

Texas

Politics Today

19th Edition



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Texas Politics Today, 19th Edition

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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 Political 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, Due Process, and Criminal Justice Policy	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 in Texas	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, define social responsibility, and reflect on their own sense of personal responsibility. Each of these exercises is designated by icons throughout the text:

★ **CTQ** Critical Thinking Questions

★ **CSQ** Communications Skills Questions

★ **SRQ** Social Responsibility Questions

★ **PRO** Personal Responsibility Questions

New to This Edition

The 2021 Legislative Session

- The politics of legislative redistricting, the 2020 census, alternatives to gerrymandering (independent redistricting commissions among the 50 states), and changes to state election laws.
- Legislative responses to current crises including the budgetary impact of COVID-19, the winter storm of 2021, and rising demands for criminal justice reform.
- The election of the new speaker and the insiders funding his campaign.
- The new 5/9ths rule in the senate. How the leadership in the Legislature can and does change the rules to maintain its power.
- Polarization in the Texas Legislature.

Updated content Highlighting Diversity and Inclusion

- Criminal justice reforms including the response to BLM, Sandra Bland and George Floyd incidents; how Texas compares among 50 states on the death penalty and criminal punishment.
- Features discussing continued discrimination in Texas, the George Floyd Act, and the origin and removal of Confederate monuments in Texas.

Complete Coverage of the 2020 Election

- Revival of the Democrats and an updated discussion of the new Democratic Party coalition.
- Increased coverage of political polarization between the political parties.
- How Texas election laws compare among the 50 states, obstacles to voting including photo ID requirements and restrictions on voting by mail.

Broadened Coverage of Basic Topics

- Broadened perspective on Texas's historic constitutions.
- Inside the politics of gubernatorial appointment and the emergency powers of the governor as they relate to the twin crises of COVID-19 and the winter storm of 2021.
- Expanded coverage of special districts.
- Deeper discussion of the forms of municipal government.
- Public school curriculum politics especially the intense battle over new sex education curriculum standards.
- How Texas compares among the 50 states on lobby regulations and the revolving door.
- 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, the comptroller, legislators, lobbyists, campaign consultants, political activists, and local officials.
- New 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

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 links to articles from national or local news sources.

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We hope these compelling new 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,

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Letter to Our Students

Dear Student:

Many Texans, like many Americans, have divided into polarized political identity groups that have become largely irreconcilable and unwilling to compromise. Others have withdrawn from the passions of the day and have become either apathetic and unwilling to participate in daily political battle. Such conditions can endanger representative democracy and threaten to undermine the potential for responsible civic engagement. Now you have the opportunity to do something about this.

Texas Politics Today 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. This book 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, who benefits from it, and how you can become a part of the process.

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 a blend of engaging narrative and media, automatically graded practice quizzes and activities presented in a visually appealing side-by-side format, and an interactive ebook, you will be able to track your scores with ease and stay motivated toward your goals. 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,

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MindTap for *Texas Politics Today*, 19th Edition, is an immersive, outcomes-driven online learning experience built upon Cengage content and correlated to a core set of learning outcomes. MindTap is the platform that gives you complete control of your course—to craft unique learning experiences that challenge students, build confidence and elevate performance. The design

maximizes how the brain learns new information and minimizes distraction for students, guiding them through their course material. Each MindTap activity is anchored to a single concept, and pairs content and assessment in a visually captivating side-by-side presentation. These activities engage students with a variety of content types—including graphs, infographics, and explanation videos—that extend learning experience beyond the textbook, while also providing students with ample opportunities to check themselves for where they need extra help. The Cengage Mobile app enables greater flexibility for students to fit learning into their day, wherever they are, through bite-sized content and the ability to complete activities on a phone or tablet. In addition, the app allows instructors to create polls that foster engagement and activate learning in the classroom. The product can be used fully online with its interactive ebook for **Texas Politics Today, 19th Edition**, or in conjunction with the printed text.

Instructor Companion Website for *Texas Politics Today*

ISBN: 9780357506738

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through www.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 (LMSs), an Instructor Manual, and more.

The Test Bank, offered in Blackboard, Moodle, Desire2Learn, and Canvas 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 includes information about all of the activities and assessments available for each chapter and their correlation to specific learning objectives, an outline, key terms with definitions, a chapter summary, and several ideas for engaging with students with discussion questions, ice breakers, case studies, and social learning activities that may be conducted in an on-ground, hybrid, or online modality.

The Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations are closely tied to the Instructor Manual, providing ample opportunities for generating classroom discussion and interaction. They offer ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter, which may be easily customized for your lectures.

A guide to teaching online presents technological and pedagogical considerations and suggestions for teaching the Introduction to Texas Politics course. Access the Instructor Companion Website for these resources and more at www.cengage.com/login.

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

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by Eric Johnson
Mayor of Dallas |
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Governor of Texas |
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| Chapter 12 | Investing in Texas's Public Schools, Investing in Texas's Future
by Beverly Powell
Texas State Senator (District 10) |

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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

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 was elected in 1886 and 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 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: 1946–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 legislative chambers in the 2002 elections, restoring one-party government in Texas now red instead of blue. A projected \$10 billion budget deficit created an uncomfortable environment for Republicans. Politically and ideologically opposed to new taxes, the legislature and the governor chose to reduce funding for public education, health care, and social services.

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. The legislature also 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.

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 more Republicans were not elected to Congress in 2002. Governor Rick Perry agreed and called a special session in the summer of 2003 to redraw districts again in order 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 states could redistrict more than once each decade and rejected the argument that the redistricting was illegal.

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.

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.

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 law was discriminatory and allowed voters to cast their ballots if they signed an affidavit that they could not reasonably obtain the mandated types of ID and provided one of several alternative forms of identification.

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 new Texas election laws, such as voter ID 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 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").

The 2016 election did not change the balance of power in Austin. Republicans continue 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").

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 (by 2.6 percent) of his US Senate battle with Republican Ted Cruz. Republicans retained their majorities in the Texas Senate and House, albeit narrower than in 2017 by 1 in the Senate and 12 in the House, but with Straus's decision to not seek reelection in 2018, the House began the 2019 session with a new speaker, Republican Dennis Bonnen of Angleton (southwest of Houston). 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.

The 2020s: Republicans Retain Power in a More Competitive Texas

After receiving a wake-up call in 2018 when the combined pro-Beto and anti-Trump waves cost the Texas Republican Party two U.S. House seats, a dozen Texas House seats, and resulted in some of the narrowest statewide GOP victories in 20 years, Texas Republicans were better prepared for the Democratic challenge in 2020. In spite of having a comparatively unpopular Donald Trump at the top of the ticket (whose 5.6 percent margin of victory over Democrat Joe Biden was the narrowest GOP presidential margin in Texas since 1996), an economy in the doldrums, and the COVID-19 pandemic unabated, the Texas Republican Party's well-funded and executed campaign blocked any noteworthy Democratic gains in 2020. While Democrats and their allies spent over \$200 million in support of the party's candidates in Texas congressional and Texas House races, Democrats failed to flip any of the GOP-held U.S. House seats and only flipped one Texas House seat, but also lost one, for a net-gain of zero. Democratic hopes of taking control of the Texas House and having a seat at the 2021 redistricting table were dashed, and Republicans would again be able to utilize the redistricting process to draw tailor-made U.S. House and Texas Senate and House districts designed to maximize Republican legislative victories over the course of the decade.

Texas politicians were prominent in the events culminating in the January 6, 2021, storming of the U.S. Capitol and the disruption of the formal congressional ratification of the Electoral College vote. In the U.S. Senate, Senator Ted Cruz helped spearhead efforts (in the end unsuccessful) to block the certification of the Electoral College results from states such as Arizona, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton had filed a lawsuit (also unsuccessful) to overturn the results in four battleground states won by Biden. Paxton also spoke alongside President Trump at the fateful January 6 rally of Trump supporters that resulted in a group of those supporters tearing down barricades, overwhelming the U.S. Capitol Police and breaking into the U.S. Capitol, forcing the members of Congress to flee from their proceedings to ratify the Electoral College results, as well as causing significant damage and the deaths of five people.

A week later, the U.S. House voted by a 232 to 197 margin to impeach President Trump for his role in inciting the January 6 violence, the first time a U.S. president has been impeached twice. In the U.S. Senate trial to determine if the former president should be "removed from office" and then barred from seeking any future federal office, Trump was not found guilty, as only 7 Republicans voted with all 50 Democrats in favor of removal, 10 short of the required two-thirds majority.

When the Texas Legislature began its 87th regular session in January of 2021, the political balance of power and dynamics were similar to those in 2019, with two main exceptions. First, Bonnen, who did not seek re-election following a 2019 scandal, was no longer Speaker of the House. His successor was Republican Dade Phelan of Nederland (near Beaumont). Second, whereas in 2019 fellow Republican Trump was president and Republicans controlled the U.S. Senate, in 2021 Biden was president and Democrats controlled the U.S. Senate (in addition to continuing to control the U.S. House). As a result, partisan dynamics between Texas and the federal government quickly returned to the type of adversarial relationship that had largely existed during the eight years of Democrat President Barack Obama's tenure in office (2009–2017). For example, only a month and a half into the Biden Administration, Governor Abbott and President Biden had an acrimonious exchange via the media, where Abbott accused Biden of releasing undocumented immigrants infected with COVID-19 into the Texas population and Biden accused Abbott of "Neanderthal thinking" for his decision to end Texas's mask mandate.

The 87th regular session of the Texas Legislature ended in about as polarized a way as anyone could have imagined. With only an hour and a half left before midnight on May 30 (the second to last day of the session and the last day in which legislation can be passed), the Democratic representatives (67 all together) walked out of the Texas House chamber breaking quorum (100 of the 150 representatives are required to be on the floor for the quorum needed to vote on

legislation). In doing so, Democrats achieved their objective of killing Senate Bill 7 (SB 7), which would have enacted a series of modifications to Texas election law that would have made it more difficult to vote in a state that already ranks at the top of the list of states in terms of voting difficulty and at the bottom of the list of states in terms of voter turnout.

In the aftermath of the Democratic quorum break, Governor Abbott vowed to include similar election reform on the agenda of a future special session, either at some point in the summer or as part of an already planned special session for the fall of 2021. This planned fall special session was required by the COVID-19 related delay in the release of the 2020 U.S. Census data needed to draw the districts for the Texas House, Texas Senate, U.S. House and State Board of Education that will be used for elections starting in 2022.

As they looked back on the highly polarized 2021 regular session, Republican and Democratic legislators had reasons to be both pleased and displeased. Many Republicans were happy to see the passage of legislation which will allow owners of handguns to carry them in public without a permit, impose a ban on abortion if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned in the U.S. Supreme Court, and prevent the teaching of critical race theory in public schools. Many Democrats were happy to see the failure of Republican-backed legislation that would have increased voting restrictions (SB 7), revoked a physician's medical license for providing gender-affirming medical care, and prevented city and county governments from using taxpayer funds to hire lobbyists.

In contrast, many Republicans were disheartened by those legislative setbacks which Democrats found pleasing as well as were disappointed by the failure of legislation that would have restructured the rules governing bail bonds and that would have prohibited social media companies like Facebook and Twitter from banning users due to their political views. Meanwhile, many Democrats were frustrated by the above-mentioned Republican successes and by the failure of the comprehensive George Floyd Act to pass (as stand-alone legislation only a ban on the use of chokeholds by police officers and a requirement for police officers to intervene in the case of excessive force being used by another officer were passed into law), and by their continued inability to obtain the passage of legislation expanding Medicaid coverage in Texas under the Affordable Care Act.

One piece of legislation that did enjoy strong bipartisan support was the omnibus Senate Bill 3 (SB 3) designed to address the failure of the state's electrical grid during Winter Storm Uri in February of 2021. While SB 3 easily passed, many observers consider it to be relatively toothless, and unlikely to spur electric and natural gas utilities to invest in the type of weatherization and reserve capacity maintenance needed to prevent a future debacle of the type experienced during Uri, when amidst below freezing temperatures, two-thirds of Texans lost power for an average of two days.

Texas Political Culture and Diversity



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.

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 its political culture within which it is formed. 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, migration, and urbanization have gradually eroded the dominance of the traditional southern Anglo culture over time, with this erosion especially notable over the last 40 years. During the past four 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, and 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 what they view as 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 cannabis usage.

A distinct minority in Texas, **liberal** Texans 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 embrace 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 LGBTQ community, among others.

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 27 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 give you the tools to explore Texans' political differences in greater depth and to engage with various ideological groups in Texas.

liberal

A political ideology marked by the advocacy of using government to improve the welfare of individuals; liberals favor government regulation of the economy, support civil rights, advocate for social and racial justice, and tolerate social change.

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 registered voters conducted between 2016 and 2020.¹ 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 (46 percent) identify as conservative, while more than a quarter (27 percent) identify 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 (50 percent vs. 42 percent), and Anglos (55 percent) are notably more conservative than Latinos (39 percent), Asian Americans (39 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 four principal ethnic/racial groups in the state, with the exception of a notably larger proportion of Asian Americans than Anglos being liberal.

Data also are provided for Texans based on their political generation: Generation Z (those born since 1997), the Millennials (those born between 1981 and 1996), Generation X (those born between 1965 and 1980), the Baby Boomers (those born between 1946 and 1964), and the Silent Generation (those born between 1928 and 1945).² As a group, both Generation Z and Millennials tend to be significantly less conservative and, in the case of Generation Z, more liberal than members of the other generations, with the ideological gulf separating Generation Z from their Silent Generation grandparents and great-grandparents far and away the widest.

Figure 1.1 Texans' Ideology

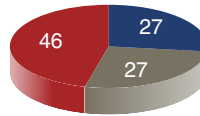
Public opinion polling indicates that substantially more Texans self-identify as conservative than as liberal.

Ideology

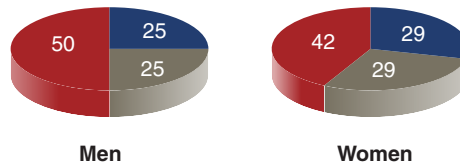
All Registered Voters

Key

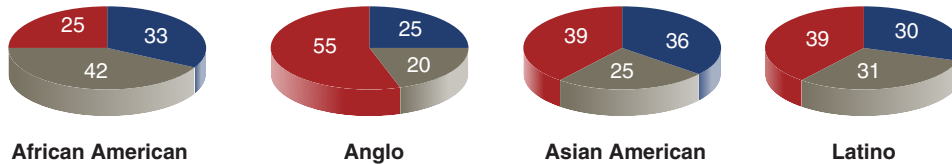
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative



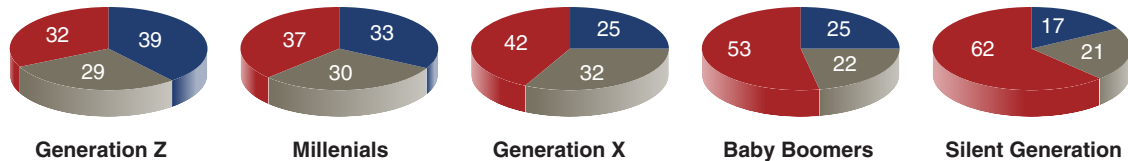
Gender



Ethnicity/Race



Generation



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

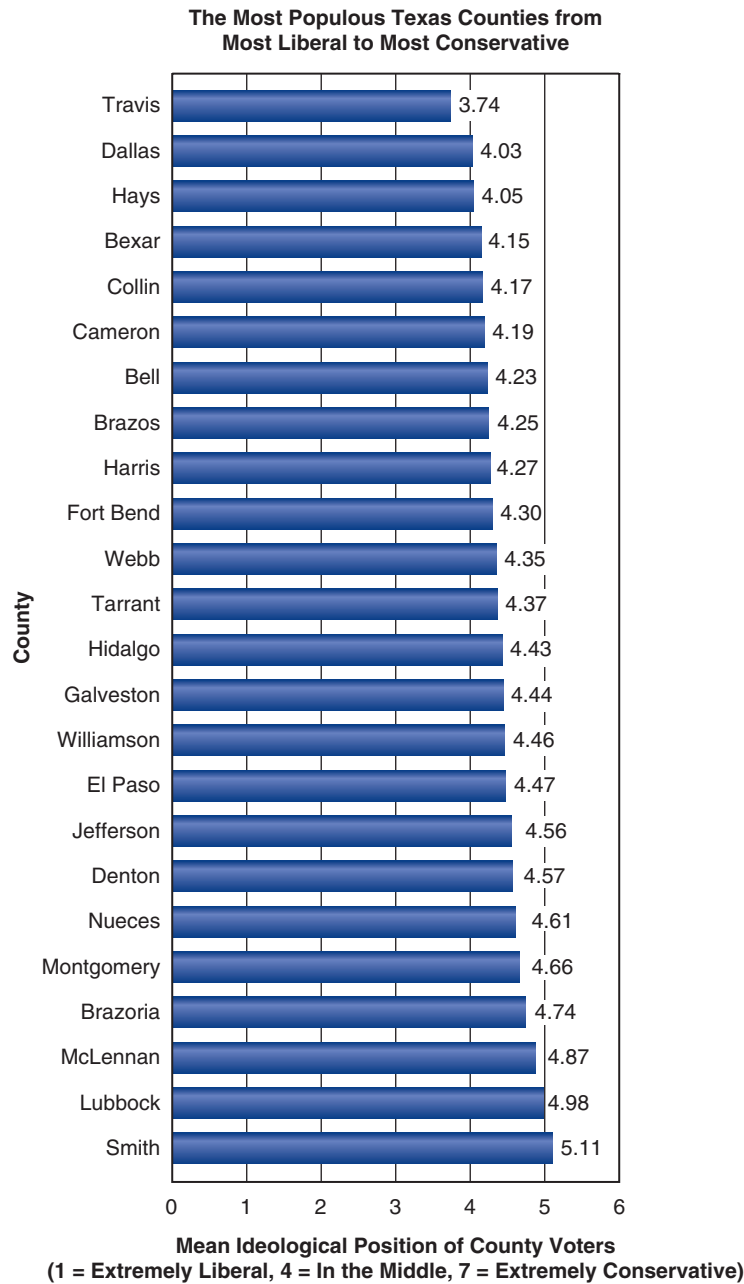
Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2016–2020.

It will remain to be seen if the members of Generation Z will become more conservative (and less liberal) as they age, or if this more liberal ideological profile will remain a hallmark of Generation Z for years to come.

Figure 1.2 highlights the considerable amount of ideological variance across the state's 24 most populous counties, which combined contain more than three-fourths (76 percent) of the Texas population. At the liberal end of the ideological spectrum, by itself, is Travis County (Austin), with an average ideological score of 3.74. The next most liberal county is Dallas County, followed by Travis County's southern neighbor, Hays County, which has been transformed from a conservative to liberal county by the expansion of the Austin suburbs across its

Figure 1.2 Texas Counties from Most Liberal to Most Conservative

The ideological profiles of the largest Texas counties (more than 225,000 residents) vary from liberal Travis County to conservative Smith County.



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: 2016–2020.

northern border. After this trio, the three most liberal counties are Bexar (San Antonio), Collin (a suburb of Dallas), and Cameron (Brownsville). The state's other two major counties, Harris (Houston) and Tarrant (Fort Worth), possess moderately higher average ideological scores than both Dallas (especially) and Bexar counties, but scores that are still less conservative than the state average of 4.42.

The three most conservative counties are all the hubs of regional population centers in different regions of Texas: Smith (Tyler) in the northeast, Lubbock in the northwest, and McLennan (Waco) in the center. They are followed within the conservative ranks by two suburban Houston counties, Brazoria to the south and Montgomery to the north.



Did You Know? Nearly three-fourths of Texas conservatives (73 percent) believe the United States would be safer with more guns compared to only 4 percent of Texas liberals, 84 percent of whom believe the United States would be less safe with more guns.³

Partisanship

Figure 1.3 shows that 48 percent of all Texans self-identify as Republicans and 42 percent as Democrats, with the gap between the two parties having narrowed over the past 10 years. One out of every ten Texans (10 percent) is a true independent, that is 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 (47 percent) are significantly more likely to identify as Democrats than men (38 percent). Profound ethnic/racial partisan identification gaps exist, with 81 percent of African Americans identifying as Democrats and a mere 10 percent as Republicans. In contrast 30 percent of Anglos identify as Democrats and 60 percent as Republicans. Among Latinos, 51 percent identify as Democrats and 38 percent as Republicans, with similar numbers for Asian Americans, 47 percent of whom identify as Democrats and 37 percent who identify as Republicans. Approximately one half of both Generation Z (47 percent) and Millennials (52 percent) identify as Democrats and 41 and 38 percent as Republicans respectively. The proportions are roughly reversed for their Boomer and Silent Generation elders, who are much more likely to self-identify as Republicans (53 and 60 percent) than as Democrats (37 and 33 percent).

Public opinion data and actual election results underscore the dominance of the more conservative Republican Party in Texas during the past 20 years, but also reveal that during the presidency of Donald Trump (2016–2020), the dominance weakened notably, as Texas Democrats began to threaten the GOP's hold on power. We examine the ideological and policy differences between these two political parties in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Public Policy

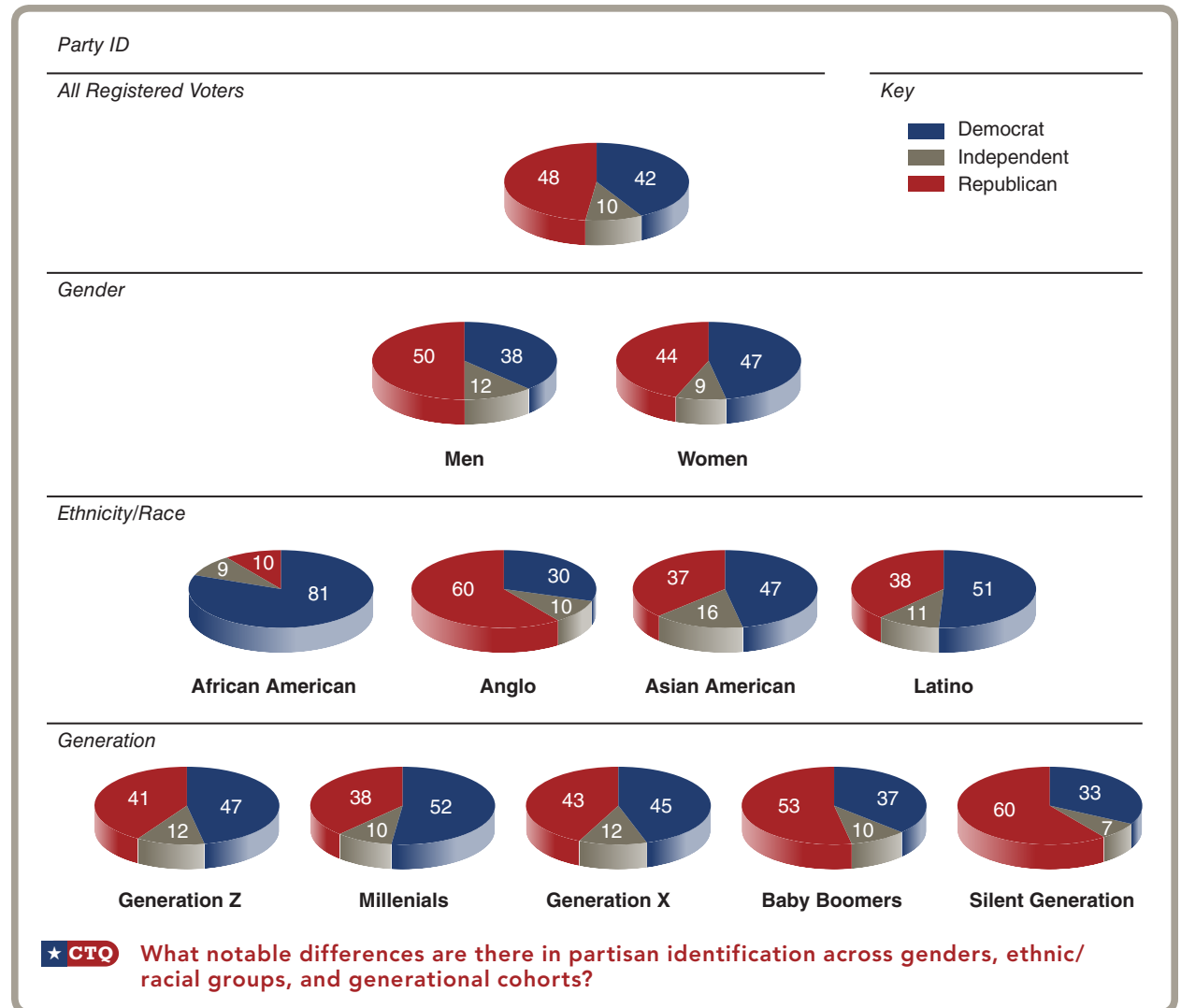
Conservative opinions have been translated into most of Texas's public policies. The state's tax burden is low compared to other states, and the state proportionally devotes fewer financial resources to public services than most other states. Texas is known nationally for its low tax and limited government 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 has resisted efforts to decriminalize the retail sale and personal possession of marijuana.

Subsequent chapters explore the myriad 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 6 percent.



Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2016–2020.

Texas's Cultural Regions

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

Texas Cultural Regions

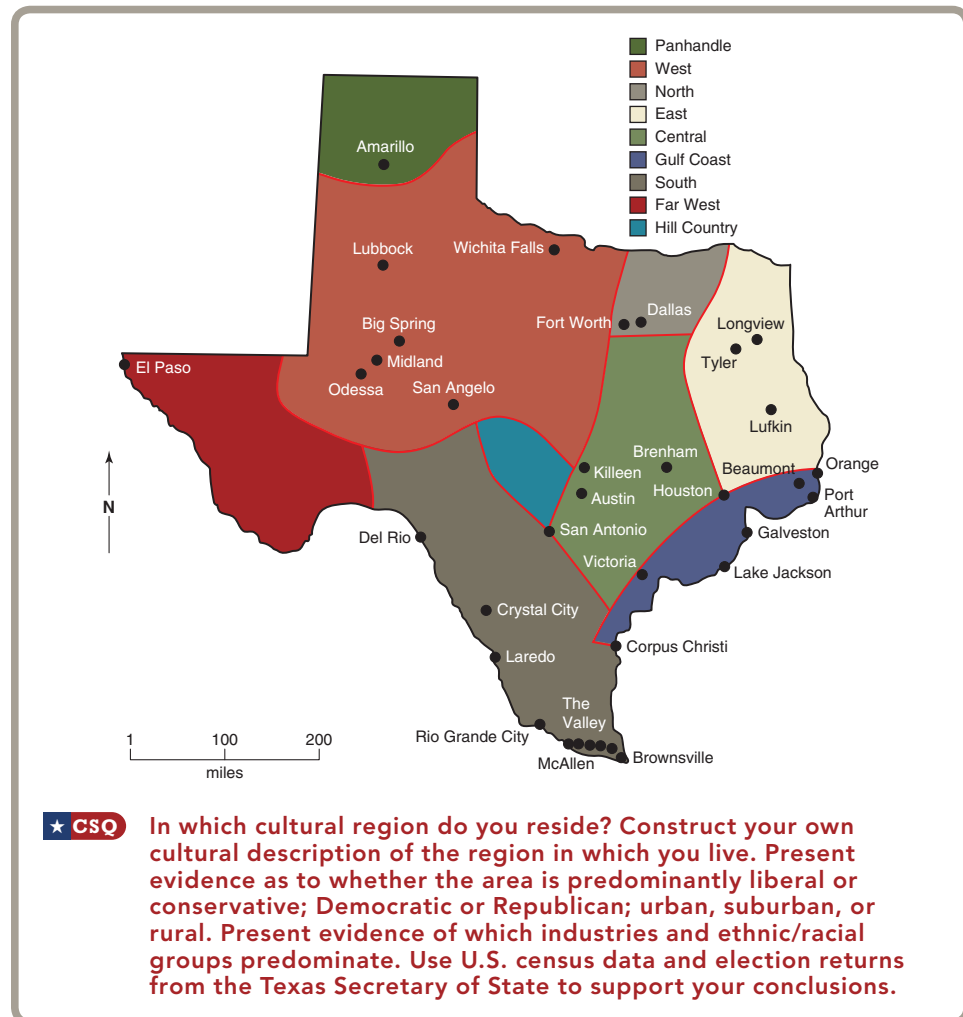
In his seminal study of Texas culture, D. W. Meinig found that the cultural diversity of Texas was more apparent than its homogeneity and that no unified culture had emerged from the various ethnic and cultural groups that settled Texas.⁴ He believed the “typical Texan,” like the

“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. 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.

Figure 1.4 Cultural Regions of Texas



Source: Cengage Learning

East Texas East Texas is a social and cultural extension of the Deep South. East Texas is primarily rural, with Tyler serving as its principal regional business, education and health care hub.

Politics and commerce in many East Texas counties and cities are frequently dominated by old Anglo 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. 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. In addition to being an industrial and petrochemical center, the Gulf Coast is one of the most important shipping hubs in the nation.

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. Today Harris County has a population that is larger than that of 26 of the 50 states.

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 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. For example, in the northwest Houston exurbs, what will be the largest cricket facility in the United States is presently under construction. Cricket is very popular among the region’s Indian American and Pakistani American communities.

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 lineage. 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

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.

bicultural

Encompassing two cultures.

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.

maquiladoras

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

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, often referred to as the Rio Grande Valley, or RGV) 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 close ties with relatives and friends in Mexico. And the Roman Catholic Church strongly influences social and cultural attitudes on both sides of the border.

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 then-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).

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

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.

The Texas Border also serves as a major transshipment point for drug cartels as they bring illegal drugs 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.

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 intermarried 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.

Primarily a farming and ranching area, the Hill Country is socially and politically conservative. While the Hill Country is still a distinct cultural region, migration into it 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 also are diminishing the Hill Country's cultural distinctiveness.

West Texas Anglos first arrived in West Texas in large numbers in the 1870s after the U.S. Army had displaced the Comanche and other Native American tribes that inhabited the region west of Fort Worth. Migrating primarily from the southern United States, these new arrivals passed their social and political attitudes and southern Protestant fundamentalism on to their descendants.

Over the past three decades, 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- and natural gas-producing area (the Permian Basin) of Texas. The cities of Midland and Odessa owe their existence almost entirely to oil, natural gas, 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 semiarid 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 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. Wind farms and feedlots for livestock and livestock production, established because of proximity to the region's grain production, are major economic enterprises in their own right.

North Texas North Texas is located between East and West Texas and exhibits many characteristics of both regions. 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.

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

Metroplex

The greater Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area.

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 highly 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. Austin, though, 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 women, 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.

Women 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

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

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

Image 1.1 Texan Minnie Fisher Cunningham was a champion for women's suffrage in the state.



Bettmann/Getty Images



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



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.

How Does Texas Compare?

Women's Representation Across the United States

Figure 1.5 displays the percentage of state legislative seats occupied by women in the 50 state legislatures. The proportion of legislators who are women ranges from a high of 60 percent in Nevada to a low of 12 percent in West Virginia. The map divides the states

into five groups, where women account for 50 percent or more of the state legislators, 40 to 49 percent, 30 to 39 percent, 20 to 29 percent, and 10 to 19 percent. Texas ranks 34th (tied with two other states) among the 50 state legislatures, with women accounting for 27 percent of the representatives and senators in Austin.

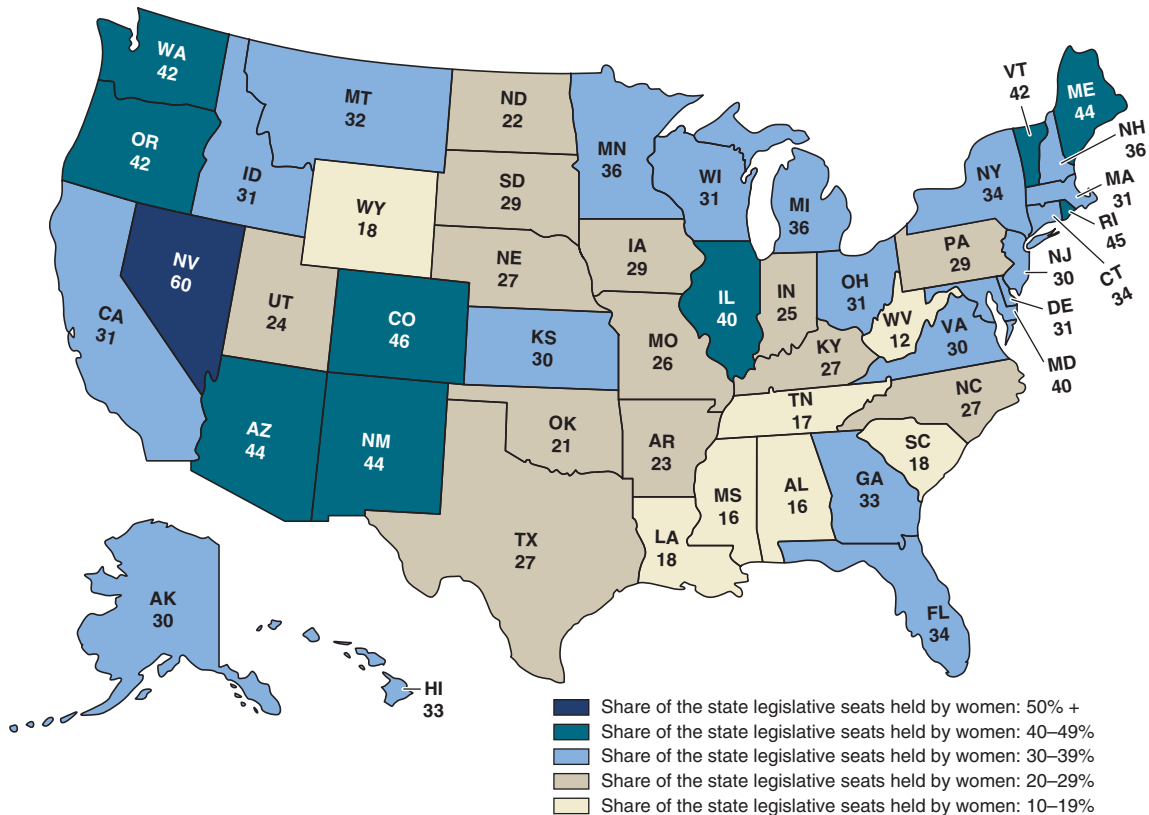


Figure 1.5 Women's Representation in the 50 State Legislatures

Source: Center for the Study of the American Woman and Politics, Rutgers University, 2021.

For Debate



Just as the U.S. state legislatures vary in their level of women's representation, so too do Texas's 254 county commissioners courts and more than 1200 municipal councils. How does your county and municipality compare with neighboring counties and municipalities in regard to their level of women's representation?



How might the level of women's representation in the state legislature affect a state's politics and policies?

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.

Over the past thirty years, women have notably increased their presence in the corridors of power in Texas. That said, the proportion of women in the state's most powerful executive and legislative positions still falls quite short of women's share of the Texas population (50 percent). For instance, of the state's five most populous counties and cities, only one of each, Harris County (Lina Hidalgo) and Fort Worth (Betsy Price), had a female chief executive at the beginning of 2021. And, in the state's U.S. House delegation and in the Texas Legislature, women account for only 19 percent and 27 percent of the members, respectively.

African American Texans African Americans from other areas of the United States were brought to Texas as enslaved persons 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 (for example, 14 African Americans served in the Texas Legislature between 1870 and 1873), 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 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

white primary

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

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

A white supremacist organization.

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



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.

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.

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

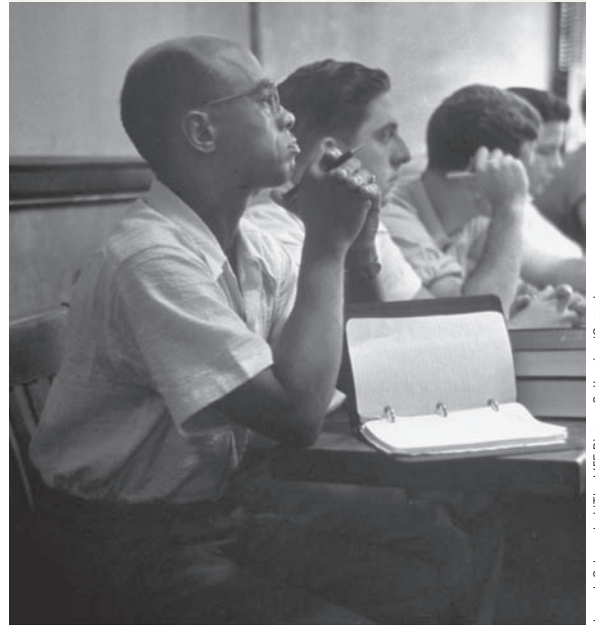
The 1960s are known for the victories of the national civil rights movement. Texan James Farmer was cofounder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and, along with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Whitney Young, and Roy Wilkins, was one of the “Big Four” African American leaders who shaped the civil rights 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.

The struggle for equality continues by, and on behalf of, African Americans in Texas. In the aftermath of the death of former Houston resident George Floyd (an African American) who was murdered by an Anglo Minneapolis police officer in May 2020 (see Image 1.4), calls for racial justice became louder in Texas as well as across the country and worldwide.

Texas Democratic state legislators such as Senator Royce West and Representative Senfronia Thompson called for police reforms that had been stripped from the 2017 Sandra Bland Act, due to the opposition of police unions, to be restored. The Sandra Bland Act is named after an African American woman who died in the Waller County jail after being arrested for a minor traffic violation.

The members of the Texas Legislative Black Caucus drafted the George Floyd Act, which would implement widespread police reform including a ban on chokeholds and the abolishment of arrests for fine-only offenses like petty theft. Efforts intensified across the state to remove statues of Confederate soldiers from Texas parks and college campuses and to rename Texas parks, schools, and streets named after individuals who served in the Confederacy. And, the level of support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement increased in the state among all ethnic and racial groups, with two-fifths of Texans having a favorable view of BLM in June 2020 compared to 28 percent in October 2016, with the proportion of Anglos with a favorable view of BLM almost doubling from 18 percent to 35 percent.¹⁸

Image 1.2 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



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?

Image 1.3 Houston residents march in solidarity with George Floyd's family, to protest Floyd's murder, and to call for justice.



Mark Felix/AFP/Getty Images



PRO Why did George Floyd's murder result in nationwide protests and calls for criminal justice reforms and racial justice?

At the same time, African American Texans are now better represented in the corridors of power. For example, the mayors of the state's two most populous cities, Sylvester Turner of Houston and Eric Johnson of Dallas, are both African American. And, African Americans hold a proportion of Texas U.S. House seats (11 percent) and of Texas Legislature seats (11 percent) that are roughly comparable to their share of the state population (13 percent).

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 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.¹⁹

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 equal rights 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



Did You Know? In 2018 Veronica Escobar of El Paso and Sylvia Garcia of Houston became the first Texas Latinas ever to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Texas's congressional delegation protesting the actions of the director. Then-Senator Lyndon B. Johnson immediately responded and arranged for Longoria to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.²⁰

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 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.²¹

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*.²²

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

Image 1.4 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)



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

United States and was a forerunner of future decisions prohibiting discrimination by gender, disability, and sexual orientation.²³

Texas Latinos today do not experience the same degree of discrimination as African Americans (see Figure 1.6), but they do suffer significantly more discrimination than Anglos. Much of the discrimination felt by Latinos in Texas is via rhetoric and policies that primarily target recent immigrants from Latin America but are nonetheless seen by a majority of Latinos as being anti-Latino in focus, tenor, and impact. Examples include voter photo identification legislation that has disproportionately affected the Latino community, stepped-up efforts during the Trump Administration to deport Latino undocumented immigrants, the limbo in which the largely Latino TPS (Temporary Protected Status) and DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) beneficiaries were forced to live during much of the Trump Administration, and the inhumane treatment suffered by Latino immigrants in detention facilities along the Texas–Mexico border.

Latino representation in the corridors of power in Texas has increased over the past two decades, with, for instance, the state’s most populous county, Harris County, now run by a Latina (Lina Hidalgo) chief executive (county judge), but this representation still lags well below the community’s share of the Texas population (40 percent). For example, Latinos hold proportions of Texas U.S. House seats (19 percent) and of Texas Legislature seats (25 percent) that are far below the 40 percent of the state’s population accounted for by Latinos.

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



Did You Know?

In 2019 the Texas Legislature’s first LGBTQ Caucus was formed by five women representatives: Celia Israel, Jessica González, Mary González, Julie Johnson and Erin Zwiener.

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 LGBTQ 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.²⁴ 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. Most recently, in *Bostock v. Clayton*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Civil

Rights Act of 1964 provides protection to employees from discrimination based on their sexual orientation.

A current front in the struggle for LGBTQ 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 LGBTQ 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. In 2021 the Texas Legislature considered (but did not pass in both chambers) bills to outlaw gender-affirming medical treatment for minors and to restrict public school sports participation to the gender assigned at birth. Table 1.1 summarizes Texas practices that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled violate the U.S. Constitution.

Discrimination Today

In spite of the advances made by women, African Americans, Latinos, and members of the LGBTQ community over the past 100 years, instances where Texans suffer from discrimination based on their race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation are still far too common. Figure 1.6 contains information from a June 2020 University of Texas/Texas Tribune survey of Texas registered voters. In the survey respondents were asked about the amount of discrimination currently directed toward members of a set of different groups. The response options were: a lot of discrimination, some, not very much, none at all, and don't know/no opinion.

In Figure 1.6, results are provided for all respondents (All) as well as for respondents who belong to the specific group alone (Alone). Both the proportion responding that members of the group were subject to a lot of discrimination and to some discrimination are included, as is the sum of these two proportions at the top of the bar.

In the eyes of the entire population of Texas, African Americans are seen as the group that is most discriminated against, with 71 percent of Texans believing that African Americans are subject to either a lot (44 percent) or some (27 percent) discrimination. Following African Americans in regard to the amount of discrimination are gays and lesbians (67 percent), women (61 percent), Latinos (55 percent), Asian Americans (54 percent), Anglos (35 percent), and men (33 percent).

When the response population is limited to members of the specific group being potentially discriminated against, the proportion that believes members of the group suffer either a lot of or some discrimination increases across the board. The survey did not include a respondent sexual orientation question, so it is not possible to measure gays and lesbians' response alone.

Virtually every African American respondent (96 percent) believes that African Americans suffer either a lot of (87 percent) or some (9 percent) discrimination. Almost three out of every four Latinos (71 percent) believe Latinos suffer either a lot (32 percent) or some

Image 1.5 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, serving three terms until 2016.



AP Images/David J. Phillip

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

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.

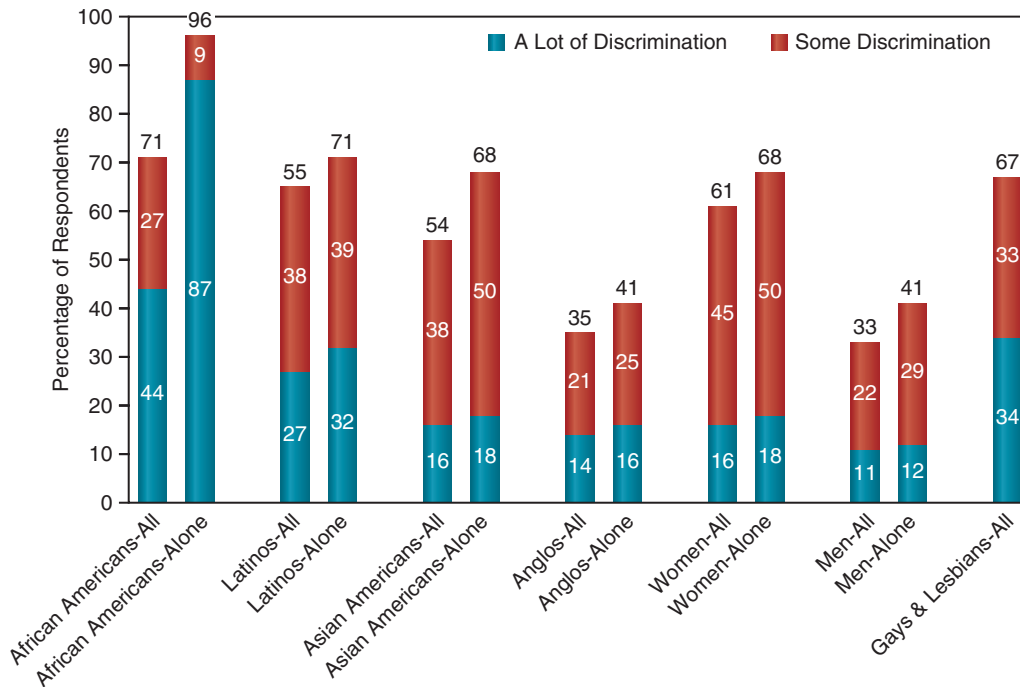
Unconstitutional Texas Practice	U.S. Constitutional Violation	Landmark Supreme Court Case
Texas laws permitting the Democratic Party to conduct whites-only primaries. Also used in other southern states.	No state shall deny any person the right to vote on account of race—Fifteenth Amendment.	<i>Smith v. Allwright</i> (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.	<i>Sweatt v. Painter</i> (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.	<i>Hernandez v. State of Texas</i> (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.	<i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i> (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.	<i>Roe v. Wade</i> (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.	<i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> (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.	<i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i> (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?

(39 percent) discrimination, with a notable difference between African Americans and Latinos being the 55 percent gap between those who believe members of their respective community suffer a lot of discrimination (87 percent of African Americans compared to 32 percent of Latinos). More than two-thirds of Asian Americans (68 percent) and women (68 percent) believe they, respectively, suffer either a lot of or some discrimination, in sharp contrast to both Anglos (41 percent) and men (41 percent), among whom only two-fifths feel members of their race and gender, respectively, are the target of either a lot of or some discrimination.

Figure 1.6 Discrimination Toward Different Groups: Opinions of All Texans and of Texans Belonging to the Group

Virtually all Texas African Americans believe there is either a lot or some discrimination against African Americans, with more than two-thirds of the entire Texas population holding this same opinion.



CTQ What factors contribute to the respondents' opinions that African Americans suffer more discrimination than Latinos and Anglos and that Latinos suffer more discrimination than Anglos?

Population Diversity Today

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.

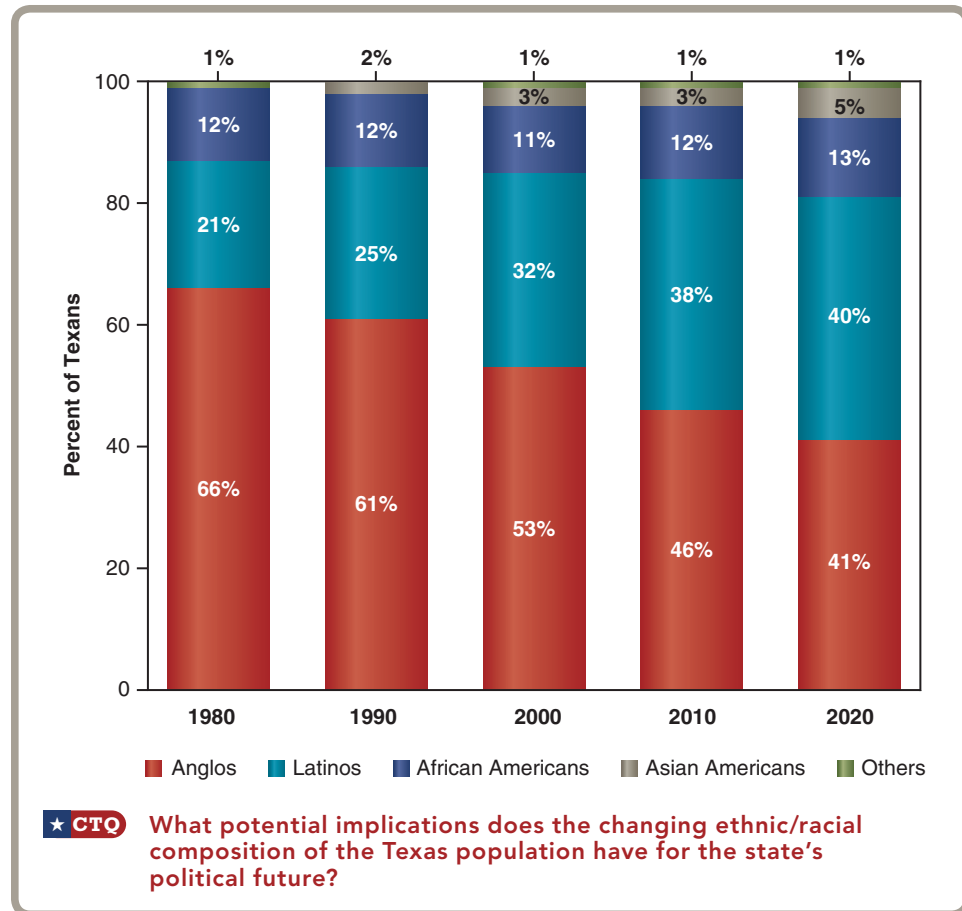
U.S. Census data and population estimates by the Texas State Demographer underscore how the state has become much more ethnically/racially diverse over the past 40 years (see Figure 1.7). In 1980, 66 percent of Texans were Anglo, 21 percent Latino, 12 percent African American, and less than 1 percent others (see Figure 1.7). During the course of the next four decades, 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 proportion of African Americans remaining roughly the same. In the 2020 U.S. Census, Anglos represented 41 percent of Texans and Latinos 40 percent, with projections indicating that

Demographics

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

Figure 1.7 Texas Ethnic/Racial Populations, Past and Present: 1980–2020

This figure shows the changing ethnic/racial demographics of Texas.



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

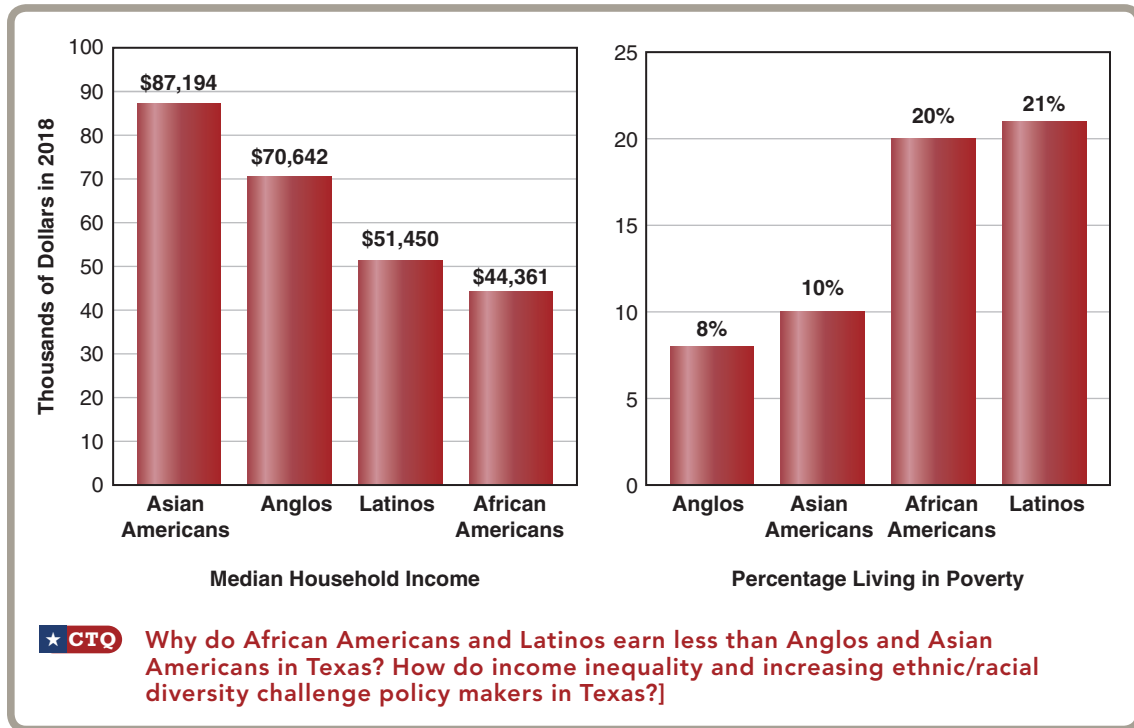
in July 2022 Latinos will overtake Anglos as the largest ethnic/racial group in Texas. Lastly, between 1990 and 2020 the Asian American share of the Texas population more than doubled from 2 to 5 percent.

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 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 1.8 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.

Figure 1.8 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.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and the Kaiser Family Foundation.

Applying What You Have Learned about Texas Political Culture

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

In this chapter, you briefly learned about the struggle of African Americans for equality. Much of the early struggle focused on the constitutional rights to equal treatment under the law and the right to vote. That struggle still continues as Blacks are treated unequally by some police officers and governments maintain Confederate symbols of oppression in the public square. Other Texans believe the campaign against these symbols is an effort to erase history. So, we asked Mayor Johnson to explain the cultural background of these symbols so Texans can better understand the motivations of those protesting them.

Eric Johnson was elected Mayor of Dallas in 2019. He is a former member of the Texas House of Representatives, where he represented Dallas from 2010 to 2019. During his tenure in the Texas House, Mayor Johnson served on 20 prominent legislative committees and as the Chairman of the Dallas Area Legislative Delegation.

After you have read the mayor's article, you will be asked to explain the "Lost Cause" narrative, why it is inaccurate, and why descendants of enslaved persons would find Confederate symbols offensive.