



**A STORY OF ENDURING IDENTITY  
IN A CHANGING STATE**

**THREADSOFTexas.US**

 **More in  
Common**

# ABOUT

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## ABOUT MORE IN COMMON

This report is published by More in Common US, a nonpartisan nonprofit that seeks to strengthen democratic culture by bringing Americans together around shared values, beliefs, and identities. More in Common US works as part of an international initiative to build societies and communities that are stronger, more united, and more resilient to the increasing threats of polarization and social division. We work in partnership with a wide range of civil society groups, as well as philanthropy, business, faith, education, media and government to connect people across the lines of division.

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# INTRO

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This report is about change in Texas: the divergent views toward change that are pulling Texans apart, and the shared identity and dreams for the future that can bring Texans together.

News headlines on the coronavirus pandemic, the 2020 Presidential elections, and incidents of political and social unrest paint a picture of a deeply-divided Texas, located at the crossroad of two opposing political currents and in perpetual tension between the old and the new. As we prepared to publish this report, Texas was struck by a major winter storm that left dozens of Texans dead and millions of residents without power and water for several days. Texas' winter crisis underscored many of the findings from our research: Texas is a state that prides itself on independence, a sense of neighborliness, and deep commitment to community. At the same time, the crisis revealed real divides over the role of government and the best way to create a state that leaves no one behind.

When looking at Texas from a general lens, it is tempting to conclude that Texas is as fractured as the rest of the country. Yet this is not the story we uncovered in our research. In surveys, focus groups, and interviews we found a Texas where people of diverse backgrounds feel deep connections to a shared identity and to

a shared story. Yes, there are divisions. Texans have diverse visions for a state being redefined by a pandemic and ongoing economic transformations. But overall, the Texas that emerges from conversations with residents across the state is characterized less by ideological, demographic or geographical splits, and more by shared values amidst shifting ideas about what it means to be Texan, now and in the future.

Our research finds seven distinct groups of Texans defined by their orientation and emotion toward change and their understanding of what it means to be Texan—seven segments of Texans with unique construals of Texan identity, yet connected by the same undercurrent of shared values. The seven segments are: Lone Star Progressives, Civic Pragmatists, Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders.

A few key findings in *Threads of Texas* bear similarities with those found in *More in Common's* 2018 national Hidden Tribes study. For example, nationally and in Texas, a minority of the population holds a 'win or die' mentality toward politics, yet this group often shapes the tone of public debate.

Unlike on the national scene, we did not find a majority that is deeply

# INTRO

frustrated and civically discouraged in Texas. This is not to say that Texans are immune from the effects of polarization or from deepening societal fractures. Texans agree that political divisions are present, and the majority are indeed tired of these schisms. Yet the bitter rhetoric that marks national conversations does not galvanize Texans in the same way as it does national audiences. For many, it feels remote from the realities of their lives.

A stronger and more urgent concern for Texans is the reality of rapid change. In interviews with Texans from all walks of life, we found that behind a positive attitude toward the future, many Texans across generations, race, and political identities are concerned about their place in the state's future and being left behind.

There are the seeds of future conflicts in how Texans perceive their place in a changing society. For example, some Texans are anxious to protect the distinctly Texan spirit of risk-taking and individual enterprise, while other segments want a future characterized by working collectively toward common goals. Another tension stems from changing demographics, as people move to Texas, both from other states and other countries.

Even as Texans confront change, a fundamental Texan identity—a Texan DNA—endures. The threads of this Texan DNA include a love of freedom, equality, and diversity; the assertion that Texas is home and can be home for anyone; and an appreciation for the vastness and beauty of the state. This DNA is replicated and transmitted across all groups of Texans, whether they are young or old, wealthy or impoverished, rural or urban, Texan-born or immigrant, white or nonwhite, and conservative or liberal. Amplifying this shared Texan DNA creates space for a Texas that works for everyone. Whether it attracts people from elsewhere with a shared outlook, or imprints itself on each new generation and new arrival, there is something distinctive in Texan DNA. Better understanding, elevating and affirming the common threads of this Texan DNA can help navigate change and address potential future conflicts.

Threads of Texas supports efforts to build a future Texas in which everyone feels they belong. A society on the brink of significant change can either go down a path of division between opposing views, or it can build on common ground and seek to find a place for all people to thrive. By contributing to a deeper understanding of Texas in the 2020s and beyond, we hope to support efforts to build a thriving Texan future.

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## THIS REPORT TELLS A STORY OF TEXAS IN THE 2020s:

a state facing unprecedented change and challenges. It presents a new framework to understand the people of Texas, and the bedrock of shared values beneath the divisions that are so often the focus of public debate and media reports.

Texans are often seen as being polarized across fault lines of urban and rural, newcomers and old-timers, and liberals and conservatives.<sup>1</sup> These fault lines exist, but they can obscure the nuanced reality that Texans hold diverse views, which are rooted less in their geography and political attachments than is frequently assumed. This report offers a different lens on Texans — one centered on identity, values, and beliefs about tradition, change, and the future. We believe this lens can shape a way forward for Texas beyond entrenched lines of division.

The lens of Texans' core beliefs offers a different picture of the state. Divisions and fault lines remain; however, they are less prominent. Rather than intractable conflicts between rural and urban or liberals and conservatives, we find that the most visible political fights are waged between relatively small numbers of polarized Texans.

Significant differences nevertheless exist. This study points to deeply-rooted tensions around race, history, and Texan identity that must be navigated through the 2020s and beyond. This report seeks to contribute insights for a new way of navigating these tensions, an approach that addresses root causes while at the same time strengthening values that bind Texans.

From the surveys and conversations engaging thousands of Texans undertaken for this study, we find a shared set of deeper values and attitudes — directly connected to what it means to be Texan and the story of Texas. These shared values and beliefs cut through familiar fault lines to unite newcomers and oldtimers, as well as Texans of all races, genders, geographies, and ideologies.

The question that this report poses is whether Texans will be divided along familiar fault lines, or build upon the considerable amount of common ground that they share. The winter storm and energy crisis of 2021 made clear that the state is at an inflection point. Four in five Texans feel exhausted by the division in politics, and yet also believe

that Texans have more in common than divides them. The challenge lies in finding ways to harness Texans' commonalities to work together more constructively. This report aims to help Texans chart that course, building on the shared story of both the heritage and vision for an ideal future of Texas.

The report focuses on the following dimensions of public attitudes:

- Texans' outlook around change and the future
- Texan identity, pride and belonging
- Civic engagement
- Emotions toward Texas

Through deploying a methodology from data science widely used in commercial settings (i.e. hierarchical cluster analysis), this study finds seven groups of Texans distinguished by their orientation toward change and their understanding of Texan identity, yet connected by shared Texan values.

Membership in these segments is determined by each person's answers to attitudinal and behavioral questions that were asked as a subset of the larger survey. None of the questions used to create the segmentation relate to political or demographic indicators such as race, party, gender, or income. Yet insights on Texans' core beliefs and attitudes toward change are often more predictive than these conventional categories through which polling is usually analyzed. Understanding the ways in which Texans cluster in their values and sense of identity provides more nuanced insights into contested political and social issues such as immigration and racial equality.

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<sup>1</sup> Wermund, B. (2020). Texas is among the most politically polarized states in the U.S., study shows. Houston Chronicle. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/Texas/article/Texas-is-among-most-politically-polarized-states-15315223.php>

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# THREADS OF TEXAS

## LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES

STRONGLY LIBERAL AND HIGHLY-ENGAGED, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES ARE CRITICAL OF TEXAS AND ENVISION A MORE PROGRESSIVE FUTURE FOR THE STATE.

## CIVIC PRAGMATISTS

OPEN-MINDED AND TOLERANT, CIVIC PRAGMATISTS SEEK TO FIND AREAS OF COMMON GROUND WITH OTHER TEXANS.

## RISING MAVERICKS

YOUTHFUL AND STRONG-WILLED, RISING MAVERICKS HAVE MULTI-FACETED VIEWS AND AN IDEALISTIC OUTLOOK ON THE FUTURE OF THE STATE.

## APOLITICAL PROVIDERS

OCCUPIED AND DETACHED FROM POLITICS, APOLITICAL PROVIDERS HAVE TOO MUCH ON THEIR PLATES TO ENGAGE MEANINGFULLY WITH ISSUES THEY CARE ABOUT.

## DIE-HARD TEXANS

INTENSELY PROUD AND TEXAN-CENTERED, DIE-HARD TEXANS HAVE A TEXAS VS THE WORLD MINDSET AND ARE PROTECTIVE ABOUT TEXAS CULTURE.

## REVERENT TEXANS

FAITH-ORIENTED AND PATRIOTIC, REVERENT TEXANS ARE ESTABLISHED TEXANS WHO FEEL A STRONG SENSE OF OPTIMISM, BELONGING, AND COMMITMENT TO THE STATE.

## HERITAGE DEFENDERS

NOSTALGIC AND CONSERVATIVE, HERITAGE DEFENDERS FEEL EMBATTLED AS THEY SEEK TO PRESERVE WHAT THEY PERCEIVE AS AN AUTHENTIC AND PURE TEXAS.

# THE SEVEN THREADS OF TEXAS

14%

LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES

22%

CIVIC PRAGMATISTS

12%

RISEING MAVERICKS

12%

APOLITICAL PROVIDERS

9%

DIE-HARD TEXANS

22%

REVERENT TEXANS

9%

HERITAGE DEFENDERS

# I. DEMOGRAPHY IS NOT DESTINY

In the wake of the 2020 presidential election, considerable national attention focused on voting trends in Texas. Changes in voting patterns, especially among Hispanic Texans, confounded some widely-held assumptions that voting patterns can largely be explained by demographic or geographic factors. This study suggests that an exclusive focus on those factors obscures the heterogeneity of Texan populations and can mislead us into seeing Texans as divided into monolithic blocs — such as urban versus rural or Hispanic versus non-Hispanic whites. This is far from being the complete picture.

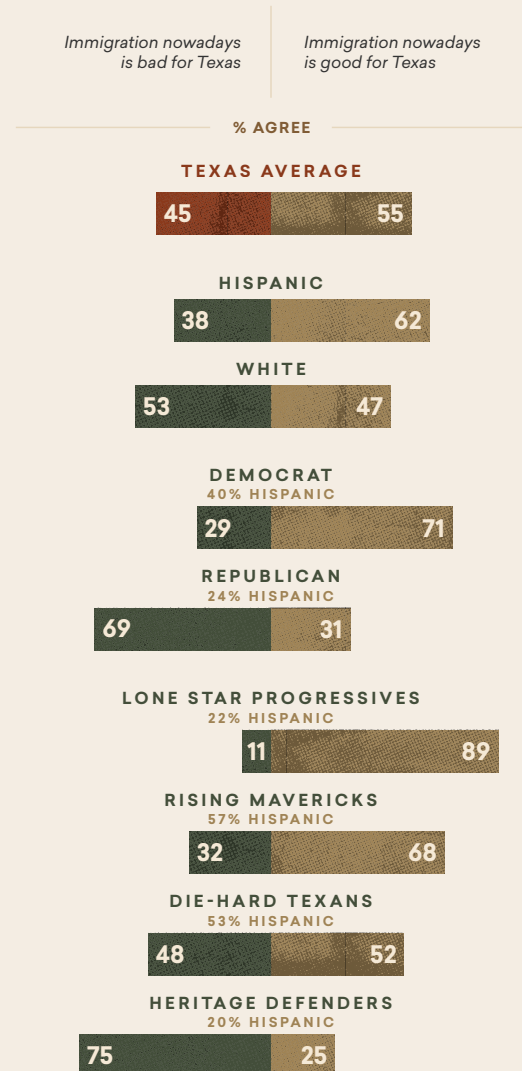
The Threads of Texas segmentation provides insights that help account for the 2020 election results, which reflect the plurality of views among both the Hispanic population and non-Hispanic population. With at least 20 percent of each segment self-identifying as Hispanic, the Threads of Texas help explain the variety of views and political behaviors among Hispanic Texans. The Threads also reveal the complexity of views often lost when we consider political patterns only through categories such as age, geography, race, and ideology.

**SEGMENT MEMBERSHIP PREDICTS HOW PEOPLE THINK ABOUT POLITICAL ISSUES BETTER THAN COMMON DEMOGRAPHIC OR POLITICAL CATEGORIES (SUCH AS "RURAL," "REPUBLICAN," "HISPANIC"):**

**FIGURE 0.2**

## IMMIGRATION

The Threads uncover wide variance among Hispanic Texans in their views toward immigration



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 0.2

RACE

The Threads are more predictive than demographics, revealing variations within ideological groups on issues of race and racism

PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER INEQUALITY

Differences between Threads are much greater than differences based on gender or geography

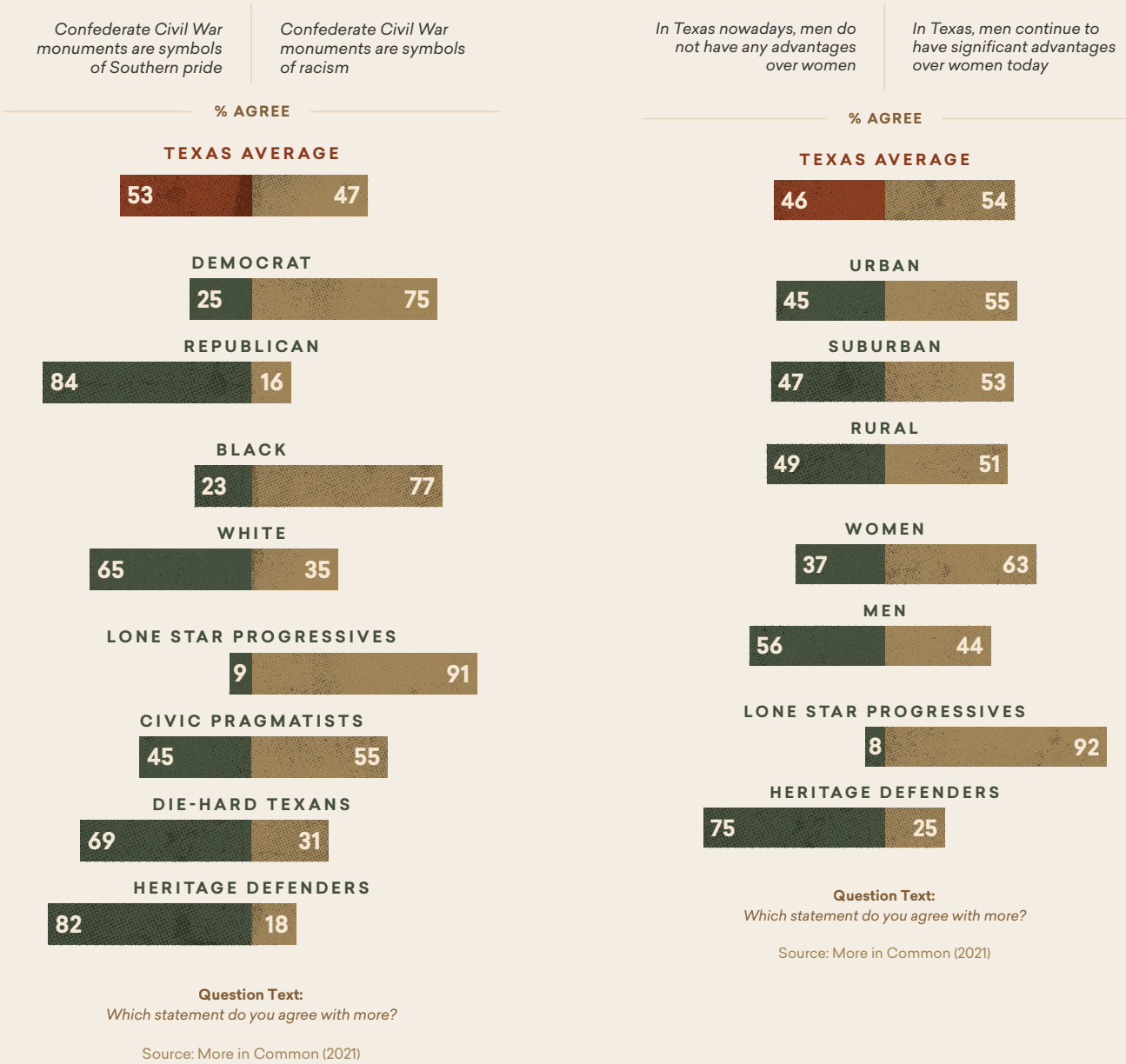
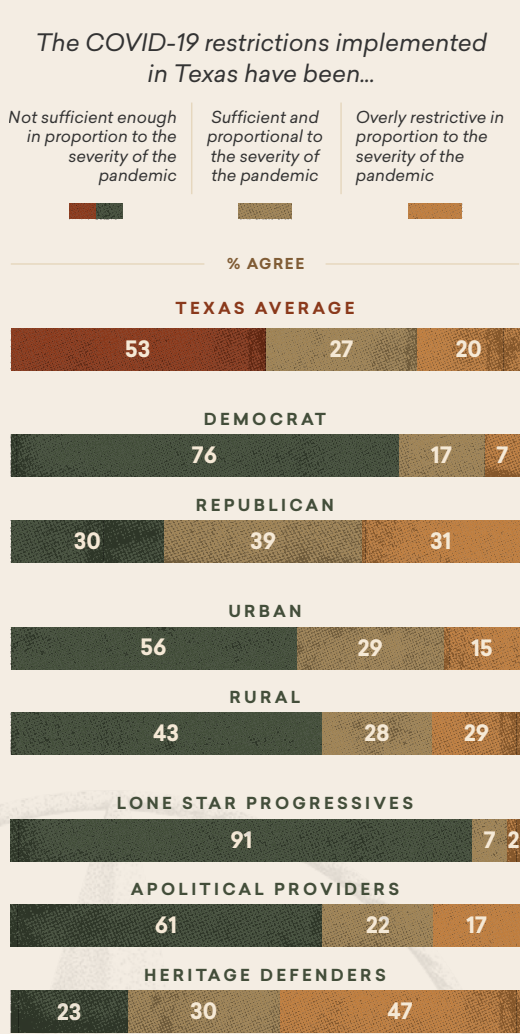


FIGURE 0.2

COVID RESTRICTIONS

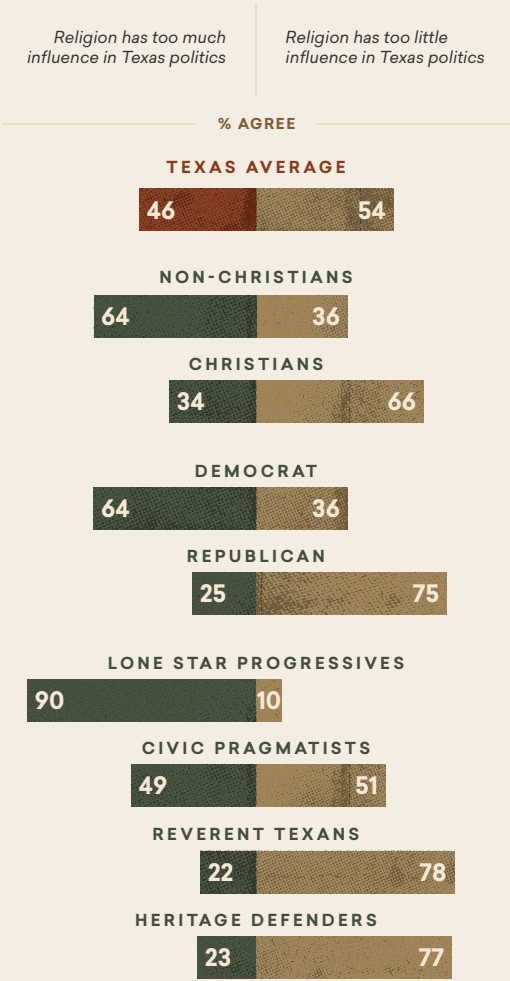
Texans’ attitudes toward COVID restrictions are more nuanced than urban vs rural or Democrat vs Republican divides



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?  
\*This question was fielded in August 2020  
Source: More in Common (2021)

RELIGION AND POLITICS

The Threads diverge widely on their opinions about religion’s influence in the state

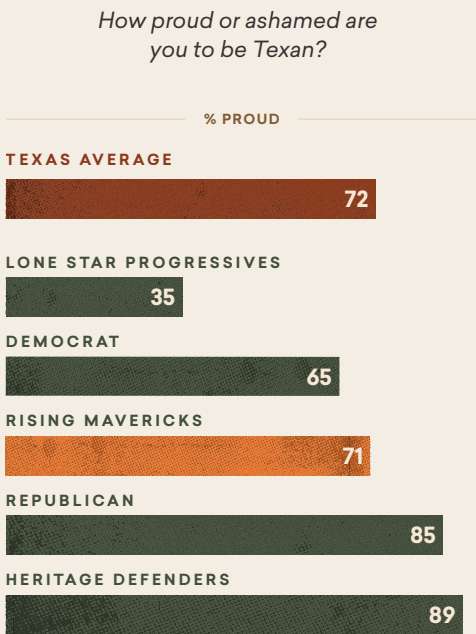


Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?  
Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 0.3

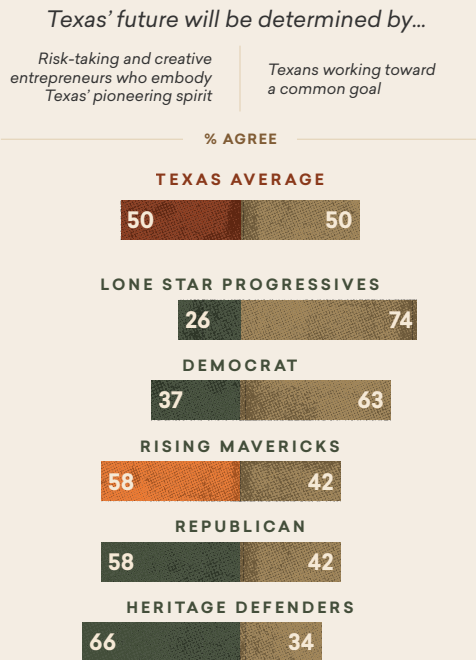
RISING MAVERICKS VS. OTHERS

How can we understand young Texans?



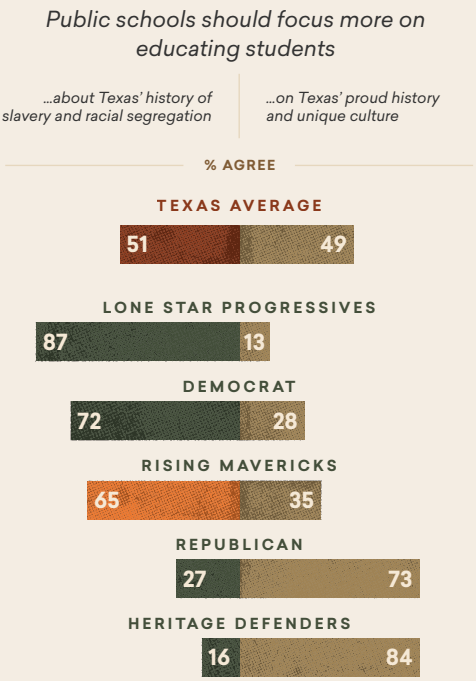
Question Text:  
How proud or ashamed are you to be Texan?

Source: More in Common (2021)



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Frameworks that exclusively rely on demographic factors, and the explanation of demography as destiny, often assumes that younger, increasingly multicultural Texans will inevitably make the state progressive. This study presents a more complex picture.

Rising Mavericks, the youngest and most ethnically diverse segment (with two-thirds under age 24 and over half with Hispanic backgrounds), do not fit a neat ideological profile. They are proud to be Texan, yet they are conscious of the state's injustices — both historical and present. They embrace individual enterprise over collective values, yet they are more likely to believe that peoples' misfortune in life is the result of societal rather than individual factors.

More than any other segment, Rising Mavericks do not fit neatly into either a blue or red, progressive or conservative camp — their profile demonstrates the need to understand people through the lens of their values and beliefs, not just their demographics and past voting behavior. A better understanding of these Texans is essential to the future of Texas.

**“STUDENTS SHOULD DEFINITELY BE TAUGHT THE HISTORY  
OF SLAVERY AND SEGREGATION, SO THAT THEY CAN  
UNDERSTAND WHAT PEOPLE OF COLOR WENT THROUGH,  
AND THEY CAN LEARN TO DO BETTER AS A SOCIETY.”**

**— TINA, RISING MAVERICK,  
ASIAN WOMAN, GENERATION Z**

## II. THE STORY OF TEXAS

### LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

In conversations with Texans, change emerges as a central theme. Texans see the state's changes and their role in the emerging future in different ways, with more optimism about their own circumstances than those of the state as a whole.

The rapid pace of change in the state, brought on by the continuous influx of newcomers, national and regional political shifts, and tension between the burgeoning new industries and traditional economies, has spurred a diversity of reactions among Texans.

A majority of Texans (63 percent) are excited for the new opportunities they might have in the changing state, yet differences in their orientation toward the future do not clearly map onto geographic and ideological groupings. Lone Star Progressives, Die-hard Texans and the Reverent Texans are enthusiastic about new opportunities, while over half of Apolitical Providers worry that they will be left behind.

FIGURE 0.4

### EXCITEMENT VS. APPREHENSION

The Threads vary in how they see themselves belonging and thriving in a rapidly changing Texas, with one in three concerned about being left behind



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

When asked whether things will get better over the next five years, Texans are less optimistic about society overall than they are for themselves — only 43 percent expect things to get better. A striking divergence exists among those with more conservative values: **Reverent Texans and Die-hard Texans are hopeful, while Heritage Defenders are deeply pessimistic.** Despite their opposing political views, Lone Star Progressives share the pessimism of the Heritage Defenders. Both segments, on the two ends of the political spectrum in Texas, **see opportunities for themselves in the future but do not believe that the state will move toward their perceived ideal.** On the other hand, among the Rising Mavericks, the youngest

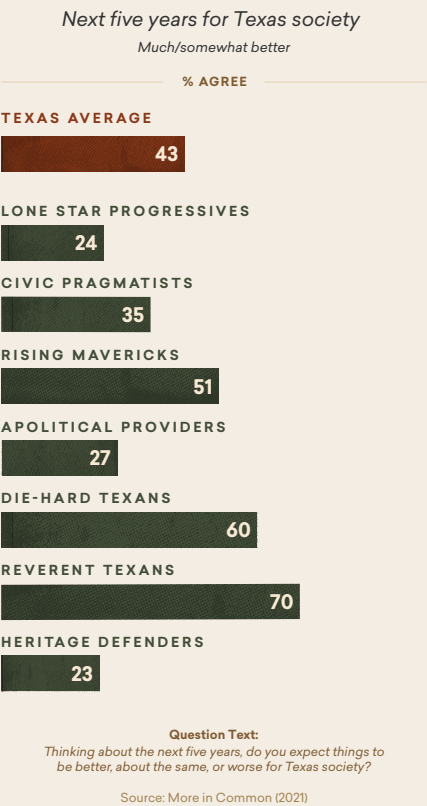
segment, a narrow majority is optimistic for both the state and their own future.

**Texans are evenly divided on whether individualism or a collective mindset should prevail as Texas looks to the future.** The majority of Rising Mavericks, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders say that the state’s future should be determined by risk-taking entrepreneurs reflecting the Texan pioneering spirit. Given traditional perceptions of Texan values, it is perhaps surprising that not just a large number of Lone Star Progressives, but even one in three Texans with conservative values emphasizes the centrality of collective endeavors in determining Texas’ future.

FIGURE 0.4

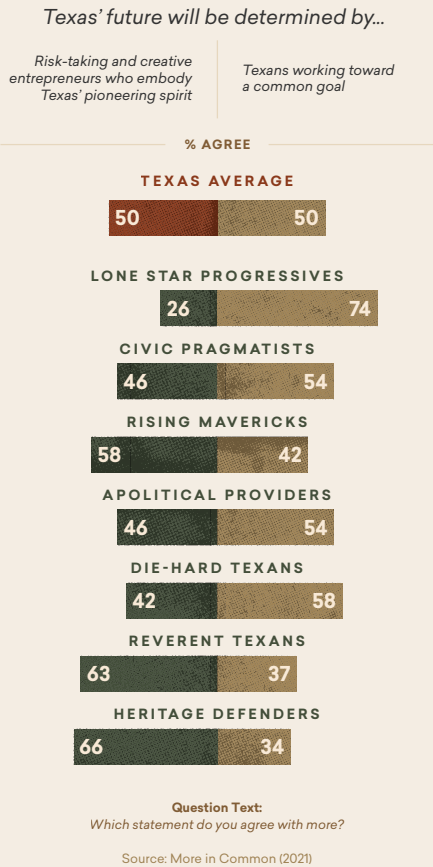
CONCERN WITH TEXAS SOCIETY

The two most polarized segments — Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders are the most pessimistic about the future of Texas society



RISK-TAKING ENTREPRENEURS VS. TEXAN COLLECTIVISTS

Rising Mavericks and segments with more conservative values see entrepreneurs as the drivers of the state’s future economic success



# THE CORE BELIEFS OF THE TEXAS THREADS

FIGURE 0.5

## INDIVIDUALISTIC VS. COLLECTIVIST ORIENTATION

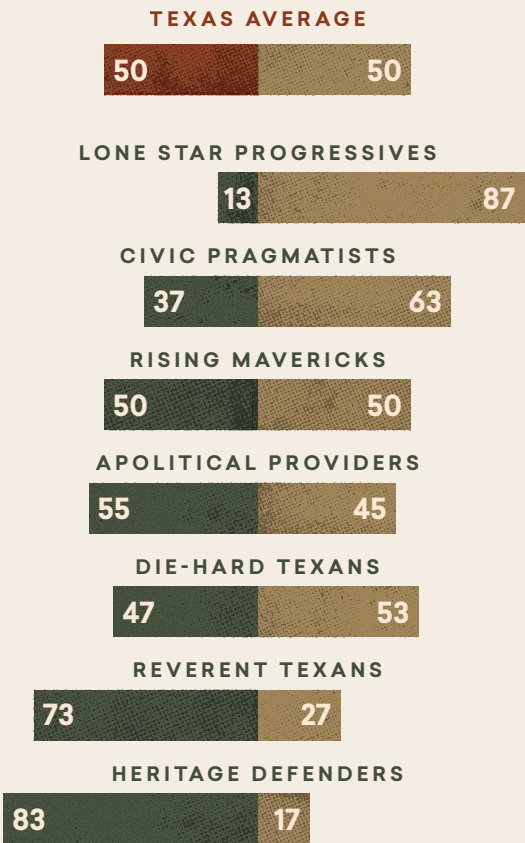
The Threads vary in their views of what the economic system should prioritize

*I believe that the economic system in this society should be designed to maximize...*

Individual interest

Collective interest

% AGREE



Question Text:

Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

## SENSE OF BELONGING

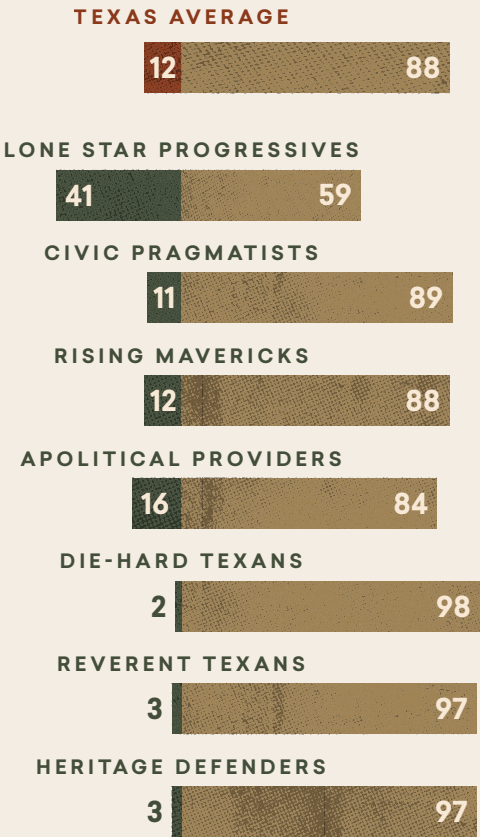
Most feel that they belong and are accepted in Texas, but Lone Star Progressives are outliers

*In Texas, I feel accepted for who I am*

Disagree

Agree

NUMBERS IN %



Question Text:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

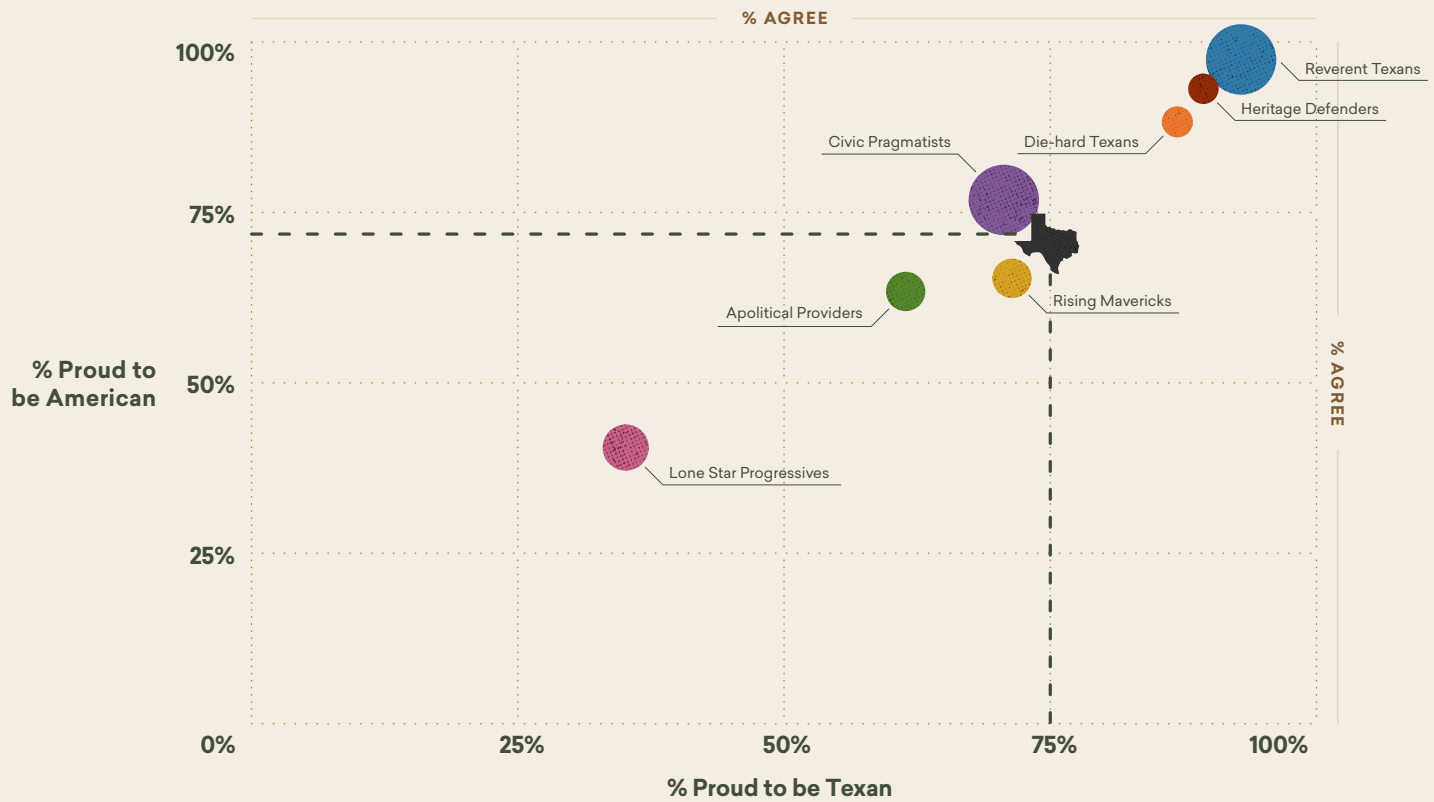
Source: More in Common (2021)

## THE CORE BELIEFS OF THE TEXAS THREADS

FIGURE 0.5

### TEXAN PRIDE

Most Texans are proud to be both Texan and American, with the exception of Lone Star Progressives



**Note:** Circle size = % share of Texas population  
**Question text:** How proud or ashamed are you to be Texan?  
**Question text:** How proud or ashamed are you to be American?

Source: More in Common (2021)

In recent years, a growing body of social psychology research has highlighted the role of people's psychology and core beliefs in shaping their attitudes and behaviors. This study identifies a set of core beliefs that explain the underlying drivers of Texans' diverse orientations toward change and key issues.

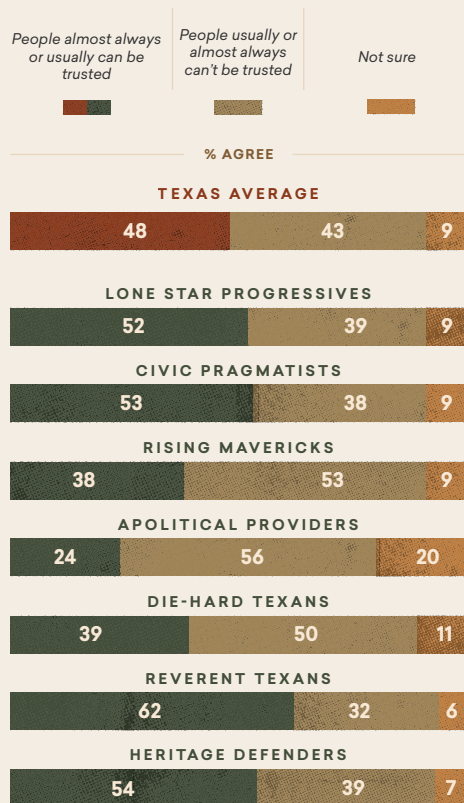
On the tension between individualism and collectivism, the groups for whom politics is central to their identities hold sharply opposing views. Heritage Defenders

and the Reverent Texans believe that the economic system should be designed to maximize the interests of individuals, whereas Lone Star Progressives, followed by Civic Pragmatists, prioritize the interests of society as a whole. Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers and Die-hard Texans—the lower-income and less politically engaged groups—are more ambivalent. One factor that might contribute to their uncertainty is their lower level of trust in others.

**FIGURE 0.5**

## TRUST

The lower income segments — Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers and Die-hard Texans — are relatively less trusting



**Question Text:**

Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Source: More in Common (2021)

On the other hand, the lens of core beliefs also shows that Texans have considerable common ground in their attitudes toward the Lone Star State. Most Texans feel accepted for who they are and are proud to be Texan. Other than for the Lone Star Progressives, who differ from other Texans, **this strong sense of belonging and pride cuts across most segments.**

**"I THINK TEXAS IS BECOMING MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE MORE SELFISH, MORE ABOUT THEMSELVES AND DO NOT CARE ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE. BUT THEN YOU DO HAVE THOSE MOMENTS WHERE YOU DO STILL SEE COMMUNITIES THAT COME TOGETHER AND TAKE CARE OF EACH OTHER."**

**— RUBY, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE, BLACK WOMAN, MILLENNIAL**

**"THERE'S A LOT OF OPPORTUNITY. AND TO ME, TEXAS IS HOME. I WAS BORN HERE. AND I CAN'T IMAGINE LIVING ANYWHERE ELSE ACTUALLY. AND ALSO THE FOOD IS GREAT."**

**— LEAH, DIE-HARD TEXAN, HISPANIC WOMAN, BABY BOOMER**

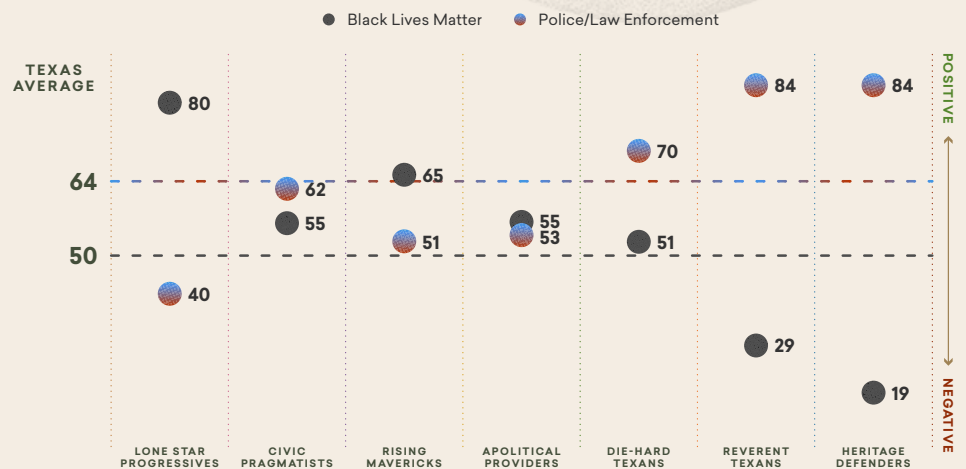
# III. ISSUES THAT DIVIDE AND UNITE

THE SEGMENTATION OF TEXANS PRESENTED IN THIS REPORT RELIABLY PREDICTS TEXANS' VIEWS ACROSS MANY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

FIGURE 0.6

## FEELINGS TOWARD BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

The less political Threads hold warmer feelings toward both the BLM movement and law enforcement while sentiment is polarized among more ideological Threads

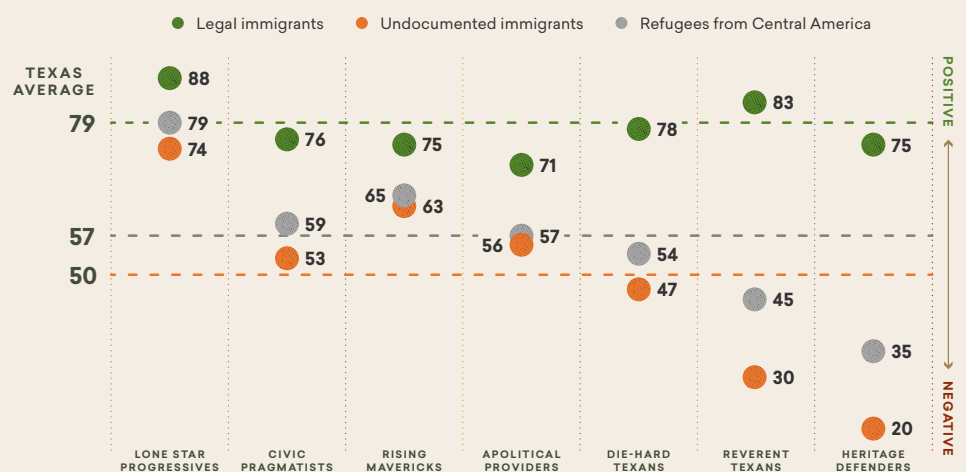


Question text: Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings towards certain groups.

Source: More in Common (2021)

## FEELINGS TOWARD DIFFERENT IMMIGRANT GROUPS

Documentation status matters. Most Texans have positive feelings toward immigrants who arrived via an authorized process<sup>2</sup> and less positive perceptions toward undocumented immigrants and refugees



Question text: Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings towards certain groups.

Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the report, immigrants who arrived in the country via an authorized process are labeled legal immigrants when shown in graphs and figures.

FIGURE 0.7

## HISTORICAL INJUSTICES.

Lone Star Progressives overwhelmingly hope to address historical wrongs



Mirroring the rest of the country, Texas has witnessed waves of social movements and civil right protests in recent years. Grappling with calls to examine the state's history as well as anti-Black racism in the present day, **Texans are divided about how to address issues of slavery and racism in their past, how to confront modern day racism and how to move forward.** Lone Star Progressives diverge significantly from other Texans, with 90 percent saying that Texans should continue to look critically at the state's legacy of slavery. On the other hand, Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders are fiercely defensive of Texan history. Other groups are more evenly split, with Rising Mavericks and Civic Pragmatists leaning toward a more critical view of the past.

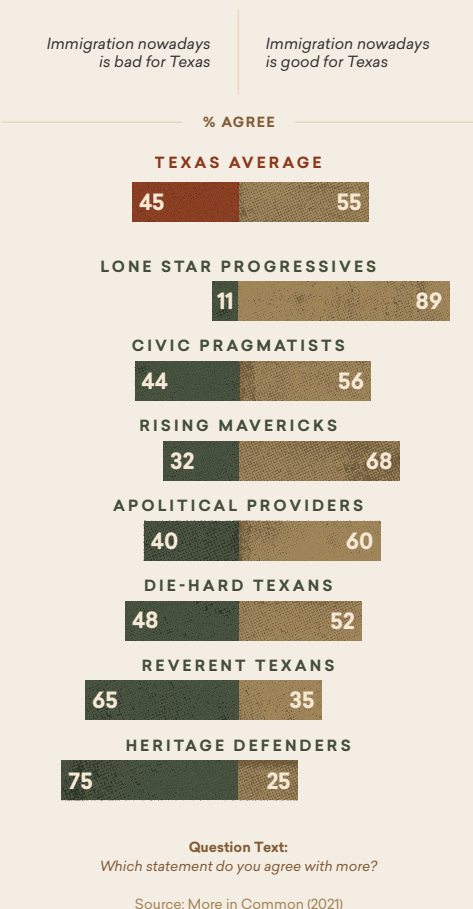
**"I THINK TEXAS' HISTORY OF SLAVERY SHOULD BE TAUGHT, BUT ALSO SUPPLEMENTED WITH WAYS TO EQUIP KIDS ON HOW THEY CAN HELP, HOW THEY CAN CHANGE OTHER PEOPLE'S OPINIONS, AND HOW TO HELP THE UNITED STATES KIND OF GROW FORWARD."**

**— TERESA, CIVIC PRAGMATIST, WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X**

FIGURE 0.8

## IMMIGRATION

The Threads are divided in their views on the impact of immigration

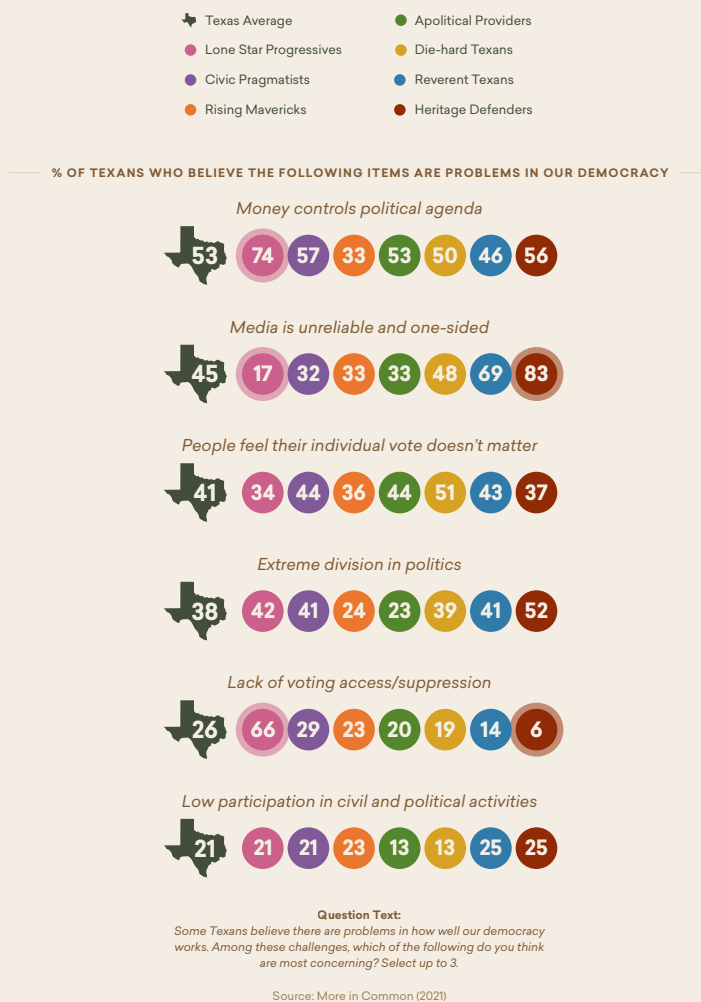


Overall, a slight majority of Texans view immigration positively, though stark division across the Threads is evident. There is a 64-point difference between Heritage Defenders and Lone Star Progressives on this issue, reflecting its centrality to the divisions among Texans. Both groups diverge significantly from other groups in the strength of their views. Among other segments, views range from the more positive among Rising Mavericks to the more negative among Reverent Texans.

FIGURE 0.9

## PROBLEMS IN OUR DEMOCRACY

The majority of Texans are concerned that money has too much influence in politics



**“I DON'T BELIEVE THAT IMMIGRATION IS AN ISSUE. I BELIEVE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS THE ISSUE. THE LEGAL SYSTEM IS BROKEN, BECAUSE IT'S TOO DIFFICULT. WE HAVE TO FIX THE LEGAL IMMIGRATION PROCESS, OR WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO HAVE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.”**

**— DAVID, REVERENT TEXAN, WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER**

While most Texans (83 percent) think it is important that Texas be governed democratically, they see democracy as it currently works in the country to be far from perfect. Across the Texas Threads, concern about the influence of money in politics is widely shared, and this strong concern is a rare example of common ground between the two groups most highly engaged in political issues — the Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders. There is widespread concern that the media is not trustworthy, a concern that is much stronger among groups with more conservative values such as Heritage Defenders and the Reverent Texans. Other widely held concerns include whether an individual’s vote really matters, and the extent of polarization. Lone Star Progressives are more distressed by restrictions on access to voting, gerrymandering and voter suppression.

As Texans look ahead, a solid majority believe that the state’s future lies in knowledge-based industries (e.g. technology, health care, and education) and not in the oil and gas industries that have built prosperity in the past. Segments with a higher proportion of older Texans, Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders are less convinced, with almost two-thirds seeing oil and gas as central to Texas’ economic future. Lone Star Progressives take the opposite view, believing that knowledge-based industries will define the state’s future economy. Majorities in all other segments share this view, though not as overwhelmingly.

FIGURE 0.10

ECONOMY

Most segments, except Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders, see knowledge-based industries as the driver of Texas’ economic success

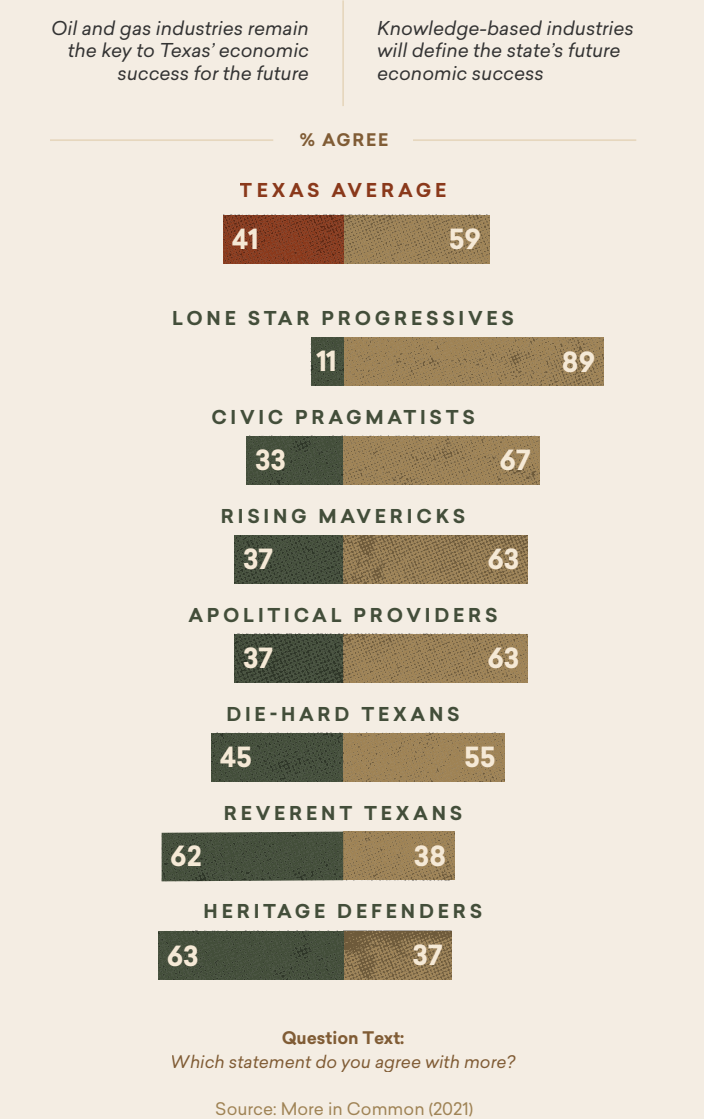


FIGURE 0.11

EDUCATION

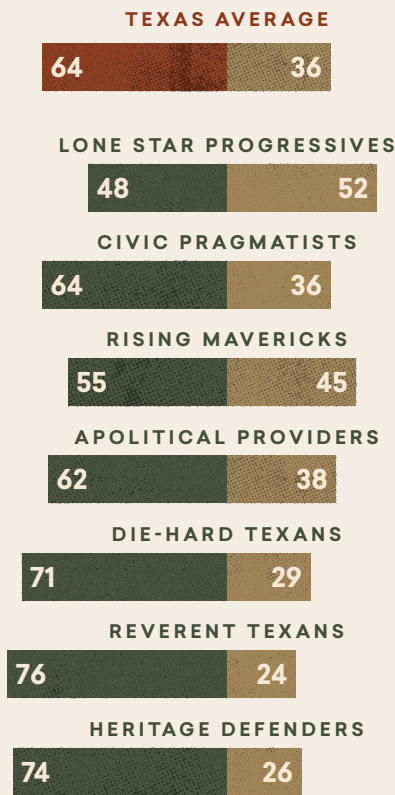
Most Texans prioritize teaching young people trade skills over higher-level education

*The education system in Texas should provide a path for young people...*

...to learn trade skills necessary to get a job

...toward higher education to compete in a knowledge economy

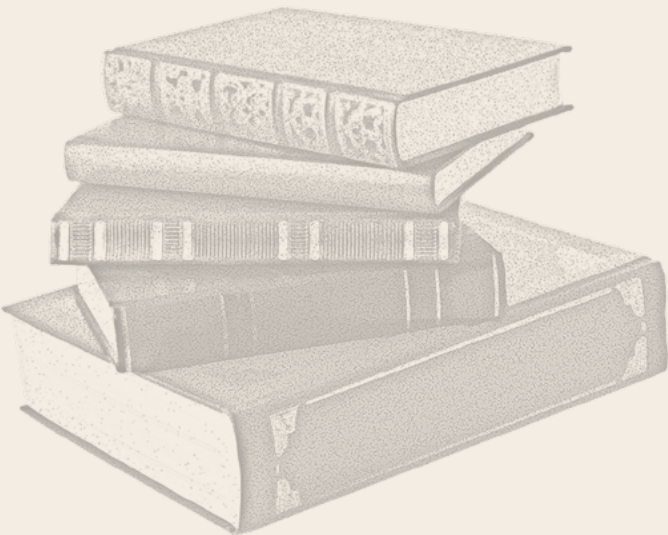
% AGREE



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Majorities of most segments believe that the education system in Texas should prioritize equipping young people with the trade skills necessary for them to get a job, as opposed to providing a path toward higher-level education to compete in a knowledge economy. While many Texans believe that the future of Texas will be determined more by knowledge-economy industries (as shown in Figure 0.10), this finding suggests that many Texans who anticipate a trend toward a knowledge economy also see trade skills as valuable tools for success.



ISSUES THAT DIVIDE AND UNITE

# TRADITION AND ENDURING IDENTITY

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## SHARED VALUES OF THE TEXAS THREADS

Texas is changing, amidst the rise of a new generation and the transformation of the state's economy. While there are multiple fault lines, a deeper exploration of the beliefs and aspirations of Texans finds many opportunities to build common ground.

**The “true Texan values and identity” that matter most to the majority of Texans are not those of faith, political identity or issues, or skin color, but attitudes of neighborliness, hard work, and belief in freedom, liberty and equality. These traditional values unite Texans across all ages, races, ideologies, and are embraced by newcomers and old-timers alike.**

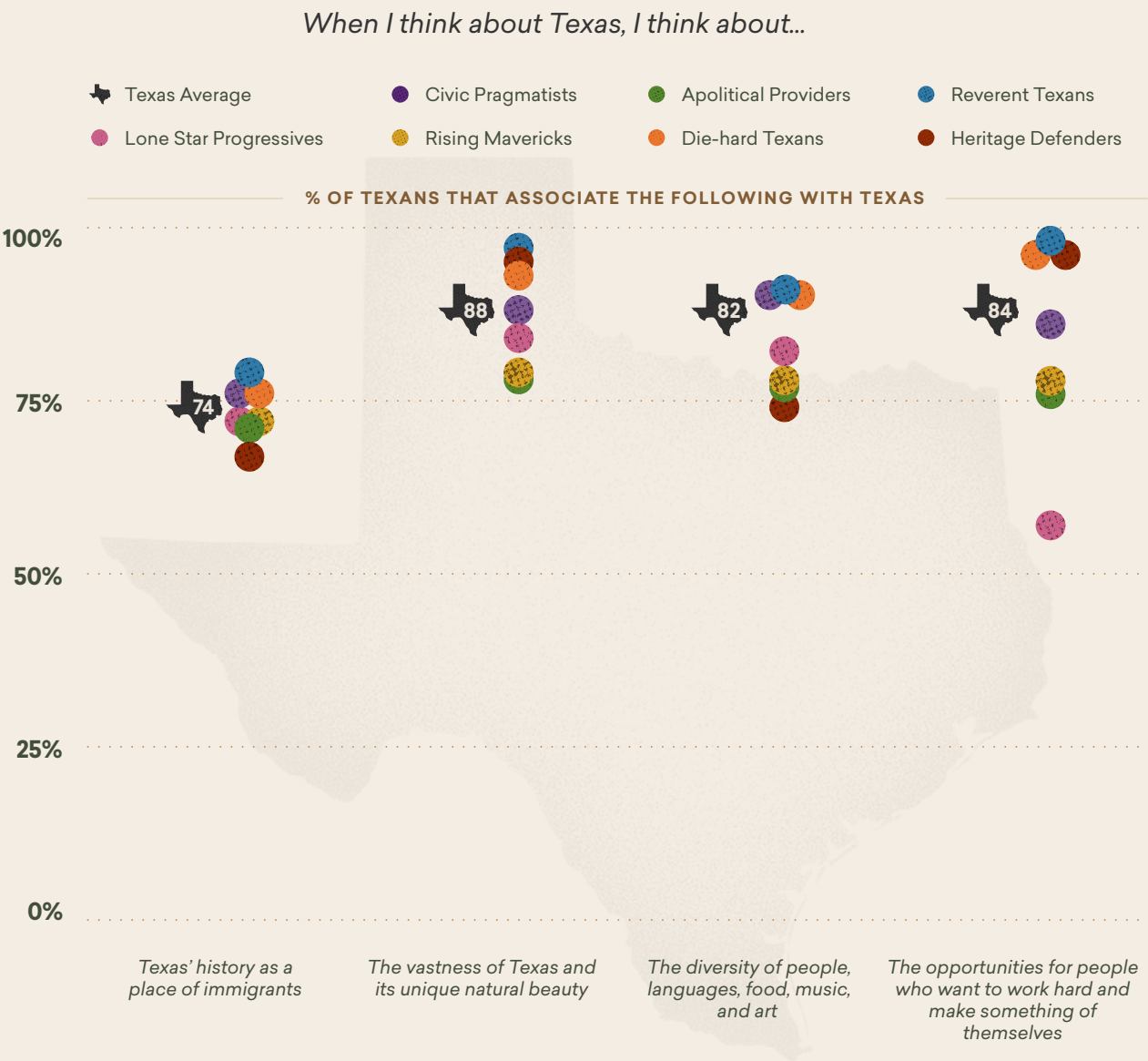
This shared sense of Texan identity is also reflected in how Texans across all segments think about Texas as their home: most associate Texas with its history as a place of immigrants and see it as a place known for its natural beauty, its diversity of people and culture, and opportunities for individuals to work hard and make something of themselves.



FIGURE 0.12

TEXAN IDENTITY

Despite their differences, the Threads share a similar understanding of what Texas means to them



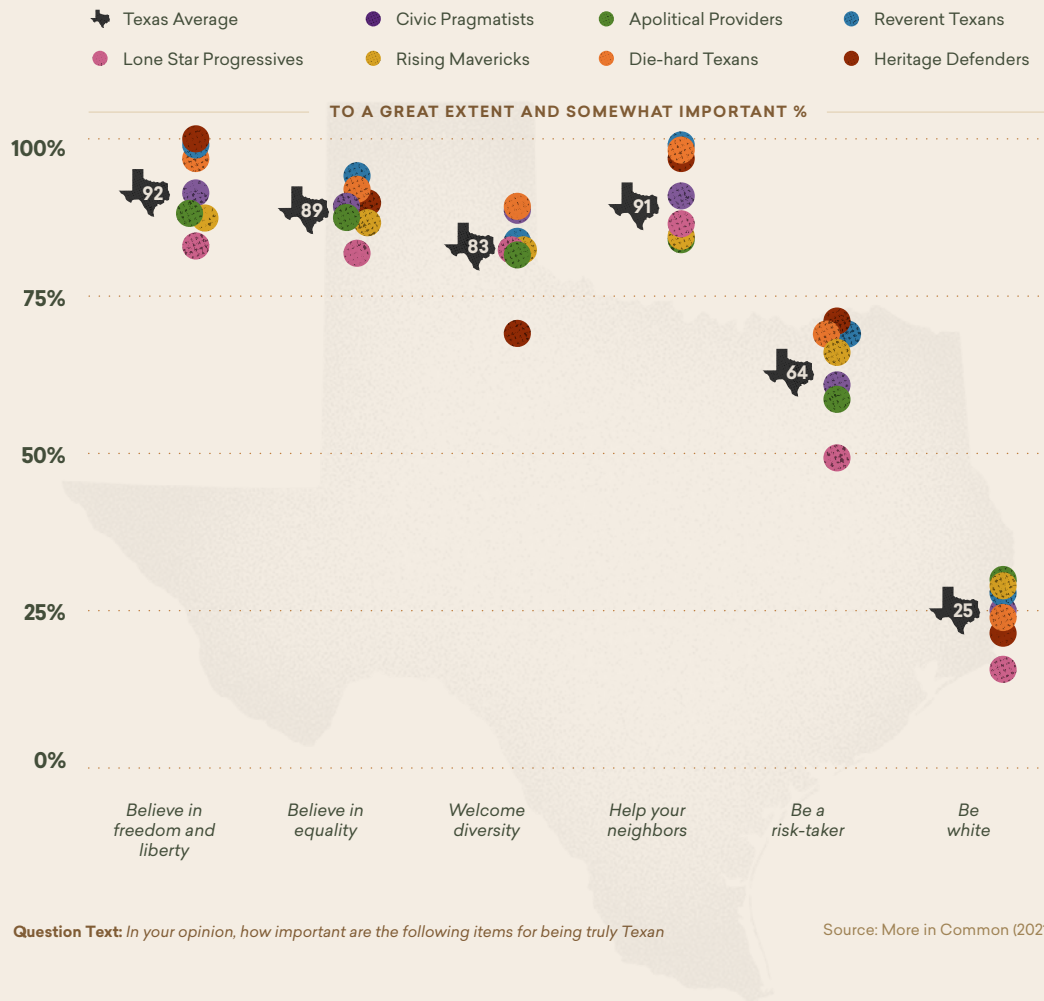
Most Texans value freedom, liberty and equality — these are words and concepts typically associated with Texas. However, helping your neighbors and welcoming diversity are equally important as defining Texan values, ones that rank higher than being a risk-taker. This finding suggests

that while self-reliance and neighborly spirit are often presented as mutually exclusive or in binary, many Texans embrace both notions. Texans recognize that behind a rugged individualistic ethos, there is a strong sense of community and deep commitment to the common good.

FIGURE 0.12

## TEXAN VALUES

Texans view helping neighbors, and belief in freedom, liberty and equality as core Texan values



“I FEEL LIKE TEXAS IS AN EXTREMELY HOSPITABLE PLACE. EVERYBODY'S WELCOMED. BUT JUST MOVING TO TEXAS DOESN'T MAKE YOU A TEXAN. EMBRACING TEXAS MAKES YOU A TEXAN. IT ALSO MEANS EMBRACING OTHER CULTURES AND OTHER THINGS THAT BUILT TEXAS, AND EMBRACING THE THOUGHT THAT PEOPLE CAN COME HERE AND MAKE SOMETHING OF THEMSELVES AND BE PRETTY MUCH ANYTHING THAT THEY WANT TO BE.”

— CARRIE, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

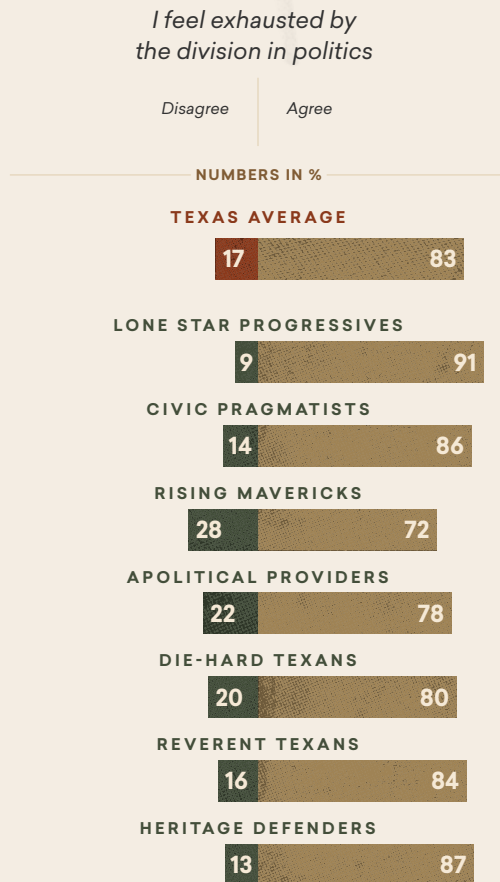
# IV. WHAT TEXANS HAVE IN COMMON

## TEXANS ARE EXHAUSTED BY POLARIZATION – AND BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE MORE IN COMMON THAN WHAT DIVIDES THEM

FIGURE 0.13

### FEELINGS OF EXHAUSTION

Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders – the most politically engaged groups – are the most likely to feel exhausted by political division

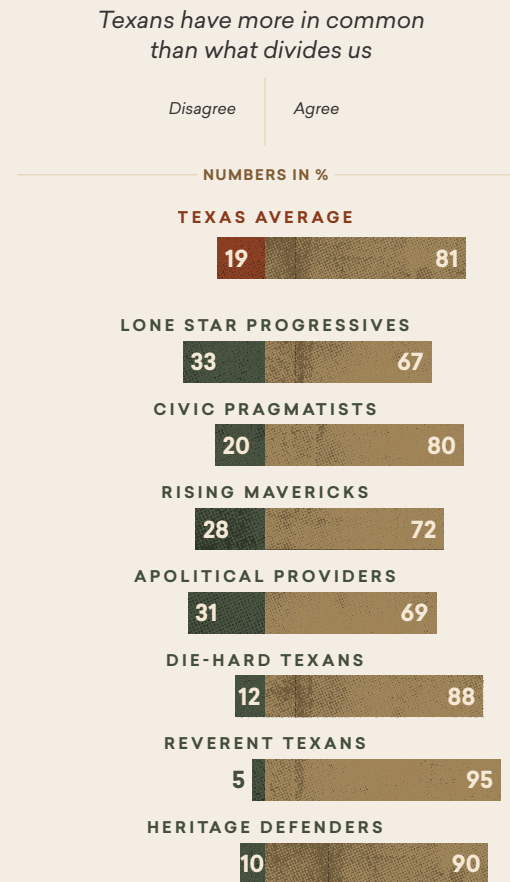


Question Text:  
How much do you agree with the following statements about Texas today?

Source: More in Common (2021)

### MORE IN COMMON VS. DIVISION

Texans overwhelmingly believe that Texans have more in common with each other



Question Text:  
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

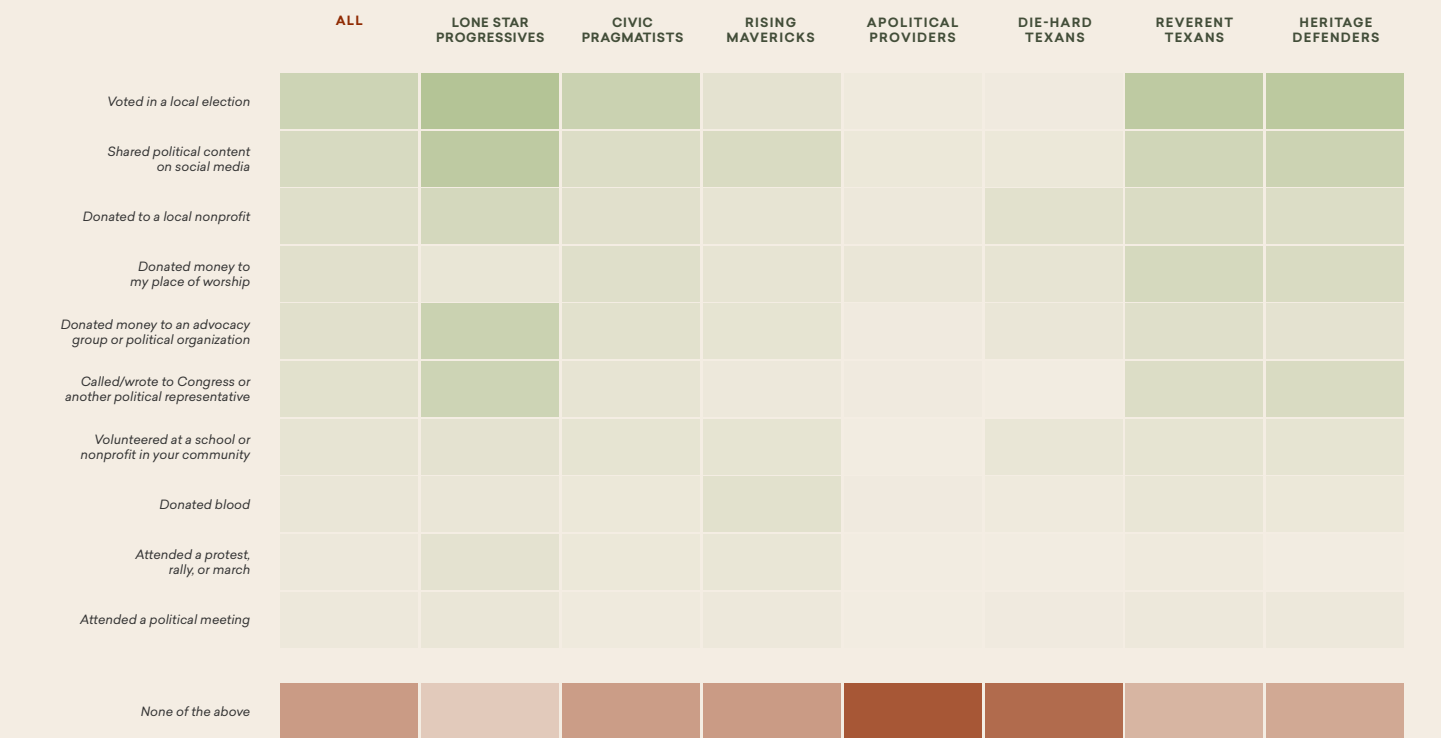
Texans share common ground in being deeply fatigued by the country’s polarization. An overwhelming 83 percent majority of Texans feel exhausted by political division, with the highest levels of exhaustion shared by the most politically engaged and active groups – the Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders (91 percent and 87 percent respectively).

Yet Texans have not given up on each other. Four in five believe that they have more in common than divides them (81 percent). The groups with the highest levels of confidence in other Texans are Reverent Texans and Die-hard Texans, potentially reflecting their values of faith and community. The sentiment is overwhelmingly shared across every segment.

**FIGURE 0.14**

**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT**

The more ideological segments are more politically engaged



Question text: Here is a list of activities that some people participate in. In the past year, which of the following have you taken part in? (Check all that apply) Source: More in Common (2021)

Levels of civic engagement among Texans diverge significantly. These differences reflect unique characteristics of each segment. Reverent Texans are active supporters of faith communities, and they share with Heritage Defenders and Civic Pragmatists a commitment to supporting their places of worship.

Lone Star Progressives, Heritage Defenders and Reverent Texans are the most politically engaged, through voting, supporting local nonprofits, sharing political content online, and in the case of Lone Star Progressives, protesting and donating money to advocacy groups.

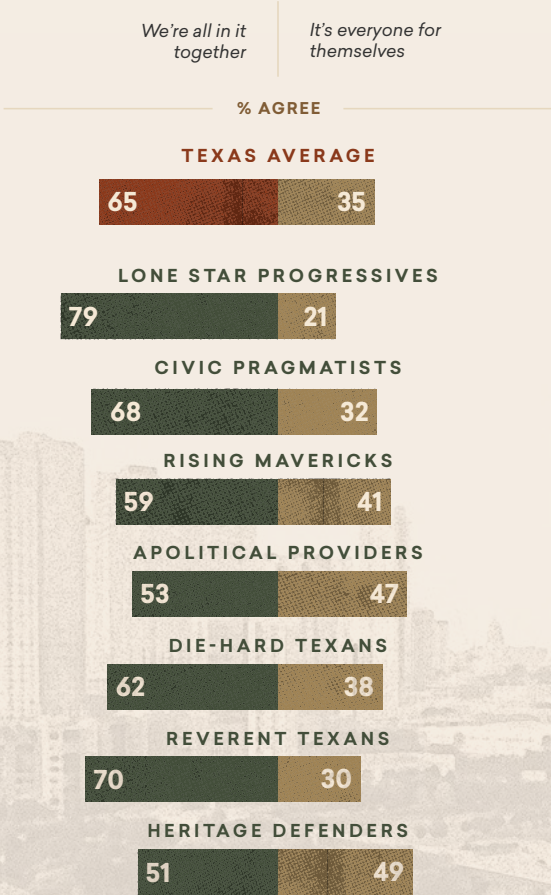
Rising Mavericks are somewhat active in their local communities, such as through donating blood and volunteering. Much lower levels of civic engagement are found among Apolitical Providers and Die-hard Texans, around 7 in 10 of whom do not report any form of civic engagement in the past year. There is a vast, untapped potential within these groups — suggesting that efforts to increase civic participation should focus in particular on these Texans, and on overcoming their hurdles to participation.

The spirit of community and neighborly support witnessed in the winter storm of 2021 is reflected in the fact that two in three Texans share the spirit of being “all in it together” rather than “everyone for themselves”. While the less civically engaged groups are below the statewide average, and the embattled Heritage Defenders lower still, a majority in every segment still shares this sense of solidarity and common spirit.

FIGURE 0.15

UNITY VS. SELF-INTEREST

Majority of the Texas Threads believe in unity and togetherness



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

ISSUES THAT DIVIDE AND UNITE

IDEAL TEXAS:  
MOST TEXANS ASPIRE TO A TEXAS WHERE EVERYONE BELONGS.

FIGURE 0.16

IDEAL TEXAS

Most Texans aspire to a Texas where everyone belongs

IDEAL TEXAS	% OF TEXANS WHO SEE THE FOLLOWING AS THEIR IDEAL TEXAS							
	TEXAS AVERAGE	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
A Texas where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong	61	95	70	63	51	70	47	20
A Texas that is the leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs and industries	44	78	46	41	42	33	25	44
A Texas where someone can make something of themselves	42	54	37	35	36	46	36	67
A Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values	38	2	15	24	20	53	76	85
A Texas that honors God	28	2	23	15	15	33	58	38
A Texas that is a leader in shaping American culture and politics	23	37	22	18	16	24	19	33
Don't know	6	1	9	8	18	3	1	0

Question text: Describe your ideal Texas. Among the following, which ones match your aspirations for Texas? (Select 3) Source: More in Common (2021)

Most Texans see their ideal Texas as one where “people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong.” Around half of Reverent Texans also share this sentiment, but along with the Heritage Defenders, they are also most likely to agree that “a Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values” aligns with their vision for the Lone Star state.

These aspirations are not mutually exclusive. A Texas that proudly celebrates its traditions while upholding the values of inclusivity and respect could be a state where all Threads may thrive.

What emerges from the Threads of Texas research is a hopeful vision for the future of Texas. There are challenges in reconciling tradition with change. There is a need for caution among the groups whose identities are most linked to political and social issues, and who often dominate public debates and social media: in significant ways, their views diverge from most Texans. But these groups also share a sense of exhaustion with division and have the potential to make an outsized contribution to bridging divides.

Texans are less deeply divided than is often assumed. Overwhelmingly, Texans still believe in each other, and believe that they share more common ground despite fault lines and differences. They want their state to live up to the Texan ideal of being a place where people of all races, backgrounds, and faiths can belong. Across the seven Threads of Texas, ridges and disagreements exist, reflecting differing perceptions of change and their own role in a changing Texas. But a rich tapestry of shared values, optimism and pride also bind the distinctive Threads together.

The goal of the Threads of Texas study is to illustrate the diversity of Texan views, attitudes, and feelings about their future, and highlight the enduring values and identities that Texans share. Better understanding of the reasons for differences can help inform and inspire efforts to bring Texans together. Undoubtedly, leadership, initiative and sustained work are needed to forge a sense of common purpose, and none of this is easy. But it is possible. Texas can become a beacon of a “can do” pioneering spirit that makes tomorrow’s Texas a place of belonging and recognition for all its people, with a sense of pride rooted in the best of Texan traditions, and a deep sense of common purpose in facing the future together.

The report structure is as follows:

#### **CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **CHAPTER 2: THE THREADS OF TEXAS**

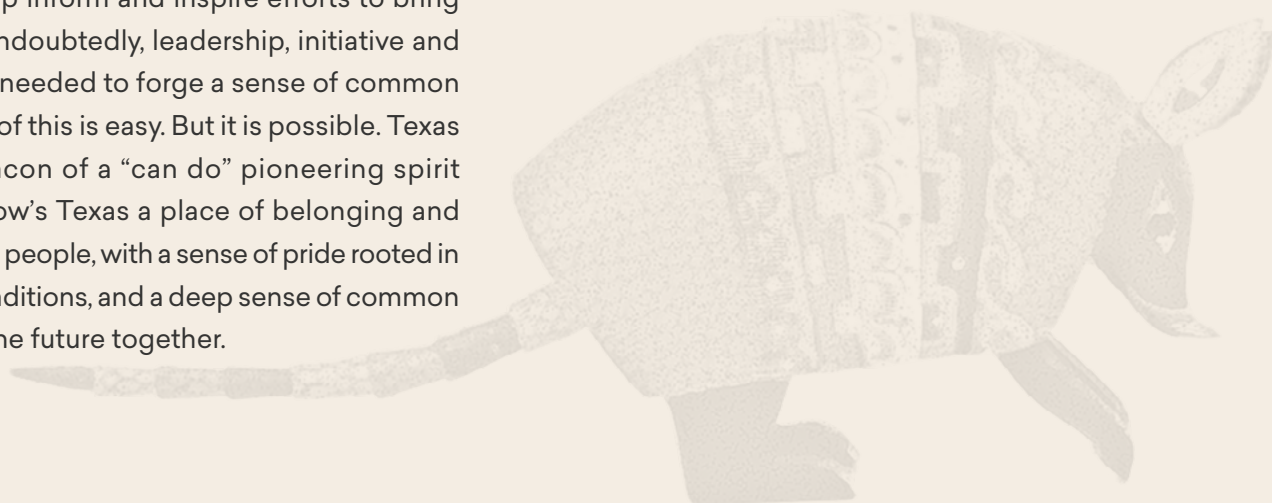
#### **CHAPTER 3: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE TEXAS THREADS**

#### **CHAPTER 4: IDENTITY**

#### **CHAPTER 5: ISSUES THAT DIVIDE AND UNITE**

#### **CHAPTER 6: WEAVING AN INCLUSIVE TEXAS FUTURE**

#### **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**



## CHAPTER 1

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# METHODOLOGY

## THE THREADS OF TEXAS STUDY HAS TWO KEY GOALS.

First, it aims to **describe** Texas and Texans as they face the challenges and opportunities of a rapidly changing state. We build on previous research studies and annual surveys that follow Texan trends and the most pressing issues of concern. Rather than focusing on demographic factors to highlight similarities and differences across key issues, we uncovered unique segments of Texans that vary according to their orientation toward Texan identity, their views and attitudes toward change in their state, and their civic and political engagement. The segments provide more nuanced and accurate depictions of Texans, illustrating the breadth of civic, cultural, and political attitudes; it is from this lens that we paint a more comprehensive picture of the Texas landscape. The seven segments we identify—the Threads of Texas—show us what and how Texans think, where they agree and how they disagree. It allows us to **identify** areas to strengthen common ground and build coalitions that can work for change.

To achieve these objectives, we conducted mixed-methods research in 2020 and 2021.

## METHODOLOGY

# TEXAS CONVERSATIONS

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To bring the widest possible range of perspectives for this project, More in Common established relationships with Texas organizations, businesses, nonprofits, and leaders across sectors, themes, and geographies. We reached out to national civic organizations who lead chapters, projects, and programs within the state. Most importantly, we consulted with people who call Texas home. These conversations helped identify areas of focus for our research, relevant existing Texas studies, and gaps in our own knowledge; engaging with Texans from a diversity of backgrounds also rooted our work in the voices, perspectives, and experiences of everyday Texans. Insights from these consultations were integrated both in the quantitative (e.g. survey questions) and qualitative (e.g. questions in focus group discussions) phases of the research and in the writing of this report.



## METHODOLOGY

# QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

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**Survey 1.** In July and August 2020, More in Common in partnership with YouGov conducted online survey interviews in both English and Spanish with 4,000 adults living in Texas, about 7 percent of whom participated in the Spanish language version of the survey.<sup>3</sup> For a full list of sample sizes and demographic breakdowns, please see the appendix. We posed questions on Texan identity, the current and future state of Texas, Texans' view of their state vis-a-vis the country, and topical issues such as the coronavirus pandemic, racial justice movement, and the 2020 Presidential election. In addition, the research instrument covered demographics, partisanship, ideology, moral values, civic engagement, media consumption behaviors, and views on the education system, immigration, and race relations in Texas. A hierarchical clustering analysis (described in greater detail below) was then conducted.

We aimed to capture a sample that was representative of the adult Texas population. The sample was weighted via propensity score weighting followed by post-stratification.

The variables—gender, age, race, and education—were included in the propensity score formula. Weights were then post-stratified on the 2016 Presidential vote and a four-way stratification of categorical age, gender, education, and race. Sampling and weighting targets were drawn from the 2018 American Community Survey by weighted stratified sampling with replacement. The margin of error for the full Texas sample is  $\pm 1.92$  percent.

**Survey 2.** We fielded another survey in March 2021, to a 1,000 respondent re-sample of the original  $N=4,000$ . The survey included questions about the winter storm and power crisis in February 2021, attitudes toward state and local politicians, and views on climate and the environmental movement. As with the first survey, the sample was weighted to be representative of gender, age, race, education, and political affiliation. The margin of error for survey 2 is  $\pm 4.53$  percent.

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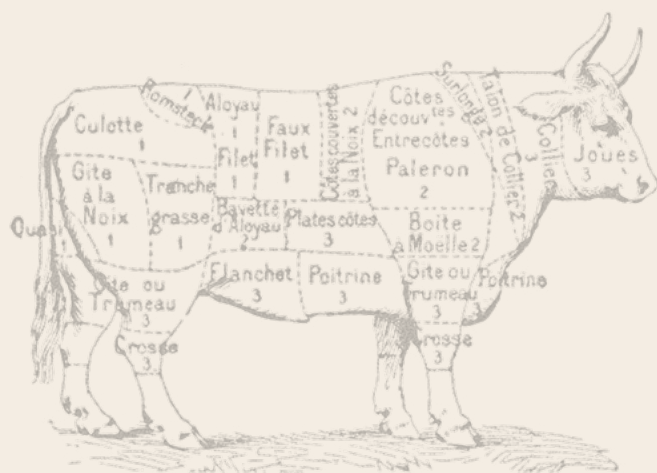
<sup>3</sup> We used the term Hispanic throughout the report as per the term used in the US Census Bureau data and as per consultations with Texans. We are aware that some Hispanic Texans use different terms (e.g. Hispanic, Latino, Latina, Latinx) to describe themselves and we keep their preferred terms in their quotes.

# QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

## SEGMENTATION ANALYSIS: KEY VARIABLES

Variables we included in the cluster analysis were informed by the conversations and consultations with our Texas partners and reflected the most salient narratives in the data.

- People's level of interest in following politics and partaking in political and civic activities.
- Frequency of talking about politics
- Voting history (2012, 2016, 2018 midterm election)
- Frequency of social media use



35

## METHODOLOGY

# QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

## SEGMENTATION ANALYSIS: OUTCOME VARIABLES

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**OUTCOME VARIABLES.** Following the segmentation, we compared and contrasted the segments on the following issues and current events relevant to Texas society today:

- Immigration
- Race and social justice
- Education
- Democracy, electoral politics, and the 2020 Presidential Election
- Religion
- The coronavirus pandemic, COVID-19 policies, and government response

**OTHER VARIABLES OF INTEREST.** Finally, we included variables that explored psychological underpinnings of individuals' orientation toward others and toward changes. We measure these factors to examine how Texans' beliefs about agency and morality relate to varying perceptions of threat and openness toward others.

### CORE PSYCHOLOGICAL BELIEFS:

- **Group Identity:** the extent to which people identify with different groups based on nationality, gender, political party, ethnicity and other factors; and their views on who is mistreated in American society.
- **Individualism vs. Collectivism:** the extent to which the system should be designed to maximize either individual goals or collective goals
- **Personal Agency:** the extent to which people view personal success as the product of individual factors (e.g. hard work and discipline) versus societal factors (e.g. luck and circumstance).
- **Sense of Belonging:** the extent to which people feel like they belong and are accepted in their communities.
- **Moral Foundations:** measured using an abridged version of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire by Jonathan Haidt.<sup>5</sup> Moral Foundations measure the extent to which people endorse certain values or “foundations,” including fairness, care, purity, authority and loyalty.



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<sup>5</sup> Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5), 1029.

# QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH: STEPS FOR CLUSTER ANALYSIS:

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**STEP 1.** Select input variables. Initial data analyses and consultations with partners in Texas suggest that cluster analysis focusing on the above key variables allows us to identify and understand patterns in Texans' worldviews that shape their attitudes and behaviors. We aimed to include variables that measured nuances not captured by conventional demographic and political analyses. Of note, no standard demographics or party identification questions were used in the analysis.

**STEP 2.** Generate a distance matrix. Gower distance was used, as an ideal solution for mixed variable types. Gower distance is defined as the average of partial dissimilarities across individuals. "Partial dissimilarities" refers to the feature-specific distances between individuals. Variables are standardized, and the appropriate distance measure for each variable type (such as Manhattan for continuous, or Dice for categorical) is computed between individuals, and then averaged, to obtain the Gower distance matrix.

**STEP 3.** Identify clusters in the data. We conducted an agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis to identify segments. This created a taxonomic output that allowed us to observe the clusters present in the data.

**STEP 4.** Refine the clusters. We ran several iterations of the cluster analyses in order to identify the clustering strategy with the most informational value. The number of clusters selected was based upon the following a priori criteria:

- Each cluster should be of sufficient sample size to create a margin of error small enough to allow for comparative analysis across all our questions. We set a minimum of approximately 300 total survey respondents per cluster, so that in questions where we had applied two-way split sampling we would have a minimum of 150. This provided an upper limit on the number of possible clusters.
- Clusters should be sufficiently small to allow for the detection of identifiable characteristics—at most approximately 1,000 people per cluster. This provided a lower limit on the number of possible clusters.

**STEP 5.** Name the clusters. Names were assigned to each cluster after extensive reviews of their most relevant and distinctive characteristics. We conducted multiple rounds of consultations with Texans to ensure that the final labels accurately depicted the most salient features of each segment with regard to Texan identity and attitudes toward change.

## METHODOLOGY

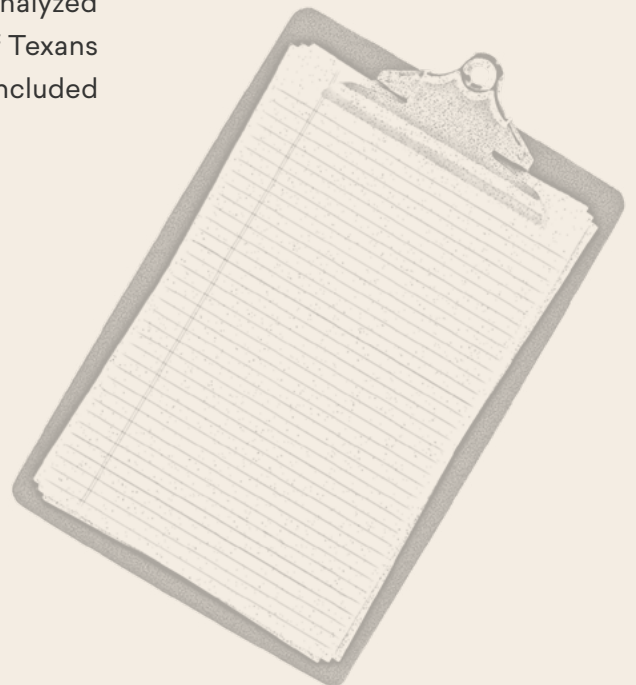
# QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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In addition to quantitative research, More in Common conducted several rounds of qualitative research. We spoke with more than one hundred Texans from a variety of backgrounds, geographic locations, industries, and sectors through focus groups and individual conversations. The initial round included five thematic focus groups with participants of different demographic backgrounds—Spanish-speaking Texans in border regions, Black Texans, young Texans, Dallas/Fort Worth residents, and parents of school-aged children in the El Paso area—with a broadly representative distribution of respondents from each segment. We then carried out seven focus groups with Texans from each of the seven segments identified through cluster analysis.

The themes we probed in focus groups and in-depth interviews included Texan identity, the future of Texas, race, immigration, civic participation, views on the democratic institutions, and the coronavirus pandemic. The questions and themes in each interview were tailored to the respective segment or sector to better understand and highlight participants' distinct values and worldviews.

All interviews and focus groups were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed to obtain a description of the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of Texans in their own words. Quotes from focus groups and interviews are included throughout the report.<sup>6</sup>



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<sup>6</sup> Where provided, names have been changed to protect the privacy of the respondent. Quotes from focus groups conducted in Spanish were translated into English.

## CHAPTER 2

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# THE THREADS OF TEXAS

This chapter provides in-depth profiles of the seven Texas segments. We describe each segment's most defining features, with a focus on the group's attitudes toward the future of Texas and the beliefs underlying these attitudes.

The seven Texas segments are: **Lone Star Progressives**, **Civic Pragmatists**, **Rising Mavericks**, **Apolitical Providers**, **Die-hard Texans**, **Reverent Texans**, and **Heritage Defenders**. Each group varies in their sense of identity and how they approach change. Related to these attitudes are their core beliefs about agency and personal responsibility, trust, and moral foundations.

As discussed in the methodology section, we did not use political party membership as a basis for determining the segments,<sup>7</sup> opting instead to evaluate political and civic engagement. Notably, even without relying on political affiliation as a basis for forming our segments, several of our segments have a clear ideological quality. This implies that attitudes toward Texas, orientation and optimism toward the future, and participation in civic activities corresponded at least partially with Texans' political outlook.

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<sup>7</sup> An important caveat: Cluster analysis is at its best a good approximation of the common characteristics across a group of individuals. Not everyone will match with all the traits perfectly, and there is always variation within each segment. For more details, the appendix contains the complete demographic information of all segments.

# THE SEVEN THREADS OF TEXAS

LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES

14%

CIVIC PRAGMATISTS

22%

RISEING MAVERICKS

12%

APOLITICAL PROVIDERS

12%

DIE-HARD TEXANS

9%

REVERENT TEXANS

22%

HERITAGE DEFENDERS

9%

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# LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES

# 14%

OF TEXANS



**Lone Star Progressives** have strong ideological views, high levels of political activism and socioeconomic status. A common characteristic of Lone Star Progressives is the sentiment of feeling alienated in Texas. Compared to other Threads, they are the least likely to feel accepted or part of a community that understands them. They are also the least proud of being Texan and they do not identify with the more patriotic, liberty-centric, Texan identities.

#### **Top issues for Lone Star Progressives:**

COVID-19, Healthcare, Racism/Race Relations, and Climate Change

“I think Texas is becoming more dangerous because people are more selfish, more about themselves and do not care about other people. But then you do have those moments where you do still see communities that come together and take care of each other.”

— Ruby, Lone Star Progressive, Black woman, Millennial

**Notably, Lone Star Progressives are the segment most likely to say that they are very exhausted by the division in politics.** Lone Star Progressives tend to be empathetic toward others, both those in and outside of their community.

One reason they cite for feeling less proud of Texas is what they see as a lack of empathy toward historically ‘othered’ groups (e.g. immigrants, homeless people). They are the group most likely to fear violence will result from political divisions.

At the same time however, Lone Star Progressives are excited about new opportunities in a rapidly changing Texas. More than any other Thread, they believe that Texans working toward a common goal will determine the future of the state. Lone Star Progressives overwhelmingly believe that knowledge-based industries (e.g. tech, healthcare) rather than oil and gas, will define the state’s economic future.

**Their ideal Texas is a Texas for everyone, where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and feel like they belong.** This group is the most economically and socially liberal of any segment, with 80 percent

identifying as or leaning Democrat. Many self-identify as having very liberal economic and social views. They are politically engaged, following politics regularly, and tuning in to social media and to national sources such as CNN, NBC, New York Times, and NPR. Lone Star Progressives are also more secular than any other Thread, with 62 percent saying that religion is not too important or not at all important to them.

Lone Star Progressives condemn the history of slavery in Texas and what they perceive as persistent racial injustices.

They believe that white supremacists are a growing concern in Texas. The disquiet of Lone Star Progressives stems from a strong orientation around empathy and fairness — values reflected in their focus on social justice — and the belief that building a more just Texas may be an uphill climb.

**“IF YOU'RE NOT LOOKING CRITICALLY AT THE PAST, YOU'RE NOT ACTUALLY TEACHING HISTORY, YOU'RE TEACHING A STORY THAT YOU WANT TO TELL, WHICH IS NOT THE SAME THING.”**

**— DANIEL,  
LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE,  
WHITE MAN, MILLENNIAL**

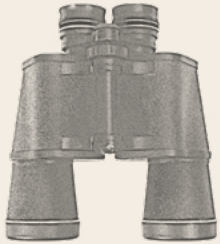
### **THE CORE BELIEFS OF LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES:**

- Most important values are **care** and **fairness**
- Overwhelmingly believe that the economic system should value collective over individual interests
- While political beliefs are a significant dimension of their identity; they are least likely to say that being Texan or American is important to their identity.
- Compared to other groups, they are the most likely to subscribe to the belief that people's outcomes in life are **determined largely by forces outside of their control** (for example, that luck and circumstance exert significant control in people’s lives over hard work and effort).

Lone Star Progressives are evenly represented in terms of age ranges and gender. A majority of the segment are white Texans (58 percent), 22 percent identify as Hispanic, and 12 percent as Black Texans. They have the highest levels of education and socioeconomic status, with about half (48 percent) holding a bachelor's or a postgraduate degree.

COMPARED TO 🇹🇽 THE AVERAGE TEXAN

# Lone Star Progressives are:



68%

v. 🇹🇽 46%

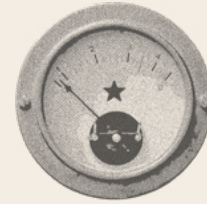
More likely to follow politics most of the time



48%

v. 🇹🇽 28%

More likely to have a 4-year or postgraduate degree



2x

More than twice as liberal on political ideology

67% v. 🇹🇽 28%

5x

Less likely to say they strongly feel like they are part of a community of people who understand, care and help each other

8% v. 🇹🇽 40%



5x

Less likely to say being Texan is very important to them

7% v. 🇹🇽 36%

74%

v. 🇹🇽 50%

More likely to say Texas' future will be determined by Texans working collectively toward a common goal

4x

Less likely to say they strongly feel accepted for who they are

11% v. 🇹🇽 49%

89%

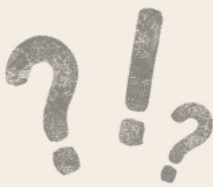
v. 🇹🇽 59%

More likely to say that knowledge-based industries (e.g., tech, health, education) will define the state's future economic success

2.5x

As likely to say they feel frustrated toward Texas

84% v. 🇹🇽 34%



67%

v. 🇹🇽 51%

More likely to strongly agree they feel exhausted by the division in politics

4x

Less likely to say that America would be better if more states were like Texas

15% v. 🇹🇽 72%

39%



v. 🇹🇽 22%

More likely to say things will get worse for Texas society

---

# CIVIC PRAGMATISTS

# 22%

OF TEXANS



**Civic Pragmatists** are optimistic yet pragmatic when they think about a changing Texas. They resist extreme views, and instead seek compromise closer to the political center. Civic pragmatists care about issues of inequality such as racism and sexism, but they are practical rather than ideological in how they think about change. They have diverse political ideologies, and high levels of engagement with political and social issues, with almost 80 percent closely following government affairs and political news. They vote consistently, and nearly all are registered to vote.

## Top issues for Civic Pragmatists:

COVID-19, Immigration, Healthcare, and Economy/Jobs

"I used to be very proud of a lot of things here in Texas. Now it's a little disappointing sometimes to see what's going on. But still, I feel like I belong here. I just wish there was some more of a good balance between political things and acceptance."

— Teresa, Civic Pragmatist, white woman, Generation X

Over a third of Civic Pragmatists think things will be better for Texas in the future while another third say they will stay the same. They are more likely than average to think that Texas' future will be determined by working collectively toward a common goal and collective interests. They strongly believe that knowledge-based industries rather than oil and gas will determine the state's future success. Their ideal Texas is one where the state is a leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs and industries, and where everyone feels safe and a sense of belonging.

**“I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY QUESTION THAT WE HAVE ISSUES WITH THE WAY A NUMBER OF POLICE HAVE BEHAVED. BUT, AGAIN, I DON'T WANT TO SEE US GETTING RID OF THE POLICE.”**

**– JACK,  
CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER**

Most Civic Pragmatists self-identify as moderate or liberal on political and social issues, and moderate to conservative on economic issues. They cite political, class, and racial divisions as the deepest schisms in the state. They are concerned with issues of inequities, police brutality, and border security, yet cautious about drastic changes. Civic

pragmatists believe compromise is necessary and that the path to change happens not by leaps but by gradual steps.

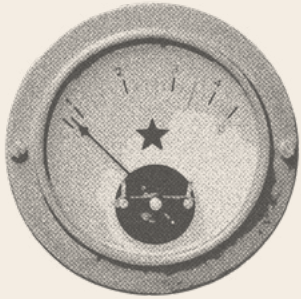
### THE CORE BELIEFS OF CIVIC PRAGMATISTS:

- Important values are **fairness** and **care**
- More likely to believe that people are largely responsible for their own outcomes in life rather than forces outside one's control
- Favor an economic system that values collective over individual interests
- Generally trusting toward other people, believing that they usually or almost always can be trusted
- American, racial, and gender identity are important for the Civic Pragmatists

Civic Pragmatists represent 22 percent of Texans. A racially diverse group, they are comprised of 41 percent white, 34 percent Hispanic, and 18 percent Black Texans, the largest percentage of Black Texans across segments. The Civic Pragmatists have above-average levels of educational attainment: one in five have a 4-year degree, and 10 percent have a postgraduate degree. They mostly live in urban and suburban areas.

COMPARED TO 🇺🇸 THE AVERAGE TEXAN

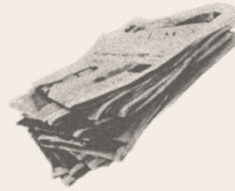
# Civic Pragmatists are:



69%

v. 🇺🇸 55%

More likely to be liberal or moderate on political ideology



54%

v. 🇺🇸 41%

More likely to get their news from mainstream media, such as ABC, CBS and NBC

65%

v. 🇺🇸 54%

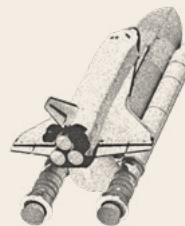
More likely to say that gender inequality continues to be a significant issue today in Texas today



70%

v. 🇺🇸 61%

More likely to think that their ideal Texas is one where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong



67%

v. 🇺🇸 59%

More likely to think that knowledge-based industries (e.g., tech, health, education) will define the state's future economic success

91%

v. 🇺🇸 75%

More likely to be registered and set to vote



61%

v. 🇺🇸 54%

More likely to believe that the mistreatment of racial minorities by the police is part of a broader pattern of racism against Black Americans

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# RISING MAVERICKS

12%  
OF TEXANS



**Rising Mavericks** are proud Texans, though this pride is not undiscerning; for them, holding a strong Texan pride and looking critically at Texas' past can go hand in hand. While they believe that America would be a better place if more states were like Texas, the majority also say that Texans should look critically at their history (57 percent), and that public schools should teach Texas' history of slavery (65 percent).

#### Top issues for Rising Mavericks:

COVID-19, Racism/Race Relations, Immigration

"I am pro immigration. If you have an opportunity to better your life by relocating, awesome. At the same time, I do think that border security is important. There should be some sort of ceiling on the number of people who can immigrate into the country and there should be a process. But I don't think the process should be hard. And people need to be given free legal representation as they're going through that process."

—Sean, Rising Maverick, white man, Millennial

Rising Mavericks are more likely to report being financially insecure, with the majority being younger and/or in school and two-thirds (64 percent) having an annual household income under the state median of \$60,000 a year. However, there is a **strong sense of upward mobility** and confidence among Texans in this group. Seven in ten believe that things will get better for themselves personally in the next five years.

At the same time, Rising Mavericks are also anxious about the future of Texas and their role in it. They are relatively evenly divided in how they see their place in Texas' future, with slightly more feeling positive (54 percent) while others worry about being left behind (46 percent). A majority believe that Texas' future will be determined by risk-taking entrepreneurs. They view knowledge-based industries rather than oil and gas as the key to the state's economic success and their ideal Texas is one that is a leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs.

**“TEXAS IS HUGE AND HAS TOTALLY DIFFERENT LIFESTYLES ACROSS THE STATE. REGARDING TEXAN IDENTITY, WE'RE ALWAYS GOING TO KEEP THAT IDEA OF FRIENDLINESS AND HELPFULNESS. BUT I DO THINK WE'RE IN A TRANSITION PERIOD. WHEN I THINK OF WHAT IT MEANS TO BE TEXAN IN THE FUTURE, I DON'T KNOW.”**

**— CRISTIAN, RISING MAVERICK, HISPANIC MAN, GENERATION Z**

As a group, Rising Mavericks are not adequately described by any specific ideological value. About a third are Democrats, 20 percent are Republicans, and 23 percent are Independents. Yet many are also politically disengaged: 25 percent do not affiliate with any political party, 42

percent did not participate in any civic activities last year. Rising Mavericks are avid social media consumers—71 percent spend more than two hours per day on social media and 38 percent use social media as their primary news source.

**For Rising Mavericks, their ideal Texas is one where everyone feels that they belong.** On social issues (e.g. immigration, racism,

economic inequality), they are well-informed and outspoken, yet are diplomatic and intentional about hearing other views. Rising Mavericks, often conscious of their nuance and uncertainties, reflect the complexities and complications of a younger, self-aware population that will heavily influence the future direction of the state.

### THE CORE BELIEFS OF RISING MAVERICKS:

- Adhere strongly to the values of **fairness** and **care**
- Equally likely to say that the economic system should value individual interests and collective interests
- Likely to think that people usually or almost always cannot be trusted
- Relative to other groups, more likely to agree that to fix Texas, the state needs a leader who is willing to break the rules

Rising Mavericks comprise 12 percent of Texans. **This group is the youngest and most racially and ethnically diverse segment;** about two-thirds are under age 24 and one in five are students. Over half are Hispanic (57 percent) and bilingual Spanish speakers and more than a third (35 percent) are immigrants.

COMPARED TO 🇺🇸 THE AVERAGE TEXAN

# Rising Mavericks are:

4x

More likely to be  
ages 18-24

66% v. 🇺🇸 14%



69%

v. 🇺🇸 55%

More optimistic  
about their future  
in the next five  
years

0.5x



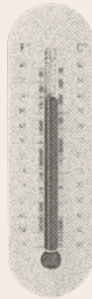
As likely to be  
registered to vote

34% v. 🇺🇸 75%

68%

v. 🇺🇸 55%

More likely to say immigration  
nowadays is good for Texas



26%

More likely to feel  
positively toward  
undocumented  
immigrants

63 v. 🇺🇸 50\*

24%

v. 🇺🇸 41%

Less likely to talk about politics  
frequently

2x

As likely to say they are not sure  
about their political ideology

28% v. 🇺🇸 11%



42%

v. 🇺🇸 59%

Less likely to  
have college  
education



48%

v. 🇺🇸 36%

More likely to live  
in an urban area



57%

v. 🇺🇸 35%

More likely to be  
Hispanic

\*Note: Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings toward certain groups.

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# APOLITICAL PROVIDERS

12%  
OF TEXANS



**Apolitical Providers** are apprehensive about their future and the future of the state. Only about one in four say the next five years will be somewhat or much better for Texas. They are the Thread most likely to worry that they will be left behind in a rapidly changing Texas. Compared to the other Threads, Apolitical Providers are the least likely to engage in political activities; less than 15 percent of eligible Apolitical Providers voters participated in the 2012 and 2016 Presidential elections.

**Top issues for Apolitical Providers:**

COVID-19, Racism/Race Relations,  
Economy/Jobs, Education

“To me, the biggest problem with Texas, is more than overcrowding or anything like that. It’s inequality. I mean, a lot of people commit crimes, because they don’t have the means to live a decent life.”

— Madelyn, Apolitical Provider, white woman, Generation X

Anxious about the future, Apolitical Providers are also divided fairly evenly in their views about the drivers of change, with about half believing that the future is determined by Texans working collectively and the other half predicting it will be Texas pioneers and risk-taking entrepreneurs. The mixed views of Apolitical Providers are evident in their position (or the lack thereof) on several issues. For example, compared to other segments, they are more likely to say that they don't know what an ideal Texas looks like. They do not express strong feelings about many issues and generally feel disconnected from politics.

Apolitical Providers are least likely to have completed post-secondary education, with the majority having completed only high school (or lower) education. At the

same time, they cite education as one of their top priorities. Knowledge-based industries are cited as important for Texas' future.

**"I BELIEVE THAT THE SYSTEM HAS ENOUGH MONEY TO SUPPORT ALL OF US AND THE WHOLE WORLD. WHY CAN'T THEY HELP US?"**

**— HELEN,  
APOLITICAL PROVIDER,  
WHITE WOMAN,  
GENERATION X**

Their disconnect from politics and civic life reflects a sense of discouragement and a feeling that they cannot make much of a difference. Compared to the average Texan, they are more likely to *disagree* with the sentiment that "Texas politicians care about the views of people like me" (58 percent versus 44 percent average). Their dispiritedness is not from animosity toward politics, but from being occupied with more concrete day-to-day concerns. They are juggling school-age kids, aging parents,

and physically demanding jobs. Apolitical Providers are Texans who are just trying to get by.

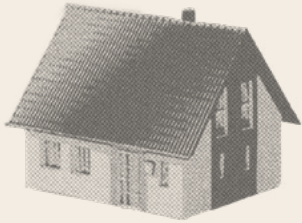
### THE CORE BELIEFS OF APOLITICAL PROVIDERS:

- Relative to other Threads, generally adhere less strongly to any one of the moral foundation values.
- Tend to be more distrustful toward people, believing that they usually or almost always can't be trusted
- Believe that their hard work and effort have played a greater role in their lives than luck and circumstance
- Regard external circumstances as playing a significant role in people's lives and outcomes, and that misfortune is usually because of circumstances outside a person's control rather than something they bring about to themselves

Apolitical Providers, which includes about 12 percent of Texans, is majority female (60 percent); about half are Hispanic (48 percent) and a third are white (34 percent). Around one third have children under 18. Compared to other groups, the Apolitical Providers are most likely to be financially precarious; the majority have an annual household income below \$40,000, and they are the segment significantly more likely than the others to have gone without food or medical care within the past 12 months. They consider themselves lower status in their communities.

COMPARED TO 🇺🇸 THE AVERAGE TEXAN

# Political Providers are:



58%

v. 🇺🇸 40%

More likely to think they have a low standing in their community



48%

v. 🇺🇸 28%

More likely to make less than \$30,000 in annual income

16%

v. 🇺🇸 41%

Less likely to talk politics with friends or family

38%

v. 🇺🇸 74%

Half as likely to say they follow government and public affairs some or most of the time



52%

v. 🇺🇸 37%

More likely to be worried about being left behind in a rapidly changing Texas

2x

As likely to not know their political ideology

29% v. 🇺🇸 11%



31%

v. 🇺🇸 22%

More likely to think that things will get worse for Texas society



59%

v. 🇺🇸 41%

More likely to not have a college education



60%

v. 🇺🇸 51%

More likely to be female



48%

v. 🇺🇸 35%

More likely to be Hispanic

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# DIE-HARD TEXANS

09%

OF TEXANS



**Die-hard Texans** are extremely proud to be Texan. Their most characteristic feature is attachment to their Texan identity. They recognize that Texas can be home to people moving into the state, but feel strongly that to be *truly* Texan, one has to be born and raised in Texas. Their mindset reflects a strong protectiveness around a pure Texan identity, reflected in seeing the world through the lens of Texans-versus-non-Texans or Texas-versus-everyone else.

## **Top issues for Die-hard Texans:**

COVID-19, Economy/Jobs, Immigration, Gun Control/  
Second Amendment Rights

“There is no such thing as a white Texan and a non white Texan. Either you’re Texan or you’re not.”

— **Lydia, Die-hard Texan, Hispanic woman, Millennial**

Compared to the other lower income segments Rising Mavericks and Apolitical Providers, Die-hard Texans are distinctly more optimistic about the future of Texas society. They are slightly more likely to say that Texans working toward a common goal rather than risk-taking pioneers will determine the future of Texas — though this common goal is a Texan-centric collectivism.

This group self-identifies as leaning conservative economically, socially, and politically — though in terms of participation in civic life, they are **not actively engaged**. Fully two thirds (67 percent) say they did not take part in any political or civic activity in the past year, and only about half were registered to vote and planned to vote in 2020. Around half (54 percent) follow politics most or some of the time, and they are most likely to get their news from social media.

Die-hard Texans believe that Texas is the best place to live in out of all the states in America.

They view Texas as home and feel strongly that they belong. Their ideal Texas is one where everyone can feel a sense of belonging in Texas, regardless of background. This pride is evident in their views of Texas vis-a-vis the country: they believe that America would be better if it were like Texas. Die-hard Texans are staunchly defensive of Texas history. For example, over two thirds (69 percent) view confederate monuments as symbols of southern pride.

Die-hard Texans are optimistic for the future because they see themselves in it, yet at the same time are cautious about keeping Texas the way they have known it to be. They embody the fierce pride and self-sufficiency that outsiders

generally associate with Texans. They are deeply connected with their communities. For Die-hard Texans, this connection often manifests as protectiveness — and sometimes defensiveness — about who belongs and who does not belong in Texas.

**"THERE'S A LOT OF OPPORTUNITY. AND TO ME, TEXAS IS HOME. I WAS BORN HERE. AND I CAN'T IMAGINE LIVING ANYWHERE ELSE ACTUALLY. AND ALSO THE FOOD IS GREAT."**

**— LEAH, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
HISPANIC WOMAN,  
BABY BOOMER**

### **THE CORE BELIEFS OF DIE-HARD TEXANS:**

- Hold strong values related to **loyalty** and **purity**
- Hold high importance for their **Texan** and **American identities**
- Strong beliefs in personal responsibility, and that people are largely responsible for their own outcomes rather than outside circumstances
- Likely due to their confidence in the status quo in Texas, they disagree with the proposition that Texas needs a leader who breaks the rules to fix the state's problems

About half of Die-hard Texans are Hispanic (53 percent), a third are white, and one in ten are Black or African American. They are relatively young, with about six in ten under 44 years old, and are relatively lower income (over half have household annual income under \$40,000).

COMPARED TO  THE AVERAGE TEXAN

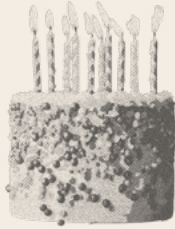
## Die-hard Texans are:



**53%**

v.  **35%**

More likely to be  
Hispanic



**69%**

v.  **51%**

More likely to be  
aged 25-54



**47%**

v.  **28%**

More likely to have  
an annual family  
income less than  
\$30,000

**62%**

v.  **56%**

More likely to say  
that being born  
in Texas is very  
or somewhat  
important to  
being truly Texan



**51%**

v.  **36%**

More likely to  
say being Texan  
is very important  
to them

**44%**

v.  **28%**

More likely to say they  
rarely or never talk politics  
with friends and family

**2x**

As likely to say  
they have no  
plans to vote

**29% v.  11%**

**1.5x**

As likely to say they feel  
confident toward Texas

**86% v.  56%**

**68%**

v.  **55%**

More likely  
to think that  
things will get  
better for them  
personally



**60%**

v.  **43%**

More likely to  
think that things  
will get better  
for Texas society



**89%**

v.  **72%**

More likely to  
say that America  
would be better  
if more states  
were like Texas



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# REVERENT TEXANS

22%  
OF TEXANS



Faith is important to **Reverent Texans**; fully 86 percent say that religion is a significant part of their lives. About half are Protestant Christians — more than in any other segment — the majority of whom identify as evangelical. Reverent Texans have the highest rate of church attendance, with about half attending religious services at least once a week. Their faith and devoutness is central to their Texan identity and their attitudes toward the future.

## Top issues for Reverent Texans:

Immigration, COVID-19, Economy/Jobs, Gun Control/  
Second Amendment Rights

"The term 'Christian' describes me better than 'religious,' because I think the definition of religion is subjective, so it'd be more Christian for me."

— Lily, Reverent Texan, white woman, Baby Boomer

Compared to other Texans, Reverent Texans are the most enthusiastic about the future, with seven out of ten saying the next five years will be better for Texas society. They are excited for the opportunities in a rapidly changing Texas. They believe that the future of Texas will be determined by risk-takers and entrepreneurial pioneers.

However, for Reverent Texans, the future should also fit with their idea of tradition. Their idea of an ideal Texas is one that proudly upholds its traditional values. They value diversity and the different cultures that newcomers bring to Texas. At the same time, they emphasize that newcomers should assimilate and adopt local values rather than try to change the local culture.

This group is solidly conservative, with the highest percentage of Republicans.

Reverent Texans are politically informed and frequently discuss politics with their family and friends. They are politically engaged; they regularly post political content

on social media, vote consistently, and donate money to local nonprofits as well as their place of worship. Compared to other segments, they are the group most likely to watch Fox News and use Facebook; they are also

avid listeners to talk radio programs. They are generally distrustful of the media, and over two thirds (69 percent) believe that unreliable and one-sided media is the biggest challenge to democracy.

Reverent Texans ascribe to “traditional” views of Texas — they are the most likely to say that to be truly Texan one must speak English, be politically conservative, and be Christian. They are the only segment in which almost everyone feels that they belong in Texas — they feel accepted for who they are and feel secure that Texas is a place where neighbors understand,

care about, and help each other. Reverent Texans are Texans who have found community and who are determined to keep that community strong.

**“I THINK NEW PEOPLE  
MOVING IN HERE NEED  
TO EMBRACE TEXAS AS  
WHAT IT IS, IT'S ONE  
OF THE BEST PLACES  
TO DO BUSINESS, A  
GREAT PLACE TO RAISE  
A FAMILY. I JUST LOVE  
EVERYTHING ABOUT  
TEXAS.”**

**— BRANDON,  
REVERENT TEXAN,  
WHITE MAN,  
SILENT GENERATION**

### THE CORE BELIEFS OF REVERENT TEXANS:

- **Purity** and **loyalty** are their foundational values, especially compared to the other groups
- **Religion** and **politics** are important aspects of their identity
- Extremely proud to be both Texan and American
- High trust orientation toward others
- Overwhelmingly believe in personal responsibility and hard work as determining factors of life outcomes over luck or external circumstances

Reverent Texans comprise over one in five Texans (22 percent). Sixty percent are white, and a quarter are Hispanic. Compared to the other segments, they are relatively older, with more than half over 55 years old. Almost a third (27 percent) live in rural areas — the highest rural population out of all the groups.

COMPARED TO  THE AVERAGE TEXAN

# Reverent Texans are:

95%



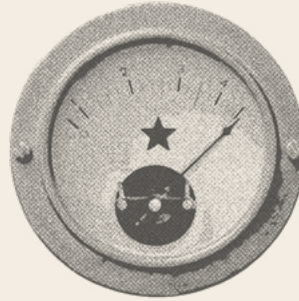
v.  75%

More likely to be registered and ready to vote

54%

v.  35%

More likely to be over the age of 55



2x

As likely to self-describe as ideologically 'conservative'

66% v.  33%

71%

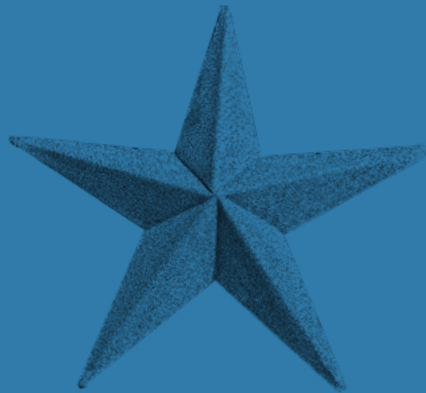
v.  40%

More likely to strongly believe they are part of a community of people who understand, care for and help each other

76%

v.  38%

More likely to say their ideal Texas is one that proudly upholds its traditional values



93%

v.  72%

More likely to say they are proud to be Texan



27%

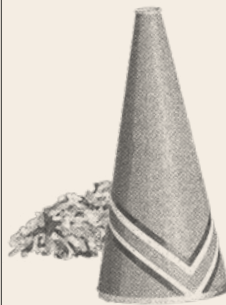
v.  19%

More likely to live in a rural area

84%

v.  58%

More likely to say that when they think of Texas they think of "attending my place of worship and practicing my religious values"



71%

v.  63%

More likely to say they feel excited about new opportunities they have as the state changes



74%

v.  38%

More likely to say they are very hopeful toward Texas

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# HERITAGE DEFENDERS

09%

OF TEXANS



**Heritage Defenders** value individualism and personal responsibility. They are more likely than any other segment to identify as conservative or very conservative on political, social and economic issues. Heritage Defenders are interested in political affairs and they frequently follow current events. They mostly get their news from local media, talk radio, and Fox News programs. A large majority vote in national elections.

## **Top issues for Heritage Defenders:**

Immigration, Economy/Jobs, COVID-19, Gun Control/ Second Amendment Rights

“I can't think of a more un-American concept than political correctness. Freedom of speech is there not to protect accepted speech. It's there to protect the controversial speech. When you start to restrain that or people start to restrain yourself, there's a problem.”

— Connor, Heritage Defender, white man, Generation X

The ideal Texas for Heritage Defenders is one that upholds traditional values and where people can make something of themselves. Similar to the Reverent Texans, this group construes Texas identity and Texan-ness as an idea to be preserved, a more fixed identity to which newcomers should adapt, rather than an identity that is always changing.

Heritage Defenders feel strongly that the traditional values of Texas are under attack. Yet unlike Reverent Texans, they are the most *pessimistic* about the future of Texas, with about one in three (35 percent) saying things will get worse in the next five years and another third saying they will remain the same. They are generally ambivalent about their place in a changing Texas, with 41 percent saying they are worried they will be left behind.

Heritage Defenders feel embattled — they are the group most likely to believe that the deepest divides are ideological ones between liberals and conservatives, that American identity is disappearing, and that free speech is in danger.

**“IT’S KIND OF BOTHERSOME WHEN PEOPLE COME HERE AND TRY TO CHANGE TEXAS INTO WHERE THEY CAME FROM. IF YOU CAME FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE, IT’S BECAUSE YOU DIDN’T LIKE WHAT WAS GOING ON THERE. WHY ARE YOU TRYING TO MAKE THAT SAME THING HAPPEN HERE?”**

**— DEMI, HERITAGE DEFENDER,  
WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X**

Although Heritage Defenders participate in political and civic activities, their views reflect a strong undercurrent of skepticism toward the role of government. They believe that people should be responsible for themselves and that the government should be less involved in people’s lives. They are also among the Texans who feel most exhausted from political

divisions. This sense of weariness, whether from polarization, a sense of losing the past, or apprehension toward the future, defines the Heritage Defenders.

### THE CORE BELIEFS OF HERITAGE DEFENDERS:

- **Authority** is their foundational value
- **Being American** is a very salient aspect of their identity
- Overwhelmingly believe that the economic system should be designed to maximize individual over collective interests
- Strong sense of threat and believe that Texas is an increasingly dangerous place
- Regard hard work and personal effort as playing a greater role over luck or other external circumstances for life outcomes
- Ambivalent about unity; equally likely to say that we’re all in it together and it’s everyone for themselves

Compared to other segments, Heritage Defenders are significantly older and nearly 60 percent male. They are mostly white (70 percent), mostly suburban (50 percent) and rural (24 percent), and have relatively higher levels of education and socioeconomic status, with around one third holding a Bachelor’s or postgraduate degree. They are more likely to be married and retired compared to other segments.

COMPARED TO  THE AVERAGE TEXAN

# Heritage Defenders are:

85%

v.  38%

More likely to say their ideal Texas is one that proudly upholds its traditional values



93%

v.  75%

Much more likely to say they are very proud to be American

83%

v.  49%

More likely to think that people should take more responsibility to provide for themselves

71%

v.  51%

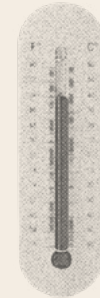
More likely to think that the deepest division in Texas is liberal versus conservative Texans



70%


v.  46%

More likely to be white



18%

Less likely to rate Mexicans highly on a feeling thermometer

 58 v.  71\*

56%

v.  35%

More likely to be ages 55 or older



35%

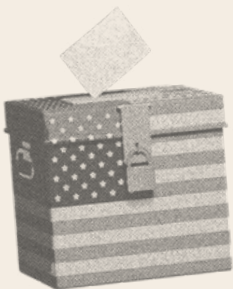
v.  22%

More likely to think that things will get worse for Texas society

61% 59%

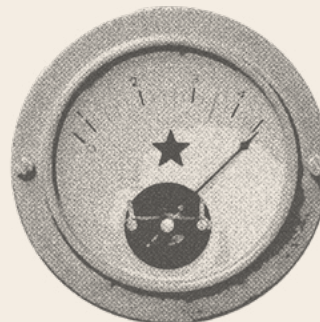
v.  41%

More likely to talk about politics frequently



v.  51%

More likely to strongly agree they feel exhausted by the division in politics



2x

As likely to be ideologically conservative

70% v.  33%

\*Note: Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings toward certain groups.

## CHAPTER 3

---

# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE TEXAS THREADS

This chapter describes the psychological drivers Animating the Threads of Texas. We focus on variables that demonstrate the underlying forces behind Texans' beliefs. Understanding these drivers elucidates potential motivations behind various orientations toward change in Texas and toward the most relevant issues in the state.

Research in social psychology has identified elements of human belief systems that help explain attitudes and behaviors. These are variables that operate beyond people's conscious awareness and include central ideas people hold about themselves, others, and the world. They vary from person to person, but stay relatively constant over an individual's lifetime. These core elements shape how people respond in novel situations and act as templates with which people view other people and changes in their environment.

When determining the factors that contribute to the psychological profiles of the Texas Threads, we built upon ideas that emerged from conversations with Texans, as well as previous research on social psychology and literature on Texas and its residents. We probed Texans about their core beliefs and examined how these beliefs connected to their opinions on current Texas issues and the changes that these issues represent. In this chapter, we present several dimensions of the fundamental beliefs that shape and are shaped by Texans' orientation toward the future:

- **Orientation toward change**
- **Individualism versus collectivism**
- **Sense of belonging**

A framework that incorporates these central elements is relevant when thinking about potential explanations behind Texans' diverse views. Further, these key beliefs shape mindsets that remain stable over time. This implies that compared to regular opinion polling, a template that incorporates these beliefs offers a more comprehensive and predictive lens with which to understand Texans for many years to come.

Finally, in addition to these variables, we present constructs that illustrate the psychology of the Texas Threads. These items were *not* included as input variables in the cluster analysis. Rather, they are standard psychological items that we included in the surveys to capture a snapshot of Texans' key characteristics. Exploring how the Texas Threads score on these measures contributes to our understanding of the "why" behind Texans' attitudes and behaviors.

- **Personal agency and responsibility**
- **Moral foundations**

# ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE

**Understanding how Texans perceive change is core to understanding Texans.** Texas is a state in constant flux, economically, politically, and demographically. Indeed, the salient issues in Texas society — immigration, race, economy, to name a few — are often framed as questions of whether Texas is inevitably and rapidly transforming to something new and unfamiliar, or maintaining its traditions and keeping its “authenticity”.

In our conversations with Texans, we find that their openness toward these changes stems from feelings of optimism or pessimism, which in turn is rooted in whether they see themselves as having a place in that future or being left behind. In order to effectively assess Texans’ orientation toward change, participants answered a binary-choice statement question to identify and categorize their emotions toward the future.

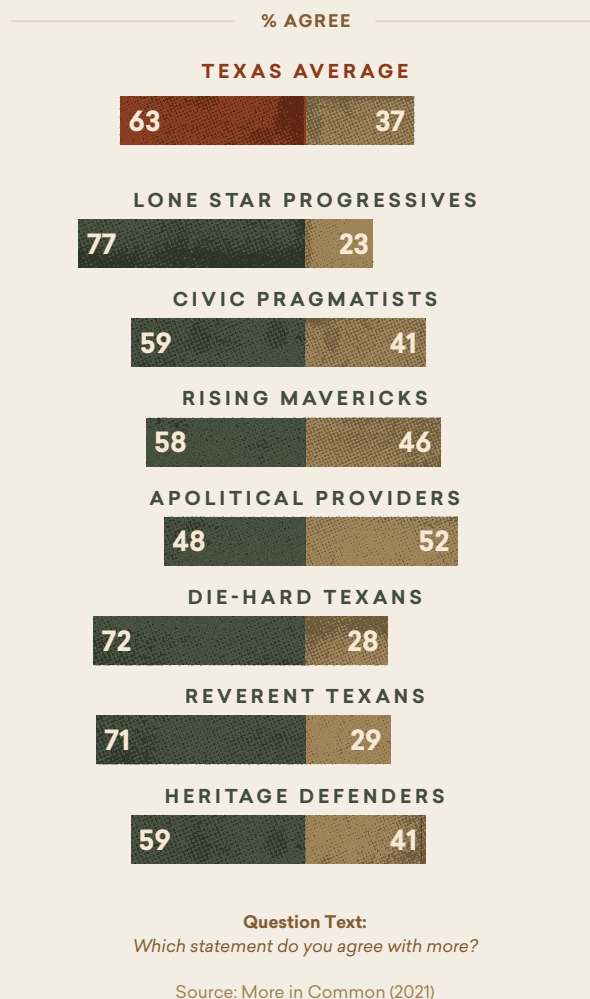
FIGURE 3.1

## EMOTIONAL ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FUTURE

*When I think about the rapid changing pace in Texas...*

*I feel excited for the new opportunities I might have*

*I worry that I will be left behind*



The majority of Texans are excited about the rapid change of pace in the state, anticipating that it will bring new opportunities for them. Apolitical Providers are the exception to this finding, as around half (52 percent) of Texans in this Thread worry they will be left behind. Rising Mavericks are also more tempered in their excitement, with only slightly more than half (54 percent) saying they feel excited for the future.

**Of note, optimism about the future does not map neatly to political ideology, and interesting patterns emerge when assessing ideologically related groups.** For example, Lone Star Progressives are the segment most excited for change. Civic Pragmatists are likewise excited though to a considerably lesser degree. This pattern is mirrored by the segments with more conservative values, Reverent Texans and the Heritage Defenders. Fully 71 percent of the Reverent Texans are excited about change and only a third are worried about being left behind. But for the Heritage Defenders, optimism is slightly subdued, with 59 percent saying they are excited about the rapid change and 41 percent saying they are worried about being left behind.

**A reason behind these nuances is Texans' differing interpretations of change and what aspect of the rapidly changing future excites or worries Texans the most.**

For instance, Heritage Defenders are concerned about people who move to Texas from other states and in their opinion try to change what is essential about Texas. As one member of this segment said, "there are things that brought people to Texas to begin with, that the people who are here that I've talked to really don't want to see diluted or disappear. What I think people have to keep in mind is that it's not just coming in and introducing new ideas. It's assimilating into the existing structure as well." In contrast, Apolitical Providers see a changing Texas in more economic terms, and their responses reflect apprehension that a knowledge-based or high-tech economic system for instance, is a system that may put them at a disadvantage.

As we will show in the following chapters, Texans' optimism or apprehension toward change permeates and manifests in their attitudes and views on issues such as racial justice, immigration, economy and even education — issues that connote potentially significant shifts in Texas society.



# INDIVIDUALISM VS. COLLECTIVISM

When thinking about the function of society, differences emerge according to how people think about and prioritize the interests of the individual relative to the interests of the group or community. This mindset is related to how one sees oneself in relation to others, whether one stresses autonomy and self-sufficiency, or focuses on collective goals and interdependence. The respective importance of these self and collective identities illuminates and predicts people's orientations toward ideas that highlight these competing tendencies.<sup>8</sup>

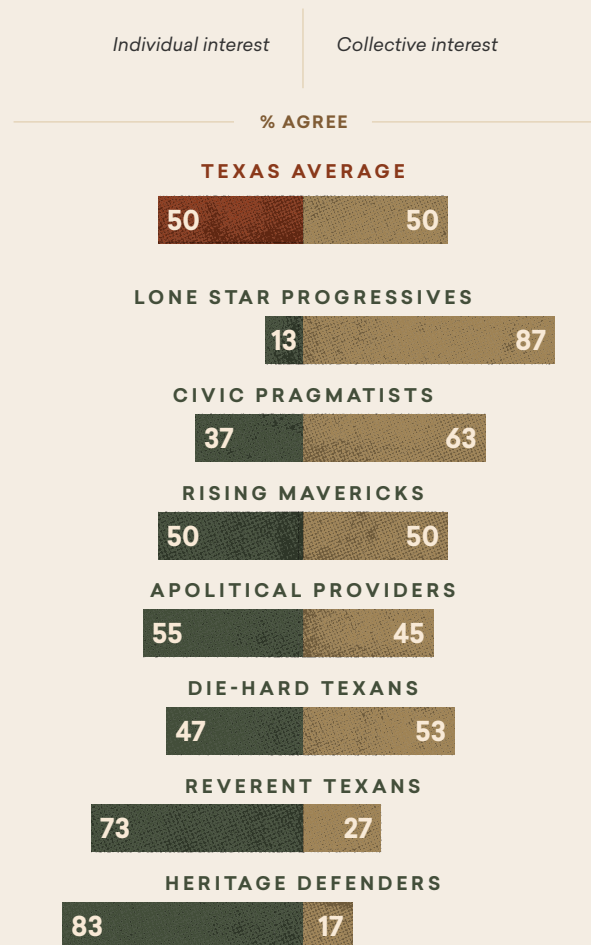
This thinking maps on to perceptions of the role of the economic system. A tension stems from the choice between a society that maximizes individual interests, giving more weight to a system wherein people are able to advance to their full potential, or a society that aims to serve collective interests and ensure that nobody gets left behind.

We examined Texans' social orientation by asking them to choose which interests should be prioritized in an economic system. This forced-choice question is an effective way to understand which mindsets shape Texans' opinions toward key issues and policies, and what priorities are emphasized in their beliefs.<sup>9</sup>

FIGURE 3.2

## INDIVIDUALISM VS. COLLECTIVISM

*I believe that the economic system in this society should be designed to maximize...*



Question Text:

*For the following statement, pick the answer that you agree with most.*

Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>8</sup>Hogg, M. A., & Williams, K. D. (2000). From I to we: Social identity and the collective self. *Group dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 4(1), 81.

<sup>9</sup>We acknowledge that a dichotomous forced-choice question can oversimplify the degree to which people may realistically regard both individual and collective interests as must-haves for a successful economic system, though this question is an effective way of understanding what people prioritize.

Texans are evenly divided in their orientation, with notable variance among ideologically similar Threads. Lone Star Progressives deviate from the other Threads, with fully 87 percent saying they value collective interest. Civic Pragmatists similarly favor collective interests, though over a third (37 percent) adhere to a more individualistic economic system. Among the Threads with more conservative values, Reverent Texans (73 percent) and Heritage Defenders (83 percent) overwhelmingly value maximizing individual interests over collective interests. Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die-hard Texans – Threads who are similarly less politically engaged and have lower income, have fairly divided views. Rising Mavericks, perhaps

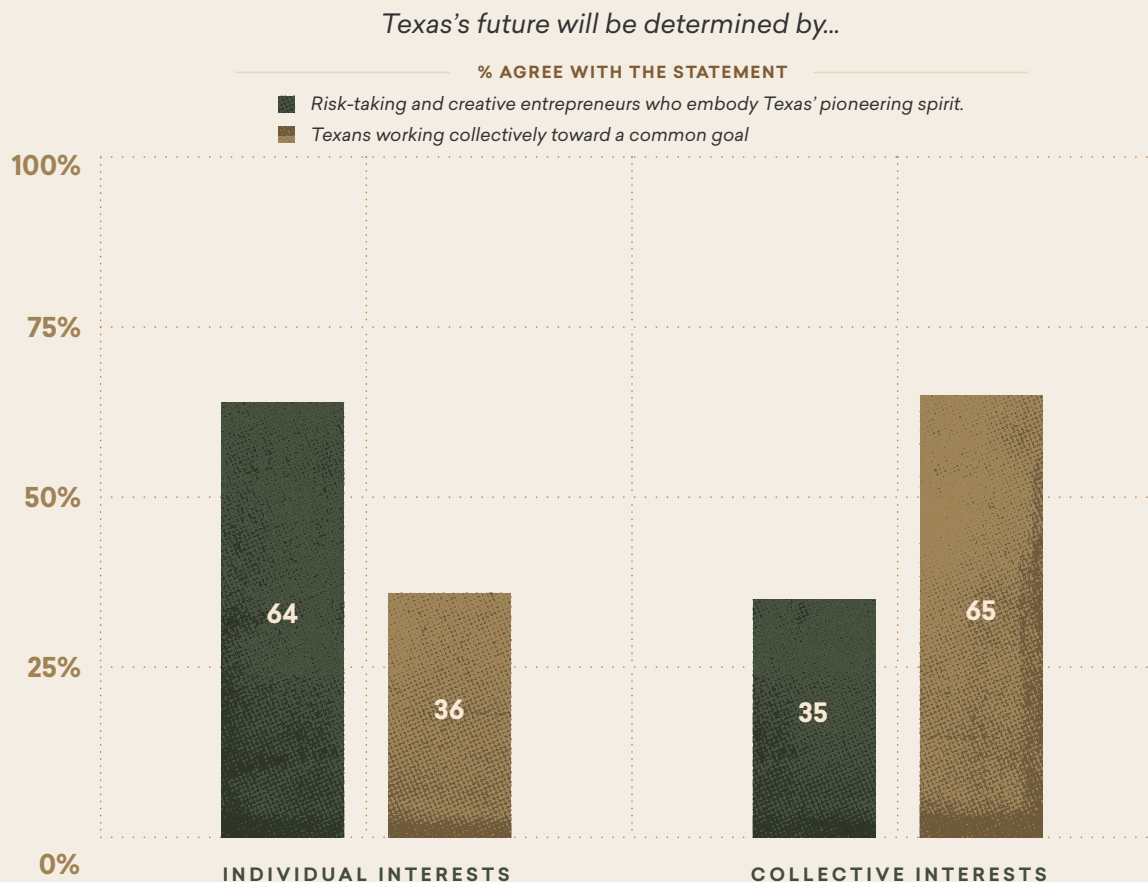
characteristically, are evenly divided, reflecting the state average. Slightly more Apolitical Providers (55 percent) favor individual interests over collective interests, while Die-hard Texans (53 percent), a proud community-oriented segment, are somewhat evenly split.

**Individualistic or collectivist orientations are significantly associated with Texans' preferred direction for the future.**

Texans who value individual interests are also more likely to subscribe to the belief that Texas' future will be determined by risk-taking pioneers, while those who emphasize collective interests tend to believe that working toward a common goal will determine the future of the state.

**FIGURE 3.3**

**CORRELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISM/COLLECTIVISM AND PREFERRED ECONOMIC DRIVER**



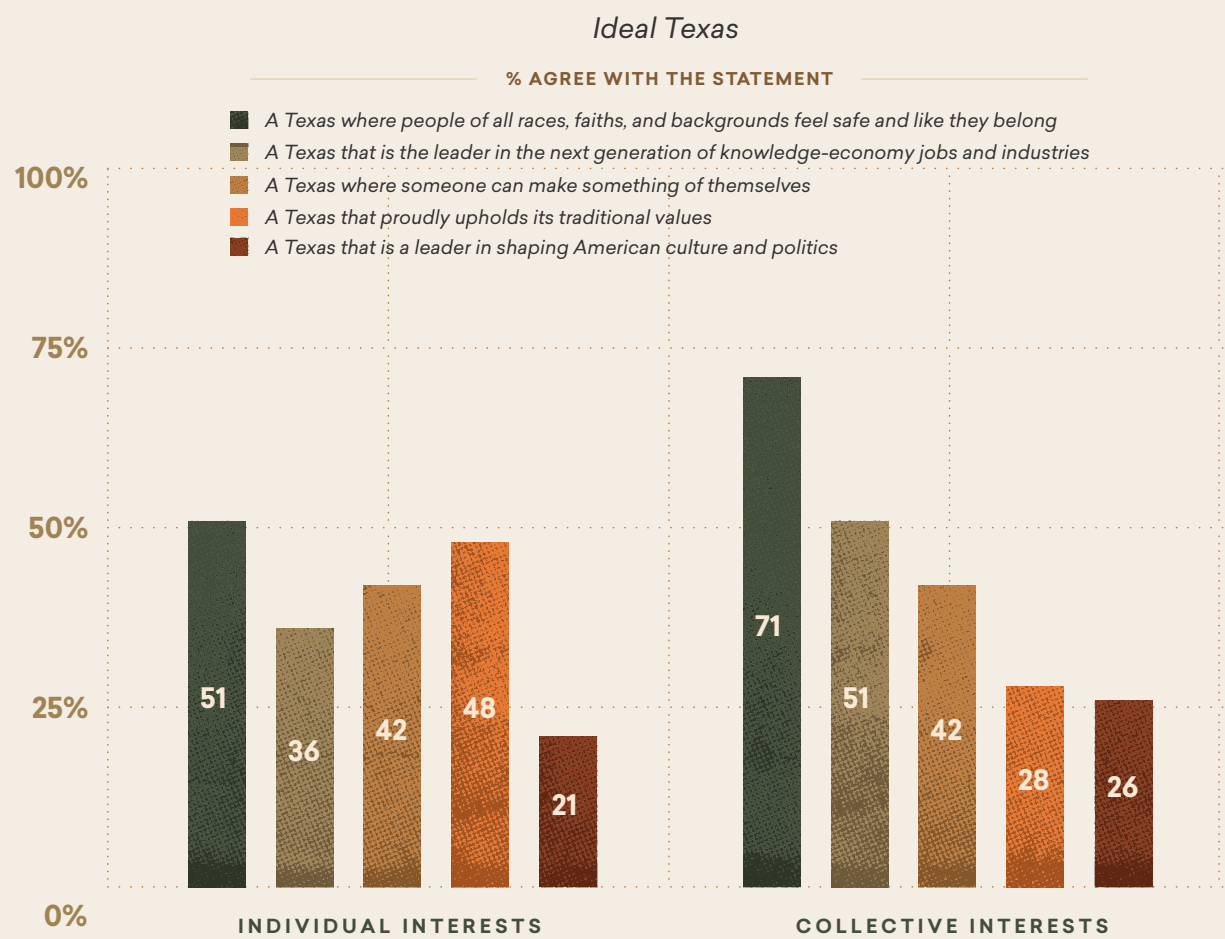
Question text: *I believe that the economic system in this society should maximize...*

Source: More in Common (2021)

Individualist or collectivist thinking is reflected in Texans’ view of an ideal state. Those who prioritize individual interests are more likely to say that an ideal Texas is one that proudly upholds its traditional values. On the other hand, those who prioritize collective interests are more likely to pick a Texas that leads on knowledge-economy jobs (as opposed to traditional oil and gas industries). Collectivist thinkers are also more likely to prioritize a Texas where people of all identities and backgrounds belong.

Further, this individualism-collectivism spectrum clearly maps to the concept of tradition, with individualist thinking reflective of the ethos that Texas has long been known for, and collectivism representing a change toward a Texas where no one feels left out.

**FIGURE 3.4** **CORRELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISM/COLLECTIVISM AND IDEAL TEXAS**



Question text: *I believe that the economic system in this society should maximize...*

Source: More in Common (2021)

# SENSE OF BELONGING

---

The need to belong is a powerful human drive, one that significantly shapes people's emotions and behaviors. A strong sense of belonging, whether in neighborhoods, local organizations or a faith community, relates to one's sense of identity and psychological well-being. Sense of belonging can also inform us of how people approach novel situations and their investment or commitment to their communities.

We assess belonging in the study by measuring agreement to the following questions:

- In Texas, I feel accepted for who I am.
- In Texas, I feel like I am part of a community of people who understand each other, care about each other, and help each other.

Among the Texas Threads, a **sense of not belonging is a distinctive trait of Lone Star Progressives, with more than two in five saying they do not feel accepted in the state.** By contrast, there is a near unanimous sense of belonging among all other groups, especially Reverent Texans, Die-Hard Texans, and Heritage Defenders.



FIGURE 3.5

BELONGING

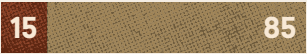
Sense of Belonging varies across the Threads of Texas

*In Texas, I feel like I am part of a community of people who understand each other, care about each other, and help each other*

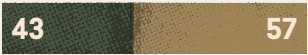
Disagree      Agree

NUMBERS IN %

TEXAS AVERAGE



LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES



CIVIC PRAGMATISTS



RISING MAVERICKS



APOLITICAL PROVIDERS



DIE-HARD TEXANS



REVERENT TEXANS



HERITAGE DEFENDERS



Question Text:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

*In Texas, I feel accepted for who I am*

Disagree      Agree

NUMBERS IN %

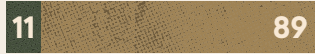
TEXAS AVERAGE



LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES



CIVIC PRAGMATISTS



RISING MAVERICKS



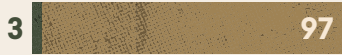
APOLITICAL PROVIDERS



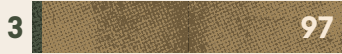
DIE-HARD TEXANS



REVERENT TEXANS



HERITAGE DEFENDERS



Question Text:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

A noteworthy area of concern is the **Apolitical Providers**, a group that feels pessimistic and apprehensive about being left behind. About one-fourth of this group do not feel that they are part of a community where people understand and help each other. However, the nature of this sense of isolation differs from that of Lone Star Progressives. For the Apolitical Providers, a sense of belonging seems elusive when they are overwhelmed with more urgent day-to-day tasks of providing for their families and addressing more immediate needs.

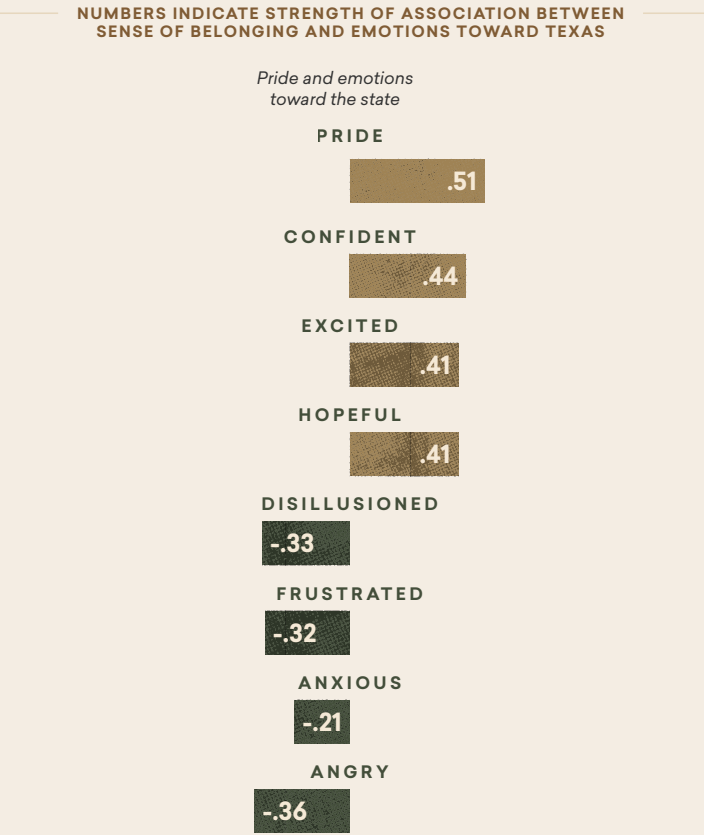
In general, **Texas Threads that feel a stronger sense of belonging are also more civically engaged.** Reverent Texans, a group with strong ties to Texas faith communities, are also likely to donate to their place of worship and local nonprofits, while Apolitical Providers are the segment least engaged in civic activities, with over 75 percent saying they have not engaged in any civic-related activities in the past year (e.g. participating in a community activity, donating to a local place, helping a neighbor).

An exception to this trend are Lone Star Progressives. Their isolation and perceptions that they are out of place in Texas is a defining characteristic, **though they remain the most active in their communities.** For Lone Star Progressives, the motivation to drive change and be involved in the community is perhaps related to pushing Texas to a certain progressive direction where they can feel like they belong.

Finally, belonging is also significantly correlated with pride and emotions toward Texas: Texans who feel more accepted are also more proud of the state. Additionally, they are more hopeful and confident about Texas society, and are significantly less anxious, frustrated or disillusioned.

FIGURE 3.6

BELONGING IS SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED TO TEXAN PRIDE AND EMOTIONS TOWARD THE STATE



Source: More in Common (2021)

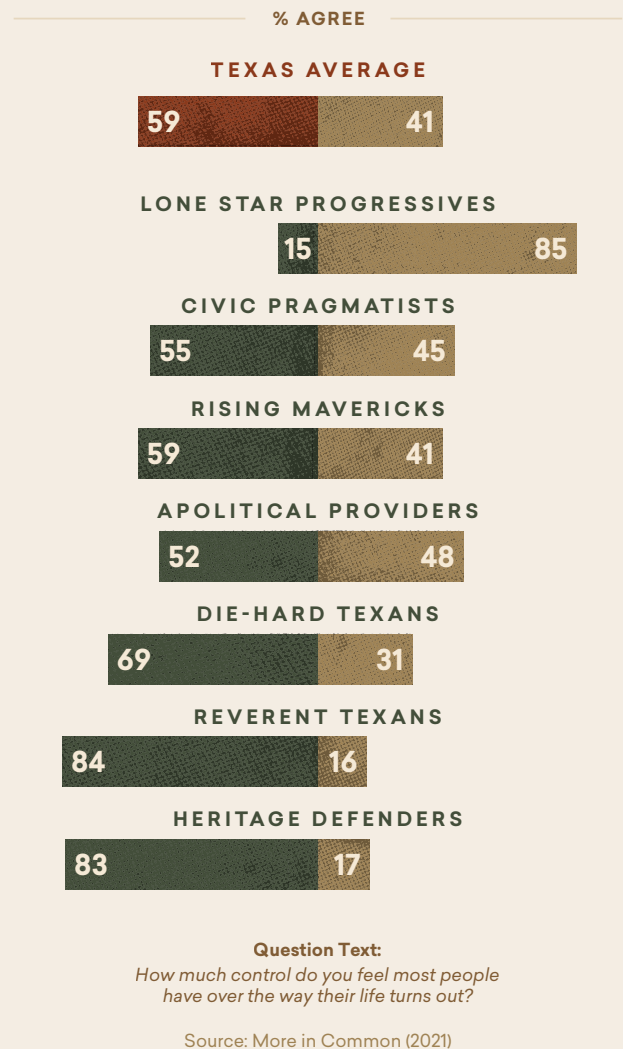
# PERSONAL AGENCY AND RESPONSIBILITY

Humans are doers. We organize, regulate, and reflect on our lives. The attributions we make with regard to the amount of control and responsibility we have vary, with people on one end of the spectrum believing that successful life outcomes are primarily a result of individual factors such as hard work, and other people believing that societal factors such as circumstance and luck play a significant role. Previous research has shown that these worldviews are related to how people make attributions of success and misfortune and to people's attitudes on different political issues.<sup>10</sup>

Texans in this study responded to a binary-choice question regarding the difference between individual versus situational causal attributions. The pattern that emerges from the Threads' response to this question does not map to a left-right ideology to the same extent that it does nationally.<sup>11</sup> The majority of Texans (59 percent) attribute success primarily to one's hard work, giving less weight to external factors. This is true for almost all Threads, including 55 percent of Civic Pragmatists, 59 percent of Rising Mavericks, 69 percent of Die-hard Texans and more than eight out of ten Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders. Similar to the question on belonging, Lone Star Progressives and Apolitical Providers deviate from the other Threads. Most Lone Star Progressives (85 percent) place importance on external variables such as luck and circumstance. On the other hand, Apolitical Providers are fairly split, with about half (52 percent) saying hard work is the primary avenue to success and the other half (48 percent) emphasizing external factors.

**FIGURE 3.7** **HARD WORK VS EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES**

*People who work hard can find success no matter what situation they were born into* | *Some people's situations are so challenging that no amount of work will allow them to find success*



<sup>10</sup> The Hidden Tribes of America. (2018). More in Common. <https://hiddentribes.us/>  
<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

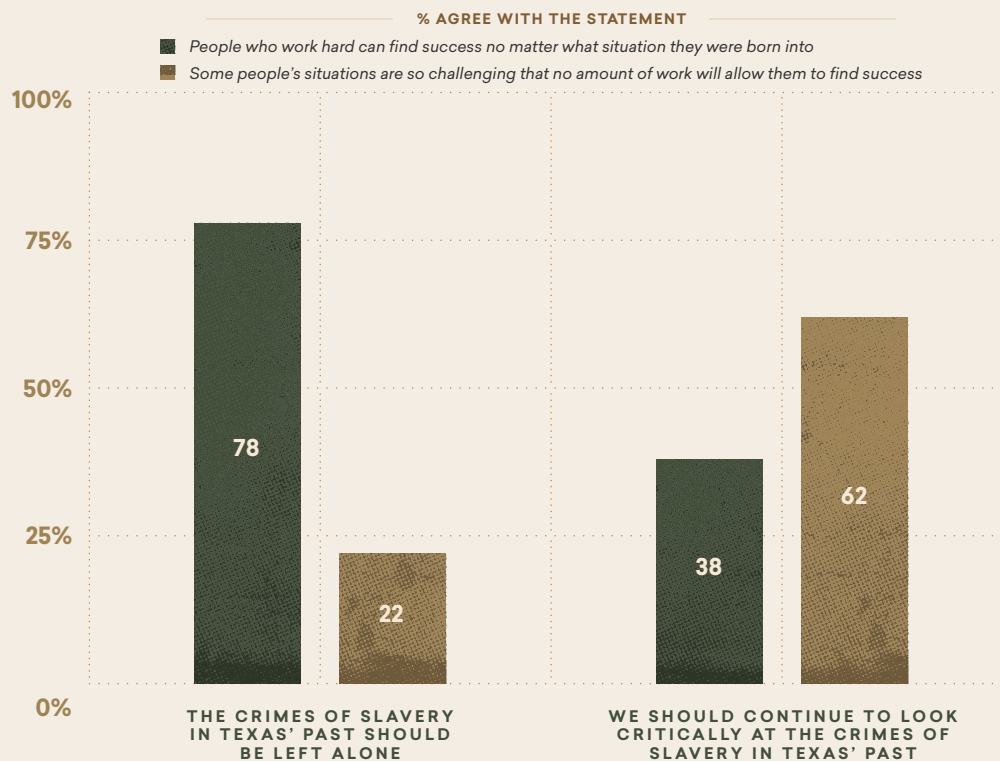
# PERSONAL AGENCY AND RESPONSIBILITY:

## PERSONAL AGENCY AND VIEWS ON HISTORY

**Texans' beliefs about personal responsibility relate significantly to their views on the state's history and the path forward.** Those who believe that the past should be "left alone," are also more likely to say that hard work leads to success regardless of external circumstances. This suggests that concepts such as systemic racism or the idea that racial justice involves addressing inequalities with roots in the past may be perceived by some as in tension with a deeply held belief about agency and the ability to persevere through any situation to find success. Indeed, we see in the following sections how the Threads diverge on issues that prime the idea of historical group disadvantages or barriers.

FIGURE 3.8

### CORRELATION BETWEEN AGENCY AND ATTITUDE TOWARD HISTORICAL INJUSTICES



Source: More in Common (2021)

# MORAL FOUNDATIONS

The template for individuals' moral behaviors are present at birth, but cultural experiences and external factors shape this significantly, so that each person develops to have a distinct moral foundation.<sup>12</sup> Researchers have identified values that form the basis of people's moral intuition and judgment, specifically:

- **Fairness/Cheating:** relating to proportionality, equality, reciprocity, and justice according to shared rules
- **Care/Harm:** protecting the vulnerable and helping those in need.
- **Authority/Subversion:** submitting to tradition and legitimate authority.
- **Purity/Disgust:** abhorrence for things that evoke disgust.
- **Loyalty/Betrayal:** standing with one's group, family, or nation.

For instance, an individual with a strong care intuition may be particularly attuned to the suffering of others, and may frame issues of marginalization through a lens of a compassion or empathy deficit. People with an authority foundation on the other hand may construe the same issues using a framing that emphasizes hierarchy and respect for the law.

The prioritization of these moral foundation values differs among individuals, with broad patterns emerging in individuals or groups with similar cultures and experiences. Numerous research studies have demonstrated the downstream consequences of adhering to these moral

foundations in people's views and opinions on social and political issues.

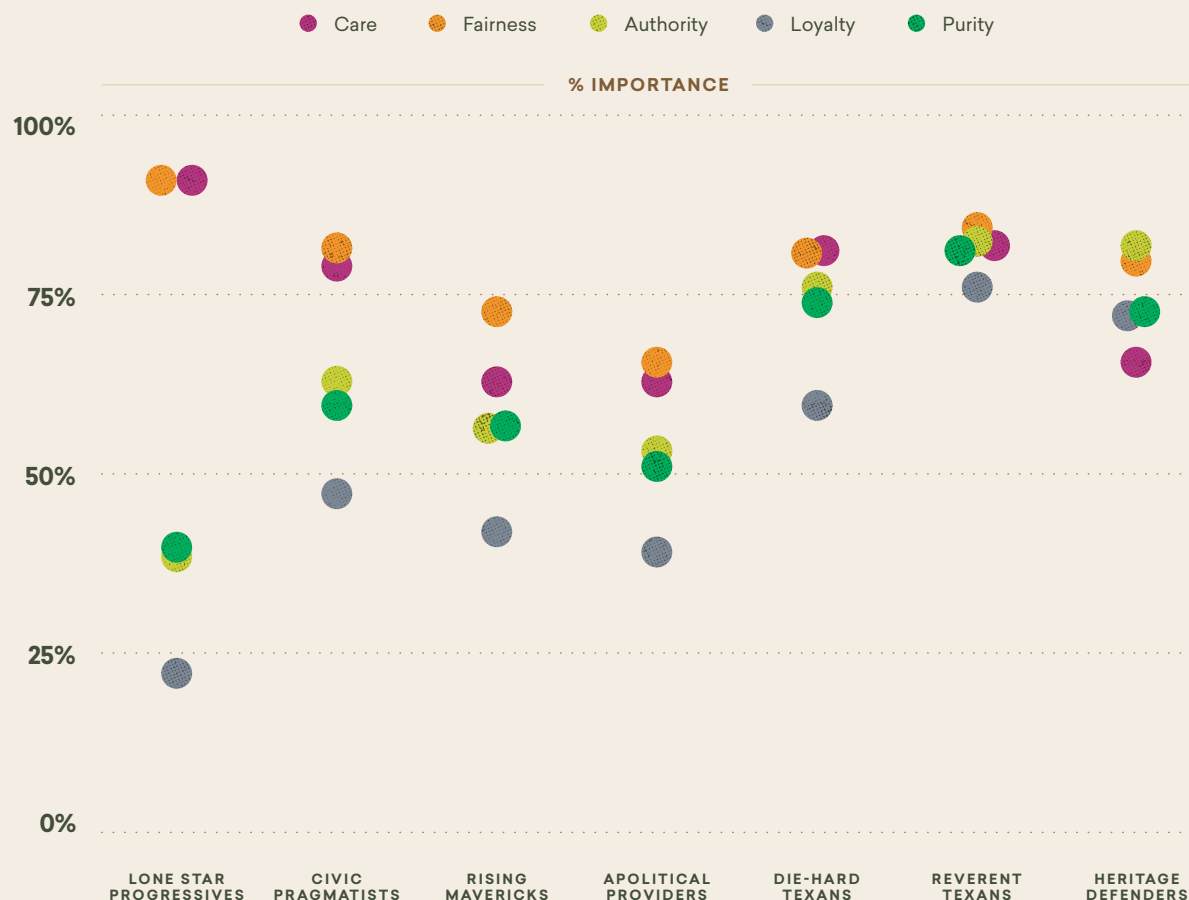
We measured the degree to which people prioritize each of these foundations using an abridged version of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire, which assesses people's reliance on each foundation separately. For instance, participants' prioritization of the care foundation is assessed by their agreement with propositions such as "One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal," and their prioritization of the purity foundation is assessed by their agreement that "People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed."

The Threads differ in the moral worldviews they espouse. Lone Star Progressives are deeply concerned with fairness and care, and place significantly less importance on loyalty, purity, and authority. Civic Pragmatists, Rising Mavericks, and Apolitical Providers show a similar pattern—placing fairness and care above purity and authority, with less than 50 percent ascribing to loyalty. Die-hard Texans and Reverent Texans similarly value care and fairness, yet at the same time, half of Die-hard Texans and about three-fourths of Reverent Texans also endorse loyalty. Heritage Defenders deviate from the other Threads, placing strongest importance in authority and to a slightly lesser extent, fairness. For them, purity ranks equally with loyalty and care.

<sup>12</sup> Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5), 1029.

FIGURE 3.9

## DIFFERENCES IN MORAL BEDROCK



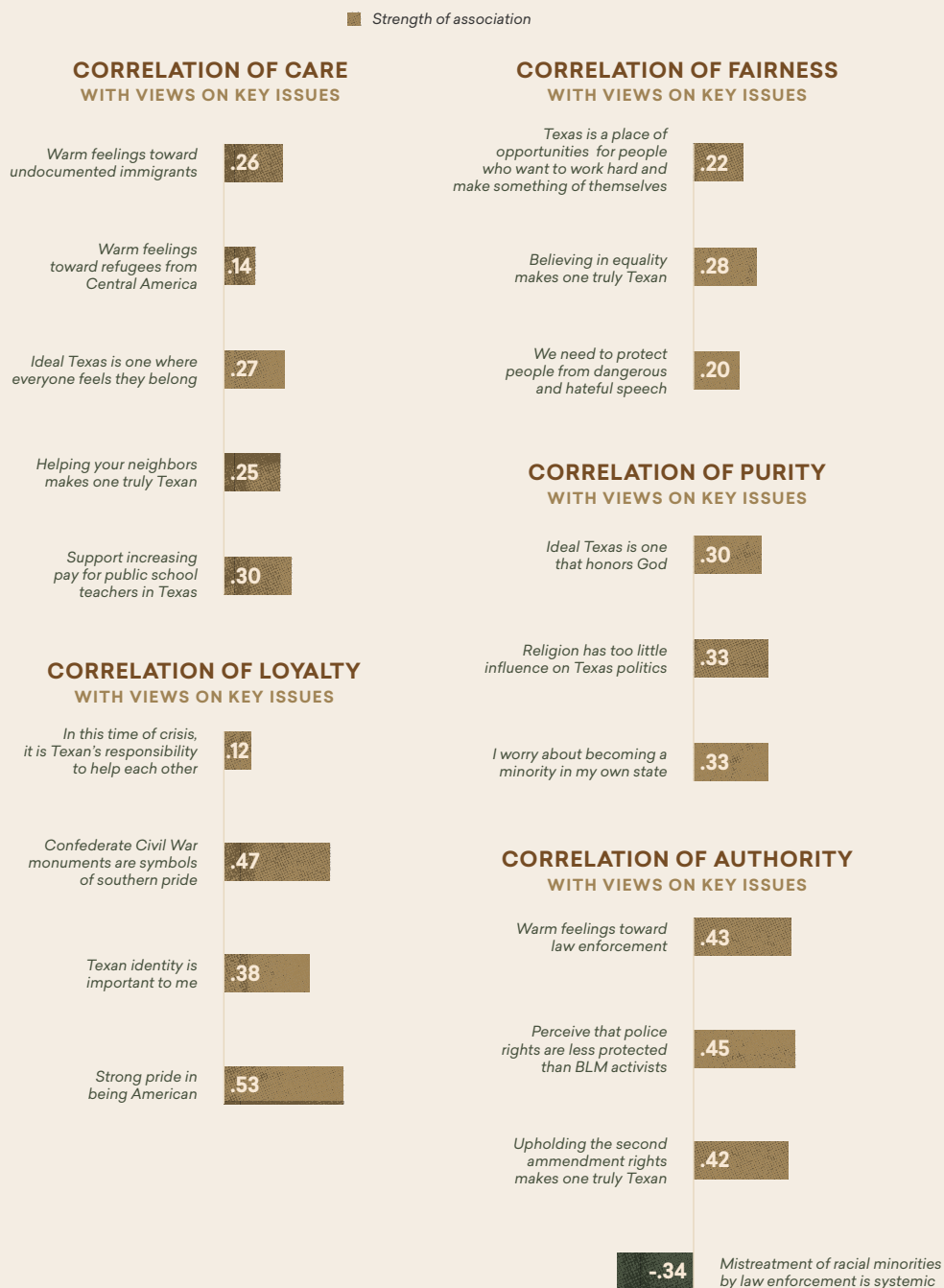
Source: More in Common (2021)

The various moral foundations are associated with Texans' attitudes and ideal vision for their state. Prioritization of the care value is related to positive perceptions of undocumented immigrants and refugees, policy issues that help typically lower-paid and underserved Texans, and a general desire for a welcoming and diverse state. Fairness is related to a strong equality orientation and justice according to shared rules. Adherence to a strong authority framework relates to a strong regard for law enforcement and the constitutional right to bear arms. Purity—a notion that implies spiritual and physical sanctity—correlates with Texans' views on religion and for some groups, their feelings about the status quo. Finally, loyalty is associated with a sense of duty to the community and strong ties to social groups with which Texans identify such as their Texan and American identity.

**FIGURE 3.10**

## CORRELATION OF MORAL FOUNDATIONS WITH DIFFERENT ISSUES

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)



Source: More in Common (2021)

## KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Overall, these findings highlight the need to consider the psychological underpinnings of individuals, specifically when understanding Texans' attitudes on political and social issues. Differences and divisions are often evaluated on the basis of people's stated opinions, and less on their motivations and the drivers of their explicit responses. A more effective avenue is to understand the belief systems that people employ, and to use this understanding when thinking of ways to communicate with and bridge individuals and groups with divergent opinions.

The next chapter describes perhaps the most salient core element of Texans: **their identity as Texans**. We discuss how this fundamental factor ties in with other identities such as race and religion, and how an exceptionally strong state identity provides a unifying way forward.

## CHAPTER 4

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# IDENTITY

Debates about Texan traditions and values are consistent features of the political landscape. These debates often present Texan identity in narrow terms appealing to one ideological side or the other. Such debates obscure a more complex reality, one where Texan identity is a source of pride for Texans of all backgrounds. At the same time, there are tensions in terms of how they feel toward other groups of Texans and how they think they are treated. This chapter provides insights in the ways Texan identity unites Texans, and the fault lines that emerge in Texans' attitudes and feelings toward each other.

That Texans are deeply proud to be Texan is not a novel insight. What is less obvious and perhaps even surprising is the degree to which Texans—across race, geography, and ideology—are unified in how they define Texan identity. The striking degree to which Texans, including those who have most recently moved to the state, agree on the elements of what it means to be Texan stands in contrast to headlines which depict a seemingly irreconcilable conflict over who is “truly” Texan.

Texans also feel a strong attachment to a number of identities. Texans can be proud of being American, Texan, an immigrant, and Christian all at the same time. That Texans can hold all of these identities and still share a connection speaks to the extent that Texan identity is not rooted in a particular race, faith, or political ideology, but rather in a set of values and beliefs.

At the same time, there are evident points of division in how Texans feel toward other Texans they consider as

outside of their own groups. Texas is not immune to the us-versus-them polarization that has increasingly defined national politics and culture. Texan identities are the landscape on which Texas will either come together or fracture in the coming years.

People’s identities provide answers to the basic questions of “who am I” and “where do I belong.” When people identify as Texans, they implicitly adopt the beliefs and behaviors of this group. Similarly, when people identify themselves as Hispanic, Republican, Catholic, or any number of other identities, they are likely to think and act in ways that demonstrate solidarity with these groups.<sup>13</sup>

The depth of pride Texans feel for their state creates the potential to bridge conflicts that exist between other identities, between Democrat and Republican for example. Yet it can just as easily be used as a wedge, to engender a fractured Texas society that strongly mirrors the deep polarization we see at the national level.



<sup>13</sup> Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 224–237.

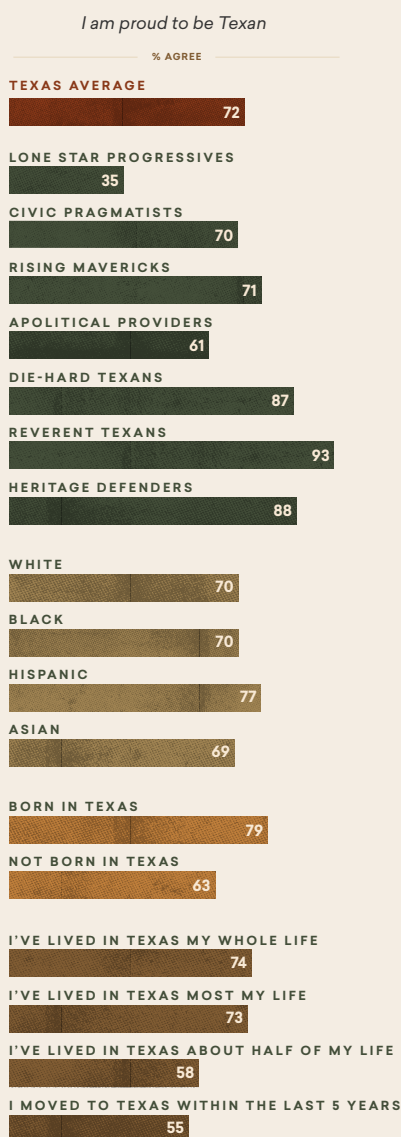
## TEXAN IDENTITY

# TEXAS EXCEPTIONALISM AND HISTORY

FIGURE 4.1

### TEXANS ARE PROUD TO BE TEXAN

This pride is evident even among newcomers



Question Text:

How proud or ashamed are you to be Texan?

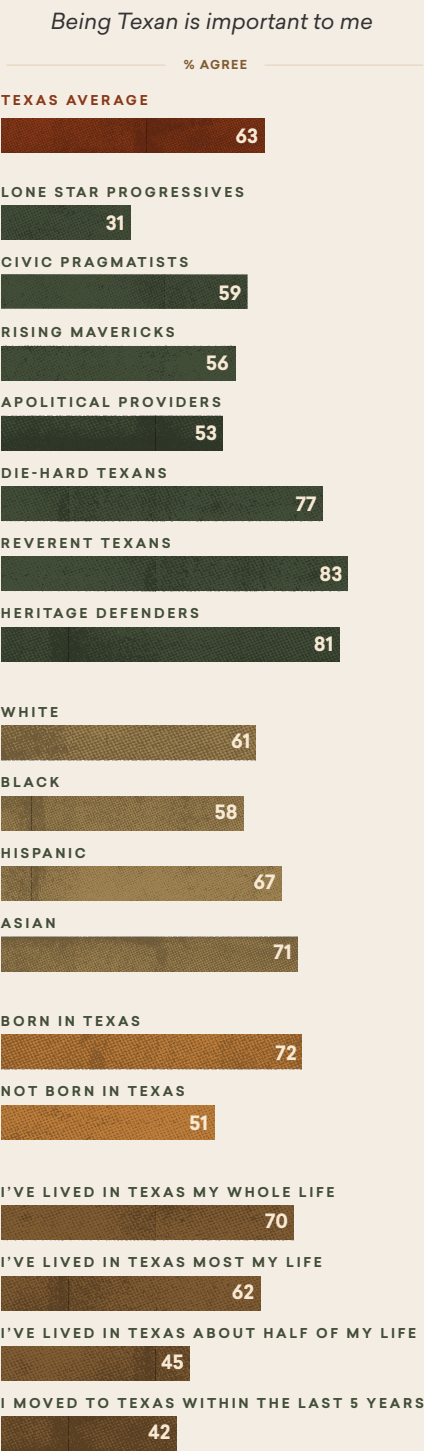
Source: More in Common (2021)

The majority of Texans (72 percent) are proud to be Texan. Pride in being Texan varies depending on how long someone has lived in the state, but a better predictor of Texan pride is the Thread to which someone belongs. Only 35 percent of Lone Star Progressives, contrasted with 93 percent of Reverent Texans, are proud to be Texan.

We find that the debate about newcomers to the state being less “Texan” significantly misrepresents attitudes of people who recently moved to Texas. The majority of those who were not born in the state are still proud Texans, including more than half (55 percent) of those who moved to Texas in the last five years.

FIGURE 4.2

IMPORTANCE OF BEING TEXAN

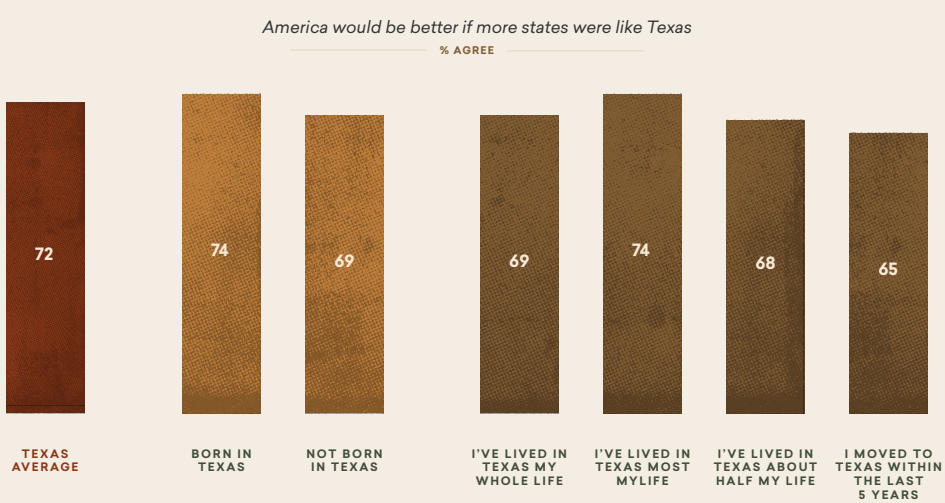


Question Text:  
How important to you is being Texan?

Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 4.3

TEXAN EXCEPTIONALISM IS EMBRACED BY BOTH TEXAS-BORN AND NEWCOMERS



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

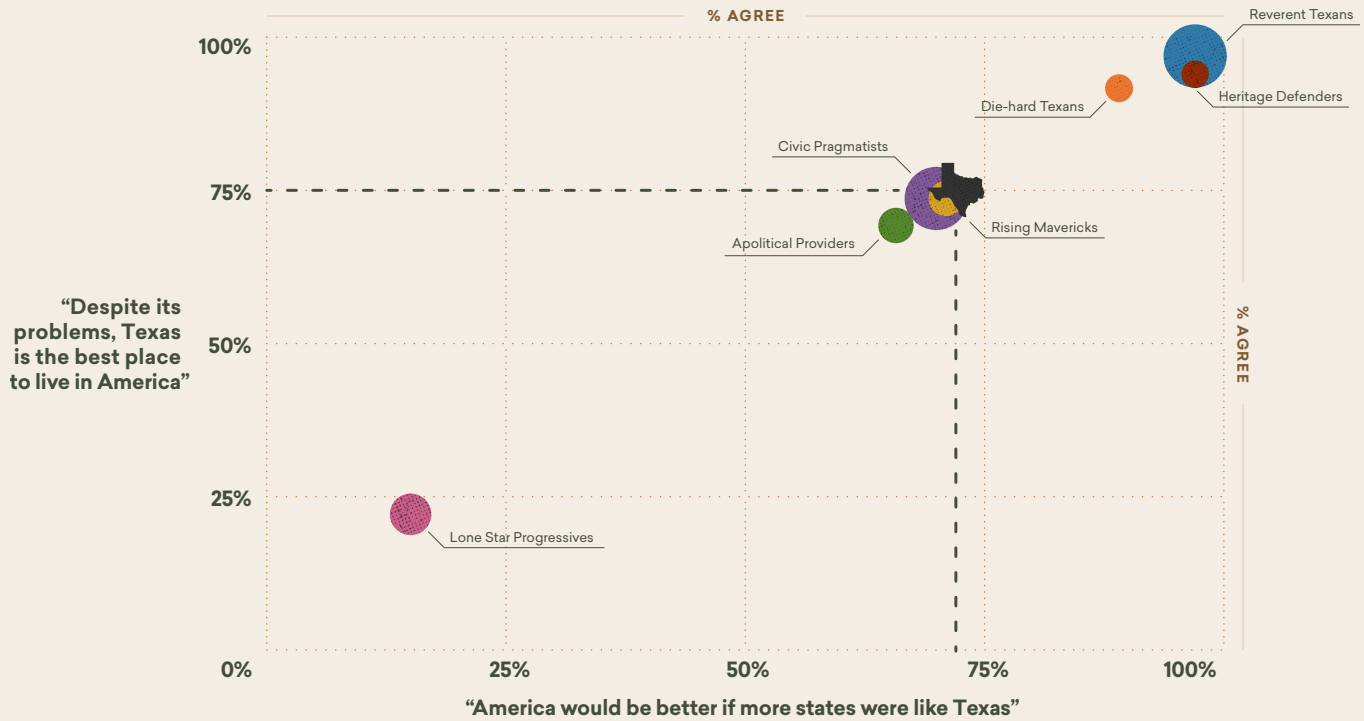
Source: More in Common (2021)

The same dynamic is evident when examining the importance of the Texan identity to people’s overall identities. The majority of Texans (63 percent) say that being Texan is an important part of their identity, with over a third saying (36 percent) it is very important. Racial groups show relatively little variation in this sentiment, majorities across racial groups – 61 percent of white Texans, 58 percent of Black Texans, 67 percent of Hispanic Texans, and 71 percent of Asian Texans – saying their Texan identity is important to them.

One area of common ground is the belief that Texas is an exceptional state. More than seven out of ten Texans agree that “America would be better if more states were like Texas.” Belief in Texan exceptionalism unites newcomers and those who have lived in the state most of their lives: 65 percent of the former and 74 percent of the latter agree that America would be better if more states were like Texas.

FIGURE 4.4

**MOST TEXANS BELIEVE THAT TEXAS IS THE BEST STATE,  
WITH LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES AS THE OUTLIERS**



**Note:** Circle size = % share of Texas population  
**Question text:** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

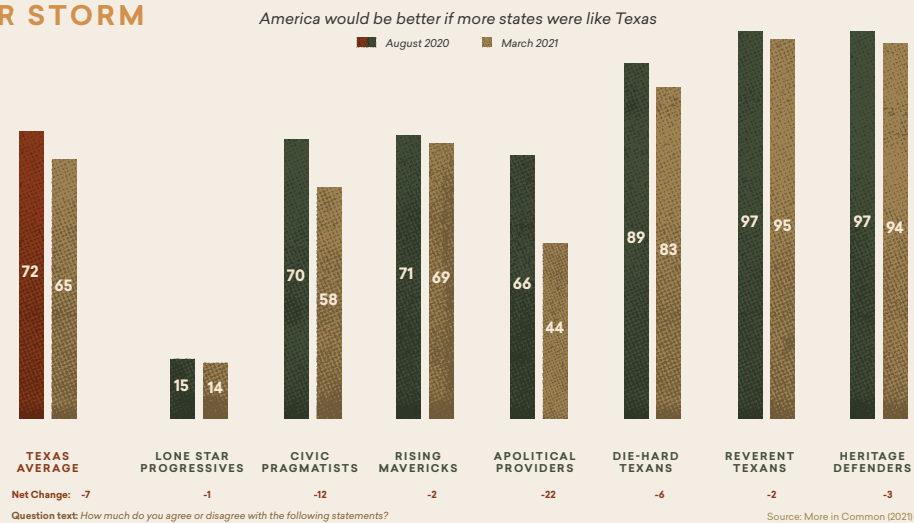
As shown in Figure 4.4, Lone Star Progressives are outliers with respect to Texan exceptionalism. Their nearest ideological neighbor—the Civic Pragmatist Thread—reports above 70 percent agreement with Texas being the best state in the country.

Feelings of exceptionalism, however, are not fixed. We find that after the 2021 winter storm and power grid crisis, support for Texan exceptionalism dropped by a significant degree among several Threads. Some Threads, such as

Reverent Texans, Heritage Defenders, and Rising Mavericks remained unchanged in their positive views, and the Lone Star Progressives maintained their starkly negative outlook. Civic Pragmatists and Apolitical Providers on the other hand, expressed less certainty that “America would be better if more states were like Texas.” This change is especially evident among Apolitical Providers (a drop of 22 points) who are also the segment most likely to have been significantly affected by the storm and power loss.

FIGURE 4.5

TEXAN EXCEPTIONALISM AFTER THE 2021 WINTER STORM



When asked about Texas’ history, however, Texans are more split, with 36 percent of the state agreeing with the statement “I am not proud of Texas’ history.” Racial groups differ on this question, with 42 percent of Hispanic Texans, 42 percent of Asian Texans, and 27 percent of white Texans agreeing with this sentiment. Attitudes are significantly different among Black Texans, with around half (53 percent) saying they are not proud of Texas’ history.

An even more reliable predictor than race of views on Texas’ history is shown by the Threads. Sixty-six percent

of Lone Star Progressives are not proud of Texas’ history, a sentiment shared by only 15 percent of Heritage Defenders. The younger Threads are more split on this question, with 45 percent of Rising Mavericks and 47 percent of Apolitical Providers saying they are not proud of Texas’ history.

These findings indicate that Texan pride runs deep, yet is not unconditional. Texans feel positively toward their state but at the same time many critically regard aspects of Texas' past.

FIGURE 4.6

PRIDE IN TEXAN HISTORY



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“I LIKE TO SAY I'M FROM THE GREATEST  
COUNTRY IN AMERICA. BECAUSE TEXAS  
IS VERY PROUD IN THAT ASPECT THAT WE  
CAN KIND OF DO OUR OWN THING  
AND MAKE OUR OWN RULES.”

— CARRIE, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

“I'M A NATIVE TEXAN. I'VE SEEN THE AREA  
GROW. NOT TO BE NEGATIVE, BUT TEXAS  
IS A BACKWARD STATE. I LOVE TEXAS, BUT  
WE'RE BACKWARD.”

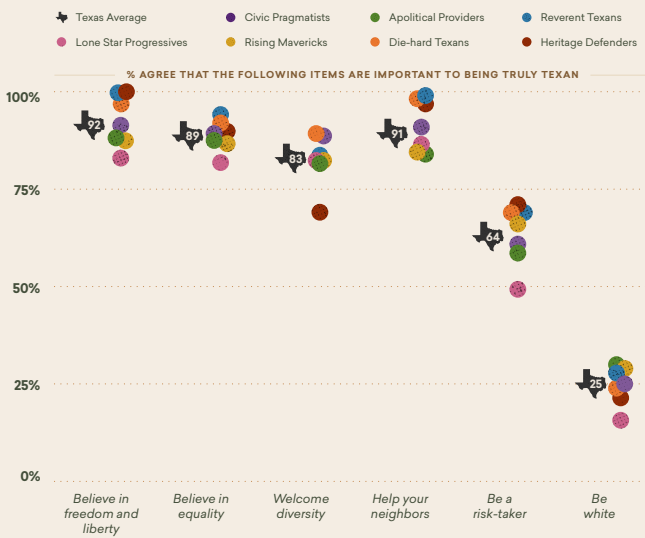
— ALEXA, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE,  
HISPANIC WOMAN, GENERATION X

## TEXAN IDENTITY

# BEING TRULY TEXAN

FIGURE 4.7

### TRULY TEXAN – SHARED VIEWS ON TEXAN IDENTITY BY THREAD

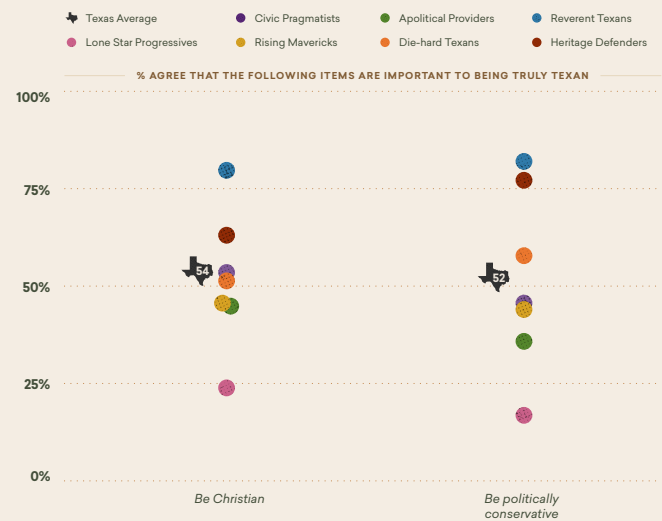


Question Text: In your opinion, how important are the following items for being truly Texan

Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 4.8

### TRULY TEXAN – DIVERGENT VIEWS ON TEXAN IDENTITY BY THREAD



Question Text: In your opinion, how important are the following items for being truly Texan

Source: More in Common (2021)

Texans are remarkably united around a core set of values that make someone “truly Texan”: believing in freedom and liberty, a commitment to equality, and dedication to helping our neighbors. Texans of all backgrounds agree these values are what defines Texan identity. The importance of neighborliness was demonstrated especially during the 2021 winter and energy crisis, where Texans responded with exceptional acts of compassion and solidarity amidst trial.

The values of respecting Texas history and welcoming diversity also garner widespread support, with 52 percent and 51 percent of Texans saying these values are very important to being Texan. There is also widespread

agreement around what is not important to being Texan, with 75 percent of Texans rejecting the idea that being white is crucial to be truly Texan. Lone Star Progressives are the most adamant, with 84 percent rejecting this notion.

There are also elements of Texan identity which, though they garner majority support, attitudes are more polarized. Four out of five of Reverent Texans for example, but only 24 percent of Lone Star Progressives, feel that being Christian is important to being Texan. Similarly, Texans are split on whether it is important to be politically conservative.

**FIGURE 4.9**

## TRULY TEXAN – AN ENDURING IDENTITY

*I have lived in Texas...*

— % AGREE THAT THE FOLLOWING ITEMS ARE IMPORTANT TO BEING TRULY TEXAN —

	MY WHOLE LIFE	MOST OF MY LIFE	ABOUT HALF OF MY LIFE	I MOVED TO TEXAS WITHIN THE LAST 5 YEARS
<i>Believe in equality</i>	95	92	90	82
<i>Help your neighbors</i>	94	95	92	90
<i>Believe in freedom and liberty</i>	92	95	93	90
<i>Welcome diversity</i>	88	84	83	79
<i>Respect Texas' History</i>	74	82	78	77
<i>Uphold the Second Amendment right to bear arms</i>	73	71	68	64
<i>Speak English</i>	70	77	75	73
<i>Be a risk taker</i>	57	64	62	60
<i>Be Christian</i>	55	52	49	51
<i>Have family history in Texas</i>	52	39	32	41
<i>Speak Spanish</i>	49	40	32	41
<i>Be politically conservative</i>	40	54	49	50
<i>Be white</i>	22	20	23	25

**Question text:** In your opinion, how important are the following items for being truly Texan?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Texans agree on the shared elements of Texan identity regardless of how long they have lived in the state. Newcomers and people who have lived in Texas their whole lives have comparable levels of support for the values of freedom, liberty, and neighborliness. Even when we look at values which are more polarized across the Threads—the importance of being Christian, being a risk-taker, and upholding the Second Amendment, for example—there is consistency between those who are new to Texas and those who have been in the state for decades.



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“THERE ARE A LOT OF DIFFERENT CULTURES HERE. I THINK GETTING INVOLVED IN YOUR COMMUNITY SETS YOU UP TO BE A TEXAN.”

— RICHARD, A POLITICAL PROVIDER,  
HISPANIC MAN, MILLENNIAL

“COURTESY IS A KEY TEXAN VALUE. DOWN HERE, WE TEND TO BE A LOT MORE FRIENDLIER. WE HELP STRANGERS, HELP FRIENDS, WAVE HELLO AT PEOPLE.”

— LILY, REVERENT TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, BABY BOOMER

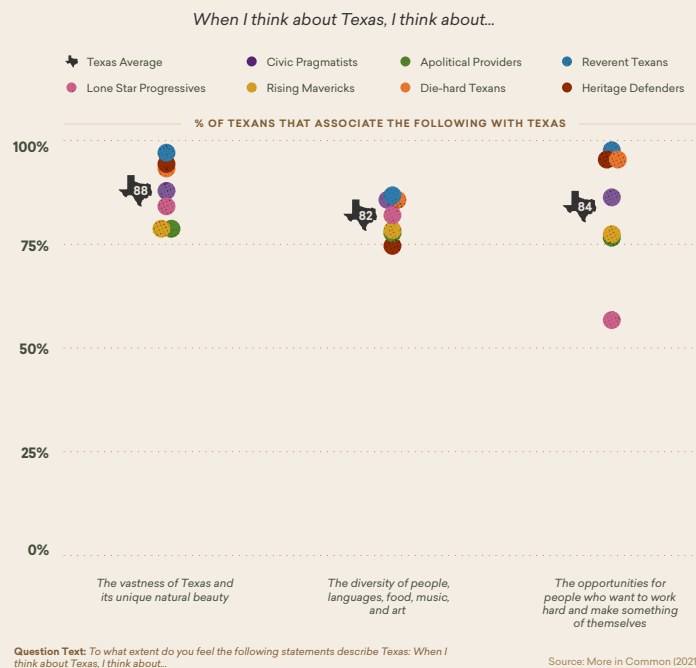
## TEXAN IDENTITY

# THE HEART OF TEXAS

Beyond the components of what it means to be Texan, Texan identity also encompasses associations Texans make with the state — features of Texas that are sources of pride. Texans are united in feeling that three key features define the state: the vastness of Texas and its unique natural beauty (88 percent), the diversity of people, languages, food, music, and art (82 percent), and the opportunities for people who want to work hard and make something of themselves (84 percent).

FIGURE 4.10

## THE HEART OF TEXAS

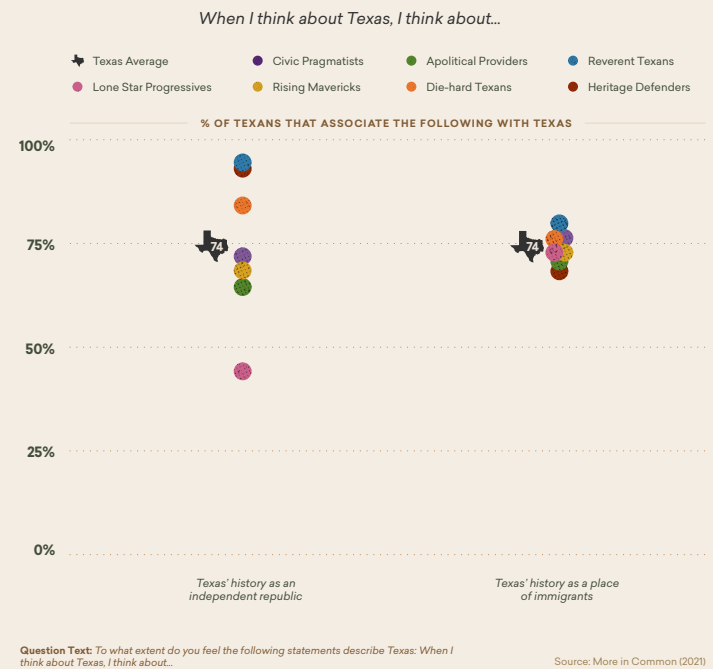


Common ground around these key Texan features underscores the extent to which contemporary political debates mischaracterize Texan pride. Debates which paint liberal Texans as attacking traditional Texan values

or conservative Texans as uniformly xenophobic miss a deeper point: most Texans associate the state with values that might be characterized as both liberal (embrace of diversity) and conservative (individual responsibility to work hard and make something of oneself).

FIGURE 4.11

## POLITICAL CONFLICT OBSCURES COMMON GROUND ON TEXAS HISTORY



Most Texans also share common ground around two features of Texas which are often presented in political debates as being in tension — Texas' history as an independent republic and its history as a place of immigrants. Seventy-four percent of Texans identify both features as important to their conception of Texas.

# THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

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Our group identities — the communities we feel a part of — have significant influence on our attitudes and behaviors. We can form group identities in a myriad of ways, from the most trivial sources to attributes which can define us to others — race, faith, gender, ideology, etc. However insignificant the source of identity might seem, the consequences are not. We are more likely to promote and defend groups which we associate with, and we are also more likely to regard those our group deems outsiders as enemies. Studies have even demonstrated that with group identities, there is a strong drive for “maximum differentiation”, meaning we are concerned primarily with our position **relative to** other groups (e.g. if we gain \$100 but another group gains \$150 we might be more unhappy than if we gained \$75 but the other group gained only \$50).<sup>14</sup>

When it comes to political behavior, recent political cycles have seen an increase in voting behavior fueled primarily by the related phenomenon of **negative partisanship**. We are motivated less by our positive support for our party and more by the desire to hurt the other side or prevent them from gaining power. This is not a new phenomenon, however, the degree to which it animates political behavior tracks with other indicators of polarization.

The implications of both maximum differentiation and negative partisanship increase during periods of volatility and uncertainty. Such conditions, which have become increasingly common in the past several years, can lead to a heightened sense of threat or concern for our well-being (or that of close family). When sense of threat heightens, people tend to “retrench” and feel stronger associations

with groups from which we derive the strongest sense of safety. This can fuel powerful feelings of “with me or against me.”

Beyond their shared Texan-ness, Texans hold a number of identities. Race, religion, gender, and immigration status are among the most salient. It often seems as if all of these group identities are flashpoints for division in Texas, and there are indeed significant tensions in some of these areas. However, these identities can also serve to unite Texans and reinforce a shared story of being Texan. Such a process can start with a better understanding of how Texans feel toward different groups in the state (and broader society). Individuals’ perceptions regarding their “in-groups” and “out-groups” correlate strongly with attitudes regarding group privilege and victimhood. Understanding these dynamics at the level of group identity provides a more accurate map regarding sources of conflict and unity among Texans.

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<sup>14</sup> Brewer, M. B. (2007). The social psychology of intergroup relations: Social categorization, ingroup bias, and outgroup prejudice. In A. W. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (p. 695–715). The Guilford Press.

**FIGURE 4.12**

## FEELINGS TOWARD DIFFERENT GROUPS

	ALL	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
Supporters of Donald Trump	51	10	41	59	40	46	75	80
Supporters of Joe Biden	50	78	55	56	60	63	35	18
Democrats	48	74	53	42	56	65	34	16
Republicans	47	14	41	44	41	49	70	59
Evangelical Christians	53	19	45	53	44	65	75	65
Urban Texans	70	73	71	72	63	72	70	68
Rural Texans	69	47	68	63	52	77	85	88
Immigrants	70	82	68	82	64	74	62	68
Undocumented Immigrants	46	79	51	78	47	35	25	15
Texans who have lived in the state their whole life	78	64	81	76	71	80	86	84
Texans who moved to the state in the past 5 years	64	66	65	79	63	62	61	58

**Question text:** Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings toward certain groups.

Source: More in Common (2021)

To measure how Texans from each Thread feel toward different groups, we used a ‘feelings thermometer’ which allows respondents to describe how ‘cold’ or ‘warm’ they felt toward a specific group on a scale of 0 to 100. Cold to warm feelings serve as a proxy to in-group and out-group sentiments – essentially, how the Texas Threads define who counts as “us” and who counts as “them”.

The most ideological segments, the Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders, tend to have the greatest variance in feelings toward different groups and the most clearly defined views of insiders and outsiders. Lone Star Progressives have warmer sentiments toward groups that

they perceive to be liberal-leaning (e.g. Biden supporters, Democrats, and urban Texans) or groups that may perceive as being marginalized (e.g. immigrants and undocumented immigrants). They hold the coldest sentiments toward groups they associate with conservative beliefs – Trump supporters, Republicans, rural Texans, and Evangelical Christians. On the other hand, Heritage Defenders have warmer feelings toward those with conservative values and longtime Texans, and colder feelings toward newcomers, undocumented immigrants, and groups they regard as liberal. Though Reverent Texans share Heritage Defenders’ favor toward conservative-leaning groups, the variance in their feelings is smaller.

However, for the other Threads, which make up over half of Texan adult population (55%), the in-group/out-group dynamics are less evident. Their sentiments toward different groups do not vary as widely: feelings toward the population grouped by their ideological beliefs fluctuate between 40 and 60, whereas sentiments toward urban and rural Texans are similar.

While public debate and news coverage often characterize Texas as polarized by urban-rural divide, partisan fights, and tension between newcomers and longtime Texans, on average Texans do not overwhelmingly favor certain groups over others. These less defined views of insiders and outsiders present an opportunity for unity, through anchoring and elevating a shared Texan identity that transcends the group identities that Texans hold.

In the meantime, Texans' myriad identities, shaped by race, religion, gender, immigrant background and other factors, continue to mold and frame how Texans see themselves and each other in a rapidly changing state. This section explores how Texans interact with these identities — their salience, pride, and how identities shape experiences and perception of victimhood and privilege.

## THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

# RACE

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Texas has had its share of racially motivated incidents that garnered national attention, more recently the 2016 fatal shooting of five Dallas police officers and the deadly bombings in 2018 that victimized Black and Hispanic Texans in Austin. Emotions brought about by these events and numerous other incidents around the country were on display in the multiple protests in Texas following the killing of George Floyd by a police officer in May 2020.

Questions of racial privilege and discrimination often generate polarized responses and are typically framed in public debates as conflicts between two or more groups. Our research did find significant differences between the racial and ethnic groups of Black, white, Hispanic, and Asian Texans, in terms of the salience of racial identity and the sense of affinity toward various groups. These differences in identity salience, combined with their multitude of historical and personal experiences shape Texans' views on issues of equality and belonging.

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THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

RACE: SALIENCE OF RACIAL IDENTITY BY THREAD & RACE

The importance and pride one places on their racial identity can indicate the strength of group attachment and solidarity. Overall, Black and Hispanic Texans across all of the Threads are more likely than white Texans to assign importance to their racial identity and to feel pride in being part of their racial group. For example, over 70 percent of Black and Hispanic Texans across all Threads say their racial identity is important to them and feel proud of being part of their racial group. By contrast only 40 percent of white Texans say their race is important to them.<sup>15</sup>

FIGURE 4.13

RACIAL IDENTITY SALIENCE<sup>16</sup>

% AGREE THAT THEIR RACIAL IDENTITY IS IMPORTANT TO THEM								
	TEXAS AVERAGE	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
All	63	52	67	75	68	68	58	53
Black or African American	88	94	93	84	78	76	93	78
Hispanic	82	74	84	84	84	77	83	74
White	40	31	40	47	41	46	42	43

Question text: How important is your racial identity to you? Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 4.14

RACIAL PRIDE

% AGREE THAT THEY ARE PROUD OF THEIR RACE/ETHNICITY								
	TEXAS AVERAGE	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
All	71	45	73	78	72	83	77	68
Black or African American	92	93	96	86	82	94	94	88
Hispanic	88	81	88	89	84	89	96	76
White	51	17	49	44	50	67	68	63

Question text: How proud or ashamed are you to be (respondent's race/ethnicity)? Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>15</sup> In our survey, we asked respondents “what racial or ethnic group best describes” them. We use the term racial identity in this section of the report as an abbreviation of racial or ethnic identity. We are aware that the US Census Bureau designates the term “Hispanic” as an ethnic origin, not a racial origin. We are conscious that some Hispanic Texans exclusively identify “Hispanic” as their racial identity, whereas others see it as their ethnic identity, or both. For a brief overview of the multifaceted interpretations of Hispanic identity, see <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2015/06/11/chapter-7-the-many-dimensions-of-hispanic-racial-identity/>

<sup>16</sup> The n-sizes of Black respondents in the Heritage Defenders segment and Die-hard Texan segments are small for questions that were split-sampled in Survey 2 (n<60). We advise caution in interpreting data points with these breakdowns. Additionally, survey 2 data for Asian Texans came from a sample of n=23 Asian Texans, which may not be representative and was deemed too small to be included in the analyses. For questions regarding gender identity, less than 1% of our survey respondents identify as non-binary or gender identities other than male or female. We regret this gap in the research findings, and hope for an opportunity to explore further in the future.

# RACE: GROUP ATTACHMENT AND RACIAL IDENTITY

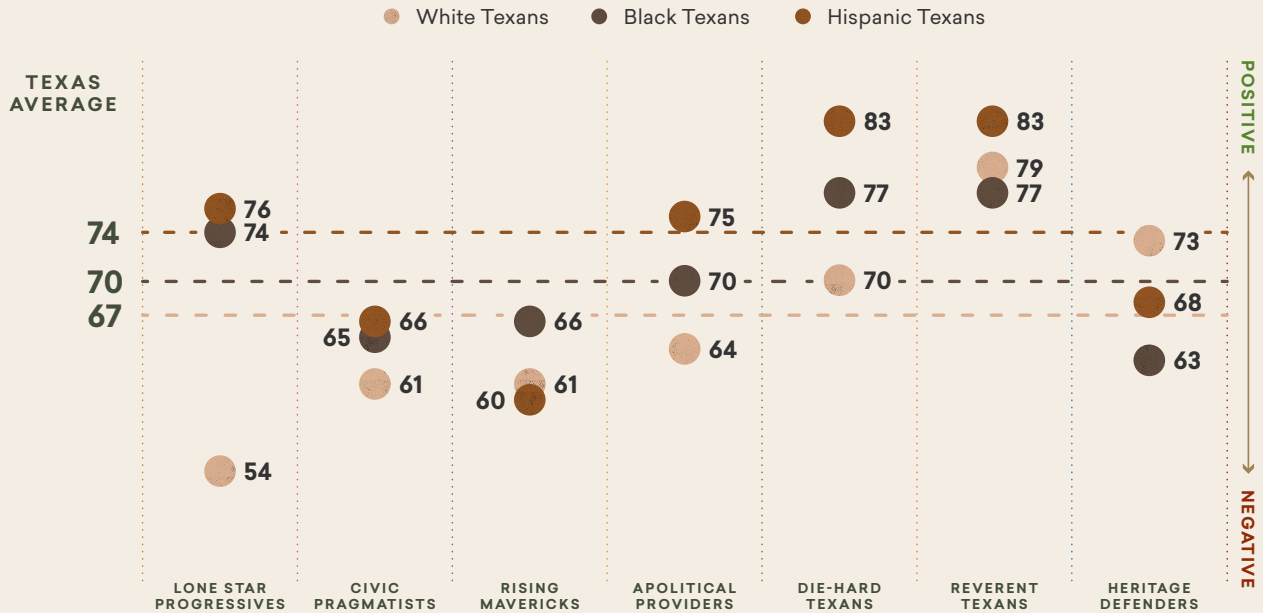
A similar dynamic, with less extreme ratings, is evident with feelings toward law enforcement. Lone Star Progressives, the Thread with the coolest sentiment toward law enforcement, still register a thermometer score of 40. This is cooler than the average sentiment expressed by any racial category though is still significantly warmer than the sentiment felt by Heritage Defenders toward Black Lives Matter movement.

## FEELINGS TOWARD BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT



FIGURE 4.16

## FEELINGS TOWARD DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS



**Question text:** Thermometer score is a 0–100 score of Texans’ feelings towards certain groups.

Source: More in Common (2021)

Significantly, the thermometer scores reported toward Black Lives Matter and law enforcement do not translate into hostility toward any racial group. Texans across different Threads have warm sentiments toward all racial groups, with no considerable variation in their thermometer ratings. Lone Star Progressives are somewhat of an outlier — this Thread is majority white (58) yet exhibits the coldest feelings toward white Texans (54).

factors outside of affinity to racial groups likely inform and shape the Threads’ varying degrees of warmth toward different social and civil rights movements. For one, those with a stronger authority foundation may be more likely to be upset by perceived disrespect toward police, whereas those with a stronger care foundation may place greater priority on the suffering of the victims of police violence.

While Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders have the coldest feelings toward Black Lives Matter activists (29 and 19 respectively), they feel much warmer toward Black Texans (77 and 63). The discrepancy suggests that other

## THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

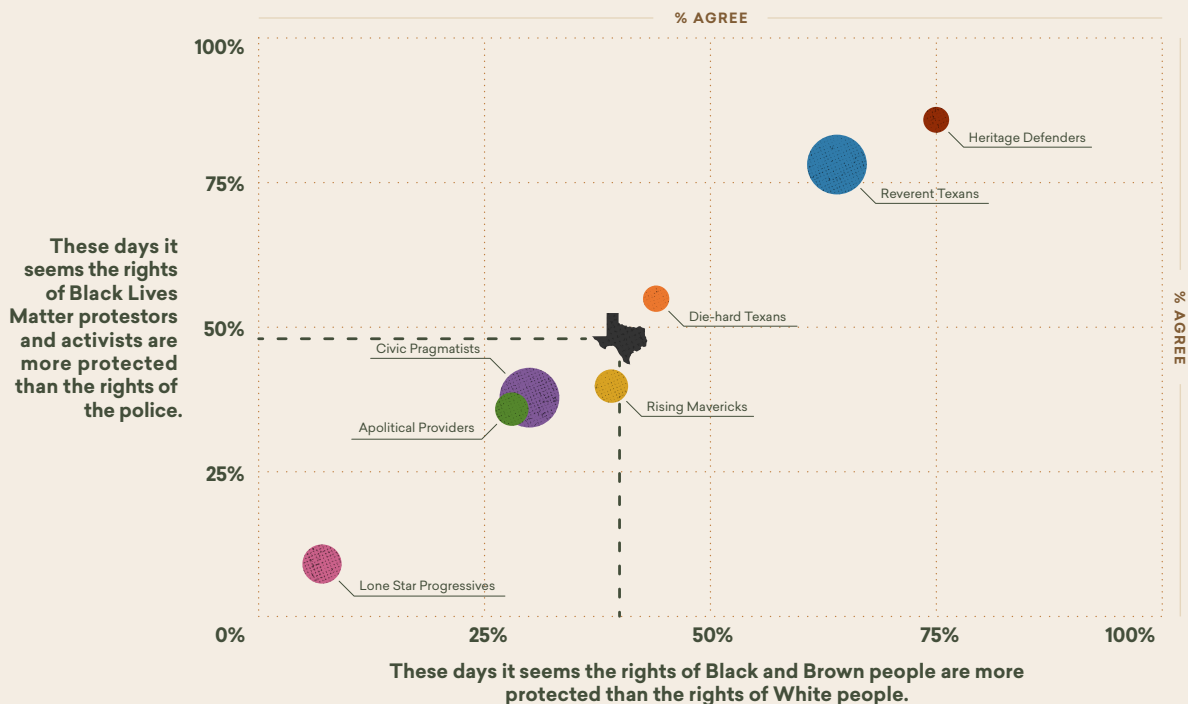
# RACE: PERCEPTION OF VICTIMHOOD AND FAVORITISM

Another way to understand perceptions of group solidarity is to examine perceptions of **victimhood** and **group favoritism**. Questions of racial privilege and the power relationship between law enforcement and racial justice activists show polarized responses from Lone Star Progressives, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders and a more complex and nuanced picture from the other Threads. For example, 48 percent of Heritage Defenders and 41 percent of Reverent Texans “strongly agree” that

the rights of Black and Brown people are more protected than the rights of white people. Only 20 percent of Texans overall feel this way. In contrast, 79 percent of the Lone Star Progressive Thread “strongly disagree” with this sentiment, compared to only 30 percent of Texans overall. Perspectives regarding the power relationship between activists and law enforcement follow a similar pattern.

FIGURE 4.17

### PERCEPTION OF RACIAL FAVORITISM



Note: Circle size = % share of Texas population

Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PASSING OF  
GEORGE FLOYD, AS I WENT OUT OF  
MY HOUSE TO GO JOGGING, I HAD A  
DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE ON HOW MY  
NEIGHBORS MIGHT VIEW ME. I WAS  
EVEN GONNA GO AS FAR AS TO PUT MY  
ADDRESS ON MY SHIRT THAT SAYS 'I LIVE  
HERE,' SO WHEN I'M RUNNING THROUGH  
THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOU DON'T ATTEMPT  
TO KILL ME.”

— ANTHONY, BLACK MAN, GENERATION X

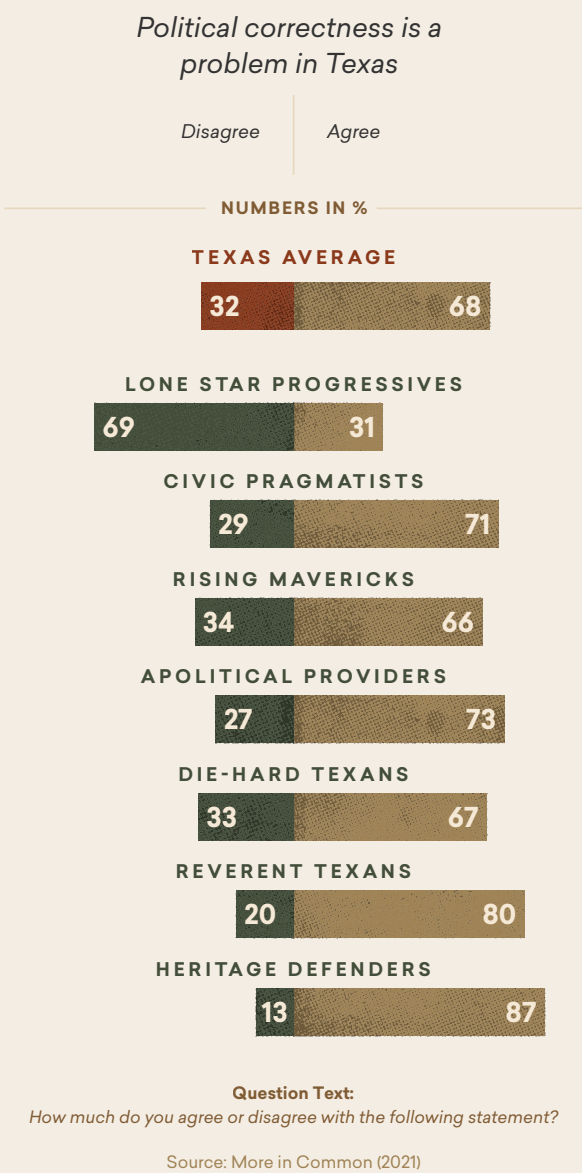
“I DON'T THINK IN EL PASO WE EXPERIENCE  
RACISM THAT MUCH. THEN AGAIN  
I'M A MEXICAN WOMAN THAT LOOKS  
WHITE. AS SOON AS I STEP OUT OF EL  
PASO AND START TALKING, I FEEL THE  
DISCRIMINATION, ESPECIALLY IN EASTERN  
PARTS OF TEXAS.”

— RIA, HISPANIC WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

RACE: POLITICAL CORRECTNESS

Another fault line that emerged in conversations about race was on identity politics and political correctness. In focus groups, a few Texans across the different Threads mentioned the conflation of political correctness with what they perceived as innocent actions that were incorrectly interpreted as racism. When asked whether political correctness is a problem in Texas, there is strong agreement across all Threads except the Lone Star Progressives; 68 percent of Texans feel political correctness is a problem, however 69 percent of Lone Star Progressives disagree with this sentiment.

FIGURE 4.18 PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“IT DOESN'T SEEM LIKE TEXANS ARE VERY CONCERNED WITH BEING POLITICALLY CORRECT. THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IT BEING A BAD THING, AND THAT WE SHOULDN'T STRIVE TO DO THAT. I THINK BEING POLITICALLY CORRECT IS TRYING TO BE RESPECTFUL OF OTHER PEOPLE.”

— SOPHIA, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE,  
WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X

“WHAT A LOT OF US 60-SOMETHING-YEAR-OLD WHITE MEN LIKE ME WOULD DISMISS AS POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, IT MIGHT BE SOMETHING THAT A YOUNG BLACK MAN OR WOMAN HAS HAD TO LIVE WITH FOR YEARS. IT'S JUST THOUGHTLESS TO SAY THOSE THINGS. WE MIGHT DISMISS IT AS POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, WHILE IT MAY INDEED BE QUITE HURTFUL TO THEM. I'M CERTAINLY TRYING TO LEARN AND GROW IN THIS TIME PERIOD.”

— GREG, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
HISPANIC MAN, BABY BOOMER



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO BE POLITICALLY CORRECT, MAINLY FOR THE IDEA OF INCLUSIVITY TO MAKE SURE EVERYBODY FEELS COMFORTABLE. I THINK THE PROBLEM IS MORE ABOUT HELPING EVERYONE UNDERSTAND WHY IT'S SO IMPORTANT.”

— CRISTIAN, RISING MAVERICK,  
HISPANIC MAN, GENERATION Z

“WHEN I WAS YOUNG, I DON'T REMEMBER PEOPLE THROWING FISTS ABOUT RACISM, WHICH IS WHAT THEY DO NOW. ”

— JACOB, HERITAGE DEFENDER,  
WHITE MAN, GENERATION X

THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

RELIGION

In our survey, approximately 7 in 10 Texans identify as being part of an organized religion; 10 percent identify as being either an atheist or agnostic, and 21 percent say they do not belong to any organized religion.

About a third of Texans identify as Protestant, with 34 percent of those saying they belong to a Baptist church and 21 percent belonging to a nondenominational or independent church. Of the Texas Threads, half of Reverent Texans and about four in ten Heritage Defenders identify as Protestant, as well as a third of Civic Pragmatists (32 percent), a quarter of Die-hard Texans (25 percent) and about a fifth of Lone Star Progressives, Rising Mavericks, and Apolitical Providers.

The second most common religion with which Texans identify is Roman Catholic (26 percent). Among the Threads, about a third of Civic Pragmatists, Rising Mavericks, and Die-hard Texans are Roman Catholics, as well as about a quarter of Apolitical Providers, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders. Lone Star Progressives are among the most secular Texans, with 28 percent saying they are agnostic or atheist.

FIGURE 4.19

RELIGION OF THE TEXAS THREADS

RELIGION	NUMBERS IN %							
	ALL	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
Protestant	32	20	32	19	20	25	50	43
Roman Catholic	26	14	31	30	27	29	25	26
Mormon	1	0	2	1	0	1	2	1
Eastern or Greek Orthodox	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
Jewish	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2
Muslim	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	0
Buddhist	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	0
Hindu	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
Atheist	5	15	3	5	5	2	1	2
Agnostic	5	13	5	4	6	3	1	3
Nothing in particular	21	28	18	23	32	28	12	16
Something else	6	6	4	7	7	7	6	6

Question text: What is your present religion, if any?

Source: More in Common (2021)

RELIGION: IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION

Seventy-one percent of Texans say that religion is somewhat or very important in their lives, indicating the widespread degree to which Texans feel a sense of connection to faith. This is particularly true for Reverent Texans, 86 percent of whom say religion plays an important role in their lives.

Religiosity varies interestingly across the Texas Threads. Reverent Texans attend service most frequently, with almost half saying they go at least once a week or more (16 percent say more than once a week); the Thread with

the next highest frequency of attending service is the more liberal-leaning Civic Pragmatist Thread, with 30 percent saying they attend services at least once a week or more. This trend is also reflected in the frequency of prayer across the Threads; 66 percent of Reverent Texans say they pray at least once a day (with 50 percent saying they pray more than once a day) and then approximately half of the Die-hard Texans (48 percent), Civic Pragmatists (47 percent), and Heritage Defenders (51 percent) say they pray at least once a day.

FIGURE 4.19

RELIGIOUS BEHAVIORS OF THE TEXAS THREADS

		NUMBERS IN %						
FREQUENCY OF ATTENDING RELIGIOUS SERVICE	ALL	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
At least once a week	28	10	30	25	21	18	47	28
Seldom or never	47	73	41	36	55	55	31	51
FREQUENCY OF PRAYER								
At least once a day	46	26	47	34	42	48	66	51
Seldom or never	27	54	25	26	30	26	13	13

Question text: Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?  
Question text: People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, how often do you pray?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

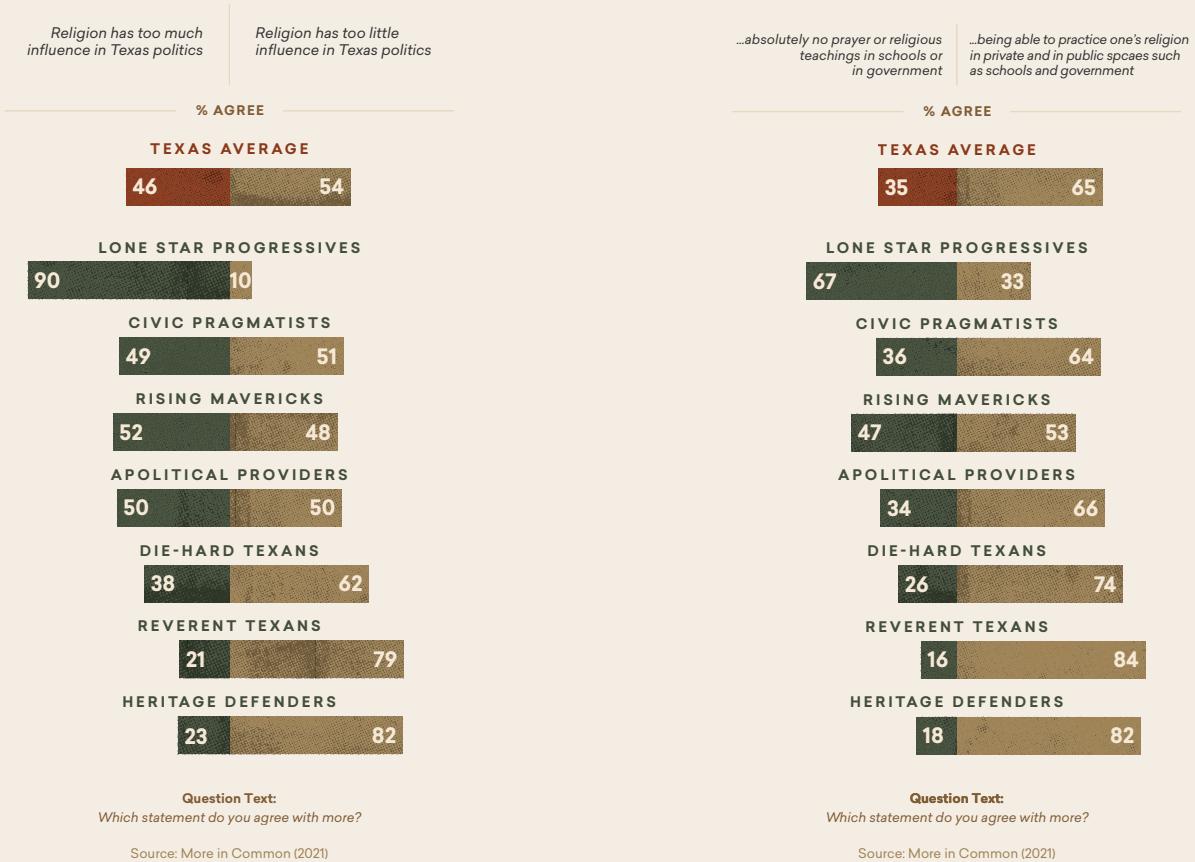
When asked about religious freedom and the role of religion in Texan politics, responses reflect a stronger orientation toward robust religious freedoms than is captured by the frequency with which they attend service or pray. Whereas less than a third of Texans (though close to half of the Reverent Texans Thread) attend religious service once a week, 65 percent feel religious freedom includes practicing one’s religion in public spaces such as schools and government. About half (54 percent) feels that religion has too little influence in Texas politics.

Interestingly, the Die-hard Texans, who are the second least likely Thread to attend religious service weekly, have some of the strongest views in favor of expansive religious freedom, with 74 percent favoring the practice of religion in public spaces and 62 percent feeling religion has too little influence in Texas politics.

FIGURE 4.20

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN TEXAS INFLUENCE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

INTERPRETATIONS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

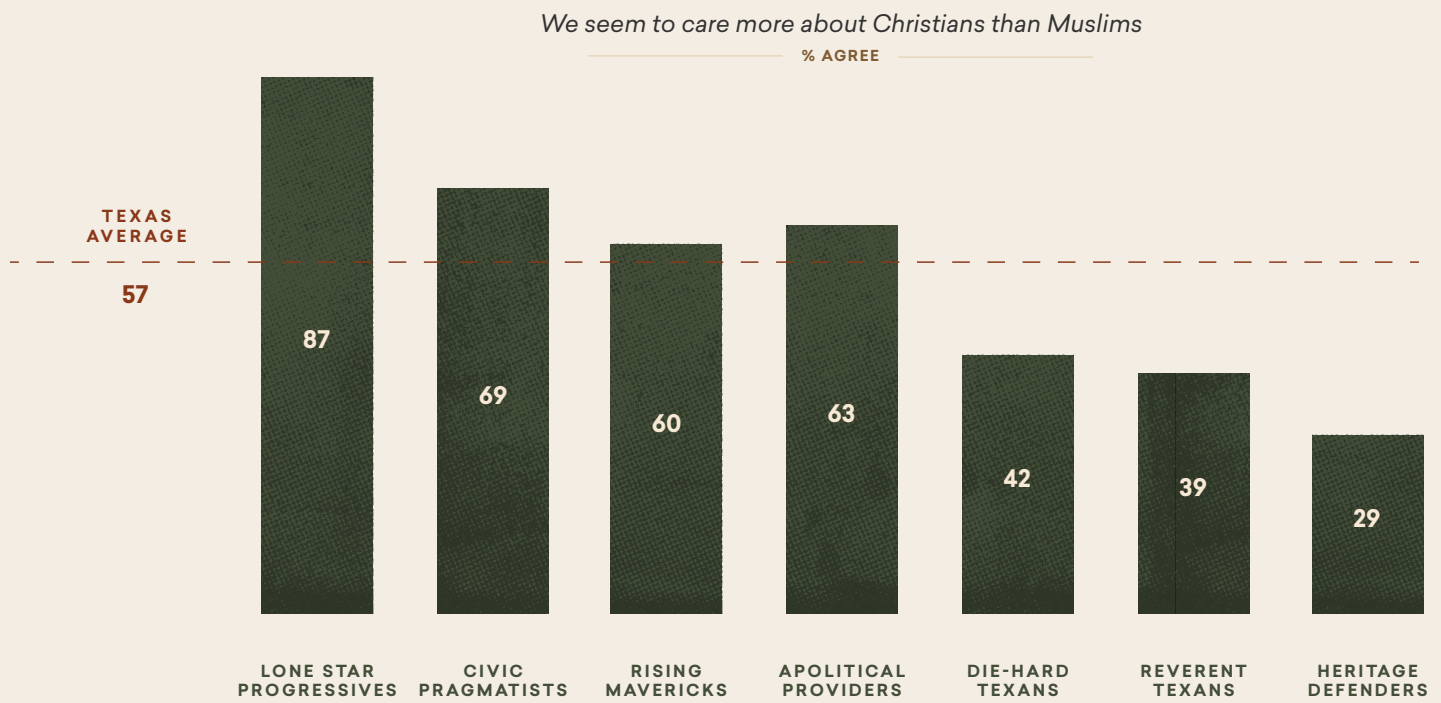
RELIGION: PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION

While overall 57 percent of Texans feel society cares more about Christians than Muslims, Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders disagree. Members of these three Threads, all of which are predominantly Christian in denomination (55 percent of Die-hard Texans, 78 percent of Reverent Texans, and 70 percent of Heritage Defenders said they were Christian; overall 60 percent

of Texans identified with a Christian faith) are the most likely to say religion is important in their lives. There is an interesting split between Protestant Texans and Roman Catholic Texans on whether society cares more about Christians than Muslims. Six in ten of Roman Catholic Texans but only 43 percent of Protestant Texans agree with this sentiment.

FIGURE 4.21

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"I THINK RELIGION IS A HUGE ISSUE IN TEXAS. OUR SOCIETY IS BECOMING LESS TOLERANT TOWARD OTHER RELIGIONS, AND WE'RE KIND OF ON THE VERGE OF BECOMING A THEOCRACY IN TEXAS. IT'S BECOME A SUBJECT IN TEXAS YOU JUST CAN'T TALK ABOUT."

— REBECCA, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE,  
WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X

"WE HAVE HAD A LOT OF IMMIGRANTS CROSSING THE BORDER OF HISPANIC DESCENT. THE MAJORITY OF THEM LOOK TO CATHOLICISM AS SOMETHING THEY CAN BRING FROM THEIR ORIGINS AND IT'S A CONTINUATION OF SOMETHING FOR THEM. WHEN YOU'RE IN CHURCH, YOU'RE NOT VIEWED ANY DIFFERENTLY AS THE PERSON SITTING NEXT TO YOU IN THE PEW."

— SANDRA, CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL  
STAFF MEMBER

## THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

# GENDER

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Seven out of ten Texans say their gender is an important part of their identity. Issues related to gender dynamics, such as Texas' cowboy culture, male privilege, and feminism often generate polarized views. Nearly half (48 percent) of Texans believe the masculine cowboy culture is a relic of Texas' past, with disparity across the Threads, most notably between Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders. Yet there is also majority support among Texans for the goal of gender equality, with 59 percent agreeing today's feminists fight for important issues of gender equality.

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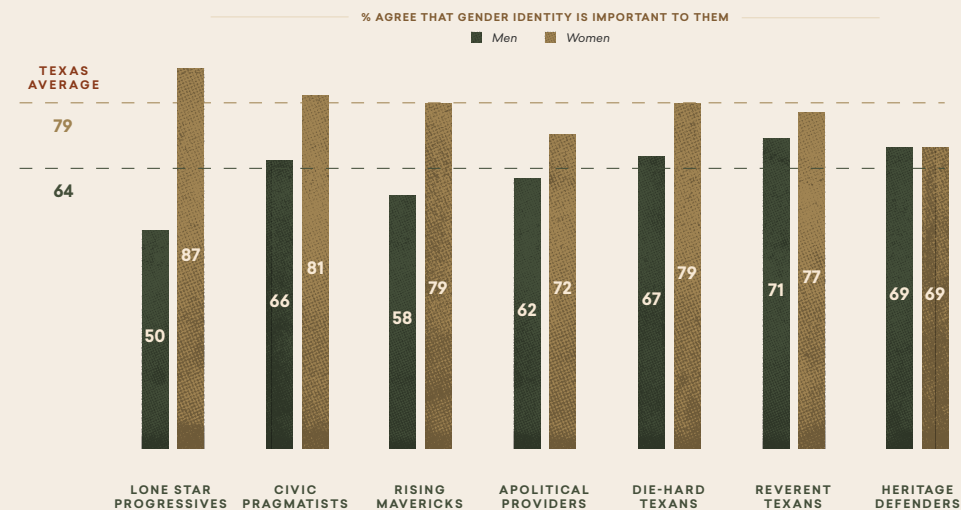
THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

GENDER: SALIENCE OF GENDER IDENTITY BY THREAD AND GENDER

Texans across all seven Threads feel their gender identity is important to them. Texan men and women are proud of their gender; with the exception of Lone Star Progressive men, only 39 percent of whom say they are proud.

FIGURE 4.22

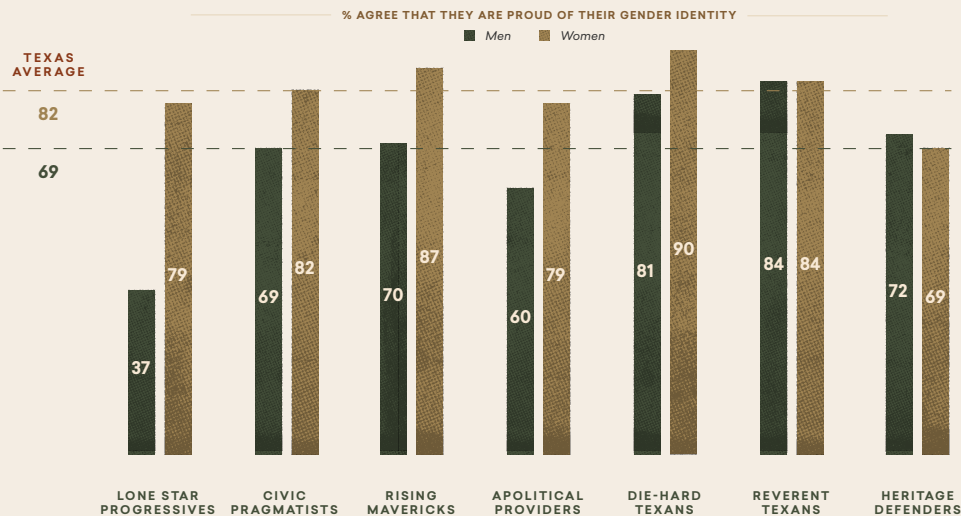
SALIENCE OF GENDER IDENTITY



Question text: How important is your gender identity to you?

Source: More in Common (2021)

PRIDE IN GENDER IDENTITY



Question text: How proud or ashamed are you to be [respondent's gender]?

Source: More in Common (2021)

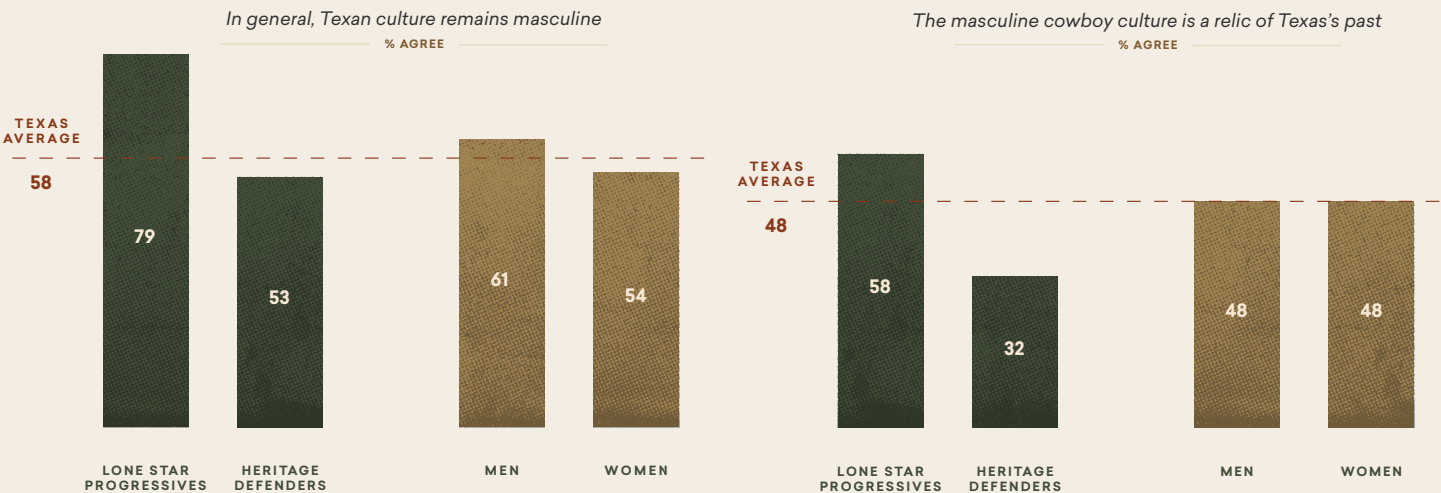
THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

GENDER: GENDER AND TEXAN CULTURE

More than half (58 percent) of Texans feel that, despite the advances made in gender equality, Texan culture remains masculine. Texans are more split over whether the masculine cowboy culture is a relic of the past. Nearly half (48 percent) agree it is a relic, about a quarter 24 percent disagree, and another quarter 28 percent are unsure. The largest gap in agreement is between Lone Star Progressives (58 percent) and Heritage Defenders (32 percent).

FIGURE 4.23

GENDERED CONNOTATION OF TEXAN CULTURE



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# GENDER: GENDER AND EQUALITY IN TEXAS

Disagreement in views toward issues of gender dynamics, is influenced by the degree to which Threads diverge in their perceptions of privilege. As a state, Texas is split on whether men continue to have significant advantages over women in Texas today, with 54 percent agreeing and 46 percent disagreeing. Regarding this issue, there is a gender gap of 19 points, with 63 percent of Texan women but only 44 percent of Texan men agreeing men continue to have advantages over women.

This gap however is overshadowed by the discrepancy between Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders. The least political Threads (Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die-hard Texans) are more evenly split on this question. It is noteworthy that two of these Threads (Rising Mavericks and Die-hard Texans) show the largest gender gaps within the thread, with 67 percent of Die-hard Texan women and 62 percent of Rising Mavericks women agreeing men continue to have advantages, whereas this sentiment is shared by only 39 percent of Die-hard Texan men and 34 percent of Rising Mavericks men.

FIGURE 4.24

## PERCEPTION OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND FEMINIST MOVEMENT



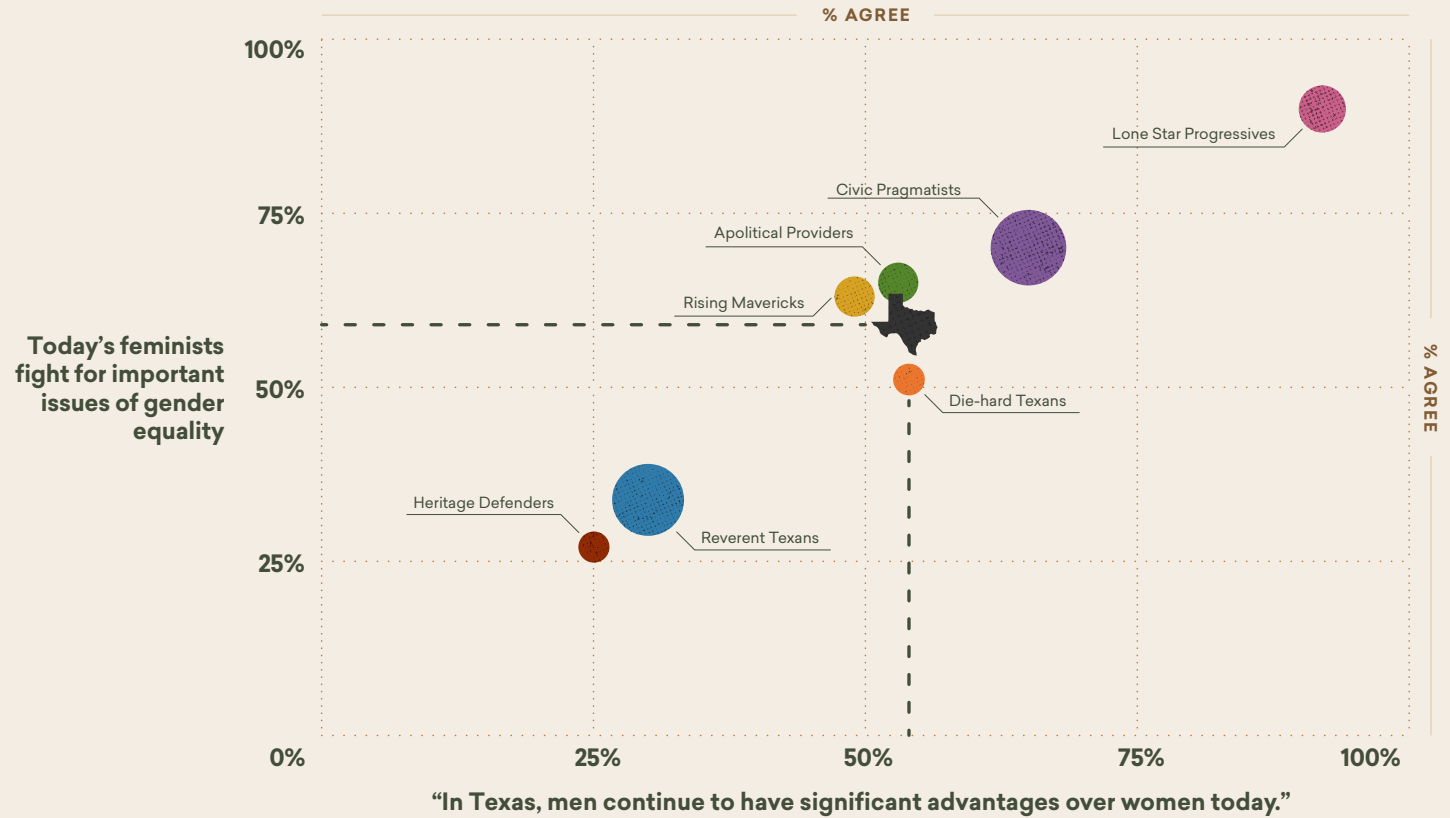
Question Text:  
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 4.24

## PERCEPTION OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Lone Star Progressives, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders are outliers



Note: Circle size = % share of Texas population

Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Perceptions of male privilege correlate strongly with perceptions toward feminists. As shown in Figure 4.24, the Lone Star Progressives, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders are significant outliers on perceptions of male privilege and the merit of feminists' causes. The other Threads are more reflective of the state as a whole on these dynamics.

## THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

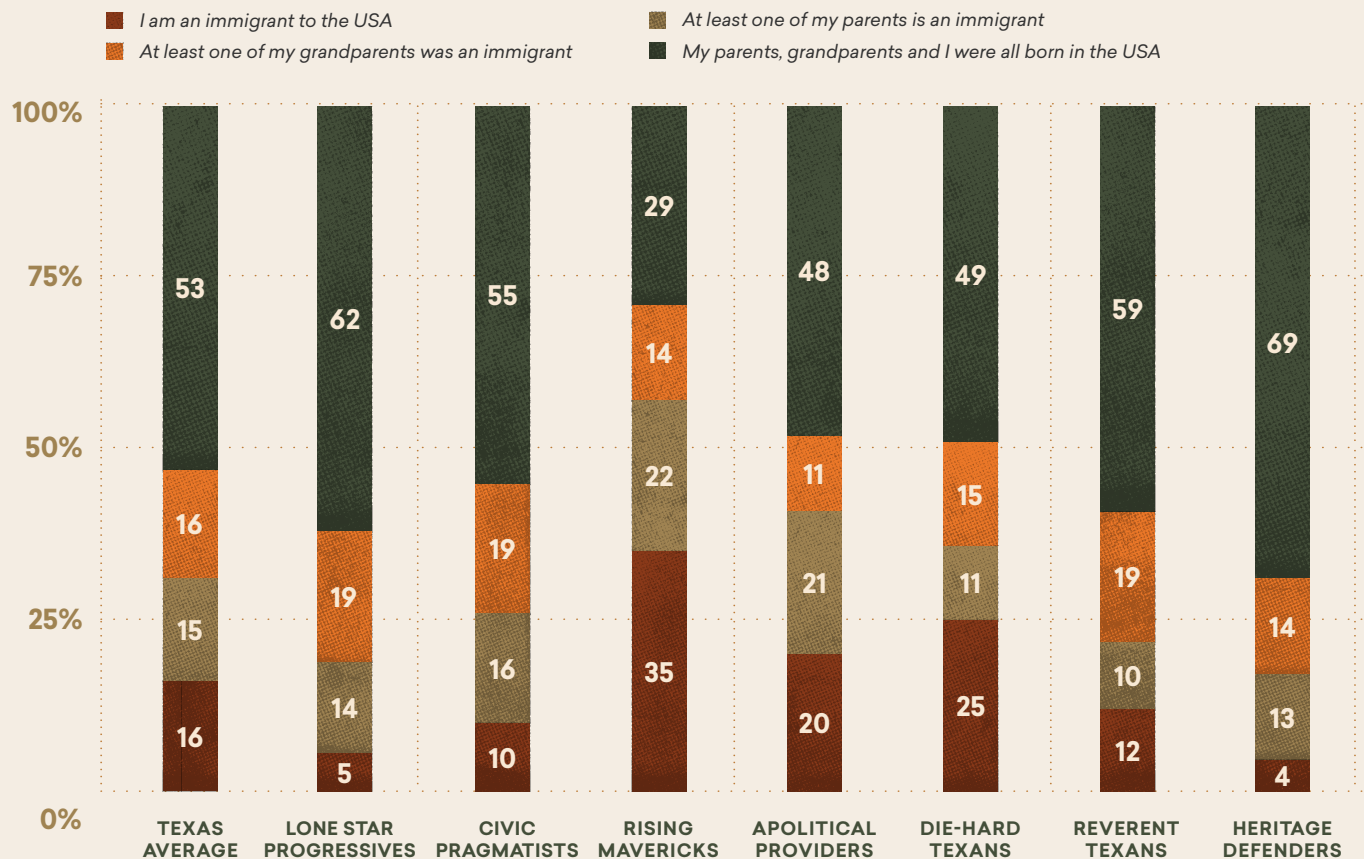
# IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION

In our survey, 47 percent of Texans identified as having at least one member of their family – including themselves, their parents, and their grandparents—who was an immigrant to America. Approximately 1 in 10 Texans identified as being an immigrant and naturalized American citizen.<sup>17</sup> White

Texans and Black Texans were the most likely to say that their family were all born in the United States (72 percent and 76 percent respectively). Hispanic and Asian Texans are much more likely to identify themselves or someone in their family as an immigrant (75 percent and 96 percent).

FIGURE 4.25

### IMMIGRANT IDENTITY



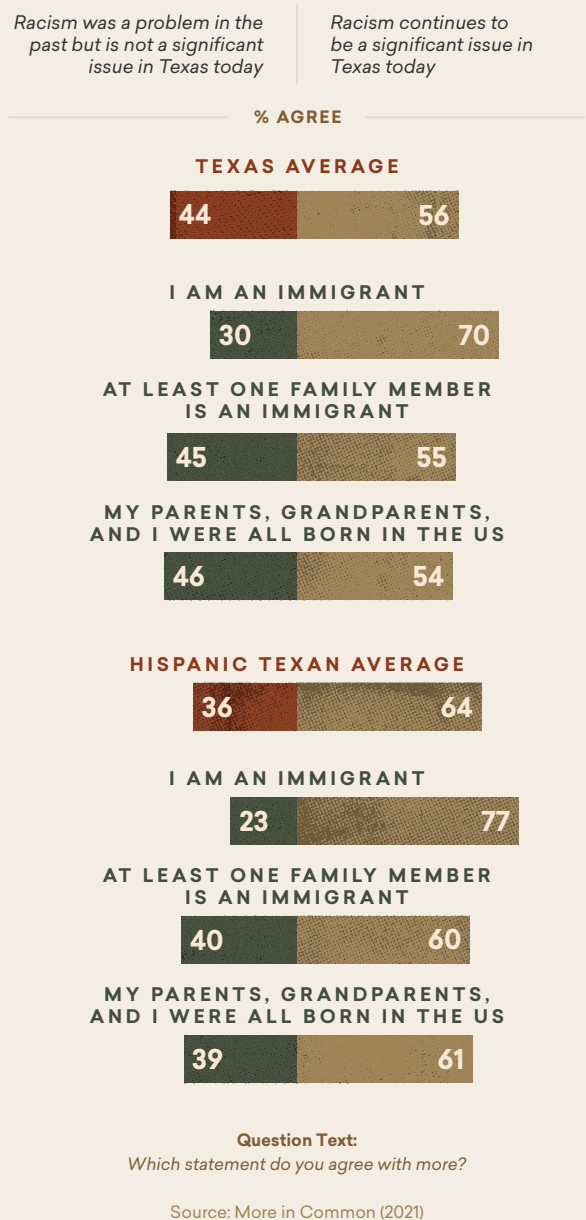
Question text: Which of these statements best describes you?

Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>17</sup> Note: our respondents self-reported their immigration status in the survey. According to the American Immigration Council census data, one in six Texas residents is an immigrant, while another one in six residents is a native-born U.S. citizen with at least one immigrant parent. For more information, see <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-Texas#:~:text=One%20in%20six%20Texas%20residents%20is%20an%20immigrant%2Cmillion%20men%2C%20and%20319%2C331%20children%20who%20were%20immigrants.>

FIGURE 4.26

IMMIGRANT IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCES OF RACISM IN TEXAS



Texans’ immigrant identity has considerable implications in their perception and experiences of racism. Texans who identify as immigrants to the United States are much more likely than those born in the United States to view racism as a significant issue in Texas (70 percent vs. 55

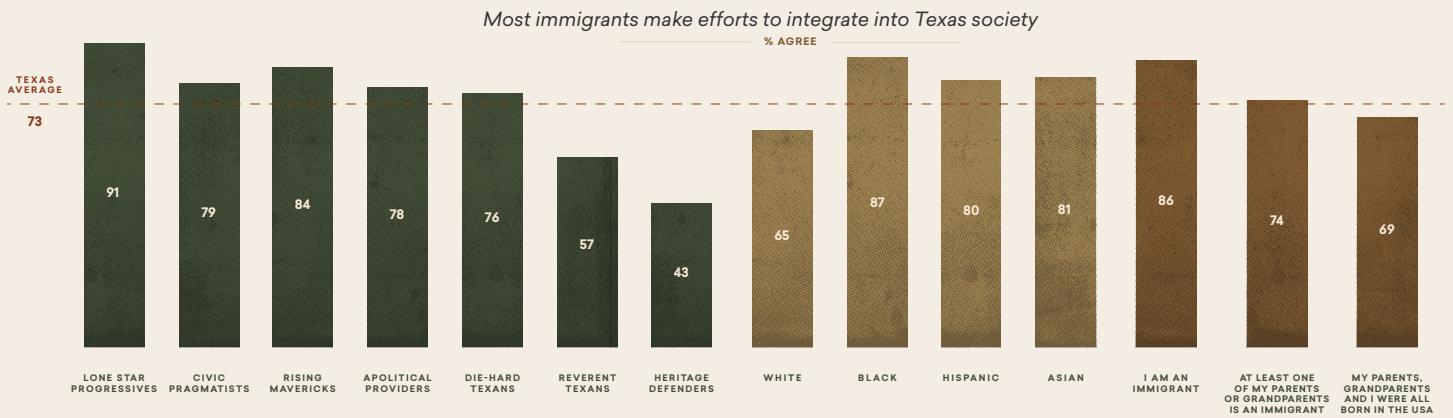
percent). This pattern is seen clearly among Hispanic Texans: compared to Hispanic Texans who were born in the country, those who are immigrants are more likely to believe that racism continues to be a problem.

## THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

# IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION: IMMIGRANTS AND TEXAN SOCIETY

FIGURE 4.27

### IMMIGRANTS AND TEXAN SOCIETY



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

The majority of Texans feel that most immigrants make efforts to integrate into Texas society. This sentiment is felt mostly strongly by Lone Star Progressives and Rising Mavericks, Threads that stress welcoming diversity as a crucial Texan identity. The outliers on this consideration are Heritage Defenders, the only Thread where a majority (57 percent) disagrees with this sentiment. Racial groups do not vary significantly on this question, nor is there much variation based upon an individual's personal connection to an immigrant background.

Attitudes regarding immigrants and integration into society do not map cleanly on to ideological lines. Among the more ideologically conservative Threads (Die-hard Texans, Texan Reverent, and Heritage Defenders), 76 percent of Die-hard Texans feel positively toward immigrants' efforts to integrate into Texas society.

FIGURE 4.28

TEXANS, IMMIGRANTS, AND GROUP ATTACHMENT

Feelings toward different groups								
	ALL	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
Legal Immigrants	79	88	76	75	71	78	83	75
Central American Refugees	57	79	59	65	57	54	45	35
Undocumented Immigrants	50	74	53	63	56	47	30	20
Mexicans	71	84	72	74	68	70	69	58
Mexican Americans	77	87	75	73	72	79	77	72

Question text: Thermometer score is a 0-100 score of Texans' feelings toward certain groups. Source: More in Common (2021)

Overall, Texans feel warm toward Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and legal immigrants. Sentiment is more split regarding undocumented immigrants with an average thermometer score of 50. The warmest sentiments toward all of these groups are consistently expressed by Lone Star Progressives, a Thread which deeply prioritizes the importance of welcoming diversity. The Heritage Defenders consistently express the coldest scores toward these groups (though Rising Mavericks and Apolitical Providers have a slightly cooler sentiment toward immigrants).

This finding indicates the degree to which members of the most ideological Threads have the most consistent and extreme sentiments regarding in-groups and out-groups, with the Lone Star Progressive identifying groups associated with immigration as in-groups and Heritage Defenders identifying these same groups (except immigrants who went through legal channels) as out-groups. With the other Threads, the story is less ideological (though Reverent Texans line-up closely with Heritage Defenders on this consideration) and more nuanced.

“I KIND OF LIKE GUYS WHO ARE A LITTLE CONTEMPTUOUS OF THE RULES AND REGULATIONS. I HAVE SOME SYMPATHY WITH THE GUY WHO COMES TO TEXAS, CROSSES THE BORDER, WORKS HARD AND MAKES A SUCCESS OF HIMSELF. WHILE THE RATIONAL PART OF ME SAYS ”HE OUGHT TO BE LEGALIZED,” I ALSO KIND OF ADMIRE THE SORT OF SPIRIT THAT IT TAKES TO DO THAT. I THINK THAT GUY IS AS MUCH AS TEXAN AS ANYBODY ELSE.”

— JACK, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER

THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

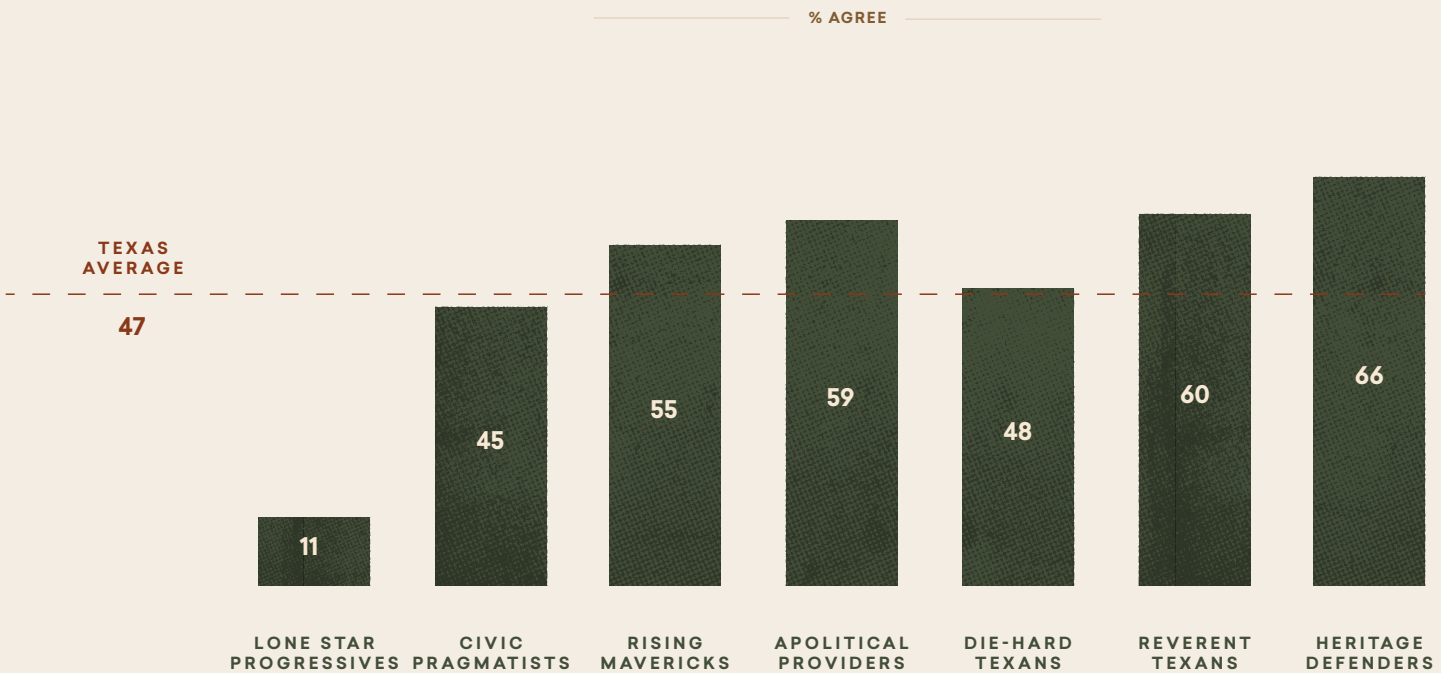
IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION:  
MINORITY STATUS

We probed white Texans about their attitudes toward the projected shift in demographics, which also reflect the shift in the country. Almost half (47 percent) of white Texans agree with the statement “I worry about becoming a minority in my own state.” White Lone Star Progressives are outliers on this sentiment, with only one in ten expressing

concern about their place in Texas amidst rapidly changing demographics. The feeling of concern over demographic change, and what it means for Texans as individuals, is especially acute among white members of the Apolitical Providers, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders.

FIGURE 4.29

FEAR OF BECOMING A MINORITY IN TEXAS



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
Note: This question was only fielded among white respondents

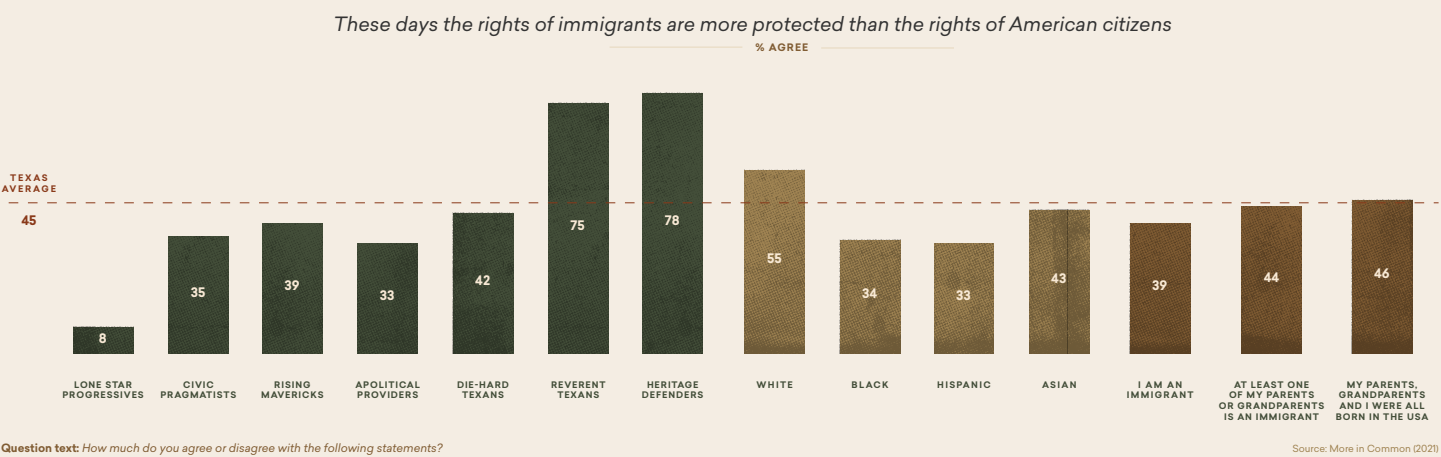
Source: More in Common (2021)

THE DIFFERENT IDENTITIES TEXANS HOLD

IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION:  
PERCEPTIONS OF VICTIMHOOD

FIGURE 4.30

PERCEIVED PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT



Attitudes toward immigrants are likely informed by Texans’ perceptions regarding which groups on the national level receive preferential treatment. 78 percent of Heritage Defenders and 75 percent of the Reverent Texans Thread feel that the rights of immigrants are protected more than the rights of American citizens. Texans on the whole are split on this, with 45 percent agreeing, 38 percent disagreeing, and 17 percent unsure. Texans do not vary significantly on this sentiment based upon their own immigrant backgrounds or by race.

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“I FEEL THAT IF YOU HAVE A CHOICE TO  
GET A BETTER LIFE SOMEWHERE ELSE,  
YOU SHOULD DEFINITELY BE GIVEN  
THAT CHOICE.”

— TINA, RISING MAVERICK,  
ASIAN WOMAN, GENERATION Z

“I THINK UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS  
SHOULD AT LEAST BE GIVEN A CHANCE  
TO GET CITIZENSHIP, BECAUSE THEY  
WORK HARD. VERY HARD.”

— TRISTAN, APOLITICAL PROVIDER,  
HISPANIC MAN, GENERATION X

“ANYONE CAN COME HERE AND LIVE  
HERE. IT DOESN'T MATTER WHERE  
YOU'RE FROM. AS LONG AS YOU ARE  
HERE LEGALLY, WE'LL WELCOME YOU  
HERE TO THE STATE. WE'LL TREAT YOU  
LIKE A BROTHER OR SISTER TO US.  
BUT YOU WON'T BE A NATIVE TEXAN,  
BECAUSE YOU WEREN'T BORN HERE.”

— JAMES, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“DON'T ERASE YOUR OWN HISTORY  
AND YOUR CULTURE, BECAUSE THAT'S  
SOMETHING ELSE THAT I WOULD SAY TEXAS  
IS KNOWN FOR IS THEIR MELTING POT  
OF DIVERSITY. HOWEVER, DON'T TRY TO  
CHANGE WHAT'S ALREADY HERE. YES, BRING  
YOUR CULTURE TO US. BUT DON'T EXPECT  
US TO CHANGE OUR CULTURE HERE.”

— LILY, REVERENT TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, BABY BOOMER

# WHY IDENTITIES MATTER

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Political debates have often used Texas identity as a wedge to drive groups of Texans apart. In extreme versions of these debates, Texas identity is presented either as a sacred set of traditional values under threat from outsiders or a series of myths perpetuated for the benefit of an unjust system. The reality is that Texan identity has deep meaning for Texans of all backgrounds and that the most important elements of this identity do not fall neatly into the polarized picture frequently presented in headlines and on social media.

Texans are capable of feeling proud of being Texan and believing Texas to be the best state in the country, while at the same time recognizing that the state has not always lived up to its ideals of freedom and equality. The genuine pride Texans feel in their Alamo—in being an independent republic—is matched by the importance they place on the state's history as a place of immigrants. Most Texans, across race, gender, and ideology, do not see this as an either/or situation. They are proud of both Texas' history of independence and shared story of welcoming people from a diversity of backgrounds.

There is widespread agreement around a core set of values which define Texan identity: neighborliness, a commitment to upholding freedom and liberty, and a dedication to equality. **There are themes of the Texas story which bind Texans across lines of difference—the idea that Texas is best embodied by the diversity of its people and customs, its unique natural beauty, and the opportunities provided to anyone who is willing to work hard to make something of themselves. These are neither traditional nor progressive values, nor are they urban or rural values. These are Texan values.**

Texans are proud of these values and of their Texan identity. Whether they have lived in Texas their whole life or moved here just recently, the intensity and persistence of this attachment to Texan identity empowers it with unique potential to bring Texans together.

Yet at the same time, the importance Texans attach to their Texan identity also means it has the potential to be used for divisive purposes. This dynamic is further compounded by the diversity of group identities which Texans hold in addition to our common state identity.

Race, religious, gender, and immigrant identities—among others—all inform and contribute to how Texans see other Texans and how they feel about their place in the state. These group identities reinforce the shared Texan identity; however, there are also clear fault lines. On questions of group privilege and preferential treatment, for example, we see polarized views between the Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders. We also see in Black Texans' responses and in the commentary from focus group participants a more acute concern about how they are perceived by other Texans.

This strikes at one of Texas' key strengths: there is no “stacking” of identities into dominant “liberal” or “conservative” groups. It is increasingly the case at the national level that political identity is emphasized to be the defining identity, taking on outsized importance and being the vehicle through which people can show loyalty to other groups—and the only forum for them to identify a clear out-group.

Our research does not find this dynamic to be as pervasive in Texas. Religion, for example, is clearly a cross-cutting identity, even if intensity varies across Threads. Similarly, immigrant identities and sentiments toward groups associated with immigration, do not map as tightly to polarized ideological identities as they do at the national level. These dynamics are not static however, and if public debates continue to reinforce hostile narratives of Texan identity that frame issues in terms of us versus them, Texas is vulnerable to the same polarization which has come to define national politics.

Finding ways to harness Texan identity to bring Texans together will not eliminate the importance of addressing disagreement felt over critical issues. But it can build our capacity to constructively talk about and address conflicts which otherwise pull us apart. In the next chapter, we focus on how the Threads think and feel about the most critical issues facing Texas.



## CHAPTER 5

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# ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

This report delves into five key issue areas identified through months of interviews and conversations with Texans and Texas-based organizations: **race, immigration, education, economy, and democracy**. The issue of change is inherent in all of these topics: change, in each case, is perceived by some segments as welcome and by others as a threat. The type of state Texas becomes as we move into the 2020s and beyond will be defined by how the citizens of the state conceive, participate in, or prevent change in these areas.

These issues are often presented as polarized, ‘with me or against me’ fights between groups of Texans: urban vs. rural, “New Texas” vs. “Old Texas”, liberal vs. conservative, etc. Although there are areas where we find stark division, the picture across all these issues is more nuanced. The tensions in these areas often stem from Texans’ core beliefs related to Texan identity and the values they associate with the state and their place in it. This chapter explores how the seven Threads of Texas feel regarding these topics.

## ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

# RACE

Texas is consistently ranked as one of the most racially diverse states in the nation. The largest city in the state, Houston, is the most diverse city in the country,<sup>18</sup> with no ethnic majority and about 25 percent of residents being foreign-born. Reflecting this reality, **most Texans across the different Threads say that a mark of a true Texan is welcoming the diversity in the state and believing in equality, and that an ideal Texas is one where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel like they belong.**

**Yet issues of race divide Texans.** The Threads' opinions vary widely on a range of issues, including police brutality, the removal of Confederate statues, and white supremacist groups in the state. **This includes, but is not limited to divergent views between white and nonwhite Texans and differences among non-white Texan groups.** As this chapter shows, the topic of race permeates discussions of other issues, such as the inequity in the quality of K-12 education, uneven economic development across racial groups, and the immigration debate.

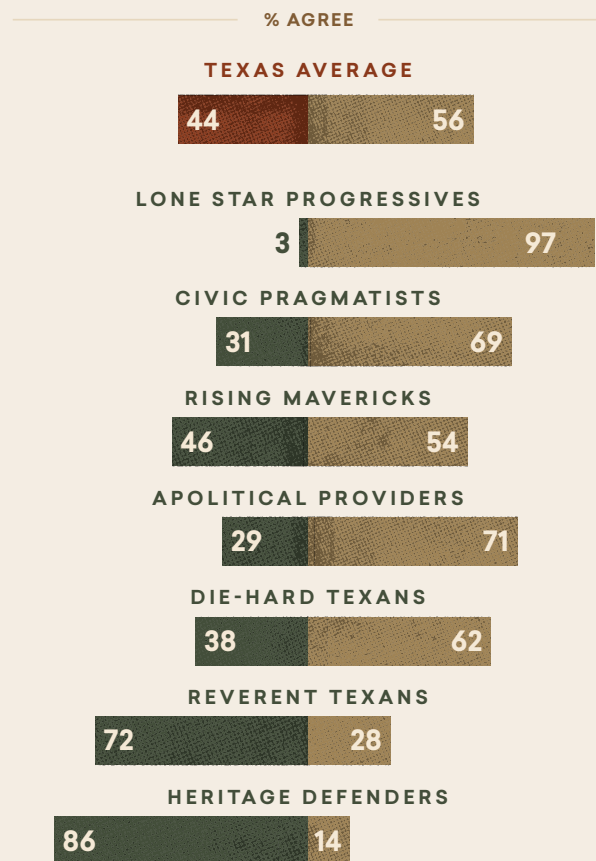
**Rifts in issues of race do not cleanly map onto ideological or even racial breakdowns. Texans' opinions are shaped by the implications of the specific issue on history and tradition.** Issues that prime a critical outlook toward Texas' history, such as the question of whether to take down Confederate statues, do not garner significant support from Texans, except from Lone Star Progressives. Yet on contemporary issues of racial injustices such as police brutality, Texans are aligned in recognizing the systemic racism, except for Heritage Defenders and Reverent Texans.

FIGURE 5.1

### PERSISTENCE OF RACISM

*Racism was a problem in the past but is not a significant issue in Texas today*

*Racism continues to be a significant issue in Texas today*



**Question Text:**  
*Which statement do you agree with more?*

Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>18</sup> Mistretta, A.J. (2019). Houston Still Most Diverse City in the Nation, Report Finds. Greater Houston Partnership. <https://www.houston.org/news/houston-still-most-diverse-city-nation-report-finds>

A slight majority of Texans believe racism continues to be a significant issue in Texas today, though there are sharp divides across the Threads. There are significant variations across racial groups: 90 percent of Black Texans, the group most deeply affected by racial injustice in Texas, feel racism continues to be a present problem, a sentiment shared by 68 percent of Hispanic Texans but only 43 percent of white Texans. The Threads show an even deeper contrast: almost all Lone Star Progressives (97 percent) believe that racism continues to be an important issue in Texas nowadays, while the vast majority of Heritage Defenders (86 percent) and Reverent Texans (72 percent) disagree.

The remaining Threads lean toward viewing racism as a present-day issue. Die-hard Texans, in particular, who are strongly defensive of Texas' history, break with the other Threads with conservative values, with over 60 percent agreeing that racism is a significant issue in Texas. Rising Mavericks, a Hispanic-majority Thread (57 percent), are rather ambivalent and split on their views. The diversity of their beliefs reflects the varied understandings and experiences of racism within the heterogeneous non-white racial groups, shaped by a multitude of societal and psychological factors such as immigration background and core beliefs.



RACE: RACE AND TEXAS HISTORY

Texans pride themselves on living in a state where anyone, regardless of their background, can make something of themselves—a sentiment that has at times been in tension with a history that included slavery, segregation and injustice against indigenous populations. This tension is reflected in segments’ responses to the question on whether or not to look back critically or move on from the dark periods of the state’s past.

At first glance, Texans look to be fairly divided on the question of whether past crimes of slavery should be left alone or be evaluated critically. Lone Star Progressives are an outlier for this question, with 9 in 10 saying there is a need to continue looking back with a critical eye at Texas’ past. On the other hand, segments with more conservative values overwhelmingly say that the past should be left alone.

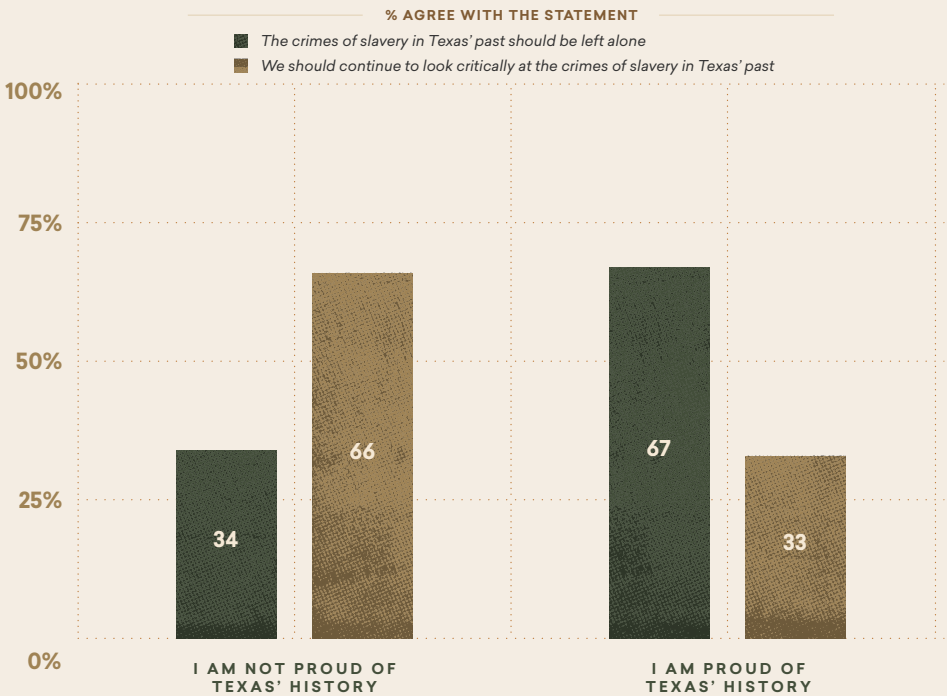
FIGURE 5.2  
WRESTLING WITH TEXAS’ HISTORY OF SLAVERY



However, a more complex picture emerges when looking at how feelings of pride toward Texas history interacts with responses on this question. Even among those who say they are proud of Texas’ history, one third support looking critically at the state’s past. This suggests that the two seemingly contradicting ideas—being proud of Texas’ past and agreeing that it should be appraised critically—are not mutually exclusive. As reflected by Civic Pragmatists, Rising Mavericks, and Apolitical Providers, the segments that are among the more racially diverse, many Texans are both proud *and* critical of their state’s history.

FIGURE 5.3

TEXAN PRIDE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HISTORY

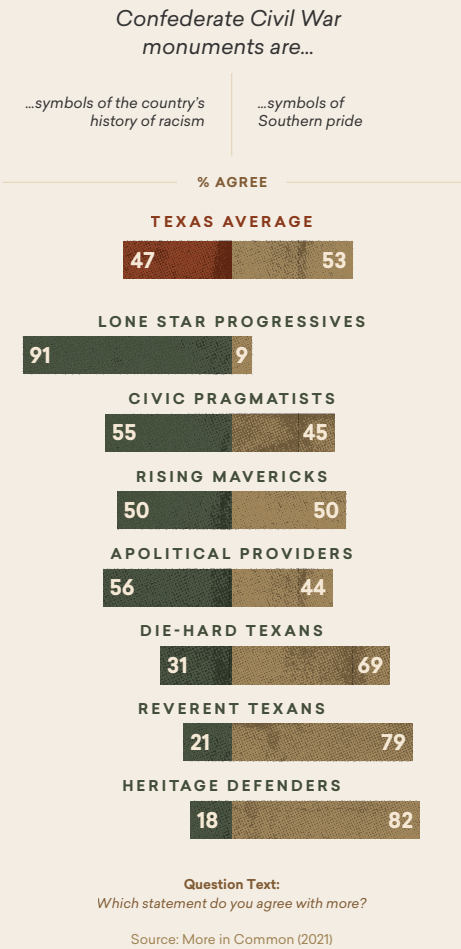


Source: More in Common (2021)

A similar pattern and tension is seen in the issue of Confederate civil war monuments. Around half (47 percent) view them as symbols of the country’s racism while the other half (53 percent) view them as symbols of southern pride. Segments who are especially proud of the Texas traditions—Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders—are especially likely to view the monuments positively. Here again, Lone Star Progressives deviate starkly from the majority of Texans in thinking that statues are symbols of racism.

FIGURE 5.4

ASSOCIATION WITH CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS

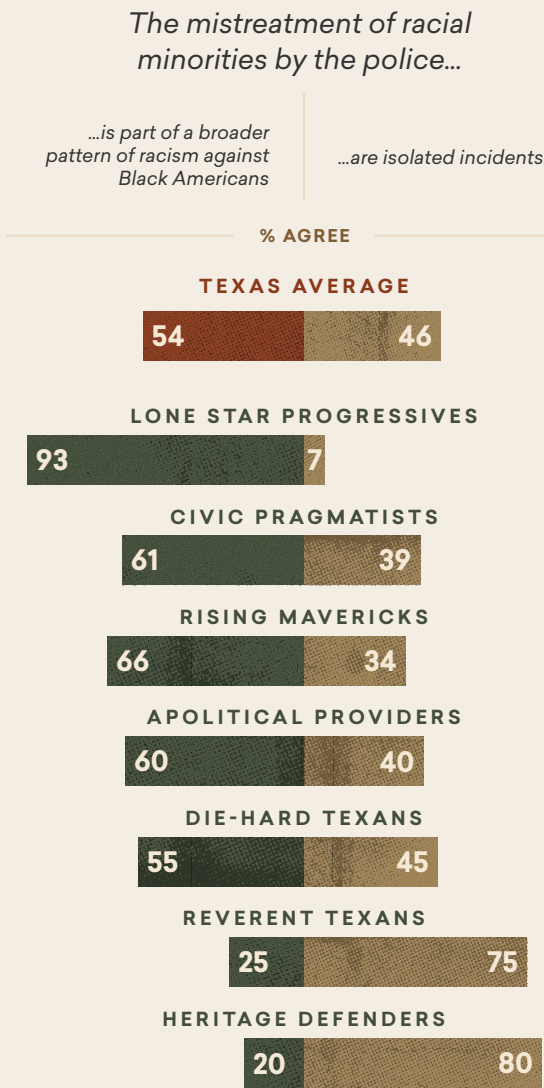


RACE: LAW ENFORCEMENT AND RACE

We asked about systemic racism in the form of police brutality against Black Americans. Similar to the question about Confederate monuments and the issue of looking critically at Texas’ past, Texans are relatively split on whether they regard mistreatment of racial minorities as part of a pattern of racism or as isolated incidents.

However, in contrast to debate on Texas history, Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders, rather than Lone Star Progressives, are the outliers on present-day racial issues, with more than seven in ten in each segment saying that mistreatment of Black Americans by law enforcement are isolated incidents. On the other hand, while Die-hard Texans are staunchly defensive of Texas’ history, they are more likely to say that a broad pattern of racism still exists in the present. This suggests an important point, that Texans’ views toward issues of race are multifaceted. For some segments, their views depend in part on whether the discussion on racial issues is directed at the past or the present, and whether it conflicts with their narrative of Texas history and tradition.

FIGURE 5.5 POLICE MISCONDUCT AND BRUTALITY



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

## ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

# RACE: THREAT OF WHITE SUPREMACISTS IN TEXAS

In March 2021, the US Department of Homeland Security issued a statement on the heightened threat of domestic violence extremism in the country.<sup>19</sup> Texas is not immune from such threats nor from the heated discussions on whether white supremacists ideas and extremist groups pose a growing challenge to the state.

When asked about white supremacists in the summer of 2020, around half of Texans said they were concerned about such groups being a growing threat in the state; Lone Star Progressives are the most concerned (90 percent), followed by Civic Pragmatists, Apolitical Providers and Rising Mavericks. Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders are significantly less worried, with respectively 70 percent and 82 percent believing that white supremacists pose little danger.

FIGURE 5.6

### THREATS OF WHITE SUPREMACISTS



<sup>19</sup>Domestic Violent Extremism Poses Heightened Threat in 2021. (2021). Office of the Director of National Intelligence. [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/21\\_0301\\_odni\\_unclass-summary-of-dve-assessment-17\\_march-final\\_508.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/21_0301_odni_unclass-summary-of-dve-assessment-17_march-final_508.pdf)

## RACE: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Issues of race and racial injustice expose rifts among Texans. Different issues activate distinct frames for the Threads of Texas, leading to contrasting views for the most ideological Threads. For some Texans, particularly Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders, discussions about race and Texas' history of mistreatment of minority racial groups are perceived as a threat to the Texas story and are deemed as counterproductive to the goal of moving forward. In contrast, for the Lone Star Progressives, addressing injustices of the past is a priority and is imperative to ensure that effects of this history in the present-day are dealt with. These Threads often have views that deviate starkly from views of the other Threads.

For Texas Threads that are less political, issues of race are likewise important though not nearly as polarizing. For many issues, they do not adhere firmly to ideological sides but hold distinct views. These Threads tend to reject what they view as overly polarized national rhetoric, and view the issues of race in Texas through a multifaceted lens. For instance, Texans generally support addressing racial injustices yet also maintain fairly positive views toward law enforcement.

There are real divisions evident in Texans' views on issues of race, yet the patterns of such views are complex and don't mirror politically motivated leanings. And there are areas with more widespread agreement, such as the identification of racism as a present day problem. These findings suggest there may be opportunities to engage members of the different Threads, especially among the Civic Pragmatists, Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die-Hard Texans, in efforts to build out more common ground so that in an increasingly diverse state, all Texans can feel like they belong.

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"WE'VE REALLY SEEN IT THIS YEAR, PARTICULARLY WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY, THERE'S YEARS OF PENT UP FRUSTRATION AND ANGER THAT HAVE COME TO THE FORE. I THINK A LOT OF IT IS LEGITIMATE. MAYBE SOME OF THE WAYS IT'S BEEN EXPRESSED HAVE NOT BEEN AS PRODUCTIVE. THE SYSTEM IS NOT PERFECT. MY SENSE IS THAT WE'RE GOING TO GO THROUGH A ROUGH PATCH FOR ANOTHER FEW YEARS AS WE TRY TO READ JUST OUR PERCEPTIONS."

— JACK, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER

"I THINK THEY DON'T — A LOT OF TIMES LIKE AT WORK, WHITE PEOPLE — NOT (JUST) WHITE PEOPLE, PEOPLE THAT ARE NOT BLACK, THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW GEORGE FLOYD AFFECTS PEOPLE. EVEN THOUGH I DON'T KNOW GEORGE FLOYD, NEVER MET THE MAN A DAY IN MY LIFE, THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW THAT REALLY TAKES A TOLL ON OTHER BLACK PEOPLE, A PERSONAL SERIOUS TOLL ON US."

— DIANE,  
BLACK WOMAN, GENERATION X

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“AS LONG AS YOU TREAT EACH OTHER  
RESPECTFULLY, THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE  
BETWEEN TEXANS. I MEAN, IT'S ALL OVER  
AROUND HERE, BLACK PEOPLE WITH  
WHITE PEOPLE, AND IT DOESN'T MATTER,  
AS LONG AS YOU TREAT EACH OTHER  
WITH RESPECT.”

— BAILEY, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, BABY BOOMER

“WE DON'T NEED TO BE ERASING OUR  
HISTORY. HOWEVER, WE DO NEED TO PUT  
IT INTO CONTEXT. AND WE DO NEED TO  
LOOK FOR THE LESSONS FROM HISTORY  
SO THAT WE CAN TEACH THE NEXT  
GENERATION. YEAH, THIS HAPPENED. THIS  
IS WHY IT WAS WRONG. THIS IS WHAT WE  
CAN DO TO PREVENT IT IN THE FUTURE.”

— WALTER, MIXED-RACE MAN,  
REVERENT TEXAN, BABY BOOMER

# IMMIGRATION

Immigration is central to the Texas story. In our study sample, 15 percent identified as immigrants and 31 percent as first or second generation Americans (distribution of percentage of immigrants across the Threads can be found in the appendix). Immigration to Texas has only accelerated, with 2018 being the second straight year that international migration into the state exceeded domestic migration.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, rhetoric around immigration and immigrants has been increasingly contentious and polarized. This section thus explores the points of unity that emerged when Texans were asked their views on immigration, as well as the areas where attitudes diverged.

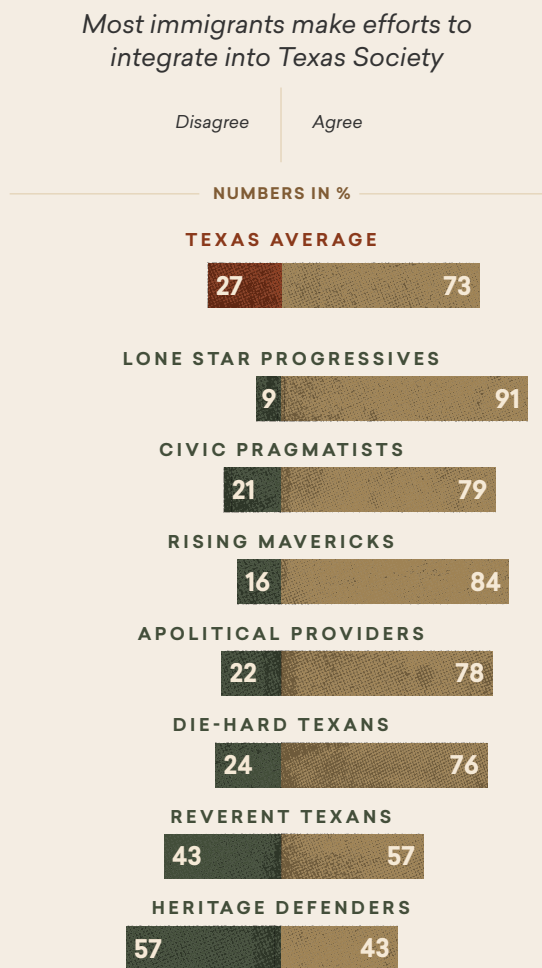
Discord around immigration is rooted in several factors, including the strengthening or weakening of Texan identity and tradition; undocumented immigrants and the legality of the immigration process; and perceived economic cost of immigration.

Immigrants are a part of all aspects of Texas society and workforce, from business owners and entrepreneurs to construction workers and front-line health professionals. Immigrant stories reflect the idea that the state is a place for risk-takers and people who work hard to make something of themselves. Across the Threads of Texas, there is widespread agreement (74 percent) that immigrants are a fundamental part of the Texas culture. The majority of Texans also agree that immigrants make an effort to integrate with the state's culture. Moreover, both immigrants and native Texans have similar levels of Texan pride and identity.

FIGURE 5.7

## INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Most Threads believe that immigrants try to integrate into Texas society



**Question Text:**  
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

<sup>20</sup>Mendez, M. (2019). Where is Texas' growing population coming from? The Texas Tribune. <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/05/08/Texas-keeps-growing-where-are-newest-transplants-coming/>

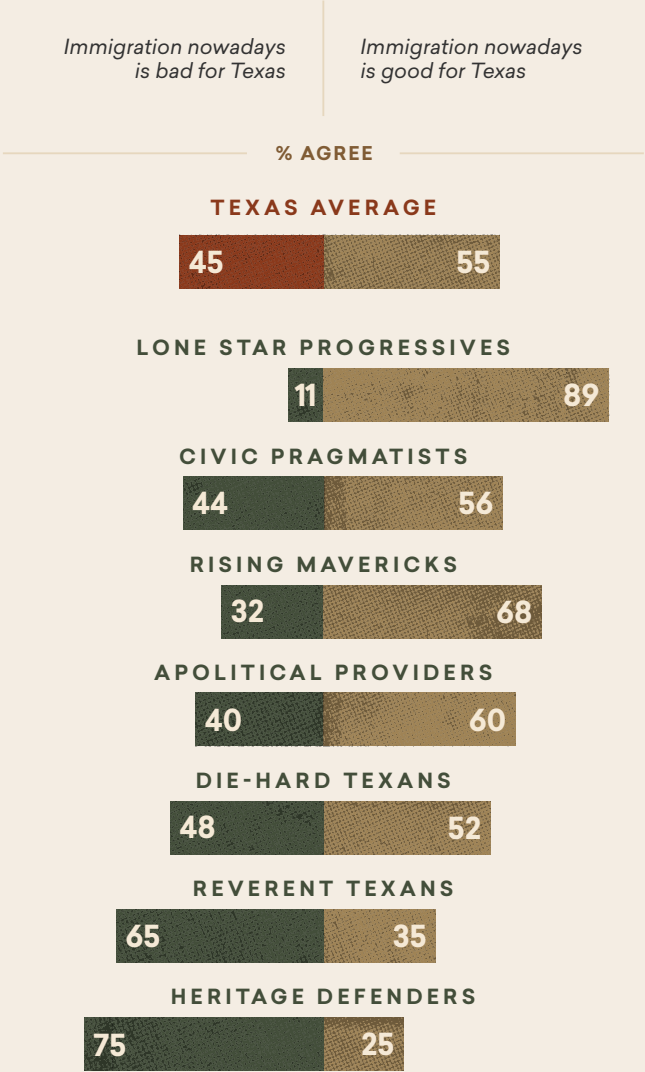
Yet even as Texans broadly recognize immigrants’ efforts to integrate into Texas society, their views toward immigration overall are more divided. General feelings toward immigration are split, with slightly more than half of Texans (55 percent) agreeing with the statement that immigration nowadays is good for Texas than agreeing with the statement that immigration nowadays is bad for Texas.

Opinions mostly fall along ideological lines, with more conservative segments (Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders) saying there is a negative effect. Rising Mavericks, the segment with the highest proportion of immigrants (35 percent) and Hispanic population (57 percent), followed by Apolitical Providers and Civic Pragmatists, are more likely to believe that the effects are positive. Die-hard Texans, another Hispanic-majority segment, on the other hand are split in their evaluation of immigration’s impact. Lone Star Progressives are an exception, with 89 percent agreeing that immigration is good for Texas. Of note, the more ideological segments, Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders have the lowest percentage of immigrants respectively (about one in 20 identifies as an immigrant for both segments).

**FIGURE 5.8**

**IMMIGRATION: GOOD OR BAD?**

Threads have different views on the overall impact of immigration on Texas



**Question Text:**

Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

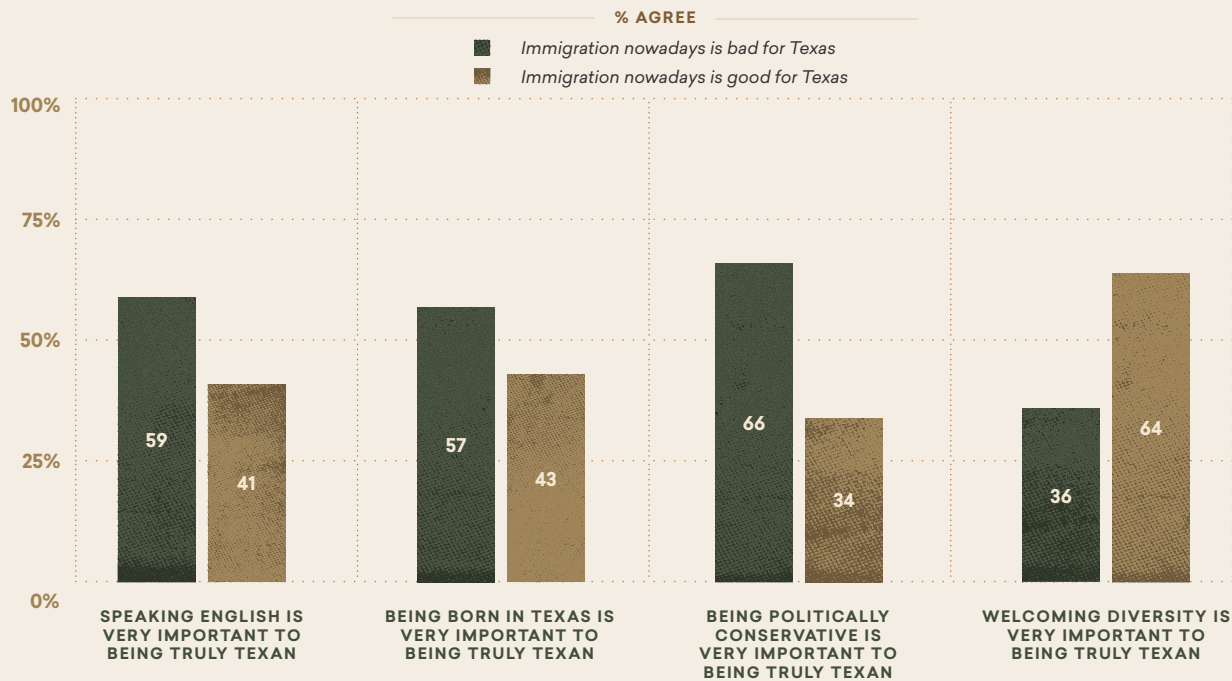
# IMMIGRATION: IMMIGRATION AND TEXAN CULTURE

A key finding on immigration is that **most fractures around immigration stem from tension over whether American identity and traditional Texas culture will be preserved or irreversibly altered.** Texans whose ideal Texas is one that upholds its traditional values and who subscribe to the “traditional ideas” of what it means to be Texan—speaking English, being born in Texas, being politically conservative and so on—are more likely to have negative assessment of immigration.

Among the Texas Threads, Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders are particularly concerned about safeguarding what they view as authentic “Texan culture” and alarmed by the cultural changes brought by the influx of immigrants. Reverent Texans, in particular, stress their hospitality but warn against newcomers changing local culture. Die-hard Texans share a similar welcoming stance but emphasize *a pure Texan identity*, as Lydia, a Die-hard Texan stresses, “immigrants cannot become Texans. True Texans are born in Texas.”

FIGURE 5.9

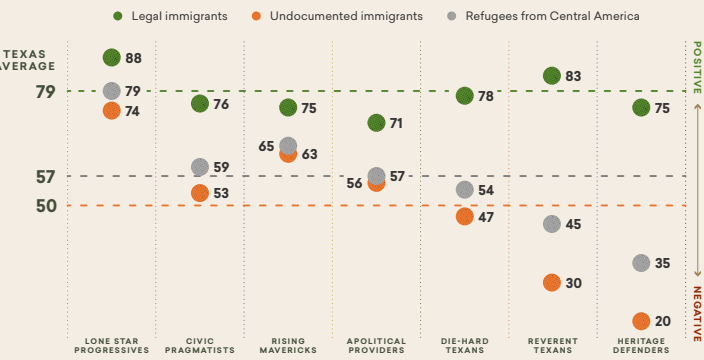
## CORRELATION BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION AND CONCEPTION OF TEXAN IDENTITY



Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 5.10

FEELINGS TOWARD DIFFERENT IMMIGRANT GROUPS



Question text: Thermometer score is a 0–100 score of Texans' feelings towards certain groups. Source: More in Common (2021)

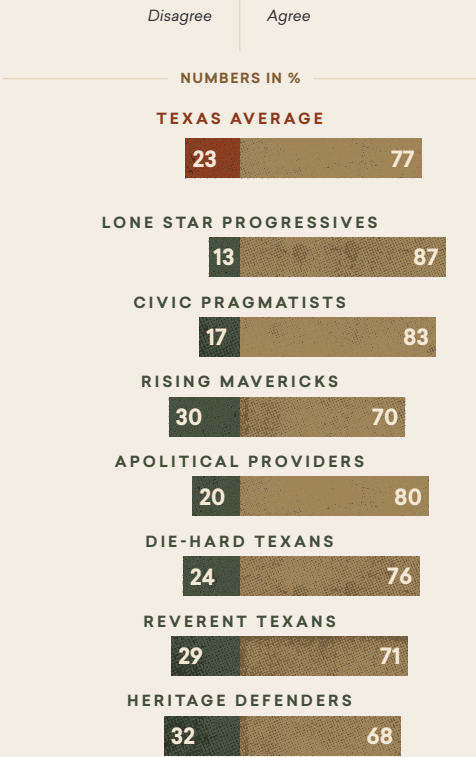
Documentation status matters. In general, Texans have generally warm sentiments toward immigrant groups. In particular, they have positive feelings toward immigrants who arrived via an authorized process. Feelings toward undocumented immigrants and refugees vary more widely across the Threads. These emotions map to the moral foundations Threads' consider most important, such as care for Lone Star Progressives and authority for Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders.

**Even as Texans express both positive and negative views toward immigration, nearly all Texans agree that the current immigration system is ineffective and needs improvement.** Texans feel frustrated by the immigration system and believe that the existing system discourages people who are trying to get to the country legally. There is a sense among Texans that immigration reform is urgently needed: the process takes too long, is too expensive, and is ineffective at maintaining order at the border. On this issue, even the most ideological segments agree.

FIGURE 5.11

ASSESSMENT OF IMMIGRATION SYSTEM

*The complexity of the immigration system hinders people who are trying to come to the country legally*



Question Text:  
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?  
Source: More in Common (2021)

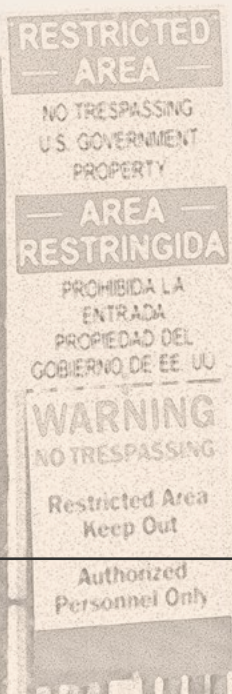
Finally, the politicization of the immigration issue is not lost on Texans. In focus groups, some Civic Pragmatists and Rising Mavericks stressed that elected officials often use immigration as a “wedge issue” especially during election season. Texans however, construe immigration as both a personal and a policy issue—Texans regard immigrants as neighbors, colleagues, and potential competitors for jobs, and see immigration as an issue that is the government’s responsibility to address.

## IMMIGRATION: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Immigration is a complicated issue in Texas. **Across all Threads, there is widespread agreement that immigrants are a core part of the Texas story. However, some Texans express a protectiveness around keeping their views of a “traditional Texas” intact.** The extent to which Texans regard the preservation of what they perceived as tradition or their openness to the continuing evolution of the state’s story informs how they view immigration and the reasons they cite to support or oppose it.

The most polarized views frequently come from segments that have the fewest immigrants (Lone Star Progressives, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders), segments that are also the most ideological. This suggests that areas of unity are potentially obscured when listening to the most ideologically-driven views. The majority of Texans: the Rising Mavericks, Civic Pragmatists, Apolitical Providers and even Die-hard Texans, hold significantly more nuanced views. These Texans can be the starters of conversations on immigration that factor in the complexity of the objective issue while still underscoring the humanity of immigrants.



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“PEOPLE WHO COME HERE TO WORK WOULD LOVE TO DO IT LEGALLY. THEY WOULD LOVE TO HAVE A PATH, BUT THEY ARE NOT GIVEN A VIABLE OPTION TO DO THAT.”

— SOPHIA, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE, WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X

“THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT WE NEED TO SECURE OUR BORDERS. BUT ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE AMONG THE HARDEST WORKING PEOPLE THAT YOU CAN EVER FIND. THERE'S JUST NO QUESTION WE NEED COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM COUPLED WITH A GUEST WORKER PROGRAM. EVERY TIME YOU SUGGEST IMMIGRATION REFORM, SOMEONE STARTS SCREAMING AMNESTY, AND IT'S ALL OVER WITH NOBODY WANTING TO TAKE THE POLITICAL RISK.”

— GREG, CIVIC PRAGMATIST, HISPANIC MAN, BABY BOOMER

“A LOT OF PEOPLE IN TEXAS, MYSELF INCLUDED, THINK THAT IMMIGRATION INTO TEXAS IS GREAT. IT MAKES TEXAS EVEN BETTER EVERYDAY.”

— ZAYNE, RISING MAVERICK, WHITE MAN, GENERATION Z

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“THE US USED TO BE A MELTING POT, THAT THERE'S FORCES THAT ARE TRYING TO TURN IT MORE INTO A PATCHWORK QUILT. WITH A MELTING POT, YOU STILL GET THE ADVANTAGES OF YOUR PREVIOUS CULTURE, BUT YOU EMBRACE THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE CULTURE YOU'RE COMING INTO. IMMIGRANTS NEED TO BE ABLE TO KEEP THE BEST PARTS OF THEIR CULTURE AND ADOPT OUR OWN VALUES AND CULTURE.”

— WALTER, MIXED-RACE MAN,  
REVERENT TEXAN, BABY BOOMER

“WE REALLY CAN'T AFFORD TO HAVE CHAIN MIGRATION, WHERE THEY BRING ONE PERSON OVER, AND THEN THE NEXT THING, YOU'VE GOT 100 MORE IMMIGRANTS. THEY NEED TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE PEOPLE WHO CAN OFFER SOMETHING TO US TO GET OVER HERE. AND THEN THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, THEY JUST NEED TO GO HOME, IF THEY WANT TO COME BACK AND TRY IT LEGALLY.”

— JACOB, HERITAGE DEFENDER,  
WHITE MAN, GENERATION X

## ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

# EDUCATION

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The Texas education system is both a point of pride and frustration for Texans. Views on whether it contributes to or alleviates inequality are varied. Issues related to this notion span from the question of educating students on the state's history of racial injustices to the tension between preparing students for an increasingly knowledge-based economy or prioritizing tradeskills that are necessary to get a job.

About one in five Texans (19 percent) cite education as one of the top three issues facing Texans today. Of note, apolitical Providers, a segment holding the fewest Texans with a postsecondary degree, especially emphasized the importance of access to quality education.

The Threads of Texas are united in their desire for an education that enables their children to thrive in society. The steps, policies, and actions needed to make that a reality are the points that reveal areas of both agreement and disagreement.

ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

EDUCATION: FUNDING

One area with wide agreement is the issue of funding. Regarding increasing pay for public school teachers, there is nearly uniform agreement across all Texas Threads, with 84 percent of Texans (including 68 percent of Heritage Defenders) saying that teachers’ salaries should be increased. **This support for increased funding translates to support for an increase in taxpayer funds for K-12 education.** This is true for all of the Threads except the Heritage Defenders, who are fairly divided on the issue of reducing or investing more of taxpayers’ money to support K-12 education (48 percent reducing vs. 52 percent investing).

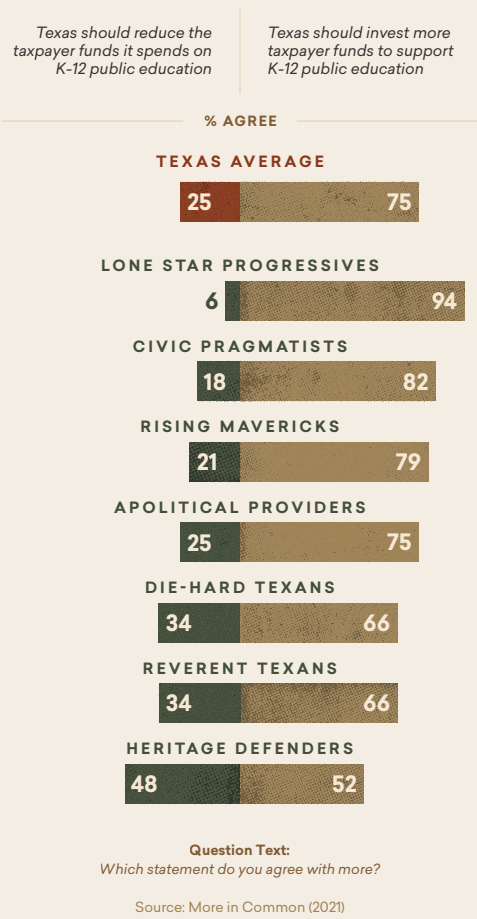
FIGURE 5.12

SUPPORT FOR INCREASING TEACHERS’ PAY



FIGURE 5.13

AGREEMENT OVER INVESTING TAXPAYER FUNDS TO EDUCATION

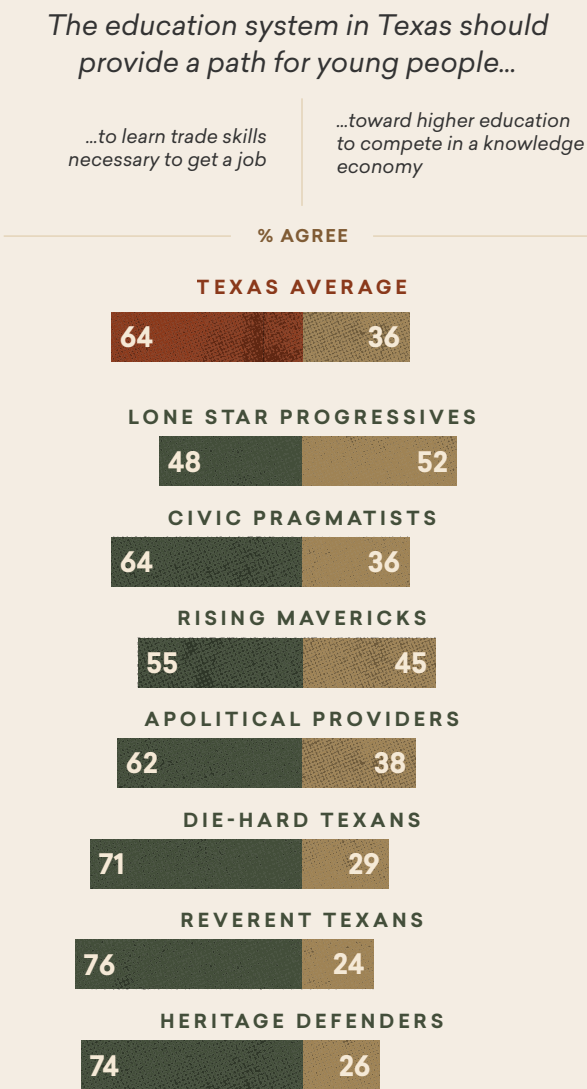


EDUCATION: KNOWLEDGE-BASED ECONOMY

The expansion of tech and healthcare industries in Texas has sparked conversations about how the Texan education system should prepare Texan students to meet the needs of a changing and diversifying economic landscape.

Nearly every segment believes that the education system in Texas should provide young people with the trade skills necessary for them to get a job as opposed to a path toward higher-level education to compete in a knowledge economy. Interestingly, this question does not map cleanly to Texans’ views of whether the future of Texas will be determined more by knowledge-economy industries. This suggests that many Texans who anticipate a trend toward a knowledge economy simultaneously regard trade skills as an important asset for success.

FIGURE 5.14 WHAT SKILLS SHOULD BE PRIORITIZED IN SCHOOL?



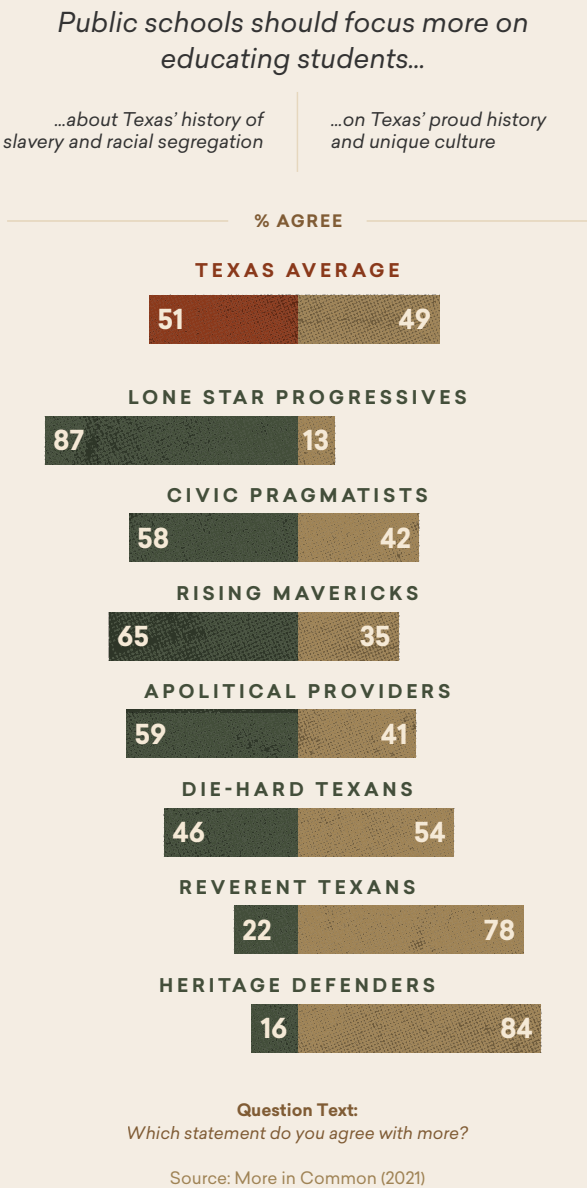
Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# EDUCATION: TEACHING TEXAS HISTORY

A fault line in education appears in the question on teaching Texas history. This tension is associated with the broader conversation about how to address the racial injustices in Texas’ past and whether Texans should look back critically or focus on moving forward. About half (51 percent) of all Texans believe that more focus should be on educating students about the state’s history of slavery and racial segregation, while the other half believes that the emphasis should be on Texas’ proud history and unique culture. Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders are outliers in the extent to which they believe the focus should be on Texas’ proud history and unique culture. On the other hand, Lone Star Progressives are outliers in their near-uniform (87 percent) emphasis on the need to focus on the history of racial injustices. Almost two thirds of Rising Mavericks and a slight majority of Civic Pragmatists and Apolitical Providers also advocate focusing on Texas’ history of slavery.

FIGURE 5.15 WHAT HISTORICAL NARRATIVE SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS?



## EDUCATION: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Our findings show a strong degree of alignment—across Threads—on a number of education issues. Substantial majorities of Texans support raising educator salaries, increasing state investment in K-12 education, and providing students with trade skills to secure employment. The breadth of agreement on these issues suggests education may provide many avenues for bringing Texans together across lines of difference.

At the same time, questions about how to best educate Texas' students about the state's past reveal deep divisions. These fault lines mirror those shown in earlier sections on questions that asked about Texas' history with slavery and segregation. Our broader research suggests many Texans are willing to engage in complex conversations of history, seeing it as important for students to learn from the past so as to better understand the present and improve the future. It is conducive to such efforts to bring in the perspectives of Threads that show less ideological rigidity to their views.

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“I SEE IN SOME HISTORY TEXTBOOKS THAT SLAVES WERE CALLED WORKERS. IT'S LIKE WE'RE RE-WRITING HISTORY.”

— RYAN, BLACK MAN,  
GENERATION X

“IT'S AN ECONOMIC MAPPING OF THE SCHOOLS BASED ON YOUR SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. I WAS BLOWN AWAY WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE EDUCATION LEVELS OF THE DIFFERENT PEOPLE THAT LIVE IN THE DIFFERENT AREAS. HOW MUCH TAXES YOU'RE PAYING WILL DICTATE THE QUALITY OF YOUR SCHOOLS.”

— CAROLINE, BLACK WOMAN,  
GENERATION X

“I THINK TEXAS' HISTORY OF SLAVERY SHOULD BE TAUGHT, BUT ALSO SUPPLEMENTED WITH WAYS TO EQUIP KIDS ON HOW THEY CAN HELP, HOW THEY CAN CHANGE OTHER PEOPLE'S OPINIONS, AND HOW TO HELP THE UNITED STATES KIND OF GROW FORWARD.”

— TERESA, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“STUDENTS SHOULD DEFINITELY BE TAUGHT THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY AND SEGREGATION, SO THAT THEY CAN UNDERSTAND WHAT PEOPLE OF COLOR WENT THROUGH, AND THEY CAN LEARN TO DO BETTER AS A SOCIETY.”

— TINA, RISING MAVERICK,  
ASIAN WOMAN, GENERATION Z

“TEXAS HISTORY SHOULD BE TAUGHT, BOTH THE GOOD AND THE BAD. IF WE DON'T CONTINUE TO TEACH THE WHOLE HISTORY OF TEXAS THEN PEOPLE WILL SLOWLY FORGET WHAT BEING A REAL TEXAN MEANS.”

— LYDIA, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
HISPANIC WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

“THERE'S ABSOLUTELY NO REASON NOT TO TEACH EVERYONE ABOUT IT. BUT WHEN YOU START TRYING TO USE WHAT HAPPENED 250 OR 200 YEARS AGO, TO JUSTIFY OR EXCUSE BEHAVIORS, TODAY, YOU'RE HEADING INTO A VERY BAD PLACE. BECAUSE EVERYONE, EVERY SINGLE SOCIETY, GENETIC MAKEUP, WE'VE ALL SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF SOMEONE ELSE.”

— JACOB, HERITAGE DEFENDER,  
WHITE MAN, GENERATION X

## ECONOMY

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Overall, around one third of Texans chose “Economy/ Jobs” as one of the top 3 most important issues facing Texas. The Texas Threads diverge and converge on their attitudes toward change, the priorities and drivers of the state’s economy, and assessment of inequality in the state.

The robust economy and business friendly environment seem to have been weaved into the fundamental essence of Texan identity. Over 80 percent of all Texans view the state as a place with opportunities for people who want to work hard and make something of themselves. As Greg, a Civic Pragmatist notes, “being a Texan means a certain amount of self reliance and a go getter attitude – a pro business attitude, but yet welcoming.”

Of note, while many Texans take pride in a business-friendly environment, some Texans express that unequal access to resources stem from what they see as Texas’ individualistic mindset. In particular, nearly half of Lone Star Progressives (46 percent) and about a third of Civic Pragmatists (32 percent) and a quarter of Apolitical Providers (26 percent) cite disparity between wealthy and poor Texans as one of the deepest divisions in Texas. Lone Star Progressives are critical of how the state provides little safety net for those who need help, as Sophia, a Lone Star Progressive shares her frustration, “(Some) Texans definitely think they ought to be able to take care of themselves and the government ought to not be helping. That can fall on both the good side and the bad side of basically letting some people fend for themselves when they just can’t.” Other segments, however, did not cite economic inequality as a top concern.

ISSUES THAT UNITE AND DIVIDE TEXANS

ECONOMY: ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION: TENSION AND OPPORTUNITIES

Texans are split in their views on the drivers of the state’s economic success in the future. Rising Mavericks, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders believe that entrepreneurs who embody Texas’ pioneering spirit will shape the future, whereas the vast majority of Lone Star Progressives and slight majorities of Die-hard Texans, Apolitical Providers and Civic Pragmatists believe that the future rests in Texans working toward a common goal.

Views on this question do not follow neat ideological lines. Rising Mavericks, whose views on issues of race and immigration tend to align with more liberal Threads, stand out on their belief in entrepreneurialism. Similarly the Die-hard Texans, who often more closely align with conservative Threads, express support for Texans working toward a common goal.

FIGURE 5.16

ENTREPRENEURS VS COMMON GOAL

Rising Mavericks and segments with more traditional values see entrepreneurs as the drivers of the state’s future economic success



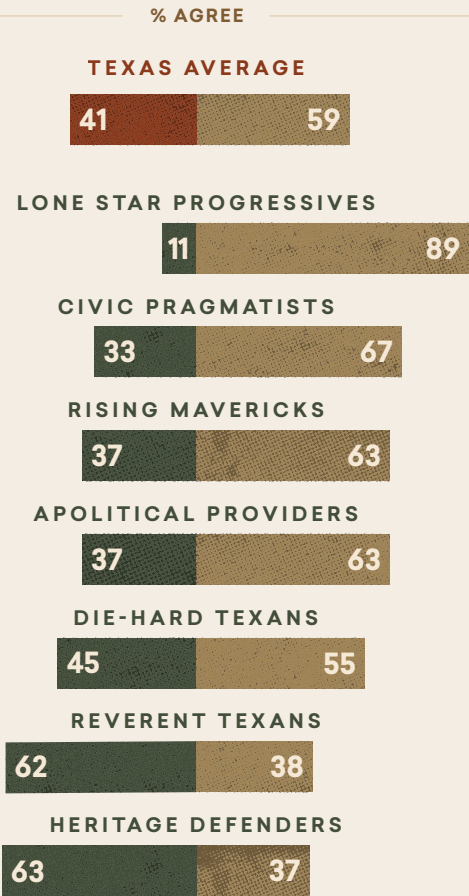
FIGURE 5.17

OIL & GAS VS. NEW INDUSTRIES

Most Threads see knowledge-based industries as the driver of Texas’ economic success

*Oil and gas industries remain the key to Texas’ economic success for the future*

*Knowledge-based industries will define the state’s future economic success*



Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Most Texas Threads agree that knowledge-based industries, such as tech, healthcare and education sectors, will determine the future of Texas’ economy. This sentiment is not uniform, however, with over 60 percent of Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders believing that the oil and gas industries will remain the key to the state’s economic success.

In focus groups and interviews some Texans expressed an appreciation for how knowledge-based industries can complement and support more traditional or resource-based sectors. George, an agricultural industry veteran noted: “I don’t want Texas to be dependent on agriculture or energy. It’s nice we have a huge technology industry. Knowledge economy has bled over into agriculture. There are things we’re utilizing right now that we wouldn’t dream of 20 years ago. Self-driving tractors, real time data on fertilizer in the field...it’s been very beneficial. I think the more diverse the economy, the better.” Similarly, Tyler, an entrepreneur told us, “The oil and gas industry is ripe for disruption and technical modernization. There is an enormous amount of activities going on in the start up scene related to the innovation of the energy sector. Now you’ve got more young people coming to the oil and gas field – they are much more open-minded and understand the power of technology. I don’t see the oil and gas industry in decline.”

## ECONOMY: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Overall, most Texans are proud of their economy and excited about the new opportunities that the growing economy generates, but there is also concern about building an economy that works for Texans across all economic sectors. Texans' views on the drivers of the state's economic success are split: between an adherence to the individualistic spirit that Texans have long been known for and an orientation around a common goal. Additionally, the Threads' opinions on economic issues are likely informed by how they perceive their own position in the rapidly changing economy.

On a broader level, Texans will continue to wrestle with how to best maintain strong economic growth and the incentives that attract businesses and capital, while adjusting its workforce and education system to meet the demands of a transforming economy. The COVID-19 pandemic and the 2021 winter storm have further underscored the need to harness both the Texan independent spirit and the sense of neighborliness and common purpose, to ensure that no one is left behind at times of crisis.



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“THERE IS A FEUD BETWEEN PEOPLE THAT  
SUPPORT BUSINESSES OR PEOPLE THAT  
SUPPORT PEOPLE.”

— KATHERINE, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
WHITE WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

“PEOPLE IN A LOT OF SMALL TOWNS ARE  
STRUGGLING MONETARILY. EVEN WITHIN  
CITIES, LIKE HOUSTON, IF YOU DRIVE TWO  
BLOCKS, YOU CAN GO BETWEEN JUST  
WILDLY DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMICS  
STATUSES. THERE ARE DEFINITELY A LOT  
OF DISPARITIES ACROSS THE STATE, BUT  
ALSO ESPECIALLY WITHIN CITIES.”

— SEAN, RISING MAVERICK,  
WHITE MAN, MILLENNIAL

“TEXAS IN GENERAL HAS PRETTY CHEAP  
LABOR. I WOULD HOPE THAT TEXAS  
WOULD RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE  
EVENTUALLY. IT'S TOO LOW FOR PEOPLE  
TO LIVE ON.”

— MADELYN, APOLITICAL PROVIDER,  
WHITE WOMAN, GENERATION X

“WE DON'T NEED THE UNITED STATES.  
WE CAN DO IT OURSELVES. WE DO  
EVERYTHING OURSELVES. WE HAVE OUR  
OWN ENERGY, WE HAVE OUR OWN.”

— LYDIA, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
HISPANIC WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

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Our research finds that the majority of Texans live their daily lives interested but not engrossed in politics. The Texas Threads show significant variation in terms of how they view political issues, governance, and democracy. This section articulates how Texans understand democracy and the 2020 presidential election, as well as the opportunities to bring Texans together around a shared civic culture.

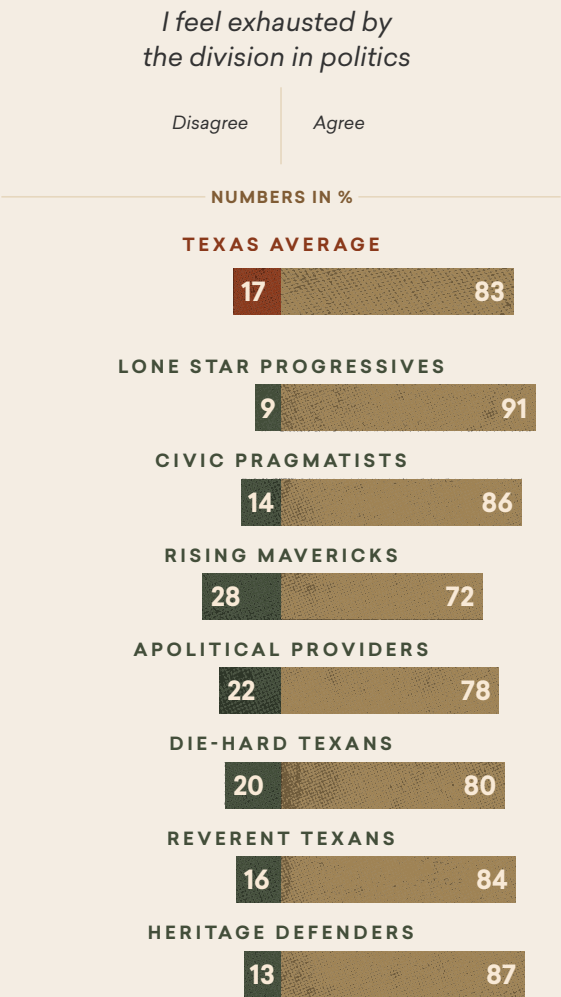
# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: POLARIZATION AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

FIGURE 5.18

FEELINGS OF EXHAUSTION

Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders are the most likely to feel exhausted by political division

The majority of Texans are exhausted by political division (83 percent), with Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders expressing the highest levels of exhaustion (91 percent and 87 percent respectively). The Threads that are most exhausted by political division are also the ones most active in civic and political activities: Lone Star Progressives, Civic Pragmatists, Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders have much higher voting rates and are more likely to have shared political content online or donated to an advocacy group.



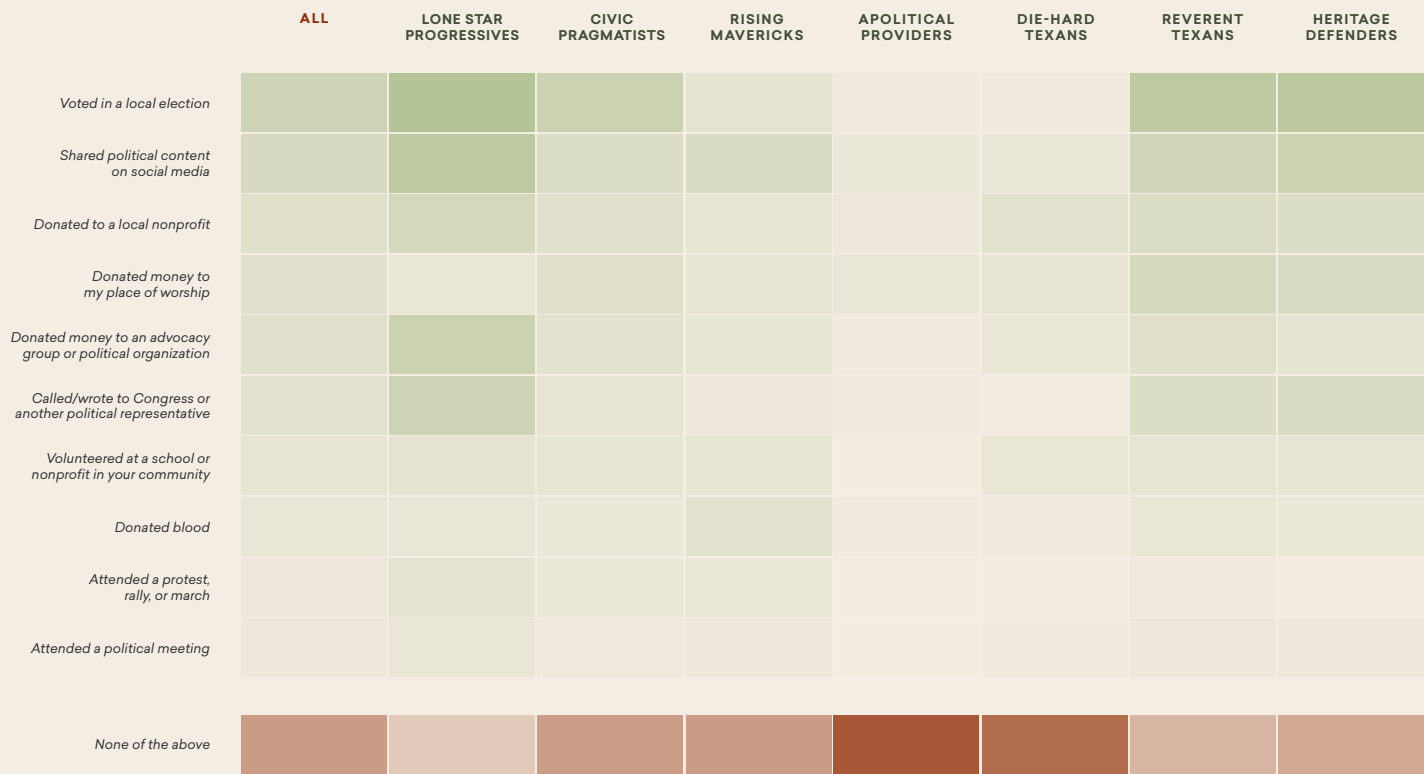
Question Text:  
How much do you agree with the following statements about Texas today?

Source: More in Common (2021)

FIGURE 5.19

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Majority of Texans are civically or politically engaged



Question text: Here is a list of activities that some people participate in. In the past year, which of the following have you taken part in? (Check all that apply)

Source: More in Common (2021)

Although similarly active in politics, these Threads have divergent views on many issues related to democracy. Over 90 percent of Lone Star Progressives and over 65 percent of Civic Pragmatists see voting more as a right, whereas 2 in 3 Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders see voting more as a duty. David, a Reverent Texan told us: “It’s a privilege to be able to vote because there are many countries that people don’t have a say. We have a responsibility and a duty to vote. If we want a representative form of government, we have to participate.”

Rising Mavericks and Die-hard Texans are less politically engaged, with lower voter turnout and only around 50 percent saying they follow politics most and some of the time. Apolitical Providers report the lowest levels of civic engagement. The reasons members of this Thread cite for this range from disinterest to disillusionment. Eva, a Rising Maverick noted: “most of the things that divide people and cause disagreements are because of politics. I am neutral. I don’t vote. I don’t take sides in anything.”

Others expressed a lack of faith in the process as reasons for their low levels of civic engagement. Helen, an Apolitical Provider shared that she does not participate in any civic activity because “it really doesn’t make a difference. Voting is just there to make you think you have a choice.”

FIGURE 5.20

VOTING: RIGHT OR DUTY?

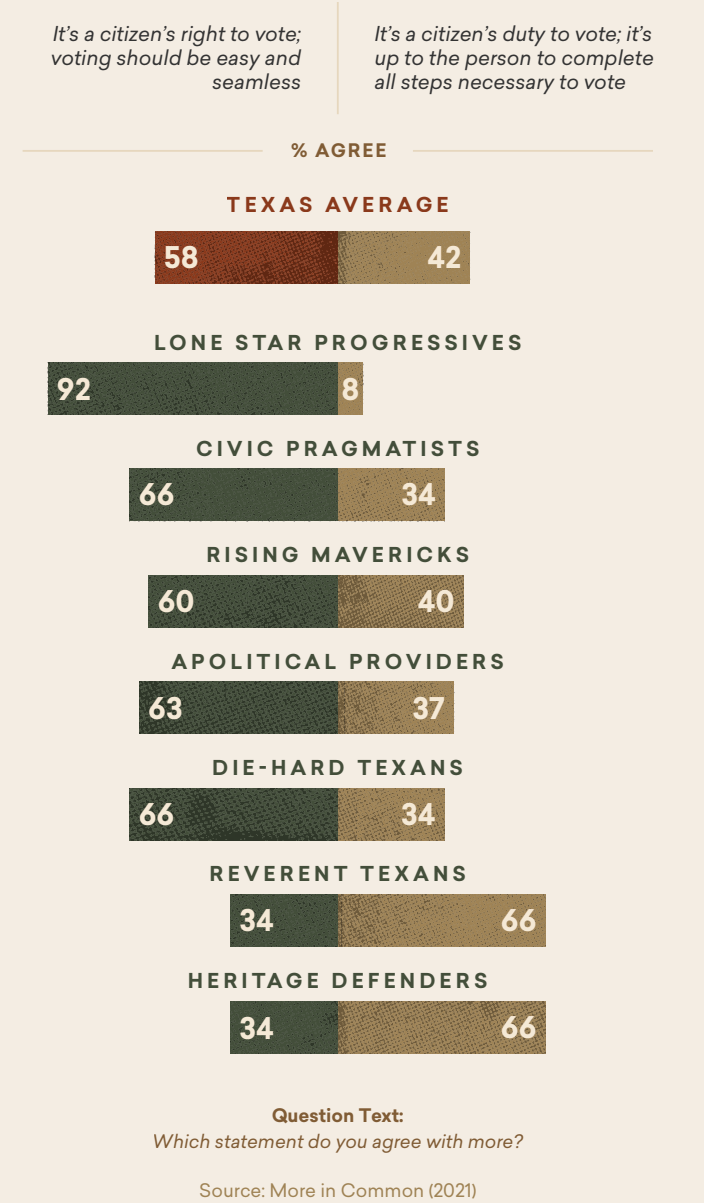
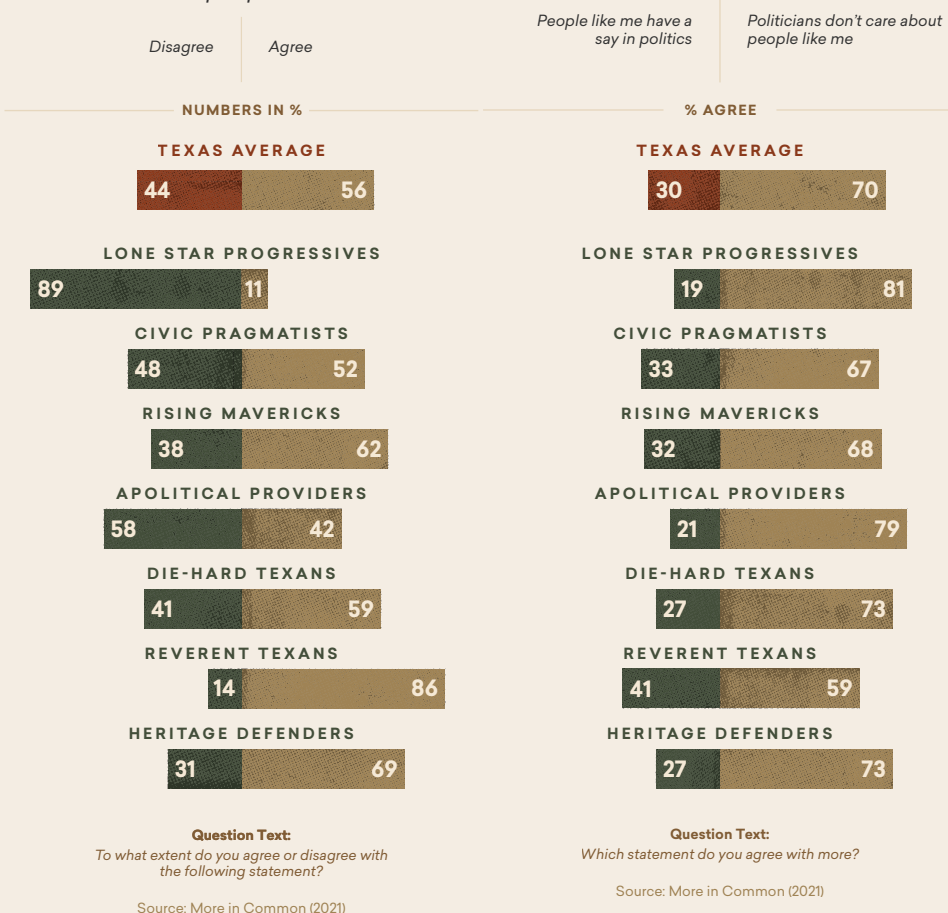


FIGURE 5.21

## PERCEIVED CARE FROM TEXAS POLITICIANS

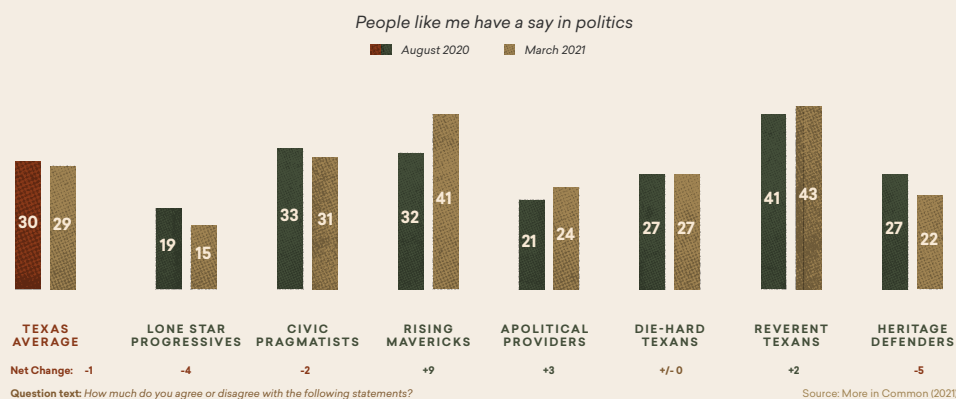
*Texas state politicians care about the views of people like me*



Behind the uneven degree of civic participation, the Texas Threads vary significantly in their perception of the state politicians. Reverent Texans (86 percent) and Heritage Defenders (69 percent) believe that Texas politicians care about their views as constituents, whereas most Lone Star Progressives disagree. Notably, less than half (42 percent) of Apolitical Providers think the state politicians pay attention to their beliefs.

A sentiment held by most Texans is that in general, politicians do not care about them. Though Threads vary slightly in their views, the majority across all segments, including 81 percent of Lone Star Progressives, 79 percent of Apolitical Providers, 73 percent of Die-hard Texans and Heritage Defenders agree with the statement that “Politicians don’t care about people like me”.

Finally, the 2021 winter storm and power grid crisis did not seem to significantly influence how Texans perceived their role and influence in politics. While Rising Mavericks saw a 9-point increase in their sense of having a voice in politics, overall, still less than one third of Texans said people like them have a say in politics.



# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: ISSUES WITHIN OUR DEMOCRACY

FIGURE 5.22

FAITH IN DEMOCRACY

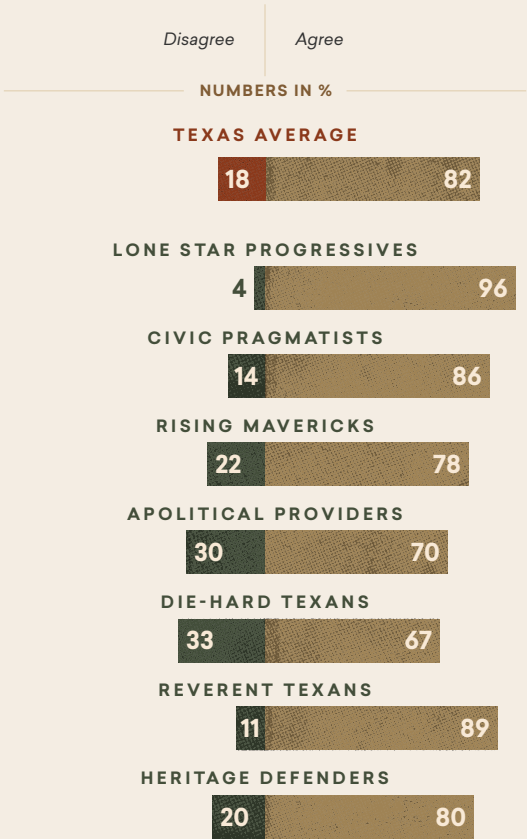
Democracy may be imperfect, but it is better than any other form of government



Question Text:  
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

It is important that Texas be governed democratically



Question Text:  
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

The vast majority of Texans across segments think it is important that the state is governed democratically and that democracy is imperfect but better than any other form of government. There are however some exceptions. Roughly a third of Apolitical Providers and Die-hard Texans — two of the more politically disengaged segments — disagree that it is important that Texas be governed democratically and that democracy is the best form of government.

FIGURE 5.23

SCALE OF GOVERNMENT

Texans are split in whether the government or people should take more responsibility

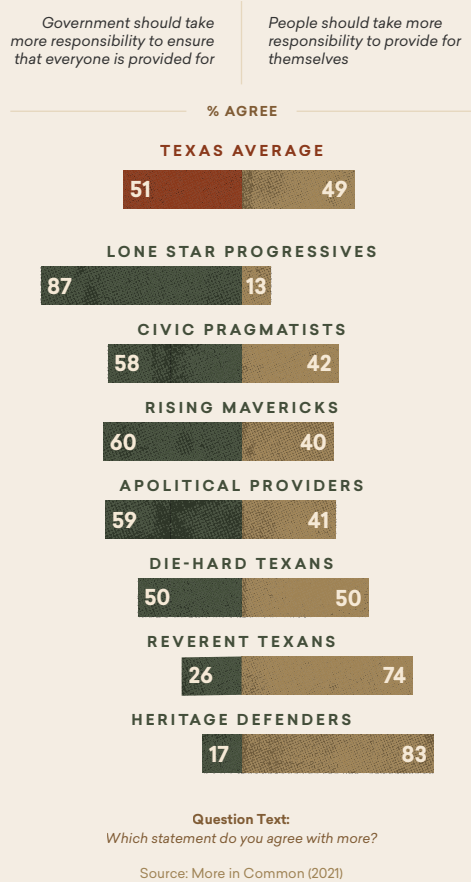
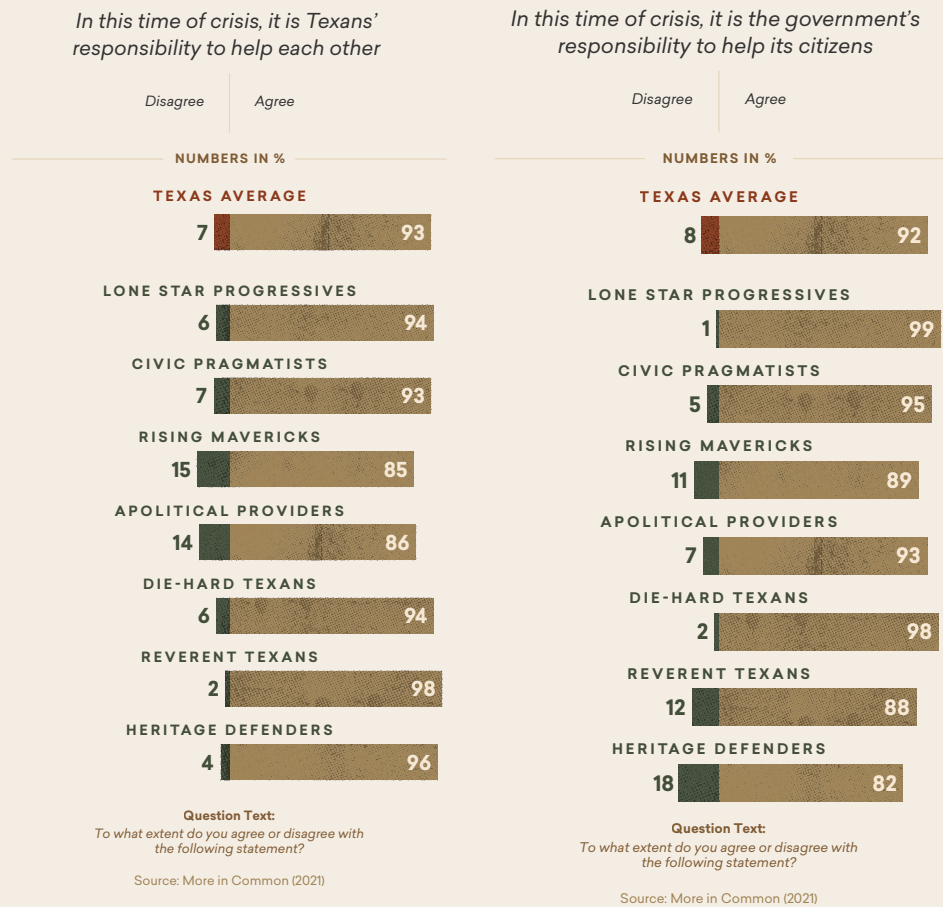


FIGURE 5.24

GOVERNMENT & INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY  
IN TIMES OF CRISIS



Interestingly, in a state where 84 percent strongly support the idea of Texas as a place for people who want to make something of themselves, we find attitudes are split on whether the government or individuals should take more responsibility to provide for people. A majority of Lone Star Progressives, Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers and Civic Pragmatists believe that the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. Die-hard Texans are split evenly, whereas the majority of

Heritage Defenders and Reverent Texans think that people should take more responsibility to provide for themselves. Despite their differing views on responsibilities of individuals versus those of the government, a majority across the Texas Threads believe that both Texans themselves and the government have the responsibility to help each other in times of crisis.

FIGURE 5.25

PROBLEMS IN OUR DEMOCRACY

	% OF TEXANS WHO BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING ITEMS ARE PROBLEMS IN OUR DEMOCRACY							
	TEXAS AVERAGE	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
Money controls political agenda	53	74	57	33	53	50	46	56
Media is unreliable and one-sided	45	17	32	33	33	48	69	83
People feel their individual vote doesn't matter	41	34	44	36	44	51	43	37
Extreme division in politics	38	42	41	24	23	39	41	52
Lack of voting access/suppression	26	66	29	23	20	19	14	6
Low participation in civil and political activities	21	21	21	23	13	13	25	25
Lack of diversity in elected officials	19	25	21	16	29	20	14	6
Moderate candidates can't get elected to office	13	14	13	18	13	6	11	15

Question text: Some Texans believe there are problems in how well our democracy works. Among these challenges, which of the following do you think are most concerning? Select up to 3.

Source: More in Common (2021)

Even as there is widespread agreement that democracy is the best form of government, the Texas Threads identify challenges with how democracy works. The top concern cited by Texans is the influence they perceive money having in politics. Richard, a Lone Star Progressive noted: “our democracy is just far too influenced by money. A candidate without a solid machine backing and financial resources just doesn't stand a chance. That's not the way I think a complete democracy would function.”

Around two thirds of Lone Star Progressives, one in three Civic Pragmatists and one in five Rising Mavericks express **apprehension over voter suppression**, whereas only 6 percent of Heritage Defenders feel the same way. Zayne, a Rising Maverick articulated this concern in a focus group: “There has been a lot of voter suppression

this year in Texas—from the suppression of mail-in ballots and accessibility to just from voter registration itself, or purging the voter rolls. I think that strongly correlates to people's faith in democracy and level of civic participation. There are a lot of reforms and changes that need to be made to ensure that the system is democratic.”

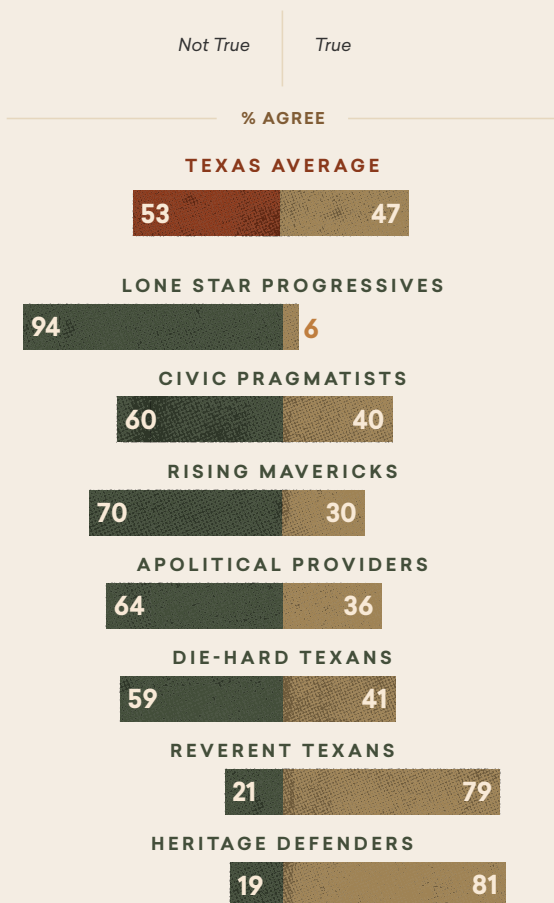
**Heritage Defenders and Reverent Texans are particularly concerned that the media is unreliable and has a negative effect on democracy.** Walter, a Reverent Texan noted: “I think democracy is having a problem because **the media has such a monopoly on information**. So much was hidden. It's not just about what the media says, it's the information we don't receive. That really hurts us. Basically the media is putting their finger on the scales of who wins an election.”

# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: THE 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

FIGURE 5.26

## TRUST IN ELECTION INTEGRITY

*Biden won the 2020 Presidential Election through the use of fraudulent tactics*



Question Text:

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Texans are divided in their views on the integrity of the 2020 Presidential Election results. An overwhelming majority of Heritage Defenders and Reverent Texans and at least a third of the Texans from other Threads believe that Biden won the election through fraudulent strategies. Indeed, even 40 percent of Civic Pragmatists share the suspicion of fraud.

In focus groups, some Texans articulated doubts about the integrity of the election and cast doubt on the veracity of the information about the election. Alejandro, a Reverent Texan was particularly concerned: “There’s so much information and misinformation about what happened, it’s hard to understand what actually transpired. Like the story about the mystery ballots, where 10,000 of them were all for Biden, and that one was for Trump. Is that accurate? Or is that not accurate? You don’t know who to believe anymore. I want to believe that everything was done fairly, and that Biden won the electoral college. But then there’s that other part of me that believes in conspiracy and thinks that maybe the election result wasn’t that accurate.”

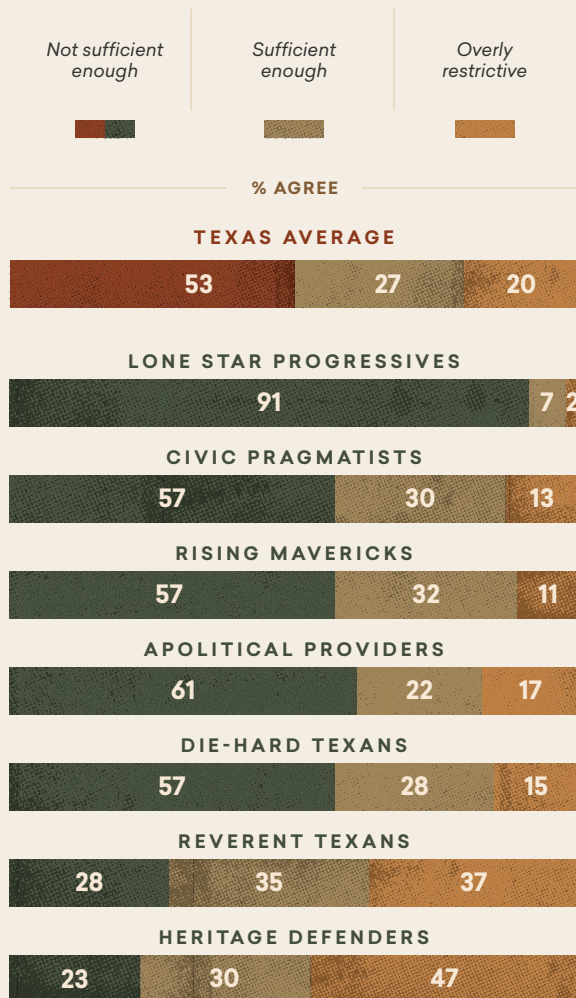
The considerable level of distrust toward the 2020 election may reflect a moment-in-time response to the partisan discourse on the election, or it may suggest a deeper shift of attitudes and loss of faith toward elections and democracy. More research is necessary to determine the explanation behind these numbers. However, what it reveals is that among the stable bedrock of a shared Texan identity, there are concerning fissures in how Texans are engaging with democracy.

# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

FIGURE 5.27

## COVID-19 RESTRICTIONS: SUFFICIENT OR RESTRICTIVE?

*The COVID-19 restrictions implemented in Texas have been...*



Question Text:

Which statement do you agree with more?

\*This question was fielded in August 2020

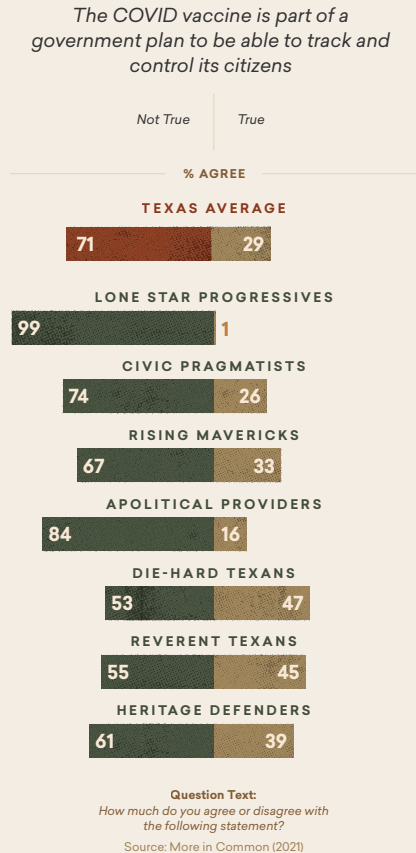
Source: More in Common (2021)

2020 was a difficult year for Texans. Many lost their loved ones to the pandemic, coupled with job losses, business shutdown, school closure and other negative impacts from COVID-19. Debates on COVID-19 restrictions, mask mandates and vaccine rollout have persisted into 2021.

In the summer of 2020, the Texas Threads had wide-ranging reactions to the COVID-19 restrictions implemented in Texas. Over 90 percent of Lone Star Progressives and 60 percent of Apolitical Providers thought that the restrictions had not been sufficient enough in proportion to the severity of the pandemic. A majority of Die-hard Texans, Civic Pragmatists and Rising Mavericks shared similar views, although around 30 percent of these segments believed that the restrictions were just enough. On the other hand, almost half of Heritage Defenders and 37 percent of Reverent Texans saw the COVID-19 restrictions as too restrictive.

FIGURE 5.28

## VACCINES AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT



“WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN IS REALLY A PUSH TO UNDERSTAND THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SOME POPULATIONS’ RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEALTHCARE SYSTEM, TO STILL EDUCATE INDIVIDUALS ABOUT THE DISEASE AND THE VACCINE, AND TO DO THE BEST WE CAN WITH LIMITED SUPPLIES OF VACCINES. IT’S BEEN HARD. BUT WHAT I CAN SAY IS THAT THERE’S DEFINITELY LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL. SO IF THERE’S ANY SILVER LINING DURING THIS PANDEMIC, WE SAW WHAT IT MEANS TO HAVE A COLLECTIVE VOICE TO COME TOGETHER.”

— MAYA, HEALTHCARE WORKER

In March 2021 as the vaccine rollout picked up in Texas, our research uncovered a significant level of distrust toward the government and the vaccination process. Among the seven Texas Threads, almost half of Die-hard Texans and Reverent Texans, followed by one-in-three Heritage Defenders and Rising Mavericks, suspect that the COVID vaccine is the government’s tool to track and control its citizens. Although seven-in-ten Texans overall are not concerned about the vaccine being part of a government conspiracy, the fairly high levels of distrust across several of the Threads highlight the need to understand the different underlying drivers of distrust, and to contextualize and curate messaging and outreach to build confidence in the vaccines.

# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: THE 2021 WINTER STORM

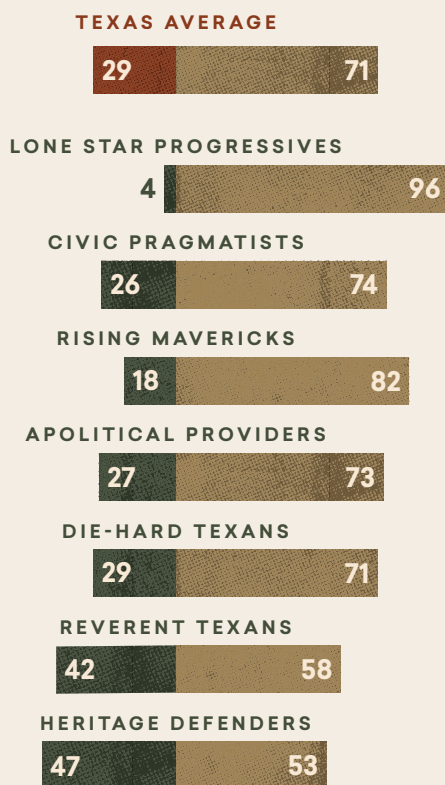
FIGURE 5.29

## POST-WINTER STORM: RETURN TO NORMAL VS CHANGES

*I mostly just want things to return to normal, to how things were before the winter storm and power grid failure*

*The winter storm and power grid failure showed us we need to make significant changes to our state*

% AGREE



Question Text:

Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

In February 2021, Texas was struck by a major winter storm that left millions of residents without power and water for several days. The power grid failure triggered heated discussions on the role of government and the impact of deregulation; yet it also prompted countless acts of kindness and a feeling of solidarity, as Texans regardless of backgrounds and beliefs helped friends, neighbors and strangers weather the crisis collectively.

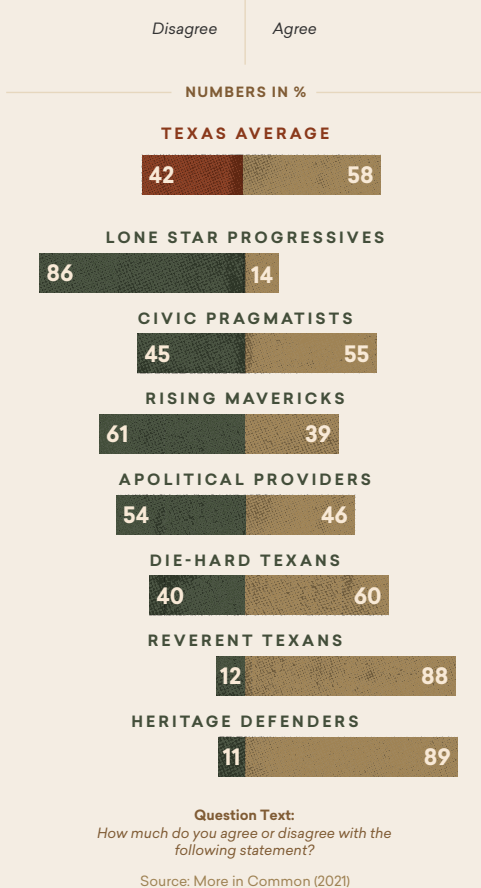
Our research finds that from the devastating winter storm emerges a Texas ready and eager for substantial changes. When asked about whether they hope for a return to normal or major changes to the state, 70 percent of Texans favor the latter. Even around half of Heritage Defenders, who are typically very cautious about change, express a desire for significant changes.

While there is an appetite for change in the post-winter storm Texas, there are varying degrees of agreement over the pathways to and forms of change. On the one hand, over three quarters of Texans want a stronger energy system, even if it requires more regulation. Though there is variation, this sentiment is expressed by majorities in all Threads. Notably, even around half of Heritage Defenders, with their strong belief in individualism and suspicion in the government, express a desire for a more robust energy system even if it is accompanied by more regulation.

**FIGURE 5.30**

## ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

*The environmental movement does not care about the well-being of people like me*

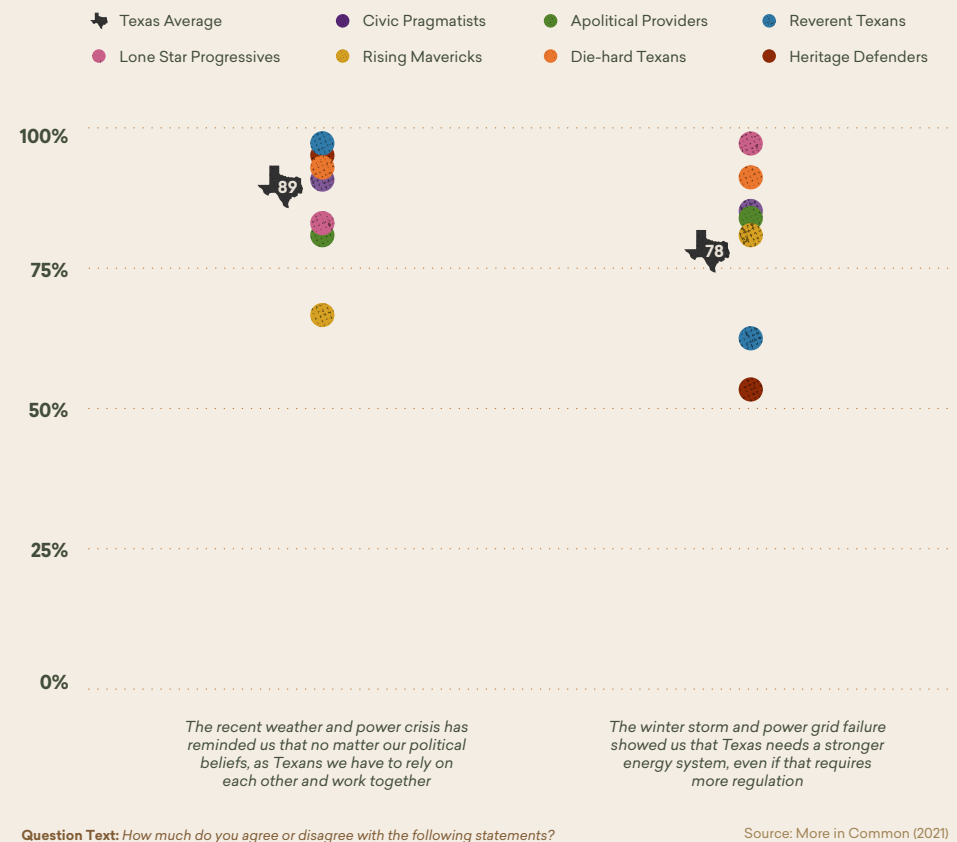


At the same time, this sentiment does not correspond with a particularly warm feeling towards the environmental movement. Fifty-eight percent of Texans feel that the environmental movement does not care about the well-being of people like them. There is sharp polarization on this, close to 9 in 10 Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders agree with this sentiment while a comparable proportion of Lone Star Progressives disagree.

Despite the varying degree of affinity toward the environmental movement and the possibility of increased government regulation, we find that Texans across Threads see the winter storm crisis as a reminder to rely on each other. Nine in ten Texans believe that no matter their political beliefs, all Texans have to work together.

**FIGURE 5.31**

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE POWER CRISIS



# DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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Texans are united in their faith in a democratic system, but there is significant division in terms of trust in the process, faith in the media, and on whether people's voices are heard in the political process. Majorities of Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders question the outcome of the 2020 election and are worried about the unreliability of the media. On the other hand, Lone Star Progressives are concerned about voter suppression and the influence of money in politics. Many among the Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die-hard Texans doubt the importance of participation and whether people like them have a say in the political process.

In the aftermath of the 2021 winter storm, most Texans express a desire for significant changes. Such a debate may provide opportunities to bring Texans together and build common ground around how to strengthen a shared civic culture.



# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"I DON'T THINK TEXAS IS TRULY  
DEMOCRATIC WHEN YOU MAKE IT SO  
HARD TO EVEN LET PEOPLE IN THAT DOOR  
TO BE ABLE TO VOTE."

— REBECCA, LONE STAR PROGRESSIVE,  
WHITE WOMEN, GENERATION X

"I ALWAYS VOTE AND STAY ACTIVE ON  
SOCIAL MEDIA, BECAUSE I WANT PEOPLE  
TO KNOW THAT IT IS ALRIGHT TO BE  
A REPUBLICAN AND A CONSERVATIVE  
AND NOT FOLLOW WHAT SOME OF THAT  
MOVEMENT IS STANDING FOR RIGHT NOW."

— GREG, CIVIC PRAGMATIST,  
HISPANIC MAN, BABY BOOMER

"DEMOCRACY IS A SCAM. RICH PEOPLE  
ARE CONTROLLING EVERYTHING. LOOK  
AROUND, WE HAVE NO SAY. IT'S JUST A  
PLUTOCRACY."

— SEAN, RISING MAVERICK,  
WHITE MAN, MILLENNIAL

"I DON'T VOTE. THEY SAY THEY'RE GONNA  
DO WHAT YOU WANT AND THEY END UP  
NOT DOING WHAT THEY'RE SUPPOSED TO  
DO. SO NOW, I DON'T GO TO RALLIES. I  
DON'T VOTE. I DON'T TALK ABOUT WHO  
SHOULD BE PRESIDENT. I DON'T TALK  
ABOUT NOTHING LIKE THAT."

— TRISTÁN, APOLITICAL PROVIDER,  
HISPANIC MAN, GENERATION X

# IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“I WOULD SAY POLITICS IS NOT MY JAM. I'M NOT A BIG FAN OF LOOKING INTO IT, EVEN THOUGH I KNOW IT'S IMPORTANT. BUT I WOULD SAY, FOR ME, PERSONALLY, MY PARTICIPATION IS MINIMAL.”

— CARRIE, DIE-HARD TEXAN,  
WHITE WOMAN, MILLENNIAL

“WE'VE LOST CONFIDENCE IN THE SYSTEM, BECAUSE THERE ARE TOO MANY CASES FROM TOO MANY STATES WHERE THE QUESTION OF VOTER FRAUD HAS BEEN RAISED, AND THEY'RE NOT BEING ANSWERED TO MY SATISFACTION. THERE'S NO FAITH IN THE VOTING PROCESS.”

— DAVID, REVERENT TEXAN,  
WHITE MAN, BABY BOOMER

“I'M LOSING FAITH IN OUR DEMOCRACY. I THINK THERE ARE TOO MANY PEOPLE OUT FOR THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS AND TO HELL WITH EVERYONE ELSE. AND THAT MENTALITY IS AT ALL LEVELS FROM THE GOVERNMENT TO EVERYDAY PEOPLE ON THE STREET. I'M CONCERNED ABOUT THE RULE OF LAW.”

— JACOB, HERITAGE DEFENDER,  
WHITE MAN, GENERATION X

# CHAPTER CONCLUSION

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This chapter looks at five issues important in a changing Texas: race, immigration, education, the economy, and democracy. We integrated survey findings alongside data from hundreds of conversations we held with Texans across our seven segments to learn how they think about the issues that will drive the future of Texas. In each issue, we find that there are fault lines and ridges, but also points of unity across segments. What the data shows is that understanding these issues through the lens of the seven Texas Threads provides greater nuance and insight than conventional frameworks. Understanding the Threads' views on issues and how they connect back to the underlying core beliefs opens up new possibilities to build common ground even in areas of tension and division.

In the next chapter we explore in more detail what the changing landscape of Texas means across these issues and across the Threads.

## CHAPTER 6

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# WEAVING AN INCLUSIVE TEXAS FUTURE

More in Common began research for the Threads of Texas in March 2020. Over the past 12 months, Texas has experienced a global pandemic, large-scale racial justice protests in response to the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and other Black Americans, a divisive national election, and most recently one of the most devastating weather disasters in its history. During the same time period, people and businesses continued to move to Texas. All of these events and consequent discussions around them underscored the reality that Texas is undergoing significant and forceful change.

Change can bring out the best of Texas. Bound together by an identity that values freedom, equality, and dedication to one's neighbors, Texans can chart a path where they unite to address urgent issues, such as those around race, energy, education, immigration, and the economy. Texans can puncture the polarizing narratives too often put forth in politics and craft stories of a shared future that enables all Texans to see and feel themselves as a part of the narrative.

As Texas emerges from the pandemic and the winter storm and energy disaster, Texans can harness values and ideals that transcend race, party, and geography to come together around a new way of engaging on divisive issues. Robust disagreement and debate — anchored by a commitment to seeing each other as fellow Texans first and foremost — can drive innovative ideas and solutions that leverage Texas' strengths in people, resources, and culture, while also confronting failures of the past and present.

Or Texas can emerge from this period more fractured and divided. Though Texans are more optimistic about the future and less polarized relative to the nation at large; these dynamics are fluid and fault lines exist for divisive

actors to exploit. A 'with me or against me' mentality, already visible in politics and culture, can take hold and hinder efforts to bring diverse segments of Texans around all that they share.

Charting the more unifying path will require engaging across lines of differences and bringing new voices into the conversation. This section highlights the Threads' views toward issues of the present and future, and how the Threads can more impactfully understand and connect with one another to act with a greater sense of common purpose.



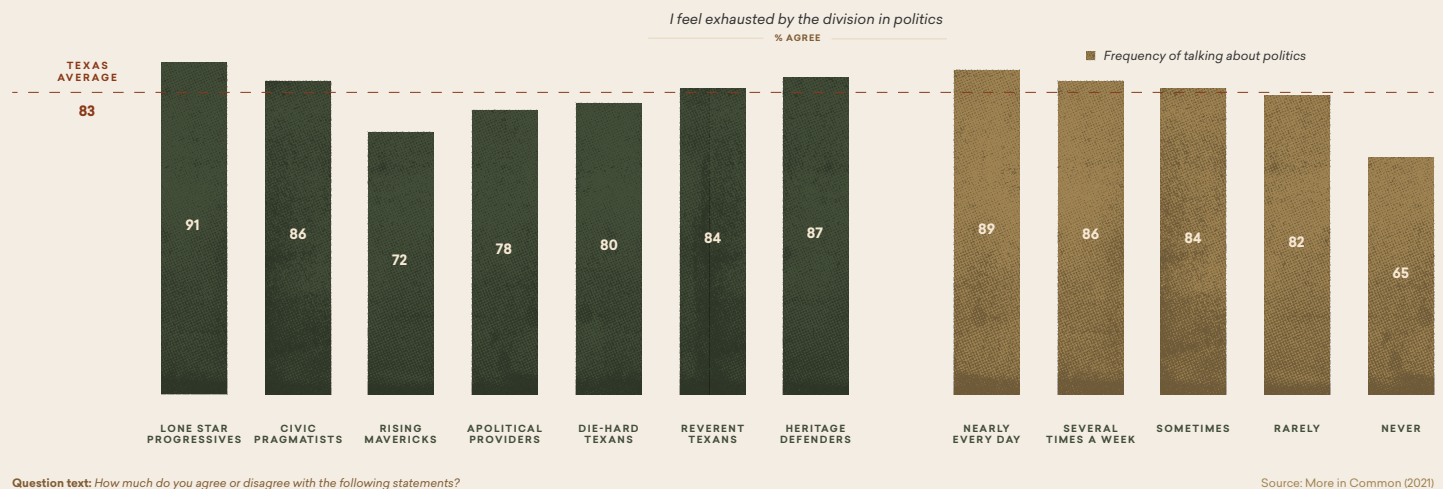
# EXHAUSTED BUT CONFIDENT THERE IS ANOTHER WAY

Eighty-seven percent of Texans are exhausted by the division evident in politics. This sentiment is widely shared across Threads, with more than 70 percent of each Thread agreeing with this feeling. The most politically active Threads are the most exhausted by division, with 91 percent of the Lone Star Progressives and 87 percent of the Heritage Defenders expressing exhaustion. This aligns with research that shows a relationship between

political engagement and negative emotions, particularly for those who are experiencing and engaging in affective polarization or an us-vs-them thinking.<sup>21</sup> Frequency of talking about politics also correlates with a sense of exhaustion, with 89 percent of those who say they talk about politics every day saying they are exhausted, relative to only 65 percent of Texans who say they never talk about politics.

FIGURE 6.1

## TEXANS ARE EXHAUSTED BY DIVISION

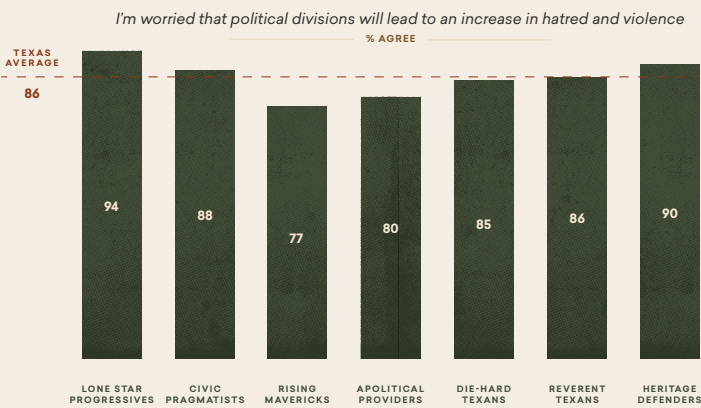


In addition to feeling exhausted by political divisions, Texans are concerned it is fueling violence. Nearly nine in ten Texans are concerned political division will lead to an increase in hatred and violence. This fear is shared by all Threads, and in the aftermath of the January 6th attack on the US Capitol, such concerns have additional gravity.

<sup>21</sup> The Perception Gap. (2019). More in Common. <https://perceptiongap.us/>

FIGURE 6.2

CONCERNS WITH VIOLENCE DRIVEN BY DIVISIONS



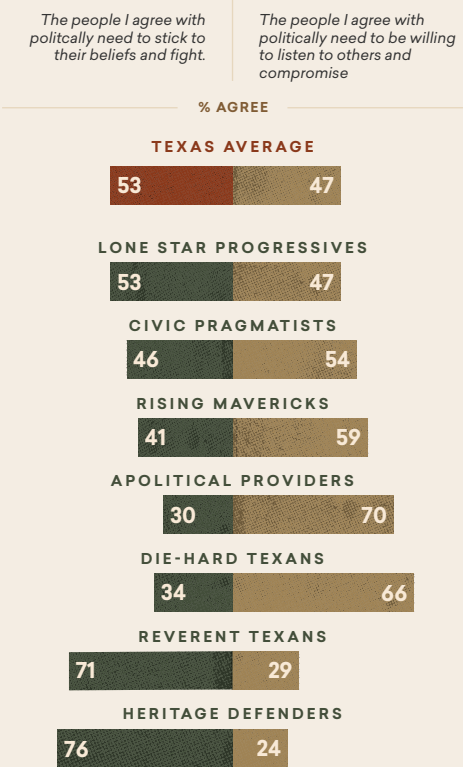
Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Notably, although the Lone Star Progressives, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders express some of the highest levels of exhaustion from political division and concern about the potential for political violence, they are the least likely to say there needs to be more compromise in politics. This is particularly true for Reverent Texans and Heritage Defenders, more than 7 in 10 of whom say people they agree with politically need to stick to their beliefs and fight instead of compromising. However, nearly half of Lone Star Progressives and majorities of the other four Threads say compromise in politics needs to be prioritized over fighting.

FIGURE 6.3

COMPROMISE VS. PARTISAN INTEREST



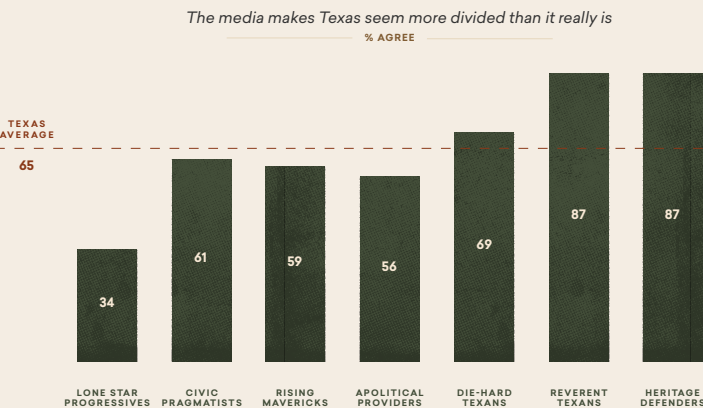
Question Text:  
Which statement do you agree with more?

Source: More in Common (2021)

Texans also recognize tension between what they see in terms of division as presented by the media versus what they see in their own communities and neighbors. Sixty-five percent of Texans feel the media makes Texas seem more divided than it really is. This sentiment is shared by majorities of all Threads except Lone Star Progressives.

FIGURE 6.4

PERCEIVED CULPABILITY OF THE MEDIA DRIVING DIVISION



Question text: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# PERCEIVED DIVISIONS & PRIORITY ISSUES

With respect to how Texans perceive divisions in the state, there are several notable trends. The first is the widespread agreement that one of the deepest divisions is between liberal and conservative Texans—this is included within the top three sources of division for each Thread. This flows from the findings on exhaustion about politics and the fear that division is fueling violence. Another important finding is the extent to which many potential sources of

division are shown to be less relevant for most Texans: perceived divides between urban and rural, religious and secular, and native-born and newcomers all resonate with relatively small numbers of Texans. Finally, it is worth calling out that nearly 1 in 5 Texans (17 percent) feel the state is not divided.

FIGURE 6.5

## PERCEIVED FAULT LINES

	% OF TEXANS WHO SEE THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AS THE DEEPEST DIVISION IN TEXAS							
	ALL	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RIISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
Liberal vs. Conservative Texans	51	74	52	30	29	34	57	71
White Texans vs. Texans of color	26	46	30	30	26	21	13	13
Wealthy vs. Poor Texans	26	46	32	19	26	25	13	17
Rural vs. Urban Texans	21	31	22	22	13	13	18	29
Native-born Texans vs. People who moved here from other places	20	11	19	24	13	26	21	34
Texans of faith vs. Secular Texans	15	25	14	13	10	9	15	13
Other	4	2	5	3	7	2	3	7
I don't think we are divided	17	2	11	21	32	29	23	8

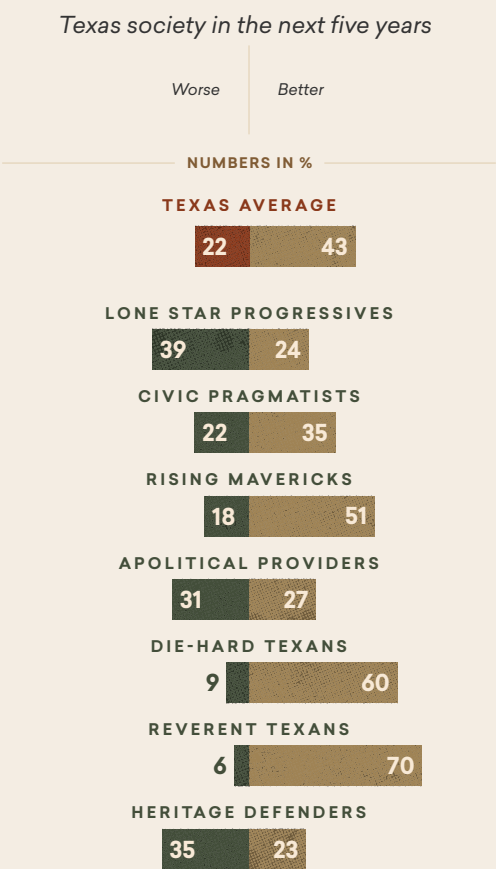
Question text: What do you think are the deepest divisions in Texas, if any?

Source: More in Common (2021)

# TEXAS' FUTURE

In general, Texans are optimistic about the future of the state. Almost twice as many Texans say Texas society will get better in the next five years than say it will get worse. Three Threads have more individuals saying things will get worse, though likely for very different reasons. The two most ideological Threads – Lone Star Progressives and Heritage Defenders – are more pessimistic than optimistic about Texas’ future. Apolitical Providers, by a very small margin are more likely to say things will get worse.

**FIGURE 6.6** **EXPECTATIONS FOR TEXAS’ FUTURE**



Question Text:  
Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for Texas society?

\*Note: Figures do not add up to 100 percent in the graph above. The graph does not include the percentages of participants that answered "about the same" and "don't know."

Source: More in Common (2021)

IDEAL TEXAS

Five of the seven Threads feel that a Texas where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong most closely aligns with their aspirations for the state. Reverent Texans are not far behind majority agreement, but instead, along with Heritage Defenders, have the highest agreement that 'a Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values' aligns with their ideal Texas. However, these aspirations are not mutually exclusive. A vision for a Texas that proudly celebrates its traditions

while upholding the values of inclusivity and respect is an aspiration that all Threads can share.

Texans also feel positively toward the vision of Texas as a leader in the knowledge economy and as a place where someone can make something of themselves. Finally, a Texas that honors God receives support from 58 percent of Reverent Texans, though they are the only Thread where a majority cites this vision for an ideal Texas.

FIGURE 6.7

IDEAL TEXAS

IDEAL TEXAS	% OF TEXANS WHO SEE THE FOLLOWING AS THEIR IDEAL TEXAS							
	TEXAS AVERAGE	LONE STAR PROGRESSIVES	CIVIC PRAGMATISTS	RISING MAVERICKS	APOLITICAL PROVIDERS	DIE-HARD TEXANS	REVERENT TEXANS	HERITAGE DEFENDERS
A Texas where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong	61	95	70	63	51	70	47	20
A Texas that is the leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs and industries	44	78	46	41	42	33	25	44
A Texas where someone can make something of themselves	42	54	37	35	36	46	36	67
A Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values	38	2	15	24	20	53	76	85
A Texas that honors God	28	2	23	15	15	33	58	38
A Texas that is a leader in shaping American culture and politics	23	37	22	18	16	24	19	33
Don't know	6	1	9	8	18	3	1	0

Question text: Describe your ideal Texas. Among the following, which ones match your aspirations for Texas? (Select 3)

Source: More in Common (2021)

## TEXAS' FUTURE: KEY TAKEAWAYS

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As the above sections have indicated, there is a rich shared identity and set of values and beliefs that can be drawn from as Texans work together to construct an inclusive future, where Texans of all backgrounds feel they belong. Successfully navigating the changes that lie ahead will require Texans to communicate with and engage across lines of difference. As this chapter demonstrates, there are ways to engage members of all Threads in conversation about the type of future they want to build together.

Having such conversation is critical, as too often narratives of Texas' future are shaped by the most politically active segments and depict binary options where the realities are more complex. Resisting false 'us versus them' descriptions of the future would be easier if more Texans — especially those among the Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die Hard Texans — were part of the conversation. A future which weaves together the aspirations of all the Threads will prove stronger, less divisive, and ultimately more prosperous for all Texans.

Part of this change requires understanding why Texans are not equally involved in civic activities in the first place. In order to activate the Threads that are less engaged, more effort is needed to understand the distinct emotional drivers and underlying circumstances that animate their detachment from civic life.

This section focuses on the shared values that transcend each Thread and the ways that Texans can use those values to work together on shaping a brighter future for the state. Across the segments, **Texans envision a state that welcomes everyone, where the state serves as a beacon for those who want to work hard and make something of themselves, and where Texans share a deep belief in equality, freedom, and diversity. Another common theme we found was a focus on community.** Even among more politically ideological segments, there are shared values of community. These can serve as important starting points to anchor debates about Texas' future with an appreciation for all that Texans have in common.

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# CONCLUSION

More in Common started this research project in early 2020 before the COVID-19 pandemic. Through most of 2020 and into 2021, we had the privilege of engaging with thousands of Texans of all backgrounds. In small and large groups and one-on-one conversations, we listened to and learned from Texans as the state navigated COVID-19, a deeply divisive election, and then a massive winter and energy crisis.

Through all of this, what emerged was thousands of stories, the overwhelming majority of which were not about politics or ideology, but community. These stories were filled with a richness and nuance that are often missing from public debates. When we bring people's lived experiences and context into consideration when understanding their views, commonality becomes easier to see.

As Texas emerges from the pandemic and grapples with the aftermath of the devastating power outages, it can build on these commonalities. Texans can speak to the deeply held values of freedom, equality, diversity, and neighborliness, and to the shared aspirations for a future where Texans of all backgrounds feel they belong and where the state proudly upholds important traditions. Harnessing Texas identity as a unifying force will allow Texans to disagree — even passionately — without turning on each other.

Such efforts can start by elevating values which cut across the polarized lines and foster a sense of solidarity with groups we may perceive as being the “other side”. Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders need to hear and learn about the deep Texan pride felt by Rising Mavericks and Civic Pragmatists (groups which could be perceived as “liberal,” albeit inaptly) and about the heartfelt commitment to Texan neighborliness felt by the Lone Star Progressives. Similarly, Lone Star Progressives, Rising Mavericks, and Civic Pragmatists need to hear more about the pride Die-hard Texans, Reverent Texans, and Heritage Defenders (groups which could be perceived as “conservative”) feel about Texas’ history as a place of immigrants.

More can also be done to bring the voices of Rising Mavericks, Apolitical Providers, and Die-hard Texans into the state conversation. These groups are much less politically-involved and less ideologically-driven. The Apolitical Providers and Die-hard Texans are much more likely to see issues through what they experience in their local communities as opposed to what they might see on TV or social media.

This research is not a comprehensive study of all topics discussed, but we hope it sheds new light about sources of division and unity in Texas and about Texans’ orientations toward the future. Because our research focuses not just on current issues but on Texans’ underlying feelings toward Texas identity, change, and the future, we expect the seven Texas Threads will continue to be relevant for years to come.

We hope this report contributes to efforts that foster greater unity among Texans. Through our research we encountered so many organizations and individuals working toward such a goal. More in Common looks forward to working in partnership with local civil society organizations, businesses, faith actors, and groups of all backgrounds to harness insights from this research to address key issues in ways that bring Texans closer together.

Texas is in a moment for leaders across the state and for everyday Texans to step up and work to bring people together. There is a path readily available toward a stronger, more cohesive Texas society, one that is capable of sustaining the values and traditions which have contributed to its success through the years while also addressing stark injustices and building a dynamic, inclusive future for all Texans.

# ENDNOTES

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1. Wermund, B. (2020). Texas is among the most politically polarized states in the U.S., study shows. Houston Chronicle. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/Texas/article/Texas-is-among-most-politically-polarized-states-15315223.php>
2. Throughout the report, immigrants who arrived in the country via an authorized process are labelled legal immigrants when shown in graphs and figures.
3. We used the term Hispanic throughout the report as per the term used in the US Census Bureau data and as per consultations with Texans. We are aware that some Hispanic Texans use different terms (e.g. Hispanic, Latino, Latina, Latinx) to describe themselves and we keep their preferred terms in their quotes.
4. See appendix for full wording of each question.
5. Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5), 1029.
6. Where provided, names have been changed to protect the privacy of the respondent. Quotes from focus groups conducted in Spanish were translated into English.
7. An important caveat: Cluster analysis is at its best a good approximation of the common characteristics across a group of individuals. Not everyone will match with all the traits perfectly, and there is always variation within each segment. For more details, the appendix contains the complete demographic information of all segments.
8. Hogg, M. A., & Williams, K. D. (2000). From I to we: Social identity and the collective self. *Group dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 4(1), 81.
9. We acknowledge that a dichotomous forced-choice question can oversimplify the degree to which people may realistically regard both individual and collective interests as must-haves for a successful economic system, though this question is an effective way of understanding what people prioritize.
10. The Hidden Tribes of America. (2018). More in Common. <https://hiddentribes.us/>
11. *ibid.*

12. Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5), 1029.
13. Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 224-237.
14. Brewer, M. B. (2007). The social psychology of intergroup relations: Social categorization, ingroup bias, and outgroup prejudice. In A. W. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (p. 695-715). The Guilford Press.
15. In our survey, we asked respondents “what racial or ethnic group best describes” them. We use the term racial identity in this section of the report as an abbreviation of racial or ethnic identity. We are aware that the US Census Bureau designates the term “Hispanic” as an ethnic origin, not a racial origin. We are conscious that some Hispanic Texans exclusively identify “Hispanic” as their racial identity, whereas others see it as their ethnic identity, or both. For a brief overview of the multifaceted interpretations of Hispanic identity, see <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2015/06/11/chapter-7-the-many-dimensions-of-hispanic-racial-identity/>
16. The n-sizes of Black respondents in the Heritage Defenders segment and Die-hard Texan segments are small for questions that were split-sampled in Survey 2 (n<60). We advise caution in interpreting data points with these breakdowns. Additionally, survey 2 data for Asian Texans came from a sample of n=23 Asian Texans, which may not be representative and was deemed too small to be included in the analyses. For questions regarding gender identity, less than 1% of our survey respondents identify as non-binary or gender identities other than male or female. We regret this gap in the research findings, and hope for an opportunity to explore further in the future.
17. Note: our respondents self-reported their immigration status in the survey. According to the American Immigration Council census data, one in six Texas residents is an immigrant, while another one in six residents is a native-born U.S. citizen with at least one immigrant parent. For more information, see <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-Texas#:~:text=One%20in%20six%20Texas%20residents%20is%20an%20immigrant%2C,million%20men%2C%20and%20319%2C331%20children%20who%20were%20immigrants.>
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# APPENDIX

## Threads of Texas: Quantitative Research

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**Survey 1:** In July and August 2020, More in Common, in partnership with YouGov, conducted online survey interviews with 4,000 individuals living in Texas, 263 of whom participated in the Spanish version of the survey. We posed questions on Texan identity, the current and future state of Texas, Texans' view of their state vis-a-vis the country, and topical issues such as the coronavirus pandemic, racial justice movement, and the 2020 Presidential election. In addition, the research instrument covered demographics, partisanship, ideology, moral values, civic engagement, media consumption behaviors, and views on the education system, immigration and race relations in Texas. A hierarchical clustering analysis (described in greater detail below) was then conducted.

The sample was weighted via propensity score weighting followed by post-stratification. The variables gender, age, race, and education were included in the propensity score formula. Weights were then post-stratified on the 2016 Presidential vote and a four-way stratification of categorical age, gender, education, and race. Sampling and weighting targets were drawn from the 2018 American Community Survey by weighted stratified sampling with replacement. Margin of error was  $\pm 1.92$ .

**Survey 2:** We fielded another survey in March 2021, to a 1,000-respondent re-sample of the original  $N=4,000$ . The survey included questions about the winter storm and power crisis in February 2021, attitudes toward state and local politicians, and views on climate and the environmental movement. As with the first survey, the sample was weighted to be representative of gender, age, race, education, and political affiliation. The margin of error for survey 2 is  $\pm 4.53$  percent.

**Segmentation Analysis:** We conducted an iterative agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis to create and develop profiles of the seven Texan segments. Cluster analyses can uncover patterns that outline groupings and structures in the data, which in turn reveal contrasts and similarities that might not have been previously apparent. In exploring the Texan landscape, a cluster analysis that incorporates attitudinal and psychological variables can more clearly outline how Texans differ or agree on areas of interest beyond traditional demographic splits. That is, segments based on core psychological variables may provide more nuanced distinctions in Texans' views, that may be obscured for example, by relying on conventional breakdown of the data by political parties.

## Appendix A. Full demographic data for the Threads of Texas

What is your age?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Age	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
18-24	14%	12%	5%	66%	16%	7%	2%	2%
25-34	19%	19%	18%	13%	27%	38%	13%	9%
35-44	19%	21%	21%	9%	26%	18%	17%	17%
45-54	14%	14%	13%	8%	17%	13%	15%	16%
55-64	18%	18%	23%	3%	8%	15%	25%	29%
65+	17%	16%	19%	1%	6%	9%	29%	27%

Do you speak Spanish on a regular basis?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Do you speak Spanish	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
I speak Spanish primarily	6%	1%	4%	22%	10%	11%	3%	0%
I speak both Spanish and English equally	18%	7%	18%	31%	28%	32%	13%	10%
I speak English primarily but can speak Spanish	14%	11%	14%	21%	19%	23%	10%	6%
I can not speak Spanish	63%	81%	65%	26%	42%	35%	74%	84%

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Political Interest	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Most of the time	46%	68%	46%	16%	13%	19%	65%	76%
Some of the time	28%	24%	33%	34%	25%	35%	26%	18%
Only now and then	14%	6%	13%	24%	30%	22%	6%	5%
Hardly at all	7%	1%	4%	13%	20%	16%	2%	1%

Don't know 5% 0% 4% 13% 12% 8% 1% 0%

Who did you vote for in the election for President in 2016?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
2016 President Vote Post Election	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Hillary Clinton	28%	67%	50%	13%	9%	9%	15%	14%
Donald Trump	34%	7%	29%	13%	11%	18%	72%	75%
Gary Johnson	2%	3%	3%	3%	1%	0%	1%	1%
Jill Stein	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Evan McMullin	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Other	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Did not vote for President	34%	20%	17%	69%	79%	72%	11%	7%

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
3-point party ID	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Democrat	33%	64%	46%	31%	21%	23%	18%	15%
Republican	30%	5%	24%	20%	16%	37%	56%	47%
Independent	26%	26%	24%	23%	37%	24%	22%	28%
Other	3%	4%	2%	1%	3%	3%	3%	7%
Not sure	9%	2%	4%	25%	23%	13%	1%	2%

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
7-point Party ID	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Strong Democrat	23%	51%	31%	17%	12%	12%	13%	10%
Not very strong Democrat	10%	13%	15%	13%	9%	11%	5%	5%
Strong Republican	21%	4%	14%	12%	5%	22%	48%	34%
Not very strong Republican	9%	1%	10%	8%	11%	15%	8%	13%
Lean Democrat	7%	20%	9%	6%	7%	6%	2%	1%
Lean Republican	8%	1%	5%	6%	7%	6%	13%	25%
Independent	16%	9%	13%	20%	37%	19%	10%	10%
Not sure	6%	1%	3%	18%	12%	9%	2%	1%

What is your gender?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Gender	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Male	49%	46%	49%	51%	40%	46%	50%	58%
Female	51%	52%	50%	48%	60%	53%	49%	41%

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Education	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
No HS	9%	2%	6%	14%	24%	22%	4%	3%
High school graduate	32%	18%	32%	40%	35%	43%	30%	30%
Some college	21%	24%	19%	23%	20%	16%	21%	23%
2-year	10%	9%	11%	11%	8%	8%	11%	11%
4-year	18%	28%	21%	8%	11%	9%	22%	21%
Post-grad	10%	20%	10%	4%	3%	2%	11%	13%

What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Race	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
White	46%	58%	41%	23%	34%	32%	60%	70%
Black	12%	12%	18%	12%	12%	11%	8%	5%
Hispanic	35%	22%	34%	57%	48%	53%	25%	20%
Asian	3%	3%	3%	5%	3%	2%	2%	1%
Native American	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%
Middle Eastern	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mixed	2%	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Other	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	2%

Would you say that you live in an urban, suburban, or rural community?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Live in Urban, suburban or rural area	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Urban	36%	31%	41%	48%	38%	41%	27%	26%
Suburban	45%	57%	44%	39%	41%	35%	46%	50%

Rural	19%	12%	15%	13%	21%	24%	27%	24%
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Overall, which of the following best describes your political ideology?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Political ideology	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Very liberal	9%	31%	7%	8%	7%	3%	6%	3%
Liberal	18%	36%	25%	18%	17%	14%	7%	7%
Moderate/Center	28%	26%	37%	28%	33%	31%	19%	18%
Conservative	18%	2%	16%	14%	10%	20%	30%	39%
Very conservative	15%	2%	8%	5%	4%	12%	36%	31%
Don't know/Not sure	11%	3%	7%	28%	29%	19%	3%	2%

Which of the following best describes your views on social issues?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Social ideology	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Very liberal	12%	40%	9%	10%	10%	4%	5%	4%
Liberal	20%	38%	27%	23%	17%	13%	8%	5%
Moderate/Center	27%	15%	35%	29%	32%	33%	21%	22%
Conservative	18%	2%	15%	13%	11%	20%	29%	37%
Very Conservative	15%	2%	7%	5%	4%	14%	35%	29%
Don't know/Not sure	9%	2%	6%	20%	26%	15%	2%	3%

Which of the following best describes your views on economic issues?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Economic ideology	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Very liberal	9%	29%	8%	4%	7%	4%	5%	3%
Liberal	16%	31%	21%	19%	17%	12%	6%	5%
Moderate/Center	26%	28%	33%	29%	30%	34%	16%	15%
Conservative	21%	7%	22%	19%	15%	24%	31%	28%
Very Conservative	18%	2%	10%	7%	4%	12%	40%	46%
Don't know/Not sure	10%	3%	6%	21%	27%	15%	3%	3%

Would you prefer to live in a community where...

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Preference of living community	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
The houses are larger and farther apart, but schools, stores and restaurants are several miles away	60%	44%	59%	50%	52%	60%	74%	76%

The houses are smaller and closer to each other, but schools, stores and restaurants are within walking distance

40%

56%

41%

50%

48%

40%

26%

24%

Now we'd like you to think about your status in your community. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in their communities. At the top of the ladder (step 10) are the people who have the highest standing in their community. At the bottom of the ladder (step 1) are people who have the lowest standing in their community. Please click on where you would place yourself on this ladder.

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Status in community	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
10 – Highest standing	6%	1%	5%	8%	5%	7%	12%	4%
9	4%	2%	5%	5%	2%	5%	7%	5%
8	13%	12%	15%	9%	7%	17%	16%	11%
7	17%	17%	19%	15%	9%	12%	21%	21%
6	19%	18%	21%	18%	19%	20%	18%	19%
5	19%	18%	20%	21%	23%	18%	15%	21%
4	7%	13%	5%	7%	10%	9%	4%	7%
3	7%	9%	6%	7%	10%	5%	3%	8%
2	3%	5%	2%	3%	3%	1%	2%	2%
1 – Lowest standing	5%	5%	2%	6%	12%	6%	2%	2%

Which of the following best describes your current employment status?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Current employment status	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Working full time now	35%	41%	43%	22%	27%	29%	38%	40%
Working part time now	11%	10%	7%	20%	13%	15%	9%	7%
Temporarily laid off/furloughed	4%	5%	3%	6%	9%	3%	3%	4%
Unemployed	11%	8%	10%	21%	16%	14%	5%	5%
Retired	20%	18%	23%	2%	8%	16%	30%	31%
Permanently disabled	5%	6%	5%	1%	8%	7%	6%	5%
Taking care of home or family	8%	5%	7%	7%	15%	13%	7%	6%

Student	5%	7%	2%	20%	4%	2%	1%	1%
Other	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%

Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Family income	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Less than \$10,000	9%	4%	7%	13%	19%	14%	5%	3%
\$10,000 – \$19,999	9%	5%	9%	13%	12%	14%	6%	4%
\$20,000 – \$29,999	11%	6%	10%	11%	16%	18%	9%	8%
\$30,000 – \$39,999	9%	8%	11%	10%	10%	9%	6%	10%
\$40,000 – \$49,999	10%	10%	11%	8%	8%	12%	11%	11%
\$50,000 – \$59,999	8%	8%	6%	9%	8%	6%	12%	8%
\$60,000 – \$69,999	6%	9%	6%	4%	4%	5%	5%	8%
\$70,000 – \$79,999	7%	9%	9%	7%	4%	4%	9%	4%
\$80,000 – \$99,999	7%	8%	8%	2%	4%	3%	9%	9%
\$100,000 – \$119,999	4%	7%	4%	3%	2%	2%	5%	8%
\$120,000 – \$149,999	4%	6%	4%	3%	1%	3%	6%	6%
\$150,000 – \$199,999	4%	6%	4%	3%	1%	2%	4%	6%
\$200,000 – \$249,999	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	0%
\$250,000 – \$349,999	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%
\$350,000 – \$499,999	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
\$500,000 or more	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Prefer not to say	10%	9%	8%	12%	9%	8%	10%	14%

In the last 12 months, how often have you or your family...

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Gone without enough food to eat	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Always	7%	2%	4%	19%	8%	12%	7%	1%
Often	8%	3%	8%	18%	12%	10%	4%	3%
Sometimes	12%	7%	13%	21%	22%	12%	7%	4%
Rarely	14%	13%	16%	15%	16%	24%	9%	9%
Never	59%	75%	59%	27%	41%	42%	72%	82%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Felt unsafe from crime	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Always	6%	3%	4%	10%	6%	8%	6%	3%
Often	10%	6%	9%	16%	13%	10%	7%	11%
Sometimes	23%	17%	26%	29%	28%	24%	18%	26%
Rarely	29%	32%	29%	22%	28%	29%	30%	31%
Never	32%	42%	32%	23%	25%	29%	39%	29%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Felt unsafe from the police	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Always	7%	9%	6%	12%	10%	7%	5%	1%
Often	7%	9%	8%	14%	11%	6%	3%	2%
Sometimes	16%	23%	17%	27%	24%	10%	7%	7%
Rarely	18%	21%	22%	19%	17%	22%	11%	13%
Never	52%	38%	47%	28%	39%	54%	73%	77%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Felt unsafe from the federal government	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Always	8%	12%	7%	9%	9%	9%	5%	5%
Often	13%	21%	12%	18%	13%	7%	8%	11%
Sometimes	22%	29%	23%	25%	25%	17%	14%	21%
Rarely	19%	15%	24%	19%	20%	23%	18%	15%
Never	38%	23%	35%	28%	33%	44%	55%	48%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Gone without medicine or medical treatment that you needed	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Always	7%	7%	6%	14%	7%	9%	4%	4%
Often	10%	9%	11%	14%	18%	11%	6%	6%
Sometimes	18%	19%	18%	25%	23%	22%	12%	13%
Rarely	15%	15%	16%	16%	15%	14%	14%	14%
Never	49%	49%	49%	31%	37%	44%	63%	63%

Are you the parent or guardian of any children under the age of 18?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Children under age 18 in household	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	27%	17%	27%	25%	32%	41%	28%	22%
No	73%	83%	73%	75%	68%	59%	72%	78%

Which of these statements best describes you?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Immigration background	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
I am an immigrant to the USA and a naturalized citizen	9%	4%	10%	10%	11%	12%	10%	4%
I am an immigrant to the USA and not a citizen of the USA	6%	1%	1%	25%	9%	13%	3%	0%
I was born in the USA but at least one of my parents is an immigrant	15%	14%	16%	22%	21%	11%	10%	13%
My parents and I were born in the USA but at least one of my grandparents was an immigrant	16%	19%	19%	14%	11%	15%	19%	14%
My parents, grandparents and I were all born in the USA	53%	62%	55%	29%	48%	49%	59%	69%

We'd like to know whether you or someone in your immediate family is currently serving or has ever served in the U.S. military. Immediate family is defined as your parents, siblings, spouse, and children. Please check all boxes that apply.

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Military status	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Military Household – I am	3%	0%	3%	9%	4%	1%	2%	1%
Military Household – Family	9%	6%	8%	13%	12%	4%	11%	11%
Military Household – I served previously	12%	9%	13%	8%	5%	5%	18%	22%
Military Household – Family served previously	37%	44%	40%	16%	21%	27%	48%	47%
Military Household – None	48%	47%	44%	60%	64%	66%	34%	34%

Are you registered to vote?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Voter Registration Status	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	83%	97%	96%	51%	54%	59%	97%	99%
No	14%	2%	3%	42%	40%	34%	2%	0%
Don't know	3%	1%	1%	7%	6%	6%	0%	1%

On an average day, how many hours do you spend on social media?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
How many hours did you spend on social media	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
< half an hour	16%	14%	19%	7%	16%	13%	18%	22%
An hour	23%	22%	25%	18%	20%	20%	26%	25%
2-3 hours	29%	29%	27%	37%	31%	33%	25%	24%
> 3 hours	21%	23%	17%	34%	22%	25%	19%	13%
I don't use social media	11%	12%	11%	5%	12%	8%	12%	16%

Which of the following social media platforms do you use the most?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Social media platforms you use most	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Facebook	60%	47%	66%	33%	57%	69%	75%	67%
Twitter	11%	23%	9%	9%	8%	7%	7%	12%
Instagram	14%	15%	13%	29%	13%	15%	8%	8%
Snapchat	4%	4%	2%	12%	6%	2%	2%	2%
TikTok	4%	2%	2%	10%	6%	4%	2%	2%
LinkedIn	2%	1%	3%	0%	1%	1%	2%	3%
Other	6%	8%	5%	6%	9%	2%	5%	6%

Were you born in Texas?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Born in Texas	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	58%	51%	60%	60%	67%	56%	56%	53%
No	42%	49%	40%	40%	33%	44%	44%	47%

How long have you lived in Texas? [Asked of respondents who were not born in Texas]

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
How long have you lived in Texas	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
My whole life	3%	3%	2%	2%	3%	1%	2%	7%
Most of my life	35%	28%	36%	28%	32%	48%	36%	38%
About half of my life	34%	42%	38%	18%	30%	20%	35%	44%
I moved to Texas within the last 5 years	28%	28%	23%	51%	36%	31%	27%	11%

Here is a list of activities that some people participate in. In the past year, which of the following have you taken part in? (check all that apply)

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Activities you take part in	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Attended a protest, rally, or march	4%	10%	5%	7%	1%	1%	3%	1%
Donated money to an advocacy group or political organization	12%	26%	11%	9%	2%	6%	13%	10%
Attended a political meeting	4%	6%	3%	4%	1%	2%	4%	4%
Called/wrote to Congress or another political representative	11%	24%	8%	4%	2%	1%	15%	17%
Shared political content on social media	18%	34%	15%	17%	5%	5%	22%	25%
Voted in a local election	24%	40%	26%	10%	3%	2%	34%	35%
Donated blood	6%	6%	5%	11%	2%	3%	7%	5%
Donated money to my place of worship	12%	7%	13%	8%	6%	8%	19%	17%
Donated to a local nonprofit	13%	20%	12%	8%	4%	11%	16%	15%
Volunteered at a school or non-profit in your community	8%	10%	9%	9%	1%	7%	9%	9%
Helped a neighbor	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
None of the above	42%	18%	41%	42%	77%	67%	29%	35%

How often do you talk about politics with friends or family?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Frequency of talking about politics	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Nearly every day	19%	33%	18%	6%	7%	5%	24%	33%
Several times a week	22%	27%	24%	18%	9%	19%	26%	28%
Sometimes	31%	29%	32%	34%	32%	32%	32%	29%
Rarely	18%	9%	18%	24%	27%	28%	15%	8%
Never	10%	2%	9%	19%	25%	16%	2%	2%

What is your present religion, if any?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Religion	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Protestant	32%	20%	32%	19%	20%	25%	50%	43%
Roman Catholic	26%	14%	31%	30%	27%	29%	25%	26%
Mormon	1%	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Eastern or Greek Orthodox	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%	0%
Jewish	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%
Muslim	1%	0%	1%	4%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Buddhist	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	0%
Hindu	1%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	1%
Atheist	5%	15%	3%	5%	5%	2%	1%	2%
Agnostic	5%	13%	5%	4%	6%	3%	1%	3%
Nothing in particular	21%	28%	18%	23%	32%	28%	12%	16%
Something else	6%	6%	4%	7%	7%	7%	6%	6%

### How important is religion in your life?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Importance of religion (Pew version)	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Very important	44%	16%	45%	38%	34%	47%	68%	47%
Somewhat important	27%	22%	27%	37%	33%	29%	18%	29%
Not too important	14%	18%	13%	16%	17%	16%	8%	10%
Not at all important	16%	44%	14%	10%	16%	9%	6%	14%

### Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Church attendance (Pew version)	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
More than once a week	8%	2%	8%	7%	5%	6%	16%	7%
Once a week	20%	8%	22%	18%	16%	12%	31%	21%
Once or twice a month	8%	5%	10%	15%	7%	7%	7%	5%
A few times a year	15%	10%	18%	18%	11%	15%	14%	16%
Seldom	22%	24%	19%	17%	24%	33%	19%	26%
Never	25%	49%	22%	19%	31%	22%	12%	26%
Don't know	3%	1%	2%	6%	6%	5%	1%	1%

### People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, how often do you pray?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Frequency of Prayer (Pew version)	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Several times a day	29%	16%	28%	16%	23%	26%	50%	31%
Once a day	17%	9%	19%	19%	18%	23%	16%	20%
A few times a week	12%	10%	14%	14%	10%	10%	12%	12%
Once a week	4%	2%	6%	9%	3%	4%	4%	2%
A few times a month	6%	6%	4%	10%	8%	7%	4%	8%
Seldom	12%	18%	13%	12%	11%	13%	9%	12%
Never	15%	36%	12%	14%	19%	13%	4%	11%
Don't know	4%	3%	4%	6%	6%	5%	1%	3%

### How proud or ashamed are you to be...

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
A Texan	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Very proud	51%	11%	44%	44%	36%	73%	80%	68%
Somewhat proud	12%	9%	16%	14%	14%	9%	9%	12%
Slightly proud	9%	15%	10%	13%	11%	5%	4%	8%
Neither proud nor ashamed	21%	35%	25%	22%	34%	13%	7%	9%
Slightly ashamed	3%	11%	2%	4%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Somewhat ashamed	2%	9%	2%	2%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Very ashamed	2%	10%	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
America would be better if more states were like Texas	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Strongly agree	35%	1%	21%	23%	16%	51%	71%	66%
Moderately agree	18%	3%	23%	21%	20%	21%	18%	20%
Slightly agree	18%	11%	26%	27%	30%	18%	7%	11%
Slightly disagree	12%	20%	16%	15%	20%	5%	2%	3%
Moderately disagree	6%	16%	6%	7%	4%	3%	1%	0%
Strongly disagree	11%	49%	7%	7%	10%	4%	1%	0%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Despite its problems, Texas is the best place to live in America	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Strongly agree	40%	4%	27%	27%	20%	57%	77%	66%
Moderately agree	17%	6%	22%	19%	21%	16%	17%	21%
Slightly agree	18%	13%	25%	28%	29%	19%	5%	8%
Slightly disagree	10%	16%	14%	16%	16%	5%	2%	5%
Moderately disagree	6%	20%	6%	6%	5%	2%	0%	0%
Strongly disagree	9%	41%	6%	4%	9%	1%	0%	1%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
In Texas, I feel like I am part of a community – people who understand each other, care about each other, and help each other.	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Strongly agree	40%	8%	31%	34%	21%	54%	71%	56%
Moderately agree	26%	20%	32%	25%	26%	29%	22%	26%
Slightly agree	20%	30%	25%	27%	29%	10%	6%	13%
Slightly disagree	6%	17%	6%	7%	11%	3%	0%	2%
Moderately disagree	4%	12%	4%	4%	4%	3%	1%	1%
Strongly disagree	4%	14%	2%	2%	9%	1%	0%	2%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
In Texas, I feel accepted for who I am.	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Strongly agree	49%	11%	38%	44%	32%	69%	78%	71%
Moderately agree	25%	25%	32%	26%	28%	20%	19%	19%
Slightly agree	14%	23%	19%	18%	24%	9%	3%	6%
Slightly disagree	5%	16%	6%	7%	8%	1%	0%	1%
Moderately disagree	4%	12%	3%	4%	3%	1%	0%	1%
Strongly disagree	3%	13%	2%	1%	5%	0%	0%	1%

For the following statement, pick the answer choice that you agree with the most:  
 “I believe that the economic system in this society should be designed to maximize...”

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Individualism	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Individual interests	50%	13%	37%	50%	55%	47%	73%	83%
Collective interests	50%	87%	63%	50%	45%	53%	27%	17%

Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for...

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
You personally	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Much better	28%	12%	20%	42%	23%	46%	41%	11%
Somewhat better	27%	28%	28%	27%	24%	22%	28%	28%
About the same	30%	33%	36%	22%	32%	21%	24%	44%
Somewhat worse	6%	11%	7%	5%	5%	6%	3%	8%
Much worse	3%	8%	3%	1%	6%	2%	1%	5%
Don't know	6%	8%	6%	3%	10%	4%	4%	4%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Your family	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Much better	28%	11%	20%	40%	23%	45%	42%	10%
Somewhat better	28%	29%	31%	29%	19%	25%	31%	28%
About the same	29%	32%	34%	18%	34%	20%	20%	47%
Somewhat worse	6%	12%	6%	8%	8%	3%	2%	8%
Much worse	3%	7%	3%	2%	6%	2%	0%	2%
Don't know	6%	9%	6%	5%	10%	5%	4%	4%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
US society	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Much better	16%	6%	9%	24%	8%	23%	31%	4%
Somewhat better	25%	26%	25%	23%	16%	32%	30%	15%
About the same	21%	12%	29%	24%	26%	21%	15%	19%
Somewhat worse	17%	20%	18%	18%	20%	11%	11%	24%
Much worse	12%	22%	9%	7%	19%	5%	5%	29%
Don't know	9%	14%	9%	4%	11%	8%	9%	9%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Texas society	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Much better	17%	3%	7%	28%	9%	31%	36%	4%
Somewhat better	26%	21%	28%	23%	17%	29%	34%	19%
About the same	26%	23%	34%	26%	30%	25%	17%	32%
Somewhat worse	14%	20%	17%	12%	20%	8%	5%	23%
Much worse	7%	19%	5%	5%	12%	1%	1%	12%
Don't know	9%	14%	9%	5%	12%	6%	7%	10%

Did you vote in the:

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Voted in 2012 presidential election	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	70%	89%	88%	8%	10%	21%	90%	96%
No	25%	9%	11%	4%	87%	75%	9%	4%
Ineligible to vote	5%	2%	1%	87%	3%	4%	0%	0%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Voted in 2016 presidential election	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	72%	93%	96%	12%	13%	25%	94%	98%
No	22%	5%	4%	15%	85%	73%	5%	2%
Ineligible to vote	6%	2%	0%	73%	1%	2%	0%	0%

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Voted in 2018 midterm election	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
Yes	62%	87%	78%	22%	5%	7%	89%	90%
No	33%	11%	21%	33%	93%	90%	10%	10%
Ineligible to vote	6%	3%	1%	46%	2%	3%	1%	0%

Please say how well the following statements reflect your views using the scale below, where 4 means you agree completely with the first statement, and 1 means you agree completely with the second statement:

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Opinion — Rapid pace of change in Texas	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
4 — When I think about the rapid pace of change in Texas, I worry that I will be left behind	12%	6%	11%	18%	16%	7%	10%	16%
3	25%	17%	30%	27%	36%	21%	19%	24%
2	33%	43%	32%	24%	27%	32%	32%	44%
1 — When I think about the rapid pace of change in Texas, I feel excited for the new opportunities I might have.	30%	35%	27%	30%	21%	40%	39%	15%

Describe your ideal Texas. Among the following, which ones match your aspirations for Texas? (Select 3)

TEXAS SEGMENTS								
Ideal Texas	All	Lone Star Progressives	Civic Pragmatists	Rising Mavericks	Apolitical Providers	Die-hard Texans	Reverent Texans	Heritage Defenders
A Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values	38%	2%	15%	24%	20%	53%	76%	85%
A Texas that is the leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs and industries	44%	78%	46%	41%	42%	33%	25%	44%
A Texas where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong	61%	95%	70%	63%	51%	70%	47%	20%
A Texas where someone can make something of themselves	42%	54%	37%	35%	36%	46%	36%	67%
A Texas that is a leader in shaping American culture and politics	23%	37%	22%	18%	16%	24%	19%	33%
A Texas that honors God	28%	2%	23%	15%	15%	33%	58%	38%
Don't know	6%	1%	9%	8%	18%	3%	1%	0%

## Appendix B. Variables Used in Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

- ☐ More than once a week
- ☐ Once a week
- ☐ Once or twice a month
- ☐ A few times a year
- ☐ Seldom
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Don't know

Here is a list of activities that some people participate in. In the past year, which of the following have you taken part in? (check all that apply)

- ☐ Attended a protest, rally, or march
- ☐ Donated money to an advocacy group or political organization
- ☐ Attended a political meeting
- ☐ Called/wrote to Congress or another political representative
- ☐ Shared political content on social media
- ☐ Voted in a local election
- ☐ Donated blood
- ☐ Donated money to my place of worship
- ☐ Donated to a local nonprofit
- ☐ Volunteered at a school or nonprofit in your community
- ☐ Helped a neighbor
- ☐ None of the above

How often do you talk about politics with friends or family?

- ☐ Nearly every day
- ☐ Several times a week
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

On an average day, how many hours do you spend on social media?

- ☐ < half an hour
- ☐ An hour
- ☐ 2-3 hours
- ☐ > 3 hours
- ☐ I don't use social media

How proud you are to be a Texan?

- ☐ Very proud
- ☐ Somewhat proud
- ☐ Slightly proud
- ☐ Neither proud nor ashamed
- ☐ Slightly ashamed
- ☐ Somewhat ashamed
- ☐ Very ashamed

America would be better if more states were like Texas.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Moderately agree
- ☐ Slightly agree
- ☐ Slightly disagree
- ☐ Moderately disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Strongly agree

- Despite its problems, Texas is the best place to live in America

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Moderately agree
- ☐ Slightly agree
- ☐ Slightly disagree
- ☐ Moderately disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

- In Texas, I feel like I am part of a community of people who understand each other, care about each other, and help each other.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Moderately agree
- ☐ Slightly agree
- ☐ Slightly disagree
- ☐ Moderately disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

- In Texas, I feel accepted for who I am.
  - Strongly agree
  - Moderately agree
  - Slightly agree
  - Slightly disagree
  - Moderately disagree
  - Strongly disagree
- For the following statement, pick the answer choice that you agree with the most: “I believe that the economic system in this society should be designed to maximize...”
  - Individual interests
  - Collective interests
- Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for you personally?
  - Much better
  - Somewhat better
  - About the same
  - Somewhat worse
  - Much worse
  - Don't know
- Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for your family?
  - Much better
  - Somewhat better
  - About the same
  - Somewhat worse
  - Much worse
  - Don't know
- Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for U.S. society?
  - Much better
  - Somewhat better
  - About the same
  - Somewhat worse
  - Much worse
  - Don't know
- Thinking about the next five years, do you expect things to be better, about the same, or worse for Texas society?
  - Much better
  - Somewhat better
  - About the same
  - Somewhat worse
  - Much worse
  - Don't know

- Did you vote in the 2012 presidential election?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Ineligible to vote
  
- Did you vote in the 2016 presidential election?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Ineligible to vote
  
- Did you vote in the 2018 presidential election?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Ineligible to vote
  
- Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...
  - ☐ Most of the time
  - ☐ Some of the time
  - ☐ Only now and then
  - ☐ Hardly at all
  - ☐ Don't know
  
- Please say how well the following statements reflect your views using the scale below, where 4 means you agree completely with the first statement, and 1 means you agree completely with the second statement:
  - ☐ 4— When I think about the rapid pace of change in Texas, I worry that I will be left behind
  - ☐ 3
  - ☐ 2
  - ☐ 1— When I think about the rapid pace of change in Texas, I feel excited for the new opportunities I might have.
  
- Describe your ideal Texas. Among the following, which ones match your aspirations for Texas? (Select 3)
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A more open Texas that celebrates diversity
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas that proudly upholds its traditional values
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas that is the leader in the next generation of knowledge-economy jobs and industries
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas where people of all races, faiths, and backgrounds feel safe and like they belong
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas where someone can make something of themselves
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas that is a leader in shaping American culture and politics
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— A Texas that honors God
  - ☐ Ideal Texas— Don't know

## Appendix C. Sample Sizes and Margins of Error

Texas Segments				
	Core beliefs and Demographics (N)	Margin of error	Issue Area Specifics N	Margin of error
All	4000	1.92	2005	2.73
Lone Star Progressives	713	3.94	361	5.62
Civic Pragmatists	935	3.89	456	5.41
Rising Mavericks	462	5.76	232	8.35
Apolitical Providers	466	6.29	235	9.18
Die-hard Texans	323	8.21	151	12.13
Reverent Texans	778	4.17	386	6.07
Heritage Defenders	323	6.41	184	8.41

