Q. 10:40AM if they bring a child to a drag show that's advertised as an 6 7 all-ages event? Α. Well, okay. Yeah. We --8 9 THE COURT: An all-ages event? You're talking first at an all-ages event, how do they know what they're getting into? 10:40AM **10** 11 MR. STONE: Right. Okay. Ma'am, go right ahead. 12 THE COURT: 13 Α. So whenever I promote my shows, we promote them as either 14 all-ages so we understand the content and appropriateness for 10:40AM **15** the audience; or we have 18-up and 21-up and that's what's 16 recommended for the show. It's clearly on the flier and what 17 is -- you know, sometimes even IDs checked at the door for that 18 kind of stuff as well. 19 THE COURT: Well, movies have a rating system, don't 10:41AM **20** they? 21 THE WITNESS: Exactly, yeah. It's the same kind of 22 thing. 23 THE COURT: What is it? If a movie is rated R and a 24 parent wants to bring a child, are they stopped at the door or 10:41AM **25** warned at the door?

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THE WITNESS: No, they're not stopped at the door or
       1
            warned at the door.
       2
       3
                    THE COURT: That's what the rating are, the R ratings,
       4
            PG and so forth?
                    THE WITNESS: Yes, exactly.
       5
10:41AM
                    THE COURT: It's on your brochures?
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       7
                    THE WITNESS: Yeah.
                    THE COURT: Are most shows like that?
       8
       9
                    THE WITNESS: Do most shows have the age rating on
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            them?
      11
                    THE COURT: Yes.
      12
                    THE WITNESS: Yes, they do.
      13
                    THE COURT: Okay.
            BY MR. STONE:
      14
10:41AM 15
            Q.
                 You testified that most of your routines are not sexual,
      16
            right?
      17
                  I would say most of my routines are not sexual, yeah.
            Α.
      18
            Q.
                 But some are?
      19
            Α.
                 But I do have some sexual shows, yes.
10:41AM 20
            Q.
                 Would you ever perform one of your sexual shows at an
            all-ages event?
      21
      22
                 No.
            Α.
      23
            Q.
                 Why not?
      24
            Α.
                  I mean what I consider to be sexual, which is like having
10:42AM 25
            my breasts exposed, right, which is what is defined by the law
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1 like that we keep referring to as what is defined as nudity, 2 things like that, you know, that kind of outline of the 3 guidelines of what is appropriate. 4 Q. Are you aware of any specific drag show performances in Texas that involve performances that you believe were not 5 10:42AM age-appropriate? 6 7 Α. I'm not aware. 8 Q. Is it your contention in this lawsuit that you should be 9 permitted to intentionally perform actual or simulated sex acts 10:42AM 10 for a sexual purpose at all-age events? 11 I don't want to do that, but that's not what this law 12 says. 13 THE COURT: Say it again. Did you say it's not what 14 the law says? 10:42AM 15 THE WITNESS: It's not -- it's not everything that this 16 law says. That's not what my issue is. I don't want to 17 perform sex acts in front of kids. 18 BY MR. STONE: 19 Q. Okay. Is it your contention in this lawsuit that you 10:42AM **20** should be permitted to perform nude at all-ages events? I don't want to perform nude, but "nude" is also not 21 22 clearly defined. 23 Q. When you say, "nude" is not clearly defined --24 THE COURT: Are you talking about the proposed law or 10:43AM **25** the law about to go into effect?

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THE WITNESS: Yeah, the law about to go into effect.

"Nude" is not clearly defined. And even if, you know, the butt is exposed or something like, how do you -- how do you define it, especially with drag performers? They have a bunch of padding on and tights and stuff like that. Would that be considered their butt in that case or not? You know, like it's just not clear.

THE COURT: One of -- aside from you talking breastplates, they say -- we heard yesterday and into today about this padding. What are you talking about, the padding?

THE WITNESS: Padding. So typically somebody who doesn't have hips will put on, like -- it's almost like couch cushioning on their hips to kind of round it out and give them that shape. So they have layers and layers of clothes on to give this illusion, this more female figure illusion. And the same thing with my breastplate. Would my breastplate be considered nude? Because it's not my actual breasts. I do have actual breasts; but with my breastplate, it's something that I'm wearing that looks like breasts. But are those breasts? Could I do that in an all-ages show? You know, it's just not clear what nude is, especially when it comes to drag performers.

THE COURT: All right. I'm just mentioning -- since it's come up from time to time, you may or may not want to get into the issue. Is it real or is it -- I wouldn't say an

1 illusion, or just not really the person you're dealing with, 2 because all day long yesterday and today we've heard about 3 breastplates and hip padding and so forth. So I'm just saying 4 don't hesitate to get into that area if you want to, because it's in it now. Whether I'll address it or not, I'm not sure; 5 10:44AM but I just wanted to mention to everybody at least it's now in 6 7 the mix in the second day, okay? Because almost everybody 8 mentioned those two items that they use routinely in the drag shows. 10:45AM 10 Go on. 11 MR. STONE: Yes. 12 BY MR. STONE: 13 Q. You understand that nudity is already prohibited by law 14 currently? It's already prohibited, yeah. 10:45AM **15** Α. Yeah. 16 And there's already a definition in the law of nudity that Q. 17 predates SB 12? 18 Α. Oh, I'm very well informed with that law, yes, as a 19 performer. 10:45AM **20** And you weren't confused about whether your performances Q. 21 were nude before SB 12, were you? 22 I mean in accordance to that law, yeah. Α. 23 MR. STONE: Okay. I pass the witness, Your Honor. Ladies and gentlemen, any questions? 24 THE COURT: 10:46AM **25** MR. VIADA: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: 1 Okay. Redirect, please? 2 REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. KEMPF: 3 4 Q. Good morning, Ms. Bandit. Α. Good morning. 5 10:46AM Q. I have just a few questions. 6 The microphone, pull it in, please. 7 THE COURT: 8 Thank you, Your Honor. Chloe Kempf for the 9 plaintiffs. BY MS. KEMPF: 10:46AM 10 11 Ms. Bandit, even if you don't consider your breastplate nude, are you worried that it could be considered a prosthetic 12 13 that enhances your female characteristics? 14 Absolutely. That's what it's intended to do. Α. 10:46AM **15** And even if you don't consider your breastplate nude, Q. 16 could you worry that it's an exhibition, actual or simulated, 17 of female genitals? 18 Α. Yes. 19 Q. Do you worry that your dildo is an exhibition of actual or simulated male genitals? 10:47AM **20** 21 Α. Yeah. 22 When you perform with your dildo, you mention that it's at Q. adult-only shows? 23 24 Α. Yes. 10:47AM **25** And I believe yesterday you testified sometimes that Q.

happens at a venue called Cheer Up Charlies? 1 Α. Yes. 3 Q. At Cheer Up Charlies can people who are not necessarily 4 admitted to the venue sometimes see your performances? MR. STONE: Objection, Your Honor. This is outside the 5 10:47AM scope of my cross-examination. 6 7 THE COURT: Is it? 8 MS. KEMPF: No, Your Honor. He asked if her dildo 9 performances were performed for audience of adults-only, I believe. 10:47AM 10 Okay. I'll overrule the objection. 11 THE COURT: 12 Yes, people can clearly see the show from outside the 13 venue. BY MS. KEMPF: 14 10:47AM **15** Q. Like from where, for example? 16 From the sidewalk. 17 MS. KEMPF: Okay. No further questions, Your Honor. 18 Thank you. Okay. Sir, do you want to follow something 19 THE COURT: 10:47AM **20** up, please, sir? 21 MR. STONE: Yes, Your Honor. 22 THE COURT: Yes. Go right ahead. **RECROSS-EXAMINATION** 23 BY MR. STONE: 24 10:47AM **25** Q. You said that it's at Cheer Up Charlies the stage of the

1 venue is visible to people who are not on the property, right? Α. Yeah. Would you consider those individuals to be present for the 3 Q. 4 show? I think it would depend on if they were actually watching 5 10:48AM They can see -- if they're walking by, I probably 6 7 would not consider them being present at the show; but I have 8 had people stop outside of the fence, not even be -- because 9 they are with people who cannot come into the 21-up space, watch the show from outside the club and I would consider them 10:48AM 10 11 to be watching the show. 12 So even though they didn't pay for a ticket or get ID'd to Q. 13 enter the venue, you would still consider them present even 14 though they're not actually within the physical confines of the venue itself? 10:48AM **15** 16 Yeah, they are -- they are present and they want to even 17 talk with me after the show and stuff like that. They'll talk 18 with me literally through the gate. 19 MR. STONE: I pass the witness, Your Honor. 10:48AM **20** THE COURT: All right. 21 Anything further? 22 MS. KEMPF: No, Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: Thank you, ma'am. Please step down. 24 Call your next witness. 10:48AM 25 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, the plaintiffs are

prepared to rest. We were going to ask the Court to clarify 1 2 which exhibits are admitted possibly for the record. 3 THE COURT: Have you kept a record? 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: We have, Your Honor. THE COURT: I think we have a record up here, but we 5 10:49AM could easily go over that. 6 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. And then the 7 8 plaintiffs rest. 9 THE COURT: What says the defense? Anything further? 10:49AM 10 Are you going to call a witness? 11 MR. STONE: No, Your Honor, we're not. We would like to do a Rule 52(c). 12 13 THE COURT: Which is? 14 MR. STONE: We're asking for the judge to enter a 10:49AM **15** directed verdict in this case. 16 THE COURT: All right. Okay. It's a motion for 17 directed verdict on what grounds? 18 MR. STONE: Well, Your Honor, we believe that -- or for 19 judgments on the merits, I should say. 10:49AM **20** We believe that the plaintiffs have not presented 21 sufficient evidence to establish that they intend to -- that 22 they have standing, because they intend to engage in future 23 conduct that is arguably proscribed by the law that they're 24 challenging and for which there's threat of future enforcement 10:49AM **25** that is substantial.

If I could use the screen, I'd like to show you 1 2 the law and go through each of these and show you how they've 3 not presented evidence. 4 THE COURT: Sure. Absolutely. And the video comes on now, doesn't it? Is the 5 10:50AM screen on? Do you mind my turning the lights on? 6 7 MR. STONE: No. It's fine, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. Now, there's the text up there 8 9 somewhere because we have it on our screens. There it is. 10:50AM 10 MR. STONE: All right. Your Honor, I'd like to go 11 through each of these in kind and talk about the evidence that 12 has been presented during the case --13 THE COURT: Do you have a darker copy, or is that it? MR. STONE: I can zoom in, Your Honor. 14 10:50AM **15** THE COURT: All right. That will help. 16 MR. STONE: Okay. So this is SB 12. This is 17 Exhibit 10, Plaintiffs' Exhibit 10. I'm on Page 7 here, and 18 I've highlighted portions of it that I want to talk about as we 19 go through this. I'm going to talk about the evidence that has 10:51AM **20** been presented, or the lack of evidence in this case, that has 21 been presented. 22 In this case we have the elements of what is the 23 law that they're alleged -- that they're challenging that their 24 conduct is potentially proscribed by. Here "'sexually oriented

performance' means a visual" --

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THE COURT: People have a tendency, in all my years, to speed up when they're reading; so slow down. We sure have plenty of time.

MR. STONE: Yes, Your Honor. I'll try to take this slow and --

> That may be clearer. THE COURT: Go on.

MR. STONE: "'Sexually oriented performance' means a visual performance that features: A performer who is nude, as defined by Section 102.051 of the Business and Commercial Code or any other performer who engages in sexual conduct and" -and that's really important -- "and appeals to the prurient interest in sex."

So let's start with "nude." We heard testimony from the witnesses that they have policies, procedures and practices that prohibit nude performances.

THE COURT: Let me mention it to you this way. We're going to do this, no doubt. No problem. But I don't want you to cover the same thing when you use your 45 minutes, you know, to sum up the case, okay? Because here it is. Because I'm getting a feeling that you could use this as a summary, but you're entitled to put it on at this time or get a ruling and then ask later on, you know, considering it, just renew your motion for -- it's called a judgment as a matter of law. What do you prefer doing? Because I don't want to hear it twice.

MR. STONE: Your Honor, if we could, I'll try to do

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mine in about 5 to 10 minutes; and if we renew, the only thing we would add is if there's anything that I didn't cover that hasn't been discussed by me with respect to this.

THE COURT: Fair enough.

MR. STONE: Okay. So with respect to nude performances, you heard testimony from the plaintiffs that they have policies, procedures and practices that prohibit nude performances. Woodlands Pride actually testified that if one of their performers performed nude, they would remove them from the stage and prohibit them from coming back.

So nudity is already prohibited by law. It's long been prohibited by law. There's nothing new in SB 12 prohibiting nude performances. This all already existed.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Objection, Your Honor.

I would ask counsel -- nudity is not actually currently proscribed by Texas law. I'd ask the counsel to point -- indecent exposure is a statute, but it's a generalized incorrect legal statement to say, "nudity."

MR. STONE: I'm trying to make -- Your Honor, I'm just trying to make my record here.

THE COURT: No, sir. He's correct, okay? We're dealing now with switching from live witnesses, okay? So you're dealing with the law, okay? I don't have all the other definitions in front of me, but you've heard it. So if you want to correct it, fine. Don't use any shortcuts.

MR. STONE: Okay, Your Honor.

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The evidence that was presented by the plaintiffs was that they have policies, practices and procedures where they do not perform nude. They have not performed nude in the past, and they do not intend to perform nude in the future in front of children at all-ages events. That was significant.

You did hear testimony from Brigitte a moment ago that some of her performances do involve nudity, but they're at adult-only events. They're not at all-ages events with minors. So there is -- there is no standing that the plaintiffs can show because they don't intend to engage in conduct that is proscribed by law.

Moving on to the factors under "What is sexual conduct" -- and, again, under "sexual conduct" it's not just the sexual conduct. It also -- there's an "and" in here. "It also has to appeal to the prurient interest in sex."

Going through each of these, first "Actual or simulated sexual acts, including vaginal sex, anal sex and" --

THE COURT: Hold on a second. You've got a marker there. Where are you reading from?

MR. STONE: This is Page 6 of Plaintiffs' Exhibit 10.

This is Section 43.28, "Certain sexually oriented performances" and it says: "Sexual conduct means" -- so this is from the previous screen that they were just looking at.

So there's two categories here. The first is

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"nude performances." That's what we just talked about. And the other is "Any other performer who engages in sexual conduct" and then of course for both and "it appeals to the prurient interest in sex."

So now I'm going through the second category of "any other performer who engages in sexual conduct."

And I'm sorry I'm going -- I'll slow down, Your Honor.

So we want to go through each of these and talk about whether or not they've established standing and whether their claims should be permitted to continue.

The first is "An actual or simulated sex act, including vaginal sex, anal sex and masturbation."

The Court heard testimony from the plaintiffs that they have policies, practices and procedures that prevent simulated sex acts.

We asked them -- we asked the plaintiffs if one of their contentions in this case is that they should be permitted to perform simulated sex acts at their all-ages performances and the witnesses that we've asked that question have all said, "no," that's not something that they're challenging in this case. There's been no testimony from any of the plaintiffs that they intend to perform actual or simulated sex acts for the purposes of a prurient interest in sex at an all-ages event. None of the plaintiffs testified

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that there's vaginal sex -- simulated vaginal sex, anal sex or masturbation at their performances at all-ages events.

So with respect to this portion of their challenge to the law, this Court should find that they do not have standing because they do not intend to engage in conduct that is arguably proscribed by the law. This Court should dismiss their claims with respect to 1(A).

Under B, this is "Actual or simulated female genitals in a lewd state, including a state of sexual stimulation or arousal."

In this case the only evidence that you've heard about simulated male or female genitals had to do with the packers that Abilene Pride testified about. Now, when we talked about those, Abilene Pride testified that they were not lewd in their opinion; but more than that, I asked them: "Is the packer the size of a softball?"

And they said, "No, it's not."

I asked if it was intended to simulate an erection.

And they said, "No, it was not."

Instead they said that it was intended to simulate the normal male bulge that every male has in their pants. There's nothing lewd about that or every male is always in a constant state of lewdness.

So by their own testimony and by the evidence

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that they presented during the course of this case nothing about what conduct that they do intend to engage in would be proscribed by this portion of the law. Therefore, this Court should find that they do not have standing. They have presented insufficient evidence to show by a preponderance of the evidence that they intend to engage in conduct that would be arguably proscribed by this portion of the law.

This Court should dismiss their claims with respect to that so we shouldn't have to even address this in our close.

Next under C, "The exhibition of a device designed or marketed as useful primarily for the sexual stimulation of male or female genitals."

They've only in their case-in-chief presented evidence about two devices. The first was condoms, the second one was dildos. And the dildos, the testimony they just heard from Brigitte was that she would not use them at an all-ages event. So strike that. You just dismiss that. That's not even at issue here, then.

The first one was condoms, but condoms are not intended or designed and marketed for sexual stimulation.

They're intended to prevent insemination and to protect against STDs, so they're not meant for sexual stimulation. They're to prevent STDs and to prevent people from getting pregnant as a form of birth control. Those are the only two examples that

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this Court heard testimony about. Since neither of those are at issue here -- the dildos because they're not going to be at all-ages events and the condoms because they're not designed and marketed primarily for sexual stimulation -- the plaintiffs have failed to prove by a preponderance of the evidence that they intend to engage in conduct that could arguably be proscribed by the statute or by this portion of the statute. This Court should dismiss --

> THE COURT: Slow down, please.

MR. STONE: Thank you.

THE COURT: The court reporter needs to get it down.

MR. STONE: I'm sorry, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Go on.

MR. STONE: So the Court should dismiss their claims with respect to the challenge to this portion of the law.

Moving next to D, "Actual contact or simulated contacts occurring between one person and the buttocks, breast or any part of the genitals of another person."

This Court heard testimony from the plaintiffs that the only contact that occurred between the performers and attendees at their all-ages shows involved hugs, involved touching each other's waists during conga lines and accidental/incidental contact when they brushed up against somebody unintentionally. This does not obviously meet the standard. Why? Because of that second element where it has to

be "appeals to the prurient interest in sex." There's nothing 1 2 appealing to a prurient interest in sex by hugging somebody or 3 accidentally brushing up against them. They presented --4 because they failed to prove -- provide any evidence that these incidental contacts could be construed even arguably as having 5 11:01AM a prurient -- as appealing to a prurient interest in sex, they 6 7 have failed to show by a preponderance of the evidence that they wish to engage in conduct that would be proscribed by this 8 9 portion of the statute; so their claims challenging their 11:01AM 10 portion of the statute should be dismissed and they should not 11 be permitted to continue on with it to closing. 12 Under E, "Sexual gesticulations using accessories 13 or prosthetics that exaggerate male or female sexual 14 characteristics." 11:01AM **15** This has been the crux of their case. This has 16 been what the overwhelming majority of the evidence that they 17 put on has been about. This is what they've been focused on 18 during their case-in-chief. But there's a couple of problems, Your Honor. 19 11:01AM **20** First they testified -- and let me -- I can take 21 this down now if it would be helpful. 22 THE COURT: You want the lights back on, then; or are 23 you going to get into more? 24 MR. STONE: I'm going to -- I'm just going to wrap up, but this is the final part. 11:02AM **25**

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Their claim really boils down to their contention that drag is inherently appealing to a prurient interest in sex; but they haven't produced any evidence and so regardless of the gesticulations that are done, it could potentially violate this law. But they haven't produced any evidence that would support that. It's been wholly conclusory and speculative testimony that they've produced on their part. They've presented -- they have videos of these performances that they allege could potentially violate SB 12, but they haven't provided those videos to this Court. Instead they've provided sterile still images from these performances and then took the stand and just declared "These performances could arguably violate the law in the eyes of a viewer."

But they didn't actually produce the videos so this Court could assess that or so that we could test the validity of that evidence.

So this Court -- they haven't met their burden of preponderance of the evidence with respect to that portion of it. Posing -- you know, these sterile images of them holding dollar bills or smiling and posing next to children do not prove that those performances and the gesticulations done during those performances could be construed as appealing to a prurient sexual interest. Additionally they testified that in their opinion they didn't appeal to a prurient sexual interest. Again, all they could do is speculate about what might be in

the minds of others.

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I would note that The Woodlands Pride event -they talked -- they mentioned, I believe, that tens of
thousands of people have attended their performances and
they've never once had a complaint about the routines that were
performed at their all-ages events. I believe there was
testimony that the police were only called once at one of the
Abilene Pride events; and in that case they didn't know why the
police were called, nobody was arrested, there was no citations
issued. The police visited because they were called and then
left.

So there's been no evidence that there's a substantial likelihood that this law would be enforced against them, nor that they intend to engage in conduct that could arguably be proscribed by this portion of the law.

In sum, Your Honor there's insufficient evidence for the plaintiffs to meet their burden of showing by a preponderance of evidence -- preponderance of the evidence that they have standing to challenge each of the aspects of SB 12; and this Court should dismiss their claims today.

In the event that the Court finds that they have established standing with respect to some, but not all of the elements of this law, then we would ask the Court to dismiss their claims with respect to those that they have not established standing for.

Thank you, Your Honor.

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THE COURT: What we just heard?

THE COURT: Does anybody else want to add anything at this time? And you'll be speaking of course. I'm talking to the -- what is it -- the six other parties here, that you certainly will be able to speak; and I encourage you to do so, at least to some extent relative to, you know, your clients.

Does anybody want to add anything to the defense motion?

(No response.)

THE COURT: All right. Let's hear the response from the plaintiff, please.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. May I approach the podium?

THE COURT: Again, make it brief. And then I have a number of questions that I've been working on from the beginning, and then I want to ask those questions. If they've already been answered -- they may have been -- it will move pretty quickly.

Yes, sir?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. First plaintiffs object to the defendant misstating the witnesses' testimony. I'm not going to take the Court's time to go through one-by-one, but just a few examples. They claim that there was no --

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MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor. The attorney general's summary misstated witness testimony throughout the summarization. I didn't want to interrupt, but we want to preserve our objections to every -- pretty much every statement he made.

But, for example, he testified that --

THE COURT: He didn't testify.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Sorry. He claimed --

THE COURT: He claimed.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: -- that the Court heard that no one mentioned that any kind of sex toy or dildo could be seen by an all-ages -- by people of all ages. Brigitte Bandit clearly testified that she does use the dildo at her shows at Cheer Up Charlies, where kids can see through the fence at the condo building right across the street.

They also didn't establish that sexual lubricant couldn't be considered for sexual stimulation.

And on things like the nudity, they somehow ignore the testimony of Extragrams, which testified that wardrobe malfunctions are common, that people have accidentally shown things that would be considered nude under this law.

There was a misstatement of the law that counsel said that nudity is illegal in Texas. We would like to see a statute to that effect. It's indecent exposure, which actually has a knowledge requirement, and recklessness; and it has an

intense requirement. It's not -- just being naked outside in 1 2 your backyard is not a crime here in Texas as far as I have 3 seen the law. There has to be an intent to arouse or gratify 4 someone. But overall I think the defendants' motion should 5 11:07AM be denied because it's clearly foreclosed. They're applying 6 7 the wrong legal standard to this case. THE COURT: What is it? 8 9 MR. KLOSTERBOER: It comes from Turtle --11:07AM 10 THE COURT: What is it? In your estimation, what is 11 it? MR. KLOSTERBOER: It comes from *Turtle Island Foods*. 12 13 have the -- it's April 2023, from this year. I have copies for the Court, if you'd like. 14 11:07AM **15** THE COURT: What court? 16 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Fifth Circuit. April of 2023. THE COURT: Hand it up. You've got two copies? 17 18 Give me one second just to look through this. 19 MR. GRIFFIN: What is the page/line? 11:07AM **20** MR. KLOSTERBOER: It's starting on Page 3. 21 Judge Edith Brown Clement, this April from the 22 Fifth Circuit. 23 THE COURT: Judge Clement, a senior judge out of New Orleans. 24 11:08AM **25** MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor.

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THE COURT: All right. Go on.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: So at the bottom of Page 3 the Court can see the ruling at the bottom of the left-hand column.

THE COURT: Hold on a second. All right.

The Court says: "Tofurky challenges the statute prior to enforcement."

THE COURT: Where are we looking? Yeah, I see it.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor.

"And pre-enforcement free speech challenges" -now going back to the top of the page, the column: speech or self-censorship is an injury sufficient to confer Tofurky need not have experienced an actual arrest, prosecution or other enforcement action to establish standing. All that Tofurky must show is, one, it intends to engage in a course of conduct arguably affected with a constitutional interest, two, that the course of action is arguably proscribed by the statute and, three, that there exists a credible threat of prosecution under the statute."

So here in the defendants' motion, the attorney general's motion, they're really focusing on Prong Number 2. They're trying to say that there is arguably no proscription under the statute.

But that's where if we turn to Page 5 of this case, there was a dispute in this Tofurky case, the *Turtle*

1 Island Foods; and the first full paragraph of Page 5 says and 2 here it is: "The act arguably sweeps broadly enough to capture 3 Tofurky's conduct. Though the State belabors that Section 4744" --4 THE COURT: It's "belabors," isn't it? 5 11:09AM MR. KLOSTERBOER: It is belaboring, Your Honor. 6 7 -- "and the acts, definitions for 'misbrand' and 8 'misrepresent' require intentional mislabeling, Tofurky's alternative reading is arguable." 9 THE COURT: So what does that tell us? 11:09AM 10 11 MR. KLOSTERBOER: That tell us that all plaintiffs have 12 to show is the chilling of speech that's at issue. If they 13 feel like their speech is arguably proscribed by the statute, 14 the Fifth Circuit tells us that's enough. 11:10AM **15** THE COURT: I think the other circuits and maybe the 16 Supreme Court also say that's enough. 17 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct. Your Honor. 18 And I don't know if you have any other further 19 questions, but otherwise we ask you to deny defendants' motion. 11:10AM **20** THE COURT: Okay. All right. I've considered the 21 motion for judgment as a matter of law. It's denied at this 22 time. 23 All right. Anything else? 24 MR. STONE: No, Your Honor. The State defendants rest. 11:10AM **25** THE COURT: All right. Unless told otherwise, I'll

assume our additional six defendants rest at this time. 1 2 I want to look at the list of questions I drew up 3 at the beginning, okay, and see if I need some time to add any 4 of those. Okay. It starts out I'm -- looking first at the 5 11:10AM plaintiffs. This will give you an idea of how basic it was and 6 7 why I'm going to rule quickly down through a total of eight They may all have been covered. I've not reread it 8 since the beginning of trial. Give me one moment. 11:11AM 10 Right to the point this is just for the response to the plaintiff. If I need defendants' input, I'll find it. 11 12 If the Court finds that intermediate scrutiny 13 should apply, do you still prevail? 14 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. Even if the Court 11:11AM **15** applies intermediate scrutiny under the third and fourth 16 factors of the O'Brien test, the statute at issue has to be 17 unrelated to the suppression of speech, which here on its face 18 and through the legislative history is related to the content 19 and suppression of speech. 11:11AM **20** And the fourth factor of O'Brien the Court still 21 has to show -- or the State still has to show that it is less 22 restrictive -- let me find the exact --23 THE COURT: In any event, your position is? 24 MR. KLOSTERBOER: It is still not narrowly tailored

enough for intermediate scrutiny, Your Honor.

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THE COURT: Stay standing. You've got more coming. 1 2 Doesn't the State have a compelling interest in 3 protecting minors from explicit sexual performances? 4 they have some concern or role or none? MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, they do, Your Honor. Plaintiffs 5 11:12AM would concede in the cases in Ginsberg and Reno they still 6 7 apply strict scrutiny, but they all concede that the State does 8 have a compelling interest in protecting youth generally. 9 THE COURT: All right. 11:12AM 10 Is it your position that the performances that we 11 heard testimony on are speech, expressive conduct or both? 12 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, they're treated the same 13 under the analysis, so both. 14 THE COURT: Okay. Are your claims against the 11:13AM **15** municipalities that we have with us today and local officials 16 ripe? 17 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes. Your Honor. 18 THE COURT: Why? 19 MR. KLOSTERBOER: There is no factual dispute that 11:13AM **20** would change anything to the Court's analysis. This is a 21 facial challenge to the law. No factual development is 22 required. 23 Their main contention with ripeness blurs with 24 their standing argument. They're trying to say we have to wait 11:13AM **25** for an affirmative step, which we'll get to that later; but for

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ripeness purposes, ripeness is not an issue in this case.

THE COURT: Okay. If that Senate bill adequately defines what behavior is restricted and only addresses certain behavior in front of minors, how is that overbroad?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, first of all, we would say it goes far beyond just pure behavior or conduct and it's overbroad in many --

THE COURT: How does it go beyond?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: That the performances that the plaintiffs demonstrate, host, perform are inherently expressive conduct, which is treated as speech. As this Court found just three years ago in the *D. Houston* case, even exotic dancing is constitutionally protected under the first amendment and subject to at least some heightened scrutiny.

THE COURT: All right. Would enjoining the law -- and by the way, enjoining the law -- I'm having to write a final judgment; but there's also some interaction, as we said, with the need for a temporary restraining order to allow me to write the judgment one way or the other.

But would enjoining the law from going into effect cause all additional claims against the local defendants to become moot? So now we're finally enjoining the law. Would all the others become moot, too, as sort of a large blanket?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. At least one court has done that before. There was a case in Indiana where

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plaintiffs in a case similar to this sued the state and local officials and the court found against the state that the entire statute was null and void and dismissed as moot the municipal defendants.

THE COURT: Was that one of the typical cases? Because I know we found cases from -- I think it was Tennessee, Montana and Utah already.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. So that the one case?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: This was not a drag case. This was just a case kind of in the context of immigration.

THE COURT: Which states? What was the holding again, the bottom-line holding?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: The bottom line was if the Court invalidates the entire law and finds that that is proper as to some of the defendants, other defendants there were dismissed as moot.

I think our concern here is that we don't know if the AG would concede, you know -- they're going to try to argue that some parts of the law can stand up on their own and that's why there's three different enforcement prongs: Section 1 against the AG, Section 2 against counties and municipalities and Section 3 against the prosecutors. It all hinges on Section 3 because that's the definition; so if the Court found that the statute is not severable, which we believe is true

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because it all hinges on that Section 3, then it could possibly theoretically dismiss it as moot.

THE COURT: All right. When you do your amended findings of fact, address that point, okay? Address that point. And I use that as a blanket, does it cover everybody. We can hear from the other side during the summation if you want to; but, yeah, just --

MR. KLOSTERBOER: We'll do, Your Honor.

THE COURT: I had in my mind what ought to be done, how large the so-called blanket is, because we want to do it once, not coming back later so it enures to everyone, I think; and that's why you-all have input on this point. But if you think you need to elaborate to lock that in, let me know so we don't do all of this again. That's why I converted it from a preliminary injunction to a trial on the merits, which is why I need a little more time to write and a little more time where you can put in an amended final -- an amended findings of fact and conclusions of law. And on the government's side, one at all, because we don't have any yet, not that I'm familiar with on the record.

All right. Let me see what else I have here.

What irreparable harm would occur if the senate bill was to go into effect before I reach a decision on enjoining, if I do enjoin, was made? What's the harm in letting it go in and in a couple of weeks max probably you'll

have a final judgment in this case? 1 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, again we believe as of 2 3 Friday there will be irreparable harm. Plaintiff 4 Brigitte Bandit and Extragrams both testified that they have upcoming performances and would arguably be subject to criminal 5 11:18AM penalties through aiding and abetting liability for the 6 7 businesses. 8 That's why 360 Queen Entertainment has already 9 canceled all upcoming events. They testified that they need 11:18AM 10 time. It takes time and money to schedule the drag performers 11 to come to their business; so right now they're already shut 12 down by this law and their free -- the Fifth Circuit and 13 Supreme Court have always said that the chilling of speech 14 itself, violating the First Amendment is an irreparable harm in 11:18AM **15** and of itself. 16 THE COURT: Okay. Thanks. 17 All right. Let's take a look at the defense 18 questions. 19 Now, this is Mr. Rohles? 11:19AM **20** MR. ELDRED: I'm Mr. Eldred. 21 THE COURT: Yes, here it is. Mr. Eldred. The tables 22 are -- there are so many people at each table, I'm now at the middle table. 23 24 Let's see. Okay. 11:19AM **25** "The law singles out behavior at a drag show, but

not similar behavior at other forms of entertainment. 1 doesn't that alone make this a content-based restriction?" 2 3 And I have a definition for myself here, okay? 4 Content-based restrictions limit speech based on its subject matter. In contrast, a content-neutral restriction applies to 5 11:20AM expression without regard to its substance. 6 7 So I have two lawyers standing here. Ms. Gifford also. Whoever wants to take it, what's the position? 8 9 MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, I'll take the First Amendment questions. 11:20AM **10** 11 THE COURT: Pull the microphone in, please. Pull it in by the base, okay? And it will pick up right there. Yes, 12 13 ma'am. 14 MS. GIFFORD: So, Your Honor, our position is this is 11:20AM **15** not a content-based ordinance or law. What is being restricted 16 is a sexually oriented performance. There is absolutely 17 nothing in Senate Bill 12 that singles out drag or drag shows. 18 In fact --19 THE COURT: So you're saying they shouldn't be 11:21AM **20** concerned? 21 MS. GIFFORD: No, they should not be concerned. 22 They're challenging a law, Your Honor, that does not exist. 23 THE COURT: All right. 24 MS. GIFFORD: There's no ban on drag and nothing in 11:21AM **25** Senate Bill 12 specifically bans drag. What it bans is

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sexually explicit performances, whether it's drag or whether it is a more traditional type.

THE COURT: So some of the other comments made by political leaders after it's signed should be either ignored or is it that broad or is it that narrow?

MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, I think under the *O'Brien* case it specifically talks about this, that comments by certain or particular legislatures as to why they voted for something does not make the -- does not imbue that into the reason that the entire bill was passed.

THE COURT: You say it speaks for itself as a matter of law, and you can refer to the legislative history of what controls and what comes into effect.

MS. GIFFORD: Correct. And in fact Senator Hughes specifically said that this law is broader than drag. It is not about drag. It is about protecting children from seeing sexually explicit performances.

THE COURT: Okay. Now the next question.

MS. GIFFORD: Okay.

THE COURT: There are already state laws that ban behaviors such as sexually oriented performances in front of minors, for example, laws regulating adult entertainment.

MS. GIFFORD: No, Your Honor. There are laws regulating adult entertainment, but there is nothing that specifically deals with what is proscribed by Senate Bill 12;

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so while there are laws related to, for example, lewdness, that is very specific and narrow and it is -- Senate Bill 12 addresses things that are not currently addressed in the Penal Code.

> MR. ELDRED: May I add something, Judge? THE COURT: Yes, sir.

The definition of "nude" comes from the MR. ELDRED: Business and Commerce Code, and that's from the so-called pole tax. It's a 5-dollar tax on people who'll go to a sexual performance such as strip show, and children are not allowed to So nude performances are regulated by that law.

Okay. Thanks. I think you've answered my THE COURT: next subquestion. Hang on.

All right. What about the parents' role, if any, relative to what we're talking about here, drag shows, shows and parades and so forth?

MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, so the Supreme Court in Reno has specifically said that the State absolutely has a compelling interest in protecting children; and with regard to, for example, a parade there is no way for a parent to consent to whether their child sees a parade that comes by that may have sexually explicit performances on it. I mean if you think about taking your child to a parade, you are not anticipating that there may be lewd sexual gesticulations that appeal to the prurient interest in sex, and so there's no -- there's no

1 reasonable way for a parent to give that consent in advance of 2 seeing the performance. 3 THE COURT: All right. What about a show that they 4 know it's going to be a drag performance? MS. GIFFORD: In that case, Your Honor, I think that 5 11:24AM the law is still narrowly tailored, because to carve out 6 7 exceptions like that would, I think, create a lot of mischief under this law; and, again, the State has a compelling interest 8 under Reno in protecting minors. 11:25AM 10 THE COURT: Okav. Thank you. 11 Okay. That's been covered. 12 What about your position in Senate Bill 12 13 surviving the concept of strict scrutiny? 14 MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, even if the Court were to get 11:25AM **15** to a strict scrutiny standard, this law is --16 THE COURT: By the way, I tell all my trial lawyers if 17 you see me looking down like this, if my eyes are open, even if 18 they're closed, I am listening. So again, I'm not taking a 19 particular interest in that one question; but generally address 11:26AM **20** it, please, counsel. 21 MS. GIFFORD: Yes. No, you have been very attentive. 22 At no point have I thought you were not paying attention. 23 THE COURT: That's all right. 24 MS. GIFFORD: So strict -- we still survive strict 11:26AM **25** scrutiny because the law is narrowly tailored to prevent the

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exposure of children to sexually oriented performances; and, again, under *Reno* the State has a compelling interest in protecting children.

THE COURT: The next one was already resolved concerning the possibility of a jury trial. We've discussed that already.

MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, with regard -- if I may go back to your last question --

THE COURT: Yes.

MS. GIFFORD: -- Senate Bill 12, while it does limit sexually explicit graphic things that can happen in front of children, it by no means restricts the plaintiffs or anyone who may fall under Senate Bill 12 in their ability to express whatever message it is they're intending to express. All it does is limit what they can do in front of someone under the age of 18.

THE COURT: Okay. Okay. We've already touched that, and the rest is wrap-up.

All right. If any of our other six defendants want to express a position on the questions -- on those set of questions -- there were eight questions that I had for the defendant -- you're free to do so now. Otherwise, I'm seeing no hands.

All right. Now, at this point we're going to take just a short break. When we get back in, this is how

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we're going to work it. For the purposes of my keeping track, okay, I will turn a timer on. Each side has a maximum of 45 minutes. I do not think you need it, okay? In the summation I will permit the plaintiff to have a -- since they've got a burden of proof and so forth, you've got -- I'll get it back to you just to wrap up so wherever we are you'll have an additional five minutes after we're through directing our questions to all of the defendants, to all of the seven entities here. They're all going to have a chance to come in. The State has been granted of maximum of 45 minutes. I don't think you need that much time, okay? But we've got time, and you need to express the positions you've got.

All right. I'm not going to set any time limit on the six other defendants; so if you want to come up for a brief time to address any specific item, fine. If you get too long, I can cut you off; but certainly I want everybody to have the opportunity. I'll call on you by name, and then you can go for five minutes. So if we go -- and I don't think each side is going to take 45 minutes each, but we're looking at or pushing about an hour and a half for a full wrap-up.

Okay. I now have it's 11:31, according to that clock of mine. Get your closing together. We're going to be back in -- well, it's a little after that -- at 11:50. That's 15, 18 minutes. We're going to get back in at 11:50, and at that time the plaintiff can go on and then the defendants --

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I'm going to ask our individual defendants: Do you prefer going first or last, ladies and gentlemen? You tell me.

MR. GRIFFIN: Last.

MR. PLAKE: last.

THE COURT: Okay. So you use 45 minutes. Last. Again I'm not kicking myself. If you said you need it, fine. It's an important enough case. You've got 45 minutes, then we'll wrap it up. So we're looking at, if everybody takes all their time, about an hour and 45 minutes; and we'll be through with this whole matter.

Also think if there's any housekeeping questions because my complete wrap-up will be concerning the findings of fact and conclusions of law. What I need are time frames. You may want to think about this. I want the plaintiffs to submit an amended one, okay, to fill in any gaps or any questions that you perceive that I may have.

And also I'll ask the defendant if they desire to file it; but if they do, how much time do you need to submit that because I'm going to start -- I can't really start working on it until I get all of those in to see what your thoughts are if I want to incorporate anything into a final judgment from each one, but I do want you to write it in effect that you would get everything you want, assuming the judge signs it, and the same for the state. I've not decided this case, and once again I'll reiterate with a few comments the purposes of a

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temporary restraining order just to allow me to do something you don't do very often, write a final judgment, instead of us coming back here and doing it again.

So it could theoretically have one purpose, two purposes or whatever; but in my own mind I just need more time to get you a final judgment that you then can either settle out or take it somewhere else.

All right. By the way, I need to tell this story. I had a young lawyer in here one time and there's an old saying that we all know. You never threaten a judge with appeal. We know it's coming, okay? And we know -- as the Court is no doubt aware, we know what that means also.

But I had a young man. It was his first time in federal court and we had an audience like, in effect, we have around the table. It was a lot of other experienced lawyers. So he said, "Judge, we strongly disagree. We need to take you immediately on appeal."

I've only done this once.

I said, "Well, counsel, really?"

I said, "Well, you know" -- and it's true we have about five or six appellate judges on the 12th floor -- "what I want you to do is get your papers together. It's early in the day, and all these others. Get your papers today, round up three of them up, there tell them the problem; and if they disagree with what I did, come down and tell me."

He didn't know if a federal judge tells you to 1 2 "Wrap up your papers and go to the 12th floor," so he starts 3 putting the papers together and walks out; and as he got into 4 the gallery in that first row of chairs, one old-time lawyer said, "Young man, you've just been had. You better just shut 5 11:33AM up and sit down and the Judge will get back at you." 6 7 All right. Thank you so much. It's now 11:35, and well see you back -- what did we say? 10 minutes to 12? 8 9 That's it, and we'll wrap it up. Okay. Thank you. THE LAW CLERK: All rise. 11:34AM 10 11 THE COURT: Okay. You're free to leave. 12 (Court is in recess.) 13 THE LAW CLERK: All rise. 14 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Be seated, please. 11:50AM **15** Before we get underway, I have one more question 16 for both the plaintiff and the defendants. By the way, I'm 17 going to use the words or the two words "mens rea." It means 18 "guilty mind," okay? 19 Okay. What is the *mens rea* requirement of 11:51AM **20** Senate Bill 12 as it pertains to the criminal enforcement of 21 the law? What is the mens rea requirement of the bill as it 22 pertains to the criminal enforcement of the law? 23 Okay. Plaintiff first. Do you want to just 24 respond to that one question? 11:51AM **25** MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor, I think with regard

to the criminal part, Section 3 only, we don't challenge the 1 2 defendants' contention that you could incorporate the 3 recklessness, knowingly or intentional, into the Penal Code; 4 but that wouldn't apply to the civil part of Section 1. 5 THE COURT: All right. MR. KLOSTERBOER: So it's still strict liability for 6 Section 1. 7 THE COURT: Yeah, but we're talking about defining -- I 8 9 mean the money find aspects -- the mens rea requirement 11:52AM 10 generally for the whole court, because there are some criminal, 11 quasi-criminal penalties, correct? 12 Is there any *mens rea* requirement for somebody 13 like passing in the street and looking? MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yeah. We believe that recklessness 14 11:52AM **15** doesn't save the law --16 THE COURT: Hold it. That term was brought up at least 17 once somewhere, all right? 18 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Right. 19 THE COURT: Just address it, how it pertains to this 11:52AM **20** case, to this statute. 21 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. We would concede 22 that Section 3, it would be recklessness, knowing or 23 intentionally. We argue the statute is still unconstitutional. 24 Even recklessness --11:52AM **25** THE COURT: Does that Section 3 require a mens rea

1 aspect? MR. KLOSTERBOER: It doesn't on its -- on its -- in the 2 3 text, no, but even if they incorporate the recklessness 4 standard, it doesn't say which element goes to it. It's very different from the existing obscenity law. 5 11:52AM THE COURT: Yeah, but what's your position on that? 6 7 least give me that. MR. KLOSTERBOER: We are okay with incorporating a 8 9 mens rea of recklessness, knowingly or intentionally; but 11:53AM 10 Section 3 is still unconditional. 11 THE COURT: Counsel, do you want to add anything to 12 I mean, he said there was some sort of a concession 13 or -- that's a rare word in this case -- but a concession to 14 the other side; but I want -- do you have any additional input 11:53AM **15** on that matter? 16 MS. GIFFORD: So, Your Honor, the Penal Code says that 17 if a statute does not explicitly state what the mens rea is, 18 then the recklessly, knowingly, intentionally mens rea 19 automatically applies; and so there is a mens rea for the 11:53AM **20** criminal --21 THE COURT: To that extent? 22 MS. GIFFORD: To that extent. 23 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

MS. GIFFORD: The criminal aspect of it.

And furthermore, on the civil penalties I think,

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you know, the statute is clear. It says that a person who 1 2 controls the premises of a commercial enterprise may not allow 3 an event to happen; and so I would say that that's not 4 absolutely --THE COURT: Okay. Anybody else want to add to that? 5 11:54AM 6 (No response.) 7 THE COURT: All right. You can split up the summary if you want. Who's going to take the lead on that? 8 9 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, it will be 11:54AM 10 Brian Klosterboer, please. 11 THE COURT: Okay. Hang on. What do you estimate your 12 time is approximately? 13 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, about 20 to 25 minutes. I'll save the rest for rebuttal. 14 11:54AM **15** THE COURT: All right. If you can get close to the 45 16 minutes on either side, I'll give you a five-minute notice, 17 something like that. 18 All right. The lectern is yours, counsel, if you 19 prefer that. 11:54AM **20** MR. KLOSTERBOER: Thank you, Your Honor. 21 As the Court has heard from plaintiffs in this 22 case, drag performances are a type of artistry that is 23 meaningful and significant to countless Texans. Senate Bill 12 24 explicitly targets and regulates content. The attorney general 11:55AM **25** in their argument has blurred what the rule is for content and

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viewpoint-based discrimination. They argue that sexually oriented performance, which is the name of the statute, is not a content-based restriction; however, that argument is foreclosed by this Court's own finding in the *D. Houston* case as well as from *Reno versus ACLU*, which they cite. We do have copies for the Court of both of these cases if you would like to receive them.

THE COURT: If you want to, hand them up. If you would, you may hand them up and give them to my case manager.

Joseph, hold those until we're done, okay? Thank

0kay.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: I'll pass out the other two. There are two more cases I'd like to hand to Your Honor. This is Brown versus Entertainment Merchants Association.

THE COURT: I tell you what. Joseph, why don't you hand me mine also.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: And this is Your Honor's own case

D. Houston, Inc. versus United States Small Business

Administration.

As I mentioned, this Court has already found and, as the Supreme Court has now held numerous times, the Constitution does not permit the government simply to ban sexual performances. Nude dancing, exotic dancing, sexually explicit content -- those things all fall within the protection

of the First Amendment. The only exception that is recognized 1 by the First Amendment is obscenity. Current existing Texas 2 3 law --4 THE COURT: Recognized by whom? The Supreme Court case? 5 11:57AM MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor. 6 7 THE COURT: All right. Go on. MR. KLOSTERBOER: That is the Court's holding in the 8 9 Reno case, which we'll talk about a little bit more in a 11:57AM 10 minute. THE COURT: Is that Reno Janet Reno, the former 11 12 attorney general; or is it somebody else? 13 MR. KLOSTERBOER: I'm actually not entirely sure. believe so. I know it was an ACLU case; but I do not know, 14 11:57AM **15** Your Honor. 16 THE COURT: All right. Go on. 17 MR. KLOSTERBOER: The most extreme -- so what we're 18 going to hear today, as the plaintiffs testified, they arguably 19 and credibly fear that they are subject to this law. This law 11:57AM **20** takes effect on Friday. It comes with steep criminal 21 penalties, a year in jail, up to a 10,000-dollar fine for any 22 commercial enterprise and under the existing 4(A) 23 pre-enforcement facial challenge --24 THE COURT: Slow down a little bit. 11:57AM **25** MR. KLOSTERBOER: -- under the First Amendment,

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plaintiffs only have to show that they have that fear that the statute arguably prescribes their conduct; and here that has been established.

As this Court noted during its questioning, SB 12 makes no allowance for parents' rights. It doesn't make an exception for parents to bring a 17-year-old to a performance.

As the Court noted and as Brigitte Bandit testified, most drag performances if they are going to be more on the explicit side -- we heard a lot of testimony that many drag shows are for all ages, but they still arguably fear that the wigs they wear, the prosthetics that they wear, both the breastplate, the packer are going to be targeted and that this law was written in a way that will target them.

Similar to what the Court noted with R-rated movies, parents currently in Texas have the discretion to bring their kids to a pride parade, to bring their kids to an R-rated movie and that is -- and this law doesn't even account for the difference between a 17-year-old and a 3-year-old.

The attorney general has tried to point to extreme examples and hypothetical examples of what kind of shows could be the most sexually explicit. That is not what this case is about. Plaintiffs are small businesses, two local pride groups and Brigitte Bandit, who each try to cater to their audience, but reasonably fear that the vague and overbroad terms in this law will apply to them.

The most extreme examples are arguably already 1 2 proscribed by Texas law. Section 43.23 of the Texas Penal Code 3 already prohibits any person in Texas from knowingly producing, 4 presenting or directing an obscene performance. "Obscenity" is defined by Section 43.21 of the 5 11:59AM Penal Code, which means "A material or a performance" and then 6 7 they apply the long-standing *Miller* test. That test, to read 8 for the Court, is "The average" -- as the Court is already 9 familiar with this test -- "The average person, applying 12:00PM 10 contemporary community standards, would find that, taken as a 11 whole, the performance appeals to the prurient interest in sex and describes or depicts patently offensive representations 12 13 and, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political and scientific value." 14 12:00PM **15** THE COURT: All right. Read all of those examples 16 again. 17 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. 18 So SB 12 obliterates --THE COURT: 19 No. No. 12:00PM **20** MR. KLOSTERBOER: -- this test. 21 THE COURT: I think you said -- isn't that the 22 definition? 23 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. 24 THE COURT: All right. The definition had some 12:00PM **25** subsections there such as or whatever.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. 1 2 THE COURT: What is it? Just read those elements 3 again. 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: There are three parts to the Miller The first one is "The average person, applying 5 12:01PM contemporary community standards, would find, that taken as a 6 7 whole, the work appeals to the prurient interest in sex." The Court will recognize that that phrase, 8 9 "prurient interest in sex," has been cherry-picked out of the 12:01PM 10 Miller test, but is now divorced from the rest of the parts of 11 that element. 12 The second element is it must depict or describe 13 patently offensive representations and then there's a long list 14 of the kinds of vaginal, anal sex, things like that; but it must be patently offensive for the second prong. 12:01PM **15** 16 And then the third prong, which in Reno the 17 Supreme Court talks about being one of the most important 18 prongs, is "Taken as a whole, the work must lack serious 19 literary, artistic, political and scientific value." 12:01PM **20** That's what protects medical schools from being 21 able to have, you know, practice doing very invasive exams on 22 people's genitals and demonstrations. That also protects 23 Shakespeare performances, it protects any kind of thing that 24 has -- or books, books that have, you know, more explicit

material are still salvaged and saved within the Constitution

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because of their value.

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This law only takes four words, "prurient

interest in sex," divorces that. Even that part of the test in Miller and an existing Texas law is based upon a reasonable person's standard. SB 12 doesn't say who decides what is the

prurient interest in sex.

If you look at the text of SB 12, there is no set It also doesn't require it to be based on contemporary community standards. That's what helps us update things over time. So what might have appealed to the prurient interest in sex in 1810 might be different from our current year.

It also is very important that the work must be taken as a whole. This law, SB 12, will allow police and prosecutors to pinpoint and target performers, because all they have to find is that one of the elements of SB 12 would appeal to the prurient interest in sex; and that is really what chills the free speech of plaintiffs and also other Texans.

The Court is very familiar with the overbreadth doctrine, which allows for plaintiffs in a First Amendment case to bring challenges. To protect their own rights, they must still have Article III standing, but they also can protect the rights of others. And that's why throughout our briefing we use examples about things like ballet, professional wrestling, the Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders.

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As the Court is reviewing and reading throughout the statute, you can see that the terms on their own, all that the State is claiming is that the words prurient interest in sex will allow people to know what that means; but that is simply not the case.

When you use those terms on their own, the Supreme Court found in *Miller*, it reiterated in *Reno* that you have to have the words around that term.

The defendants talked several times about *Reno*, which we know the Court is familiar with; but we handed it to the Court to review, because we think it's actually directly on point and fatal to the attorney general's position in this case. There the Supreme Court invalidated part of a --

THE COURT: What year is it? I'm not looking at -- MR. KLOSTERBOER: 1997.

THE COURT: What about that Miller case? What year was

MR. KLOSTERBOER: *Miller* was 1973, I believe.

THE COURT: Who wrote that? Was that Potter Stewart?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: I am not sure, Your Honor.

The defendants have tried to argue that simply because a statute is targeted at children that that somehow creates a different constitutional analysis. That's simply not true.

We also handed the Court Brown versus

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Entertainment Merchants Association, a 2011 Supreme Court case written by Justice Scalia.

There the State of California tried to ban the sale of violent video games to minors. The law at issue in the Brown case applied only to minors. Only people under 18 simply could not buy violent video games. Once -- because that was based on content, the violence of the video games,

Justice Scalia and the court held that it was subject to strict scrutiny. Once strict scrutiny is triggered, the burden shifts to the State to show that it is narrowly tailored. The State of California actually adduced and showed psychological studies showing the harmful effects of violent video games on minors; but Justice Scalia, writing for the court, still applied strict scrutiny and invalidated that statute as both overbroad and under-inclusive and not narrowly tailored to the compelling governmental interest.

So like in that case, plaintiffs here are not challenging that the State of Texas has no compelling interest in protecting kids. We all share that interest, but even that compelling governmental interest still triggers heightened scrutiny.

In the *Brown* case, like the one here, Justice Scalia expressed a concern for the rights of parents in protecting kids; but he wrote: "While some of the legislation's effect may indeed be in support of what some

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parents of the restricted children actually want, its entire effect is only in support of what the State thinks parents ought to want. This is not the narrow tailoring to assisting parents that restriction of First Amendment rights requires."

Here the attorney general has tried to show that this law is content-neutral. We have not seen any evidence of that. Because the law clearly regulates sexually oriented performances based on their content, the Court need look no farther than the text of the law itself.

To the extent the attorney general tries to dispute that, we also would encourage the Court to look at Plaintiffs' Exhibit 11, which after the law was finally passed, that's the final statement of intent from the Texas legislature. The Texas legislature wrote: "A recent cultural trend has been for drag shows to be performed in venues generally accessible to the public, including children."

Farther down in Exhibit 11 that legislative document continues: "While drag shows have received the most media attention, SB 12 is not limited to this type of sexually oriented performance. Drag shows today may be replaced by other types of harmful performances in the future. SB 12 applies to and will protect children from sexually oriented performances in general."

THE COURT: All right. That's what? Exhibit 11, you say?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor, Exhibit 11. 1 THE COURT: Is that one of the notices that I took? 2 3 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: Okay. I want to make sure where it's located. 5 12:08PM MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. We believe that 6 7 further shows the clear -- and that's why I was just saying the 8 State has conflated our arguments on content-based restriction 9 and viewpoint-based. 12:08PM 10 So the content -- the entire statute is 11 content-based regulation. It is defining performances based on 12 their content, whether it be sexual gesticulations, whether it 13 be the nudity provision, you know, this Court and other courts 14 have found that even nude dancing -- nudity in conjunction with 12:08PM **15** dancing is constitutional protected. 16 Now, the viewpoint discrimination that the 17 plaintiffs allege goes specifically to Part 5 of the definition 18 of sexual conduct; and that's the part of the law that talks 19 about performing sexual gesticulations while using an accessory 12:09PM **20** or prosthetic that exaggerates male or female sexual 21 characteristics. 22 The word "exaggerate" is where we get the 23 viewpoint discrimination, because this law does not prohibit 24 people from simply having prosthetics or accessories using

sexual gesticulations that exhibit male or female sexual

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characteristics. This law prohibits people from exaggerating those characteristics; and that's where we get at the intent to target drag shows, because what drag performers -- we heard testimony that it's an illusion. They use things like prosthetic breasts, the packer, accessories like wigs, makeup, clothing to create an illusion of changing, bending, showing us a different gender expression and that is constitutionally protected and that's viewpoint discrimination because the government is now putting its thumb on the scale. They're not prohibiting anyone from simply having accessories and prosthetics and doing sexual gesticulations.

So, for example, if you're somebody who already has male or female sexual characteristics, this law doesn't prohibit you from exhibiting them. It prohibits you from exaggerating them. And that's where we believe the entire law is content-based, but specifically that provision is also viewpoint-based. And they're subject to the same strict scrutiny standard; but the court has just said that's even more pernicious, because now the government is putting its thumb on the scale in the marketplace of ideas and trying to suppress specific viewpoints of drag artists and performers.

As we mention to the Court, we believe that even if the Court somehow departed from all of this case law requiring strict scrutiny that even under intermediate scrutiny this law still fails. Both under intermediate or strict

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scrutiny, when the Court is doing that analysis, you look to how could the law have been more narrowly tailored; and once again this is the burden on the government to show that it is narrowly tailored. But there are a number of reasons why this law is not. A few examples.

There's no exception for parents' rights, parents to bring their teenagers to a show. There's no protection for works of artistic value or scientific value. Arguably this could sweep in a demonstration at a medical school of somebody who is nude or naked showing -- and a professor trying to show students what they're doing. That kind of demonstration performance.

There's no other of the factors of the *Miller* test; and that's what the *Reno* case really goes to is that cherry-picking, just a couple of terms from the obscenity test, divorced from everything else violates the Constitution, the First Amendment and is also vague and overbroad.

That's why *Reno* is so helpful for the Court to review, because it goes to the content-based discrimination, overbreadth and the vagueness. In *Reno* the law is that the Court struck down actually contained affirmative defenses for people who make a reasonable mistake. Senate Bill 12 has none of that. It has no affirmative defenses.

Brigitte Bandit testified that when she's performing it's hard for her to stop halfway through. What if

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she sees a kid in the back of the room? Is she supposed to now run off stage because she could be liable for that? There's no affirmative defenses for any kind of mistake that people make. The definitions of this law also could be much more narrow. The law doesn't even define the word "performer." We heard testimony from The Woodlands Pride --

Do you need definitions of every term? MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, you do not need definitions of every term if they're subject to a reasonable construction if the ordinary person would understand what it So our claim is not that the statute fails because the word "performer" is undefined, but that just adds to the overbreadth and overall vagueness. Because we heard from the The Woodlands Pride and Abilene Pride that they fear that any person who's dancing near the stage could still be accused of giving a performance because it's not defined by the law.

And even the *mens rea* requirement, as we conceded to the Court, we, based on our reading of the Penal Code, the Penal Code could incorporate the recklessness, knowledge and intent standard only for the other part of the Penal Code. That would not apply to -- because the first section of the law amends the different part of the Texas Government Code, it would not apply to that section; but even recklessness is far too low of a mens rea element to really add any comfort to performers or the venues or companies that arguably could aid

and abet these performers.

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Brigitte Bandit testified that she sees people outside her shows by the fence, across the street, families choosing to sit there watching her. Would she be considered reckless under this statute?

The *Ginsberg* case that the State cites is the only case that they have cited that's actually upheld one of these -- a restriction targeted at sexual content; but that case was still much more narrowly tailored than this case, than Senate Bill 12.

In *Ginsberg*, the law that was challenged by the State of New York explicitly incorporated nearly every element of the obscenity test and the Supreme Court in *Reno* talks a lot about the *Ginsberg* case and how that did survive constitutional scrutiny, whereas SB 12 will not.

The Court is already very familiar with the concepts of overbreadth and vagueness. We illustrate numerous examples in our briefs of why this law is overbroad and vague. It fails to give adequate notice to artists, to performers, to other people who could be swept up in this law, even Broadway musicals, Shakespeare actors, the Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders.

There are so many terms in this law that are sweeping, broad and undefined. And the key point on the vagueness is that the legitimate -- the legitimate interest of the government pales in comparison to the overbreadth of the

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So here we don't dispute that the government would have an interest in regulating those most extreme shows.

To the extent that they're looking at things that are actually obscene, that is already covered and protected by existing law.

THE COURT: Repeat that last phrase, what you just said.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor.

So we don't dispute that there may be some drag shows, possibly even in Texas, that are extreme and possibly obscene. The State would, under the Constitution, be allowed to regulate that very narrow slice of shows. That is not what this law does. We would argue that existing --

THE COURT: Well, isn't there some statements or isn't the law supposedly not restricted to drag shows, but you say it really is?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, we believe the law is not solely limited to drag shows. It does apply to any -- and that's where we sweep in the Shakespeare performances, the Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders --

THE COURT: Where do you get those examples from? Is it from a case, or is it one that you've used in these type cases?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: It's through the overbreadth doctrine. So the plaintiffs are allowed to point to example --

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a reasonable construction of the law could be "Anyone who uses an accessory or prosthetic to exaggerate male or female sexual characteristics while engaging in a sexual gesticulation that appeals to the prurient interest in sex."

I apologize the test is so wordy; but all of those words, even taken together, are not specific. They're very vague. They're overbroad. Arguably the Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders are using accessories -- fake eyelashes, makeup, wigs, possibly prosthetics -- and that could appeal to some people's prurient interest in sex.

Now, the *Miller* test would say that. The *Miller* test would say it's not enough to simply appeal to the prurient interest in sex in isolation from every other factor. You have to also have the other parts of the test, a reasonable person based on community standards, the work taken as a whole and then also the value of the artistic literary merit and it can't be patently offensive.

And so that's really, I think, what this law is about. The Texas legislature might not like the *Miller* test. Some people think that no sexual content in any way should be anywhere in public, but that's what our Constitution provides for. People simply have to -- and the Supreme Court cases talk about this. It's incumbent on parents and people to turn their eyes because we in this country value free speech and expression; and that really gets to the prior restraint of the

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law, Your Honor, Section 2. No defendant in this case has actually tried to defend Section 2 of the law, but that is an even more egregious constitutional violation because it's a clear prior restraint on speech.

The attorney general's attorney actually misspoke when they said that this law does not apply to performances in front of minors. It does. Section 2 of the law actually entirely prohibits any sexually oriented performance, including drag performances, on all public property. It says that municipalities and counties may not authorize any such performance. That is an absolute restriction, even if it's just a group of adults.

THE COURT: Did you say -- "including drag performances"? Is that your wording; or is it the wording in the statute or any supporting documents?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: That is my wording, Your Honor, based on the statute and legislative history.

THE COURT: All right.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: So I apologize for that.

But the point being any kind of sexual performance on any public property with no age restriction attached. So even a group of adults who tries to rent out a room at maybe a public community college with only people 18 and up would still be banned from anything that arguably comes within the statute.

THE COURT: And you're also considering one of the 1 2 plaintiffs? I'm going to have a show in a car dealership, 3 right? 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. THE COURT: All right. Go on. 5 12:19PM MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. 6 7 THE COURT: That's not public property. 8 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct. Yes. 9 So the Section 1, which I'll get to in a minute, 12:19PM **10** talks more about the private property. 11 THE COURT: All right. Go on. 12 MR. KLOSTERBOER: But the public property which I think 13 all of the plaintiffs except 360 Queen Entertainment allege, 14 you know, that they have and intend to continue having shows on 12:19PM **15** public property, which this law prohibits, which is a clearly 16 unconstitutional prior restraint. 17 The defendants have also failed to cite the four 18 federal court cases just in the last two months that have 19 struck down or blocked very similar laws to this one. 12:20PM **20** Tennessee a federal court permanently enjoined a law that tried 21 to ban all adult cabaret entertainment, which the court 22 actually found to also be viewpoint discrimination and 23 content-based discrimination and overbroad and vague. 24 The law here in Texas is actually more

unconstitutional than the law in Tennessee.

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THE COURT: How is that? 1 2 MR. KLOSTERBOER: The Tennessee statute explicitly 3 incorporated the three-part *Miller* test into that statute, but 4 they added an element of "any material harmful to minors" and that's why the court found it went beyond *Miller* to prohibit 5 12:20PM more than obscenity, but there actually were some safeguards in 6 7 that statute that are entirely lacking here. 8 So we would encourage the Court to -- that's the 9 Friends of Georges, Inc. versus Mulroy and we've cited it in 12:21PM 10 our pleadings and have a copy if the Court needs; but that is a 11 very helpful case. 12 THE COURT: What is that one? 13 MR. KLOSTERBOER: That comes from the Western District 14 of Tennessee, June 2023; and it was a permanent injunction. 12:21PM **15** THE COURT: 2023? 16 MR. KLOSTERBOER: This year, Your Honor, yes. 17 THE COURT: Because I know I think Utah and Montana also have cases. 18 19 MR. KLOSTERBOER: We'll provide it to the Court. 12:21PM **20** Yes, Your Honor, there has been a number of state 21 legislatures who have enacted similar laws to this one, 22 publicly coined as "the drag ban" and that is the wording of 23 Government Abbott coming from the Exhibit 20, I believe. 24 THE COURT: Did you say "Exhibit 20"? MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. Less than a week 12:21PM **25**

after signing the drag ban. 1 I'm familiar with it. I just want to find 2 THE COURT: 3 it. 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: 23, Your Honor. THE COURT: 23. 5 12:22PM MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. So as I was saying, 6 7 similar state legislatures have passed these laws that our own 8 state leaders have called "banning drag" in public. It was 9 permanently enjoined by the federal court in Tennessee this June. 12:22PM 10 11 In Florida there was a preliminary injunction 12 blocking a Florida law that targeted drag performances by 13 calling them "adult live performances." 14 THE COURT: What is that aimed at? What is it? Is it a final judgment or a preliminary injunction or what? 12:22PM **15** 16 MR. KLOSTERBOER: The Florida case is a preliminary 17 injunction, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. 18 When was it issued? 19 MR. KLOSTERBOER: June 23rd, 2023. 12:22PM **20** THE COURT: All right. You may want to hand that one 21 up, too, because we've got -- we started accumulating some; so 22 rather than us start running the copies, if I have an interest 23 in a case, it would be a lot easier. MR. KLOSTERBOER: We'll go ahead and pass up a few of 24 them, Your Honor. 12:23PM **25**

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The other two, one comes from Utah.

THE COURT: Yeah, that I'm familiar with. But go on and discuss it.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: The Utah case was slightly different because it was a local government that tried to cancel a drag performance; but the federal court on June 16, 2023, still found that it was a clear violation of the plaintiffs' First Amendment rights and allowed the drag performance to continue.

And in Montana just recently on July 28th --

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Great, Your Honor. That case, a federal court actually has it -- they had a hearing yesterday, I believe, on the preliminary injunction --

THE COURT: That was a TRO, I believe.

Montana we have.

THE COURT:

MR. KLOSTERBOER: The TRO was issued on July 28th. haven't had time to check how things went yesterday; but as of July 28th, they had blocked and that one is actually similar to here in Texas because the law there tried to prohibit all sexually oriented shows and here we have a law trying to block all sexually oriented performances.

So defendants fail to even mention or distinguish the extremely recent federal court cases unanimously blocking all of these attempts to target drag and to suppress speech more broadly.

Just in conclusion, Your Honor, just two more

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things -- three more things I want to mention before closing. Can I get a time check?

THE COURT: You're at 29 minutes.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Okay. So just a couple more things and then I'll reserve the rest.

On standing each plaintiff testified to their credible fear that this law will be enforced against them.

Under the Fifth Circuit case that we shared with the Court, the Turtle Island Foods, that case cites a case called Speech First versus Fenves. That's a 2020 Fifth Circuit decision written by Judge Edith Jones; and writing for the Court she wrote that "In a pre-enforcement challenge under the First Amendment, plaintiffs need only show that they have an intention to engage in a course of conduct arguably affected with a constitutional interest."

THE COURT: You're talking about prospective?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct. Your Honor. pre-enforcement challenge, prospective relief. We don't have to show that anyone has taken any action against us. All that we have to show is that there's an intention to engage in a course of conduct, which the plaintiffs attested they want to continue the kinds of performances they've been doing.

Number 2, they have to show that their intended future conduct is arguably proscribed by SB 12. interpretation of the law, as we saw in the *Turtle Islands*

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Foods case, their interpretation of the law doesn't have to be fully correct. It's just arguable. They fear that their speech will be chilled by the policy -- by the law.

The third is the threat of future enforcement; and importantly the key quote from Judge Edith Jones'

Speech First case is that she writes: "When dealing with pre-enforcement challenges to recently enacted statutes that facially restrict expressive activity by the class to which the plaintiffs belong, courts will assume a credible threat of prosecution in the absence of compelling contrary evidence."

And so we don't have to show that the defendants have taken any action against the plaintiffs. There is presumption -- it's a new law. It goes into effect on Friday. You know, none of the defendants have shown that they won't enforce it. They haven't disavowed it. There's a presumption that when the law goes into effect, policymakers sued in their official capacity will follow the law.

And I will just turn briefly to $\it Ex\ parte\ \it Young.$ We have shown that all of the --

THE COURT: Where is that from?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: So the key case on this is Whole Woman's Health versus Jackson. It's a Supreme Court case from 2021; and the numerous defendants in this case have tried to argue, as government officials have a right to do, that they have sovereign immunity. But as the Court is intimately aware,

Ex parte Young provides a clear exception to immunity.

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Ex parte Young gets around what is typically the sovereign

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And the 2021 Whole Woman's Health versus Jackson,

1983 is our cause of action in this case, but

there the Supreme Court held that -- this is a State of Texas case, too, so there's a Texas law, Senate Bill 8, that was

challenged and the plaintiffs -- it was pre-enforcement. Th

law has not yet gone into effect. This was an abortion law and

the plaintiffs sued and the court found that they did sue

some -- or they could plausibly sue some of the proper

defendants and the court explained on -- at 535 and 36 that

each of the individuals who was sued was an executive licensing

official who may or must take enforcement action against the $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right) +\left(1\right) \left(1\right) \left(1\right) +\left(1\right) \left(1$

petitioners if they violate the terms of Texas's Health and

Safety Code Senate Bill 8.

immunity of government officials.

So that is the key decision that the

plaintiffs -- the defendants in this case, they're trying to --

are saying that they don't have -- that we can't properly sue

them; but of course this law is not yet in effect. That aligns

with the Fifth Circuit precedent in this area. Just last week

the Fifth Circuit in Tawakkol, T-A-W-A-K-K-O-L, versus

Vasquez -- just last week the Fifth Circuit stated that the

correct defendant is generally the individual tasked with

enforcing the challenged act.

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So this law has three separate enforcement One is the attorney general. The attorney general in their brief has not conceded -- or they have conceded that they are statutorily tasked with enforcing Section 1. clear because the attorney general may or must enforce that part of the law.

Section 2 applies to the municipalities and counties, that they are clearly tasked with what we argue is a clear violation of First Amendment rights.

And Section 3 imposes criminal penalties. And the case law is clear that the county and district attorneys in this case are the proper defendants for -- because they prosecute Class A misdemeanors.

THE COURT: How many defendants -- I'm familiar with it, but for the record -- have you sued? I mean we have municipalities to my right. How many are there? I know we have six entities -- six entities represented.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes. We have the attorney general Your Honor; we have Montgomery County; the district attorney for Montgomery County; City of Abilene; Taylor County; James Hicks, the district attorney of Taylor County; the county attorney of Travis County and the district attorney of Bexar County, so I believe nine.

THE COURT: Okay. A total of nine?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Possibly eight. I apologize,

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Your Honor. Sorry. It's nine. All right. Difficult to count, Your Honor.

Just in closing, because plaintiffs have standing and defendants are properly named, there is both traceability and redressability. If the Court enters an order finding this law to be unconstitutional, that would alleviate the plaintiffs' chilling of their speech. It would stop them from even going out of business, as 360 Queen Entertainment has already done. Extragrams, too. This law would significantly impair their business.

And also the free expression of all five of the plaintiffs, the local civic pride organizations' ability to advocate and be inclusive spaces for their communities and also Brigitte Bandit, her full-time job and artistry.

As our plaintiff Jason Rocha testified, this freedom of expression that is cherished by our U.S.

Constitution is what he fought for as an Iraq war veteran.

It's similar to what Winston Churchill said in 1938 on the eve of World War II when he said: "The arts are essential to any complete national life. The state owes it to itself to sustain and encourage them."

Even five years after Winston Churchill said that, Ronald Reagan actually appeared in a movie featuring drag performers in the U.S. military. That film is called *This is the Army*.

Female impersonators and drag artists have been 1 2 around for a long time. It's nothing new. 40 years ago in 3 1983 Judge David L. Russell of the Western District of Oklahoma 4 blocked a government attempt to stop drag artists from performing in a Miss Gay USA Pageant. That case is the Norma 5 12:32PM Kristi, Inc. versus City of Oklahoma City, from Judge 6 David Russell. 7 The court wrote: "The First Amendment values 8 9 free and open expression even if distasteful to the majority, 12:32PM 10 including personally distasteful to this court. As Voltaire 11 said, 'I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.'" 12 13 Thank you, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. You've used 38 minutes. 14 12:32PM **15** All right. The municipality stated that you want 16 the state to go first, which is fine. All right. You've got 45 minutes. You don't need it all. 17 18 Counsel, come on up. 19 MR. ELDRED: Thank you, Judge. 12:33PM **20** THE COURT: Mr. Eldred. 21 MR. ELDRED: Yes, sir. Are you ready? 22 So for the record, I'm Charles Eldred. 23 represent Angela Colmenero in her official capacity as 24 provisional attorney general, and that's important to our

sovereign immunity argument.

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As you know, sovereign immunity applies to cases against state officials in their official capacity. You cannot sue a state official in her official capacity under Section 1983. So all the claims against her under 1983 should be dismissed.

There is an *Ex parte Young* exception that I know you're familiar with. It may only be brought against the enforcement authority. So the claims against Colmenero regarding Sections 2 and 3 of SB 12 should also be dismissed because she has sovereign immunity to those claims.

I next want to move to standing. I think I heard you say that you don't want me to repeat everything that Mr. Stone said before, so I'll adopt what he said if that's okay with you.

THE COURT: You can relate to it as you move along. Just keep it in context and move.

MR. ELDRED: Yes. The big picture is that plaintiffs recognize -- all the plaintiffs recognize that some drag shows are sexual in nature and have content inappropriate for children. And none of them testified or put any evidence forward, as we say, that they plan or want to do anything that is prohibited by SB 12 in front of children; and they didn't even try to show you any conduct that they want to do or plan to do that is regulated by SB 12 in front of children. On this record there's no evidence that plaintiffs intend to violate

SB 12 and, therefore, no standing.

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few points --

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THE COURT: What about the First Amendment issue, that

Now in response to Mr. Stone, plaintiffs made a

it's easy to overcome the standing issue relative to a First

Amendment right? I think there are numerous cases on that.

MR. ELDRED: Ms. Gifford is going to talk about First Amendment.

THE COURT: Okay. Sorry.

MR. ELDRED: Sneak preview, we don't think there is a First Amendment violation here so that might not apply.

THE COURT: Got it. Thank you.

MR. ELDRED: Just a few things that came up in plaintiffs' response to Mr. Stone. So I think everyone agrees that nude performances are prohibited in front of children by SB 12 if it appeals to the prurient interest only, so not necessarily every single new performance in the world. But if it appeals to prurient interest, yes. And one of the responses to that was "Well, one of our performers might have a wardrobe malfunction."

I don't really understand what they think that gets them. They agree that children should not see nudity, so they must necessarily agree that drag performers need to be careful not to expose themselves, just like everyone else needs to be careful. If they're wearing a costume that might result

in exposure of their private parts, they should not be 1 2 performing in front of children wearing that costume. You 3 can't just recklessly wear something that might expose yourself 4 and then have a get out of jail free card and say, "Oh, it was a wardrobe malfunction." 5 They need to be taking more care what they wear 6 7 in front of children like everyone else does. THE COURT: How do they determine one from the other? 8 9 MR. ELDRED: One from the other what? I'm sorry. 12:36PM 10 THE COURT: In other words from an accident or on purpose. 11 12 MR. ELDRED: Of course there's the 13 accidentally-on-purpose problem. "Oh, I accidentally showed my 14 whatever." 12:36PM **15** How do you show? That would be a jury question. 16 THE COURT: Didn't that happen during the Super Bowl? 17 MR. ELDRED: That was totally on purpose. I watched 18 it. Everyone -- that was completely on purpose. 19 THE COURT: And that's your determination, right? 12:37PM **20** MR. ELDRED: I don't -- I don't know any other possible 21 explanation of that. 22 THE COURT: All right. Go ahead. 23 MR. ELDRED: I know they said it was an accident, but I 24 don't believe them. But a jury would have to decide, I think, 12:37PM **25** in that case.

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We also talked about Section C of the definition of sexual conduct, which, to repeat, is "The exhibition of a device designed and marketed as useful primarily for the sexual stimulation of male or female genitals that appeals to prurient interest in sex."

And we said that they didn't have any evidence that they planned to violate that section; and that one of their responses was "Well, Brigitte Bandit uses a dildo in her show and sometimes people watch it through the fence."

That seems inconsistent with me with her own testimony, which is that she does not use a dildo in front of children. So whatever -- whatever they're talking about, she said that she doesn't use it during -- with -- in front of children; so that behavior is not governed by section -- I'm sorry -- by Senate Bill 12.

They also talked about use of lubrication in the shows. Well, lubrication is not a device, nor is it exhibited during the show. They said they distributed --

THE COURT: Did they say they used it during the show or it was just sold at the shows? Or, no, handed out by some exhibitors?

MR. ELDRED: Yes. That was my understanding as well.

It was handed out. But that's not exhibiting the device during the show. That's just -- that's unrelated to the show.

So the lube exception does not mean that they are

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intending to -- I'm sorry. Distributing lube does not mean that they are intending to violate SB 12.

With respect to parental consent, again, if none of their shows violate SB 12, which was our contention, then the parental consent issue goes away. There is no need for parental consent to a show that does not violate SB 12. I don't think that issue is even before you.

I'll skip a lot because we went through that already.

So there's no evidence that plaintiffs intend to violate SB 12; therefore, there's no credible threat of enforcement and I disagree with my friends on the other side about that.

In the *Speech First* case the Fifth Circuit said -- I'm going to quote them right now and I'll read slowly: "Whereas there must be some evidence that a rule would be applied to the plaintiff, in order for that plaintiff to bring it as an applied challenge, this is not the case for facial challenges. Instead, when dealing with pre-enforcement challenges to recently-enacted statutes that facially restrict expressive activity by the class to which plaintiff belongs, courts will assume a credible threat of prosecution in the absence of compelling contrary evidence."

THE COURT: A critical what?

MR. ELDRED: I'm sorry.

"Courts will assume a credible threat" --1 "credible threat" --2 3 THE COURT: "Credible threat" to? 4 MR. ELDRED: -- "of prosecution in the absence of compelling contrary evidence." 5 12:40PM That's what the Fifth Circuit said on Page 335 of 6 7 Speech First. 8 But there's no evidence that SB 12 will be 9 applied to plaintiffs; so it does not allow them to bring an 12:40PM 10 as-applied challenge and it does not restrict expressive 11 activity by the class to which plaintiffs belong, as 12 Ms. Gifford will explain later. 13 There's no evidence that plaintiffs intend to do 14 anything regulated by SB 12, and it doesn't unconstitutionally 12:40PM **15** restrict their expressive activity, as she will explain; so the 16 Court cannot assume a credible threat of prosecution and 17 plaintiffs lack standing to bring the facial challenge as well. 18 So because there's no threat of enforcement, the 19 plaintiffs' claimed injuries are self-inflicted; and as the 12:40PM **20** Fifth Circuit has explained, an organization cannot obtain 21 standing to sue in its own right as a result of self-inflicted 22 injuries that are not fairly traceable to the actions of the defendant. 23 24 That's from Association of Community

Organizations for Reform Now versus Fowler, 178 F.3d 350 at

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Page 358.

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In Clapper versus Amnesty International, that's 568 U.S. 398 of 2013, the plaintiffs also claim they suffered actual injuries as they incurred present costs and burden based on a fear of surveillance, they said.

The Supreme Court disagreed. They said, "Your contention that" -- "Respondents' contention that they have standing because they incurred certain costs as a reasonable reaction to a risk of harm is unavailing because the harm respondents seek to avoid is not certainly impending."

So just the fact that they've canceled shows doesn't mean that they have standing. They have to have a reasonable fear of harm. They can't just say, "We fear harm so we're doing these things."

That doesn't give them standing by themselves.

I'm probably speaking too fast. Sorry.

They need to show that the impending fear -- the quote I read from *Speech First* is the standard, and they don't meet that standard.

There's also a case called *Glass v. Paxton* from the Fifth Circuit, 900 F.3d 233. That's the year 2018. A college professor named Glass said that she was going to self-censor herself regarding new policies allowing handguns on campus; and the Fifth Circuit said, "Well, that doesn't give you standing either. You're just self-censoring yourself out

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of your own will and that doesn't give you standing. That's a self-inflicted injury."

We believe the injuries they're talking about here are similarly self-inflicted in that there was no impending threat of prosecution of them under SB 12, and they haven't shown that there has been.

I'm going to quickly turn to some specific reasons that the plaintiffs lack standing against my client, Angela Colmenero, in her official capacity.

A reminder: Her enforcement authority is "A person who controls the premises of a commercial enterprise may not allow a sexually oriented performance to be presented on the premises in the presence of an individual younger than 18 years ago of age."

That is the one thing that my client can enforce and many things that the plaintiff said will not fall into that category.

Woodlands Pride says it fears it won't be able to have this event on public property in a public park. Colmenero has no enforcement power over public property. There's no evidence the show will be canceled.

Abilene Pride says it fears it won't be able to have a parade on city streets in a county expo center. Same problem. Colmenero has no enforcement authority over those issues, and no one is actually threatening to cancel those

events.

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Extragrams brokers drag performances by independent contractors. It does not control the space where the independent contractor perform, by definition. So Extragrams has no standing to challenge my client's enforcement authority either.

in a restaurant owned by one of the parents -- one of the partner's parents; however, they have not given any evidence that they, rather than the parents, control the space. It's their burden to prove that they control that space during the time they have the shows. I heard no evidence they control the space. They're allowed to use the space. They need more than that to show they control it.

Brigitte Bandit hosts and organizes events. That certainly is not self-evidently controlling the space where the event takes place. Just because you host an event doesn't mean you control the space. She could have explained further how she controls the space, but it was very conclusory. It was just "I fear that I may be found in control of the space."

That's not good enough. Hosting and organizing events in a space does not necessarily control the space.

So the Court has no standing over those claims for those additional reasons.

Unless you have questions, I would like to turn

it over to Ms. Gifford.

THE COURT: No. Thank you.

Ms. Gifford?

MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, again this lawsuit is challenging a law that does not exist. There is no ban on drag shows; and the plaintiffs, by their very own admission, have said that Senate Bill 12 does not burden their protected speech to the extent that their performances are protected by the First Amendment because they already tailor their performances to the age of their audience.

I'd like to start by talking about facial versus as-applied challenges. A facial challenge, as the Court knows, is a head-on attack of a legislative judgment, an assertion that the challenged statute violates the Constitution in all of its applications.

In contrast, an as-applied challenge concedes that the statute may be constitutional under some situations, but contends that under the particular -- under particular circumstances it's not.

The distinction between facial and as-applied goes to the breadth of the remedy that the Court intends to apply in this case.

A facial challenge obviously has a very broad remedy; and as I argued yesterday, claims of facial invalidity rest -- first should be distributed very conservatively.

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Claims of facial invalidity often rest on speculation and -- as they have in this case; and as a consequence they raise the risk of premature interpretation of the statute on the basis of factually bare bones records.

For example, the fears expressed by the plaintiffs in this case go to this very issue. They are purely speculation. Moreover, facial challenges run contrary to the fundamental principle of judicial restraint that courts should neither, quote, anticipate a question of constitutional law in advance of the necessity of deciding it, nor formulate a rule of constitutional law broader than is required by the precise facts to which it should be applied. And that is from the Supreme Court case in Ashwander v. TVA.

And finally facial challenges threaten to short-circuit the democratic process by preventing laws embodying the will of the people from being implemented in a manner consistent with the Constitution. An ordinance may be constitutionally invalid on its face either because it's unconstitutional in every conceivable application or because it seeks to prohibit such a broad range of protected activity or protected conduct that it is unconstitutionally overbroad; however, before we even get to the issue of facial challenge the Court must determine whether drag itself is an inherently expressive conduct meriting First Amendment scrutiny.

And, Your Honor, it is not. We cannot accept the

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view that an apparently limitless variety of conduct can be labeled speech whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends to thereby express an idea. That comes from the *O'Brien* case.

Furthermore, in the FAIR case, the Rumsfeld versus Forum for Academic & Institutional Rights, the Court says that "In O'Brien we rejected the view that conduct can be labeled speech whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends thereby to express an idea. Instead, we have extended First Amendment protection only to conduct that is inherently expressive."

And, Your Honor, I would submit to you that this is -- this very issue is what creates mischief in this case, that if, for example, Your Honor wanted to dress up in a way that would be considered drag and do things that violated SB 12, under the plaintiffs' theory of the case that conduct would be protected by the First Amendment simply because it's drag. Regardless of whether you had a message to convey or not, the plaintiffs' position is that drag is inherently expressive and, therefore, merits protection under the First Amendment and to take that position gets the Court to a place that people -- that it can be used in a way that does not take into account any message that may be intended to be conveyed.

In deciding whether a particular conduct poses --

possesses sufficient communicative elements to bring the 1 2 First Amendment into play, courts have asked whether an intent 3 to convey a particularized message was present and whether the 4 likelihood was great that the message would be understood by those who viewed it. 5 12:51PM As the plaintiffs testified yesterday, each one 6 7 had a different message in the performances, a different 8 message in what they were intending to convey; and if you're 9 looking at this from the standpoint of a --12:51PM 10 THE COURT: Well, do they need a uniform? Only one message to convey? Because each of them have their own 11 12 feelings about drag in their community and the history of it 13 also. 14 MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, the standard would be that from the perspective of an ordinary neutral observer would they 12:52PM **15** 16 know what message was being conveyed without the use of words. 17 THE COURT: So it's objective instead of subjective? 18 MS. GIFFORD: I believe it is. THE COURT: All right. 19 12:52PM **20** MS. GIFFORD: And so would an objective neutral viewer 21 understand the message trying to be conveyed without the use of 22 speech or words? 23 THE COURT: Is that a requirement? 24 MS. GIFFORD: Yes, Your Honor. In Rumsfeld -- what we 12:52PM **25** call "the FAIR case," Rumsfeld v. Forum for Academic &

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Institutional Rights, the Supreme Court says that "If combining speech and conduct were enough to create expressive conduct, a regulated party could always transform conduct into speech simply by talking about it."

And so, Your Honor, it's not true that merely intending to express a message by your conduct means that you are engaging in free speech. Approving drag and doing drag are different categories, just as, for example, opposing taxes and refusing to pay your taxes would be different categories. One may oppose taxes without commenting on it. That does not necessarily make it protected free speech.

And with regard to the second prong, whether the likelihood was great that the message would be understood by those who viewed it, we've heard very little about what the message supposedly is from the plaintiffs. Some have said that the message that they want to -- what's the message you want to express or about -- or they were asked, you know, "What is the message you are expressing and would it be understood by those who viewed it?"

And there is no -- there was no testimony that it would be easily understood by a neutral person as to what message it was that they were trying to convey.

However, even if the Court finds that there is some expressive conduct, Senate Bill 12 should still be reviewed under intermediate scrutiny. The level of

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First Amendment scrutiny the Court uses to determine whether the regulation of adult entertainment is constitutional depends on the purpose for which the regulation was adopted. If the regulation was enacted to restrict certain viewpoints or modes of expression, it is presumptively invalid and subject to strict scrutiny.

If, on the other hand, the regulation was adopted for the purpose unrelated to the expression -- to the suppression of expression -- for example, to regulate non-expressive conduct of a time, place and manner or expressive conduct -- the Court must apply the less demanding standard of intermediate scrutiny.

Your Honor, even if exotic dancing can be considered expressive, the plaintiffs have not specifically said that their drag -- their drag performances are not sexual. Ms. Bandit testified yesterday that drag is not sexual; and so, therefore, how could it be viewed under the standard of sexual -- of a sexual or an exotic performance?

Contextually, Your Honor, this SB 12 is an indecency ordinance, because the conduct, what is to be regulated -- or the definition of the conduct is found -- will be found in Chapter 43 of the Penal Code which regulates public indecency; and as the Supreme Court articulated in *Barnes versus Glen Theatre* when it applied the *O'Brien* test, the plurality found that, quote, Indiana's public indecency statute

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was justified, despite its incidental limitations on some expressive activity.

The statute was -- applying the four-part O'Brien test was, one, that the statute was clearly within the constitutional power of the State and furthers a substantial government interest, which the plaintiffs agree that we have met the first prong of that.

The second prong, the state's interest in protecting societal order, that it is unrelated to the suppression of free expression because the requirement -- and this is again from Barnes versus Glen Theatre -- the Court said it's "unrelated to the expression" -- "the suppression of free expression because the requirement that dancers don pasties and G-strings does not deprive the dance of whatever erotic message It simply makes the message slightly less it conveys. graphic."

Your Honor, that is exactly the situation here. We -- SB 12 is not regulating or suppressing free expression. It is simply making it less graphic in front of children.

And the third prong of O'Brien is that the regulation be no greater than essential to further the government's interest.

Here there is -- when talking about whether it is narrowly tailored, you look at whether there is a way -whether the objective of the statute could be achieved in a

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less restrictive way. There is not in this situation.

And the fourth step -- the fourth prong of -THE COURT: Are you saying there is no less restrictive
way?

MS. GIFFORD: Correct. Correct. Senate Bill 12 achieves its goal in the least restrictive way possible, that there is -- there is not a way that is less restrictive that would achieve the goal of Senate Bill 12.

The fourth prong of *O'Brien* is that Indiana's requirement -- in *Barnes* is that "Indiana's requirement that the dancers wear pasties and G-strings is modest and the bare minimum necessary to achieve the state's purpose."

Similarly SB 12 is modest and the bare minimum necessary to achieve the state's interest.

Justice Scalia, in concurring in that decision, said that "The challenged regulation must be upheld not because it survives some lower level of First Amendment scrutiny, but because as a general law regulating conduct and not specifically directed at expression, it is not subject to First Amendment scrutiny at all."

And, again, Your Honor SB 12 is regulating -- to the extent it is regulating any conduct, it's not regulating the message that the plaintiffs in this case want to convey.

THE COURT: What message do you think they want to convey? Have you heard any?

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MS. GIFFORD: I have not heard any, Your Honor, other than what the plaintiffs testified to yesterday; and, again, that goes back to my earlier point that their message has been vague at best. Everyone had -- to the extent they had a message, they had a different message; and that standing in a --

THE COURT: Do you need a unitary message?

MS. GIFFORD: No, Your Honor; but you do need a message that a ordinary person would understand without the need to explain it with words and that is simply by doing a performance dressed in drag. There needs to be more. There needs to be words to convey the messages that they testified about yesterday.

THE COURT: Can they convey it by words or by dance in and of itself?

MS. GIFFORD: I think arguably some dance could be expressive enough to convey their meaning, but not in all circumstances; and so to the extent that they are saying that drag as a whole -- just by definition drag as a whole is expressive such that it merits First Amendment protection, it doesn't meet that standard. There are instances, of course, where specific instances of drag performance would merit the less restrictive intermediate scrutiny.

Additionally Senate Bill 12 does not unreasonably limit alternative avenues of their communication. Again, the

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state by no means is prohibiting dancers from performing with the utmost levels of erotic expression. They are simply not permitted to do it in front of children, which the plaintiffs themselves, as we discussed earlier in standing, don't do. There must be a reasonable opportunity -- a reasonable opportunity does not -- furthermore, a reasonable opportunity does not include a concern for economic considerations.

THE COURT: What do you mean by that?

MS. GIFFORD: So that to the extent that they testify that they are worried about any economic considerations for the self-inflicted harm that -- by restricting -- by not performing that --

THE COURT: "Self-inflicted harm," you mean by their canceling different shows in anticipation of the law taking effect? Because we heard a number of that.

MS. GIFFORD: Right, canceling shows that otherwise would still be permitted under SB 12, that the concern for economic considerations under Renton is not a -- is not a valid reason for granting them the relief they're seeking in this case.

And, again, the goal is to make --Senate Bill 12, the goal is to make it less graphic in front of minors. It's not to restrict their speech.

THE COURT: But who's to determine that?

MS. GIFFORD: Well, so it depends again on what section

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you're talking about. If you're talking about as a performer while -- and for example, an upset soccer mom may call the police on a performance saying that "Oh, my goodness. This is -- this is way too much for a child to see."

She's not the one determining whether the plaintiff has violated SB 12. If the police are called as law enforcement, they're the ones to determine under the legal standard if there has been a violation. This is -- the plaintiffs over the last day and a half have made it sound just like just any passerby could complain that they have violated SB 12 and they could be subject to penalties. And that absolutely is not it, because unlike, for example, the Florida statute that has been enjoined, the Florida statute had a private right of action and so any individual could bring suit against a performer for violating the statute. That is not the case here; and, again, that's one way SB 12 is distinguished from the Florida law that was enjoined is there is no private right of action. So law enforcement would determine whether an individual has violated the statute applying the legal standard of prurient interest and considering the required mens rea.

THE COURT: Do you think a police officer coming to see something in response to a complaint is in a position to do that? What are they going to do -- shut it down, arrest the folks, fine them -- as far as the police officer in your scenario coming to the premises to answer a call?

MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, again that is speculative 1 2 and --3 THE COURT: But isn't that what they're saying is 4 speculative, that they have a real fear for the speculative results of the statute? 5 01:06PM MS. GIFFORD: I think that there are many scenarios 6 7 where we can think that the police are called for something 8 that a passerby does not agree with, but that under the legal 9 standard that the police are held to, it's not a violation. 01:06PM 10 And so while they may show up, that doesn't necessarily mean that there is going to be a violation. 11 12 THE COURT: Go on. Going to be or has been a 13 violation? 14 MS. GIFFORD: Right. Thank you. Yes. Going to be or 01:06PM **15** has been. 16 THE COURT: Because I'm not sure you can do it 17 prospectively, in other words, to call them before an incident 18 of some insult to an onlooker takes place. 19 MS. GIFFORD: Right. And Senate Bill 12 does not --01:06PM **20** does not say that that would happen either. I mean that 21 absolutely is not part of Senate Bill 12. 22 Your Honor, you have asked if there are any laws 23 that currently, you know, prohibit what Senate Bill 12 is 24 proscribing; and the answer is no. Plaintiffs' counsel 01:07PM **25** mentioned the obscenity law, and that applies equally to adults

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and to children. Senate Bill 12 is different in that it is limited to the conduct that can be exhibited in front of minors.

Even under strict scrutiny, Your Honor, SB 12 is still constitutional. To the extent there's been implication that if we get to a strict scrutiny review then, therefore, it is unconstitutional, as the Court knows, that's not accurate. In cases where a legislative act restricts indecent speech which may not be obscene to adults but, nonetheless, indecent to children, the Supreme Court's been clear that those circumstances still must be relatively narrow and well defined and that no doubt the State possesses, and the plaintiffs agree, a legitimate power to protect children from harm.

Again plaintiffs have brought a facial challenge; and so they have to reckon with a higher standard in limitations that such a challenge entails. They have to establish that no set of circumstances exist under which Senate Bill 12 could be valid. They have not done that. They have not met that burden.

In fact, to the extent Senate Bill 12 does regulate conduct, the requirement that performers not perform in a sexually explicit manner in front of children still leaves ample capacity for them to convey their message.

Plaintiffs mentioned the *Reno* case, which was, in fact, Janet Reno. That case -- I would encourage the Court to

look at the facts underlying that case. It was about 1 2 regulating conduct in the infancy of the internet. I think it 3 was decided -- I don't have it in front of me, but I believe it 4 was 1996 and talking about what regulations and limitations could be placed around distributing obscene materials to 5 01:09PM children on the internet. 6 7 I think it's important in the context that it was 8 under Reno the Court found that the ordinance or the law that 9 was going into effect was so broad that it captured conduct and 01:10PM 10 speech directed at adults. 11 THE COURT: You've got eight minutes left. 12 MS. GIFFORD: Okay. 13 Moving on to their contention that it is 14 overbroad, again, the idea that a law is overbroad should be 01:10PM **15** employed sparingly, as the Supreme Court has said. 16 THE COURT: Sorry for the interruption. Go right 17 ahead. 18 MS. GIFFORD: As to the -- the plaintiffs say that this 19 idea of prurient interest is confusing, yet they still point to 01:10PM **20** the obscenity law that uses the definition of "prurient 21 interest" and seems to say that that would cover it. 22 So on one hand they say that --THE COURT: What would cover it from where? 23 24 MS. GIFFORD: From Section 43.21 of the Penal Code. 01:11PM **25** THE COURT: The definition?

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MS. GIFFORD: Yes. The obscenity statute that includes in it prurient interest; and, as I said earlier, that applies to adults and is not limited to children, yet while they seem to understand prurient interest in that context, they seem to not understand it in the Senate Bill 12.

I would submit to the Court that because there is a criminal penalty that attaches to a person who violates -- who would violate the third section of Senate Bill 12 that that would be judged eventually by a jury and so a reasonable-person standard, the average person who is deemed to be a reasonably prudent person, would be the standard applied to what -- who -- how "prurient interest" is defined.

I think our brief, our response to plaintiffs' motion that was filed last week, I think, talks about the definition of "prurient interest"; so I will move on.

So as to the mens rea, I think we talked about this earlier, but a mens rea is not an absolute guarantee. They fear what others may think, as you mentioned earlier, and how others will judge their performance; but again that's not the standard. It's not that someone may call the police and accuse them of violating the statute. That is not it at all. And, again, they also say that they're afraid that they may be charged with aiding and abetting, although they've pointed to no Texas law that would possibly make them liable for aiding and abetting; and that's in part because there is no aiding and

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abetting. That's not something that is really in Texas law. There is a requirement that -- the Penal Code does say that a person can be convicted of acting as a party to another's conduct if they're acting with an intent to promote or assist in -- but again the *mens rea* there is intentionality.

With regard to the definition of "nude," arguably, Your Honor, a commercial enterprise that allows nudity, that would allow a sexually oriented performance that includes two or more individuals performing nude would be regulated as a sexually oriented business.

And then as to their contention that this is not viewpoint neutral, contrary to their mischaracterization, SB 12 is, in fact, viewpoint neutral regarding drag performances both facially and as applied.

The language of the act neither distinguishes between nor does it treat differently performers who exaggerate male or female characteristics and performers who have characteristics and merely exhibit them as they have argued in their pleadings.

Sexual conduct, as defined by Senate Bill 12 applies equally to any performance of a sexual nature; so, therefore, the use of accessories or prosthetics that exaggerate male or female characteristics is not unique nor is it limited to drag performances.

Performers of all types often don false

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eyelashes, lavish wigs, dramatic makeup; and anyone desiring to appeared more well-endowed than they naturally are could enhance themselves with accessories or prosthetics.

The plaintiffs talked about the *Friends of*Georges case that challenged the Tennessee drag ban. The

Tennessee law had a definition in it that included male or

female impersonators. That is contrary to Senate Bill 12 which

is neutral in that it applies to all sexually oriented

performances and that was a large reason why the Tennessee

court found that --

THE COURT: You've got two minutes left.

MS. GIFFORD: -- the challenge in Tennessee violated viewpoint and content.

As far as the parental consent -- the issue of parental consent, Your Honor -- they have not pled that. That is not in their complaint.

The plaintiffs are limited to what's in their complaint. That is not part of it.

And finally as to imminent harm as Mr. Eldred talked about earlier, there is no imminent harm to the plaintiffs. They already tailor their performances. As they testified yesterday, the performances that they already do are allowed --

THE COURT: You can't take finances into any consideration? That they may lose their business or whatever?

MS. GIFFORD: 1 No. 2 THE COURT: Say it again, please. 3 MS. GIFFORD: No. Financial harm is not considered 4 imminent harm for purposes of an injunctive relief. THE COURT: Okay. 01:17PM 5 MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, again I would submit to the 6 7 Court that Senate Bill 12 is not a drag ban. It is not banning 8 drag performances. The legislative history makes that very 9 clear. And so what the plaintiffs are seeking the Court to 01:17PM 10 both enjoin and declare unconstitutional does not exist. There 11 is no ban on drag. 12 And, Your Honor, Senate Bill 12 is 13 constitutional. It is not a violation of the First Amendment. 14 THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel. All right. I'm now going to go down the list of 01:17PM **15** 16 the municipalities. If they want to add anything certainly 17 they may. 18 First from Abilene, Mr. Viada. 19 MR. VIADA: Thank you, Your Honor. 01:18PM **20** All right. The City's arguments here are all 21 subsidiary. This is a facial challenge to a state law that 22 has --23 THE COURT: By the way, I know we've been in session 24 for a while. If anybody needs to get up and leave, come back 01:18PM **25** in, that's fine. We might as well get it all done and just

from everyone who may want to be heard.

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Yes, sir?

MR. VIADA: Thank you, Your Honor.

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This is a facial challenge to a statute that has not yet taken effect. The only claim here is to a state law.

There's been no separate and independent claim against the City of Abilene for anything the City has either done or hasn't done or threatens to do.

wrap it up for the day. I understand that, but we need to hear

So my arguments for the City of Abilene come into play only if the Court rules in favor of the plaintiffs on Senate Bill 12; and if the Court rules for the AG on the validity of the statute, then all the claims against the City fall, too.

So I'm just here to talk about what happens if the Court holds part or all of SB 12 invalid.

Our first point is -- and this has been alluded to earlier -- that if the Court strikes down SB 12, then the invalidation of the law runs downhill and so there is nothing to enforce. And that if it never takes effect, the City would never enforce it so any claims against the City become moot.

All right. We've also argued that there's no standing on this law and I wanted to focus specifically on the statute; but before I get to that, I want to sort of take the broad approach -- the broad slices through these arguments --

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THE COURT: Let me ask you this. I'm not going to stop the clock. If you think we need to take a short break, we will before we wrap it up. What's your feeling? Keep going or just take a ten-minute break? You tell me.

MR. STONE: Your Honor, we'd like to power through if possible.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Agreed, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. All right.

MR. VIADA: I'm ready to power through here.

THE COURT: Power through.

MR. VIADA: All right.

THE COURT: Power on.

MR. VIADA: All right. The Davis versus Dallas County case -- that's a 2022 Fifth Circuit case en banc, one of the two en banc cases that the Court dealt with in that case -talks about the importance of who is the final policymaker, both for purposes of standing and for purposes of liability and that was a case where the issue was whether various county officials who were directed to deal with sentencing policies of the State of Texas were state actors and to the extent that they were, then the county itself could not be liable, nor could the county be responsible under Ex parte Young.

So the policymaker issue takes out the whole case because there's no allegation here made and there's been no proof in your record that the city council of the City of

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Abilene has had anything to do with this -- that there's no threat on the part of the city council to enforce any laws, the city council is not the body that has any obligation to enforce the law. There's a statute that says that the City can't permit certain activities on City property, which I'll get to in just a moment.

But the city council has not weighed in on any of this. There's no allegation against the city council at all.

So our position is that there's no standing under *Davis* or there's no merits claims under *Davis* that the City of Abilene has any responsibility in this case.

Let me turn quickly to the standing part of this under the three elements. And I heard counsel talk about, you know, that all you need to do is there be a credible threat of enforcement of the law -- enforcement prosecution, enforcement action or actual arrest.

But the Section 2 of the act doesn't call for criminal penalties. It is simply a provision that says that cities may not permit the conduct that is prohibited by the statute to occur on public property. They may not permit it.

Well, that doesn't mean that there's any threat of enforcement of that law against any of these folks. It's simply --

THE COURT: Don't you think that could be inherent?

They all said in the testimony we heard there's no problem with

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Abilene at this time, but they're afraid that once this act goes into effect, that's what could happen.

MR. VIADA: That the City hypothetically could pull the permit, but pulling a permit as far as using public property is not the same as enforcing a criminal law.

The chill cases that are cited by the plaintiff here deal with threat of criminal prosecution. They don't deal with a situation where the plaintiff is afraid to ask for a permit because they might turn him down.

In fact, in this case the evidence conclusively proves that the Abilene organization did apply for a permit and that it was granted and that there's been no threat that it would not be granted in the future.

So what's the enforcement here? The only enforcement is that the City says, "Well, you can't use the property."

That doesn't chill anybody's free speech to just be told you can't use the property.

So who would enforce it if the city said, "Well, we're going to go ahead and give you the permit and we'll let the State sort out whether or not we should have given the permit"?

There's no prohibition or there's no enforcement mechanism against the City from the State, as the attorney general pointed out. But let's assume that the City grants a

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permit and that we allow them to do it in violation of the state prohibition against us allowing them to do it. Well, who would bring suit? Citizens saying, "You can't grant a permit" or the state attorney general filing a lawsuit and saying, "You can't get that permit."

But the only prohibition in Section 2 of the act runs against the City. The act tells the City that it can't grant a permit. It's not telling the plaintiffs that they can't have their show on the public property.

It is directed -- it's a prohibition directed against the City for us to enforce. We're made to enforce it. We're told to enforce it in the sense of denying a permit but there's no threat to the plaintiffs to come to us and say, "Can I have a permit?"

And us to say -- and we can say, "Yes."

And if the State takes issue with us granting the permit, that's between us and the State. It's not between us and the plaintiff. If the plaintiffs' permit is denied and they say it's unconstitutional, at that point they can sue and say, "You denied a permit on the ground that it was -- that we're going to engage in protected conduct."

At that point they've got a live controversy.

But in this particular situation, they've not been chilled from asking for a permit. We've granted them a permit. If in the future they come to us and ask for a permit and we were to deny

it, maybe there would be a controversy then. But at this point 1 2 there's no case or controversy between these plaintiffs and the 3 City. We've given them what they want. 4 The final point that I wanted to make on Ex parte Young was --01:25PM 5 THE COURT: You've got to move along. 6 7 MR. VIADA: Yes. Only the City has been sued, no city 8 official. They've not sued any City officer to get an injunction. They want an injunction against the City itself. 01:26PM 10 And the City has not taken the position that we 11 have Eleventh Amendment immunity in this case. We're not being 12 sued as the State, we're being sued as the City. 13 So there's no cause of action under *Monell* and 14 there's no live controversy between us, Your Honor. 01:26PM **15** Thank you. 16 THE COURT: All right. Thank you so much. 17 Ms. Cubriel? 18 MS. CUBRIEL: Yes, Your Honor. I represent the Bexar County District Attorney. 19 THE COURT: Right. 20 21 MS. CUBRIEL: He indisputably has the authority to 22 prosecute violations of criminal laws that occur within Bexar 23 County and the plaintiffs are absolutely correct that no 24 district attorney or prosecutor in the state can basically 01:26PM **25** disavow an intent to prosecute any criminal offense in the

1 state. That being said, we have raised the defense of 2 3 sovereign immunity. We have filed briefing on that matter and 4 we will just rely on that briefing, so I'm not going to just restate everything we've already argued. 01:27PM 5 THE COURT: Thank you. 6 7 Ms. Ybarra. MS. YBARRA: Yes, Your Honor. Travis County Attorney 8 9 Delia Garza is who I represent. I would reiterate what Ms. Cubriel said as well 01:27PM 10 11 as to let you know that we have a motion to dismiss based on 12 standing and sovereign immunity before you and we would just 13 let you read that briefing. THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 14 01:27PM **15** All of that will be addressed in that final Yes. 16 judgment, and it will be all-encompassing. 17 All right. Mr. Plake, anything further? 18 MR. PLAKE: Yes, Judge. 19 THE COURT: Okay. Go right ahead. 01:27PM **20** And that's from Montgomery County, correct? Montgomery County and District Attorney 21 MR. PLAKE: 22 Brett Ligon. 23 THE COURT: Thank you. 24 MR. PLAKE: Judge, I agree with what Mr. Viada said and 01:27PM **25** I would adopt his reasoning on Monell and standing so I don't

have to repeat it.

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There is a key distinction with Montgomery County though in which there is no permit. There's no permit applicable. Mr. Rocha testified about that, that he had never sought a permit and the only permit he brought up was potentially needing to close down a road.

But when pressed on it, he said he didn't really know, didn't have a venue plan, there were trees in the way.

So that would be highly speculative at best.

Also, Judge, there's been no policymaker identified for Montgomery County or policies, so the first two elements of *Monell* are not met.

Judge, we talked about Speech First --

THE COURT: All right. Hang on for a second.

MR. PLAKE: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: Talking to the plaintiffs in this case, that they're saying that you've served the wrong parties, it's not them and so forth. So briefly address that when you get up for your last go-round.

Yes, sir. Go right ahead.

MR. PLAKE: After the standard or the burden of proof announced in *Speech First*, I do not believe that is the correct burden of proof. It does not shift to us to prove it will not be enforced. *Speech First*, under the standing heading, specifically says it applies at the preliminary injunction

phase --

THE COURT: I remember that case, but where is it from?

MR. PLAKE: The plaintiff argued that case as to the burden of proof and the enforcement.

THE COURT: What case was that that you were referring --

MR. PLAKE: Speech First.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. PLAKE: The very first sentence under the standing section, it says it applies to preliminary injunction. It's a lesser burden than at trial. Same as where the cite that they reference --

THE COURT: And we're in a trial now.

MR. PLAKE: We're in a trial. So it may apply to the judge's TRO or under the Court's TRO considerations, but not to the trial on the merits.

THE COURT: Okay. Also, Judge, we do not believe there's any mandated action as to the county because of the permit issue. If you look at the new local Government Code 243.0031(b), that is a may provision. We may do things, but we have not done anything; and if we did it, it would be through ordinance. It would not just be something we did or had some kind of enforcement authority. And without the enforcement authority or the ordinance, we never reached Subpart C, which is the only provision that is required -- the

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may not provision, may not allow.

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And especially if there's no contract, as Mr. Rocha testified. He has no contract with local government units, with Montgomery County and no permits. He contracts with local law enforcement individually and with private security.

Judge, that brings me around to Mr. Ligon as the DA. We do not believe that the plaintiff has pled a valid 1983 cause against Mr. Ligon because he's not a person under 1983.

We do highlight that the correct avenue would have been under *Ex parte Young*. That was not brought; but even if they did bring that, it would fail.

They do cite -- we cite a few cases in our brief.

But they do cite Whole Woman's Health versus Jackson for their proposition that those cases have been overruled by the Supreme Court.

I do not believe that is correct, Judge. If you look at the cite there that they're quoting, it does say exactly what they say it says, but it has a footnote attached to it and that's Footnote 3. And Footnote 3 says that that holding in that case is specifically as to a licensing official and the license duty, not enforcement. So it's a very narrow holding and it also only applies to motions to dismiss stage. It did not apply to the final stage and that is also in that case.

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So it has a very narrow exception for one 1 2 particular type of person, it has nothing to do in law 3 enforcement and particularly disavowed enforcement at all. 4 do not believe that's a proper standard. And back to reiterate one of my early points on 5 01:31PM privity, we cited a case on privity, the Harris County versus 6 7 CarMax case, where we believe, like Mr. Viada, that if you find 8 a statute unconstitutional, there's simply nothing to enjoin because no prosecutor is going to enforce them. 01:31PM 10 Thank you. 11 Thank you, Judge. MR. PLAKE: 12 THE COURT: Mr. Griffin. 13 MR. GRIFFIN: Mr. Plake, spoke for Montgomery County and DA Ligon. 14 01:31PM **15** THE COURT: Okay. We have Mr. Wagstaff. 16 MR. WAGSTAFF: Just briefly, Your Honor. 17 Specifically as to the City of Abilene, Mr. Viada 18 covered most of what I was going to cover because it's similar 19 to the county deal because there's been no --01:32PM **20** THE COURT: You're with Taylor County. 21 MR. WAGSTAFF: Taylor County and DA Hicks. So I adopt 22 the arguments as to the DA and as to the general standing in 23 county issues. And I would just point out to the Court if we 24

just look at the testimony from the Abilene Pride Alliance and

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what is specific to Taylor County and the City of Abilene, that's been no change of plans. While they may have made backup plans, there's been no change of plans.

There's also no irreparable harm because they can only say they're in fear of. But what Gavyn Hardegree testified to was essentially compliance with what is now the law or what will be the law on the 1st.

And so it's as you pointed out subjective versus objective. And so it's speculative to think that they don't think it's lewd or they don't think that it's inappropriate to be in front of all ages, to be in front of children. But then somehow say they've got this fear of prosecution when it's the same subjective standard, not objective standard and so therefore it's speculative and therefore there's no irreparable harm, Your Honor.

Thank you.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. All right. I said that you have about -- oh, I said I would give you 10 minutes, remember regardless. So let me just knock off the clock and after you're done with your 10 minutes, I have about five minutes more and then we'll adjourn for good.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Or until another court says otherwise, okay?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes.

THE COURT: Go right ahead.

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MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes. Thank you, Your Honor.

As far as the County and the district attorneys, the prosecutors in this case, just as they rest on their briefing, we, too, believe the case law is very clear, that when there's a criminal law about to go into effect that they have the power to enforce. So I'm not going to delve into those arguments.

> THE COURT: Okay.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: We'll just rest on our briefing as far as against the district attorneys and the county.

As I mentioned yesterday at the beginning of the case, we understand the municipalities and the counties' concern. We believe they should take it up with the state legislature. Why is the legislature trying to task them with enforcing what's obviously an unconstitutional law. We do have an actual case or controversy against them.

If the Court looks at the case in Montana as well as Tennessee that we cited early, the very recent drag cases, the municipalities in those cases actually agreed with the plaintiffs and stipulated that they thought that the law might be controversial or they took a neutral position explicitly with the Court saying they did not want to enforce the law.

Here if any of the municipalities or counties would stipulate that they agree that the law is

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unconstitutional and will not enforce against the plaintiffs, then that would obviate the case or controversy.

THE COURT: You want me to ask for a show of hands?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: We've asked, Your Honor.

THE COURT: No. There's not too much enthusiasm for your offer.

Go right ahead.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: So, Your Honor, the presumption is that municipalities, like every state official, will follow the law when it takes effect on Friday and that's really the rub. It is a strange situation. There are not many cases where the legislature tries to delegate authority directly to municipalities and home rule cities and counties, but that is what we have here. And even there is a two-hat problem that we talk about in our brief --

THE COURT: A two hat?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: The two-hat problem, Your Honor, especially for district and county attorneys, which is not at issue in this case. But sometimes an official is a policymaker for the municipality, sometimes an official is just enforcing the law for the State of Texas.

But so here, you know, we agree that they have not yet taken any steps to enforce this law. It's not in effect. Presumably once the law goes into effect, the final policymakers for the municipalities will be the responsible

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So if Montgomery County is going to, you know, prohibit any of The Woodlands Pride's upcoming events, the final policymaker would be the county commissioners court.

Now, they haven't yet done that, but that doesn't mean that we can never show a final policymaker. We just haven't had to do that yet, because it's a pre-enforcement challenge.

THE COURT: One point. What about the investment -you know, investment as a final -- at some sort of a loss or
damage -- financial loss in the granting of a -- what is it -a permanent injunction?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: That's correct, Your Honor.

Generally --

THE COURT: The fear of financial loss, is that any kind of a grounds to look for as far as irreparable harm or any kind of a status quo or whatever? Someone mentioned -- one of the other counsel here about -- what is it -- Ms. Gifford mentioned that the financial loss is not to be considered in this kind of an equity matter.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, even for the businesses, it's not just a financial loss. They're shut down from all of their expressive activity, so it's still a First Amendment chilling of speech.

THE COURT: All right.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: There's a financial loss, but it's

irreparable harm as a constitutional chilling of speech.

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And then just briefly last thing on the municipal liability, it doesn't have to be criminal. They have not cited any case that you can't sue a municipality for squelching speech in a pre-enforcement case.

Both the *Turtle Foods* case as well as Speech First both have civil penalties and that's what chills the speech.

If the Court adopts the -- under the municipal the counties' theory and the City of Abilene's theory, the
state legislature could always delegate enforcement of any
clearly unconstitutional law just to municipalities.

So even if they're right that they're acting just as a servant of the State, that's where we find the Ex parte Young exception.

Now, typically you always sue municipalities under *Monell* and that's what we believe we've done here because as soon as Montgomery County or Taylor County or the City of Abilene enforces, that enforcement would have to be approved by the final policymaker implementing the law.

But even if the Court finds that we don't meet the requirements of *Monell*, then under their theory, they're just acting as a state official. *Monell* itself, the original case, teaches us that municipalities are persons under 1983.

And so the Court would be well within its power

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under Ex parte Young still to enjoin anyone who is acting on behalf of the State to enforce this law.

Under either theory, they're not immune. They're not pointing to a single case that they're just off the hook. The State legislature then would always delegate enforcement to a municipality and could ban anything they want. They could ban all speech in the state and just task the counties with enforcement. No one could ever sue.

Your Honor, turning lastly to the attorney general's arguments, almost all of their arguments we have specifically addressed and rebutted in our brief so I will just go through a couple of things to clear up.

There were two different legal standards that were urged to the Court.

In the first half, Mr. Eldred cited the correct standard from Speech First, the standard for a facial challenge to a law.

Ms. Gifford also referred to what's not at issue here, which is the legal standard for an as-applied challenge.

In plaintiffs' complaint we pled our as-applied challenge as an alternative, but it's a pleading for the Court. If the Court doesn't find a facial challenge, you could then use the standard for as-applied.

THE COURT: That's one of the alternatives.

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor.

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Ms. Gifford kept saying that the plaintiffs have to show that no application -- or that there is no application of this statute. Sorry.

The plaintiffs have to show that every application of this statute is unconstitutional and that's not the test we have to show in a facial challenge.

We've provided the Court already with the authorities on facial challenges to laws exactly like this one and that's the correct standard to follow.

Just briefly on severability, you know, the attorney general has called for dismissal of all claims relating to Sections 2 and 3 of the law. We believe that this statute is not severable. Such dismissal would be improper.

The Fifth Circuit in 2013 in the Parkside Partners versus City of Farmers Branch case, 726 F.3d 524, said that we conclude that the ordinance provisions are so essentially and inseparably connected in substance, that despite the presence of a severability clause, they are not severable.

THE COURT: Is there a severability clause in this case?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: There is a severability clause. Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. So you're saying what? That it's so intertwined, all of the three major sections, that it

does not apply.

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MR. KLOSTERBOER: Correct, Your Honor. Every section refers to Section 3 of the statute, which lays out the definition for sexually oriented performance. So even if -and that's really the heart of what we're challenging against all three different types of enforcement officials.

Our claims run against the statute -- the language and the enforcement authority is how the Court should enjoin these three sets of officials. But the AG cannot be enjoined simply with regards to one section. The whole statute is intertwined together and they must be enjoined from trying to enforce anything. They have not actually really disclaimed that they could pressure or push a municipality to enforce Section 2. We're not arguing that here. They have very clear standing or very clear enforceability for Section 1. But we just want to say that the statute is not severable and they're not off the hook simply because they ask for it. They're not entitled to that.

Two other things, Your Honor.

They mention that there's no aiding and abetting, but then they actually read the Court the aiding and abetting statute from the Penal Code. I think what they're trying to say is the Penal Code says that anyone who acts with intent to promote or insist the commission of offense can be found to violate the offense itself.

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And here all of our plaintiffs host, produce, or perform in drag performances and if those are proscribed by the law and anything that could arguably be a sexually oriented performance and they're acting with intent to keep doing those shows, they have the intention to continue that conduct, they are subject to aiding and abetting liability.

The attorney general just said in a very conclusory way this statute is the least restrictive means. They didn't say how or why. Even more damaging is that they try to say that the kind of performances that the plaintiffs testified about find no shelter or protection within the First Amendment at all.

We cite in our brief the case Hurley versus

Irish-American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group from 1995 at a time when same-sex relations were still criminalized before

Lawrence versus Texas.

And in that case the Supreme Court held that a narrow, succinctly articulable message is not a condition of constitutional protection. If it were, the First Amendment would never reach the unquestionably shielded painting of Jackson Pollock, music of Arnold Schonberg, or the Jabberwocky verse of Lewis Carroll.

Even under the attorney general's flawed theory, the plaintiffs testified that they do have messages for the performances. The Woodlands Pride, Jason Rocha, testified that

for them it means liberation.

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Abilene Pride Alliance, Gavyn Hardegree, testified that the drag performances are a source of healing

for the community in Abilene.

Brigitte Bandit said that her performances are based on love and acceptance and sometimes include explicitly political messages like when she did drag in the Texas Capitol building against this very bill while also having a message to advocate for the children of Uvalde.

Your Honor, it is simply wrong on the law and also dangerous for the attorney general to try to wholesale exclude drag performances and other types of sexually oriented performances from constitutional scrutiny.

Thank you.

THE COURT: I've got just two short matters.

As I stated, it will help my drafting of a final judgment in this case and also allow you to bring up to date any points that you brought up during trial.

The plaintiff has already on file -- what is it -- a final pretrial --

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor, a proposed findings of fact --

THE COURT: Findings of fact and conclusions of law.

So I need you to update those and I need one from the attorney general -- are you going to file any?

MS. GIFFORD: Yes, Your Honor. I propose that we get 1 2 it to you by Thursday morning. 3 THE COURT: No. We're going to set a time. 4 MS. GIFFORD: Okav. THE COURT: Yes. Okay. All right. Now, if the six 01:45PM 5 other defendants want to file anything, certainly you're free 6 7 to do so. But as far as the findings of fact and 8 9 conclusions of law, I'm going to request it of the plaintiff 01:46PM 10 and the state defendant. 11 Let's see. You e-mail a copy to my case manager 12 in Word format. So that's going to help us if we want to take 13 something from that. 14 I'm going to request that you order a transcript of these proceedings. 01:46PM **15** 16 Now, what about a date? What about a date that 17 you will get either your amended findings of fact and 18 conclusions of laws and the original filing now by the State of 19 Texas? You propose what date? 01:46PM **20** MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, I would propose by Thursday 21 morning as we have to get back to Austin first before we can 22 get on to that. 23 THE COURT: What about the plaintiffs? 24 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, I think we can -- we 01:47PM **25** should be able to -- we talked about -- whenever the transcript

is available, we can start working on it and so --1 2 THE COURT: Well, why don't you talk to the court 3 reporter right now? 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: We did earlier and the court reporter indicated that we should get it tomorrow, the final transcript. 01:47PM 5 We would say Thursday or Friday, but whatever the 6 Court wants, we will do. 7 8 THE COURT: All right. Let's talk about it practically 9 okay? The law, unless it's temporarily halted, goes into 01:47PM **10** effect on Friday, okay? Monday is Labor Day. I don't want to 11 ruin anybody's holiday. 12 If you want since -- and I have the wording here. 13 I want to read this because I actually prepared this. I've not 14 reached a final decision as of yet. I really have not. 01:48PM **15** I will take into consideration the testimony, 16 exhibits, all motions, submissions and applicable law. 17 deem it appropriate, I may issue a temporary restraining order 18 just and only just to maintain a status quo until a final order 19 can be drafted and a final judgment entered. 01:48PM **20** That's why I appreciate how everybody got 21 together relative to getting a trial on the merits so we don't 22 have to do it again. And if anybody comes up on the short end, 23 they can quickly move it up the line if you have to, okay?

If a TRO is deemed appropriate, it will be

entered on Thursday, which is -- what is it -- just ahead of

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Senate Bill 12 taking effect on Friday. 1 Excuse me for the hoarseness. We all got through 2 3 it one way or the other. 4 Any questions on these housekeeping matters? MR. KLOSTERBOER: Your Honor, just one note --5 01:49PM THE COURT: First of all, Ms. Gifford said Thursday. 6 7 If you want to give yourself over the week or a little 8 breathing room, it's okay because we're going to immediately 9 start on the opinion as soon as we get the findings of fact and 01:49PM 10 conclusions of law in. But, you know, you've got a life. 11 You've got a weekend coming up. What's your feeling? What's 12 your feeling on getting those to me? Can you use a little more 13 time or you want to get it in -- right in before we take our 14 weekend? 01:49PM **15** MR. KLOSTERBOER: Yes, Your Honor. I think we would 16 like to make it fully accurate with the transcript, and we 17 would like a week to work on it. 18 THE COURT: Any objection by the State? 19 MS. GIFFORD: Well, Your Honor, there's --01:50PM **20** THE COURT: I know exactly what you're thinking. 21 on. 22 MS. GIFFORD: To be perfectly honest, Your Honor, I 23 mean if you were to grant a TRO --24 THE COURT: What? 01:50PM **25** MS. GIFFORD: -- I don't know whether or not the

attorney general would immediately file an appeal. 1 THE COURT: On a TRO? 2 3 MS. GIFFORD: Yes, Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: How do you get up on a temporary restraining order? 5 01:50PM MS. GIFFORD: That in order to stay the TRO because --6 7 THE COURT: TRO is a different animal from a 8 preliminary injunction. We're dealing here with a trial on the 9 merits with a final injunction or a final denial of the frontal attack on the statute. 01:51PM 10 11 I understand exactly what you're saying. 12 anticipate it. So if you want to make a call whether or not 13 you're going to file it or not, it's a lot of work and I 14 understand that. 01:51PM **15** MS. GIFFORD: Your Honor, I think -- because I don't 16 have an answer for you on that right now. I would need to make 17 a call in order -- you appreciate the --18 THE COURT: Say that again. 19 MS. GIFFORD: You appreciate the chain of command here 01:51PM **20** and so --21 THE COURT: All right. So what I'm going to do is 22 this. MS. GIFFORD: I would need to make a call. 23 24 THE COURT: What I'm going to do is this: The 01:51PM **25** plaintiff has until -- what day do you want? Day?

MR. KLOSTERBOER: Next Wednesday, Your Honor. 1 THE COURT: Next Wednesday by close of business to get 2 3 theirs in, okay? 4 MR. KLOSTERBOER: Thank you, Your Honor. THE COURT: The State of Texas, if you want to get it 5 01:51PM in earlier, fine. I'm going to set the same deadline, okay? 6 7 And so if you -- yeah, you can talk about it. But keep in mind specifically a temporary restraining order is different, okay, 8 than a preliminary injunction. 01:52PM **10** But by agreement or at least by my agreement it 11 was converted into a trial on the merits so you don't have to 12 do this again. 13 So what I'll do, I'll leave that up to the State, okay? If you desire to file it, fine. You will have a 14 01:52PM **15** determination. 16 Keep in mind this is not -- it's not going to be 17 a 10-page order. So we're granting that delay so I can 18 consider, you know, your concerns and then at that time get it 19 out in 14 days or the rules allow it for one extension for 01:52PM **20** another 14 days. So that's the max that you're looking at. 21 But I understand your position, counsel. 22 All right. I will say this: If you desire to 23 file findings of fact and conclusions of law, okay, you also 24 may get it in close of business -- let's say by 4:00 in the

afternoon on next Wednesday, okay?

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Any objections?

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(No response.)

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THE COURT: All right. On a personal note I want to thank the attorneys for putting on one of the most interesting cases that I've had in 37 years on the federal bench. going I guess up to a point. But it's been a pleasure. It's one of the best cases and the most interesting and one of the most important that I've had in all of my federal career.

So thank you so much. You moved it along as best you could. And darn it, it was interesting; and that's one thing why the job never gets tiring. You learn about different things and different folks and different science every day.

So it's interesting, it's important. You get the final pegs put in the board and I will get you an opinion as quick as we can. We're not going to sit on this because we can't sit on this. That was the promise in effect I made to you that you're going to get a final judgment so you don't have to get a preliminary injunction and take it up and get it modified or whatever and coming back and then we have a trial itself.

And thanks to all the witnesses and the folks that came. As far as I'm concerned, nothing beats the federal court. It never gets tiring with me and hopefully you feel the same about the practice of law.

Thank you so much. We now stand adjourned.

1	COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: All rise.		
2	THE COURT: Okay. Free to depart.		
3	(The proceedings were adjourned.)		
4	* * * *		
5	REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE		
6	I, Lanie M. Smith, CSR, RMR, CRR, Official Court Reporter, United States District Court, Southern District		
7	of Texas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and		
8	correct transcript, to the best of my ability and understanding, from the record of the proceedings in the above-entitled and numbered matter.		
9	above-entricled and numbered matter.		
10	<u>/s/ Lanie M. Smith</u> Official Court Reporter		
11	official court Reporter		
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