

Texas Politics Today

 2017–2018 Edition

Mark P. Jones

William Earl Maxwell • Ernest Crain

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



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 2017–2018 Edition

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

Letter to Instructors

Dear Texas Government Instructors:

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

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

- ★ **CTQ** Critical Thinking Questions
- ★ **CSQ** Communications Skills Questions
- ★ **SRQ** Social Responsibility Questions
- ★ **PRQ** Personal Responsibility Questions

New to This Edition

- Chapters about elections, parties, and interest groups focus on the ideals of democracy and challenge students to evaluate whether these ideals are realized in practice.
- A streamlined chapter about the Texas Legislature invites students to evaluate the role legislators play in representing Texans inside and outside of the State Capitol.
- We have provided expanded coverage of ideology and social policies related to marijuana, abortion, immigration, and firearms, among others.
- We have included expanded coverage of tea party politics and Republican Party factionalism as well as the latest 2016 election data throughout.
- Chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11 feature expanded coverage of the effects of the state's demographic changes and the rising importance of Latinos in the future of Texas politics.
- Enhanced visuals include new intuitive graphics to illustrate federalism, ballot organization, political party structures, interest group tactics, the plural executive system, the governor's appointive powers, and the forms of municipal government. New easy-to-follow process-oriented charts take students step by step through the dynamics of the constitutional amendment, legislative, electoral, and criminal justice processes.
- The role of social and digital media in Texas politics is discussed and illustrated in every chapter throughout the text.
- We have called upon our resources among a wide range of officeholders and political activists to write exclusive new **Politics in Practice** features. These features conclude each chapter with a specific and fully developed exercise to close the gap between the theoretical

themes and the actual practice of Texas politics; they put a face on the political system and give students a glimpse of how it operates from an insider's viewpoint. Because our essayists are political practitioners who often view their role in the political system from a policy perspective, we have balanced the liberal and conservative viewpoints and developed critical thinking questions to prompt students to probe political and policy alternatives. We have included essays from the governor and his staff, legislators, lobbyists, analysts, campaign consultants, political activists, and local officials.

- Updated and targeted **Texas Insiders** and **How Does Texas Compare** boxes are visually distinct and provide the reader with an uninterrupted flow through the text.
- Each chapter ends with new **Think Critically and Get Active** projects that support purpose-driven activities and introspection to close the gap between theory and practice in the state and local political systems.
- Pedagogy links to targeted objectives throughout the chapter and delivers to students a cohesive learning experience.

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Sincerely,

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Letter to Our Students

Dear Student:

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

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

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

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

The Benefits of Using MindTap as a Student

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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Resources

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MindTap for Texas Politics Today, 2017–2018 Edition

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MindTap for *Texas Politics Today, 2017–2018 Edition* is a highly personalized, fully online learning experience built upon Cengage Learning content and correlating to a core set of learning outcomes. MindTap guides students through the course curriculum via an innovative Learning Path Navigator where they will complete reading assignments, challenge themselves with focus activities, and engage with interactive quizzes. Through a variety of gradable activities, MindTap provides students with opportunities to check themselves for where they need extra help, as well as allowing faculty to measure and assess student progress. Integration with programs like YouTube and Google Drive allows instructors to add and remove content of their choosing with ease, keeping their course current while tracking local and global events through RSS feeds. The product can be used fully online with its interactive ebook for *Texas Politics Today, 2017–2018 Edition*, or in conjunction with the printed text.

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Instructor Companion Website for *Texas Politics Today*

ISBN: 9781305952195

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

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

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

The Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. These presentations are easily customized for your lectures and offered along with chapter-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides and JPEG Image Libraries. Access the Instructor Companion Website at www.cengage.com/login.

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ISBN: 9781305952249

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

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

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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 Years²

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

JOINING THE UNION

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

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

EARLY STATEHOOD AND SECESSION: 1846–1864

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

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

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

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

POST-CIVIL WAR TEXAS: 1865–1885

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

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

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

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

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

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT: 1886–1945

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

GOVERNOR HOGG: 1891–1895

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

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

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

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

FARMER JIM: 1914–1918

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE GREAT DEPRESSION: 1929–1939

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

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

Politics and Government after World War II: 1948–Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE 2010s: CONSERVATIVE POLITICS, POLICIES, AND LITIGATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

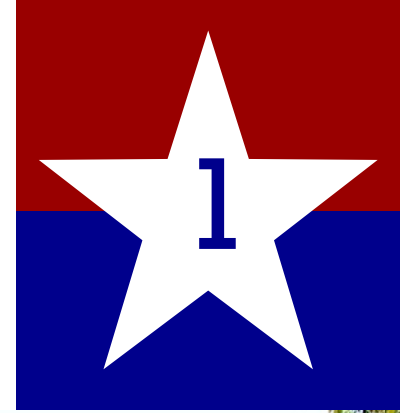
Despite the legal and political turmoil that permeated the political environment, Republicans continued to dominate state politics after the 2014 elections. Former attorney general Greg Abbott defeated Democrat Wendy Davis to become the first practicing Roman Catholic elected as governor, and Texas Republicans 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 veered to the right with the election of Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick and the replacement of several veteran centrist conservative senators by freshman movement conservatives, the GOP’s establishment wing remained firmly in control of the Texas House under the leadership of Speaker Joe Straus. The result was a legislative session that featured a series of inter-chamber and intra-GOP battles and negotiations, with the more conservative wing of the GOP getting its way on some legislation (such as blocking Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act and passing “Campus Carry” legislation) and the more centrist wing of the party getting its way on some legislation (such as blocking a repeal of the “Texas Dream Act” and passing legislation to increase funding for transportation infrastructure).

The 2016 election did not change the balance of power in Austin. Republicans 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 2017 legislative session will take place in a period of relative budget austerity, meaning that any significant increase in spending is very unlikely given the current balance of power in Austin.

While the Texas Supreme Court did rule in 2016 that the state's public school funding system is constitutional, it also signaled that this system was flawed and in need of serious reform. We can thus expect the Texas Legislature to spend a considerable amount of time and energy debating public education funding in 2017, but it remains to be seen if major reforms will be enacted or if, in the end, only minor changes will be made. There is also expected to be a push by conservatives to place a ban on "sanctuary cities" and an effort by Democrats and centrist conservatives to expand Medicaid as part of the Affordable Care Act in order to obtain billions of federal health care dollars and to provide health insurance to over a million Texans who presently do not have it as a result of the state's decision to not expand Medicaid coverage.

Texas Political Culture and Diversity



In this chapter, you will see who we are as Texans, what we think, and how our culture and diversity affect our state's politics.

Robert Daemrich Photography Inc/Getty Images

Learning Objectives

- LO 1.1** Analyze the relationships among Texas political culture, its politics, and its public policies.
- LO 1.2** Differentiate the attributes that describe the major Texas regions.
- LO 1.3** Analyze Texans' political struggles over equal rights and evaluate their success in Texas politics today and their impact on the state's political future.
- LO 1.4** Apply what you have learned about Texas political culture and diversity.

political culture

The dominant political values and beliefs of a people.

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

A people's political behavior is shaped by the culture that nourished it. The Spanish conquest and settlement of Texas provided the first European influence on Texas culture. Some elements of the *ranchero* culture and the Catholic religion continue to this day and are 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 has remained the dominant Texas culture.

However, ethnic/racial diversification and urbanization have gradually eroded the dominance of the traditional southern Anglo culture over time, with this erosion especially notable over the last 20 to 30 years. During the past three decades Texas has not only become one of the most diverse multicultural states in the country, it has become one of the most urbanized; two-thirds of the population now resides in one of four major metropolitan regions (Austin, Dallas–Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio), and Texans living in rural areas today account for only a tenth of the population.

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

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

conservative

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

are evangelical Christians, usually advocate for the use of state power to limit abortion and drug use.

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

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

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

liberal

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

Conservatives and Liberals in Texas Today

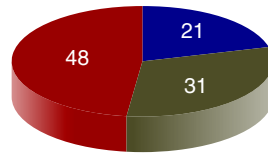
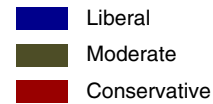
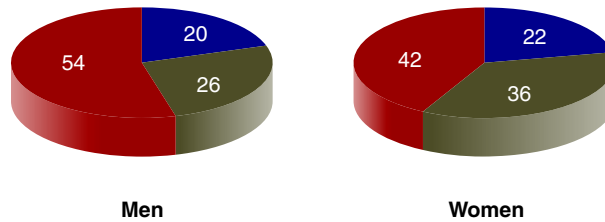
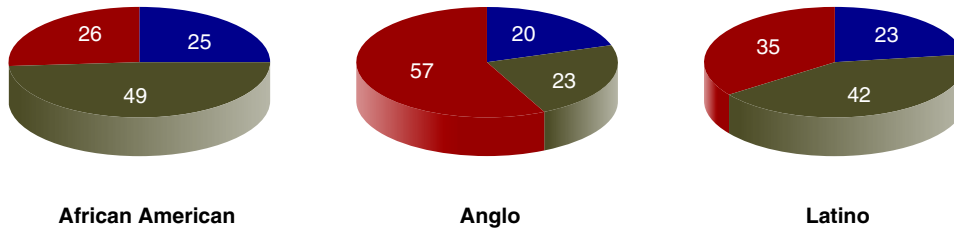
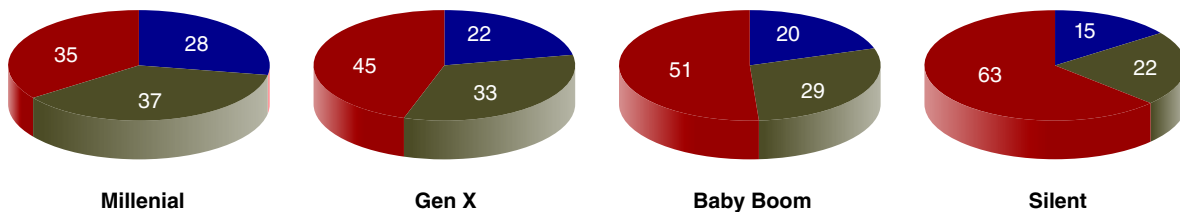
Figure 1.1 provides information on the ideological self-identification of Texans overall and among subgroups of Texans based on their gender, ethnic/racial identity, and generation. The data are drawn from a series of University of Texas/Texas Tribune statewide polls of Texas registered voters conducted between October 2011 and February 2016.¹ 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 (48 percent) identify as conservative, more than double the percentage (21 percent) identifying as liberal. Figure 1.1 highlights, however, that these statewide percentages mask considerable ideological variance among men and women, members of different ethnic/racial groups, and generational cohorts. For example, men as a group are notably more conservative than women (54 percent vs. 42 percent), and Anglos (57 percent) notably more conservative than either Latinos (35 percent) or African Americans (26 percent). At the same time, however, no noteworthy gender or ethnic/racial differences exist in the proportion of liberals, which are fairly equal between men and women and among the three principal ethnic/racial groups in the state (we do not have sufficient data with which to analyze Asian American ideological self-identification).

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

FIGURE 1.1 **Texans' Ideology**

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

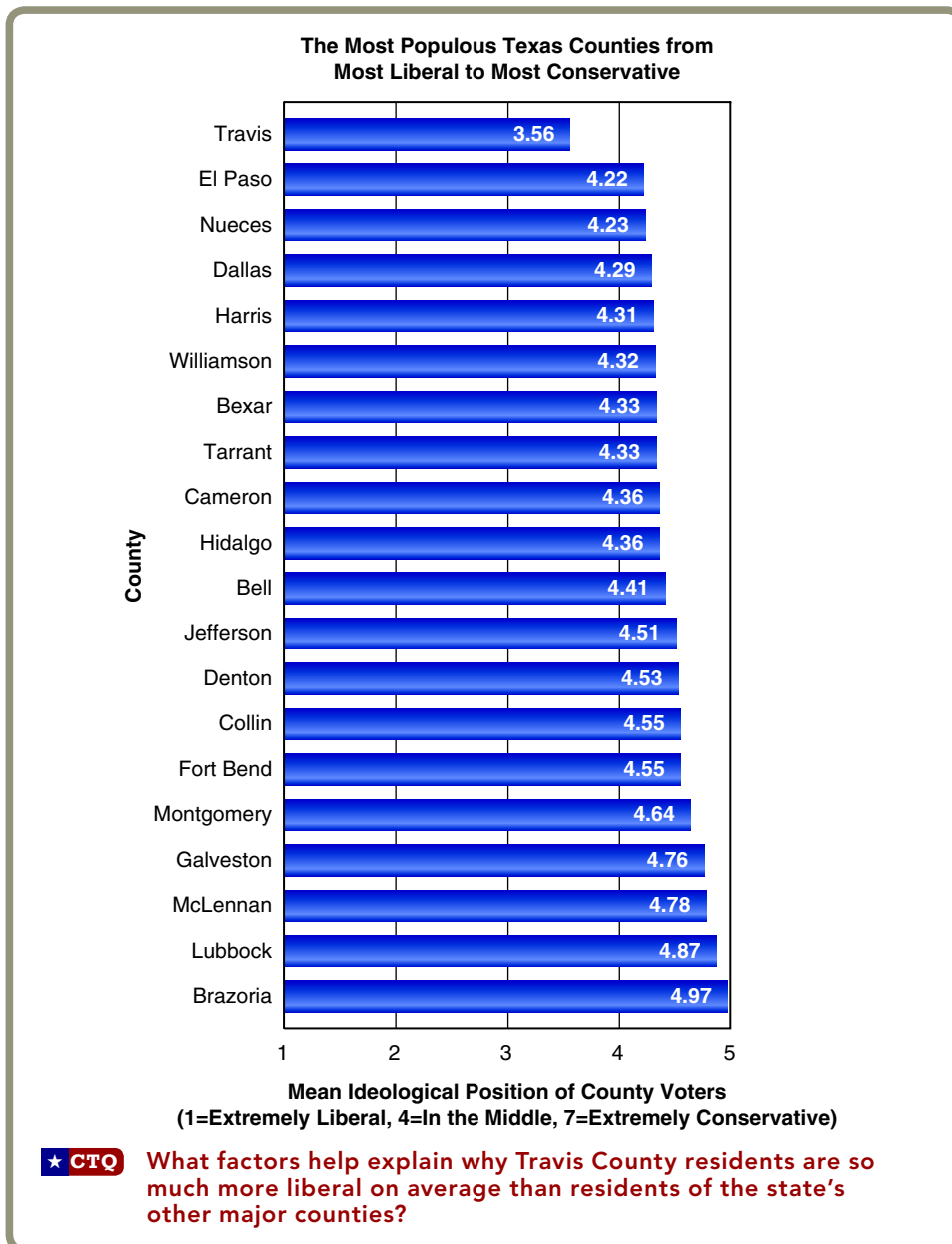
*Ideology**All Registered Voters**Key**Gender**Ethnicity/Race**Generation*

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

Figure 1.2 highlights the considerable amount of ideological variance across the state’s twenty most populous counties, which combined contain almost three-fourths of the Texas population. At the liberal end of the ideological spectrum, by itself, is Travis County (Austin), with an average ideological score of 3.56. The next most liberal counties, El Paso and

FIGURE 1.2 The Most Populous Texas Counties from Most Liberal to Most Conservative

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



Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2011–2016.

Nueces (Corpus Christi), are noticeably more conservative than Travis County, and proximate ideologically to the core urban counties of the state's three largest metropolitan areas. The state's four most populous counties (Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, and Bexar) are grouped very closely together, with nearly indistinguishable average ideological scores ranging from 4.29 in Dallas County to 4.33 in Bexar and Tarrant counties.

Nine counties have an average ideological score above the state average of 4.47. These more conservative counties fall into two distinct categories. One group consists of suburban counties adjacent to the state's two dominant metropolises, with Brazoria, Fort Bend, Galveston, and Montgomery counties constituting the principal population centers of the Houston suburbs and Collin and Denton Counties the leading Dallas–Fort Worth suburbs. The remaining three conservative counties are the hubs of regional population centers in different regions of Texas: Jefferson County (Beaumont) in the southeast, McLennan County (Waco) in the center, and Lubbock County in the northwest.



Did You Know? While Texans overall are evenly split 50–50 on the issue, 71 percent of those under the age of 30 believe gays and lesbians should have the right to marry.³

Partisanship

Texans' conservative political views are reflected in their partisan identification. Figure 1.3 shows that 48 percent of all Texans self-identify as Republicans and 41 percent as Democrats. A little more than one out of every ten Texans (11 percent) is a true independent, someone who does not identify in any way with either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

The figure also underscores the substantial gender, ethnic/racial, and generational differences in party identification in Texas. For example, women are significantly more likely to identify as Democrats than men, and men are significantly more likely to identify as Republicans than women. Profound ethnic/racial partisan identification gaps exist, with 84 percent of African Americans identifying as Democrats and a mere 6 percent as Republicans. In contrast only 28 percent of Anglos identify as Democrats and 62 percent as Republicans. Among Latinos, 55 percent identify as Democrats and 33 percent as Republicans. One half of Millennials (50 percent) identify as Democrats and 35 percent as Republicans; the proportions are roughly reversed for their Silent Generation elders, who are much more likely to self-identify as Republicans (61 percent) than as Democrats (32 percent).

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

Public Policy

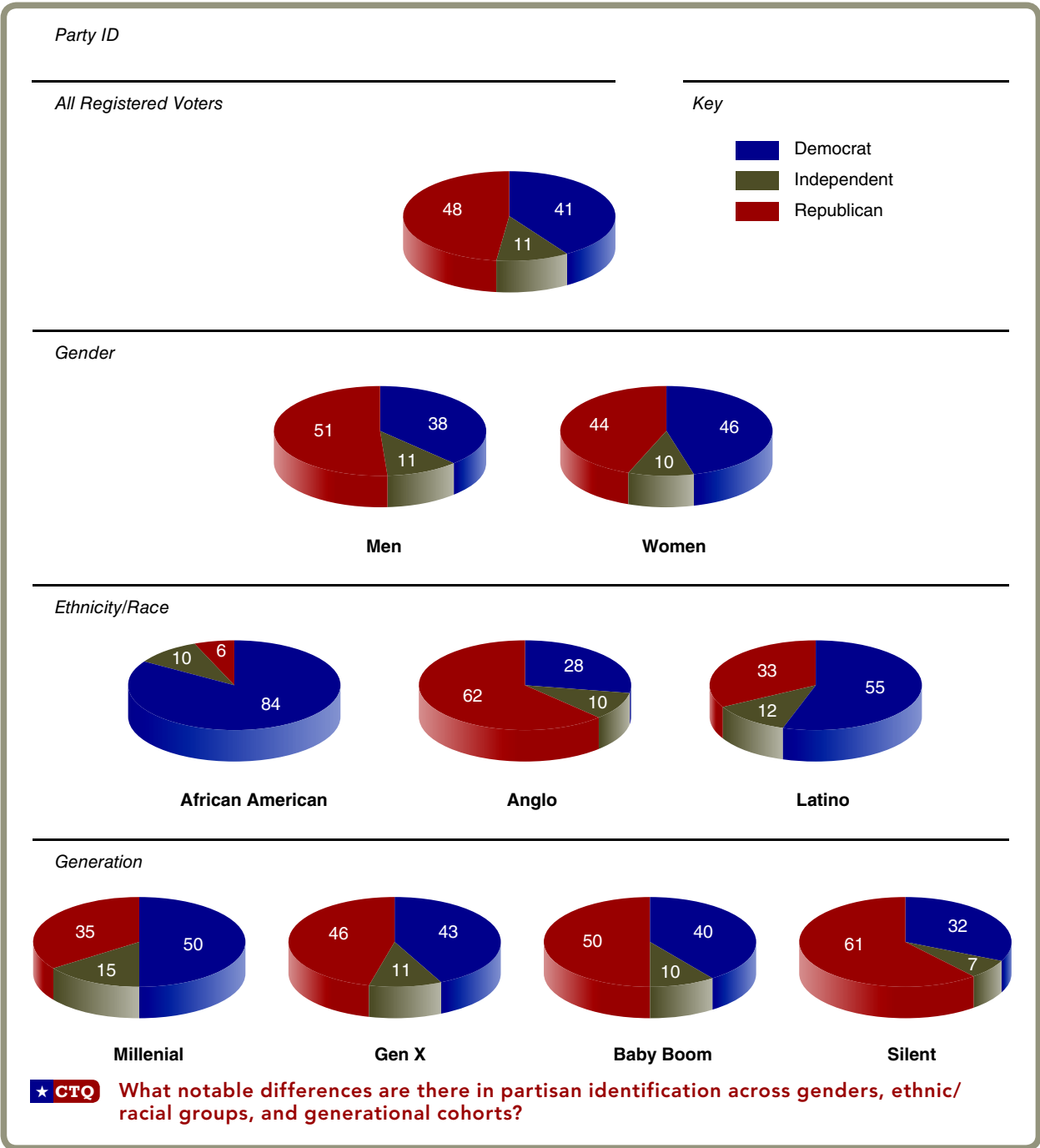
Conservative opinions have been translated into most of Texas's public policies. The state's tax burden is low compared to other states, and the state proportionally devotes fewer financial resources to public services than most other states. Texas is known nationally for its low tax and limited government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

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

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

FIGURE 1.3 Texans' Partisanship

More Texans self-identify as Republicans than as Democrats, although the Republican advantage is less than 10 percent.



Source: University of Texas/Texas Tribune Polls: 2011–2016.

Texas's Cultural Regions

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

Texas Cultural Regions

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

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

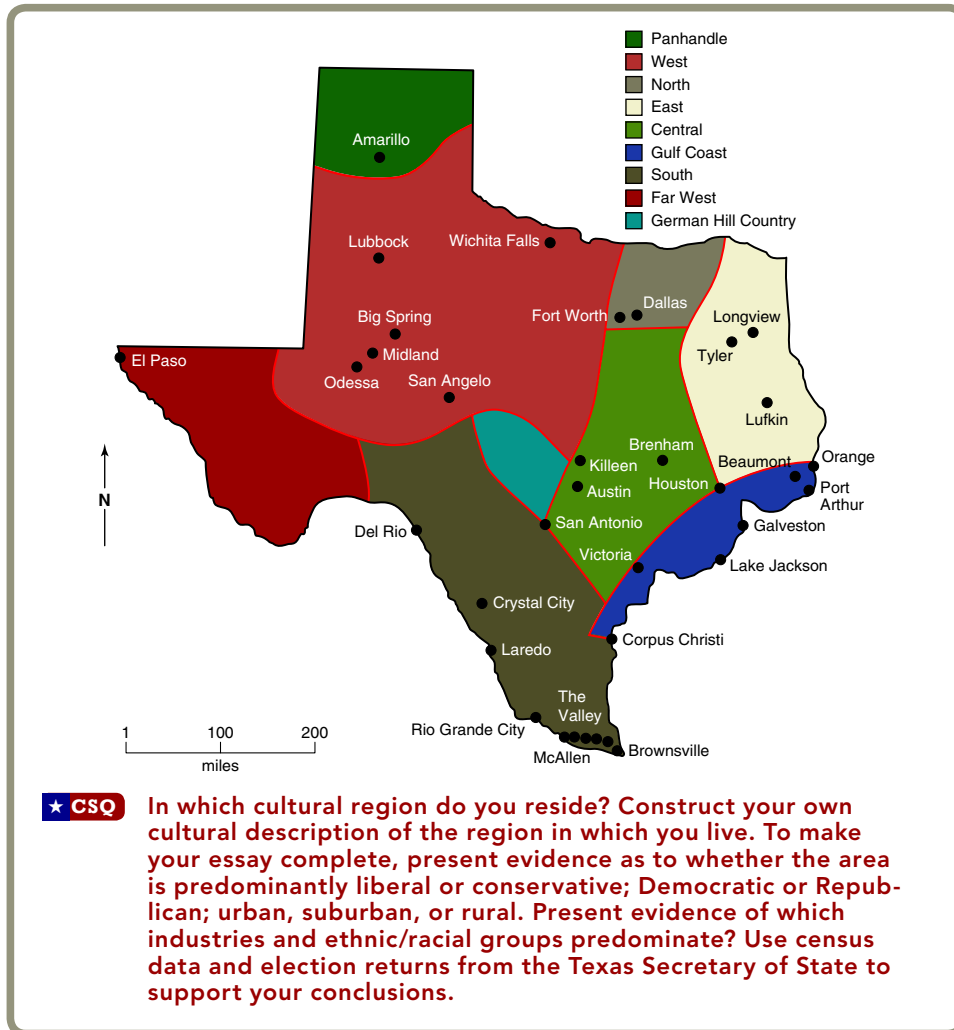
The effects of mass media, the mobility of modern Texans statewide and beyond, and immigration from abroad and from the other 49 states blur the cultural boundaries within Texas, with its bordering states, and with Mexico. Although limited because it does not take into account these modern-day realities,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

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

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

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

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

FIGURE 1.4 Texas Cultural Regions

Source: Cengage Learning

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

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

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