



FIFTEENTH
EDITION

Politics in States AND Communities

THOMAS R. DYE | SUSAN A. MACMANUS

POLITICS

in States and
Communities

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FIFTEENTH EDITION

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PREFACE

Politics in States and Communities is distinguished by:

- Its focus on politics.
- Its comparative approach.
- Its concern with explanation.
- Its interest in policy.
- Its focus is on conflicts in states and communities and the structures and processes designed to manage conflict.

This “conflict management” theme emphasizes the sources and nature of conflict in society, how conflict is carried on, how key decision makers in states and communities act in conflict situations, and how “politicos” emerge and determine “who gets what.” The political conflict management theme guides the discussion of formal governmental structures: federalism, state constitutions, parties and primaries, apportionment, legislative organizations, gubernatorial powers, court procedures, nonpartisanship, mayor and manager government, metropolitan government, community power, school boards and superintendents, tax systems, budget making, and so on.

An equally important theme is that states and communities in America play an important role in the political life of the nation. State and local governments do more than merely provide certain services such as education, road building, and fire protection. They also perform a vital political function by helping to resolve conflicts of interest in American society.

NEW TO THE FIFTEENTH EDITION

- Learning objectives at the beginning of each chapter and inserted into the text where each topic is discussed.
- Chapter Highlights—concise chapter summaries updated.
- New Visuals to Enhance State Comparisons—50 state maps on marijuana legalization, abortion law restrictiveness, voter ID requirements, professionalism in state legislatures, workers’ right-to-work laws, the death penalty, the 2012 presidential election results, and unauthorized immigrants.

The fifteenth edition presents more in-depth and up-to-date coverage of the following:

- Demographics is destiny—one of the dominant themes of the 2012 post-presidential election coverage; the political impact of changing demographics and political cultures across and within states; changes in participation rates and party affiliations of Hispanics and Asians; changing racial/ethnic composition of younger voters and their growing share of the electorate.
- Generational politics—the growing political clout of the Millennial generation, especially in swing states; higher turnout, election of more young mayors and state legislators, bigger role as key staffers for state legislators; clashes between young and old on moral and economic issues, the future solvency of Social Security and other age-based programs; upswing in age discrimination cases; baby boomers versus the Millennials; role reversal—older Americans now voting more Republican, Millennials voting more Democratic but more independent leaning than strongly attached to parties.
- Immigration—how one becomes a citizen; conflicts over immigration reform; state laws dealing with undocumented immigrants’ access to drivers licenses and college tuition; state DREAM Acts.
- Shifting opinions on moral issues—same-sex marriage, recreational use of marijuana, online gambling, contraceptives, abortion, physician-assisted suicide, and gun control; growing ideological and public policy divide between red and blue states.

- Privacy and individual rights debates—state and local government use of drones, security cameras, red light cameras; release of gun ownership and registration data; protection of privacy rights in government records (cybersecurity).
- Campaigns and elections—lower turnout rates in swing states; possible impact of negative ad saturation; the impact of early voting on campaigns; “big data” and micro-targeting in get-out-the-vote efforts; polling flaws; campaign spending reform battles; continued debate over the presidential primary “first” position of the Iowa Caucus and New Hampshire primary led by diverse states.
- The “nationalization” of judicial, mayoral, and school board races; infusion of outside interest group money into local races due to ideologically divisive issues national in scope.
- Continuing election system controversies—voter IDs, voter eligibility (felons, noncitizens), online and same-day registration, early voting, polling place location, time in line, mail ballots, absentee voting; partisan priorities: Democrats focused on preventing voter suppression, Republicans on preventing voter fraud.
- Changing media habits—of voters, elected officials; reduced presence of state public affairs networks and the capitol press corps.
- Increased violence against judicial system officials and at public schools and universities (shootings, bullying); renewed demands for more funding and support for better mental health programs.
- The Occupy Wall Street and Tea Party movements—the disappearance of street-level protests, the incorporation of key ideas into major parties’ platforms (Tea Party—national debt; Occupy Wall Street—income inequality).
- Declining party competition in state legislatures; more safe seats; fewer states with divided party control (governor vs. legislature).
- State exasperation with federal inaction on critical issues; the emergence of the new “bottoms-up” phase of federalism; state-initiated lawsuits challenging federal policies.
- Reforms of institutions and policies aimed at improving the effectiveness of state and local government service delivery; reforms aimed at improving education (charter schools; No Child Left Behind, Race to the Top, Virtual Schools, Common Core Standards, college tuition hikes, differential funding for majors with more job potential); welfare (means-tested federal-state assistance programs; incentive programs; Medicaid expansion; the wealth gap); transportation (high speed rail, bus rapid transit, MAP-21; mega-commuters); the environment (Keystone pipeline, CAFÉ standards, smart growth, recycling, hazardous waste removal and storage); health care (ObamaCare; Medicaid expansion; Medicare).
- Battles over public employee unions, right-to-work laws, and privatization of prisons.
- Lingering effects of the Great Recession—municipal bankruptcies; state takeovers of failing cities and school districts; employee cutbacks; public employee pension restructuring and benefit reduction; service mergers; taxes; debt; the financial resiliency goal.
- The punishment versus rehabilitation debate; pendulum swings toward rehabilitation; community alternatives to jail; probation; parole; declining crime rates.
- Affirmative action policies; battles over university admission policies; government contracting policies.
- Direct democracy—citizen-led efforts to expand the initiative and recall processes in some states; efforts to limit them in others.
- Money in politics—the *Citizens United v. Federal Elections Commission* ruling; the rise of self-financed candidates; escalating campaign costs; new efforts at campaign finance reform: more-detailed and timely disclosure laws, Clean Election laws, public financing; court rulings on contributions to judicial candidates.
- Redistricting—controversies over methods (legislative vs. independent commission); impacts of post-2010 redistricting; racial and partisan gerrymandering.
- Civil rights policy—the expansion of civil rights battlefields beyond just race to gender, disability, age, and sexual preference issues; new court rulings on race and gay rights (LGBT).
- Fraud and corruption—concerns about absentee balloting and online voting; scandals involving big state governors; ethics laws and regulations; ethics training for elected officials and public employees.

- Lieutenant governors—more visibility; how selected; relationship to governor; roles and responsibilities; clearer gubernatorial succession laws (who steps in when a vacancy occurs).
- Expanded responsibilities of attorneys general, secretaries of state, auditors, comptrollers, and treasurers.
- The rise of independents and third parties—more registering as independents; the rise of independent candidates for major state offices; party-switching candidates and what the public thinks of them; difficulties faced by newly emerging third parties.
- Metropolitcs—changes in the social distance between cities versus suburbs; rebirth of downtowns as magnets for young residents; shrinking employment–resident gap in suburbs.
- Growing emphasis on citizens’ quality of life—Gallup’s new “well-being” ratings; commute lengths; the urban sustainability movement; disaster-proofing disaster-prone areas.

FOCUS OF BOXED INSERTS

We begin each chapter with real-life situations designed to make the materials that follow more relevant. Individuals featured in our “**People in Politics**” are up-and-coming state and local officials rising to national prominence, from a wide variety of backgrounds, states, and positions. The new “**Did You Know?**” features inform students about new developments and long-standing controversies, like states losing their challenge to the Affordable Care Act (ObamaCare), attacks on judges and law enforcement officers, the status of the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street movements, legislators who later became president, metro area mega-commuters, and term limits. “**Up Close**” features include *Arizona v. United States* on Immigration; The Sandy Hook Shootings and the Right to Bear Arms; Nation versus States: Legalizing Pot; How to Read Political Polls Like a Pro; A Conflicting View: Eliminating Campaign Spending; Privatizing Prisons: The Pros and Cons; A Radioactive Waste Dump Proposal Divides a Small Town; The Decline of the Golden State; The Federalist Society: Proponents of Judicial Restraint; and Mental Health and Mass Murders.

The following are the **popular features that have been revised and retained**: Federalizing Crime; Getting into Politics; Broadcast Television Coverage of Local Campaigns Is Limited; Historic Landmarks in the Development of American Federalism; Americans Serve Their Communities by Volunteering; Which States Rank Highest on the Gallup-Healthways “Well-Being” Index?; California’s “Top Two” Primary System: Bipartisanship Promise Appeals to Other States; Three Scandal-Ridden Governors Embarrass Their States; A Showdown over Public Employee Union Power; How to Win at the Budget Game; Exposing Political Corruption; “Diversity” in Universities: Continued Legal Challenges to Affirmative Action in Admissions; and Welfare Reform Success Tied to Work.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC POLITICS

As in previous editions, **special attention has been given to racial and ethnic conflict, cooperation, and clout**, including new material on Hispanic, Asian, and Native American population growth and political power. The racial/ethnic-related subjects covered in each chapter are as follows.

Chapter 1: “Race and Ethnicity,” “The Politics of Immigration,” “The DREAM Act,” “*Arizona v. the United States*,” “State Political Cultures,” “Civil Rights,” and “The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico” (moving toward statehood).

Chapter 2: “The Politics of State Initiatives” (including affirmative action and racial preferences and illegal immigration); and individual state votes on Civil Rights initiatives.

Chapter 3: Federalism and slavery and segregation, civil rights policies and court rulings, and grants-in-aid to minority businesses.

Chapter 4: “Explaining Voter Turnout” (socioeconomic explanations of voting habits), “Continuing Election Controversies,” “Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation (changing participation rates and party affiliations),” “Securing the Right to Vote” (ending discrimina-

tory voting practices), and “Minorities in State Politics” (affirmative racial gerrymandering; racial polarization; Hispanic power); and civil disobedience and civil rights battles.

Chapter 5: Racial discrimination argument against runoff elections; racial/ethnic makeup of political party supporters.

Chapter 6: “Minorities and Women in State Legislatures (expanded coverage of Native American state legislators),” Rankings of the States: Asians and Native Americans, and “Legislative Apportionment and Districting.”

Chapter 7: “The Making of a Governor—Race and Ethnicity,” “Minority and Women Governors,” including growing numbers of Hispanics and Asian Americans in the gubernatorial ranks and minority women in pathbreaking roles.

Chapter 8: “Bureaucracy, Democracy, Representativeness, and Responsiveness” (minority employee presence, affirmative action, and state equal opportunity requirements).

Chapter 9: The race/ethnicity of judges, racial issues in jury selection, hate crimes, issues related to police crackdowns and the “Broken Windows” policy, race, and the death penalty.

Chapter 10: Minority responses to satisfaction with their community, affect of local elections systems on minorities (the Civil Rights Act, court rulings, and minority representation on city councils and school boards).

Chapter 11: Minority turnout patterns in local elections, party identification trends of minorities and voting coalitions, minority mayors, city managers, and council members, policy implications of minority representation; multiracial voting coalitions, and multilingual communicators in city hall; San Antonio Mayor Julian Castro—rising star on national stage.

Chapter 12: “Ethnic and Racial Diversity in Metropolitan Areas,” the racial composition of cities and suburbs, changing immigration patterns (different countries of origin), majority-minority MSAs, the concentration of social problems in the inner city (racial tensions and rioting), and racial politics in metropolitan reform efforts including city-county consolidation efforts—racial imbalance, inequities, and school segregation.

Chapter 13: Minority attitudes toward growth and environmental policy, the relocation of poor minorities, the racial composition of neighborhoods, and environmental injustice.

Chapter 14: Impact of employee layoffs and budget cutbacks on minorities; appointment of African American emergency financial manager to rescue bankrupt City of Detroit.

Chapter 15: “Politics and Civil Rights,” “Struggle against Segregation,” “Continuing Racial Separation and ‘White Flight’,” “Policy Consequences of Minority Representation,” discussions of racial balance in schools, affirmative action and racial preference battles, employment equity, fairness in housing, and federal court rulings; and representational and governance issues affecting Hispanics and Native Americans (including tribal governments).

Chapter 16: “Education,” addresses a variety of topics including racially biased educational testing—SAT tests and achievement tests used to measure teacher and school performance under No Child Left Behind, racial differences in dropout rates, and black representation on school boards.

Chapter 17: Discusses the disproportionate number of minorities who are chronically poor, on welfare, and without adequate health care.

GENDER AND POLITICS

We have also **greatly expanded our coverage of gender in politics.**

Chapter 1: Civil rights issues facing women.

Chapter 2: Abortion-related referenda; voter referenda and court rulings on domestic partners and same-sex marriage.

Chapter 3: Violence Against Women Act; the Equal Rights Amendment; and women’s political groups and lobbyists.

Chapter 4: “Securing the Right to Vote” (the Nineteenth Amendment); female registration and turnout rates and voting patterns; “Women in State Politics (women in state and local offices, candidacy challenges, the gender gap).

Chapter 5: Gender makeup of political party supporters, profile of a female state political party chair (Democrat Allison Tant of Florida), and gains in number of Republican women governors.

Chapter 6: Women in state legislatures—racial and ethnic representation; candidacies, electoral successes, and challenges; in leadership posts; policy preferences; decision-making styles and impacts.

Chapter 7: “The Making of a Governor” (varieties of background and gender); “Minority and Women Governors” (historical timeline); minority women governors (Nikki Haley and Susan Martinez) as trailblazers and rising stars; and the impact of women as running mates (lieutenant governors) for governors.

Chapter 8: “Bureaucracy, Democracy, Representativeness and Responsiveness”—discusses the presence of women, employment discrimination, and state equal opportunity requirements.

Chapter 9: Women judges—representation on different types of courts, racial/ethnic makeup, and underrepresentation overall; the pipeline grows—more women in law school; hate crimes (on the basis of gender identity); upswing in crimes committed by women; sentencing injustices; and women on death row.

Chapter 10: Women in elected local offices; hiring difficulties faced by women school administrators when competing for school superintendent positions; and representation on school boards.

Chapter 11: “Recruiting City Council Candidates” (gender differences); “Women in Local Politics” (backgrounds and electoral successes as candidates, mayors, city council members, county commissioners, and school board members); women as city managers; female governance styles and policy impacts.

Chapter 12: Traditional and nontraditional households in cities and suburbs.

Chapter 13: Women’s attitudes toward growth policies.

Chapter 14: Impact of employee layoffs and budget cuts on women.

Chapter 15: “Gender Equality” covers a variety of topics including historical differential treatment of rights and responsibilities of men and women, and discussions of sexual harassment, affirmative action, gender equality, education, age-based laws, the earnings gap, comparable worth, abortion rights, and sexual orientation rights.

Chapter 16: Female educational attainment rates—K–12, higher education, and representation on school boards.

Chapter 17: The feminization of poverty; female-headed households and chronic poverty; public assistance programs for women and their children; pregnancies; and dependency on welfare.

Finally, the fifteenth edition **continues the popular feature “Rankings of the States” with new rankings in some chapters.** The topics covered are population growth, income and education, Hispanic and African American populations, religion and ideology (liberalism) in the states, state gun laws and firearms death rates, reliance on federal aid, registered lobbyists, voter turnout, women and minorities in state legislatures, governors’ formal powers, government spending and employment, crime and incarceration rates, general-purpose and special-purpose local governments, citizen voluntarism rates, Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the states, road mileage and gasoline taxes, tax revenues and burdens, state spending and borrowing, educational performance (SAT scores and high school graduation rates), financing public schools, poverty rates, and enrollment in Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and Medicaid programs.

INSTRUCTIONAL FEATURES

This book includes multiple instructional features designed to provide timeliness and relevance, to capture students’ attention and interest, to involve students interactively with political questions, and to aid in the study of state and local politics. While the instructional features should aid in teaching state and local politics, the text material is not “dumbed down.” It still includes the most important research by scholars in the field.

“*Learning Objectives*” Each chapter opens with a list of Learning Objectives for students to think about as they read through the material. Each objective is then placed in the chapter where discussion of the subject begins.

“*People in Politics*” These features are designed to personalize politics for students, to illustrate to them that the participants in the struggle for power are real people. They discuss where prominent people in politics went to school, how they got started in politics, how their careers developed, and how much power they came to possess. Featured are two young mayors (Tashua Allman, Glenville, West Virginia, and Svante Myrick, Ithaca, New York), Martin Luther King, Jr., minority female governors Susana Martinez and Nikki Haley, Wisconsin governor Scott Walker, San Antonio mayor Julian Castro, Chicago mayor Rahm Emanuel, and National Teacher of the Year Jeff Charbonneau.

“*Up Close*” These features illustrate the struggle over who gets what. They range over a wide variety of current political conflicts, such as the Arizona immigration law, state constitutions and the right to bear arms, the Sandy Hook Elementary School shootings, scandalous governors, the decline of the Golden State, the removal of radioactive waste, and the diversity factor in university admissions.

“*Rankings of the States*” Comparative analysis is used throughout the text both to describe and to explain differences among states and communities in governmental structure, political processes, and public policy. Through the Rankings of the States boxes, students can observe their own state in relation to all other states.

“*Did You Know?*” These features, designed to be both instructive and entertaining, inform students about various aspects of American states and communities—everything from how many governors later became president to the fate of the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street protests and the economic realities of mega-commuting.

Chapter Pedagogy Each chapter contains learning objectives, a running glossary in the margin, and chapter highlights designed to help students better master the information as they read and review the chapters.

SUPPLEMENTARY PACKAGE

Pearson is pleased to offer a robust package of resources for both instructors and students using *Politics in States and Communities*, 15e. Our goal is to make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable. Several of the supplements for this book are available at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at <http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc/> to register for access.

MySearchLab

MySearchLab for Politics in States and Communities moves students from studying and applying concepts to participating in politics. MySearchLab contains an eTextbook and a collection of tools and resources that can help students in any course. The Pearson eText, included in the MyLab, is accessible on Apple and Android tablets through the Pearson eText app. The eText app provides full-text search capabilities, highlights, notes, bookmarks, and support for multimedia content. Also included as part of the MySearchLab are:

- **Pre-Tests and Post-Tests** help students move from diagnostic assessment to mastery with personalized study plans and follow-up reading, video, and multimedia.
- **Chapter Exams** test mastery of each chapter.
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This resource includes learning objectives, chapter summaries, class discussion questions, activities/projects, true/false questions, multiple choice questions, short answer questions, and essay questions for each chapter.

Pearson MyTest (0205982166)

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PowerPoint Presentation (0133745686)

Organized around a lecture outline, these multimedia presentations also include photos, figures, and tables from each chapter. Available exclusively on the IRC.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors are deeply indebted to the research scholars whose labors produced the insight and understanding that we try to convey to our readers. This text contains more than 500 research citations relevant to state and local politics in America. Hundreds of scholars have contributed to this impressive body of literature. We have tried our best to accurately describe and interpret their work; we apologize for any errors in our descriptions or interpretations.

Thomas R. Dye

Susan A. MacManus

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POLITICS IN STATES AND COMMUNITIES



LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1.1** Explain how the problems that governments address are inherently political in nature.
- 1.2** Compare the public policies of various states and communities in areas such as population growth, income, and education.
- 1.3** Describe both the current racial and ethnic composition of the United States and how it has changed over time.
- 1.4** Identify those who immigrate to the United States, current and proposed immigration policies, and the politics underlying legal and illegal immigration.
- 1.5** Compare the ideological profiles of liberal and conservative states.
- 1.6** Explain how differences in states' political cultures affect their ideological profiles.
- 1.7** Describe how the religious profiles of states affect the politics and attitudes about wedge issues such as abortion.
- 1.8** Assess how political leaders influence politics in states and communities through policy entrepreneurship.
- 1.9** Describe the major policy responsibilities held by states and communities, including education, health and welfare, transportation, public safety, civil rights, the physical environment of our communities, and taxes.
- 1.10** Trace the admission of states into the union, and explain the political status of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. territories.

1.1

Explain how the problems that governments address are inherently political in nature.

A POLITICAL APPROACH TO STATES AND COMMUNITIES

Politics is the management of conflict. Disagreements are often fierce at the state and local levels over everything from the death penalty, stem cell research, and student testing, to which neighborhood will get a new park, what taxes to impose, and how to deal with race and religious controversies. An understanding of “politics” in American states and communities requires an understanding of both the major conflicts confronting society and the political processes and governmental organizations designed to manage conflict. State and local governments do more than provide public services such as education, highways, police and fire protection, sewage disposal, and garbage collection. These are important functions of government to be sure; but it is even more important that government deal with racial tensions, school disputes, growth problems, economic stagnation, minority concerns, poverty, drugs, crime, and violence. These problems are primarily *political* in nature; that is, people have different ideas about *what* should be done, or *whether* government should do anything at all.

Moreover, many of the service functions of government also engender political conflict. Even if “there is only one way to pave a street,” political questions remain. Whose street will get paved? Who will get the paving contract? Who will pay for it? Shouldn’t we build a new school instead of paving the street?

1.2

Compare the public policies of various states and communities in areas such as population growth, income, and education.

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF STATES AND COMMUNITIES

The task of political science is not only to *describe* politics and public policy in American states and communities, but also to *explain* differences through comparative analysis. We want to know *what* is happening in American politics, and we want to know *why*. Which states allow their citizens to vote directly on controversial issues and which states don’t? Which states place limits on abortion? Which states tax their citizens heavily and which states have no income tax? What are the most influential lobbying groups in the states? Which states generally vote Democratic and which states can usually be counted on by

Republicans? In which states are women most successful in winning office? Which states spend the most on schools? Which states have the death penalty and actually use it? Which cities are leading the “green” revolution and which metropolitan areas have the most traffic congestion? Why do some states *lead* while others *lag* in tackling tough issues? What we really want to understand are the “whos, whats, whens, wheres, hows, and whys” of state and local politics. Most of us will move to vastly different locations several times in our lifetimes and will likely encounter situations that upset us to the point where we want to get involved and hold *somebody* accountable. It is hard to fix blame if we do not have a clue about how politics works in different states and communities.

In the past, the phrase “comparative government” applied to the study of foreign



Each state’s politics reflects its own unique history and culture. Hawaii’s elected officials wear with pride clothing and flowered leis that have come to symbolize the state, just as many Texas officials love to don cowboy hats.

governments, but American states and communities provide an excellent opportunity for genuine **comparative study**, which compares political institutions and behaviors from state to state and community to community in order to identify and explain similarities or differences.

Comparison is a vital part of explanation. Only by comparing politics and public policy in different states and communities can we arrive at any comprehensive explanations of political life. Comparative analysis helps us answer the question *why*.

American states and communities provide excellent “laboratories” for applying comparative analysis. States and communities are not alike in social and economic conditions, in politics and government, or in their public policies. These differences are important assets in comparative study because they enable us to search for relationships between different socioeconomic conditions, political system characteristics, and policy outcomes. For example, if differences among states and communities in educational policies are closely associated with differences in economic resources or in party politics, then we may assume that economic resources or party politics help “explain” educational policies.

State politics are often affected by unique historical circumstances. (See Figure 1–1 and Table 1–1.) Louisiana is distinctive because of its French–Spanish colonial background and the continuing influence of this background on its politics today. For nine years Texas was an independent republic (1836–1845) before it was annexed as a state by Congress. Eleven southern states were involved in a bloody war against the federal government from 1861 to 1865. Hawaii has a unique history and culture, combining the influence of Polynesian, Chinese, Japanese, and European civilizations. Alaska’s rugged climate and geography and physical isolation set it apart. Wisconsin and Minnesota reflect the Scandinavian influences of their early settlers. Utah was initially settled by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, popularly known as the Mormons, and it retains much of its distinctly Mormon culture today.

These unique historical and cultural settings help to shape state political systems and public policies. However, the mere identification of unique traits or histories does not really “explain” why politics or public policy differs from state to state. Ad hoc explanations do not help much in developing general theories of politics. For example, only Texas has the Alamo and only New York has the Statue of Liberty, but the stories about these landmarks do not explain why New York has a state income tax and Texas does not. Students of state politics must search for social and economic conditions that appear most influential in shaping state politics over time in all the states. Despite the uniqueness of history and culture in many of our states, we must *search for explanations* of why state governments do what they do.

Since it is impossible to consider all the conditions that might influence state politics, we must focus our attention on a limited number of variables. We can begin with economic development—one of the most influential variables affecting state politics and public policy. **Economic development** is defined broadly to include three closely related components: population growth, income, and education.

Population Growth

America has always been a rapidly changing society. As its people change—in numbers, race, ethnicity, income, education, culture—new conflicts arise, some old conflicts burn out, and other conflicts reignite.

The total population of the United States grew by almost 10 percent between 2000 and 2010. But states grew unevenly. The fastest growing states between 2000 and 2010 were the “Sunbelt” states of the West and South. Texas, the nation’s second largest state, gained the most numbers of new residents—4.3 million; California gained—3.4 million, followed by Florida—2.8 million, Georgia—1.5 million, North Carolina—1.5 million, and Arizona—1.3 million. These six states accounted for 54 percent of the overall population growth for the United States during the decade.

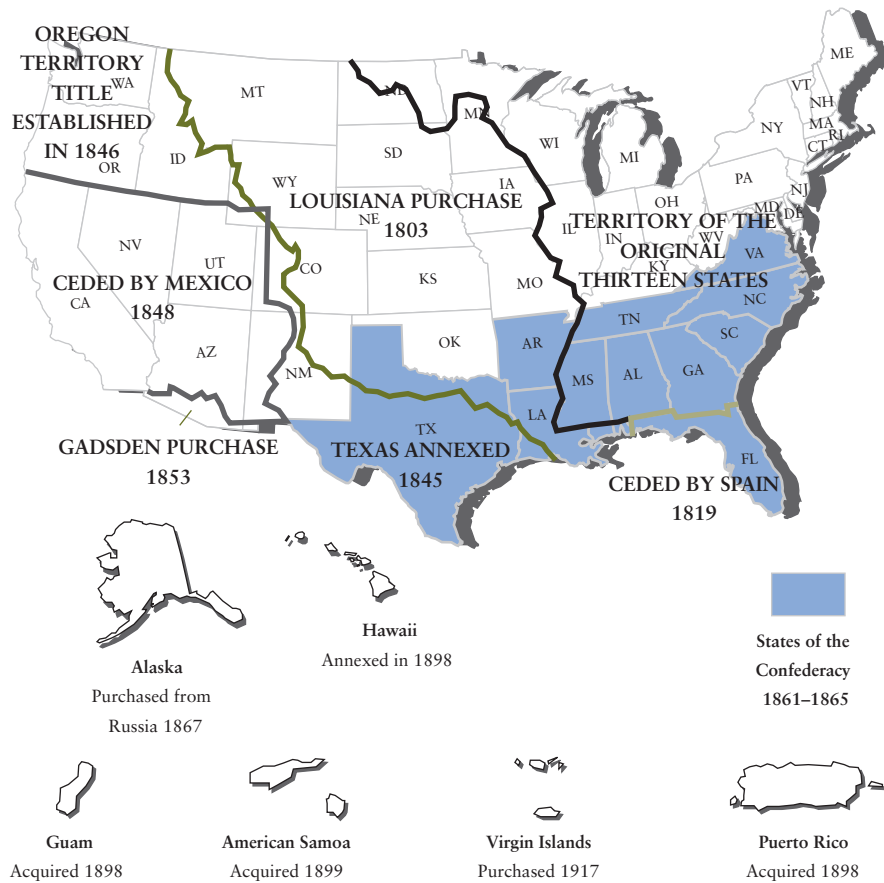
COMPARATIVE STUDY

In politics, comparing political institutions and behaviors from state to state and community to community in order to identify and explain similarities or differences.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Broadly defined as population growth and the income and educational levels of a state’s population.

FIGURE I-1 State Histories



By the Treaty of Paris, 1783, England gave up claim to the 13 original Colonies, and to all land within an area extending along the present Canadian border to the Lake of the Woods, down the Mississippi River to the 31st parallel, east to the Chattahoochee, down that river to the mouth of the Flint, east to the source of the St. Mary's, down that river to the ocean. Territory west of the Alleghenies was claimed by various states but was eventually all ceded to the nation.

In 1803 President Thomas Jefferson engineered the Louisiana Purchase from France; it was the largest acquisition of territory in U.S. history, more than doubling the size of the nation.

American invasions of Canada were failures in both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. In the Rush–Bagot Treaty of 1817, the border between the United States and Canada was demilitarized and fixed at the 49th parallel. Later, in 1846, the British relinquished their claims to the Oregon territory south of the 49th parallel.

In 1819 Spain ceded Florida to the United States in the Adams–Onís Treaty, after General Andrew Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers invaded the territory in a war with the Seminole Indians.

Following battles at the Alamo in San Antonio and at the San Jacinto River, Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836, but the Mexican government refused to recognize the new republic. In 1845 Congress annexed Texas at the republic's request, ending nine years of independence. In 1846 Congress declared war on Mexico, and following the American army's capture of Veracruz and Mexico City, the United States forced its southern neighbor to cede the territories that became California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. Later, in 1853, the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico extended the U.S. border farther south.

Beginning with South Carolina on December 20, 1860, 11 southern states seceded from the United States of America, forming their own Confederate States of America. After their defeat, they were readmitted to the Union after they agreed to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment that abolished slavery (1865), and later the Fourteenth Amendment that guaranteed equal protection of the laws (1868), and the Fifteenth Amendment that prevented denial or abridgment of the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Twice the size of Texas, Alaska was purchased from Russia for \$7.2 million in 1867. (At the time Secretary of State William Henry Seward was criticized for his extravagance, and Alaska was dubbed "Seward's folly" and "Seward's icebox.") Hawaii was annexed as a territory to the United States by congressional resolution in 1898 without consulting its residents.

Following victories in the Spanish–American War in 1898, Spain ceded Puerto Rico, Samoa and Guam, and the Philippines, which remained a U.S. territory until granted independence in 1946. The Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917.

TABLE I-1 The States of the Union

State	Capital	Date Admitted to Union	Chronological Order of Admission to Union
Alabama	Montgomery	Dec. 14, 1819	22
Alaska	Juneau	Jan. 3, 1959	49
Arizona	Phoenix	Feb. 14, 1912	48
Arkansas	Little Rock	June 15, 1836	25
California	Sacramento	Sept. 9, 1850	31
Colorado	Denver	Aug. 1, 1876	38
Connecticut	Hartford	Jan. 9, 1788 ^a	5
Delaware	Dover	Dec. 7, 1787 ^a	1
Florida	Tallahassee	March 3, 1845	27
Georgia	Atlanta	Jan. 2, 1788 ^a	4
Hawaii	Honolulu	Aug. 21, 1959	50
Idaho	Boise	July 3, 1890	43
Illinois	Springfield	Dec. 3, 1818	21
Indiana	Indianapolis	Dec. 11, 1816	19
Iowa	Des Moines	Dec. 28, 1846	29
Kansas	Topeka	Jan. 29, 1861	34
Kentucky	Frankfort	June 1, 1792	15
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	April 30, 1812	18
Maine	Augusta	March 15, 1820	23
Maryland	Annapolis	April 28, 1788 ^a	7
Massachusetts	Boston	Feb. 6, 1788 ^a	6
Michigan	Lansing	Jan. 26, 1837	26
Minnesota	St. Paul	May 11, 1858	32
Mississippi	Jackson	Dec. 10, 1817	20
Missouri	Jefferson City	Aug. 10, 1821	24
Montana	Helena	Nov. 8, 1889	41
Nebraska	Lincoln	March 1, 1867	37
Nevada	Carson City	Oct. 31, 1864	36
New Hampshire	Concord	June 21, 1788 ^a	9
New Jersey	Trenton	Dec. 18, 1787 ^a	3
New Mexico	Santa Fe	Jan. 6, 1912	47
New York	Albany	July 26, 1788 ^a	11
North Carolina	Raleigh	Nov. 21, 1789 ^a	12
North Dakota	Bismarck	Nov. 2, 1889	39
Ohio	Columbus	March 1, 1803	17
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	Nov. 16, 1907	46
Oregon	Salem	Feb. 14, 1859	33
Pennsylvania	Harrisburg	Dec. 12, 1787 ^a	2
Rhode Island	Providence	May 29, 1790 ^a	13
South Carolina	Columbia	May 23, 1788 ^a	8
South Dakota	Pierre	Nov. 2, 1889	40
Tennessee	Nashville	June 1, 1796	16
Texas	Austin	Dec. 29, 1845	28
Utah	Salt Lake City	Jan. 4, 1896	45
Vermont	Montpelier	March 4, 1791	14
Virginia	Richmond	June 25, 1788 ^a	10
Washington	Olympia	Nov. 11, 1889	42

(continued)

TABLE I-1 The States of the Union (Continued)

State	Capital	Date Admitted to Union	Chronological Order of Admission to Union
West Virginia	Charleston	June 20, 1863	35
Wisconsin	Madison	May 29, 1848	30
Wyoming	Cheyenne	July 10, 1890	44

^aDate of ratification of U.S. Constitution.

Source: Derived from *Book of the States*, 2012, Volume 44, Table 10.2, pp. 554–555. Printed with permission from the Council of State Governments.

Population growth *rates*—the percentage of population increase over the decade—may be better indicators of the changing requirements of state governments to provide public services, as well as the changing politics in the states. Nevada, the fastest growing state for five decades, grew by 35 percent, followed by Arizona (25 percent), Utah (24 percent), Idaho (21 percent), and Texas (21 percent). The slowest growing were Rhode Island, Louisiana, and Ohio—all of which grew by less than 2 percent. Michigan actually lost 0.6 percent of its population over the decade. The top five fastest growing states between 2000 and 2030 are projected to be Nevada (114 percent), Arizona (109 percent), Florida (80 percent), Texas (60 percent), and Utah (56 percent). (See “*Rankings of the States: Population Size and Projected Growth Rate, 2010–2030.*”)¹ The Census Bureau predicts that soon Florida will edge past New York into third place in total population.

Income

Rising personal **income** indicates increased worker productivity and the creation of wealth. Per capita personal income in the United States grew from about \$4,000 in 1970 to about \$39,791 in 2010. Income is not evenly distributed throughout the states (see “*Rankings of the States: Income and Education*”). Per capita personal income in Connecticut is more than \$56,000, but it is less than \$32,000 in Mississippi.

Education

Many economists have asserted that economic growth involves an upgrading in the workforce, the development of professional managerial skills, and an increase in the volume of research. These developments involve a general increase in the *educational levels* of the adult population. In 1970 about 11 percent of the U.S. adult population had completed four years or more of college; by 2011 that figure had risen to 30 percent. But high levels of educational attainment do not prevail uniformly throughout the states (see “*Rankings of the States: Income and Education*”).

The extent to which economic development—population growth, income, and education—affects the politics of the states is an important question, which we return to again in the chapters that follow.

INCOME

Money that is received as a result of the normal business activities of an individual or a business (e.g., wages).

1.3

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Describe both the current racial and ethnic composition of the United States and how it has changed over time.

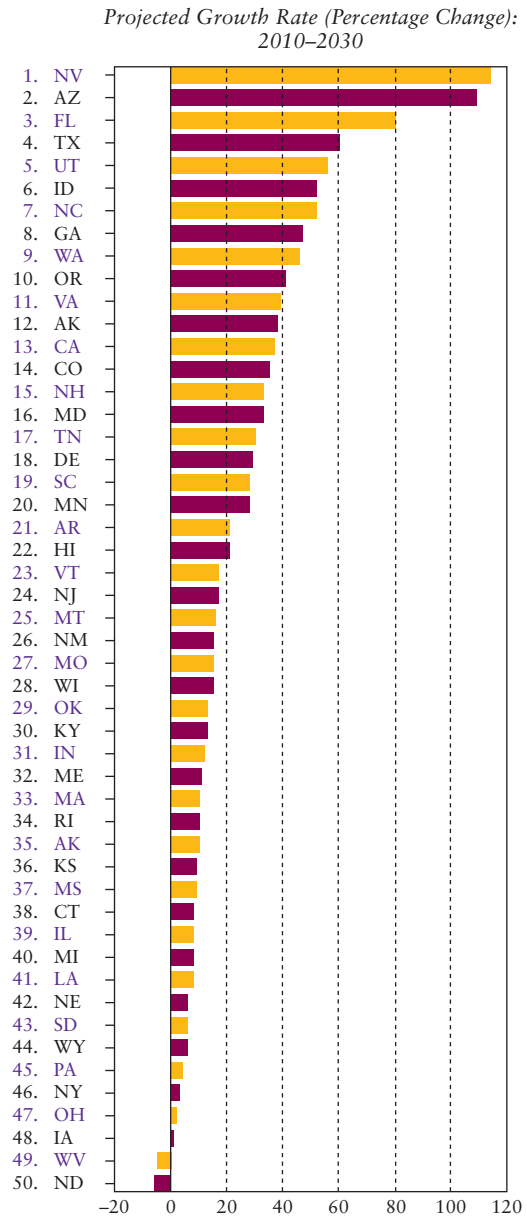
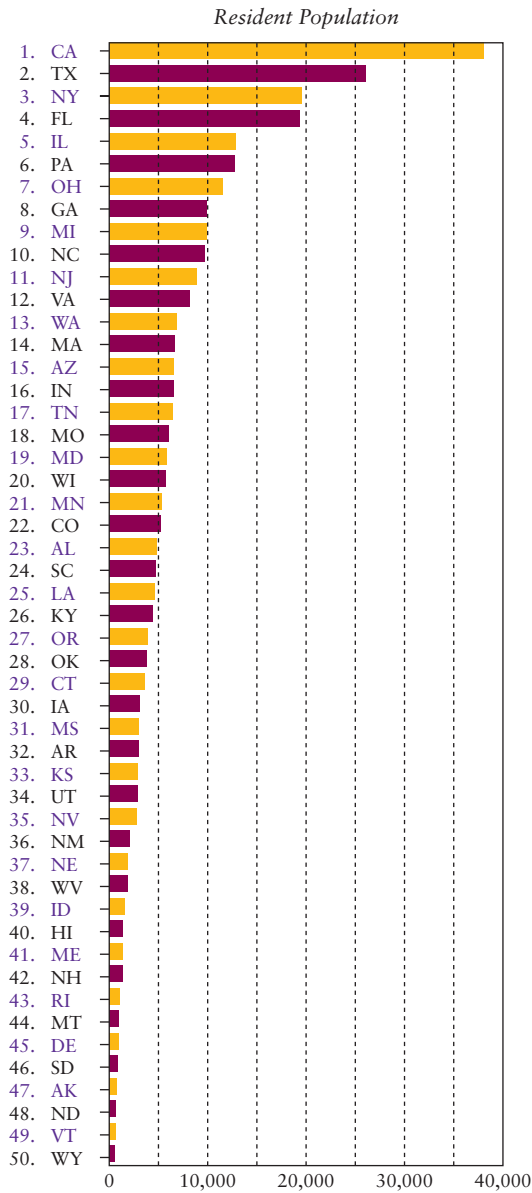
Differences in the racial and ethnic composition of state populations account for much of the variation in the politics of states and cities throughout the nation. Later we examine racial and ethnic cleavages in voting behavior and political participation (Chapter 4), state legislative politics (Chapter 6), community politics (Chapter 11), and civil rights policy (Chapter 15).

African Americans

Today the nation’s 41 million blacks comprise 13 percent of the total population of the United States. (The distribution of blacks among the 50 states is shown in “*Rankings of the States: Hispanic and African American Populations.*”) In 1900, most African Americans

RANKINGS OF THE STATES

Population Size and Projected Growth Rate, 2010–2030



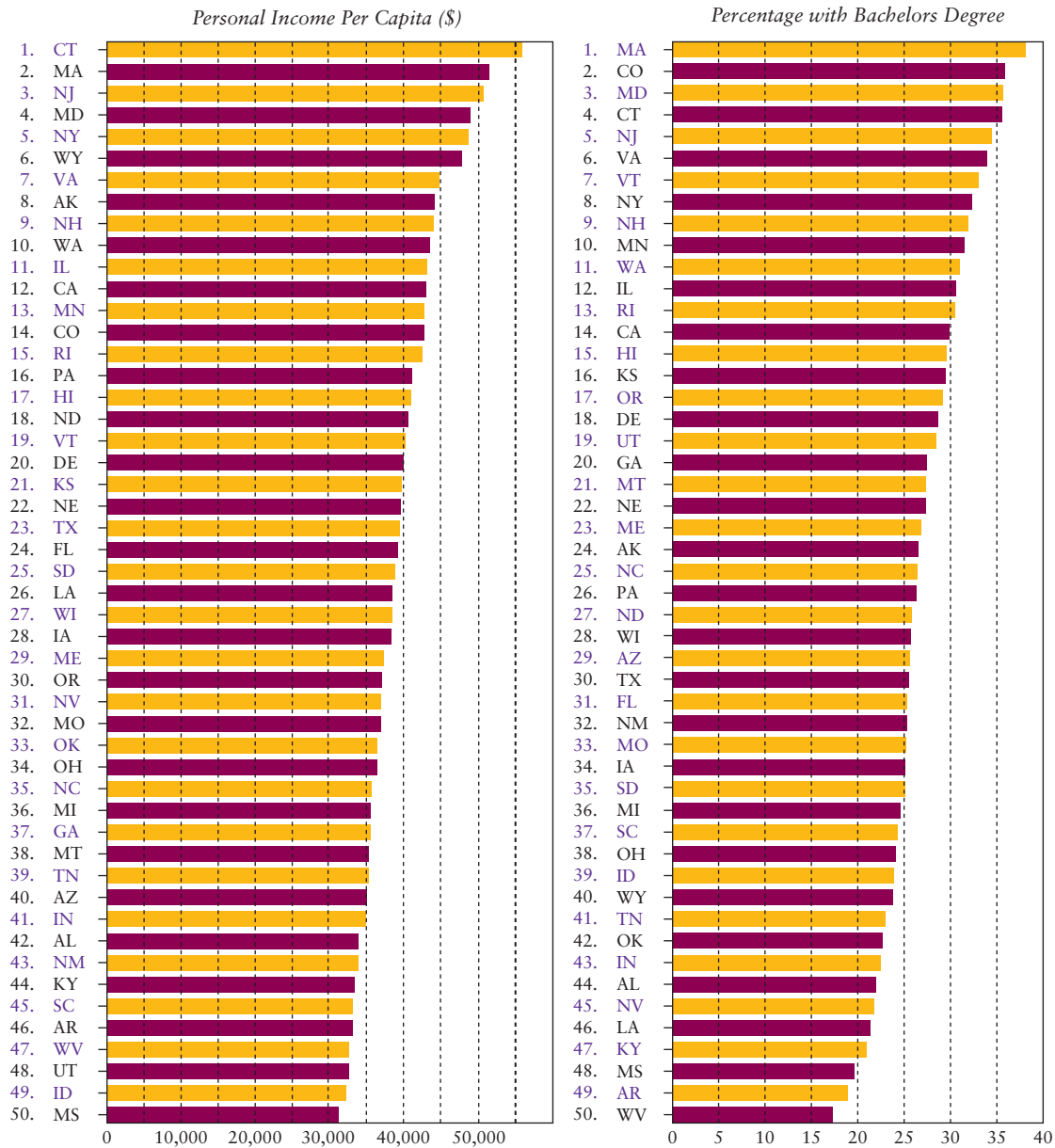
Note: Data are for 2012. In thousands.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Annual Estimates of the Population for the United States, Regions, States, and Puerto Rico," Table 1. Available at <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/state/totals/2012/tables/NST-EST2012-01.xls>.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2010, Table 14. Available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2009pubs/10statab/pop.pdf>.

RANKINGS OF THE STATES

Income and Education



Note: Data are for 2010. In current dollars.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2012, Table 681. Available at <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0681.pdf>.

Note: Data are for 2009. Most recent data available at time of publication.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Educational Attainment in the United States: 2009," Table 2, February 2012. Available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p20-566.pdf>.

(89.7 percent) were concentrated in the South. But World Wars I and II provided job opportunities in large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. Blacks could not cast ballots in most southern counties, but they could “vote with their feet.” The migration of blacks from the rural South to the urban North was one of the largest internal migrations in our history. But blacks have steadily been moving back to the South. Today, 55 percent of the nation’s black population lives in the South.²

African American candidates have been increasingly successful in winning city and county offices and state legislative seats. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion of voting rights laws and their impact on the election of minorities.) The largest numbers of black elected officials are found in the southern states. In 1989 the nation’s first elected black governor, Douglas Wilder, moved into Virginia’s statehouse, once the office of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy. Black candidates have also been increasingly successful in winning elections in large cities throughout the nation and community organizer, Barack Obama, became the first black president of the United States. Later in this book we describe black representation in city councils (Chapter 11) and in state legislatures (Chapter 6), as well as civil rights policy (Chapter 15).

Hispanics

Perhaps the most significant change in the nation’s ethnic composition over the last decade is the growth in the numbers and percentage of Hispanic Americans. In 2000, Hispanics became the nation’s largest minority. More than one in six people in the United States are of Hispanic origin. (The term *Hispanic* refers to persons of Spanish-speaking ancestry and culture, regardless of race, and includes Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Central and South Americans, and Puerto Ricans.) Today Hispanics outnumber African Americans in the U.S. population (see “*Rankings of the States: Hispanic and African American Populations*”). The largest subgroup is Mexican Americans, some of whom are descendants of citizens living in Mexican territory that was annexed to the United States in 1848 (see Figure 1–1), but most of them have come to the United States in accelerating numbers in recent years. The largest Mexican American populations are in New Mexico, California, Texas, and Arizona. The second largest subgroup is Hispanics from Central and South America, who are concentrated in the Northeast, South, and West. Third largest is Puerto Ricans, many of whom retain ties to the island and move back and forth to the mainland, especially to New York City and now central Florida. Fourth largest are Cubans, most of whom have fled from Castro’s regime and live in the Miami metropolitan area. While these groups share a common language and faith (Catholic), they often differ in their political leanings and participation rates due to varied cultural backgrounds and length of residency in the United States³ (see Chapter 15).

Asians and Pacific Islanders

The Asian population, nearly 16 million (5 percent of the nation’s total), is actually growing more rapidly than any other minority. One-half of Asians and Pacific Islanders live in the West. California has the largest Asian population (4.7 million), but Asians are a majority of the population of Hawaii, the only state with a “majority minority” population. Asians, like Hispanics, are not a monolithic group either



Ethnic-based holidays are often adopted by the community-at-large. In Texas, Cinco de Mayo (5th of May) celebrations, commemorating the victory of the Mexicans over the French at the Battle of Puebla in 1862, are quite popular. Cinco de Mayo festivities feature music, dance, food, and beverages unique to Mexico and reflect the influence that Mexican American immigrants have had on the culture and politics of the state.