CENGAGE

Texas Politics TODAY

Enhanced 18th Edition

Mark P. Jones
Ernest Crain

with

Morhea Lynn Davis
Christopher Wlezien
Elizabeth N. Flores

Texas Politics Today, Enhanced Edition

Texas Politics Today, Enhanced 18th Edition

Mark P. Jones • Ernest Crain

with Morhea Lynn Davis • Christopher Wlezien • Elizabeth N. Flores

CENGAGE

Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

Texas Politics Today, Enhanced 18th Edition

Mark P. Jones, Ernest Crain, Morhea Lynn Davis, Christopher Wlezien, Elizabeth N. Flores

Product Director: Thais L. Alencar

Product Manager: Richard Lena

Product Assistant: Haley Gaudreau

Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartmann

Content Manager: Dan Saabye

IP Analyst: Nancy Dillon

IP Project Manager: Kelli Besse

Production Service and Compositor: SPi Global

Art Director: Sarah Cole

Text Designer: Reuter Design

Cover Designer: Sarah Cole

Cover Image: joe daniel price/Getty Images

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018959360

Student Edition:
ISBN: 978-1-337-79984-3

Loose-leaf Edition:
ISBN: 978-0-357-02891-9

Cengage
20 Channel Center Street
Boston, MA 02210
USA

Cengage is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at **www.cengage.com**.

Cengage products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

To learn more about Cengage platforms and services, register or access your online learning solution, or purchase materials for your course, visit **www.cengage.com**.

Printed in the United States of America
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2018

Brief Contents

Detailed Contents

MINDTAP
From Cengage

Fit your coursework into your hectic life.

Make the most of your time by learning your way. Access the resources you need to succeed wherever, whenever.

Study with digital flashcards, listen to audio textbooks, and take quizzes.

Review your current course grade and compare your progress with your peers.

Get the free MindTap Mobile App and learn wherever you are.

Break Limitations. Create your own potential, and be unstoppable with MindTap.

MINDTAP. POWERED BY YOU.

cengage.com/mindtap

State Learning Outcomes

Texas Politics Today helps you meet the State Learning Outcomes for GOVT2306:

1. Explain the origin and development of the Texas constitution.
2. Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government.
3. Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas.
4. Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.
5. Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.
6. Analyze the state and local election process.
7. Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
8. Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

Chapter	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO)
1: Texas Culture and Diversity	**SLO 8** Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas. **SLO 7** Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. **SLO 5** Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.
2: Texas in the Federal System	**SLO 2** Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. **SLO 7** Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
3: The Texas Constitution in Perspective	**SLO 1** Explain the origin and development of the Texas constitution. **SLO 3** Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. **SLO 7** Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
4: Voting and Elections	**SLO 6** Analyze the state and local election process. **SLO 7** Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
5: Political Parties	**SLO 5** Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.
6: Interest Groups	**SLO 5** Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.
7: The Legislature	**SLO 4** Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.
8: The Executive	**SLO 4** Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.
9: The Judiciary	**SLO 4** Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.
10: Law and Due Process	**SLO 7** Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. **SLO 4** Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. **SLO 8** Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
11: Local Government	**SLO 2** Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. **SLO 6** Analyze the state and local election process. **SLO 8** Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
12: Public Policy	**SLO 8** Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

Letter to Instructors

Dear Texas Government Instructors:

You may be familiar with previous editions of *Texas Politics Today*, as it has served as the standard text for the introductory Texas government course for many years. As in the past, we have focused exclusively on **state learning outcomes** and core objectives. Each chapter learning objective is targeted to help students achieve one or more of these learning outcomes, and we have explicitly organized each chapter to help students use higher-order thinking to master these objectives. We link each major chapter heading to one of the chapter objectives and recap how the student should achieve those objectives in both the new chapter summaries and review questions.

We have put together a strategy for meeting **core objectives**—each photo, figure, screenshot, boxed feature, essay, and project-centered Get Active feature prompts students to engage in critical thinking, develop communication skills, evaluate social responsibility, and reflect on their own sense of personal responsibility. Each of these exercises is designated by icons throughout the text:

Critical Thinking Questions

Communications Skills Questions

Social Responsibility Questions

Personal Responsibility Questions

New to This Enhanced Edition

- Chapters about elections, parties, and interest groups focus on the ideals of democracy and challenge students to evaluate whether these ideals are realized in practice.
- Chapter 11 explores the implications of state control over municipal policies, annexation and the unitary nature of state government in Texas.
- We provide the latest coverage of ideology and social policies related to marijuana, abortion, civil rights, gender politics, immigration, health care, crime and firearms, among others.
- We include expanded coverage of tea party politics and Republican Party factionalism, political polarization, changes in the ballot form, as well as the latest 2018 election results throughout.
- Chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11 feature expanded coverage of the effects of the state's demographic changes and the rising importance of Latinos in the future of Texas politics.
- Enhanced visuals include new intuitive graphics to illustrate federalism, ballot organization, political party structures, interest group tactics, the plural executive system, the governor's appointive powers, and the forms of municipal government. New easy-to-follow process-oriented charts take students step by step through the dynamics of the constitutional amendment, legislative, electoral, and criminal justice processes.
- The role of social and digital media in Texas politics is discussed and illustrated in every chapter throughout the text.

- We have called upon our resources among a wide range of officeholders and political activists to write exclusive new **Politics in Practice** features. These features conclude each chapter with a specific and fully developed exercise to close the gap between the theoretical themes and the actual practice of Texas politics; they put a face on the political system and give students a glimpse of how it operates from an insider's viewpoint. Because our essayists are political practitioners who often view their role in the political system from a policy perspective, we have balanced the liberal and conservative viewpoints and developed critical thinking questions to prompt students to probe political and policy alternatives. We have included essays from the governor and his staff, legislators, lobbyists, analysts, campaign consultants, political activists, and local officials.
- Updated and targeted **Texas Insiders** and **How Does Texas Compare** boxes are visually distinct and provide the reader with an uninterrupted flow through the text.
- Each chapter ends with new **Think Critically and Get Active** projects that support purpose-driven activities and introspection to close the gap between theory and practice in the state and local political systems.
- Pedagogy links to targeted objectives throughout the chapter and delivers to students a cohesive learning experience.

MindTap: Your Course Stimulus Package

For the instructor, MindTap is here to simplify your workload, organize and immediately grade your students' assignments, and allow you to customize your course as you see fit. Through deep-seated integration with your Learning Management System, grades are easily exported and analytics are pulled with just the click of a button. MindTap provides you with a platform to easily add in current events videos and RSS feeds from national or local news sources. We hope these compelling features will benefit your students as they experience Texas politics today. Please contact us personally to let us know how this text works for you.

Sincerely,

Mark P. Jones: mpjones@rice.edu
Ernest Crain: ernestcrain@hotmail.com
Morhea Lynn Davis: salas15@epcc.edu
Christopher Wlezien: wlezien@austin.utexas.edu
Elizabeth N. Flores: eflores@delmar.edu

Letter to Our Students

Dear Student:

Americans in general, and perhaps Texans more than most, are apathetic and disillusioned about politics. Government seems so big, so remote, so baffling that many people have a sense of powerlessness. Now you have an opportunity to do something about this. *Texas Politics Today* explores Texas government, its background, the rules of the political game, and the political players who make the most important decisions in Texas. The text plainly explains public policy, why it is made, and who benefits from it. The book shows you how to think about yourself in the political universe, how to explore your own political values and ethics, and how to make a difference.

However, we know that you probably did not enroll in this course to achieve some kind of altruistic or idealistic goal, but to get credit for a course required for your degree plan. And we know that most of you are not political science majors. So we have written this book to be a reader-friendly guide to passing your tests and a hassle-free tool for learning about Texas government and politics.

Here are some tips on how you can exploit student-centered learning aids to help you make the grade:

- Target your focus on the **learning objectives** that open each chapter. Each chapter is organized around them, and your instructor will use them to track your progress in the course. Bulleted **chapter summaries** give you a recap of how the chapter handles these objectives, and **review questions** help you break the larger chapter objectives into manageable themes that you should understand as you prepare for exams.
- Zero in on the **key terms** defined in the margins and listed at the end of each chapter. These are the basic concepts that you need to use to understand Texas politics today.
- Go behind the scenes with the **Texas Insiders** features to see who influences policy making in Texas. These features put a face on the most powerful Texans and help you close the gap between theory and practice in Texas politics.
- Put Texas in perspective with the **How Does Texas Compare?** features. These features invite you to engage in critical thinking and to debate the pros and cons of the distinct political institutions and public policies in force across the 50 states.
- View Texas politics from the inside with the **Politics in Practice** features, and compare the theory and reality of the state political system.
- Link to the websites in the **Think Critically and Get Active!** features to explore current issues, evaluate data, and draw your own conclusions about the Texas political scene.
- Take advantage of carefully written photo, figure, and table captions that point you to major takeaways from the visuals. These visuals provide you with critical analysis questions to help you get started thinking about Texas politics.
- Use the digital media highlights to become an active part of the Texas political scene and help define the state's political future.

The Benefits of Using MindTap as a Student

For the student, the benefits of using MindTap with this book are endless. With automatically graded practice quizzes and activities, an easily navigated learning path, and an interactive ebook, you will be able to test yourself inside and outside of the classroom with ease. The accessibility of current events coupled with interactive media makes the content fun and

engaging. On your computer, phone, or tablet, MindTap is there when you need it, giving you easy access to flashcards, quizzes, readings, and assignments.

You are a political animal—human beings are political by their very nature. You and other intelligent, well-meaning Texans may strongly disagree about public policies, and *Texas Politics Today* is your invitation to join the dynamic conversation about politics in the Lone Star State. We hope that this book's fact-based discussion of recent high-profile, and often controversial, issues will engage your interest and that its explanation of the ongoing principles of Texas politics will help you understand the role you can play in the Texas political system.

Sincerely,

Mark P. Jones: mpjones@rice.edu
Ernest Crain: ernestcrain@hotmail.com
Morhea Lynn Davis: lsalas15@epcc.edu
Christopher Wlezien: wlezien@austin.utexas.edu
Elizabeth N. Flores: eflores@delmar.edu

Resources

Cengage Unlimited

Now in bookstores and online, higher ed students can subscribe to Cengage Unlimited to access all Cengage learning materials—across courses and disciplines—for $119.99 per term.

Cengage Unlimited includes:

The first-of-its-kind digital subscription designed specially to lower costs. Students get total access to everything Cengage has to offer on demand—in one place. That's 20,000 eBooks, 2,300 digital learning products, and dozens of study tools across 70 disciplines and over 675 courses. Currently available in select markets. Details at www.cengage.com/unlimited

Students

Access your *Texas Politics Today* resources by visiting

https://www.cengage.com/shop/isbn/9781337799843

If you purchased MindTap access with your book, click on "Register a Product" and then enter your access code.

Instructors

Access your *Texas Politics Today* resources via
www.cengage.com/login.

Log in using your Cengage Learning single sign-on user name and password, or create a new instructor account by clicking on "New Faculty User" and following the instructions.

Texas Politics Today, Enhanced 18th Edition Text Only Edition

ISBN: 9781337799843
This copy of the book does not come bundled with MindTap.

MindTap®

MindTap for *Texas Politics Today*, Enhanced 18th Edition

ISBN for Instant Access Code: 9781305952225 | ISBN for Printed Access Card: 9780357028865
MindTap for ***Texas Politics Today*, Enhanced 18th Edition** is a highly personalized, fully online learning experience built upon Cengage Learning content and correlating to a core set of learning outcomes. MindTap guides students through the course curriculum via an innovative Learning Path Navigator where they will complete reading assignments, challenge themselves with focus activities, and engage with interactive quizzes. Through a variety of gradable activities, MindTap provides students with opportunities to check themselves for where they need extra help, as well as allowing faculty to measure and assess student progress. Integration with programs like YouTube and Google Drive allows instructors to add and remove content of their

choosing with ease, keeping their course current while tracking local and global events through RSS feeds. The product can be used fully online with its interactive ebook for ***Texas Politics Today*, Enhanced 18th Edition**, or in conjunction with the printed text.

Course Reader for MindTap is now available for every political science MindTap through the MindTap Instructor's Resource Center. This new feature provides access to Gale's authoritative library reference content to aid in the development of important supplemental readers for political science courses. Gale, a part of Cengage Learning, has been providing research and education resources for libraries for more than 60 years. This new feature capitalizes on Cengage Learning's unique ability to bring Gale's authoritative library content into the classroom. Instructors have the option to choose from thousands of primary and secondary sources, images, and videos to enhance their course. This capability can replace a separate reader and conveniently keeps all course materials in one place within a single MindTap. The selections within Course Reader are curated by experts and designed specifically for introductory courses.

Instructor Companion Website for *Texas Politics Today*

ISBN: 9780357028858

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one multimedia online resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through Cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations; a Test Bank compatible with multiple learning management systems; and an Instructor's Manual.

The Test Bank, offered in Blackboard, Moodle, Desire2Learn, Canvas, and Angel formats, contains learning objective–specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. Import the Test Bank into your LMS to edit and manage questions, and to create tests.

The Instructor's Manual contains chapter-specific learning objectives, an outline, key terms with definitions, and a chapter summary. Additionally, the Instructor's Manual features a critical thinking question, a lecture launching suggestion, and an in-class activity for each learning objective.

The Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. These presentations are easily customized for your lectures. Access the Instructor Companion Website at www.cengage.com/login.

Cognero for *Texas Politics Today*, Enhanced 18th Edition

ISBN: 9780357028896

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions, create multiple test versions in an instant, and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want. The Test Bank for *Texas Politics Today* contains learning objective–specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to our families for their patience and encouragement as we have developed the manuscript for this book, and we especially appreciate our students and colleagues who have given us helpful practical advice about how to make the book a more useful tool in teaching and learning Texas politics. We would like to give special thanks to Denese McArthur of Tarrant County Community College, who has contributed to the Instructor's Manual, and Hoyt DeVries of Lone Star College–Cy-Fair, who authored this edition's Test Bank.

In addition, we thank the Politics in Practice contributors for this edition.

Chapter 1	**The Face of Latino Immigration** *by Ana Hernandez* State Representative, Texas House District 143
Chapter 2	**Texas in the Federal System** *by Greg Abbott* Governor of Texas
Chapter 3	**The Constitutional Right to Education** *by Holly McIntush* Attorney & Member of the Fort Bend ISD Group Legal Team
Chapter 4	**Everything Is Bigger in Texas, with a Twist of Red** *by Luke Macias* Founder of Macias Strategies
Chapter 5	**One Face of the Texas Tea Party** *by Julie McCarty* President of the NE Tarrant Tea Party
Chapter 6	**The Practice of Environmental Lobbying** *by Luke Metzger* Executive Director of Environment Texas
Chapter 7	**On Being a Legislator: A View from the Inside** *by José Rodríguez* State Senator, Texas Senate District 29
Chapter 8	**The Texas Executive Branch: Does it run you, or do you run it?** *by Drew DeBerry* Former Director of Budget & Policy for Texas Governor Greg Abbott
Chapter 9	**Choosing Judges: My View from the Inside** *by Wallace B. Jefferson* Former Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court
Chapter 10	**Marijuana Policy Reform in Texas** *by Phillip Martin* Executive Director of the Texas House Democratic Caucus
Chapter 11	**A View from Inside County Government** *by Veronica Escobar* Former El Paso County Judge and current U.S. Representative, U.S. House District 16
Chapter 12	**The Practical Politics of Texas's Budget** *by Eva DeLuna Castro* State Budget Analyst & Program Director, Center for Public Policy Priorities

Reviewers

We would also like to thank the instructors who have contributed their valuable feedback through reviews of this text:

Patrizio Amezcua, *San Jacinto College-North*
Jeff Hubbard, *Victoria College*
Drew Landry, *South Plains College*
Jeremy Loy, *Weatherford College*
Dawna Montanelli, *Texarkana College*
John David Rausch, Jr., *West Texas A&M University*
Geoffrey Shine, *Wharton County Junior College*
Steven Tran, *Houston Community College*
M. Theron Waddell, Jr., *Galveston College*

Previous edition reviewers:
Mary Barnes-Tilley, *Blinn College–Brenham*
Sarah Binion, *Austin Community College*
Larry E. Carter, *The University of Texas at Tyler*
Neil Coates, *Abilene Christian College*
Malcolm L. Cross, *Tarleton State University*
Kevin T. Davis, *North Central Texas College*
Laura De La Cruz, *El Paso Community College*
Brian R. Farmer, *Amarillo College*
Frank J. Garrahan, *Austin Community College*
Glen David Garrison, *Collin County Community College–Spring Creek*
Diane Gibson, *Tarrant County College, Trinity River Campus*
Jack Goodyear, *Dallas Baptist University*
Alexander Hogan, *Lone Star College–CyFair*
Floyd Holder, *Texas A&M University–Kingsville*
Robert Paul Holder, *McLennan Community College*
Timothy Hoye, *Texas Woman's University*
Jeffrey Hubbard, *Victoria College*
Casey Hubble, *McLennan Community College*
Bryan Johnson, *Tarrant County College*
Woojin Kang, *Angelo State University*
Denese McArthur, *Tarrant County College*
Eric Miller, *Blinn College–Bryan*
Patrick Moore, *Richland College*
Dana A. Morales, *Lone Star College–Montgomery*
Lisa Perez-Nichols, *Austin Community College*
Paul Phillips, *Navarro College*
Herman Prager, Ph.D., *Austin Community College*
John David Rausch, Jr., *West Texas A&M University*
David Smith, *Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi*
Robert B. Tritico, *Sam Houston State University*
Jessika Stokley, *Austin Community College*

About the Authors

Mark P. Jones is the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy's Fellow in Political Science, the Joseph D. Jamail Chair in Latin American Studies, and a professor in the Department of Political Science at Rice University. His articles have appeared in publications such as the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Texas Monthly*, *The Hill*, and the *Texas Tribune*. Jones is among the most quoted commentators on Texas politics in the state and national media, and his research on the Texas Legislature and on public opinion and elections in Texas is widely cited by media outlets and political campaigns. Jones received his B.A. from Tulane University and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Ernest Crain did his graduate work at the University of Texas at Austin, spent 35 years teaching Texas government at San Antonio College, and now lives in Montgomery County, Texas. Crain has co-authored *Understanding Texas Politics*, *Politics in Texas: An Introduction to Texas Politics*, *The Challenge of Texas Politics: Text with Readings*, *American Government and Politics Today: Texas Edition*, and *Texas Politics Today*. His special areas of interest include party competition, comparative state politics, and Texas public policy.

Morhea Lynn Davis is professor of government at El Paso Community College, where she has served as blackboard trainer and mentor, faculty senator, government discipline coordinator, and a member of numerous faculty committees. Davis has a Master of Arts degree from the University of Texas at El Paso, with a major in both organizational behavior and political science. She is a very active community volunteer and grant writer, and has consulted for and participated in many political campaigns. Her published articles range in topics from the current political environment to the viability of primaries and caucuses in today's election processes.

Christopher Wlezien is Hogg Professor of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. He previously taught at Oxford University, the University of Houston, and Temple University, after receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Iowa in 1989. Over the years, Wlezien has published widely on elections, public opinion, and public policy; his books include *Degrees of Democracy*, *Who Gets Represented?*, and *The Timeline of Presidential Elections*. He has founded a journal, served on numerous editorial boards, established different institutes, advised governments and other organizations, held visiting positions at many universities around the world, received various research grants, and won a number of awards for his research and teaching.

Elizabeth N. Flores is professor of political science at Del Mar College. She teaches courses on national government, Texas government, and Mexican-American politics, and serves as program coordinator for the Mexican-American Studies Program. Flores earned a Master of Arts degree in political science at the University of Michigan and a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science (magna cum laude) at St. Mary's University. Her awards include the 2014 League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Council Educator of the Year Award, the 2013 Del Mar College Dr. Aileen Creighton Award for Teaching Excellence, and a 1998 Excellence Award from the National Institute for Staff and Organizational Development (NISOD).

Prologue: Texas's Political Roots

The English-Scots-Irish culture, as it evolved in its migration through the southern United States, played an essential part in the Texas Revolution. Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie, and others were of Scotch-Irish descent, and these immigrants led the Anglo-American movement west and had a major impact on the development of modern mid-American culture.

The successful end to the Texas Revolution in 1836 attracted more immigrants from the southern United States. Subsequently, the Anglo-Texan population grew dramatically and became the largest Texas ethnic group. As a result, Anglo Texans controlled the politics and economy and Protestantism became the dominant religion.

The Anglo concept of Manifest Destiny was not kind to Latinos and Native Americans. Native Americans were killed or driven into the Indian Territory (located in present-day Oklahoma), and many Latino families were forced from their property. Even Latino heroes of the Texas Revolution with names like De León, Navarro, Seguín, and Zavala were not spared in the onslaught.[1]

Politics and Government: The Early Years[2]

The Republic of Texas had no political parties. Political conflict revolved around pro-Houston and anti-Houston policies. Sam Houston, the hero of the battle of San Jacinto, advocated peaceful relations with the eastern Native Americans and U.S. statehood for Texas. The anti-Houston forces, led by Mirabeau B. Lamar, believed that Native American and Anglo-American cultures could not coexist. Lamar envisioned Texas as a nation extending from the Sabine River to the Pacific.

JOINING THE UNION

Texas voters approved annexation to the United States in 1836, almost immediately after Texas achieved independence from Mexico. However, because owning human property was legal in the republic and would continue to be legal once it became a state, the annexation of Texas would upset the tenuous balance in the U.S. Senate between proslavery and antislavery senators. This and other political issues, primarily relating to slavery, postponed Texas's annexation until December 29, 1845, when it officially became the 28th state.

Several Texas articles of annexation were unique. Texas retained ownership of its public lands because the U.S. Congress refused to accept their conveyance in exchange for payment of the republic's $10 million debt. Although millions of acres were ultimately given away or sold, those remaining continue to produce hundreds of millions of dollars in state revenue, largely in royalties from the production of oil and natural gas. These royalties and other public land revenue primarily benefit the Permanent University Fund and the Permanent School Fund. The annexation articles also granted Texas the privilege of "creating … new states, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas."[3]

EARLY STATEHOOD AND SECESSION: 1846–1864

The politics of early statehood soon replicated the conflict over slavery that dominated politics in the United States. Senator Sam Houston, a strong Unionist alarmed by the support for secession in Texas, resigned his seat in the U.S. Senate in 1857 to run for governor. He was defeated because secessionist forces controlled the dominant Democratic Party. He was, however, elected governor two years later.

The election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States in 1860 triggered a Texas backlash. A secessionist convention was called and it voted to secede from the Union. Governor

Houston used his considerable political skills in a vain attempt to keep Texas in the Union. At first, Houston declared the convention illegal, but the Texas Legislature later upheld it as legitimate. Although only about 5 percent of white Texans owned slaves, the electorate ratified the actions of the convention by an overwhelming 76 percent.[4]

Houston continued to fight what he considered Texans' determination to self-destruct. Although he reluctantly accepted the vote to secede, Houston tried to convince secessionist leaders to return to republic status rather than join the newly formed Confederate States of America—a plan that might have spared Texans the tragedy of the Civil War. Texas's secession convention rejected this political maneuver and petitioned for membership in the new Confederacy. Houston refused to accept the actions of the convention, which summarily declared the office of governor vacant and ordered the lieutenant governor to assume the position. Texas was then admitted to the Confederacy.

POST–CIVIL WAR TEXAS: 1865–1885

The defeat of the Confederacy resulted in relative anarchy in Texas until it was occupied by federal troops beginning on June 19, 1865, a date henceforth celebrated as Juneteenth.

Texas and other southern states resisted civil rights and equality for freed slaves, resulting in radical Republicans gaining control of the U.S. Congress. Congress enacted punitive legislation prohibiting former Confederate soldiers and officials from voting and holding public office.

Texas government was controlled by the U.S. Army from 1865 through 1869, but the army's rule ended after the new state constitution was adopted in 1869. African Americans were granted the right to vote, but it was denied to former Confederate officials and military. In the election to reestablish civilian government, Republican E. J. Davis was elected governor and Republicans dominated the new legislature. Texas was then readmitted to the United States, military occupation ended, and civilian authority assumed control of the state. Unlike either previous or subsequent constitutions, the 1869 Constitution centralized political power in the office of the governor. During the Davis administration, Texas began a statewide public school system and created a state police force.

Republican domination of Texas politics was a new and unwelcome world for most Anglo Texans, and trouble intensified when the legislature increased taxes to pay for Governor Davis's reforms. Because Texas's tax base was dependent on property taxes, eliminating human property from the tax rolls and the decline in value of real property placed severe stress on the public coffers. Consequently, state debt increased dramatically. Former Confederates were enfranchised in 1873, precipitating a strong anti-Republican reaction from the electorate, and Democrat Richard Coke was elected governor in 1875.

Texas officials immediately began to remove the vestiges of radical Republicanism. The legislature authorized a convention to write a new constitution. The convention delegates were mostly Democratic, Anglo, and representative of agrarian interests. The new constitution decentralized the state government, limited the flexibility of elected officials, and placed public education under local control. The constitution was ratified by voters in 1876 and an often-amended version is still in use today.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT: 1886–1945

Many reform measures were enacted and enforced in Texas in the 1880s, especially laws limiting corporate power. Attorney General James S. Hogg vigorously enforced new laws curtailing abuses by insurance companies, railroads, and other corporate interests.

GOVERNOR HOGG: 1891–1895

Attorney General James Hogg was an important reformer in Texas politics and developed a reputation as the champion of common people. Railroad interests dominated most western states' governments, prompting Hogg to run for governor with the objective of regulating

railroads. Although he faced strong opposition from powerful corporate interests that viewed him as a threat, Hogg won the nomination in the 1890 Democratic State Convention.

A commission to regulate railroads was authorized in the subsequent election. The Railroad Commission was eventually given the power to regulate trucks and other vehicles used in Texas commerce and the production and transportation of oil and natural gas.

Politics in the early 1900s distinguished Texas as one of the most progressive states in the nation. Texas pioneered the regulation of monopolies, railroads, insurance companies, and child labor. It reformed its prisons and tax system, and in 1905, replaced political party nominating conventions with direct party primaries.

FARMER JIM: 1914–1918

James E. Ferguson entered the Texas political scene in 1914 and was a controversial and powerful force in Texas politics for the next 20 years. Ferguson owned varied business interests and was the president of the Temple State Bank. Although sensitive to the interests of the business community, Ferguson called himself "Farmer Jim" to emphasize his rural background.

The legislature was unusually receptive to Ferguson's programs, which generally restricted the economic and political power of large corporations and tried to protect the common people. It also enacted legislation designed to assist tenant farmers, improve public education and colleges, and reform state courts.

The legislature also established a highway commission to manage state highway construction. Texas's county governments had been given the responsibility of constructing state roads within their jurisdictions. The result was that road quality and consistency varied widely between counties. The agency's authorization to construct and maintain Texas's intrastate roadways standardized the system and facilitated automobile travel.

Rumors of financial irregularities in Ferguson's administration gained credibility, but his declaring war on The University of Texas would prove fatal. Ferguson vetoed the entire appropriation for the university, apparently because the board of regents refused to remove certain faculty members whom the governor found objectionable. This step alienated politically powerful graduates who demanded that he be removed from office. Farmer Jim was impeached, convicted, removed, and barred from holding public office in Texas.

WORLD WAR I, THE TWENTIES, AND THE RETURN OF FARMER JIM: 1919–1928

Texas saw a boom during World War I. Its favorable climate and the Zimmerman Note, in which Germany allegedly urged Mexico to invade Texas, prompted the national government to station troops in the state. Texas became and continues to be an important training area for the military.

Crime control, education, and the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist organization, were the major issues of the period. Progressive measures enacted during this period included free textbooks for public schools and the beginning of the state park system. The 1920 legislature also ratified the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution establishing national Prohibition.

The strongest anti-Klan candidate in 1924 was Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson, wife of the impeached Farmer Jim. She ran successfully on a platform of "Two Governors for the Price of One," becoming the first female governor of Texas. Detractors alleged that she was only a figurehead and that Farmer Jim was the real governor. Nonetheless, Ma's election indicated that Texas voters had forgiven Farmer Jim for his misbehavior. She was successful in getting legislation passed that prohibited wearing a mask in public, which resulted in the end of the Klan as an effective political force.

National politics became an issue in Texas politics in 1928. Al Smith, the Democratic nominee for president, was a Roman Catholic, a "wet," and a big-city politician. Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee, was a Protestant, a "dry," and an international humanitarian. Hoover won the electoral votes from Texas—the first Republican ever to do so.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION: 1929–1939

The stock market crashed in 1929 and Texas, along with the entire nation, was economically crushed. Prices dropped, farm products could not be sold, mortgages and taxes went unpaid, jobs evaporated, and businesses and bank accounts were wiped out.

Promising to cut government spending, Ma Ferguson was once again elected governor in 1932 becoming the first Texas governor to serve nonconsecutive terms. The 1933 ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution brought an end to nationwide Prohibition. Prohibition ended in Texas two years later with the adoption of local-option elections, although selling liquor by the drink was still forbidden statewide.

Politics and Government after World War II: 1948–Today

The 1948 senatorial campaign attracted several qualified candidates. The runoff in the Democratic primary pitted former governor Coke Stevenson against U.S. Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson.

The election was the closest statewide race in Texas history. At first, the election bureau gave the unofficial nomination to Stevenson, but the revised returns favored Johnson. The final official election results gave Johnson the nomination by a plurality of 87 votes. Both candidates charged election fraud.

Box 13 in Jim Wells County, one of several machine-controlled counties dominated by political boss George Parr (the Duke of Duval), was particularly important in the new figures. This box revised Johnson's vote upward by 202 votes and Stevenson's upward by only one. Box 13 was also late in reporting, thereby tainting Johnson's victory. About the election, historian T. R. Fehrenbach wrote, "There was probably no injustice involved. Johnson men had not *defrauded* Stevenson, but successfully *outfrauded* him."[5]

THE 1950s AND 1960s: LBJ, THE SHIVERCRATS, AND THE SEEDS OF A REPUBLICAN TEXAS

Allan Shivers became governor in 1949, and in 1952 the national election captured the interests of Texans. Harry Truman had succeeded to the presidency in 1945 and was reelected in 1948. Conservative Texas Democrats became disillusioned with the New Deal and Fair Deal policies of the Roosevelt–Truman era and wanted change.

Another major concern for Texans was the tidelands issue. With the discovery of oil in the Gulf of Mexico, a jurisdictional conflict arose between the government of the United States and the governments of the coastal states. Texas claimed three leagues (using Spanish units of measure, equal to about 10 miles) as its jurisdictional boundary; the U.S. government claimed Texas had rights to only three miles. At stake were hundreds of millions of dollars in royalty revenue.

Both Governor Shivers and Attorney General Price Daniel, who was campaigning for the U.S. Senate, attacked the Truman administration as being corrupt, soft on communism, eroding the rights of states, and being outright thieves in attempting to steal the tidelands oil from the schoolchildren of Texas. State control of the revenue would direct much of the oil income to the Permanent School Fund and result in a lower tax burden for Texans. The Democratic nominee for president, Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, disagreed with the Texas position.

The Republicans nominated Dwight Eisenhower, a World War II hero who was sympathetic to the Texas position on the tidelands. Eisenhower was born in Texas (but reared in Kansas), and his supporters used the campaign slogan "Texans for a Texan." The presidential campaign solidified a split in the Texas Democratic Party that lasted for 40 years. The conservative faction, led by Shivers and Daniel, advocated splitting the ticket, or voting for Eisenhower for president and Texas Democrats for state offices. Adherents to this maneuver were called Shivercrats. The liberal faction, or Loyalist Democrats of Texas, led by Judge Ralph "Raff" Yarborough, campaigned for a straight Democratic ticket.

Texas voted for Eisenhower, and the tidelands dispute was eventually settled in its favor. Shivers was reelected governor and Daniel won the Senate seat. Shivers, Daniel, and other Democratic candidates for statewide offices had also been nominated by the Texas Republican Party. Running as Democrats, these candidates defeated themselves in the general election.

Lyndon B. Johnson, majority leader of the U.S. Senate and one of the most powerful men in Washington, lost his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination to John F. Kennedy in 1960. He then accepted the nomination for vice president. By the grace of the Texas Legislature, Johnson was on the general election ballot as both the vice-presidential and senatorial nominee. When the Democratic presidential ticket was successful, he was elected to both positions, and a special election was held to fill the vacated Senate seat. In the special election, Republican John Tower was elected and became the first Republican since Reconstruction to serve as a U.S. senator from Texas.

THE 1970s AND 1980s: REPUBLICAN GAINS AND EDUCATION REFORMS

In 1979, William P. Clements became the first Republican governor of Texas since E. J. Davis was defeated in 1874. The election of a Republican governor did not affect legislative-executive relations and had limited impact on public policy because Clements received strong political support from conservative Democrats.

Democratic Attorney General Mark White defeated incumbent governor Bill Clements in 1982. Teachers overwhelmingly supported White, who promised salary increases and expressed support for education. The first comprehensive educational reform since 1949 became law in 1984. House Bill 72 increased teacher salaries, made school district revenue somewhat more equitable, and raised standards for both students and teachers.

In 1986, voter discontent with education reform, a sour economy, and decreased state revenue were enough to return Republican Bill Clements to the governor's office. In 1988, three Republicans were elected to the Texas Supreme Court and one to the Railroad Commission—the first Republicans elected to statewide office (other than governor or U.S. senator) since Reconstruction.

In 1989, the Texas Supreme Court unanimously upheld an Austin district court's ruling in *Edgewood* v. *Kirby*[6] that the state's educational funding system violated the Texas constitutional requirement of "an efficient system" for the "general diffusion of knowledge." After several reform laws were also declared unconstitutional, the legislature enacted a complex law that kept the property tax as the basic source for school funding but required wealthier school districts to share their wealth with poorer districts. Critics called the school finance formula a "Robin Hood" plan.

THE 1990s: TEXAS ELECTS A WOMAN GOVERNOR AND BECOMES A TWO-PARTY STATE

In 1990, Texans elected Ann Richards as their first female governor since Miriam "Ma" Ferguson. Through her appointive powers, she opened the doors of state government to unprecedented numbers of women, Latinos, and African Americans. Dan Morales was the first Latino elected to statewide office in 1990, and Austin voters elected the first openly gay state legislator, Glen Maxey, in 1991. Texas elected Kay Bailey Hutchison as its first female U.S. senator in 1992. She joined fellow Republican Phil Gramm as they became the first two Republicans to hold U.S. Senate seats concurrently since 1874.

When the smoke, mud, and sound bites of the 1994 general election settled, Texas had truly become a two-party state. With the election of Governor George W. Bush, Republicans held the governor's office and both U.S. Senate seats for the first time since Reconstruction. Republicans won a majority in the Texas Senate in 1996, and voters ratified an amendment to the Texas Constitution that allowed them to use their *home equity* (the current market value of a home minus the outstanding mortgage debt) as collateral for a loan.

The 1998 general election bolstered Republican political dominance as the party won every statewide elective office, positioning Governor George W. Bush as the frontrunner for the 2000

Republican nomination for president. Legislators deregulated the electricity market and the state's city annexation law was made more restrictive. Public school teachers received a pay raise but were still paid below the national average. And Texas adopted a program to provide basic health insurance to some of the state's children who lacked health coverage, although more than 20 percent of Texas children remained uninsured.

THE 2000s: TEXAS BECOMES A REPUBLICAN STATE, CONTROVERSY AND CONFLICT

The 2001 legislature enacted a hate crimes law that strengthened penalties for crimes motivated by a victim's race, religion, color, gender, disability, sexual orientation, age, or national origin. The legislature also established partial funding for health insurance for public school employees and made it easier for poor children to apply for health-care coverage under Medicaid.

Republicans swept statewide offices and both chambers of the legislature in the 2002 elections, restoring one-party government in the state, now red instead of blue. A projected $10 billion budget deficit created an uncomfortable environment for Republicans. Politically and ideologically opposed to new taxes and state-provided social services, the legislature and the governor chose to reduce funding for most state programs; expenditures for education, health care, children's health insurance, and social services for the needy were sharply reduced.

Meanwhile, attempts to effectively close tax loopholes failed. For example, businesses and professions of all sizes continued to organize as partnerships to avoid the state corporate franchise tax. The legislature placed limits on pain-and-suffering jury awards for injuries caused by physician malpractice and hospital incompetence and made it more difficult to sue the makers of unsafe, defective products.

The legislature's social agenda was ambitious. It outlawed civil unions for same-sex couples and barred recognition of such unions from other states. It imposed a 24-hour waiting period before a woman could have an abortion.

Although the districts for electing U.S. representatives in Texas had been redrawn by a panel of one Democratic and two Republican federal judges following the 2000 Census, Texas Congressman and U.S. House Majority Leader Tom DeLay was unhappy that more Republicans were not elected to Congress. Governor Rick Perry agreed and called a special session in the summer of 2003 to redraw districts once again to increase Republican representation. Democrats argued that the districts had already been established by the courts and that Perry and DeLay only wanted to increase the number of Republican officeholders. The legislature adopted the Republican proposal and the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that states could redistrict more than once each decade and rejected the argument that the redistricting was either illegal or partisan.

The Texas government in 2007 waged almost continuous battle with itself. Conflict between the House and the speaker, the Senate and the lieutenant governor, the Senate and the House, and the legislature and the governor marked the session. Legislators did restore eligibility of some needy children for the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

The 2009 legislature seemed almost placid after the unprecedented House revolt against Speaker Tom Craddick and election of fellow Republican Joe Straus as the new speaker. However, consideration of a contentious voter identification bill caused conflict in the last days of the session and resulted in a parliamentary shutdown. The House adjourned without resolution of the voter identification bill and postponed other important matters to be resolved by a special session.

THE 2010s: CONSERVATIVE POLITICS, POLICIES, AND LITIGATION

In 2010, much of the state's political attention was focused on disputes about Texas's acceptance of federal funds. Texas accepted federal stimulus money to help balance the state's budget but turned down more than $500 million in federal stimulus money for unemployed Texans. The state declined to apply for up to $700 million in federal grant money linked to "Race to the

Top," a program to improve education quality and results. Governor Perry believed the money would result in a federal takeover of Texas schools. Texas also became one of seven states to reject the National Governors Association effort to establish national curriculum standards called the "Common Core."

Governor Perry failed to get the Republican nomination for president in 2012 but continued to make national news arguing for his agenda of low taxes, limited business regulation, and opposition to the Affordable Care Act. Using taxpayer money from the Texas Enterprise Fund, he was able to persuade several businesses to relocate to Texas. Among his most notable successes, the governor helped persuade Toyota to move its headquarters and high-paying jobs from California and Kentucky to the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex.

In recent years, the Republican political leadership adopted an ambitious conservative political and social agenda. Outnumbered in the legislative and executive branches, liberal and Democratic strategists turned to the courts to battle against these policies. For example, opponents challenged the state's legislative and congressional districts created in 2011 as being gerrymandered to dilute minority votes and to favor Republican candidates. The courts upheld the legislative districting map with only minor changes.

Meanwhile the state legislature adopted a strict voter photo ID law in 2011 requiring voters to present specific forms of identification as a condition for voting. Opponents charged that these laws were designed to discourage voting by young, minority, and elderly citizens who were less likely to have these forms of identification. Ultimately, federal courts ruled the Voter ID laws was discriminatory and allowed voters to cast their ballots in the 2016 election if they could not reasonably obtain the mandated types of ID and signed an affidavit of citizenship and presented proof of residency.

Although in 2013 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down provisions of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965 that required states, like Texas, that have a history of racial discrimination to get preclearance of new election laws from the U.S. Department of Justice, challengers can still show that particular elections laws are racially discriminatory and, therefore, a violation of the U.S. Constitution or federal law. Challenges to Texas election laws and redistricting are likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

In 2013 the Texas Legislature also passed regulations that required abortion clinics to meet the hospital-like standards of ambulatory surgical centers. Opponents argued that these regulations compromised a woman's constitutional right to obtain an abortion. Despite the well-publicized filibuster by former state senator Wendy Davis, the law was adopted. Court challenges to the law immediately followed, with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 2016 that these (and related) regulations were unconstitutional.

Despite the legal and political turmoil that permeated the political environment, Republicans continued to dominate state politics after the 2014 elections. Former attorney general Greg Abbott defeated Democrat Wendy Davis to become the first practicing Roman Catholic elected as governor, and Texas Republicans firmly embraced tea party politics as the most conservative GOP candidates rolled over "establishment" candidates like Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst (in his bid for reelection) and several other centrist Republican politicians.

The 2015 legislative session featured a House and Senate where almost two-thirds of the legislators were Republicans and a plural executive, from Governor Abbott to Land Commissioner George P. Bush, that remained 100 percent Republican. While the senate turned to the right with the election of Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick and the replacement of several veteran centrist conservative senators by freshman movement conservatives, the GOP's establishment wing remained firmly in control of the Texas House under the leadership of Speaker Joe Straus. The result was a legislative session that featured a series of inter-chamber and intra-GOP battles and negotiations, with the more conservative wing of the GOP getting its way on some legislation (such as blocking Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act and passing "Campus Carry" legislation) and the more centrist wing of the party getting its way on some legislation (such as blocking a repeal of the "Texas Dream Act" and passing legislation to increase funding for transportation infrastructure).

The 2016 election did not change the balance of power in Austin. Republicans continued to hold substantial majorities in both the House and Senate and Speaker Straus and Lt. Governor Patrick remain safely ensconced at the helm in their respective chambers.

The tenor and content of the 2017 legislation session laid bare for all to see the internal conflict, or "civil war," that has been taking place within the Texas Republican Party between its movement-conservative wing (represented by leaders such as Lieutenant Governor Patrick) and its more centrist establishment wing (represented by leaders such as Speaker Straus). As the regular and special sessions progressed, Governor Abbott increasingly got behind the movement wing's agenda, with the Straus-controlled House often blocking legislation supported by the governor and lieutenant governor.

An example of movement-conservative backed legislation which the House blocked is a bill that would have prevented cities, counties, and school districts from having ordinances or policies that allow transgender people to use the bathroom or locker room which matches their gender identity instead of that which matches their biological sex (i.e., the "bathroom bill"). At other times, however, the House passed movement conservative backed legislation, in spite of misgivings, due to a fear that blocking it could come back to haunt some centrist Republicans in the 2018 GOP Primary. A prime example of this phenomenon is legislation banning cities and counties from having formal or informal policies that prohibit police officers from inquiring about a person's citizenship status. While in prior sessions the House had successfully killed similar bans on "sanctuary cities," in 2017 the pressure from the movement conservative wing of the Republican Party was too great for the centrist conservatives to resist.

In 2018, Republicans continued their statewide winning streak dating back to 1996, with every statewide Republican candidate victorious, including all of the members of the state's plural executive who were re-elected to their second term in office. Republicans retained their majorities in the Texas Senate and House, but, with Straus's decision to not seek re-election in 2018, the House began the 2019 session with a new speaker, Republican Dennis Bonnen from Angleton (located 40 miles south of Houston), who has served in the House since 1997.

In 2018, Beto O'Rourke came closer to victory in a statewide race than any Texas Democrat in 20 years, but still found himself on the losing side of his epic US Senate battle with Ted Cruz. In spite of Beto's ability to energize young Texans to turn out in record numbers for a midterm, there were still enough older Anglos participating to put Cruz over the top, albeit by a much narrower margin (2.6 percent) than Cruz was hoping for. Cruz's ace in the hole were reliably Republican Anglos over 50 who live in medium-sized metro suburban counties such as Ellis County (south of Dallas) and Montgomery County (north of Houston), and in medium-sized population centers in less populated areas of the state like Lubbock County in West Texas and Smith County (Tyler) in East Texas.

Beto raised more money (in excess of $75 million dollars) than any Texas candidate in history and electrified crowds like no Texas Democrat (or Republican) in recent history. He also breathed new life into a moribund Texas Democratic Party that four years earlier saw Wendy Davis spend close to $50 million dollars only to lose to Republican Governor Greg Abbott by more than 20 percent.

While Beto lost, he had very long coattails and helped Democrats flip two Texas Senate seats and 12 Texas House seats, cutting the Republican majority in the Senate from 21–10 to 19–12 and in the House from 95–55 to 83–67. He also helped lift two Democratic congressional challengers to victory, Colin Allred in the 32nd Congressional District in Dallas and Lizzie Fletcher in the 7th Congressional District in Houston, and was integral to Democratic county-wide sweeps in Dallas and Harris Counties. In addition, two Democrats, Veronica Escobar from El Paso and Sylvia Garcia from Houston, broke through a barrier that had existed for 174 years and became the first Latinas to ever represent Texas in the U.S. Congress.

Texas Political Culture and Diversity

1

Texas is one of the most diverse states in the country and becomes more diverse with each passing year. In this chapter you will see who we are as Texans, how different groups have struggled to obtain equal rights, and how our culture and diversity affect our state's politics. [JSL]

Fossil Ridge High School

Learning Objectives

LO 1.1 **Analyze the relationships among Texas political culture, its politics, and its public policies.**

LO 1.2 **Differentiate the attributes that describe the major Texas regions.**

LO 1.3 **Analyze Texans' political struggles over equal rights and evaluate their success in Texas politics today and their impact on the state's political future.**

LO 1.4 **Apply what you have learned about Texas political culture and diversity.**

political culture
The dominant political values and beliefs of a people.

A **political culture** reflects the political values and beliefs of a people. It explains how people feel about their government—their expectations of what powers it should have over their lives, the services it should provide, and their ability to influence its actions. A political culture is developed by historical experience over generations through agents of socialization such as family, religion, peer group, and education. It is characterized by the level of ethnic, social, and religious diversity it tolerates; by the level of citizen participation it allows; by the societal role it assigns to the state; and by citizens' perception of their status within the political system.

A people's political behavior is shaped by the culture that nourished it. The Spanish conquest and settlement of Texas provided the first European influence on Texas culture. Some elements of the ranchero culture and the Catholic religion continue to this day and represent the enduring Spanish influence on our culture. The immigration of Anglo-Saxon southerners in the early 1800s brought Texas the plantation and slave-owning culture. This culture became dominant following the Texas Revolution. Although it was modified to an extent by the Civil War, it remained the dominant Texas culture.

However, ethnic/racial diversification and urbanization have gradually eroded the dominance of the traditional southern Anglo culture over time, with this erosion especially notable over the last 30 years. During the past three decades Texas has not only become one of the most diverse multicultural states in the country, but also it has become one of the most urbanized; two-thirds of the population now resides in one of four major metropolitan regions (Austin, Dallas–Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio), and Texans living in rural areas today account for only a tenth of the population.

We begin by exploring the state's dominant political culture and ideology, and how they influence partisanship and public policy. Then we look at other aspects of the state's political culture and examine the subtle variations in the state from one region to another. We then review the battles for gender, ethnic/racial, and sexual orientation equality and the impact of these civil rights struggles and their outcomes, along with the state's increasing diversity, on politics and policy.

Political Culture, Partisanship, and Public Policy

LO 1.1 Analyze the relationships among Texas political culture, its politics, and its public policies.

conservative
A political ideology marked by the belief in a limited role for government in taxation, economic regulation, and providing social services; conservatives support traditional values and lifestyles, and are cautious in response to social change.

Texas's political culture is **conservative**. Many Texans share a belief in a limited role for government in taxation, economic regulation, and providing social services; conservatives support traditional values and lifestyles, and are cautious in response to social change.

Ideology

The Texas brand of conservatism is skeptical of state government involvement in the economy. A majority of Texans favor low taxes, modest state services, and few business regulations. Because they support economic individualism and free-market capitalism, Texans generally value profit as a healthy incentive to promote economic investment and individual effort, while they see social class inequality as the inevitable result of free-market capitalism. For them, an individual's quality of life is largely a matter of personal responsibility rather than an issue of public policy.

Some conservatives accept an active role for the government in promoting business. They are willing to support direct government subsidies and special tax breaks for businesses to encourage economic growth. They may also support state spending for infrastructure, such as transportation and education, that sustains commercial and manufacturing activity.

Social conservatives support energetic government activity to enforce what they view as moral behavior and traditional cultural values. For example, social conservatives, who often

are evangelical Christians, usually advocate for the use of state power to limit abortion and narcotics or marijuana usage.

A distinct minority in Texas, **liberal** believe in using government to improve the welfare of individuals; they favor government regulation of the economy, actively support the expansion of civil rights, and tolerate social change. Liberals believe state government can be used as a positive tool to benefit the population as a whole. Most Texas liberals accept private enterprise as the state's basic economic system but believe excesses of unregulated capitalism compromise the common good. They endorse state policies to abate pollution, increase government investment in public education and health care, protect workers and consumers, and prevent discrimination against ethnic/racial minorities and members of the LGBT community, among others.

liberal
A political ideology marked by the advocacy of using government to improve the welfare of individuals, government regulation of the economy, support for civil rights, and tolerance for social change.

Liberals often believe that a great deal of social inequality results from institutional and economic forces that are often beyond a single individual's control. As a result, they support the use of government power to balance these forces and to promote a better quality of life for middle- and lower-income people. For example, liberals argue that it is fair to tax those with the greatest ability to pay and to provide social services for the community as a whole.

A significant number of Texans have mixed views. On some issues, they take a liberal position, but on others they have a conservative perspective or no opinion at all. Others have moderate views: Figure 1.1 shows that 31 percent of Texans say that they are "in the middle"; that is, their beliefs are between conservative and liberal viewpoints. The "Think Critically and Get Active!" features in this and later chapters will give you the tools to explore Texans' political differences in greater depth and to engage with various ideological groups in Texas.

Conservatives and Liberals in Texas Today

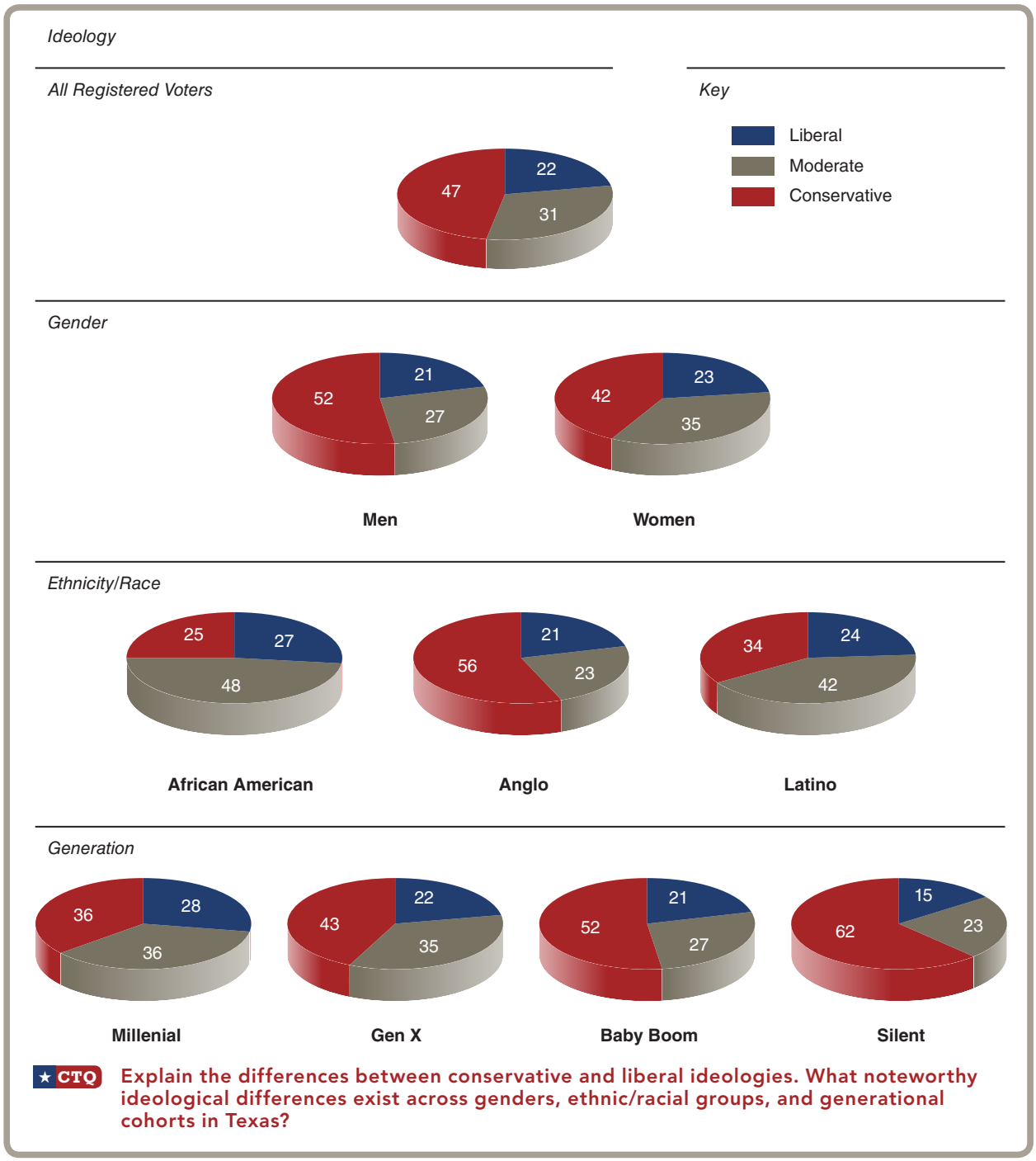
Figure 1.1 provides information on the ideological self-identification of Texans overall and among subgroups of Texans based on their gender, ethnic/racial identity, and generation. The data are drawn from a series of University of Texas/Texas Tribune statewide polls of Texas registered voters conducted between October 2011 and February 2018.[1] A survey question asked respondents to place themselves on a seven-point ideological scale where 1 was "extremely liberal," 4 "in the middle," and 7 "extremely conservative." Respondents who located themselves as a 5, 6, or 7 are considered to be conservative, as a 1, 2, or 3 to be liberal, and as a 4 to be moderate.

Close to half of Texans (47 percent) identify as conservative, more than double the percentage (22 percent) identifying as liberal. Figure 1.1 highlights, however, that these statewide percentages mask considerable ideological variance among men and women, members of different ethnic/racial groups, and generational cohorts. For example, men as a group are notably more conservative than women (52 percent vs. 42 percent), and Anglos (56 percent) notably more conservative than either Latinos (34 percent) or African Americans (25 percent). At the same time, however, no noteworthy gender or ethnic/racial differences exist in the proportion of liberals, which are fairly equal between men and women and among the three principal ethnic/racial groups in the state with the partial exception of a larger proportion of African Americans than Anglos being liberal. (we lack sufficient data to analyze Asian American ideological self-identification).

Data also are provided for Texans based on their political generation: the Millennial Generation (those born since 1981), Generation X (those born between 1965 and 1980), the Baby Boom Generation (those born between 1946 and 1964), and the Silent Generation (those born between 1928 and 1945).[2] As a group, members of the Millennial Generation tend to be significantly less conservative and more liberal than members of the other generations, with the ideological gulf separating Millennials from their Silent Generation grandparents and great-grandparents far and away the widest. It will remain to be seen if Millennials become more conservative (and less liberal) as they age, or if this more liberal ideological profile will remain a hallmark of the Millennial Generation for years to come.

FIGURE 1.1 Texans' Ideology

Public opinion polling indicates that twice as many Texans self-identify as conservative than as liberal.



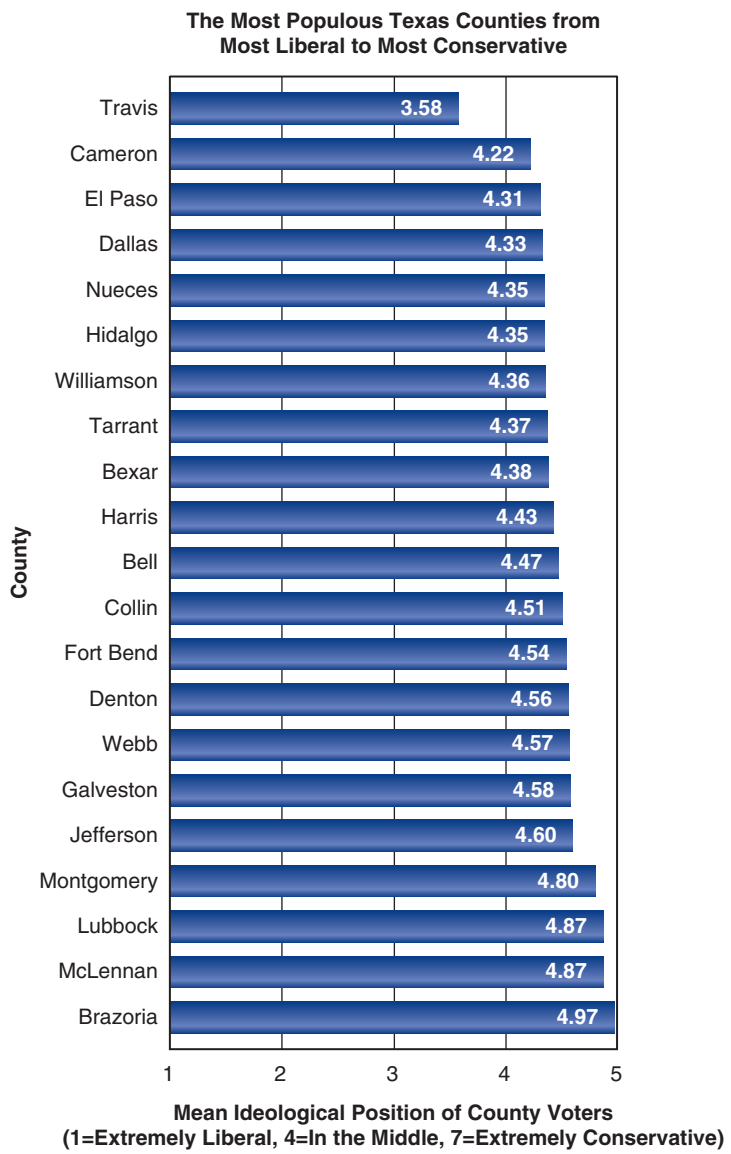
CTQ Explain the differences between conservative and liberal ideologies. What noteworthy ideological differences exist across genders, ethnic/racial groups, and generational cohorts in Texas?

Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2011–2018.

Figure 1.2 highlights the considerable amount of ideological variance across the state's 21 most populous counties, which combined contain almost three-fourths of the Texas population. At the liberal end of the ideological spectrum, by itself, is Travis County (Austin), with an average ideological score of 3.58. The next most liberal counties, Cameron, El Paso, Dallas, and

FIGURE 1.2 Texas Counties from Most Liberal to Most Conservative

The ideological profiles of the largest Texas counties (more than 250,000 residents) vary from liberal Travis County to conservative Brazoria County, with the state's four most populous counties (Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, and Bexar) having similar profiles.



CTQ **What factors help explain why Travis County residents are so much more liberal on average than residents of the state's other major counties?**

Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2011–2018.

Nueces (Corpus Christi), are noticeably more conservative than Travis County. The state's four most populous counties (Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, and Bexar) are grouped closely together, with similar average ideological scores ranging from 4.33 in Dallas County to 4.43 in Harris County.

Eight counties have an average ideological score above the state average of 4.53. These more conservative counties fall into two distinct categories. One group consists of suburban counties adjacent to the state's two dominant metropolises, with Brazoria, Fort Bend, Galveston, and Montgomery counties constituting the principal population centers of the Houston suburbs and Denton County, the second most populous Dallas–Fort Worth suburb. The remaining three conservative counties are the hubs of regional population centers in different regions of Texas: Jefferson County (Beaumont) in the southeast, McLennan County (Waco) in the center, and Lubbock County in the northwest.

Did You Know? More than four-fifths (81 percent) of Texans under 30 believes gays and lesbians should have the right to marry compared to less than half (48 percent) of those over 60.3

Partisanship

Texans' conservative political views are reflected in their partisan identification. Figure 1.3 shows that 47 percent of all Texans self-identify as Republicans and 42 percent as Democrats. A little more than one out of every ten Texans (11 percent) is a true independent, someone who does not identify in any way with either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

The figure also underscores the substantial gender, ethnic/racial, and generational differences in party identification in Texas. For example, women are significantly more likely to identify as Democrats than men, and men are significantly more likely to identify as Republicans than women. Profound ethnic/racial partisan identification gaps exist, with 83 percent of African Americans identifying as Democrats and a mere 7 percent as Republicans. In contrast 29 percent of Anglos identify as Democrats and 61 percent as Republicans. Among Latinos, 54 percent identify as Democrats and 34 percent as Republicans. One half of Millennials (50 percent) identify as Democrats and 37 percent as Republicans; the proportions are roughly reversed for their Silent Generation elders, who are much more likely to self-identify as Republicans (61 percent) than as Democrats (32 percent).

Public opinion data and actual election results underscore the dominance of the more conservative Republican Party in Texas during the past 20 years. We will examine the ideological and policy differences between the two political parties in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Public Policy

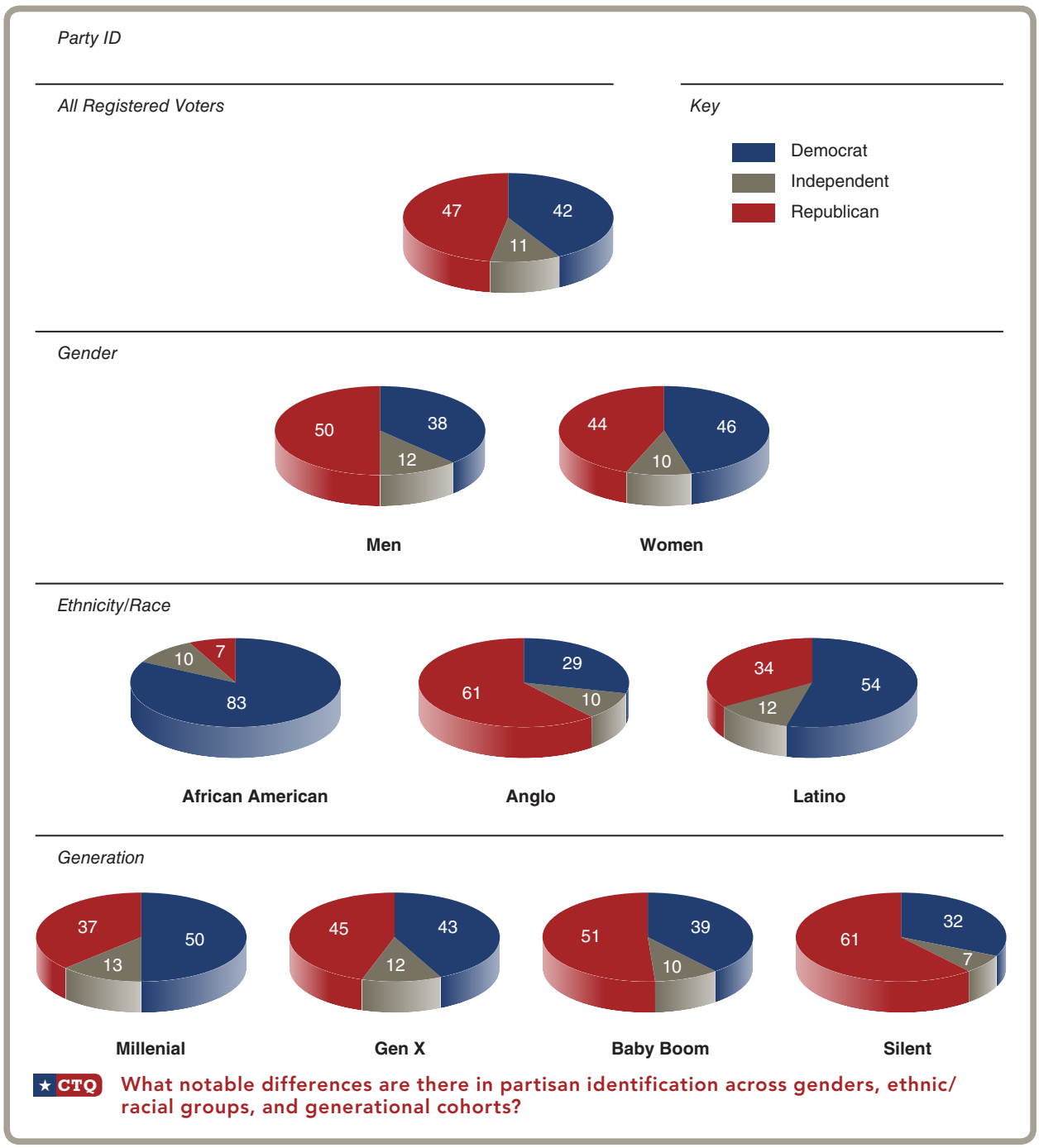
Conservative opinions have been translated into most of Texas's public policies. The state's tax burden is low compared to other states, and the state proportionally devotes fewer financial resources to public services than most other states. Texas is known nationally for its low tax and limited government model that contrasts with the higher tax and more active government model seen in states like California and New York.

Texas also has used the power of the state to enforce certain conservative social values. It has, for instance, passed legislation designed to reduce the number of abortions and to impose stiff penalties on lawbreakers. It also has maintained a ban on casino gambling (unlike its neighbors) and resisted efforts to allow the use of marijuana for medicinal purposes (unlike a majority of the U.S. states).

Subsequent chapters explore the myriad of ways through which the state's political culture has influenced and continues to influence the design and implementation of public policy in a wide range of areas.

FIGURE 1.3 Texans' Partisanship

More Texans self-identify as Republicans than as Democrats, although the Republican advantage is only 5 percent.



CTQ What notable differences are there in partisan identification across genders, ethnic/racial groups, and generational cohorts?

Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2011–2018.

Texas's Cultural Regions

LO 1.2 Differentiate the attributes that describe the major Texas regions.

Texas Cultural Regions

In his seminal study of Texas culture, D. W. Meinig found that the cultural diversity of Texas was more apparent than its homogeneity and that no unified culture had emerged from the various ethnic and cultural groups that settled Texas.[4] He believed that the "typical Texan," like the "average American," did not exist but rather was an oversimplification of the more distinctive social, economic, and political characteristics of the state's inhabitants.

Meinig viewed modern regional political culture as largely determined by migration patterns because people take their culture with them as they move geographically. Meinig believed that Texas (circa the 1960s) had evolved into nine fairly distinct cultural regions. However, whereas political boundaries are fixed, cultural divisions are often blurred and transitional. For example, the East Texas region shares a political culture with much of the Upper South, whereas West Texas shares a similar culture with eastern New Mexico. Figure 1.4 shows the nine most distinctive regions in Texas.

The effects of mass media, the mobility of modern Texans statewide and beyond, and immigration from abroad and from the other 49 states blur the cultural boundaries within Texas, with its bordering states, and with Mexico. Although limited because it does not take into account these modern-day realities, Meinig's approach still provides a useful guide to a general understanding of Texas political culture, attitudes, and beliefs based on geography and history.

East Texas

East Texas is a social and cultural extension of the Old South. It is primarily rural and biracial. Despite the changes brought about by civil rights legislation, African American "towns" still exist alongside Anglo "towns," as do many segregated social and economic institutions.

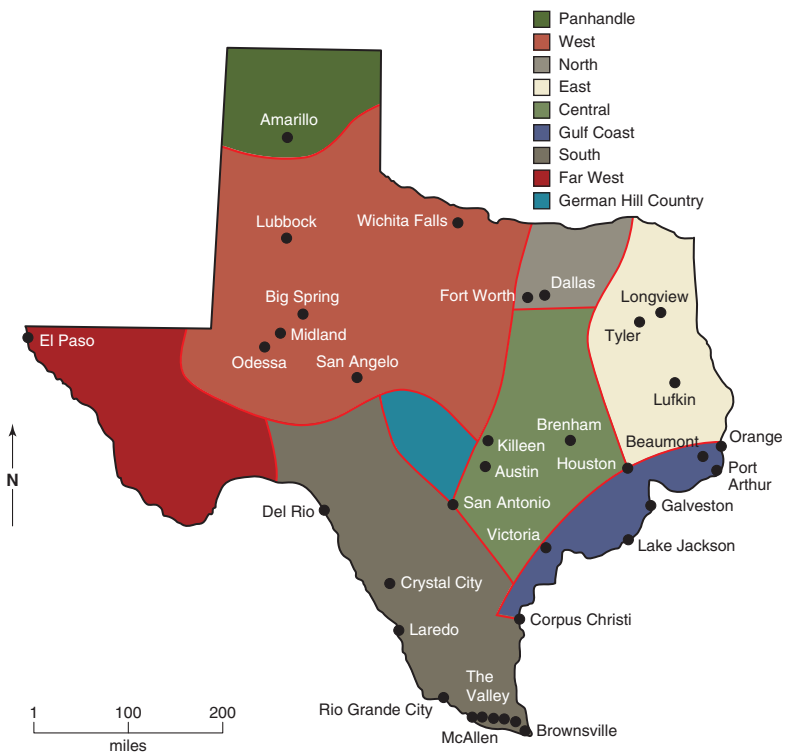
Politics and commerce in many East Texas counties and cities are frequently dominated by old families, whose wealth is usually based on real estate, banking, construction, and retail. Cotton—once "king" of agriculture in the region—has been replaced by cattle, poultry, and timber. As a result of the general lack of economic opportunity, young East Texans from cities like Longview and Palestine migrate to metropolitan areas, primarily Dallas–Fort Worth and Houston. Seeking tranquility and solitude, retiring urbanites have begun to revitalize some small towns and rural communities that lost population to the metropolitan areas. Fundamentalist Protestantism dominates the region spiritually and permeates its political, social, and cultural activities.

The Gulf Coast

Texas was effectively an economic colony before 1900—it sold raw materials to the industrialized North and bought northern manufactured products. However, in 1901 an oil well named Spindletop drilled near Beaumont, in an area that because of its oil wealth quickly became known as the "golden triangle," ushered in the age of Texas oil, and the state's economy began to change. Since the discovery of oil, the Gulf Coast has experienced almost continuous growth, especially during World War II, the Cold War defense buildup, and the various energy booms of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In addition to being an industrial and petrochemical center, the Gulf Coast is one of the most important shipping centers in the nation. Investors from the northeastern states backed Spindletop, and its success stimulated more and more out-of-state investment. Local wealth was also generated and largely reinvested in Texas to promote long-term development.

FIGURE 1.4 Cultural Regions of Texas



CSQ **In which cultural region do you reside? Construct your own cultural description of the region in which you live. To make your essay complete, present evidence as to whether the area is predominantly liberal or conservative; Democratic or Republican; urban, suburban, or rural. Present evidence of which industries and ethnic/racial groups predominate? Use census data and election returns from the Texas Secretary of State to support your conclusions.**

Source: Cengage Learning

A Boom Based in Houston Though volatile, the state's petrochemical industry, which is concentrated on the Gulf Coast, has experienced extraordinary growth, creating a boomtown psychology. Rapid growth fed real estate development and speculation throughout the region. The Houston area especially flourished, and Harris County (Houston) grew to become the third-most-populous county in the United States, behind Los Angeles County in California and Cook County (Chicago) in Illinois.

Houston's initial growth after World War II was fueled by a flood of job seekers from East Texas and other rural areas of the state. This influx gave the Gulf Coast the flavor of rural Texas in an urban setting. Houston's social and economic leadership was composed of second- and third-generation elites whose forebears' wealth came from oil, insurance, construction, land development, and/or banking.

Houston's rural flavor diminished over the years as the U.S. economy transformed from industrial to postindustrial. This transformation attracted migrants from the North.

IMAGE 1.1 To comply with federal law Harris County provides election-related information and ballots in English, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Chinese, with this screen-shot showing information provided in Vietnamese.

★ CTQ **What are some arguments in favor and against providing voters with information in languages other than English?**

This migration included both skilled and unskilled workers and brought large numbers of well-educated professionals to Houston from across the country and globe. Today, the Gulf Coast has become a remarkably vibrant and dynamic region, and Houston, the energy capital of the world, boasts many corporate headquarters along with the largest medical complex on earth (the Texas Medical Center).

The Gulf Coast economy also serves as a pole for immigration from the Americas, Asia, Europe, and Africa, which gives modern Houston an international culture comparable to that found in Los Angeles and New York. In fact, voters in Harris County are given the option of casting a ballot in Mandarin Chinese or Vietnamese, in addition to English and Spanish as is the case elsewhere in the state. See Image 1.1 from the Harris County Clerk's website for an example of information on early voting that is provided in Vietnamese.

ranchero culture
A quasi-feudal system whereby a property's owner, or patrón, gives workers protection and employment in return for their loyalty and service.

Creole
A descendant of European Spanish immigrants to the Americas.

Mestizo
A person of both Spanish and Native American lineage.

The Valley
An area along the Texas side of the Rio Grande known for its production of citrus fruits.

South Texas

The earliest area settled by Europeans, South Texas developed a ranchero culture on the basis of livestock production that was similar to the feudal institutions in distant Spain. The **ranchero culture** is a quasi-feudal system whereby a property's owner, or patrón, gives workers protection and employment in return for their loyalty and service. **Creoles**, who descended from Spanish immigrants, were the economic, social, and political elite, whereas the first Texas cowboys who did the ranch work were Native Americans or **Mestizos** of mixed Spanish and Native American heritage. Anglo Americans first became culturally important in South Texas when they gained title to a large share of the land in the region following the Texas Revolution of 1836. However, modern South Texas still retains elements of the ranchero culture, including some of its feudal aspects. Large ranches, often owned by one family for multiple generations, are prevalent; however, wealthy and corporate ranchers and farmers from outside the area are becoming common.

Because of the semitropical South Texas climate, **The Valley** (of the Rio Grande) and the Winter Garden around Crystal City were developed into (and continue to be) major citrus and vegetable producing regions by migrants from the northern United States in the 1920s. These enterprises required intensive manual labor, which brought about increased immigration from Mexico.

Far West Texas Far West Texas, also known as the "Trans-Pecos region," exhibits elements of two cultures, possessing many of the same **bicultural** characteristics as South Texas. As is the case in South Texas, its large Mexican American population often maintains strong ties with relatives and friends in Mexico. And the Roman Catholic Church strongly influences social and cultural attitudes on both sides of the border.

bicultural
Encompassing two cultures.

Far West Texas is a major commercial and social passageway between Mexico and the United States. El Paso, the "capital" of Far West Texas and the sixth-largest city in the state, is a military, manufacturing, and commercial center. El Paso's primary commercial partners are Mexico and New Mexico. While the rest of Texas is located in the Central Time Zone, El Paso County and adjacent Hudspeth County are in the Mountain Time Zone. The economy of the border cities of Far West Texas, like that of South Texas, is closely linked to Mexico and has benefited from the economic opportunities brought about by the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**, a treaty that has helped remove trade barriers among Canada, Mexico, and the United States. NAFTA has served as an economic stimulus for the Texas Border because it is a conduit for much of the commerce with Mexico. More than three-quarters of U.S.–Mexico land trade crosses the border in Texas. In 2018 NAFTA was modified due in large part to President Donald Trump's belief that the original agreement was a 'bad deal' for the United States, with the new agreement re-branded as the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA).

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
A treaty that has helped remove trade barriers among Canada, Mexico, and the United States and is an economic stimulus for the Texas Border because it is a conduit for much of the commerce with Mexico.

The Texas Border South and Far West Texas comprise the area known as the "Texas Border." A corresponding "Mexico Border" includes the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas. It can be argued that the Texas Border and the Mexico Border are two parts of an economic, social, and cultural region with a substantial degree of similarity that sets it apart from the rest of the United States and of Mexico. The Border region, which is expanding in size both to the north and to the south, has a binational, bicultural, and bilingual subculture in which internationality is commonplace and economies and societies on both sides constantly interact.[5]

South and Far West Texas are "mingling pots" for the Latino and Anglo American cultures. Catholic Latinos often retain strong links with Mexico through extended family and friends in Mexico and through Spanish-language media. Many Latinos continue to speak Spanish; in fact, Spanish is also the commercial and social language of choice for many of the region's Anglos. The Texas Border cities are closely tied to the Mexican economy on which their prosperity depends. Although improving economically, these regions remain among the poorest in the United States.

The economy of the Texas Border benefits economically from **maquiladoras**, which are Mexican factories where U.S. corporations employ lower-cost Mexican labor for assembly and piecework. Unfortunately, lax environmental and safety enforcement in Mexico result in high levels of air, ground, and water pollution in the border region. In fact, the Rio Grande is one of the U.S. most ecologically endangered rivers.

maquiladoras
Mexican factories where U.S. corporations employ inexpensive Mexican labor for assembly and piecework.

The Texas Border also serves as a major transshipment point for drug cartels as they bring illegal drugs such as marijuana and heroin from Mexico for sale in the thriving U.S. market for illicit narcotics. In addition, a significant share of undocumented immigration into the United States occurs in the Texas Border region.

In recent years the Texas Legislature has boosted funding for additional Department of Public Safety (DPS) officers to be stationed along the border to combat drug and human trafficking and indirectly assist the U.S. Border Patrol. The legislature also extended funding to maintain Texas National Guard troops in the border region temporarily and provided additional funds for local law enforcement in the border counties. A majority of border residents welcomed the

additional DPS officers and especially the enhanced funding for financially strapped local law enforcement agencies. However, a similarly large majority opposed the presence of the National Guard troops, which they believe unfairly stigmatizes the region, is ineffective because members of the Texas National Guard are not empowered to make arrests, and has more to do with electoral politics than good public policy.

German Hill Country The Hill Country north and west of San Antonio was settled primarily by immigrants from Germany but also by Czech, Polish, and Norwegian immigrants. Although the immigrants inter-married with Anglo Americans, Central European culture and architecture were dominant well into the twentieth century. Skilled artisans were common in the towns; farms were usually moderate in size, self-sufficient, and family owned and operated. Most settlers were Lutheran or Roman Catholic, and these remain the most common religious affiliations of present-day residents.

The German Hill Country is still a distinct cultural region. Although its inhabitants have become "Americanized," they still retain many of their Central European cultural traditions. Primarily a farming and ranching area, the Hill Country is socially and politically conservative.

Migration into the region is increasing. The most significant encroachment into the Hill Country is residential growth from rapidly expanding urban areas, especially San Antonio and Austin. Resorts and weekend country homes for well-to-do urbanites are beginning to transform the cultural distinctiveness of the German Hill Country.

West Texas The defeat of the Comanches in the 1870s opened West Texas to Anglo American settlement. Migrating primarily from the southern United States, these settlers passed their social and political attitudes and southern Protestant fundamentalism on to their descendants.

Relatively few African Americans live in modern West Texas, but Latinos have migrated into the region in significant numbers, primarily to the cities and the intensively farmed areas. West Texas is socially and politically conservative, and its religion is Bible Belt fundamentalism.

The southern portion of the area emphasizes sheep, goat, and cattle production. In fact, San Angelo advertises itself as the "Sheep and Wool Capital of the World." Nearby Abilene is home to three private Christian universities (Abilene Christian University, Hardin Simmons University, and McMurry University) and, like San Angelo (Goodfellow AFB), is the site of a United States Air Force Base (Dyess AFB). Southern West Texas, which is below the Cap Rock Escarpment, is the leading oil-producing area (the Permian Basin) of Texas. The cities of Midland and Odessa owe their existence almost entirely to oil and related industries.

Northern West Texas is part of the Great Plains and High Plains and is primarily agricultural, with cotton, grain, and feedlot cattle production predominating. In this part of semi-arid West Texas, outstanding agricultural production is made possible by extensive irrigation from the Ogallala Aquifer. The large amount of water used for irrigation is however gradually depleting the Ogallala. This not only affects the current economy of the region through higher costs to farmers but also serves as a warning signal for its economic future.

The Panhandle Railroads advancing from Kansas City through the Panhandle brought Midwestern farmers into this region, and wheat production was developed largely by migrants from Kansas. Because the commercial and cultural hub of the region was Kansas City, the early Panhandle was basically Midwestern in both character and institutions. The modern Texas Panhandle however shares few cultural attributes with the American Midwest.

Its religious, cultural, and social institutions function with little discernible difference from those of northern West Texas. The Panhandle economy is also supported by the production of cotton and grains, the cultivation of which depends on extensive irrigation from the Ogallala Aquifer. Feedlots for livestock and livestock production, established because of proximity to the region's grain production, are major economic enterprises in their own right. Effective conservation of the Ogallala Aquifer is critical to the economic future of both northern West Texas and the Panhandle.

North Texas North Texas is located between East and West Texas and exhibits many characteristics of both regions. Early North Texas benefited from the failed French socialist colony of La Réunion, which included many highly trained professionals in medicine, education, music, and science. (La Réunion was located on the south bank of the Trinity River, across from what is today downtown Dallas.) The colonists and their descendants helped give North Texas a cultural and commercial distinctiveness. North Texas today is dominated by the Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area, often referred to as the **Metroplex**. The Metroplex has become a banking and commercial center of national and international importance.

Metroplex
The greater Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area.

When railroads came into Texas from the North in the 1870s, Dallas became a rail hub, and people and capital from the North stimulated its growth. Fort Worth became a regional capital that looked primarily to West Texas. The Swift and Armour meatpacking companies, which moved plants to Fort Worth in 1901, were the first national firms to establish facilities close to Texas's natural resources. More businesses followed, and North Texas began its evolution from an economic colony to an industrially developed area.

North Texas experienced extraordinary population growth after World War II, with extensive migration from the rural areas of East, West, and Central Texas. The descendants of these migrants, after several generations, tend to have urban attitudes and behavior. Recent migration from other states, especially from the North, has been significant. Many international corporations have established headquarters in North Texas and their employees contribute to the region's diversity and cosmopolitan environment.

Although North Texas is more economically diverse than most other Texas regions, it does rely heavily on banking, insurance, and the defense and aerospace industries. Electronic equipment, computer products, plastics, and food products are also produced in the region. North Texas's economic diversity has allowed it to avoid or at least attenuate some of the boom–bust cycles experienced by other regions in the state where the economy is more dependent on a single industry or a smaller number of industries.

Central Texas Central Texas is often called the "core area" of Texas. It is roughly triangular in shape, with its three corners being Houston, Dallas–Fort Worth, and San Antonio. The centerpiece of the region is Austin (Travis County), one of the fastest-growing metropolitan areas in the nation. Already a center of government and higher education, Austin has become the "Silicon Valley" of high-tech industries in Texas as well as an internationally recognized cultural center, whose annual South by Southwest Music, Film and Interactive Festival (SXSW) is now a global event.

Austin's rapid growth is a result of significant migration from the northeastern United States and the West Coast, as well as from other regions in Texas. The influx of well-educated people from outside Texas has added to the already substantial pool of accomplished Austinites. The cultural and economic traits of all the other Texas regions mingle here, with no single trait being dominant. Although the Central Texas region is a microcosm of Texas culture, Austin itself stands out as an island of liberalism in a predominantly conservative state (see Figure 1.2).

Politics and Cultural Diversity

LO 1.3 **Analyze Texans' political struggles over equal rights and evaluate their success in Texas politics today and their impact on the state's political future.**

The politics of the state's cultural regions have begun to lose their distinctive identities as Texas became more metropolitan and economically and ethnically diverse. With this changing environment, a number of groups and individuals have endeavored to achieve greater cultural, political, social, and economic equality in the state.

Texans' Struggle for Equal Rights

Anglo male Texans initially resided atop the pyramid of status, wealth, and civil rights in organized Texas society. They wrote the rules of the game and used those rules to protect their position against attempts by females, African Americans, and Latinos to share in the fruits of full citizenship. Only after the disenfranchised groups organized and exerted political pressure against their governments did the doors of freedom and equality open enough for them to come inside.

Female Texans

Women in the Republic of Texas could neither serve on juries nor vote, but unmarried women retained many of the rights that they had enjoyed under Spanish law, which included control over their property. Married women retained some Spanish law benefits because, unlike under Anglo-Saxon law, Texas marriage law did not join the married couple into one legal person with the husband as the head. Texas married women could own inherited property, share ownership in community property, and make a legal will. However, the husband had control of all the property, both separate and community (including earned income), and an employer could not hire a married woman without her husband's consent.[6]

Divorce laws were restrictive on both parties, but a husband could win a divorce in the event of a wife's "amorous or lascivious conduct with other men, even short of adultery," or if she had committed adultery only once. He could not gain a divorce for concealed premarital fornication. On the other hand, a wife could gain a divorce only if "the husband had lived in adultery with another woman." Physical violence was not grounds for divorce unless the wife could prove a "serious danger" that might happen again. In practice, physical abuse was tolerated if the wife behaved "indiscreetly" or "provoked" her husband. Minority and poor Anglo wives had little legal protection from beatings because the woman's "station in life" and "standing in society" were also legal considerations.[7]

Governor James "Pa" Ferguson (1915–17) unwittingly aided the women's suffrage movement during the World War I period. Led by Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Texas suffragists organized, spoke out, marched, and lobbied for the right to vote during the Ferguson Administration but were initially unable to gain political traction because of Ferguson's opposition. When he became embroiled in political controversy over funding for the University of Texas, women joined in the groundswell of opposition. Suffragists effectively lobbied state legislators and organized rallies advocating Ferguson's impeachment.[8]

IMAGE 1.2 Texan Minnie Fisher Cunningham was a champion for women's suffrage in the state.

Bettmann/Getty Images

★ SRQ **Describe legal restrictions on women before the suffrage movement. What explained the opposition to women having the right to vote?**

Texas women continued to participate actively in the political arena although they lacked the right to vote. They supported William P. Hobby, who was considered receptive to women's suffrage, in his campaign for governor as "The Man Whom Good Women Want." The tactic was ultimately successful, and women won the legislative battle and gained the right to vote in the 1918 Texas primary.[9]

National suffrage momentum precipitated a proposed constitutional amendment establishing the right of women to vote throughout the United States. Having endured more than five years of "heavy artillery" from Cunningham and the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, legislative opposition crumbled, and in June of 1919 Texas became one of the first southern states to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. Texas women received full voting rights in 1920.[10]

Did You Know? In 1924 Miriam "Ma" Ferguson (spouse of James "Pa" Ferguson) became only the second woman in the United States to be elected governor. She remained the sole woman to be elected governor of Texas until Ann Richards in 1990.

Women were given the right to serve on juries in 1954. Texas's voter ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972 and the passage of a series of laws titled the Marital Property Act amounted to major steps toward women's equality and heralded the beginning of a more enlightened era in Texas. The Act granted married women equal rights in insurance, banking, real estate, contracts, divorce, child custody, and property rights. This was the first such comprehensive family law in the United States.[11]

Until 1973, as in most states, abortion was illegal in Texas. In that year, Texas attorney Sarah Weddington argued a case before the U.S. Supreme Court that still stands at the center of national abortion debate: *Roe* v. *Wade*. The *Roe* decision overturned Texas statutes that criminalized abortion and in doing so established a limited, national right of privacy for women to terminate a pregnancy. *Roe* followed *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, a 1965 privacy case that overturned a state law criminalizing the use of birth control.

Most recently, in its 2016 *Whole Woman's Health* v. *Hellerstedt* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down perhaps its most influential abortion-related decision since *Roe*. The Court held key portions of 2013 Texas abortion legislation unconstitutional, including the requirements that abortion clinics comply with the same standards as ambulatory surgical centers (ASCs) and that doctors performing abortions possess admitting privileges at nearby hospitals. Because an indirect effect of these requirements was the closure or pending closure of a large majority of the state's abortion clinics, including all those located outside the state's four largest metro areas, in the opinion of the Supreme Court the law placed an undue burden on women seeking an abortion in Texas, and therefore was unconstitutional.

African American Texans

African Americans from other areas of the United States were brought to Texas as slaves and served in that capacity until the end of the Civil War. They first learned of their freedom on June 19, 1865, a date commemorated annually at Juneteenth celebrations throughout the country, including Texas, where the day has been an official state holiday since 1980. During Reconstruction, African Americans both voted and held elective office, but the end of Reconstruction and Anglo opposition effectively ended African Americans' political participation in the state.

Civil rights were an increasingly elusive concept for ethnic and racial minorities following Reconstruction. African Americans were legally denied the right to vote in the Democratic **white primary**, the practice of excluding African Americans from primary elections in the Texas Democratic Party. Schools and public facilities such as theaters, restaurants, beaches, and hospitals were legally segregated by race. Segregation laws were enforced by official law enforcement agents as well as by Anglo cultural norms and unofficial organizations using terror tactics. Although segregation laws were not usually formally directed at Latinos, who were

white primary
The practice of excluding African Americans from primary elections in the Texas Democratic Party.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)
A white supremacist organization.

legally white, such laws were effectively enforced against them as well. The white supremacist organization known as the **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)**, members of local law enforcement, and the Texas Rangers actively participated in violence and intimidation of both Latinos and African Americans to keep them "in their segregated place." Lynching was also used against both groups, often after torture.[12]

The KKK was first organized in the late 1860s to intimidate freed African American slaves. A modified, enlarged version was reborn in the 1920s with a somewhat altered mission. The new Klan saw itself as a patriotic, Christian, fraternal organization for native-born white Protestants. Its members perceived a general moral decline in society, precipitated by "modern" young people, and a basic threat to the Protestant white Christian "race." Klansmen sensed a threat to their values from African Americans, Jews, Catholics, Latinos, German Americans, and other "foreigners." The Klan used intimidation, violence, and torture that included hanging, tarring and feathering, branding, beating, and castration as means of coercion. As many as 80,000 Texans (which amounted to almost 10 percent of the adult Anglo male population at the time) may have joined the "invisible empire" in an effort to make the world more to their liking. Many elected officials—federal and state legislators as well as county and city officials—were either avowed Klansmen or friendly neutrals. In fact, the Klan influenced Texas society to such an extent that its power was a major political issue from 1921 through 1925.[13]

In response to this racially charged atmosphere, a number of organizations committed to civil rights were founded or grew larger during the 1920s. These included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), established in 1909, and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which was formed in Corpus Christi in 1929.

When Dr. L. H. Nixon, an African American from El Paso, was denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary, the NAACP instituted legal action, and the U.S. Supreme Court found in *Nixon* v. *Herndon* (1927) that the Texas White Primary law was unconstitutional. However, the Texas Legislature transferred control of the primary from the state to the executive committee of the Texas Democratic Party, and the discrimination continued. Dr. Nixon again sought justice in the courts, and in 1931 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the new scheme was also unconstitutional. Texas Democrats then completely excluded African Americans from party membership. In *Grovey* v. *Townsend* (1935), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld this ploy, and the Texas Democratic primary remained an all-white organization. Although it had suffered a temporary setback in the episode, the NAACP had proven its potential as a viable instrument for African American Texans to achieve justice.[14]

The Texas branch of the NAACP remained active during the World War II period and served as a useful vehicle for numerous legal actions to protect African American civil rights. African Americans eventually won the right to participate in the Texas Democratic primary when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Smith* v. *Allwright* (1944) that primaries were a part of the election process and that racial discrimination in the election process is unconstitutional. Twenty years later, the first African Americans since Reconstruction were elected to the Texas Legislature.

In 1946, Heman Sweatt applied for admission to the University of Texas Law School, which by Texas law was segregated (see Chapter 2). State laws requiring segregation were constitutional as long as facilities serving African Americans and whites were equal. Because Texas had no law school for African Americans, the legislature hurriedly established a law school for Sweatt and, for his "convenience," located it in his hometown of Houston. Although officially established, the new law school lacked both faculty and a library and, as a result, the NAACP again sued the state. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that education at Sweatt's new law school, in fact, was not equal to that of the University of Texas Law School and ordered him admitted

to that institution. It is worth noting that "separate but equal" facilities remained legal after this case because the Court did not overturn *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, which granted the constitutional sanction for legal segregation. Instead, the Court simply ruled that the new law school was not equal to that at the University of Texas.[15] The U.S. Supreme Court did not finally outlaw segregation until the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision in 1954.

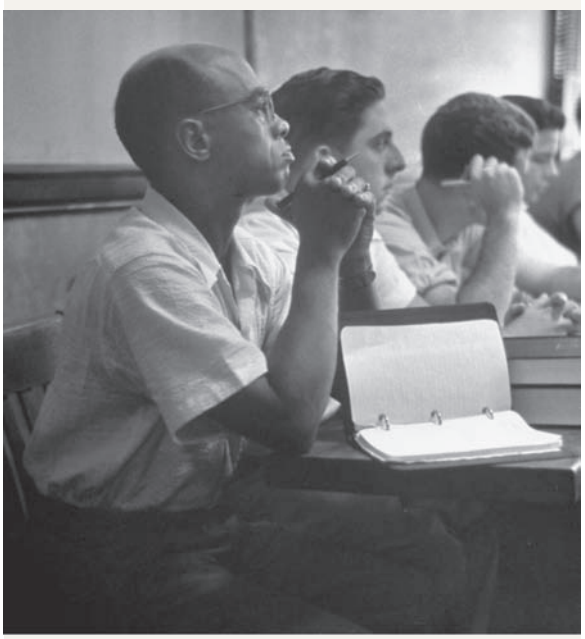
The political and social fallout from the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) public school desegregation decision did not bypass Texas. When the Mansfield Independent School District, just to the southeast of Fort Worth, was ordered to integrate in 1956, angry Anglos surrounded the school and prevented the enrollment of three African American children. Governor Allan Shivers declared the demonstration an "orderly protest" and sent the Texas Rangers to support the protestors. Because the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower took no action, the school remained segregated. The Mansfield school desegregation incident "was the first example of failure to enforce a federal court order for the desegregation of a public school."[16] Only in 1965, when facing a loss of federal funding, did the Mansfield ISD finally desegregate.

Did You Know? In 1966 Texas Western (now the University of Texas at El Paso) won the NCAA Division I men's basketball championship, the first championship won by a team where all five starters were African American. They defeated an all-white University of Kentucky team coached by Adolph Rupp.

Federal District Judge William Wayne Justice in *United States* v. *Texas* (1970) ordered the complete desegregation of all Texas public schools. The decision was one of the most extensive desegregation orders in history and included the process for executing the order in detail. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals largely affirmed Justice's decision but refused to extend its provisions to Latino children.[17]

The 1960s are known for the victories of the national civil rights movement. Texan James Farmer was cofounder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and, along with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins, was one of the "Big Four" African American leaders who shaped the civil rights struggle in the 1950s and 1960s. Farmer, who followed the nonviolent principles of Mahatma Gandhi, initiated sit-ins as a means of integrating public facilities and freedom rides as a means of registering African Americans to vote. The first sit-in to protest segregated facilities in Texas was organized with CORE support by students from Wiley and Bishop Colleges. The students occupied the rotunda of the Harrison County courthouse in the East Texas city of Marshall.

IMAGE 1.3 Heman Sweatt successfully integrated Texas public law schools after the U.S. Supreme Court began to chip away at the "separate but equal" doctrine in the landmark case of *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950).



Joseph Scherschel/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

SRQ **The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution says that no state shall deny any person the equal protection of the law. Why did the U.S. Supreme Court hold that state laws requiring racial segregation violated this provision?**

Latino Texans Like most African Americans, Latinos were relegated to the lowest-paid jobs as either service workers or farmworkers. The Raymondville Peonage cases in 1929 tested for the first time the legality of forcing vagrants or debtors to work off debts and fines as labor on private farms. The practice violated federal statutes but was commonplace in some Texas counties. The Willacy County sheriff stated in his defense that Latinos often sought arrest to gain shelter and that "peonage was not an unknown way of life for them." The

Did You Know? Lorenzo de Zavala served as the first vice president of the Republic of Texas in 1836.

trials resulted in the arrest and conviction of several public officials and private individuals. The outcome of the trials was unpopular in the agricultural areas and contrary to the generally accepted belief that farmers should have a means of collecting debts from individual laborers.[18]

World War II Latino veterans, newly returned to the state from fighting to make the world safe for democracy, found discrimination still existed in their homeland. A decorated veteran, Major Hector Garcia, settled in Corpus Christi and became convinced by conditions in South Texas that still another war was yet to be fought on behalf of the region's Latino community. Garcia, a medical doctor, found farm laborers enduring inhuman living conditions; disabled veterans starving, sick, and ignored by the Veterans Administration; and an entrenched, unapologetic Anglo culture that continued to impose public school segregation.

To begin his war, Dr. Garcia needed recruits for his "army." With other World War II veterans, Dr. Garcia organized the American G.I. Forum in a Corpus Christi elementary school classroom in March 1948. This organization spread throughout the United States and played a major role in providing Latinos with full citizenship and civil respect.

One of the incendiary sparks that ignited Latinos in Texas to fight for civil rights was Private Felix Longoria's funeral. Longoria was a decorated soldier who died in combat in the Philippines during World War II. His body was returned in 1949 to the South Texas town of Three Rivers (midway between San Antonio and Corpus Christi) for burial in the "Mexican section" of the cemetery, which was separated from the "white section" by barbed wire. But an obstacle developed: the funeral home's director refused the Longoria family's request to use its chapel because "the whites won't like it." Longoria's widow asked Dr. Garcia for support, but the funeral director also refused his request. Dr. Garcia then sent a flurry of telegrams and letters to Texas congressmen protesting the actions of the director. Then-Senator Lyndon B. Johnson immediately responded and arranged for Private Longoria to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.[19]

IMAGE 1.4 Texas Southern University students stage a sit-in at a Houston supermarket lunch counter, 1950.

AP Images/ASSOCIATED PRESS

PRQ **Why did students risk arrest in protests that focused national attention on segregation? Why have ethnic and racial minorities used tactics other than voting to achieve their strategic goals?**

The fight to organize labor unions was the primary focus for much of the Latino civil activism in the 1960s and 1970s. In rural areas, large landowners controlled the political and economic systems and were united in their opposition to labor unions. The United Farm Workers (UFW) led a strike against melon growers and packers in Starr County in the 1960s, demanding a minimum wage and the resolution of other grievances. Starr County police officers, the local judiciary, and the Texas Rangers were all accused of brutality as they arrested and prosecuted strikers for minor offenses.

On February 26, 1977, members of the Texas Farm Workers Union (TFWU), strikers, and other supporters began a march to Austin to demand a $1.25 minimum wage and other improvements in working conditions for farmworkers. Press coverage intensified as the marchers slowly made their way

north from the U.S.–Mexico border. Politicians, members of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO), and the Texas Council of Churches accompanied the protestors. Governor John Connally, who had refused to meet them in Austin, traveled to New Braunfels with then-House Speaker Ben Barnes and Attorney General Waggoner Carr to intercept the march and inform strikers that their efforts would have no effect. Ignoring the governor, the marchers continued to Austin and held a 6,500-person protest rally at the state capitol. The rally was broken up by the Texas Rangers and other law enforcement officers. The TFWU took legal action against the Rangers for their part in the repression of the rally. The eventual ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court held that the laws the Rangers had been enforcing were in violation of the U.S. Constitution. The Texas Rangers were subsequently reorganized and became a part of the Texas Department of Public Safety.[20]

One of the first successful legal challenges to segregated schools in Texas was *Delgado* v. *Bastrop ISD* (1948). The suit by Gustavo C. (Gus) Garcia charged that Minerva Delgado and other Latino children were denied the same school facilities and educational instruction available to Anglos. The battle continued until segregated facilities were eventually prohibited in 1957 by the decision in *Hernandez* v. *Driscoll Consolidated ISD*.[21]

Important to Latinos and, ultimately, all others facing discrimination was *Hernandez* v. *State of Texas* (1954). An all-Anglo jury in the small town of Edna had convicted Pete Hernandez of murder in 1950. Attorneys Gus Garcia, Carlos Cadena, John Herrera, and James DeAnda challenged the conviction, arguing that the systematic exclusion of Latinos from jury duty in Texas violated Hernandez's right to equal protection under the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Texas courts had historically ruled that Latinos were white, so excluding them from all-Anglo (white) juries could not be legal discrimination. To change the system, the Latino team of lawyers would have to change the interpretation of the U.S. Constitution. The stakes were high. If they failed, Latino discrimination throughout the southwestern United States might legally continue for years. Garcia argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that Latinos, although white, were "a class apart" and suffered discrimination on the basis of their "class." The U.S. Supreme Court agreed, overturned the Texas courts, and ruled that Latinos were protected by the Constitution from discrimination by other whites. The *Hernandez* decision established the precedent of constitutional protection by class throughout the United States and was a forerunner of future decisions prohibiting discrimination by gender, disability, and sexual orientation.[22]

IMAGE 1.5 Gus Garcia, legal advisor for the American G.I. Forum, is shown during a visit to the White House. Garcia was the lead attorney in the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Hernandez v. Texas*, 347 U.S. 475 (1954).

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (LC-USZ62-137627)

★ PRO **Why is it unconstitutional to deny a person the right to serve on a jury because of ethnicity?**

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Texans

Discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Texans has long been commonplace in Texas. Furthermore, state law has criminalized certain intimate sexual conduct by two persons of the same sex.

In 1998 a Harris County sheriff's deputy discovered two men having intimate sexual contact in a private residence, and the men were arrested and convicted for violating a Texas anti-sodomy statute. Their conviction was appealed and eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court in the case *Lawrence* v. *Texas*. In Justice Anthony Kennedy's majority opinion, he stated that the Texas law violated the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which does not protect sodomy but does protect personal relationships and the ability

to have those relationships without fear of punishment or criminal classification. The Texas statute intended to control the most intimate of all human activity, sexual behavior, in the most private of places, the home. The *Lawrence* decision simultaneously invalidated sodomy laws in thirteen other states, thereby protecting same-sex behavior in every state and territory in the United States.

The right to marry was until recently the frontline of the LGBT battle for equal rights, with this battle complicated by the 1996 federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). DOMA defined marriage as a legal union between a man and a woman and further stipulated that the federal government would not recognize same-sex marriages for purposes of benefits such as social security, veterans' benefits, and income tax filings.[23] In 2013 the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case *United States* v. *Windsor*, in which it held that federal discrimination against same-sex couples violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. And in 2015, in *Obergefell* v. *Hodges*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state bans on same-sex marriage, such as that in force in Texas as the result of a 2005 amendment to the Texas State Constitution, were unconstitutional because, as was the case in *Windsor*, they violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

IMAGE 1.6 Annise Parker became the first openly lesbian mayor of a major U.S. city when she assumed office as Houston's chief executive in 2010.

AP Images/David J. Phillip

CTQ **Why do younger and older Texans have notably different opinions about same-sex marriage?**

A current front in the struggle for LGBT equality in Texas is increasingly found at the local level throughout the state, where many cities have adopted nondiscrimination ordinances that among other things provide protections against discrimination for members of the LGBT community. Austin, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, and San Antonio are among the cities that have this type of nondiscrimination ordinance presently on the books. Houston passed a similar ordinance in 2014, but it was overturned by a popular vote (61 percent to 39 percent) in 2015. During the 2017 legislative sessions, a strong (but ultimately unsuccessful) effort was made to pass a law overriding these ordinances as they relate to transgender bathroom access. Table 1.1 summarizes Texas practices that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled violate the U.S. Constitution.

Cultural Diversity Today

Demographics
Population characteristics, such as age, gender, ethnicity, employment, and income, that social scientists use to describe groups in society.

Demographics are population characteristics, such as age, gender, ethnicity/race, employment, and income, that social scientists use to describe groups in society, and in Texas these characteristics are rapidly changing. Texas is one of the fastest-growing states in the nation and is becoming more culturally diverse as immigrants from other nations and migrants from other states continue to find it a desirable place to call home.

U.S. Census data and population estimates by the Texas State Demographer underscore how the state has become much more ethnically/racially diverse over the past 35 years (see Figure 1.5). In 1980, 66 percent of Texans were Anglo, 21 percent Latino, 12 percent African American, and less than 1 percent others (see Figure 1.5). During the course of the next 37 years, the share of the Texas population accounted for by Anglos progressively declined and the share accounted for by Latinos and Asian Americans progressively rose, with the

TABLE 1.1 Key U.S. Supreme Court Decisions Protecting Texans' Rights to Equality and Privacy

This table shows important U.S. constitutional decisions that have expanded minority rights in Texas and nationwide.

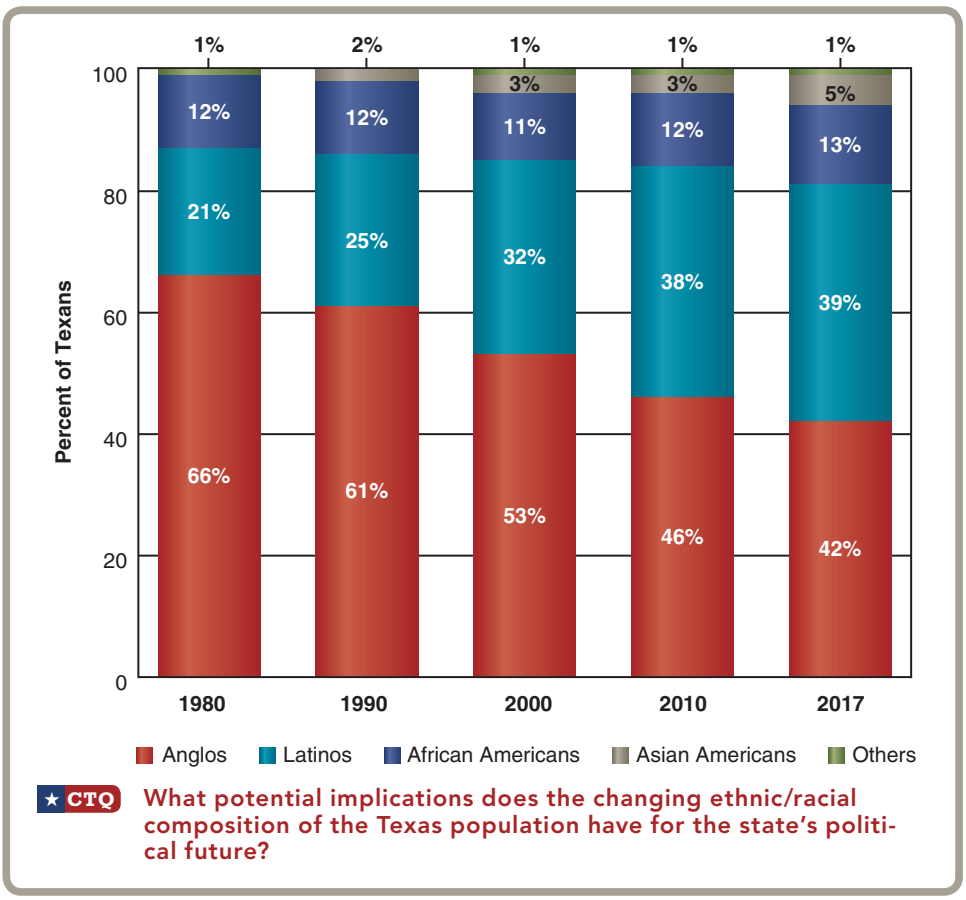
Unconstitutional Texas Practice	U.S. Constitutional Violation	Landmark Supreme Court Case
Texas laws permitting the Democratic Party to conduct whites-only primaries. Also used in other southern states.	No state shall deny any person the right to vote on account of race—Fifteenth Amendment.	*Smith* v. *Allwright* (1944)
Texas law requiring racially segregated law schools. Professional schools were segregated throughout the South.	No state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Sweatt* v. *Painter* (1950)
Texas practice of denying Latinos the right to serve on juries.	No state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Hernandez* v. *State of Texas* (1954)
State laws mandating statewide segregation of public schools and most facilities open to the public. Texas was among the 17 mostly southern states with statewide laws requiring segregation at the time of the decision.	No state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (1954)
Texas law making abortion illegal; 30 states outlawed abortions for any reason in 1973.	No state shall deny liberty without due process of law—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Roe* v. *Wade* (1973)
Texas law making homosexual conduct a crime; 14 mostly southern states made homosexual conduct a crime at the time of the decision.	No state shall deny liberty without due process of law—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Lawrence* v. *Texas* (2003)
State laws making same-sex marriage illegal; Texas was among 31 states with constitutional provisions that banned same-sex marriage. Most states had statutes defining marriage as between one man and one woman.	No state shall deny liberty without the due process of law; no state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws—Fourteenth Amendment.	*Obergefell* v. *Hodges* (2015)

▶ How has Texas's southern conservative political culture resisted social change? Why have groups suffering discrimination sought remedy for this discrimination in the U.S. Supreme Court, an institution outside the control of state politics?

proportion of African Americans remaining roughly the same. By 2017, Anglos represented 42 percent of Texans and Latinos 39 percent, with Latinos expected to be the largest single ethnic/racial group in the state when the next U.S. Census is conducted in 2020. Lastly, between 1990 and 2018 the Asian American share of the Texas population more than doubled from 2 to 5 percent.

Voter participation in Texas is comparatively quite low (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, Latino political participation is low even by Texas standards. Given the growing share of

FIGURE 1.5 Texas Ethnic/Racial Populations, Past and Present: 1980–2017
This figure shows the changing ethnic/racial demographics of Texas.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Office of the Texas State Demographer.

eligible voters represented by Latinos, if Latinos begin to participate at the same rates as African Americans and Anglos, it could have a dramatic impact on the tenor and substance of politics and public policy in the Lone Star State.

Equally important, changes in the ethnic/racial makeup of the state's population will present decision makers with enormous challenges. Figure 1.7 shows that income inequality parallels ethnic/racial divisions in Texas. Poverty rates are higher and overall incomes are lower among African Americans and Latinos compared to Anglos and Asian Americans. Lower incomes are associated with more limited educational opportunity, inadequate access to health care, and much less robust participation in the state's civic life. Poverty drives up the cost of state social services and is a factor that contributes to crime and familial dysfunction. How Texas adapts to the state's changing demographics is likely to be the focus of political controversy for years to come.

How Does Texas Compare?

Ethnic/Racial Diversity in the United States

Figure 1.6 shows how much diversity is found in each state based on the Herfindahl index, which tells us the probability that two individuals randomly selected in a state will be members of the same ethnic/racial group. The index ranges in potential value from 1.0 (everyone in a state is a member of the same ethnic/racial group) to 0.0 (everyone in a state is a member of a different ethnic racial group). Its actual values in the United States today range from 0.89 in Vermont (the country's least diverse state) to 0.32 in California (the country's most diverse state), with a national Herfindahl Index value of 0.43. Texas ranks fourth among the 50 states and District of Columbia in terms of its level of ethnic/racial diversity, with a value of 0.35.

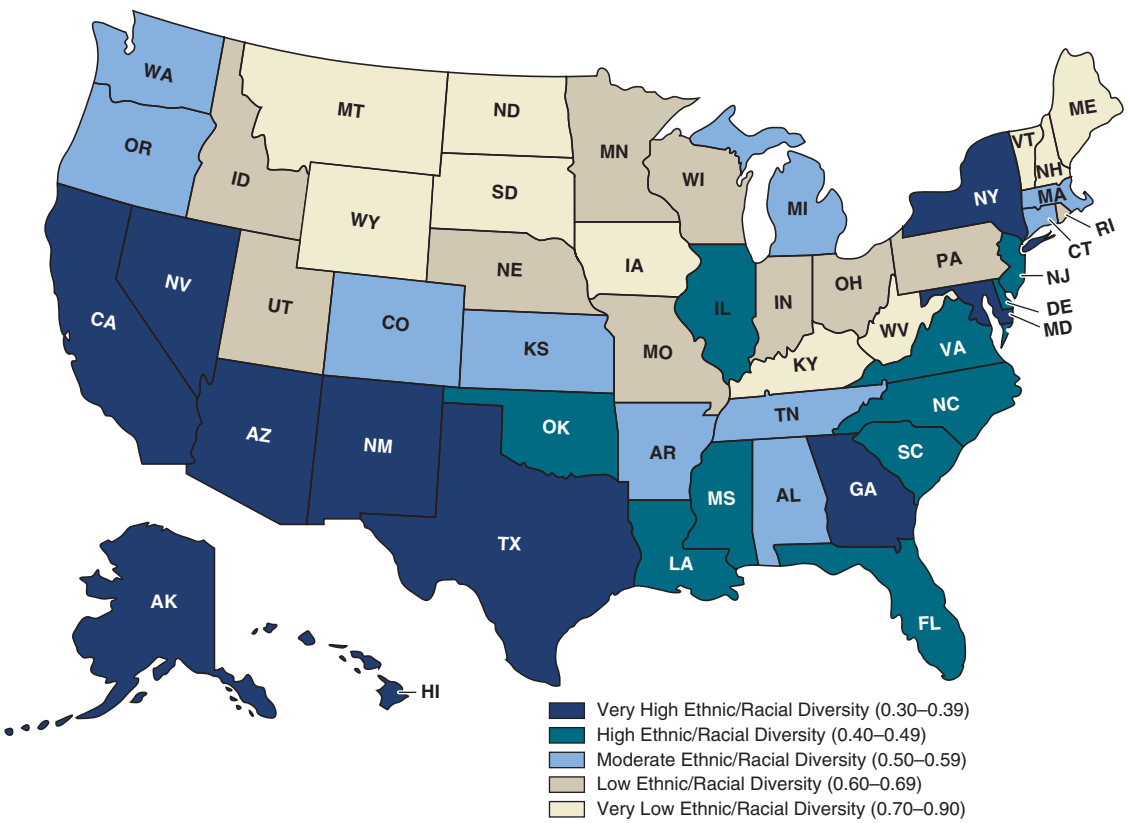


FIGURE 1.6 Ethnic/Racial Diversity in the 50 States

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

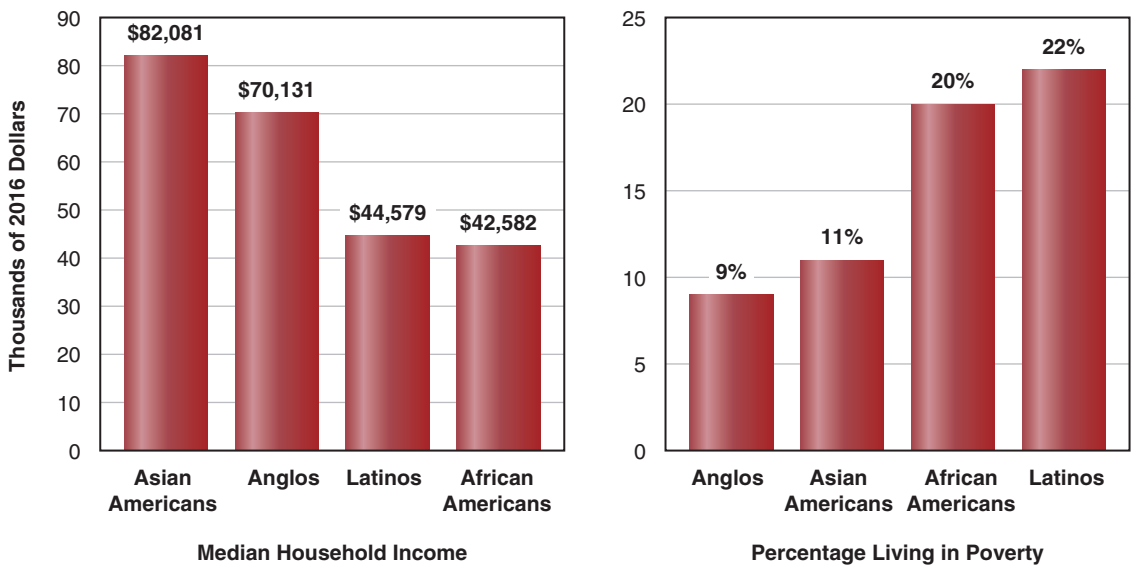
FOR DEBATE

CTQ **Just as the U.S. states vary in their level of ethnic/racial diversity, so too do Texas's 254 counties. How does your county compare with neighboring counties in regard to its level of ethnic/racial diversity?**

CTQ **How might the level of ethnic/racial diversity affect a state's politics and policies?**

FIGURE 1.7 Ethnicity/Race, Income, and Poverty in Texas

Today, inequality among ethnic/racial groups is no longer so much reflected by overt official legal discrimination as by unequal income and unequal access to education and health care.



CTQ Why do African Americans and Latinos earn less than Anglos and Asian Americans in Texas? How do income inequality and increasing ethnic/racial diversity challenge policy makers in Texas?]

Source: The Center for Public Policy Priorities and the Texas Demographic Center.

Applying What You Have Learned about Texas Political Culture

LO 1.4 Apply what you have learned about Texas political culture and diversity.

You have learned about the demographic and cultural changes that have swept through Texas in recent years. Because this chapter provides an overview of these changes by the numbers, we decided to ask Representative Ana Hernandez to put a face on one of these changes—Latino immigration.

Ana Hernandez was born in Reynosa, Mexico, and raised in the Houston suburb of Pasadena. Hernandez is a practicing attorney and, since first being elected in a 2005 special election at the age of 27, has continuously represented Texas House District 143 on Houston's east side, most recently winning reelection without opposition in November 2018. In 2012 the *Houston Chronicle* listed her as one of the country's "20 Latino Democrats to Watch Over the Next 20 Years."

After you have read Representative Hernandez's essay, we will ask you to reflect on the issue of undocumented immigration, keeping in mind that the estimated 40 percent of immigrants entering the United States legally and overstaying their visa is not committing a

crime, even though doing so can result in their deportation. On the other hand, it is a federal crime to cross the border while evading immigration authorities.

We will ask you to evaluate the impact of Latino immigration on the state's political culture. Consider immigrants' contributions to the society and the economy, and identify the economic and social costs of undocumented immigration you may perceive.

POLITICS IN PRACTICE
The Face of Latino Immigration

by Ana Hernandez

State Representative from Texas House District 143

Like the children of many hardworking families currently in the United States, my early American experience cannot be found in government documentation. I was brought to the United States from Mexico on a visitor's visa when I was an infant. We overstayed our visas and lived for eight years in the U.S. without documentation.

I still remember the constant state of dread in which our family lived. Trips to the store, drop-offs at school and church functions had to be painstakingly choreographed in order to guarantee that at least one of my parents would be able to care for my sister and me in the event that the other was detained and deported.

This remained our normal state of affairs until the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, a bipartisan measure to address our broken immigration system that was championed by Republican President Ronald Reagan and passed by a Democratic-controlled Congress.

While this attempt at reform was limited in scope and far from perfect, it did provide a means by which my family could obtain legal permanent residency. With the specter of deportation no longer hanging over our heads, my mother and father no longer had to partition their time from one another in order to ensure that I was looked after in the event authorities picked one of them up off the street. Suddenly, we weren't living day to day, moment to moment. We were home to stay.

At age 18, I became a naturalized U.S. citizen. Like so many before me and since, the final citizenship test was a surreal and nerve-racking experience. Though I had attended American public schools all my life, I couldn't help but feel a lead weight in my stomach as the presiding immigration officer administered my examination. One of my first questions was to state the nation's capital. In my nervousness, I answered "Austin, Texas." The officer looked at me for a moment that felt like an eternity … and repeated the question, allowing me to compose myself and state "Washington, DC."

In so many ways, the pathway to citizenship afforded me delivered on one of our nation's most fundamental promises—individual opportunity. Nothing was ever guaranteed in my life—neither success nor happiness. But, by God's grace, I now had the chance to make of my future what I could. I worked hard, earning a scholarship to attend the University of Houston and later graduating from the University of Texas School of Law. I threw myself into every opportunity that came my way, serving overseas in the Peace Corps helping to desegregate the post-Apartheid South African education system, competing for and earning a legislative

internship in the Texas Capitol, and finally returning to that same building years later as a State Representative.

My story, that of a young girl from Reynosa, should not be considered remarkable. Rather, it should be only one success spoken about among a chorus of millions. The stories of the countless young men and women whose families currently exist in a state of limbo should make mine appear mundane. Instead, due entirely to a lack of political will to deliver on America's promises, they remain stories unfinished, the authors unfairly denied pen and paper to have a chance to write them.

They are our nation's future and salvation, a generation of talented, educated, passionate Texans—doctors, technicians, engineers. Our next captains of industry, and the policy makers who will grow our economy and carry our country's torch through the next century. Their stories will be told. That is what motivates me. I fight for every dream deferred.

1. Evaluate the costs and benefits of immigration to Texas.
2. What are the costs of deporting undocumented immigrants? Should special consideration be given to individuals, sometimes called "Dreamers," whose parents brought them to the United States as children and whose lives are deeply rooted in the country?
3. What cultural and political changes can the state expect as a result of Latino immigration?

★ Chapter Summary

LO 1.1 Analyze the relationships among Texas political culture, its politics, and its public policies. A political culture reflects people's political values and beliefs. It explains how people feel about their government—their expectations of what powers it should have over their lives and what services it should provide.

The generally conservative ideological position of Texans masks some notable subgroup differences based on gender, ethnicity/race, generational cohort, and geography. For example, men are on average more conservative than women and Anglos more conservative than both Latinos and especially African Americans. At the same time, Millennials are notably more liberal than Texans in other generational cohorts, especially those belonging to the Silent Generation, and residents of Travis County are significantly more liberal than residents of the state's other populous counties.

Texans' predominantly conservative political culture is reflected in voters' greater tendency to identify as Republican than Democratic and in the state's conservative public policies. Republicans control state political institutions and have enacted low tax and spending policies and conservative policies on social issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage.

LO 1.2 Differentiate the attributes that describe the major Texas regions. Texas can be divided into a series of political cultural regions with differing characteristics and traditions: (1) East Texas, (2) the Gulf Coast, (3) South Texas, (4) Far West Texas, (5) the German Hill Country, (6) West Texas, (7) the Panhandle, (8) North Texas, and (9) Central Texas. Each region is characterized by distinctive historical, ethnic, and economic influences.

LO 1.3 Analyze Texans' political struggles over equal rights and evaluate their success in Texas politics today and their impact on the state's political future. Texas social conservatism inherited from the Old South traditionalistic culture has resulted in resistance to cultural minorities' demands for social and political equality. In several instances, minorities have succeeded in their struggles for equality by appealing to the federal courts outside of the political control of Texas political institutions.

Women were not legally equal to men in early Texas, and their path to equality has been a winding and occasionally hesitant one. Activists finally won the long battle for the right to vote in 1918. It was not until 1972, however, that women won equal rights in real estate, contracts, divorce, child custody, and property rights. The judicial decision in *Roe* v. *Wade* that further clarified the right of women to control their reproductive functions has remained at the center of national controversy with the Supreme Court refining the right to choose as recently as 2016.

African American Texans' struggle for legal equality reflected similar struggles being simultaneously waged in other southern states. The battle to vote in the Democratic primary and the right of admission to public accommodations and public