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LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES IN THE 2011 TEXAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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The 2011 Texas House of Representatives

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I. Introduction

Political scientists have long used roll call votes cast by members of the U.S. Congress to plot the legislators on the liberal-conservative dimension along which most legislative politics in our nation's capital (as well as in Austin) now takes place.¹ Here, drawing on the data provided by roll call votes held during the combined 2011 regular and first special legislative sessions (January-June), I provide similar information for the members of the Texas House of Representatives.

These data provide a window from which to view only one facet of a representative's activities in Austin, and should thus be considered as one of many tools utilized by citizens to evaluate their elected officials. Nevertheless, the analysis presented here contributes to a greater level of legislative transparency in Texas, improving the ability of all interested parties (e.g., voters, interest groups, the media, and party activists) to hold elected officials accountable for the voting decisions they make on the House floor.

This report is divided into five sections. The first details the data and methodology that undergird the study's analysis. The second examines the location of the members of the Texas House on the liberal-conservative dimension. The third engages in a similar exercise, but concentrates on the 37 Texas House representatives from the Houston metropolitan region. A fourth section focuses on the ideological location of the Republican Party committee chairs appointed by Speaker Joe Straus in 2011, with an eye toward better understanding the ideological profile of the Straus leadership team. A fifth section explores the intersection of race/ethnicity, geography, and ideology within the 2011 Democratic Party delegation. A sixth section endeavors to assess the presence or absence of salient ideological differences among the small subset of representatives who have been paired in House districts under the current redistricting plan. A final section concludes.

¹ For a wealth of information on the use of roll call vote data to better understand politics in the U.S. Congress in particular and in the United States in general, see <http://www.voteview.org>.

II. Methodology

The analysis was conducted using a Bayesian estimation procedure (IDEAL) developed by Stanford University professor Simon Jackman.² All roll call votes during the 2011 regular and special sessions in which at least 2.5% of the representatives voting were on the losing side (i.e., non-lopsided votes) are included in the analysis (for a total of 999 votes). In addition to plotting each representative's specific location on the liberal-conservative dimension (Lib-Con Score, rounded to three decimal points), ranging here from the liberal extreme of -1.103 to the conservative extreme of 0.841, I also include the 95% credible interval (CI) for this point estimate. Only when a representative's CI does not overlap with that of another representative can we say with any real certainty that their respective locations on the liberal-conservative dimension are credibly distinct.

Employing the above-mentioned Lib-Con Score and 95% CI, the ideological location of the representative vis-à-vis his/her copartisans is assessed. Within each party, every representative's ideological location was compared to that of his/her colleagues within the party, and then placed into one of seven mutually exclusive (albeit arbitrary) ordinal ideological categories going from left to right:

1. More liberal/moderate than 2/3
2. More liberal/moderate than 1/2
3. More liberal/moderate than 1/3
4. Centrist
5. More conservative than 1/3
6. More conservative than 1/2
7. More conservative than 2/3

For example, a representative in the "More conservative than 1/2" category possesses an ideological location and 95% CI that locates them at a position that is noticeably more conservative than one-half of their copartisans but not than two-thirds of their copartisans (that

² For additional details on this procedure, see http://jackman.stanford.edu/ideal/index_flash.html.

is, they are located on the conservative side of the party's ideological distribution and their 95% CI does not overlap with more than one-half of the members of the party's delegation, but does overlap with more than one-third). Following this coding methodology, therefore, a representative such as Republican Tan Parker is coded in the "More conservative than 1/2 of Rs" category because his Lib-Con Score and 95% CI results in him being significantly more conservative than 60 of his fellow 99 Republicans, a value that is greater than one-half of the delegation (i.e., 50), but less than two-thirds (i.e., 66). Similarly, a representative in the centrist category is neither more liberal/moderate than one-third of his/her copartisans nor more conservative than one-third of his/her copartisans. Finally, applying the same criteria to the Democratic side of the legislature, a representative such as Joaquin Castro is located in the "More liberal than 1/3 of Ds" category because he is located on the liberal side of the party's ideological dimension and his Lib-Con Score and 95% CI result in him being more liberal than 22 of his fellow 48 Democrats, a number which is greater than one-third (16), but not greater than one-half (24), of the total number of other members of the Democratic Party delegation (48 total).

It is important to keep in mind that these comparisons are strictly focused on intra-party dynamics (i.e., within the Republican Party and within the Democratic Party) and, second, that for Republicans the term "moderate" does not signify that the representative is a liberal, only that the representative has a voting record on the House floor that is more moderate than one-third, one-half, or two-thirds of his/her Republican colleagues. As the inter-party data clearly suggest, none of the Republican House members can be accurately classified as being a liberal. It is for that reason that I use the term "moderate" when discussing Republican representatives and "liberal" when discussing Democratic representatives. By the same token, the term "centrist" does not automatically indicate that a representative's ideological profile is moderate; rather, it indicates only that they occupy a position within the ideological center of their respective party.

III. Locating Liberals and Conservatives in the Texas House

The analytic methodology employed here allows us to rank, in order, all of the members of the Texas House of Representatives from most liberal (1) to most conservative (149) based on their

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roll call vote behavior, as well as to compare members of the each party with each other (i.e., Democrats to other Democrats and Republicans to other Republicans). In the latter case, we can assess the extent to which specific Democrats are more or less liberal than their colleagues, and the degree to which specific Republicans are more or less conservative than the other members of the Republican delegation. In all cases, it is important to understand that this methodology is based entirely on the representative's observed roll call vote behavior and does not take into account the myriad of other legislative activities legislators engage in (which are much more difficult, if not impossible in many cases, to reliably observe).

Figure 1 locates all 149 representatives (in the Texas House, the speaker typically does not cast roll call votes) on the liberal-conservative dimension as well as provides the 95% credible interval that surrounds this estimate. Figures 2 and 3 supply identical information, simply in a more visible manner, as they are restricted to Republicans and Democrats respectively. For every representative, Table 1 provides their rank-ordered location (from most liberal to most conservative), their specific Liberal-Conservative Score (rounded to three decimal places), and their location on the liberal-conservative dimension vis-à-vis their fellow party members (i.e., the seven-point classification scale discussed in Section II).

Figure 1 as well as Table 1 underscores the high degree of partisan polarization in voting on the Texas House floor in 2011. The least conservative Republican (Aaron Peña) is vastly more conservative than the most conservative Democrat (Tracy King). This chasm between the Republican red and the Democratic blue is graphically displayed in Figure 1.

In regard to the liberal-conservative ranking, the Texas House member with the most conservative voting record during the 2011 sessions is Ken Paxton, followed by Bill Zedler, Charles Perry, Jim Landtroop, and Erwin Cain. These five legislators represented the lower chamber's conservative extreme during 2011, with respective voting records that were significantly more conservative than 87, 84, 81, 81, and 78 of their fellow Republicans (99 total).

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At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum is Lon Burnam, the House's most liberal member, followed by Roland Gutierrez. Burnam possesses a voting record that is significantly more liberal than 41 of his 48 fellow Democrats, with Gutierrez next at 35.

Within the Republican Party, Aaron Peña stands out far and away as the delegation's most moderate member, followed by Allan Ritter, Chuck Hopson, John Davis, and Rob Eissler.³ Peña has a voting record that is significantly less conservative than every single one of his Republican colleagues, a fact best explained by his recent switch from the Democratic Party as well as the partisan profile of the electorate in the House district (one of fewer than a dozen competitive House districts under the current redistricting plan) in which he plans to run for reelection in 2012. Fellow recent party-switchers Ritter and Hopson have, like Peña, voting records that are significantly more moderate than an overwhelming majority of Republicans (87 and 85 respectively). Davis and Eissler also had voting records more moderate than most Republicans (81 and 79). While it is important to keep in mind that none of these five (or any other) Republicans can accurately be labeled as "liberals," it is the case that their voting records are significantly less conservative than most other Republican legislators.

Within the Democratic Party, Tracy King, Joseph Pickett, Ryan Guillen, J.M. Lozano, and Inocente "Chente" Quintanilla stand out as the most conservative House members. All have voting records that are more conservative than a vast majority of their Democratic colleagues (45, 43, 42, 41, and 41, respectively). Batesville's King remains as perhaps the last example of the rural Anglo Democrat, which in the not too distant past was the dominant force within the Texas House.

Lastly, while a great deal of attention has been focused on the Republican House freshmen and their impact on the House during 2011, there exists a considerable amount of ideological diversity within this group. While several freshmen are among the most conservative members of their delegation (i.e., Charles Perry, Jim Landtroop, Erwin Cain, and James White), an even

³ Peña and Ritter were elected as Democrats in November 2010, but switched to the Republican Party in December 2010. Formerly a Democrat, Hopson switched to the Republican Party in November 2009, and was reelected in 2010 as a Republican.

greater number are among the Republican delegation's most moderate representatives (i.e., Dee Margo, Connie Scott, Raul Torres, Larry Gonzales, Lyle Larson, and Lanham Lyne).

IV. Liberals and Conservatives in the Texas House: The Houston Delegation

This section extends the analysis of the prior section with a focus on the 37 House members from the Houston metropolitan region.⁴ Overall, a wide range of ideological positions within both the Democratic and Republican parties are present within this diverse group of legislators (see Table 2).

Compared to the whole Texas House Democratic Party delegation, the 14-strong Houston-area Democratic Party delegation is noticeably more liberal in its voting behavior, with nine Houston Democrats among the party's 20 most liberal members (those more liberal than one-third or more of Democrats) but only two among the party's 19 most conservative members (those more conservative than one-third or more of Democrats).

The most liberal representative in the Houston-area delegation is Jessica Farrar, followed immediately by Armando Walle. Farrar's voting record on the House floor in 2011 locates her as the fourth most liberal member of the Texas House, and significantly more liberal than 29 of her 48 Democratic colleagues, not to mention all 100 Republicans (recall that Speaker Joe Straus does not normally cast roll call votes). Walle is the fifth most liberal representative in the 2011 Texas House, and noticeably more liberal than 25 of his fellow Democrats.

Another group (seven total), ranging from Ana Hernandez Luna as the eighth most liberal to Boris Miles as the 21st most liberal, occupies the remaining portion of the liberal side of the Democratic Party's liberal-conservative spectrum. Within the party, local legislators Senfronia Thompson (ranked 26th), Hubert Vo (28th), and Alma Allen (29th) find themselves in the center.

⁴ The Houston Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) consists of the following counties: Harris, Fort Bend, Montgomery, Brazoria, Galveston, Liberty, Waller, Chambers, Austin, and San Jacinto. Any representative whose district is located in whole or in part of one of these districts is considered here to be part of the Houston-area delegation.

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In the more conservative wing of the party are only two area Democrats, Scott Hochberg in the 31st position and Craig Eiland. Eiland is the legislature's third most conservative Democrat (46th), and possesses a voting record that places him as significantly more conservative than all but seven of his 48 Democratic copartisans.

The 23-member Houston-area Republican delegation roughly reflects the statewide delegation in terms of its ideological diversity. At the conservative end of the spectrum, Randy Weber (ranked 141st) is the ninth most conservative member of the Texas House (and the most conservative Houston-area representative), with a voting record that is significantly more conservative than that of 73 of his fellow 99 Republican House members. Following Weber among the most conservative Republicans are Brandon Creighton (139th), James White (135th), Ken Legler (133rd), Dennis Bonnen (129th), Allen Fletcher (123rd), and William Callegari (120th).⁵

A large contingent of Houston-area Republicans is located within the ideological center of the Republican Party. Note this does not signify that these representatives are necessarily ideologically moderate, rather only that they are in the middle of the ideological road among Texas House Republicans in 2011. This nine-member group ranges from Debbie Riddle (113th) to Larry Taylor (86th).

The final group of area Republicans has voting records that make them more moderate than between one-third and a little more than two-thirds of their fellow House Republicans. It is crucial to recall that the broader inter-party data indicate that not a single Texas Republican House member is a "liberal." In fact, as mentioned previously, the least conservative Texas House Republican (Aaron Peña of Edinburg) is substantially more conservative than the most conservative House Democrat (Tracy King of Batesville). However, these data do indicate that the members of this final group (especially those in the second subgroup) are significantly more moderate in terms of their ideological roll call voting record than a noteworthy share of their fellow House Republicans. The first subgroup consists of a set of legislators including John Otto (77th), Sarah Davis (75th), Beverly Woolley (70th), Wayne Smith (69th), and John

⁵ While the core of White's district is in Angelina County (Lufkin), the district's southern boundary stretches down to the northern edge of the Houston MSA, with sparsely populated San Jacinto County representing its southern edge.

Otto (68th) who are more moderate than at least one-third (but less than one-half) of their Republican colleagues.

The two most moderate Republicans in the Houston area are Rob Eissler (54th) and John Davis (53rd). Only recent party-switchers Aaron Peña (2010), Allan Ritter of Nederland (2010), and Chuck Hopson of Jacksonville (2009) have less conservative voting records than Davis and Eissler within the Republican caucus. Davis' voting record is significantly less conservative than 81 of his fellow Republicans while Eissler's is significantly less conservative than 79.

Overall, a wide range of ideological perspectives are represented by the Houston-area Texas House delegation, with the very liberal Jessica Farrar balanced by the very conservative Randy Weber at opposing ends of the liberal-conservative dimension. This variation is also present at the intra-party level, especially within the Republican Party, where coexisting within the region's Republican delegation were representatives who are among the state party's most conservative (e.g., Randy Weber and Brandon Creighton) and least conservative (John Davis, Rob Eissler) members.

V. Ideology and the Republican Party Leadership 2011

The Speaker of the Texas House enjoys broad latitude in naming the chairs of House committees, with most committee chairs (especially those belonging to the speaker's party) generally considered to be allies of the speaker/members of the speaker's team. Speaker Joe Straus named 36 standing committee chairs for the 2011 session, of whom 11 were Democrats (roughly proportional to the party's overall share of seats in the House; 31% vs. 33%) and 27 were Republicans. This section examines the ideological location of the 25 Republicans named by Straus as committee chairs (as well as his speaker pro tempore).⁶

In Figure 4, the members of the Republican delegation are arrayed from left to right based on their Liberal-Conservative Score, with the least conservative Republicans on the left and the

⁶ The 11 Democrats were located throughout the party's ideological spectrum, with the noteworthy exception of the party's most liberal sector, not a single member of which occupied a committee chair. The most liberal committee chair was Ruth McClendon (the 17th most liberal Democrat out of a total of 49).

most conservative Republicans on the right. Committee chairs (and the speaker pro tempore) are represented by green bars while rank-and-file Republican legislators are represented by red bars.⁷ As the figure makes abundantly clear, the least conservative Republicans in the Texas House are substantially over-represented in the Republican House leadership (operationalized as the committee chairs and speaker pro tempore) compared to their more conservative brethren. Every single one of the five most moderate Republicans occupies a committee chairmanship, as do seven of the 10 most moderate Republicans.⁸ Even the most conservative of these seven committee chairs is significantly less conservative than three-fifths of his Republican colleagues.

In contrast to the overrepresentation of the most moderate Republicans in leadership posts (i.e., seven of 10), only one (Sid Miller) of the 10 most conservative Republicans is a committee chair. After Miller, the two most conservative committee chairs are Larry Phillips (16th most conservative) and Jerry Madden (25th most conservative)

Stepping back somewhat and dividing the Republican Party delegation into five equal deciles of 20, what is most striking is the prominent presence of committee chairs in the most moderate quintile (12 of 20), followed by the second most moderate quintile (7 of 20). In contrast, the remaining three (more conservative) quintiles (from least to most conservative) are relatively equal in terms of their number (minimal in all cases) of committee chairs (2 of 20, 3 of 20, 2 of 20).

VI. Race/Ethnicity, Geography, and Ideology in the Democratic Delegation

The Democratic Party's delegation in the Texas House has evolved from one where in 2001, Anglos accounted for 50% of the delegation and Hispanics for 32%, to one 10 years later where Anglos represent 16% of the delegation and Hispanics 51%. The African-American share of the delegation rose from 18% to 31% during this period (with one Asian-American representative, 2%, in 2011).

⁷ For additional details on the Lib-Con Scores and ranking of specific Republican representatives, see Table 1 and Figure 2.

⁸ Were we conducting an inter-temporal (e.g., 1973-2011) analysis of ideology based on roll call vote behavior (e.g., employing the DW-NOMINATE procedure), Speaker Joe Straus would almost certainly be located somewhere within the most moderate quintile of the 2011 Republican Party House delegation.

Using the information on intra-party ideological distance contained in Table 1, we can divide the Democratic Party (49 representatives total) into three rough wings: a liberal wing (with 23 members), a centrist wing (with seven members), and a conservative wing (with 19 members). Three broad patterns emerge from this analytic exercise. First, the African-American representatives are concentrated in the liberal (11 of 23) and centrist (3 of 7) wings of the Democratic Party, with Joe Deshotel the only one of the 15 African-American representatives located in the party's conservative wing.⁹ Second, six of the party's remaining eight Anglos are found in its conservative wing, with only two present in the left wing of the party (Lon Burnam and Elliott Naishtat). Third, Hispanics are evenly distributed across the ideological spectrum in the Texas Democratic Party House delegation, with the caveat that Hispanics representing the state's large urban counties are concentrated in the party's liberal wing (e.g., Roberto Alonzo, Joaquin Castro, and Jessica Farrar) while Hispanic representatives from rural areas and the urban areas of the Rio Grande Valley are generally located in the centrist and conservative wings of the party (e.g., Pete Gallego, Ryan Guillen, and J.M. Lozano).

VII. Ideology and the Paired Incumbent Representatives Under Plan H283

The current redistricting plan (Plan H283), and the reaction of sitting representatives to this plan, has resulted in at least five instances where there is a strong likelihood of two representatives from the same party facing off in the March 2012 primary to determine who will compete under the party's banner in the November 2012 general election.¹⁰ All but one of these incumbent face-offs involve Republican officeholders. Using the Liberal-Conservative (Lib-Con) Scores (and 95% credible intervals) presented in Section III, we can assess to what extent (based on their voting record on the House floor in 2011) each of the representatives involved in these partisan face-offs is more liberal or conservative than their respective opponent.

In three of the House districts, the Lib-Con Scores of the representatives are sufficiently close (see Table 1 and Figure 2) that it is not possible to say with any certainty that one representative is more conservative or liberal than the other. In these three cases the ideological voting profile

⁹ Perhaps not coincidentally, Deshotel (from Beaumont) is the only one of the 15 Democratic African-American representatives whose district is not located in one of the states' four major metropolitan areas.

¹⁰ H283 is presently under legal challenge due to alleged Voting Rights Act-related violations.

of the two legislators is for all intents and purposes best considered to be functionally identical. These districts (the former two with Republican incumbents and the latter with Democratic incumbents) are HD-2 (Erwin Cain vs. Dan Flynn), HD-34 (Connie Scott vs. Raul Torres), and HD 137 (Scott Hochberg vs. Hubert Vo).¹¹

In a fourth district (HD-113), the data indicate that one of the representatives (Cindy Burkett) is significantly more conservative than her fellow Republican incumbent (Joe Driver).¹² However, from a substantive perspective, the ideological differences between the two representatives are not overly dramatic, with their respective 95% confidence intervals almost overlapping. This relative similarity is reflected by their respective location in proximate categories in Table 1, with Burkett classified as a Republican centrist and Driver place in the category of “More moderate than 1/3 of Rs.” In sum, based on the analysis we can conclude that Burkett’s voting record is notably more conservative than Driver’s, but not overwhelmingly so.

It is in the fifth and final district (HD-19) where there exists the sharpest ideological difference between the two primary (in this case the Republican primary) competitors.¹³ Here, freshman James White has a voting record that is significantly and substantively more conservative than that of five-term representative Mike Hamilton. White’s Lib-Con ranking makes him the 15th most conservative Republican in the 2011 House, while Hamilton’s ranking locates him in the party’s least conservative quintile (17th least conservative). While White’s Lib-Con Score is significantly more conservative than that of 58 of his fellow Republicans, Hamilton’s is significantly more conservative than that of only three (Aaron Peña, Allan Ritter, and Chuck Hopson). By the same token, only two Republicans (Bill Zedler and Ken Paxton) have voting records that are significantly more conservative than that of White, while 48 Republicans have records significantly more conservative than Hamilton’s.

¹¹ HD-2 is located to the west of the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex and contains Hopkins, Hunt, and Van Zandt counties. HD-34 is located in the western half of Nueces County (Corpus Christi). HD-137 is located in southwest Harris County (Houston).

¹² HD-113 is located at the eastern edge of Dallas County (Mesquite).

¹³ HD-19 is located in rural East Texas, northeast of the Houston metro region, and contains Hardin, Jasper, Newton, Polk, and Tyler counties.

VIII. Conclusion

This report has utilized roll call vote data from the 2011 regular and special sessions of the Texas House of Representatives to evaluate the voting behavior of the House's members. It has provided a Liberal-Conservative Score for each representative, as well as located them in relation to their fellow party members. In addition, these data were employed to analyze the ideological composition of the Republican members of the speaker's leadership team; to examine the interaction of race/ethnicity, geography, and ideology within the Texas Democratic Party; and to assess the ideological differences between the 10 incumbent representatives who have been paired in the same legislative district under the current redistricting plan. In a future report, roll call vote data from the 1973-2011 period will be utilized to analyze the evolution of partisan polarization in the Texas House over the past 40 years as well as to examine the changing ideological profile of the Democratic and Republican delegations in the Texas House.

Table 1: Liberals and Conservatives in the 2011 Texas House of Representatives

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
1	Lon Burnam	D	-1.103	More liberal than 2/3 of Ds
2	Roland Gutierrez	D	-1.050	More liberal than 2/3 of Ds
3	Roberto Alonzo	D	-1.022	More liberal than 1/2 of Ds
4	Jessica Farrar	D	-1.021	More liberal than 1/2 of Ds
5	Armando Walle	D	-1.015	More liberal than 1/2 of Ds
6	Marc Veasey	D	-0.996	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
7	Eddie Rodriguez	D	-0.990	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
8	Ana Hernandez Luna	D	-0.990	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
9	Elliott Naishtat	D	-0.984	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
10	Ron Reynolds	D	-0.976	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
11	Carol Alvarado	D	-0.976	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
12	Joaquin Castro	D	-0.973	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
13	Dawanna Dukes	D	-0.964	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
14	Trey Martinez-Fischer	D	-0.964	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
15	Yvonne Davis	D	-0.963	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
16	Sylvester Turner	D	-0.950	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
17	Ruth McClendon	D	-0.948	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
18	Garnet Coleman	D	-0.948	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
19	Harold Dutton Jr.	D	-0.946	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
20	Barbara Mallory Caraway	D	-0.941	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
21	Boris Miles	D	-0.939	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
22	Joe Farias	D	-0.934	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
23	Helen Giddings	D	-0.931	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
24	Veronica Gonzales	D	-0.915	Democratic centrist
25	Marisa Marquez	D	-0.908	Democratic centrist
26	Senfronia Thompson	D	-0.896	Democratic centrist
27	Rafael Anchia	D	-0.887	Democratic centrist
28	Hubert Vo	D	-0.883	Democratic centrist
29	Alma Allen	D	-0.876	Democratic centrist
30	Eric Johnson	D	-0.873	Democratic centrist

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Table 1, continued

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
31	Scott Hochberg	D	-0.865	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
32	Eddie Lucio	D	-0.861	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
33	Naomi Gonzalez	D	-0.851	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
34	Mike Villarreal	D	-0.843	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
35	Donna Howard	D	-0.835	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
36	Pete Gallego	D	-0.826	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
37	Rene Oliveira	D	-0.816	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
38	Mark Strama	D	-0.815	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
39	Armando Martinez	D	-0.811	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
40	Jose Menendez	D	-0.806	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
41	Joseph Deshotel	D	-0.798	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
42	Richard Raymond	D	-0.784	More conservative than 1/2 of Ds
43	Sergio Muñoz	D	-0.735	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
44	Inocente Quintanilla	D	-0.731	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
45	J.M. Lozano	D	-0.695	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
46	Craig Eiland	D	-0.692	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
47	Ryan Guillen	D	-0.679	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
48	Joseph Pickett	D	-0.636	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
49	Tracy King	D	-0.626	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
50	Aaron Peña	R	0.219	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
51	Allan Ritter	R	0.324	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
52	Charles Hopson	R	0.336	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
53	John Davis	R	0.352	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
54	Rob Eissler	R	0.371	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
55	Dee Margo	R	0.378	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
56	Connie Scott	R	0.381	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
57	Raul Torres	R	0.390	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
58	Rick Hardcastle	R	0.399	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
59	Jim Pitts	R	0.404	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs

Table 1, continued

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
60	Todd Hunter	R	0.416	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
61	Larry Gonzales	R	0.427	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
62	James Keffer	R	0.427	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
63	Jim Jackson	R	0.427	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
64	Lyle Larson	R	0.431	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
65	Lanham Lyne	R	0.446	More moderate than 1/2 of Rs
66	Mike Hamilton	R	0.448	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
67	John Kuempel	R	0.457	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
68	John Otto	R	0.461	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
69	Wayne Smith	R	0.465	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
70	Beverly Woolley	R	0.466	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
71	Jose Aliseda	R	0.467	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
72	Joe Driver	R	0.468	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
73	Warren Chisum	R	0.468	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
74	Susan King	R	0.470	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
75	Sarah Davis	R	0.477	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
76	John Smithee	R	0.477	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
77	John Zerwas	R	0.479	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
78	Barbara Nash	R	0.483	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
79	Diane Patrick	R	0.485	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
80	Myra Crownover	R	0.495	Republican centrist
81	Fred Brown	R	0.497	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
82	Charlie Geren	R	0.499	Republican centrist
83	Daniel Branch	R	0.499	Republican centrist
84	Will Hartnett	R	0.506	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
85	Byron Cook	R	0.511	Republican centrist
86	Larry Taylor	R	0.514	Republican centrist
87	Jim Murphy	R	0.519	Republican centrist
88	Vicki Truitt	R	0.519	Republican centrist
89	Patricia Harless	R	0.519	Republican centrist

The 2011 Texas House of Representatives

Table 1, continued

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
90	Paul Workman	R	0.529	Republican centrist
91	Doug Miller	R	0.531	Republican centrist
92	Tryon Lewis	R	0.531	Republican centrist
93	Mark Shelton	R	0.532	Republican centrist
94	Harvey Hilderbran	R	0.535	Republican centrist
95	Walter Price	R	0.537	Republican centrist
96	Jason Isaac	R	0.537	Republican centrist
97	John Garza	R	0.539	Republican centrist
98	Tim Kleinschmidt	R	0.544	Republican centrist
99	Robert Orr	R	0.547	Republican centrist
100	Lance Gooden	R	0.548	Republican centrist
101	Drew Darby	R	0.549	Republican centrist
102	Dwayne Bohac	R	0.551	Republican centrist
103	Dan Huberty	R	0.559	Republican centrist
104	Geanie Morrison	R	0.563	Republican centrist
105	Charlie Howard	R	0.566	Republican centrist
106	Gary Elkins	R	0.567	Republican centrist
107	Burt Solomons	R	0.570	Republican centrist
108	Todd Smith	R	0.571	Republican centrist
109	Cindy Burkett	R	0.575	Republican centrist
110	Kelly Hancock	R	0.576	Republican centrist
111	Lois Kolkhorst	R	0.579	Republican centrist
112	Charles Schwertner	R	0.580	Republican centrist
113	Debbie Riddle	R	0.584	Republican centrist
114	Kenneth Sheets	R	0.587	Republican centrist
115	David Simpson	R	0.601	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
116	Rodney Anderson	R	0.604	Republican centrist
117	Jimmie Aycock	R	0.608	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
118	Stefani Carter	R	0.610	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
119	Angie Chen Button	R	0.615	Republican centrist

The 2011 Texas House of Representatives

Table 1, continued

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
120	William Callegari	R	0.615	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
121	Marva Beck	R	0.619	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
122	John Frullo	R	0.623	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
123	Allen Fletcher	R	0.624	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
124	George Lavender	R	0.628	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
125	Jerry Madden	R	0.629	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
126	Tom Craddick	R	0.640	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
127	Linda Harper-Brown	R	0.641	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
128	Wayne Christian	R	0.643	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
129	Dennis Bonnen	R	0.643	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
130	Ralph Sheffield	R	0.649	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
131	Van Taylor	R	0.651	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
132	Phil King	R	0.656	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
133	Ken Legler	R	0.662	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
134	Larry Phillips	R	0.663	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
135	James White	R	0.671	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
136	Leo Berman	R	0.678	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
137	Bryan Hughes	R	0.687	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
138	Tan Parker	R	0.698	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
139	Brandon Creighton	R	0.700	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
140	Charles Anderson	R	0.712	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
141	Randy Weber	R	0.738	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
142	Jodie Laubenberg	R	0.740	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
143	Sid Miller	R	0.751	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
144	Dan Flynn	R	0.751	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
145	Erwin Cain	R	0.773	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
146	Jim Landtroop	R	0.781	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
147	Charles Perry	R	0.782	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
148	Bill Zedler	R	0.816	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs
149	Ken Paxton	R	0.841	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs

Table 2: Liberals and Conservatives in the 2011 Houston-area House Delegation

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
4	Jessica Farrar	D	-1.021	More liberal than 1/2 of Ds
5	Armando Walle	D	-1.015	More liberal than 1/2 of Ds
8	Ana Hernandez Luna	D	-0.990	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
10	Ron Reynolds	D	-0.976	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
11	Carol Alvarado	D	-0.976	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
16	Sylvester Turner	D	-0.950	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
18	Garnet Coleman	D	-0.948	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
19	Harold Dutton Jr.	D	-0.946	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
21	Boris Miles	D	-0.939	More liberal than 1/3 of Ds
26	Senfronia Thompson	D	-0.896	Democratic centrist
28	Hubert Vo	D	-0.883	Democratic centrist
29	Alma Allen	D	-0.876	Democratic centrist
31	Scott Hochberg	D	-0.865	More conservative than 1/3 of Ds
46	Craig Eiland	D	-0.692	More conservative than 2/3 of Ds
53	John Davis	R	0.352	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
54	Rob Eissler	R	0.371	More moderate than 2/3 of Rs
68	John Otto	R	0.461	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
69	Wayne Smith	R	0.465	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
70	Beverly Woolley	R	0.466	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
75	Sarah Davis	R	0.477	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
77	John Zerwas	R	0.479	More moderate than 1/3 of Rs
86	Larry Taylor	R	0.514	Republican centrist
87	Jim Murphy	R	0.519	Republican centrist
89	Patricia Harless	R	0.519	Republican centrist
102	Dwayne Bohac	R	0.551	Republican centrist
103	Dan Huberty	R	0.559	Republican centrist
105	Charlie Howard	R	0.566	Republican centrist
106	Gary Elkins	R	0.567	Republican centrist
111	Lois Kolkhorst	R	0.579	Republican centrist
113	Debbie Riddle	R	0.584	Republican centrist

The 2011 Texas House of Representatives

Table 2, continued

Lib-Con Ranking	Representative	Party	Lib-Con Score	Intra-Party Lib-Con Location
120	William Callegari	R	0.615	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
123	Allen Fletcher	R	0.624	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
129	Dennis Bonnen	R	0.643	More conservative than 1/3 of Rs
133	Ken Legler	R	0.662	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
135	James White	R	0.671	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
139	Brandon Creighton	R	0.700	More conservative than 1/2 of Rs
141	Randy Weber	R	0.738	More conservative than 2/3 of Rs

Figure 1: TX House Liberal–Conservative Location

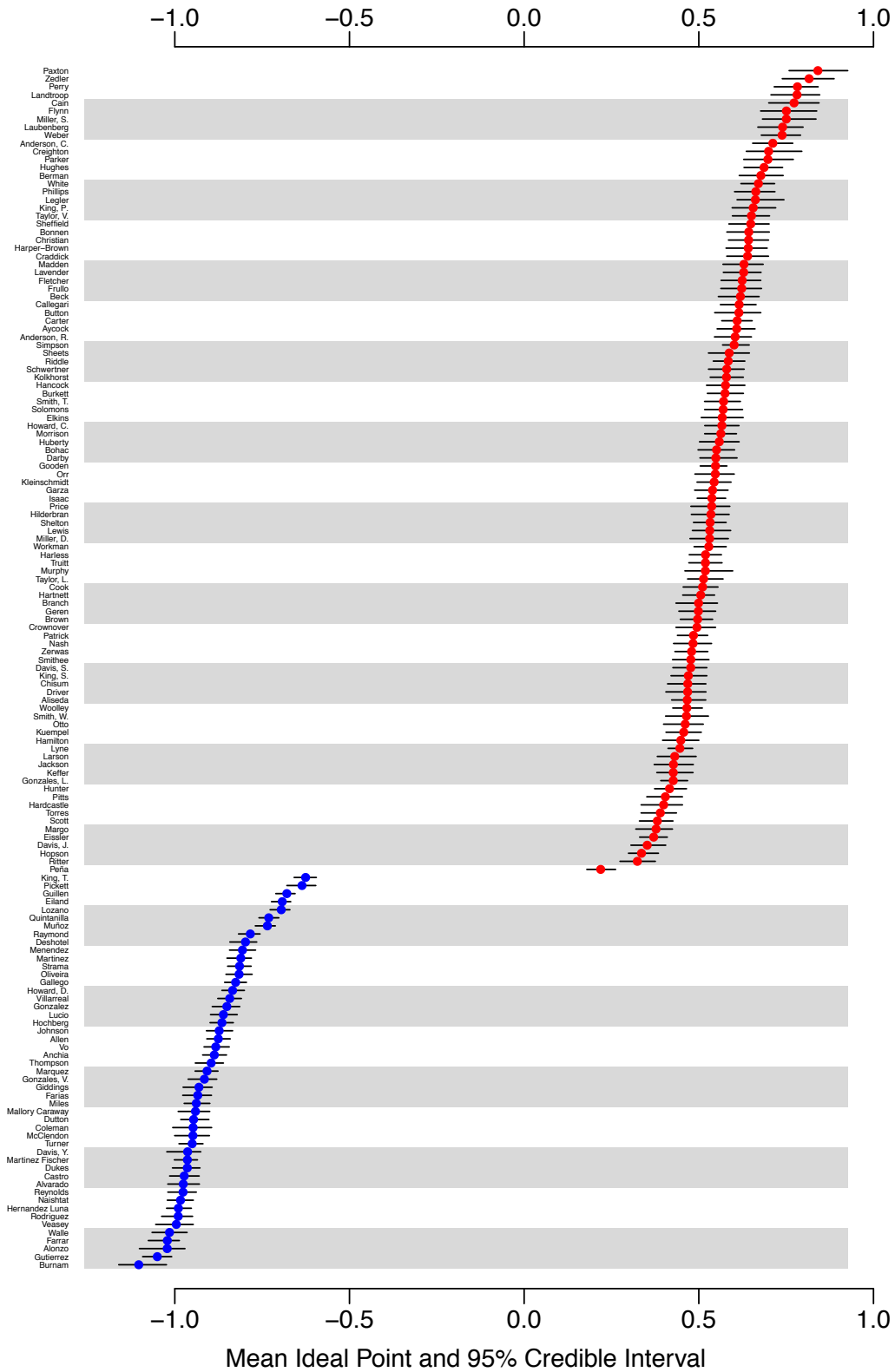


Figure 2: TX House Liberal–Conservative Location: Reps

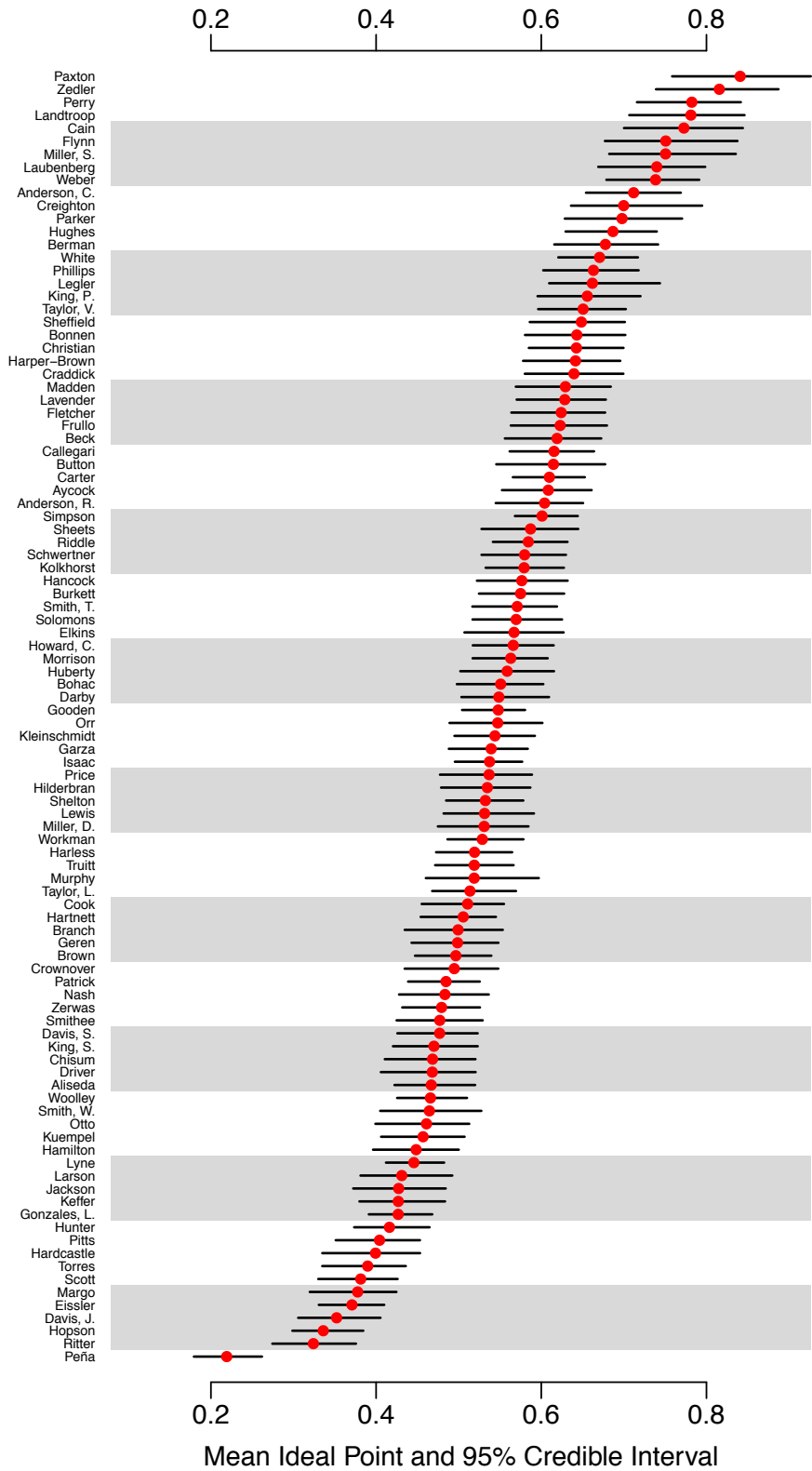


Figure 3: TX House Liberal–Conservative Location: Dems

