

## **Analysis of Texas Congressional Plan C2333: August 22, 2025**

By Richard Murray<sup>1</sup>

### ***Impact on Hispanic Voters***

I have reviewed the congressional redistricting plan C2333 currently being considered by the Texas Legislature. This plan, in my opinion, greatly reduces the opportunity for Hispanic voters in Texas to elect candidates of their choice. I base my opinion on the following cases:

#### **Harris County**

Specifically, this plan dismantles CD29 in Harris County, a performing Latino opportunity district since 1992. Existing CD 29, is split, with the portion retaining the number dominated by Black voters moved out of existing CD18. The new 29<sup>th</sup> had a Black population of 27.3% in 2020 (versus a Hispanic population of 58.5%), but African Americans will, by my estimation, constitute more than in sixty percent of the vote in the March 2026 Democratic Primary. Since the primary will be the effective election under this map, the preferred candidate of Hispanic voters will be a distinct underdog in the new 29<sup>th</sup> District.

The other part of existing CD29, which includes its highest performing Latino precincts in areas like Denver Harbor and the East End, is moved into a new CD9. This district is dominated by conservative Anglo voters who uniformly oppose candidates preferred by Hispanic voters. Key to this is the addition of Liberty County to the new 9<sup>th</sup> district. Liberty County has a growing Hispanic population in the Colony Ridge unincorporated area, but with a very low percentage of citizen voting age Latinos, the county electorate opposes the Latino preferred candidate by about a four to one ratio. (In the 2024 General Election for Congress, the Anglo preferred candidate got 23,983 votes in Liberty County, to just 5,699 for the Hispanic preferred candidate). The effective election in the new 9<sup>th</sup> district will be the November General Election, and with its history of polarized voting, there is little chance the preferred candidate of Hispanic voters can prevail

The C2333 plan will result in the Hispanic population in Harris County, totaling 2,034,700 in 2020, having, for the first time in three decades, no good opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice to Congress.

#### **Bexar/Travis County**

The congressional map approved in 2021 created an effective coalition opportunity district, CD35, by combining the majority Hispanic area in eastern Travis County and a similarly Latino majority part of Bexar County, with a connecting portion of Hays and Comal Counties. The new map replaces the Travis, Hays, and Comal areas with a larger share of Bexar County and three new counties – Guadalupe, Wilson, and Karnes. The Hispanic population is slightly increased from 51.3% according to the 2020 census to 53.7% by Plan C2333, but the new counties added have a recent history of polarized voting against the preferred candidates of Latino voters. That

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sharply contrasts with the existing 35<sup>th</sup> District voters in Travis and Hays Counties who were not polarized in their voting patterns. Bottom line: The existing 35<sup>th</sup> District provided large margins of victory (70% plus) to Hispanic supported candidates. That is not the case with the new map.

### Lower Rio Grande

Plan C2333 made major changes to CD34 in the Lower Rio Grande. The existing district's part of Hidalgo County was removed and replaced by most of Nueces County. This lowered the Hispanic population share from 88.5% to 73.5%. The Spanish Surname Registered Voter (SSVR) share dropped from 79.3% to 64.5% in the 2024 General Election. Evidence of the intent to weaken Hispanic voting strength in the redrawn district is provided by Plan C2333's removal of a small, heavily Latino part of Nueces County. A total of 294,416 people were moved into the 34<sup>th</sup> District, of whom 58.1% were Hispanic. The Hispanic percentage of the 58,762 people left out of the district was 78.4%. Nueces County is a very closely divided county in General Elections, with the vote higher polarized along racial/ethnic lines. Omitting a heavily Latino part of Nueces County clearly reduces the opportunity for the candidate preferred by Hispanics to win in the November elections in the 34<sup>th</sup> District.

### ***Impact on Black Voters***

Plan C2333 reduces Black opportunity districts in the state from three (CD 9, CD18, and CD 30) to two (CD 18 and CD 30). The new map not only disappears the existing 9<sup>th</sup> District, but also completely realigns the existing 33<sup>rd</sup> District in Tarrant and Dallas counties, a federal court-drawn district. That district has elected the candidate preferred by African American voters in the last seven General Elections starting in 2012. The proposed map also eliminates Black voter influence in the 32<sup>nd</sup> District in the Dallas/Fort Worth area. A brief review of each case follows:

### Ninth District

The 9<sup>th</sup> District was drawn by the Texas Legislature in 2003. Combining high-turnout mostly Black precincts in southern Harris County and northeastern Fort Bend County, the district gave African American voters the opportunity to elect their candidate of choice in eleven consecutive elections. The new map retains the number 9, but the attached district is an entirely new territory in eastern Harris County and Liberty County. This unnecessary number shift is evidence, in my opinion, of intentional discrimination aimed at confusing Black voters in the 2026 elections. The fact is 99% of the Black voters in the existing 9<sup>th</sup> District are removed – mostly to the 18<sup>th</sup> District. Meantime, Black voters will have no influence in proposed 9<sup>th</sup> District.

### Eighteenth District

Of course, the map-drawer could not disappear the high-turnout Black precincts in the existing Ninth District. These were moved into the adjacent CD18, a historic district first represented by Barbara Jordan in the 1970s. Absorbing the majority of the 9<sup>th</sup> District's Black precincts forced the removal of over half of the existing Eighteenth District, including some of its high-

performance Black areas like Independence Heights and Acres Home, as well as fast-growing mixed suburbs in north Harris County. Almost all the displaced 18<sup>th</sup> voters were put in the realigned 29<sup>th</sup> District. As with the 9<sup>th</sup> District number shift, I take this shift of many Black voters to a numbered district with no connection to historic African American neighborhoods like Acres Homes as evidence of intentional discrimination. The shift has transformed the 29<sup>th</sup> from a long-performing Hispanic opportunity district to one where Black voters will likely dominate the Democratic Primary in March 2026. Whoever wins the special election to represent the currently vacant 18<sup>th</sup> seat (probably in a December runoff) will likely file in the new 29<sup>th</sup> District later this year. That sets up a brutal and wholly unnecessary Hispanic/Black faceoff in the March 2026 primary.

### The 30<sup>th</sup> District

Houston got a Black opportunity district in 1972. Dallas had to wait twenty years before State Senator Eddie Bernice Johnson successfully pushed for the creation of the 30<sup>th</sup> District in 1991. The district has been a reliable Black opportunity district ever since, electing Ms. Johnson fifteen times, and Jasmine Crockett in 2022 and 2024. The C2333 plan keeps CD as a Black opportunity district, but adds a larger part of Tarrant County as part of the dismantling of the existing 33<sup>rd</sup> District, which was moved entirely into Dallas County. Black voters will continue to dominate the district for the foreseeable future, but it remains to be seen if Congresswoman Crockett chooses to file in the redrawn 33<sup>rd</sup>, where she currently resides, or files again in the 30<sup>th</sup> District.

### The 33<sup>rd</sup> District

The new map places the 33<sup>rd</sup> District entirely in Dallas County and reduces the Black VAP from 20.4% to 15.7%. But the plan also reduces the Hispanic VAP from 54.5% to 50.3%. Perhaps most importantly, the SSRV is reduced from 36.5% to just 31.2%. The big gain is Anglo VAP, which increases from 15.7% to 26.8%. Anglos in this part of Dallas County do not polarize against the preferred candidate of Black or Hispanic voters, so the winner of the March 2026 Democratic Primary will very likely win the General Election. If Ms. Crockett files in the new 33<sup>rd</sup>, she would likely win both the primary and November election. If she does not run, Black voters would have considerable influence, especially in the primary, not would not have the same impact they currently have in the existing Tarrant/Dallas district.

### The 32<sup>nd</sup> District

The 32<sup>nd</sup> District was solidly Republican before Donald Trump assumed the presidency. His erosion of support among affluent Anglos and the growing diversity of the district combined for Colin Allred's upset of a long-serving incumbent in 2018. Allred was reelected in 2020 and the Texas Legislature made the seat a Democratic coalition district based mostly in east and north Dallas County. Black voters have significant influence in the decisive Democratic Primary. That influence is effectively eliminated in the new map. East Dallas County is removed and suburban Rockwall County added along with five counties in northeast Texas. The Black VAP percentage in the district drops from 20.3% to 13.6%. The Anglo VAP increases from 36.2% to 52.4%.

Given the highly polarized voting in the new counties, there is no realistic opportunity for Black (or Hispanic voters) to elect candidates of their choice in this district.

### ***Conclusion***

The C2333 map drawn by operatives from the Trump White House makes a powerful case for the continuing relevance of the Voting Rights Act. Texas' Anglo population is less than 40 percent of the state total, yet Anglo voters elect candidates they support in 25 of the state's 38 congressional districts. That total would increase to as many as 30 seats if C2333 is used for the 2026 elections. Since 2000 the state has added nine new U.S. House seats due to population growth. Over 90 percent of that growth has been due to minority population increases. Despite that fact, C2333 would leave the state with fewer Black and Hispanic opportunity districts than existed 20 years ago.

President Trump regained the White House in large part by improved performance among minority voters in November 2024. Texas followed the national pattern. Less than a year later, the administration is now demanding state lawmakers enact a map that significantly reduces the opportunity for both Black and Latino voters in Texas to elect congressional representatives of their choice. Sixty years after a president from Texas pushed through the federal Voting Rights Act, and fifty years after a new congresswoman from Houston led the effort to extend the special provisions of the VRA to Texas, the need for federal protection of minority voting rights in the state is obvious. The spirited fights of Lyndon Johnson and Barbara Jordan for fair elections in the Lone Star State far from over.