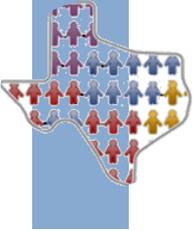


Political Parties in Texas Part II

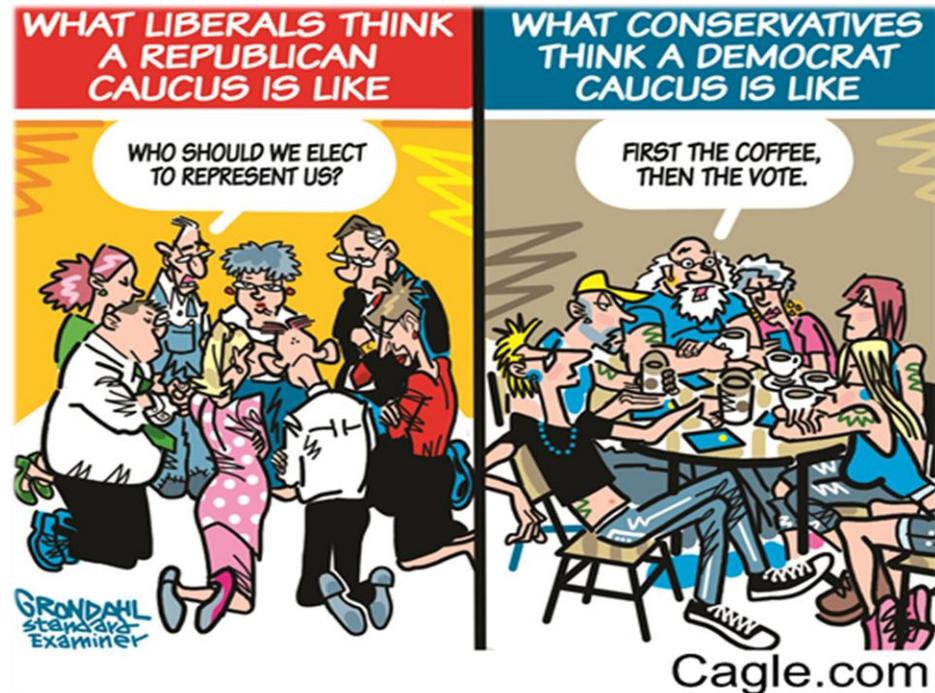
The Democrats are the party of government activism, the party that says government can make you richer, smarter, taller and get the chickweed out of your lawn. Republicans are the party that says government doesn't work, and then get elected and prove it.

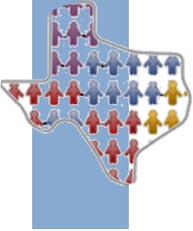
PJ O'Rourke



Texas Party Structure

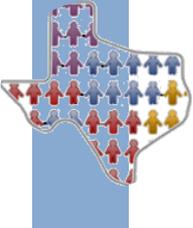
- Political parties in the US are divided into three broad structures.
 - the party organization
 - the party-in-government
 - the party-in-the-electorate



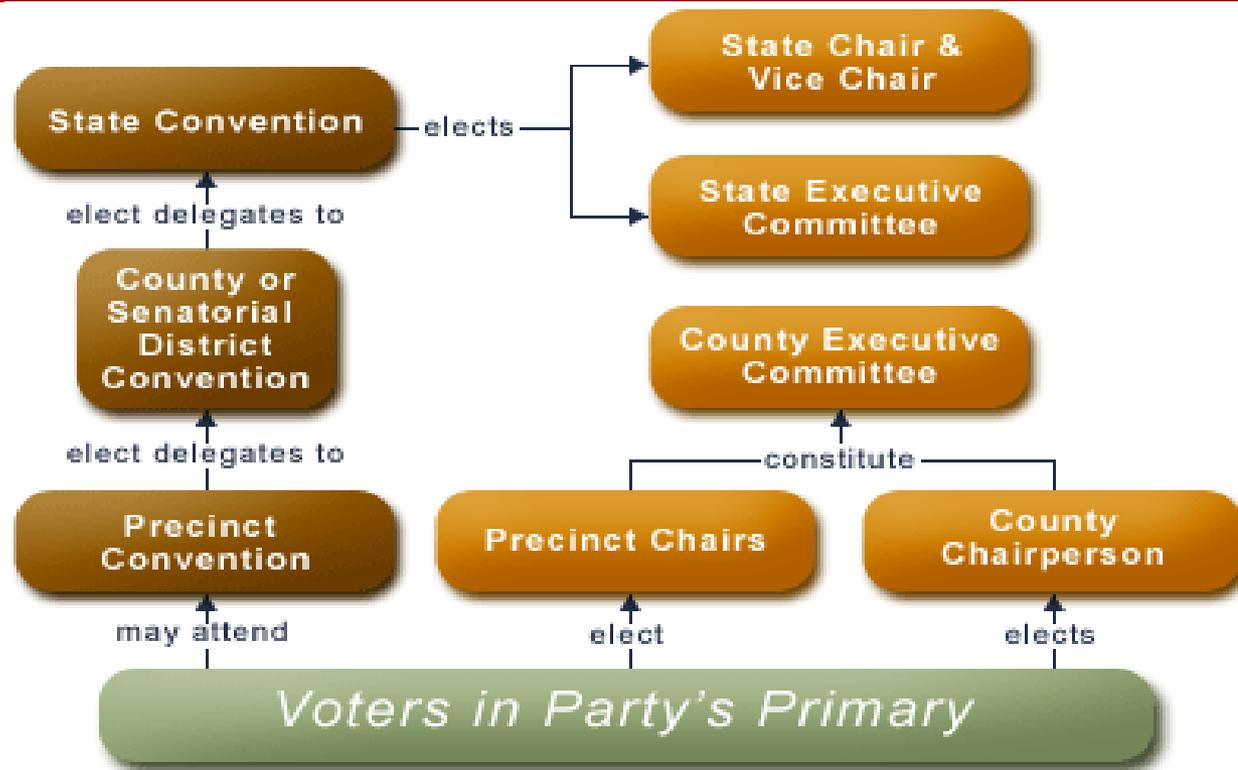


Texas Party Structure: The Party Organization

- Both the Democratic and Republican parties are organized at the precinct, county and state levels, and have national and state party structures.
- **national party organization:** A national committee and chair head the national party organization for each of the major parties.
 - an important source of financial support and technical expertise for state party candidates
- **Texas party organization:** Political parties in Texas have both temporary and permanent party organizations.



Texas Party Structure: The Party Organization

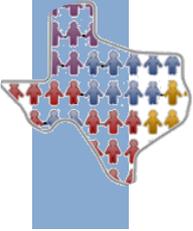


Temporary Party Organization

The temporary party organization encompasses a large number of organized party supporters involved in choosing candidates and mobilizing voter support in primary and general election campaigns in order to win political power.

Permanent Party Organization

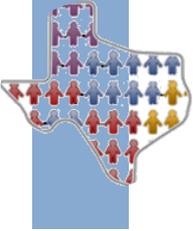
The permanent party organization is run by a small collection of party faithful who conduct routine but essential party business during / between elections. They are selected by the temporary party organization.



Texas Party Structure: Permanent Party Organization

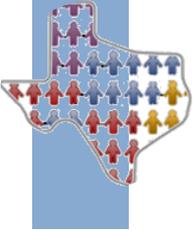
- Each party has a permanent party organization in Texas that operates year-round.
- The permanent party organization of each party consists of precinct chairs, county chairs, county executive committees (made up of the precinct chairs), a state executive committee and a state party chair.
- The main duties of the permanent party organizations are to **conduct elections, raise money for the candidates, plan for party conventions** and **promote the party**.



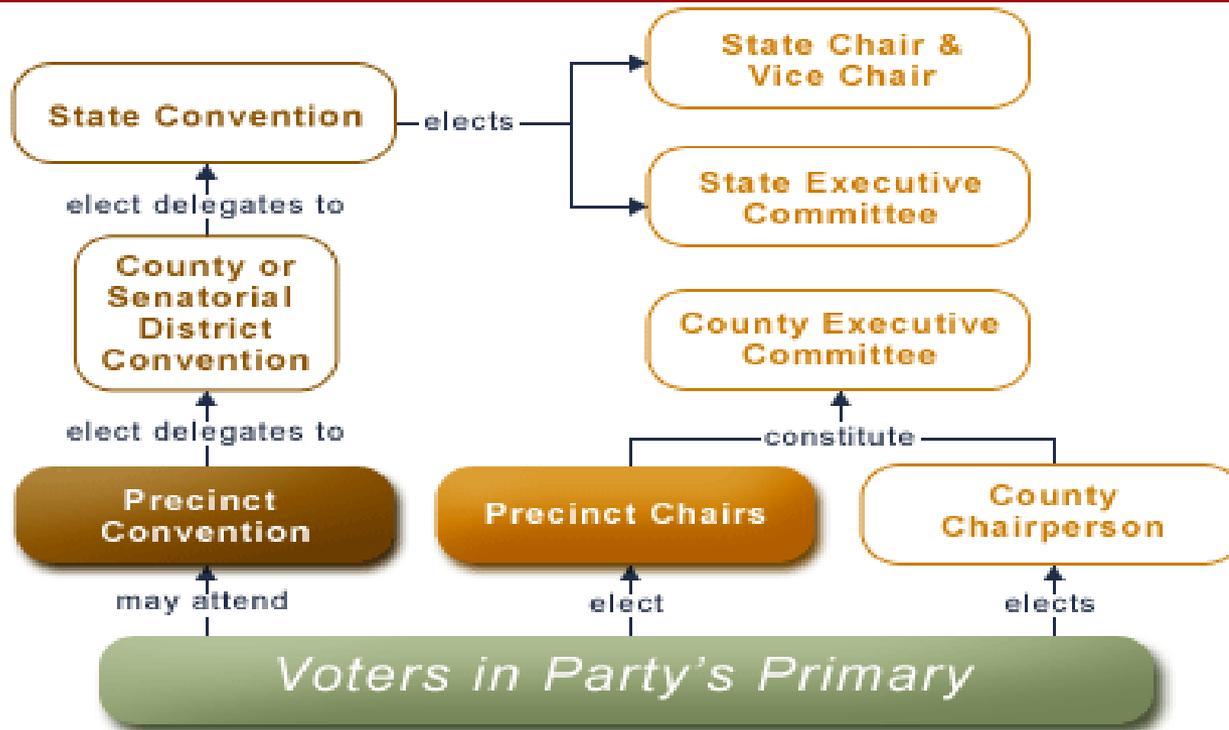


Texas Party Structure: Temporary Party Organization

- The temporary organization of each party consists of the precinct conventions, county and district conventions, and state party conventions.
- They assemble for a few hours or days in a general election year to **allow rank-and-file party supporters a chance to participate in the party's decision making process.**
- The main business of the meetings is to **select delegates** to the next highest level of the party, ultimately selecting delegates to the national party convention in presidential election years.



Texas Party Structure: Precinct Level Party Organization



Precincts

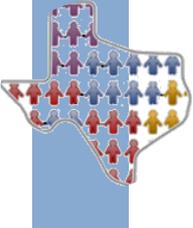
- more than 8,000 precincts
- each has 50 to 3,500 voters

Precinct Convention

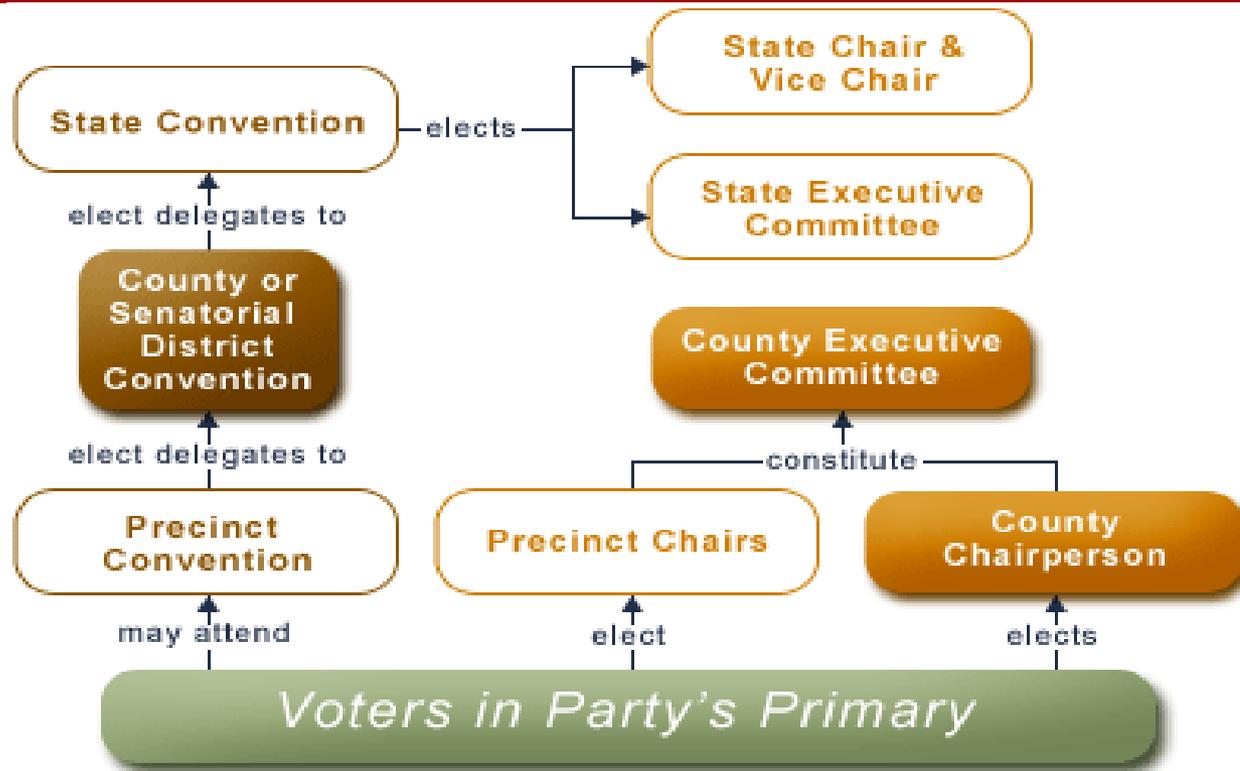
- open to any party primary voter
- held the night of primary election
- selects delegates to county or district convention, one for each 25 votes for party's gubernatorial candidate in last election

Precinct Chair

- eligible voter elected by precinct voters on primary election ballot for two year term
- functions: candidate recruitment, arranging precinct convention, mobilizing voters



Texas Party Structure: County Level Party Organization



County/District Convention

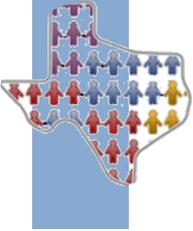
- selects delegates to state convention, one for every 300 votes for party's gubernatorial candidate in last election
- Counties with multiple state senate districts hold district conventions.

County Executive Committee

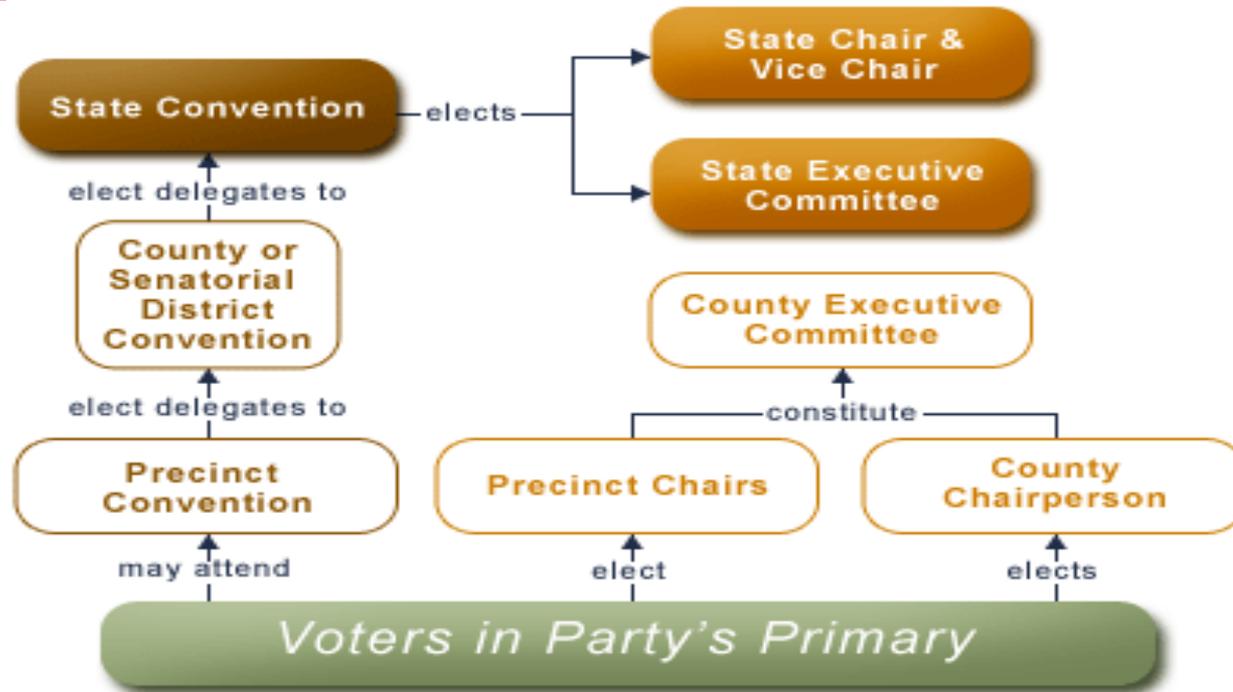
- all precinct chairs in county
- runs primary elections and county convention
- certifies primary vote to state executive committee

County Chairperson

- eligible voter elected on primary ballot for 2 years
- chairs executive committee, represents and promotes party



Texas Party Structure: State Level Party Organization



State Convention

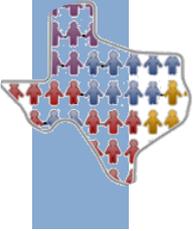
- certifies party nominees
- writes state party platform
- selects state executive committee and chair, national committee members
- selects national convention delegates, presidential elector slate in presidential election year

State Executive Committee

- chief governing body of party
- 62 members, 1 man and 1 woman from each of the 31 state senate districts
- stages state party convention

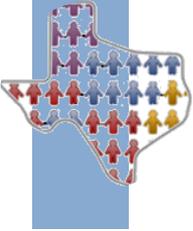
State Chairperson

- represents party
- chair and vice-chair must be different gender



Texas Party Structure: Temporary Party Organization

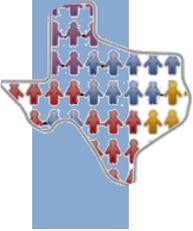
- The Republican and Democratic Parties hold their **state conventions in June**.
- The state convention certifies party nominees for the fall general election, adopts a state party platform (a statement of party principles and issue positions), elects the state party chairperson and vice chairperson, chooses members of the state executive committee and selects individuals to represent the state on the national party executive committee.
- In presidential election years, the state party convention also selects delegates to the national party convention and names a slate of potential presidential electors to cast the Electoral College votes for Texas.



Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-Government

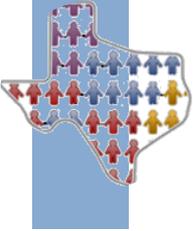


- Even though there is little formal specification (either constitutional or statutory) of the roles of parties within government, parties shape and add dynamism to the institutions of government.
- Governors tend to appoint executive branch personnel who are members of their party. Such appointments tend to **promote loyalty to the party** as well as to the governor.
- Legislative **committee chairs are usually members of the majority party** in the House and the Lieutenant Governor's party in the Senate.
- On the local and municipal level, where elections are often non-partisan (candidates do not run as members of specific parties), the **party-in-government tends to be less overt**.



Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-Government

- American political parties are not based on the **responsible party model** ... that is, they cannot completely control nominations, campaign financing or party members' adherence to the party platform.
- With candidates forced to rely on their own fund-raising and organizing abilities to win office, the **party-in-government is more likely to feel beholden to wealthy interest groups and constituents, rather than to the party.**
- While Texas parties may be able to fashion a party attitude on public policy, they **cannot put together a disciplined governing team.**

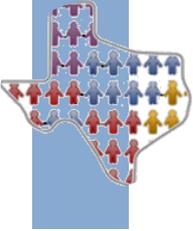


Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-Government

- **Lack of party cohesiveness in the legislature** results in political conflict, a lack of stability and order, and the difficulty of citizens in holding politicians accountable for their actions.
- The practice of presiding officers in the Texas legislature **appointing members of both parties to chair important committees** reflects Texas's weak parties, especially the party-in-government.
- According to Mark Jones (Rice University, 2017), Texas house politics is not influenced by the two major parties but by **four voting blocs** or, what Jones calls, political tribes.

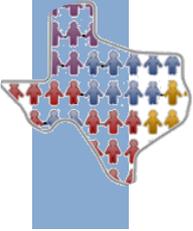


Texas Senate



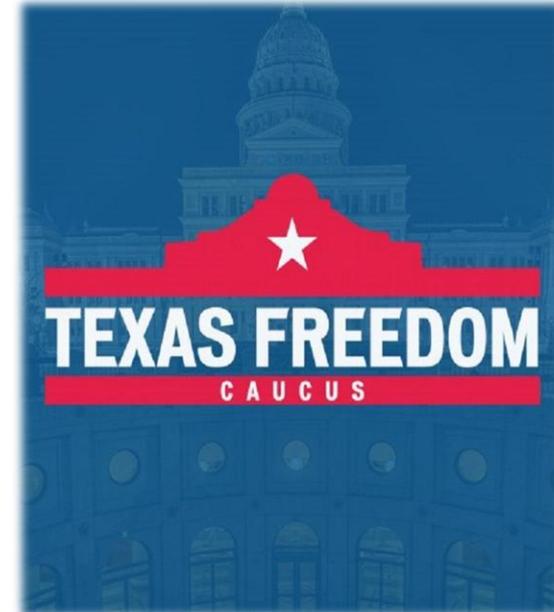
Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-Government

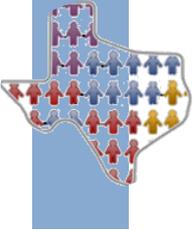
1. **Democrats** (56, 37% of House): most liberal, tend to vote as a cohesive unit, in the minority party-wise but still hold considerable power, often join forces with liberal Republicans ... State Reps Rafael Anchia (Dallas), Senfronia Thompson (Houston area)
2. **Liberal Republicans** (16, 11% of House, 17% of House Republicans): most powerful faction, key members of House leadership, fast-track favored legislation and run out the clock on unfavored bills, coerce cooperation from moderate Republicans and make alliances with Democrats ... State Reps Four Price (Panhandle), Jason Villalba (north Dallas)



Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-Government

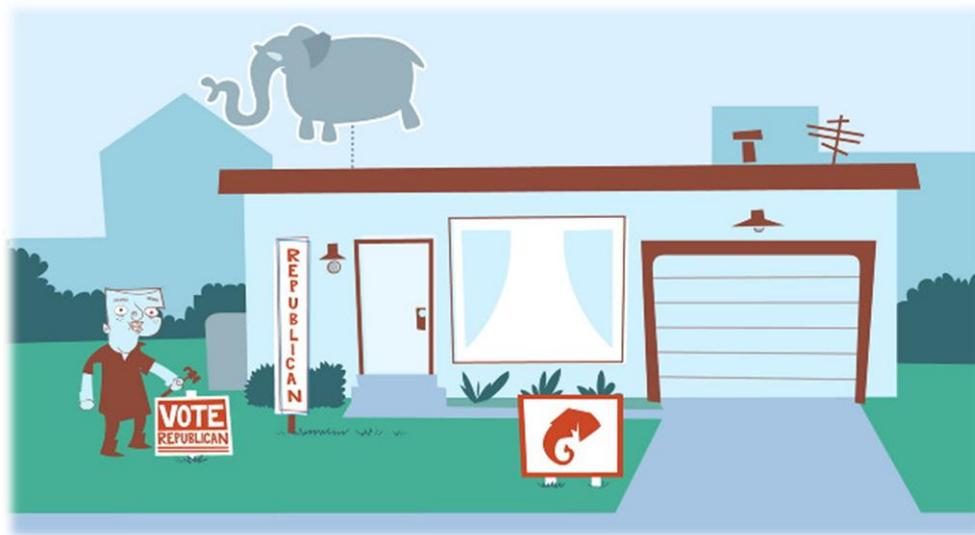
3. **Moderate Republicans** (59, 39% of House, 63% of House Republicans): largest faction, middle-of-the-road, go-along-to-get-along types, boast of strong conservative principles on the campaign trail but allow themselves to get bullied by leadership into more liberal votes ... State Reps Ron Simmons (Carrollton), Craig Goldman (sw Tarrant County)
4. **Conservative Republicans** (19, 13% of House, 20% of House Republicans): self-described *Texas Freedom Caucus*, frequently oppose more liberal House leadership, often able to exhibit out-sized influence by their sheer willingness to fight and their alliance with grassroots voters ... State Reps Valoree Swanson (Spring), Matt Schaefer (Tyler)

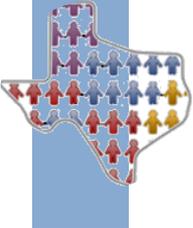




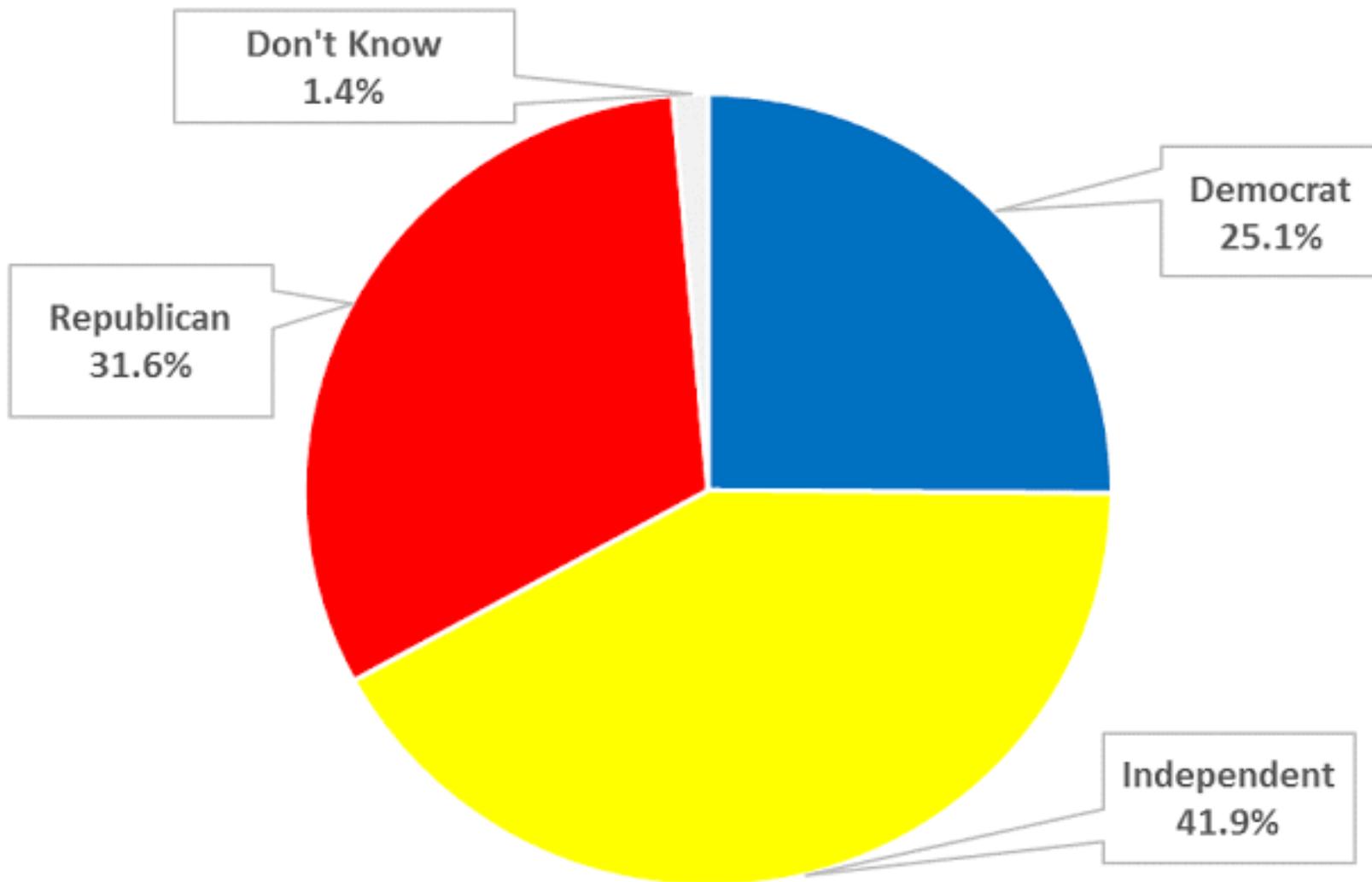
Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-the-Electorate

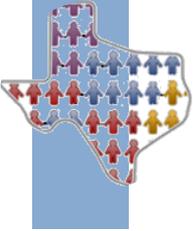
- Parties have a **presence in the electorate that affects people's political beliefs and behaviors**, which in turn define the parties over time.
- People identify with the ideas associated with particular parties, and participate in the activities of a particular party to various degrees.





Percent of Texas Voters by Party Self-Identification, 2017





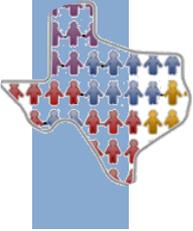
Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-the-Electorate

- **income**

- Voting patterns reflect income, with higher-income citizens supporting Republican candidates and lower-income voters backing Democrats.

- **race and ethnicity**

- Minority voters, especially African Americans, tend to support Democrats.
- The Latino vote tends to be Democratic as well, but the margin between the two parties is closer.
- At slightly more than 28%, Texas has the second highest share of eligible voters who are Hispanic of any state in the nation.



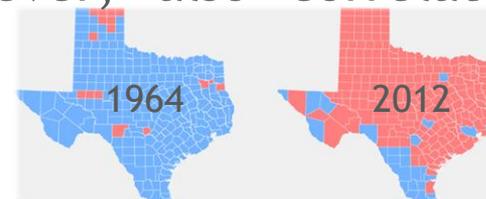
Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-the-Electorate

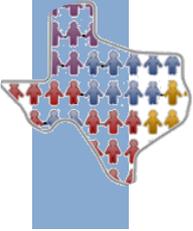
- **region**

- Conservative east Texas and Hispanic south Texas, especially the counties along the Mexican border, have been Democratic strongholds.
- West Texas, the Panhandle region, the Permian Basin, Lubbock, Abilene and central Texas have been areas of Republican strength.

- **place of residence**

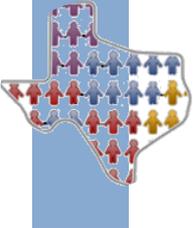
- The GOP is strongest in the suburbs, especially Dallas-Ft Worth and Houston. Democrats run best in the inner city.
- These places of residence, however, also correlate with income, race and ethnicity.





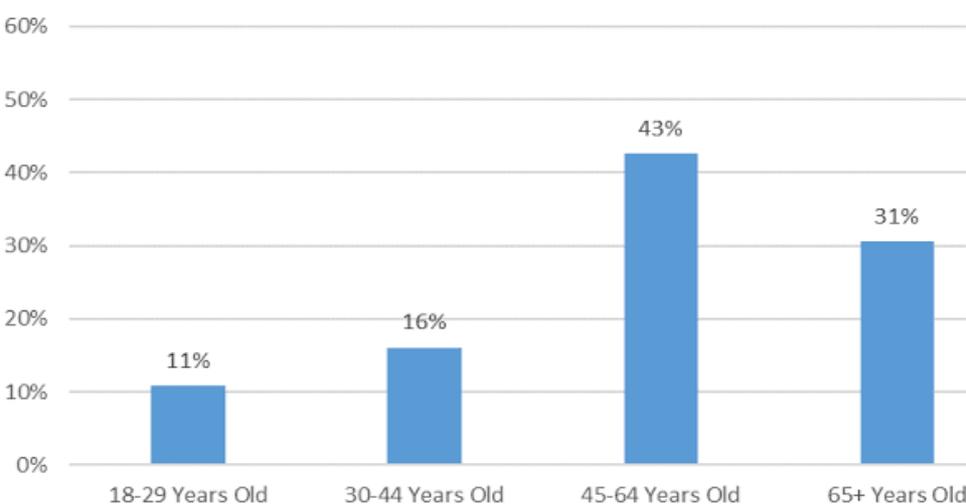
Texas Party Structure: The Party-in-the-Electorate

- **age**
 - Millennials (those born in the early 1980s through the mid-1990s to early 2000s) vote about two to one Democratic.
 - By 2018, Texas will have the fourth highest percentage of Millennials of any state in the country, and a higher percentage than any large or medium sized state.
- In general **Republican voters** are newcomers to Texas, more educated, evangelical Protestants and men.
- **Democratic voters** are primarily middle class and poor, blue collar/union workers, Catholic and Jewish, native Texans, older, less educated and women.

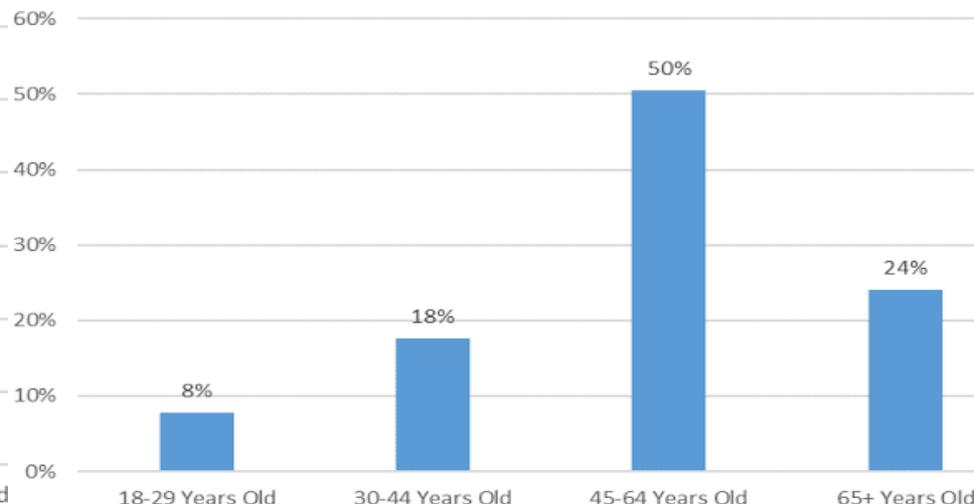


Party Identification by Age, 2017

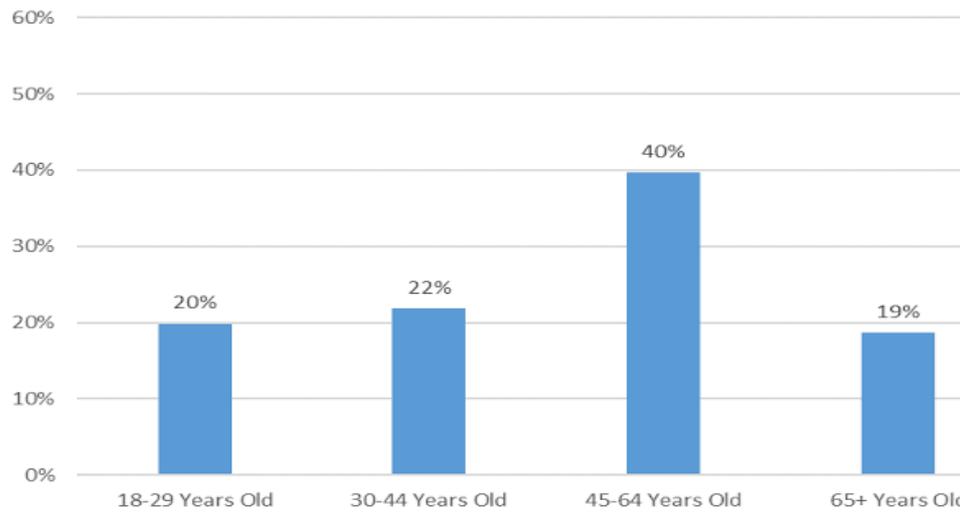
Democratic Party Identifiers

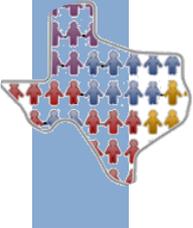


Republican Party Identifiers



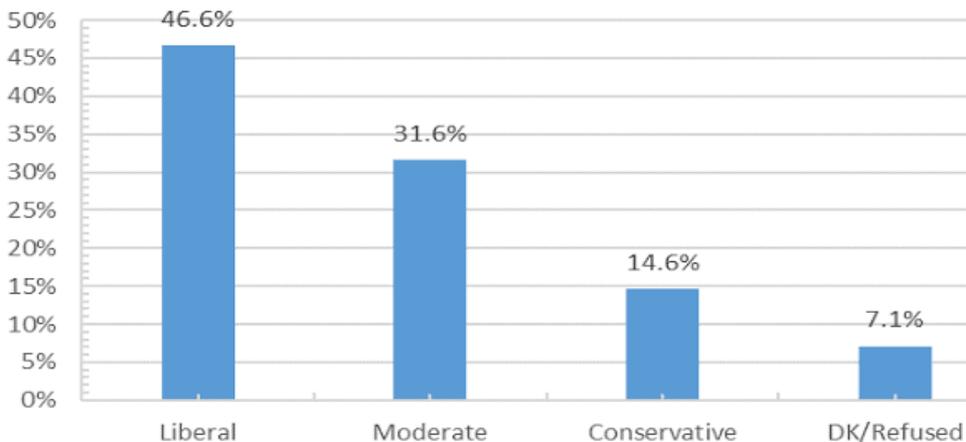
Independents



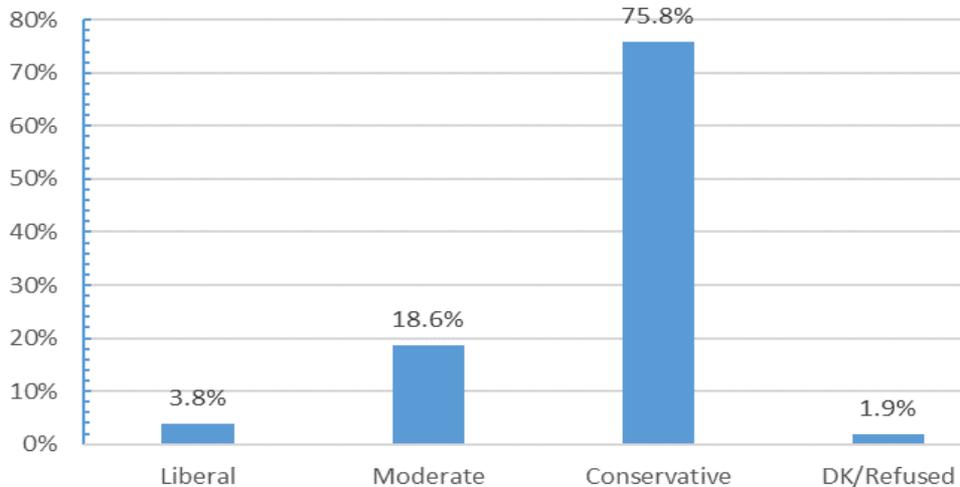


Party Identification by Ideology, 2017

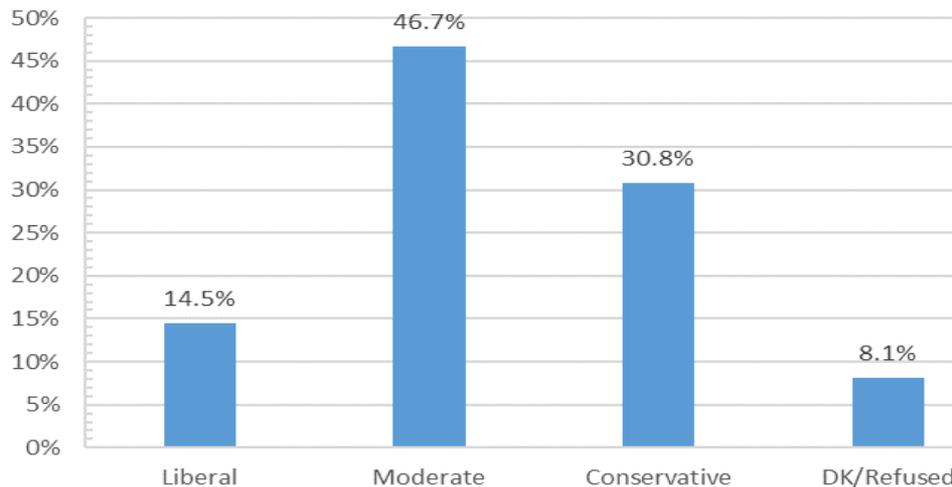
Ideology of Texas Democratic Party Identifiers

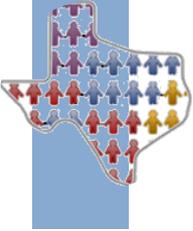


Ideology of Texas Republican Party Identifiers



Ideology of Texas Independents

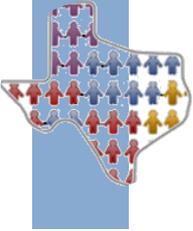




Interest Group-Political Party Alliances in Texas

- Texas political parties and interest groups often form **informal alliances**. (See the presentation on interest groups in Texas.)
- Interest groups assist political parties by providing **campaign funds** and **organizational support** to party candidates.
- Texas groups **endorse candidates** and **distribute campaign literature** to group members and people who would likely sympathize with the group's goals.
- Although political parties and interest groups form alliances, groups are not wholly owned subsidiaries of parties or vice versa, and these **informal alliances often change**.





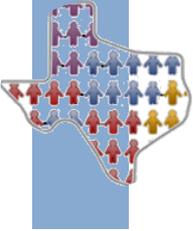
Interest Group-Political Party Alliances in Texas

Groups Allied with the Democratic Party

- Organized labor
- Environmental organizations
- Consumer groups
- African-American rights organizations
- Hispanic rights groups
- Gay and lesbian rights organizations
- Teachers' groups
- Texas Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
- Trial lawyers
- Women right's groups

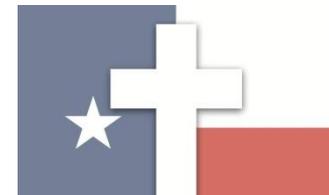
Groups Allied with the Republican Party

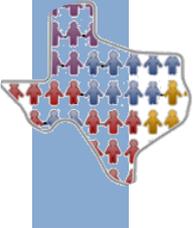
- Business groups and trade associations
- Most professional organizations, including doctors and realtors
- Farm groups
- Religious conservatives
- National Rifle Association
- Right to Life advocates
- Tort reform organizations



Texas Party Issues

Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
Protecting Life	believe in the sanctity of human life, created in the image of God, which should be protected from fertilization to natural death	believe in the right to privacy, in freedom from government interference in private lives and personal decisions recognize the product of a joined egg and sperm has no independent status, standing, entitlements or rights
Marriage	believe in the sanctity of marriage and support the definition of marriage as a God-ordained, legal and moral commitment only between a natural man and a natural woman, which is the foundational unit of a healthy society	support repeal of the national Defense of Marriage Act, the Texas Defense of Marriage Act, and oppose attempts to deny the freedom to marry to same sex couples
Religious Freedom	America is a nation under God founded on Judeo-Christian principle return to the original intent of the First Amendment encourage legislation requiring hospitals and clinics to inform all health care personnel of their right to refuse to be involved in abortion or euthanasia	recognize that no Texan should be forced to live under religious doctrines to which he or she does not subscribe

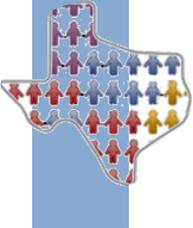




Texas Party Issues

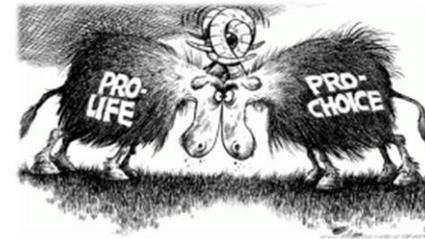
Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
Law Enforcement / Public Safety	<p>Texas has the right to protect citizens, businesses and ranches</p> <p>properly applied capital punishment is legitimate</p>	<p>support ending racial profiling in searches and traffic stops, the passage of legislation to decriminalize the possession of marijuana and abolishing the death penalty in Texas</p> <p>defeat restrictive voter ID and proof of citizenship legislation</p>
Homosexuality	<p>homosexual behavior is contrary to the fundamental, unchanging truths that have been ordained by God</p>	<p>support: action against all forms of discrimination, full inclusion of all families, the Dignity for All Students Act and adoption regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity</p>
Pornography / Free Speech	<p>encourage the enforcement of laws regarding all forms of pornography as detrimental to the fabric of society</p> <p>oppose the <i>fairness doctrine</i> (required broadcasters to present controversial issues of public importance in a manner that was honest, equitable and balanced, eliminated in 1987)</p>	<p>support protection of free speech, including on the internet</p> <p>reject ideological censorship of public libraries and textbooks</p> <p>support reinstatement of the fairness doctrine</p>

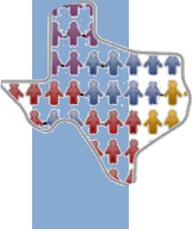




Texas Party Issues

Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	<p>resolute regarding the reversal of <i>Roe v. Wade</i></p> <p>support the <i>Life at Conception Act</i> (declares the right to life guaranteed by the Constitution is vested in each human being at all stages of life, including the moment of fertilization, cloning or other moment at which an individual comes into being)</p>	<p>trust the women of Texas to make personal and responsible decisions about when and whether to bear children</p>
Public Funding of Abortion	<p>strongly oppose any national or state requirement or other mandate to provide abortion, contraception or sterilization</p> <p>support the elimination of public funding for organizations that advocate or support abortion</p>	<p>support PPACA's (Obamacare) elimination of co-payments for preventive services, including family planning, birth control and emergency contraception</p>
Euthanasia / Assisted Suicide	<p>oppose genocide, euthanasia and assisted suicide, withholding of nutrition and hydration to the terminally ill or handicapped</p>	<p>no statement</p>

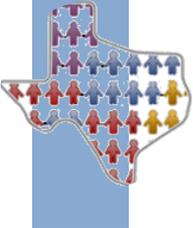




Texas Party Issues

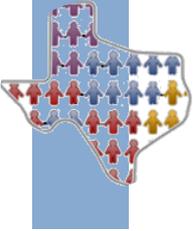
Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
Stem Cell Research	oppose the creation and/or killing of human embryos for medical research	strongly and unconditionally support research into stem cell and state funding for research
Human Cloning	because each human life deserves protection, seek a ban on human cloning for reproductive purposes and on research cloning	no statement
Parental Rights / Education	<p>oppose mandatory pre-school and kindergarten, and support school voucher program because parents have the right and responsibility to direct and guide their children's moral education</p> <p>urge Congress to repeal government sponsored programs that deal with early childhood development</p> <p>the family is responsible for its own welfare, education, moral training, conduct, etc</p>	<p>oppose any form of private school voucher because vouchers drain resources essential to guarantee quality public education for all children</p> <p>believe a world class education system is a moral imperative that requires parents, educators and community leaders to work together</p> <p>support a <i>Children's Bill of Rights</i> (comprehensive framework that governs rights of children relating to health, safety and well-being that is applied evenly across jurisdictions)</p>





Texas Party Issues

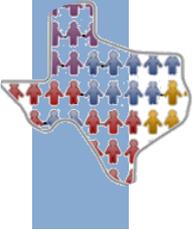
Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
Welfare	welfare should offer a hand up to transition families and individuals through hard times ... the current system encourages dependency on government and robs individuals and generations of healthy motivation and self-respect	because more than one-third of working families in Texas are defined as low income, believe government should make sure appropriate supports are in place and accessible 
Health Care	urge passage of health care reform which results in more affordable health care, including <i>tort reform</i> (changes in the civil justice system that aim to reduce the ability of victims to sue or to reduce the damages they can receive) urge the immediate repeal of the PPACA	believe health care is a right and oppose Republican attempts to repeal the PPACA (Obamacare) support the right of a woman to acquire contraception or other reproductive care through her health care provider
Sex Education	oppose any sex education other than abstinence until marriage	support effective, comprehensive age-appropriate sex education programs
School Choice	encourage maximum freedom of choice in public, private or parochial education for all	oppose all private school vouchers support strengthening state oversight of home schools



Texas Party Issues

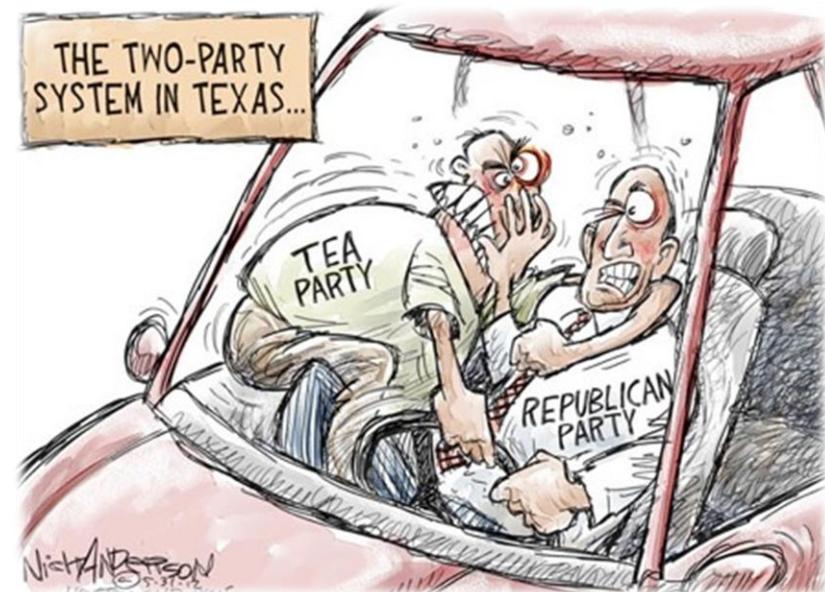
Issue	2012 Republican Party of Texas Platform	2012 Democratic Party of Texas Platform
Climate Change	<p>believe climate change is far from this nation's most pressing national security issue</p> <p>oppose international accords like the agreement crafted in Paris and cutting emissions by shifting away from coal-powered power plants since coal is a clean energy resource</p> <p>environmental problems are best solved with incentives for human ingenuity, not through top-down, command-and-control regulations</p>	<p>believe climate change is a real and urgent threat and call for setting a price on greenhouse gas emissions</p> <p>call for the country to generate half of its electricity from clean sources in the next decade and for cleaner fuels, more public transit and a tax code that creates incentives for renewable energy</p> <p>reject the notion that we have to choose between protecting our planet and creating good-paying jobs</p>
Minimum Wage	<p>minimum wage is an issue that should be handled on the state and local level</p>	<p>support raising the national minimum wage to \$15 an hour and index it with inflation (currently \$7.25 with 29 states at \$11-\$15, Texas at required \$7.25)</p>
Campaign Finance	<p>reject all campaign finance proposals except full disclosure of the sources of campaign contributions</p>	<p>advocate campaign finance reform to limit campaign contributions and candidate spending</p>

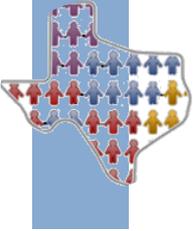




Texas Party Issues

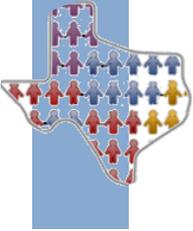
- The Republican Party of Texas favors
 - less government
 - a strong national defense
 - pro-life stand on abortion
 - limiting government economic regulations
 - anti-union stance
 - less government in civil rights
 - an end to affirmative action
 - traditional family values





Texas Party Issues

- Texas Democrats favor
 - a more activist government
 - protection of social programs and funding
 - pro-choice stand on abortion
 - government regulations when necessary to protect workers, consumers and the environment, and to end business abuses
 - an active government role in civil rights
 - affirmative action
 - maintaining a clear separation between church and state



Low Taxes, Low Services Policy Making

- Classical liberalism, social conservatism and populism, coupled with the frontier pragmatism and rugged individualism of Texas culture, help explain party development in Texas.
- The dominant political culture has historically expressed these ideas as a **low taxes, low services** approach to government.
- Key characteristics of the policy climate in Texas reflect its pragmatism and the relative strength of conservatives in both parties.
- a **low level of state services** maintained by a **general hostility toward progressive taxation** (particularly any form of income tax) ... Advocating raising taxes has always been politically dangerous to candidates and public office holders in Texas.

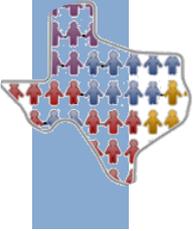
Texas State and Local Taxes Are:

39th

highest overall

7th

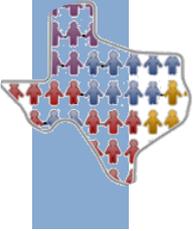
highest for the poorest 20% of
taxpayers



Low Taxes, Low Services Policy Making

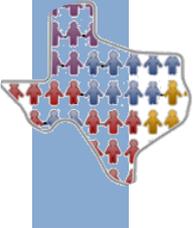
- Key characteristics of the policy climate in Texas reflect its pragmatism and the relative strength of conservatives in both parties.
 - a generally **anti-union work environment**
 - **limited environmental regulation**
 - **culturally conservative social policy** in areas such as education, religion and civil rights
- The two major parties in Texas agree on the fundamentals. Both favor good schools, safe streets, clean air, a strong economy, etc.





Low Taxes, Low Services Policy Making

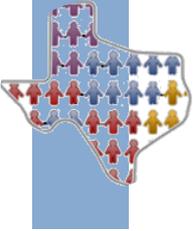
- Where they disagree is on the **details of policy making**, particularly the **role of government** in society.
- Calling for an increased role for government is not advised in Texas.
- Yet, **Texas Democrats believe that government should play a role in solving social problems**. The Democratic platform supports funding for public education, Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).
- **Texas Republicans believe that government's primary role is to support traditional family values** rather than solve social problems. They propose reducing or eliminating a broad range of state programs and oppose the creation of new ones.
- Texas has undergone a political transformation.



Political Parties and Policy Making

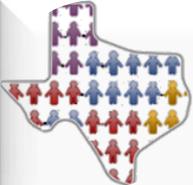
- Texas has gone from a state in which Democrats captured almost every elective office to one in which Republicans control all three branches of state government and many local offices, allowing Republicans to control the policy making process in recent years.
- Facing a \$10 billion budget shortfall during the 85th session of the Texas legislature (2017), the governor and the legislature balanced the budget without raising taxes, primarily by **cuts in state spending** on Medicaid, public education, sex trafficking victims (especially children), programs to improve the region's air quality, higher education and assisting *colonias* (impoverished border communities). They did, however, manage to increase funding to state troopers on immigration watch on the Texas-Mexico border.





Political Parties and Policy Making

- Texas political parties are important participants in every stage of the policy making process: agenda building, policy formulation and adoption, policy implementation and evaluation.
- Responsible parties address issues on the official policy agenda in their platforms.
- Once in power, party members in the legislature and executive branch formulate, adopt and implement policies to address the issues the party raised.
- Political parties and party factions work together to formulate policies acceptable to a broad range of Texans ... or they risk another shift in the party system.



The End

