



PRACTICING TEXAS POLITICS

2017-2018 EDITION

Lyle C. Brown Baylor University

Joyce A. Langenegger Blinn College

Sonia R. García St. Mary's University

Robert E. Biles Sam Houston State University

Ryan Rynbrandt Collin College

Veronica Vega Reyna Austin Community College

Juan Carlos Huerta Texas A&M University—Corpus Christi





Practicing Texas Politics, 2017-2018 Edition

Lyle C. Brown, Joyce A. Langenegger, Sonia R. García, Robert E. Biles, Ryan Rynbrandt, Veronica Vega Reyna, Juan Carlos Huerta

Product Director:

Paul Banks

Product Manager:

Brad Potthoff

Content Developer:

Alison Duncan

Managing Content Developer:

Megan Garvey

Product Assistant:

Staci Eckenroth

Marketing Manager:

Valerie Hartman

Content Project Manager:

Corinna Dibble

Art Director:

Sarah Cole

Manufacturing Planner:

Fola Orekoya

IP Analyst:

Alexandra Ricciardi

IP Project Manager:

Betsy Hathaway

Production Service and Compositor: Cenveo® Publisher Services

Text Designer:

Red Hangar Design

Cover Designer:

Red Hangar Design

Cover Image:

Donovan Reese/Moment Mobile/

Getty Images

© 2018, 2016, 2014, Cengage Learning

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, except as permitted by U.S. copyright law, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706

For permission to use material from this text or product, submit all requests online at www.cengage.com/permissions.

Further permissions questions can be emailed to permissionrequest@cengage.com.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016950655

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-95202-7

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-95215-7

Cengage Learning

20 Channel Center Street Boston, MA 02210 USA

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

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

To learn more about Cengage Learning Solutions, visit **www.cengage.com**.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**.

Printed in Canada

Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2016

BRIEF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: The Environment of Texas Politics	1
CHAPTER 2: Federalism and the Texas Constitution	41
CHAPTER 3: Local Governments	79
CHAPTER 4: Political Parties	124
CHAPTER 5: Campaigns and Elections	154
CHAPTER 6: The Media and Politics	191
CHAPTER 7: The Politics of Interest Groups	237
CHAPTER 8: The Legislative Branch	272
CHAPTER 9: The Executive Branch	314
CHAPTER 10: The Judicial Branch	361
CHAPTER 11: Finance and Fiscal Policy	392
CHAPTER 12: Public Policy and Administration	434
CHAPTER 13: The Criminal Justice System	475

DETAILED CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: The Environment of Texas Politics 1	The Texas Constitution: Politics of Policymaking 55 Historical Developments 56 Today: After More Than a Century of Usage 61	
Everything Is Changing in Texas 2 Texas Politics and Political Culture 3 Government, Politics, and Public Policy in Texas 3 Types of Political Culture 4 Texas Political Culture 5 A Changing Culture? 7 The People 8 Texans Throughout History: From Conflict Toward Cooperation 8 Texans Today 12 Religious Diversity 16	Constitutional Amendments and Revision Constitutional Revision 67 More Revision Attempts 69 Piecemeal Revision 70 The Texas Constitution: A Summary 71 The Bill of Rights 71 The Powers of Government and Separation of Powers 74 Suffrage 75 Local Governments 75 Other Articles 76	
The Land and Population Distribution Urbanization 17 Suburbanization and Gentrification 18 Rural Texas 19 The Regions of Texas 20 The Economy 23 The Texas Economy Through History 23 New Economic Directions 26 Meeting New Challenges 30 Immigration: Federal and State Problems 30 Water 34 Education 34 Poverty and Social Problems 36 CHAPTER 2: Federalism and	CHAPTER 3: Local Governments 79 Local Politics in Context 81 Local Governments and Federalism 81 Grassroots Challenges 82 Municipal Governments 83 Legal Status of Municipalities 83 Forms of Municipal Government 85 Municipal Politics 90 Rules Make a Difference 90 Socioeconomic and Demographic Changes 93 Municipal Government Powerus 97	
the Texas Constitution 41	Municipal Government Revenue 97 Generating Revenue for Economic Development 100	
The American Federal Structure 42 Distribution of Constitutional Powers 43 Interstate Relations and State Immunities 46 State Powers 48	Counties 101 Structure and Operation 102 County Finance 108 County Government Reform 110	

Federal-State Relations: An Evolving Process 52

Border Counties 110

Special Districts 112 Public School Districts 112 Junior or Community College Districts 114 Noneducation Special Districts 115 Metropolitan Areas 117 Councils of Governments 118 Municipal Annexation 118	Primary, General, and Special Elections 182 Primaries 184 General and Special Elections 186	
	CHAPTER 6: The Media and Politics 191	
CHAPTER 4: Political Parties 124	Where Do We Get Our Information? 192 Print Media: Newspapers and News Magazines 194 Electronic Media: Radio and Television 196 Digital Media: The Internet and Social Media 199	
Role of Political Parties 125 Political Ideology 125 Conservatism 126 Libertarianism 126 Liberalism 127	The Media's Roles in Politics 202 Providing Information 202 Maintaining Democracy 204 Setting the Public Agenda 210 Shaping Our Views? 211 Campaigns and Citizen Participation 214	
Electoral Trends 127 Third Parties 128 Independents 130	Campaigns and the Traditional Media 215 Digital Campaigning 216 Citizen Participation in the Digital Age 218	
An Overview of Texas Political History 131 1840s to 1870s: The Origin of the Party System 131 1870s to 1970s: A One-Party Dominant System 132 1970s to 1990s: An Emerging Two-Party System 133 2000 to 2016: Republican Dominance 134 2016 and Beyond 139 Party Structure 140	Bias? 218 Media Bias and the News 219 What Research Finds 221 Regulation 221 Regulation of Print and Broadcast Media 221 Internet Regulation 222	
Temporary Party Organization 142 Selection of National Convention Delegates 146 Permanent Party Organization 148	State and Local Regulation 223 Latinos, African Americans, and Women in Texas Media 224 Change in the Media: More Participation, More	
CHAPTER 5: Campaigns and Elections 154	Sources, but Less News? 226 Concentration of Ownership 226 For Good and for Bad: The Rise of the Internet and Social Media 231	
Political Campaigns 155	The Future? 231	

Conducting Campaigns in the 21st Century 155 Campaign Reform 157 Campaign Finance 159 Racial and Ethnic Politics 162 Latinos 163

African Americans 165 Women in Politics 166

Voting 168

Obstacles to Voting 168 Democratization of the Ballot 171 Voter Turnout 172 Administering Elections 176

CHAPTER 7: The Politics of Interest Groups 237

Interest Groups in the Political Process 238 What Is an Interest Group? 238

The Reasons for Interest Groups 239 Characteristics of Interest Groups 241

Types of Interest Groups 244

Economic Groups 244 Professional/Public Employee Groups 247

Social Groups 248 Public Interest Groups 252 Texas Power Groups 252 Interest Group Activities 254 Lobbying 256 Electioneering 260 Campaign Financing by Political Action Committees 260 Bribery and Unethical Practices 263 Power and Regulation in Interest Group Politics 265 Regulation of Interest Group Politics 265 Interest Group Power and Public Policy 268 Pinpointing Political Power 269 CHAPTER 8: The Legislative Branch 272 Legislative Framework 275 Election and Terms of Office 275 Sessions 276 Districting 277 Legislators 283 Qualifications and Characteristics 283 Compensation 288 Legislative Organization 290 Presiding Officers 290 Committee System 292 Legislative Caucus System 294 Legislative Operations 296 Powers and Immunities 297 Rules and Procedures 299 How a Bill Becomes a Law 300	Succession 323 Removal from Office 325 Informal Powers of the Governor 325 Executive Powers of the Governor 328 Appointive Power 328 Removal Power 329 Military Power 330 Law Enforcement Power 331 Budgetary Power 331 Executive Orders and Proclamations 332 Economic Development 333 Legislative Powers of the Governor 334 Message Power 334 Bill Signing Power 334 Veto Power 335 Special Sessions Power 336 Judicial Powers of the Governor 337 Appointment and Removal of Judges and Justices 337 Acts of Executive Clemency 338 The Plural Executive 339 The Lieutenant Governor 340 The Attorney General 340 The Comptroller of Public Accounts 342 The Commissioner of the General Land Office 343 The Secretary of State 346 The State Bureaucracy 346 The Institutional Context 347 State Employees 348 Education 351 Health and Human Services 353 Employment 355
Influences Within the Legislative Environment 307 Research Organizations 309 The Media 310	CHAPTER 10: The Judicial Branch 361
CHAPTER 9: The Executive Branch 314 Gubernatorial Elections 317 Gubernatorial Politics: Money Matters 317 Gubernatorial Politics: Budgetary Influence 319 Overview of the Governorship 320 Compensation and Benefits 320 Staff 323	State Law in Texas 362 Sources of Law 363 Code Revision 363 Courts, Judges, Lawyers, and Juries 364 Trial and Appellate Courts 364 Selecting Judges and Justices 374 Disciplining and Removing Judges and Justices 376 Lawyers 378 Juries 381

Judicial Procedures in Civil Cases 383

Civil Trial Procedure 385 Trial and Appeal of a Civil Case 386

Judicial Procedures in Criminal Cases 386

Criminal Justice System 387 Criminal Trial and Appeal 388

CHAPTER 11: Finance and Fiscal Policy 392

Fiscal Policies 394

Taxing Policy 395
Budget Policy 397
Spending Policy 399

Revenue Sources 399

The Politics of Taxation 400
Revenue from Gambling 406
Other Nontax Revenues 408
The Public Debt 411

Budgeting and Fiscal Management 413

Budgeting Procedure 413
Budget Expenditures 417
Budget Execution 418
Purchasing 418
Facilities 418
Accounting 418
Auditing 419

Future Demands 419

Public Education 420
Public Higher Education 423
Public Assistance 429
Infrastructure Needs 430

CHAPTER 12: Public Policy and Administration 434

Making Public Policy in Texas 435

Models of Policymaking 436 The Institutional Context 439

Education 441

Public Schools 442 Colleges and Universities 448

Health and Human Services 453

Human Services 456 Health and Mental Health Services 457 Employment 460

Economic and Environmental Policies 461

Economic Regulatory Policy 462 Business Promotion 465 Environmental Regulation 467

Immigration 471

CHAPTER 13: The Criminal Justice System 475

Elements of the Criminal Justice System 477

Criminal Justice Law 477 Criminal Justice Policy 478

The Death Penalty 481

Reinstitution of the Death Penalty 481 Reviewing the Death Penalty 483

Correction and Rehabilitation 486

The Texas Department of Criminal Justice 487 Local Government Jails 495 Private Prisons and Jails 496

Juvenile Justice 497

State and Local Agencies 497 Procedures 499

Problems and Reforms: Implications for Public Policy 499

Overcrowding and Mental Illness in Prison 500
Technology 501
Exoneration Issues 502
Racial Bias in the Criminal Justice System 503
Misconduct by District Attorneys and
Prosecutors 506

Glossary 509 Endnotes 519 Index 547

Want to turn your Cinto an A? Obviously, right?

But the right way to go about it isn't always so obvious. Go digital to get the grades. MindTap's customizable study tools and eTextbook give you everything you need all in one place.

Engage with your course content, enjoy the flexibility of studying anytime and anywhere, stay connected to assignment due dates and instructor notifications with the MindTap Mobile app...





STATE LEARNING OUTCOMES

Practicing Texas Politics helps you meet the State Learning Outcomes for GOVT 2306:

- 1. Explain the origin and development of the Texas constitution.
- **2.** Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government.
- **3**. Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas.
- **4**. Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.

- **5**. Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.
- 6. Analyze the state and local election process.
- 7. Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
- **8**. Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

Chapter in Practicing Texas Politics	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO) that are specifically addressed in the chapter
1: The Environment of Texas Politics	 SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas. With some attention to SLO 1 Explain the origin and development of the Texas constitution. SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
2: Federalism and the Texas Constitution	 SLO 1 Explain the origin and development of the Texas constitution. SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
3: Local Governments	 SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 6 Analyze the state and local election process. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
4: Political Parties	 SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 5 Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas. SLO 6 Analyze the state and local election process. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

Chapter in Practicing Texas Politics	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO) that are specifically addressed in the chapter
5: Campaigns and Elections	SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 5 Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas. SLO 6 Analyze the state and local election process. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
6: The Media and Politics	SLO 5 Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
7: The Politics of Interest Groups	SLO 5 Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
8: The Legislative Branch	 SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
9: The Executive Branch	 SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
10: The Judicial Branch	 SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
11: Finance and Fiscal Policy	 SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 3 Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas.
12: Public Policy and Administration	SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
13: The Criminal Justice System	 SLO 2 Demonstrate an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government. SLO 4 Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government. SLO 7 Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens. SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

A LETTER TO INSTRUCTORS

Dear Texas Government Instructor:

Texas politics is a dynamic enterprise. As Texas moves from being a majority-minority state to becoming a majority-Latino state, the changing demographics will alter election outcomes and public policy decisions. An economy that fluctuates with the rise and fall of oil and gas prices results in a surplus of funds in one legislative session and a scarcity in the next session. Reliance on money from the federal government, especially for funding social-welfare programs, regularly brings state officials into conflict with federal authorities and conditions placed on use of those funds. Limited water resources and a decaying infrastructure require innovative government solutions before these problems erode the state's economic success and growth. Government officials play an active role in negotiating and resolving policy issues in the context of an ever-changing demographic, economic, and ideological environment. Students in our classrooms will be the ones who select policymakers and policies to deal with a multiplicity of concerns that face the Lone Star State in the 21st century. Understanding their government and appreciating its dynamism is critical to our students' future role as active, informed citizens.

• Practicing Texas Politics analyzes the practices and policies of the Lone Star State by giving students a realistic introduction to how public policymaking is conducted in Texas. The state's individualistic and traditionalistic political culture, together with the role of Texas's rapidly changing demographics, are referenced throughout to aid students in placing policy decisions in a historical and cultural context. Students are introduced to current policymakers, their decisions, and the impact of the resulting policies. Roles of political parties, special interest groups, voters, and the media in influencing public policy are also explored. Policymaking and process are integrated within each chapter throughout the book with a special emphasis on public education, higher education, social services, and infrastructure needs both from a budgetary perspective in Chapter 11, "Finance and Fiscal Policy," and as policy issues in Chapter 12, "Public Policy and Administration."

Through learning outcomes, learning checks, and other pedagogical features, students are given an organizational structure that helps them learn, understand, and remember the material.

New to This Edition

- The role of the emerging Latino majority in reshaping Texas politics is addressed in several areas, including political party dominance, representation in all branches of state government, the media, and public policy. To expand our understanding of these issues, we welcome Dr. Juan Carlos Huerta of Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi to our team.
- A new feature, "Election 2016: The Impact on Texas," analyzes the outcome and effect of both the national and state 2016 elections on aspects of Texas politics.

- A discussion of the state's bureaucracy is included in Chapter 9, "The Executive Branch."
- The rearrangement of Chapters 10 through 13 provides a more easily followed transition from the branches of government through budget policy to public policy.
- Updates highlighting new laws enacted by the 84th regular session are included.
- The impact of a severely weakened oil and gas industry and its implications for the 85th legislative session are discussed.
- All images are now numbered, which will enhance navigation in the electronic version of the book.

MindTap

As an instructor, MindTap is here to simplify your workload, organize and immediately grade your students' assignments, and allow you to customize your course as you see fit. Through deep-seated integration with your Learning Management System, grades are easily exported and analytics are pulled with just the click of a button. MindTap provides you with a platform for easily adding current events videos and RSS feeds from national or local news sources. Looking to include more currency in the course? Add in our KnowNow American Government Blog link for weekly updated news coverage and pedagogy.

Our goal, first and foremost, is to help you engage your students in the dynamic process of politics and develop them into active, informed participants in their democracy. We have attempted to present a realistic and up-to-date picture of how Texas politics is practiced in all branches and at both local and state levels of government. We welcome your feedback on any material or feature in this book.

Sincerely,

The *Practicing Texas Politics* Author Team

A LETTER TO STUDENTS

Dear Student:

Welcome to Texas government. Whether you're a native-born Texan or a newly arrived Texan, you can feel the energy of change all around you. You live in a state that no longer has a majority population from any race or ethnic group and in a few short years will have a majority Latino population. Despite the economic downturn that affected the rest of the world, you're in a state that created more new jobs than any other state for five consecutive years (2009–2013). Job growth occurred in two economic sectors: energy and technology. Even with the plunge in oil and gas prices that began in 2014 and related job losses, the number of new Texans continued to increase. The fastest-growing city in the nation in 2016 was Austin. Dallas ranked fourth in growth for that year. This same state, however, has the most uninsured children in the nation, the highest dropout rate in the country, and one of the greatest gaps in earnings between the wealthy and the poor in the United States. A decaying transportation infrastructure and depleted water resources will require multibillion-dollar solutions. And who will solve these problems? You, the future voters and tax-payers of Texas, will have that responsibility. That's why you need to understand your role and how the system works so you can keep Texas the vibrant state we all want it to be. Helping you become an effective participant in that system is why we wrote *Practicing Texas Politics*.

In this book, you'll be introduced to today's important policymakers and learn what we all have a right to expect of them. You'll meet students just like you, who have chosen to get involved and make a difference at their colleges and universities, in their communities, and in this state. You'll learn about ways you can become involved through internships and other programs, as well as by voting and through political campaigns. You'll see how Texas compares to other states, and you'll be exposed to the diversity and uniqueness of the Lone Star State—home to the only State Tweeter Laureate in the nation (Supreme Court Justice Don Willett), a host of musicians from Los Lonely Boys to Chingo Bling to Willie Nelson, and four former U.S. presidents (Dwight Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson, George H. W. Bush, and George W. Bush). You'll come to understand what this state could be in the future and how you can shape the outcome.

- Updated "Students in Action" features in each chapter help you make a personal connection to the content, highlighting how Texas students like you have participated in the community or providing information on internships and other opportunities for interested students.
- "Point/Counterpoint" examines a key controversial issue in Texas politics from both sides of the controversy and asks you to take a stand on each issue.
- "Learning Checks" provide a few factual questions at the end of major sections for you to use in checking your knowledge. Answers are provided at the end of the chapter.
- "How Do We Compare?" boxes compare Texas with other states.
- A Marginal Glossary allows you to access terms as they are needed for easier understanding of the text.

- End-of-chapter materials include a conclusion that wraps up the chapter and offers final thoughts for you to consider, a chapter summary organized by learning outcome, Key Terms, and Learning Check answers.
- **Critical Thinking questions** ask you to think about your political opinion and beliefs on a variety of important issues in this state.
- Charts, graphs, and maps are used to give you a visual image for understanding concepts.
- **Election 2016: The Impact on Texas** provides insight into what the state and national elections mean for the Lone Star State.
- **Social media icons** mark explanations of the ways social media is influencing government, affecting political campaigns, and transforming the media.

The Benefits of Using Mindtap as a Student

As a student, the benefits of using MindTap with this book are endless. With automatically graded practice quizzes and activities, an easily navigated learning path, and an interactive eBook, you will be able to test yourself in and outside of the classroom. Accessibility of current events coupled with interactive media makes the content fun and engaging. On your computer, phone, or tablet, MindTap is there when you need it, giving you easy access to flashcards, quizzes, readings, and assignments.

You will guide Texas through the 21st century. It is our hope that when you understand how to get involved in Texas politics, you will choose to do so. And that once you are involved, you will use your vote and influence to create the kind of Texas in which you want to live. It is to you, the students of Texas, that we dedicate this book.

Sincerely,

The *Practicing Texas Politics* Author Team

RESOURCES

Students

Access your *Practicing Texas Politics* resources by visiting www.cengagebrain.com/shop/isbn/9781305952027.

If you purchased MindTap access with your book, enter your access code and click "Register." You can also purchase the book's resources here separately through the "Resources" tab or access the free content through the "Free Materials" tab.

Instructors

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

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

MindTap

MindTap for Practicing Texas Politics

ISBN for Instant Access Code: 9781305952096

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

Instructor Companion Website for *Practicing Texas Politics*—for instructors only

ISBN: 9781305952065

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one multimedia online resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through **Cengage.com/login** with your faculty account, you will find the following available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations, a

Test Bank compatible with multiple learning management systems, an Instructor Manual, Microsoft[®] PowerPoint[®] Image Slides, and a JPEG Image Library.

The Test Bank, offered in Blackboard, Moodle, Desire2Learn, Canvas, and Angel formats, contains Learning Objective-specific multiple-choice, critical thinking short answer questions, and essay questions for each chapter. Import the test bank into your LMS to edit and manage questions and to create tests.

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

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

IAC Cognero for *Practicing Texas Politics*, 2017–2018 Edition—for instructors only

ISBN: 9781305952126

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want. The test bank for *Practicing Texas Politics*, 2017–2018 Edition contains Learning Objective-specific multiple-choice, critical-thinking short answer, and essay questions for each chapter.

Practicing Texas Politics on Twitter

https://twitter.com/PracTexPol

Follow the *Practicing Texas Politics* author team's Twitter feed @PracTexPol for the latest news and updates that impact politics in the Lone Star State. Twitter feed also regularly posts tips for studying and thriving in college, and engaging in active and informed citizenship.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are indebted to many personal friends, government officials and their staffs, political activists, lawyers, and journalists who have stimulated our thinking. Likewise, we owe much to librarians and archivists who located hard-to-obtain facts and photos. We also appreciate the professional assistance rendered by the editorial, production, and marketing staff of Cengage Learning. Without the benefit of their publishing experience, this textbook and its ancillaries would be of much less value to students and instructors.

Of course, expressions of appreciation are due to spouses, family members, and others important to us who helped to produce this new edition of our book and have learned to cope with the irregular working hours of authors struggling to meet deadlines. We are especially grateful to the many students who assisted us in writing Practicing Texas Politics, especially those who willingly gave of their time and expertise in the production of the Students in Action feature, as well as those who assisted us by providing input to some of our early drafts. We give special thanks for the assistance and support of Megan Bermea from the University of Texas at El Paso; Amanda Alvez of St. Edward's University; and, Estefani Muniz, Samantha Martinez, Rosa Castillo, Daniel Reyes, and especially Ted Wenske, all of St. Mary's University.

We would also like to thank Danielle Bachan, for authoring this edition's Instructor's Manual, and author William Parent of Houston Community College, for authoring this edition's Test Bank. Our hope is that through the efforts of all, this book will help Texas students better understand the practice of Texas politics and their role as participants.

Reviewers

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

New Reviewers

Margaret Richardson San Antonio College

Kevin T. Holton

South Texas College

Olivia Wilson

Angelina College Dr. Ashley D. Ross

Texas A&M University Galveston Campus

Prof. David E. Birch

Lone Star College—Tomball

Previous Edition Reviewers

Mario Marcel Salas Northwest Vista College

Brian R. Farmer Amarillo College Billy Hathorn

Laredo Community College

Amy S. Glenn

Northeast Lakeview College

Jim Startin

University of Texas at San Antonio

Sandra Creech Temple College

Patrizio Amezcua

San Jacinto College—North

Debra St. John

Collin College—Preston Ridge Campus

Evelyn Ballard

Houston Community College—Southeast College

Aaron Knight

Houston Community College—Northeast College

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lyle C. Brown, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Baylor University, served as departmental director of graduate studies and director of Baylor's Foreign Service Program. His international academic experience includes teaching at Mexico City College (now University of the Americas) and postgraduate study at the Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey in Mexico. He received his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma and Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Brown served as president of the Southwestern Council of Latin American Studies. His writing experience includes coediting *Religion in Latin American Life and Literature* and authoring numerous articles.

Joyce A. Langenegger teaches government at Blinn College and is the college's Director of Professional Development. She received M.A. and J.D. degrees from Baylor University and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Fielding Graduate University. Dr. Langenegger has been named to "Who's Who Among America's Teachers" and received a NISOD Award for Teaching Excellence, Teacher of the Year for Blinn College-Bryan, and "Most Valuable Player" award from San Jacinto College for her work as a professor and administrator at that institution. She is a frequent workshop presenter on innovative teaching strategies. Before beginning her teaching career, she practiced law in Houston.

Sonia R. García is a professor of Political Science, Coordinator of the Women's Studies Program, and a Pre-law Advisor at St. Mary's University in San Antonio. She has also served as Chair and Graduate Director of the Political Science Department. Dr. García received her Master's from the University of Arizona and her Ph.D. from the University of California, Santa Barbara. She has published articles on Latina politics and is a coauthor of *Mexican Americans and the Law: El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido* and lead author of *Políticas: Latina Public Officials in Texas*.

Robert E. Biles, Professor Emeritus and former chair of Political Science at Sam Houston State University, has taught college students about Texas politics in Texas, Colombia, and Ecuador. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University—School of Advanced International Studies. Dr. Biles is the author of numerous books and articles. His involvement in politics includes serving as a school board member, county party chair, county election supervisor, and staff member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He has advised state agencies and held leadership positions in statewide lobbying groups and professional organizations. Dr. Biles has received four Fulbright grants, as well as awards for his research, teaching, and administrative service.

Ryan Rynbrandt is a Professor of Political Science and former Director of the Honors Institute at Collin College in Plano, Texas, where he teaches courses in American and Texas Government. Professor Rynbrandt works to increase student civic engagement. He is especially committed to

initiatives that bring the resources of higher education to bear in addressing problems in the broader community. He was awarded his master's degree from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where he received multiple teaching awards and served as President of the Graduate Association of Political Scientists. He has been active in politics at the local, state, and national levels.

Veronica Vega Reyna is Associate Professor of Government and Assistant Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences for Austin Community College. She has been faculty advisor to a civil rights organization at ACC. Professor Reyna earned her M.A. in Political Science from St. Mary's University in San Antonio, where she taught as adjunct faculty. Her political involvement has included interning for Congressman Ciro Rodriguez, working as a union organizer, and volunteering in various Texas campaigns. She has also taught Texas politics at several colleges and universities in San Antonio.

Juan Carlos Huerta is a Professor of Political Science and former director of the University Core Curriculum Programs at Texas A&M University—Corpus Christi. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Houston. Dr. Huerta is active in promoting teaching and learning in political science and has served as Chair of the Political Science Education Organized Section of the American Political Science Association (APSA) and on the program committee for the APSA Conference on Teaching and Learning. He is a former president of the Southwestern Political Science Association. His research and writing examines political representation, public opinion, political science education, and learning communities.

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES: POLITICAL SCIENCE

Introduction

It is no secret that college graduates are facing one of the toughest job markets in the past 50 years. Despite this challenge, those with a college degree have done much better than those without since the 2008 recession. One of the most important decisions a student has to make is the choice of a major; many consider future job possibilities when making that call. A political science degree is incredibly useful for a successful career in many different fields, from law to policy advocate, pollster to humanitarian worker. Employer surveys reveal that the skills that most employers value in successful employees—critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and clarity of verbal and written communication—are precisely the tools that political science courses should develop. This brief guide is intended to help spark ideas for what kinds of careers you might pursue with a political science degree and the types of activities you can engage in now to help you secure one of those positions after graduation.

Careers in Political Science

Law and Criminal Justice

Do you find that your favorite parts of your political science classes are those that deal with the Constitution, the legal system, and the courts? Then a career in law and criminal justice might be right for you. Traditional jobs in the field range from attorney or judge to police or parole officer. Since 9/11, there has also been tremendous growth in the area of homeland security, which includes jobs in mission support, immigration, travel security, as well as prevention and response.

Public Administration

The many offices of the federal and state governments combined represent one of the largest employers in the United States. Flip to the chapter on the executive branch of this textbook and consider that each state department and agency you see looks to political science majors for future employees. At the federal level, a partial list of such agencies would include the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Federal Trade Commission. Texas offers similar opportunities including the Texas Education Agency and the Health and Human Services Commission. There are also thousands of staffers who work for members of Congress or the Congressional Budget Office, and at the state level for legislators and the Legislative Budget Board. Many of these staffers were political science majors in college. This does not even begin to account for the multitude of similar jobs in local governments that you might consider as well.

Campaigns, Elections, and Polling

Are campaigns and elections the most exciting part of political science for you? Then you might consider a career in the growing industry based around political campaigns. From volunteering and interning to consulting, marketing and fundraising, there are many opportunities for those who enjoy the competitive and high-stakes electoral arena. For those looking for careers that combine political knowledge with statistical skills, there are careers in public opinion polling. Pollsters work for independent national organizations, such as Gallup and YouGov, or as part of news operations and campaigns. For those who are interested in survey methodology, there are also a wide variety of nonpolitical career opportunities in marketing and survey design.

Interest Groups, International and Nongovernmental Organizations

Is there a cause that you are especially passionate about? If so, there is a good chance that there are interest groups out there that are working hard to see some progress made on similar issues. Many of the positions that one might find in for-profit companies also exist in their nonprofit interest group and nongovernmental organization counterparts, including lobbying and high-level strategizing. Do not forget that there are also quite a few major international organizations, such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund, where a degree in political science could be put to good use. While competition for those jobs tends to be fierce, your interest and knowledge about politics and policy will give you an advantage.

Foreign Service

Does a career in diplomacy and foreign affairs, complete with the opportunity to live and work abroad, sound exciting to you? Tens of thousands of people work for the U.S. State Department, in Washington D.C. and in consulates and embassies around the world. They represent the diplomatic interests of the United States abroad. Entrance into the Foreign Service follows a very specific process, starting with the Foreign Service Officers Test—an exam given three times a year that includes sections on American government, history, economics, and world affairs. Being a political science major is a significant help in taking the FSOT.

Graduate School

While not a career, graduate school may be the appropriate next step for you after completing your undergraduate degree. Following the academic route, being awarded a Ph.D. or Master's degree in political science could open additional doors to a career in academia, as well as many of the professions mentioned earlier. If a career as a researcher in political science interests you, you should speak with your advisors about continuing your education.

Preparing While Still on Campus

Internships

One of the most useful steps you can take while still on campus is to visit your college's career center in regards to an internship in your field of interest. Not only does it give you a chance to experience life in the political science realm, it can lead to job opportunities down the road and add experience to your resume.

Skills

In addition to your political science classes, there are a few skills that will prove useful as a complement to your degree:

Writing: Like anything else, writing improves with practice. Writing is one of those skills that is applicable regardless of where your career might take you. Virtually every occupation relies on an ability to write cleanly, concisely, and persuasively.

Public Speaking: An oft-quoted 1977 survey showed that public speaking was the most commonly cited fear among respondents. And yet oral communication is a vital tool in the modern economy. You can practice this skill in a formal class setting or through extracurricular activities that get you in front of a group.

Quantitative Analysis: As the Internet aids in the collection of massive amounts of information, the nation is facing a drastic shortage of people with basic statistical skills to interpret and use this data. A political science degree can go hand-in-hand with courses in introductory statistics.

Foreign Language: One skill that often helps a student or future employee stand out in a crowded job market is the ability to communicate in a language other than English. Solidify or set the foundation for your verbal and written foreign language communication skills while in school.

Student Leadership

One attribute that many employers look for is "leadership potential" which can be quite tricky to indicate on a resume or cover letter. What can help is a demonstrated record of involvement in clubs and organizations, preferably in a leadership role. While many people think immediately of student government, most student clubs allow you the opportunity to demonstrate your leadership skills.

Conclusion

Hopefully reading this section has sparked some ideas on potential future careers. As a next step, visit your college's career placement office, which is a great place to further explore what you have read here. You might also visit your college's alumni office to connect with graduates who are working in your field of interest. Political science opens the door to a lot of exciting careers. Have fun exploring the possibilities!

The Environment of Texas Politics

Gov. Greg Abbott 🥯 #Texas is the land of opportunity. Our economy is diverse and our workforce strong. bit.ly/1X41Zzu 12th largest economy #1 best state in the world for business 11 years in a row 2.4 million small business job creators Fortune 500 TEXAS companies #1 state for private sector work-ready job force jobs added 134

CRITICAL THINKING

to Texas

Twitter

How can the Texas government most effectively work to continue the state's success and address its challenges?

Governor Abbott uses social media to attract business

Learning Objectives

- 1.1 Analyze how political culture has shaped Texas's politics, government, and public policy.
- 1.2 Describe the relationship between the social history of Texas and the political characteristics of the state's diverse population.
- 1.3 Discuss the political implications of Texas's size in both geography and population, along with the geographic distribution of its residents.
- 1.4 Describe the industries that formed the historic basis for the Texas economy, the diversification of the modern Texas economy, and the implications for Texas politics.
- 1.5 Identify five major policy challenges Texas faces in the 21st century.

I have said that Texas is a state of mind, but I think it is more than that. It is a mystique closely approximating a religion. And this is true to the extent that people either passionately love Texas or passionately hate it and, as in other religions, few people dare to inspect it for fear of losing their bearings in mystery or paradox. But I think there will be little quarrel with my feeling that Texas is one thing. For all its enormous range of space, climate, and physical appearance, and for all the internal squabbles, contentions, and strivings, Texas has a tight cohesiveness perhaps stronger than any other section of America. Rich, poor, Panhandle, Gulf, city, country, Texas is the obsession, the proper study and the passionate possession of all Texans.

-John Steinbeck, 1962

Everything Is Changing in Texas

They say everything is bigger in Texas. Even the stereotypes are big-big trucks, big belt buckles, big hair—but if that's all you know about the Lone Star State, you don't know today's Texas. Perhaps the biggest things about Texas are the changes it has seen and the diversity that has resulted. It's the land of Willie Nelson, for certain; but it's also the land of Selena Gomez, Beyoncé Knowles, Chingo Bling, Leon Bridges, Sarah Jaffe, The Mars Volta, and Mitch Grassi. It's still the land of cattle barons and oil tycoons; but it's also the land of high-tech pioneers, international traders, defense contractors, manufacturers, and service providers. Texas's stunning growth in recent decades has brought massive transformation and breathtaking variety in its people, economy, and politics.

If you live here, these transformations and the way our political system handles them have a significant impact on your life. Better understanding your home state and its political system will help you navigate these changes and contribute to the development of a better government. If you don't live here, pay attention anyway; the Texas experience is a preview of the changes facing the United States as a whole. The Lone Star State's successes and failures in negotiating these changes and balancing diverse interests will provide lessons for the rest of the nation. And you'll probably end up moving here anyway everyone else seems to be. Since 2005, Texas has welcomed nearly twice the number of new arrivals as any other state. In the past few decades, tens of millions have told their place of origin what David Crockett allegedly told the people of his Kentucky district: "You may all go to hell, and I'll go to Texas." Because of the sheer size of Texas, what happens here also has an impact on the direction of the United States as a whole.² In 2015, the U.S. Census Bureau ranked Texas second largest among the 50 states, with a population exceeding 27 million. That places the Lone Star State between California with its 39 million residents and Florida with more than 20 million.

Substantial changes and diverse interests put democratic institutions of government to the test. The increased population of the Lone Star State includes almost 20 million men and women of voting age (18 years or older).³

Follow Practicing Texas Politics on Twitter @PracTexPol

Our analysis of the politics of Texas's state and local governments will help you understand political action and prepare you to be an active and informed participant in the political life of the state and its counties, cities, and special districts. As Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan once said, "The stakes are too high for government to be a spectator sport." It's time to suit up and play. To help you play effectively, we will introduce you to the playing field (government, political culture, land, and economy of the state), the players (citizens, activists, politicians, public employees, and opinion leaders), and the rules of the game (constitution, laws, and political processes).

Texas Politics and Political Culture

LO 1.1 Analyze how political culture has shaped Texas's politics, government, and public policy.

There has never been full agreement in democratic societies about the proper size and role of government. Views on that question vary widely and are held deeply. Yet aside from a handful of anarchists, there is agreement that society needs rules, or public policies, by which to live. Making, implementing, and enforcing these policies is the job of **government**. The government of the State of Texas is modeled on that of the United States, with the power to make policy divided among legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Each branch has its own powers, and each has some ability to limit or check the power of the others. The state government also delegates some policymaking power to local governments, including counties, cities, and special districts. As a result, **public policies** take different forms.

Government, Politics, and Public Policy in Texas

Many policies are laws passed by the legislature, approved by the governor, implemented by an executive department, and interpreted by the courts. Others are constitutional amendments proposed by the legislature and ratified by the voters of Texas. Some policies derive from rules promulgated by state agencies and ordinances passed by local governments. What all of these efforts share in common is that they are attempts to meet a public need or reach a public goal. Government tries to meet public needs by allocating resources. For example, state or local government may formulate, adopt, and implement a public policy, such as raising taxes to pay for more police protection or better streets and highways. Government tries to meet public goals by using policy to encourage or discourage specific behaviors. The state can encourage some behaviors using incentives—for example, establishing scholarships or student loan programs to encourage getting an education. It can discourage other conduct with punishments, such as imposing penitentiary time for selling drugs. In addition, the government can encourage or discourage behaviors through public relations and information campaigns, such as the famous "Don't Mess with Texas" campaign against littering.

government

A public institution with authority to formulate, adopt, implement, and enforce public policies for a society.

public policy

What government does to or for its citizens to meet a public need or goal as determined by a legislative body or other authorized officials.



In the political realm, you may think of public policy as the product and government as the factory in which policy is made. If that's the case, then **politics** is the process that produces public policy. In fact, the government has at times been compared to a sausage factory—even if you like the product it produces, the process isn't always very pleasant to watch. The politics of policymaking often involves conflict among government officials, political parties, interest groups, media figures, citizens, noncitizen residents, and other groups that seek to influence how policies in Texas are enacted and implemented. Conflict over power and resources can encourage the worst behavior in people, and opportunities for corruption and greed abound. Yet politics also requires cooperation and can inspire noble and courageous action. In sum, politics is the moving force by which government produces public policy, which in turn determines whether and how we use the power of the state to address our challenges and take advantage of our opportunities.

Types of Political Culture

We may not all agree on the proper role of government or what makes good public policy. Yet when certain widely shared values, attitudes, traditions, habits, and general behavioral patterns develop over time, they shape the politics and public policy of a particular region. We call this **political culture**. According to political scientist Daniel Elazar (1934–1999), "Culture patterns give each state its particular character and help determine the tone of its fundamental relationship, as a state, to the nation." Based on the settlers in the original colonies, Elazar identified three distinct cultures that exist in the United States: moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic.

In the moralistic culture that originated in Puritan New England, citizens view government as a public service. They expect government to improve conditions for the people through economic regulation and to advance the public good to create a just society. Citizens see it as their duty to become active in governmental decision making through participation in politics and government, and they hold the government accountable to their high expectations.

The individualistic culture grew out of the focus on individual opportunity, especially in business, in the mid-Atlantic colonies. The business community advanced the individualistic culture, often viewing government as an adversary that taxed and regulated them; therefore, they wanted to limit its size and scope. Individualistic culture believes government activity, because it restricts individual economic freedom, is mostly negative and should be limited. Today, the individualistic culture is dominant in a majority of the midwestern and western states.

The traditionalistic culture grew out of the Old South and is rooted in feudal-like notions of society and government that developed in the context of the slave states, where property and income were unequally dispersed. Governmental policymaking fell to a few powerful families or influential social groups who designed policies to preserve their place of dominance in the social order. The poor and minorities were often disenfranchised. In the traditionalistic culture, government is a vehicle for maintaining the status quo and its hierarchy;

politics

The process of policymaking that involves conflict and cooperation between political parties and other groups that seek to elect government officials or to influence those officials when they make public policy.

political culture

Widely shared attitudes, habits, and general behavior patterns that develop over time and affect the political life of a state or region.

and this culture has often developed one-party systems, which tend to strengthen those who are already powerful. Today, the traditionalistic culture remains dominant throughout the South.

Texas Political Culture

Texas exudes pride in its own uniqueness. The state's distinctive historical, geographical, and cultural identity has created a political culture that influences the Lone Star State's government, politics, and policy. As with all states, this culture is a mix of moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic subcultures. Although elements of each subculture exist in Texas, individualists and traditionalists have historically dominated the state and controlled the direction of the political system.

Texas Moralism The moralistic subculture in Texas has historically been the domain of those who lack power, yet moralists have helped shape Texas through numerous movements to use government for the betterment of society. The Radical Republicans of the post-Civil War era sought to use government to end a white supremacist political system and achieve racial equality. Radical Republican Governor E. J. Davis's aggressive use of state government power in an effort to protect African American political participation made him many enemies in the white power structure that regained control of the government when Reconstruction ended. Reaction to his administration resulted in the decentralized, weak government established by the 1876 Texas Constitution, which is still in operation today.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, **progressive** groups like the Farmers' Alliance, the Populist Party, and the Socialist Party surged in popularity in Texas as they challenged government to control the damaging effects of rising corporate capitalism.⁵ Throughout the 1800s and into the early 1900s, a powerful Temperance movement in Texas sought to use government to end the sale and consumption of alcohol. From the earliest days of the civil rights struggle, African Americans and Latinos in Texas engaged in organized political activism to change the traditionalistic political structure of the state.

For most of its history, Texas has been a one-party-dominant state, one of the key identifiers of a traditionalistic political culture. Yet, within this traditionalistic environment, challenges occurred, whether the dominant party was Democratic or Republican. Individualists argued for policies that favored individual economic opportunity, and moralists sought greater government involvement to improve the lives of middle- and low-income Americans.

Texas Individualism Daniel Elazar asserted that the political culture of Texas is strongly individualistic, in that those in positions of power have tended to believe that government should maintain a stable society but intervene as little as possible in the lives of people.

An important source of Texas's individualism is the mostly English-speaking, **Anglo** settlers who came to Texas in search of individual economic opportunity, either directly from the mid-Atlantic states or via the Midwest. In the early

progressive

Favoring and working for progress in conditions facing the majority of society or in government.

African American

A racial classification applied to Americans of African ancestry. The term is commonly applied on the basis of skin color, omitting white Americans whose ancestors immigrated from Africa and including black Americans whose ancestors immigrated from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Europe.

Latino

An ethnic classification of Americans of Latin American origin. When applied to females, the term is Latina. We will use this term throughout the book in addition to the term "Hispanic," which refers to people who trace their ancestry to Spain and other Spanishspeaking countries.

As commonly used in Texas, the term is not restricted to persons of Anglo-Saxon lineage but includes those of European ancestry more generally. Traditionally, the term applies to all whites except Latinos.

19th century, a growing number of white colonists from the United States entered Texas individually or because they were recruited by *empresarios*, such as Stephen F. Austin. These settlers, without significant government backing or restraint, established farms and communities and persevered through extreme hardships.⁶

The power of Texas individualists is reflected in the government structure they helped create and continue to dominate. Compared with other heavily populated states, Texas has a limited government with restricted powers: a legislature that meets biennially, with low salaries that can be increased only after approval by Texas voters; a governor who has limited budgetary, appointment, and removal powers; and an elected judiciary. Per capita government spending for social services and public education is consistently among the lowest in the nation. Power at the local level is dispersed across more than 5,000 governments—counties, cities, school districts, and other special districts. The public perception of government and elected officials remains negative, although this viewpoint appears more directed to the federal government. Polls in 2015 indicated that fewer than 25 percent of Texans had a favorable view of the federal government, with 57 percent viewing it unfavorably, including nearly a third of Texans viewing the federal government "very unfavorably." State and local government, on the other hand, received favorable ratings from approximately one-half of all Texans.

Texas Traditionalism The dominance of traditionalistic culture in Texas also can be traced to the early 19th century and the immigration of Southern plantation owners. The plantation system thrived in East Texas, and cotton was king. Before Texas joined the Confederacy, much of its wealth was concentrated in a few families. Although slave owners represented only a quarter of the state's population and one-third of its farmers, these slave owners held 60 to 70 percent of the wealth and controlled state politics.⁸ After the Civil War (1861-1865), Jim Crow laws limited African Americans' access to public services. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, poll taxes and all-white primaries further restricted voting rights.

Today, many Texans are the descendants of migrants from traditionalistic states of the Old South, where conservatism, elitism (upper-class rule), and oneparty politics were entrenched. Although urbanization and industrialization, together with an influx of people from other states and countries, are changing Texas, the traditionalistic influence of the Old South lingers. Participation in politics and voter turnout remain low. Turnout is less than 50 percent for presidential elections and is consistently below 30 percent for gubernatorial elections. Elazar noted that many Texans inherited Southern racist attitudes, which for a century after the Civil War were reflected in state laws that discriminated against African Americans and other minority groups. It was not until 2015 that South Garland High School in North Texas removed the Confederate flag from the school's crest and changed their fight song from the pro-Confederate "Dixie." Symbols of and monuments to Texas's role in the Confederacy remain in public places throughout the state and continue to cause controversy.

The traditionalistic influence of Mexico is also discernible among Texans of Mexican ancestry, who were affected by a political culture featuring the elitist

Jim Crow laws

Discriminatory laws that segregated African Americans and denied them access to public services for many decades after the Civil War.

patrón (protective political boss) system that dominates certain areas of South Texas. For more than four decades, however, the old political order of that region has been challenged—and, in many instances, defeated—by new generations of Mexican Americans.9 Compared with other areas of the state, however, voter turnout remains much lower in counties along the Mexican border.

The individualistic culture can be seen in the state's economic conservatism and deference to the power of wealthy businessmen and corporations. Texas has a climate favorable to business owners. It remains one of the few states without a personal or corporate income tax and has adopted right-towork laws, which hinder the formation and operation of labor unions. City councils have drawn criticism for publicly financing corporate ventures or providing businesses with property tax abatements. The City of Arlington drew attention for its use of local tax dollars and eminent domain to remove people from their homes to make way for Jerry Jones's new Dallas Cowboys (now AT&T) stadium. The traditionalistic-individualistic political culture of Texas is reflected in the important role powerful individuals and families continue to play in local and state politics and their influence on public policies.

A Changing Culture?

Since the mid-1970s Texas has experienced massive population influx from other areas of the nation and from other countries, many with more heavily moralistic political cultures. This in-migration raises an important question: How long will

patrón system

A type of boss rule that has dominated areas of South Texas and Mexico.

right-to-work laws

Laws that limit the power of workers to bargain collectively and form and operate labor unions, increasing the power of employers relative to their employees.

eminent domain

The power of the government to take private property for public uses, so long as just compensation is paid.



Courtesy of the Texas House of Representatives

IMAGE 1.1 Texas State

Capitol Building

CRITICAL THINKING

In what ways is Texas's political culture (moralism, individualism, and traditionalism) reflected in politics, policies, and the people's attitudes about, and expectations of, government today?

1.1 Learning Check

- 1. True or False: Governments formulate public policy to address a public need or goal.
- 2. Which two types of political culture have traditionally been dominant in Texas?

Answers at the end of this chapter.

the historical dominance of individualism and traditionalism continue to be the primary influences on Texas's style of politics and government? Will population changes shift the state toward the moralistic culture? Texas's political culture, inherited largely from the 19th century, faces the transformative power of widespread urbanization, industrialization, education, communication, and population shifts. Change is inevitable, but the direction, scope, and impact of the change remain to be seen.

The People

LO 1.2 Describe the relationship between the social history of Texas and the political characteristics of the state's diverse population.

I am forced to conclude that God made Texas on his day off, for pure entertainment, just to prove that all that diversity could be crammed into one section of earth by a really top hand.

—Mary Lasswell

Texas is amazingly diverse in racial, ethnic, and cultural terms. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, more than one-half of all Texans are either African American or Latino. The remainder are predominantly Anglos (non-Hispanic whites), with a small but rapidly growing **Asian American** population and approximately 171,000 **Native Americans**. More than one-third of all Texans speak a language other than English at home. In 2012, the Houston metropolitan area replaced New York City as the most ethnically diverse city in the country. The historical changes that brought about this diversity were not always free of conflict.

Texans Throughout History: From Conflict Toward Cooperation

The politics of democracy is about forging a path for diverse groups with sometimes opposing interests to live together peaceably. One of the remarkable facets of Texas is that, though racial and ethnic tensions still exist, members of its diverse population live together peacefully. Historically, peaceful coexistence was difficult. Texans have a reputation for toughness, and that reputation was formed over hundreds of years of surviving an often unforgiving terrain, made harsher by a social atmosphere that historian and political scientist Cal Jillson has called "breathtakingly violent." 10

The First Texans Few specifics are known about the people who inhabited what would become the Lone Star State for more than 10,000 years before Spanish explorers planted the first of Texas's six flags here in the 1500s. When Spaniards arrived, the land was inhabited by more than 50 Native American tribes and nations. Population estimates vary widely, ranging from 50,000 to

Asian American

An ethnic classification for persons whose ancestry originates in the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent.

Native American

A term commonly used for those whose ancestors were living in the Americas before the arrival of Europeans and Africans. Another commonly used term in the United States is "American Indian."

perhaps a million people. In East Texas, the Caddo lived in organized villages with a complex political system. The state's name comes from the word tejas, meaning "friendly," which was the tribal name for a group of Indians within the Caddo Confederacy. The Comanche were arguably the most important tribe in shaping Texas history. Excellent horsemen and valiant warriors, they maintained a successful resistance to the northward expansion of Spaniards and Mexicans and to the westward expansion of Anglos. 11 Native American tribes were not unified. For example, the Tonkawa of Central Texas often allied with Anglos in fights against the Comanches and the Wichitas, another important South Plains tribe.

European Colonization Accurate estimates of the Native American population are not available, but whatever the true size, their numbers declined rapidly after European contact in the 16th century. With Spanish explorers and their African slaves came diseases that decimated native communities. Though sometimes peaceful, early contact also included the taking of slaves, torture, and even cannibalism.¹² Spain and France claimed Texas, but neither country actively ruled all of the territory. Their activities involved exploring, surveying, and fighting. Spanish activities included farming and livestock herding. Missions and towns were established around present-day Nacogdoches and San Antonio, and in a few places along the Rio Grande, but the area remained sparsely populated through the Mexican War of Independence (1810–1821). In 1824, three years after Mexico overthrew Spanish rule, the area that is now Texas became part of a federal republic for the first time.

Mexican Texas Around the time of Mexican independence, Anglo American settlers began coming to the Mexican province of *Tejas* in greater numbers. Although the first non-Spanish-speaking immigrants to Texas were largely of English ancestry, some were Scots, Irish, or Welsh descendants. Others were French, Scandinavian, and Eastern European, with a few Italians, Greeks, and other European nationalities. The arrival of Anglo settlers sped the decline of the Native American population, which had already been reduced to 20,000 to 30,000 people. Violence between the native population and immigrant whites was constant and pervasive. Despite the Mexican government's authorization of Stephen F. Austin to offer free land to settlers willing to work it, Mexican officials were concerned about the immigrants. Many Anglo newcomers resisted the constitution and laws of Mexico that established Catholicism as the state religion and abolished slavery. (See Chapter 2, "Federalism and the Texas Constitution," for more discussion of the historical context).

When General Antonio López de Santa Anna was elected president of Mexico in 1833, most Texans did not expect him to repudiate the principles of the federal democratic republic he was elected to serve. When he did so, one result was the Texas Revolution, with its famous battles at Goliad, the Alamo, and San Jacinto. A great deal of blood was shed to establish the independent Republic of Texas in 1836.

The Republic of Texas The elected presidents of the Republic, Sam Houston (twice) and Mirabeau B. Lamar, and the Texas Congress struggled to establish