

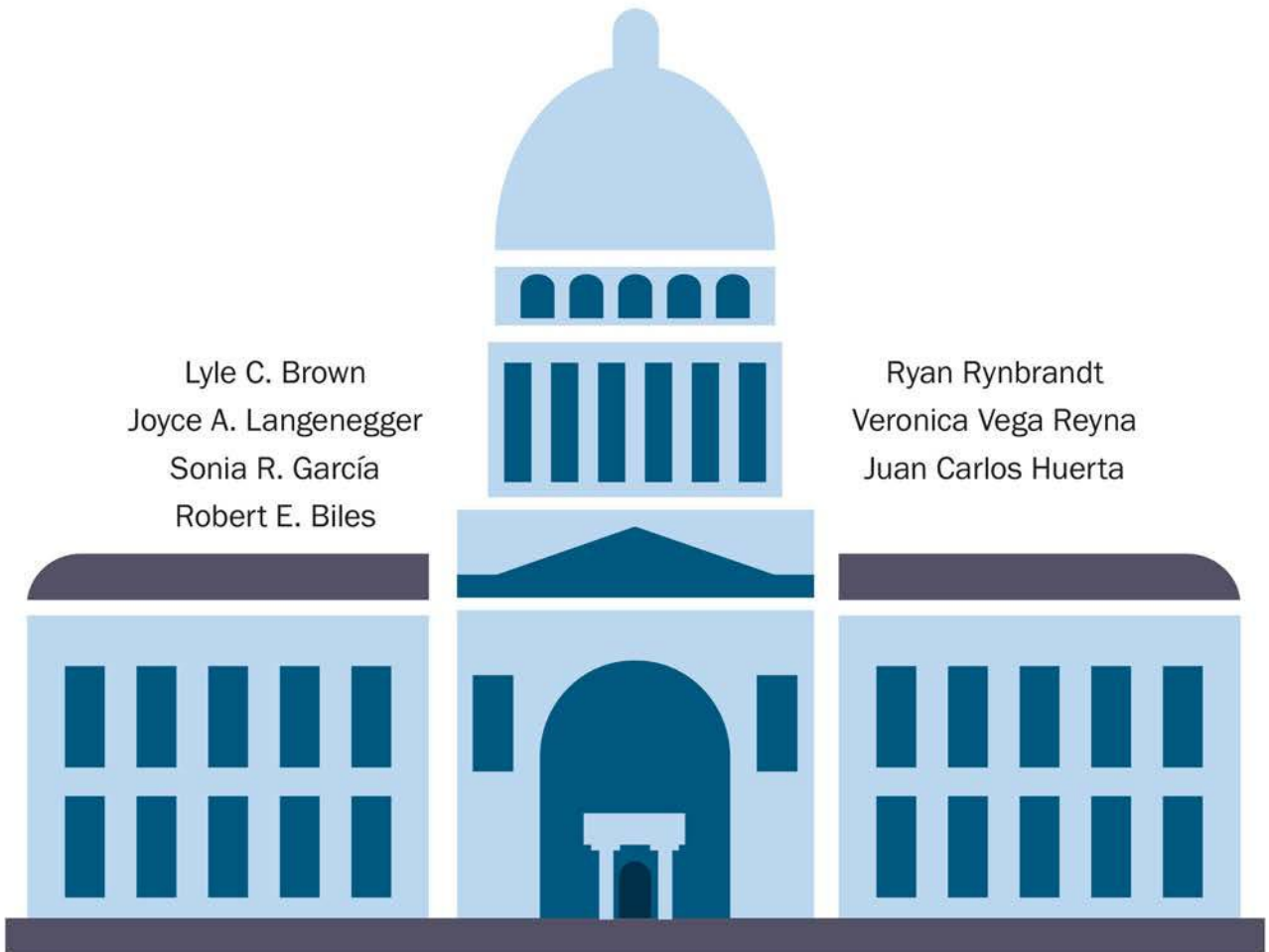


Practicing Texas Politics

18th Edition

Lyle C. Brown
Joyce A. Langenegger
Sonia R. García
Robert E. Biles

Ryan Rynbrandt
Veronica Vega Reyna
Juan Carlos Huerta



PRACTICING TEXAS POLITICS

18e

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 T. Rynbrandt Collin College

Veronica Vega Reyna Austin Community College

Juan Carlos Huerta Texas A&M University—Corpus Christi



Australia • Brazil • Canada • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

Copyright 2022 Cengage Learning. All Rights Reserved. May not be copied, scanned, or duplicated, in whole or in part. WCN 02-200-322

Copyright 2022 Cengage Learning. All Rights Reserved. May not be copied, scanned, or duplicated, in whole or in part. Due to electronic rights, some third party content may be suppressed from the eBook and/or eChapter(s). Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. Cengage Learning reserves the right to remove additional content at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it.

This is an electronic version of the print textbook. Due to electronic rights restrictions, some third party content may be suppressed. Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. The publisher reserves the right to remove content from this title at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it. For valuable information on pricing, previous editions, changes to current editions, and alternate formats, please visit www.cengage.com/highered to search by ISBN#, author, title, or keyword for materials in your areas of interest.

Important Notice: Media content referenced within the product description or the product text may not be available in the eBook version.

Practicing Texas Politics, Eighteenth Edition

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

Product Director: Laura Ross

Product Manager: Lauren Gerrish

Product Assistant: Martina Umunna

Senior Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman

Senior Subject Matter Expert: Emily Hickey

Learning Designer: Erika Hayden

Content Manager: Dan Saabye

IP Analyst: Deanna Ettinger

IP Project Manager: Kumaresan
Chandrakumar

Production Service: Straive

Compositor: Straive

Art Director: Sarah Cole

Text and Cover Designer: Sarah Cole

Cover Image: iStockPhoto.com/drmakkoy

© 2022, 2020, 2018 Cengage Learning, Inc.

Unless otherwise noted, all content is © Cengage.

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 Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706
or **support.cengage.com**.

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

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021912569

Student Edition ISBN: 978-0-357-50524-3

Loose-leaf Edition ISBN: 978-0-357-50529-8

Cengage

200 Pier 4 Boulevard
Boston, MA 02210
USA

Cengage 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**.

To learn more about Cengage platforms and services, register or access your online learning solution, or purchase materials for your course, visit **www.cengage.com**.

Printed in the United States of America
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2021



Brief Contents

Chapter 1: The Environment of Texas Politics	1
Chapter 2: Federalism and the Texas Constitution	43
Chapter 3: Local Governments	82
Chapter 4: Political Parties	130
Chapter 5: Voting and Elections	165
Chapter 6: The Media and Politics	212
Chapter 7: The Politics of Interest Groups	261
Chapter 8: The Legislative Branch	298
Chapter 9: The Executive Branch	340
Chapter 10: The Judicial Branch	391
Chapter 11: Finance and Fiscal Policy	421
Chapter 12: Public Policy and Administration	463
Chapter 13: The Criminal Justice System	508
Glossary	546
Endnotes	561
Index	603



Detailed Contents

Chapter 1: The Environment of Texas Politics 1

Everything Is Changing in Texas	2
Managing Change: Government, Policy, and Politics in Texas	3
The People of Texas	4
Texans Throughout History: From Conflict Toward Cooperation	5
Texans Today	10
Texas Political Culture	14
Types of Political Culture	14
A Changing Culture?	16
The Land and Population Distribution . . .	17
Urbanization	18
Suburbanization and Gentrification	18
Rural Texas.	20
The Regions of Texas	20
The Economy.	24
The Texas Economy Through History	24
New Economic Directions.	27
Meeting New Challenges	31
Poverty and Social Problems	31
Education	33
Increasing Diversity	34
Sustainability.	37

Chapter 2: Federalism and the Texas Constitution 43

The American Federal Structure	44
Distribution of Constitutional Powers	45
Interstate Relations and State Immunities	49
State Powers.	51
Federal–State Relations: An Evolving Process . . .	54

The Texas Constitution: Politics of Policymaking	57
Historical Developments	58
Today: After More Than a Century of Usage . . .	64
Constitutional Amendments and Revision	68
Constitutional Revision	70
More Revision Attempts.	71
Piecemeal Revision	72
The Texas Constitution: A Summary	73
The Bill of Rights	74
The Powers of Government and Separation of Powers	76
Suffrage	77
Local Governments	79
Other Articles	79

Chapter 3: Local Governments 82

Local Politics in Context	84
Local Governments and Federalism	84
Grassroots Challenges	86
Municipal Governments	86
Legal Status of Municipalities	87
Forms of Municipal Government	88
Municipal Politics.	93
Rules Make a Difference.	93
Socioeconomic and Demographic Changes . . .	96
Municipal Services.	100
Municipal Government Revenue	102
Generating Revenue for Economic Development	106
Counties	107
Structure and Operation	107
County Finance	113
County Government Reform	115
Border Counties.	116

Special Districts	118
Public School Districts	118
Junior or Community College Districts	121
Noneducation Special Districts	123
Metropolitan Areas	124
Municipal Annexation	124
Councils of Governments	125

Chapter 4:

Political Parties 130

Role of Political Parties.	131
Political Ideology.	133
Conservatism	134
Liberalism	134
Beyond Liberal and Conservative: Thinking about Ideology	135
Electoral Trends	136
Third Parties	137
Independents	139
An Overview of Texas Political History. . .	140
1840s to 1870s: The Origin of the Party System	140
1870s to 1970s: A One-Party Dominant System	140
1970s to 1990s: An Emerging Two-Party System	142
2000 to 2016: Republican Dominance	143
2016 and Beyond	147
Party Structure	151
Temporary Party Organization	151
Selection of National Convention Delegates . .	157
Permanent Party Organization	159

Chapter 5:

Voting and Elections 165

Voting	166
Voter Turnout	166
Understanding Why People Vote	167
Electoral Systems	172
Obstacles to Voting	172
The Vote Choice	179
Political Campaigns	183
Conducting Campaigns in the 21st Century . .	183
Campaign Finance	186
Racial and Ethnic Politics.	189
Latinos	189

Black Americans	193
Asian Americans	195
Women and LGBTQ+ in Politics	196
Women	196
LGBTQ+	198
Elections	198
Primary, General, and Special Elections.	205
Primary Elections	205
General and Special Elections	208

Chapter 6:

The Media and Politics 212

Where Do We Get Our Information? . . .	214
Digital Media: The Internet and Social Media .	217
Print Media: Newspapers and News Magazines	221
Electronic Media: Television and Radio	225
The Media's Roles in Politics	227
Providing Information	227
Maintaining Democracy	228
Setting the Public Agenda	235
Shaping Our Views?	237
Campaigns and Citizen Participation . . .	240
Campaigns and the Traditional Media	241
Digital Campaigning	241
Citizen Participation in the Digital Age	243
Bias?	245
Media Bias and the News	246
So, Is There Bias in the Media?	247
Latinos, Blacks, and Women in Texas	
Media	248
Regulation	250
Regulation of Print and Broadcast Media	250
Internet Regulation	251
State and Local Regulation	251
Change in the Media: More Participation,	
More Sources, but Less News?.	252
Concentration of Ownership	253

Chapter 7:

The Politics of Interest Groups 261

Interest Groups in the Political Process . .	262
What Is an Interest Group?	262
The Reasons for Interest Groups	263
Characteristics of Interest Groups.	265

Types of Interest Groups 268

Economic Groups	268
Professional/Public Employee Groups	270
Social Groups	272
Public Interest Groups.	277
Texas Power Groups.	277

Interest Group Activities 279

Lobbying	281
Electioneering	284
Campaign Financing by Political Action Committees.	286
Bribery and Unethical Practices	288

**Power and Regulation in Interest
Group Politics 290**

Regulation of Interest Group Politics	290
Interest Group Power and Public Policy	293
Pinpointing Political Power	295

Chapter 8:**The Legislative Branch 298****Legislative Framework 300**

Election and Terms of Office	301
Sessions	302
Districting	302

Legislators 309

Qualifications and Characteristics.	309
Compensation.	314

Legislative Organization 316

Presiding Officers	316
Committee System	318
Legislative Caucus System	321

Legislative Operations 322

Powers and Immunities	322
Rules and Procedures	325
How a Bill Becomes a Law	326

Influences Within the Legislative**Environment 334**

Research Organizations	334
The Media	337

Chapter 9:**The Executive Branch 340****Executive Powers of the Governor 343**

Appointive Power	343
Removal Power	344
Military Power	345
Law Enforcement Power	347
Budgetary Power	347

Executive Orders and Proclamations	348
----------------------------------------------	-----

Economic Development	349
--------------------------------	-----

Legislative Powers of the Governor . . . 350

Message Power	350
Bill Signing Power	350
Veto Power	351
Special Sessions Power	352

Judicial Powers of the Governor. 352

Appointment and Removal of Judges and Justices	353
Acts of Executive Clemency.	353

Informal Powers of the Governor 355**Resources and Limitations of
the Governorship 358**

Compensation and Benefits.	358
Staff	359
Succession.	361
Removal from Office	362

Gubernatorial Elections 363

Gubernatorial Politics: Money Matters	364
-------------------------------------------------	-----

The Plural Executive 365

The Lieutenant Governor	366
The Attorney General	367
The Comptroller of Public Accounts	369
The Commissioner of the General Land Office.	370
The Commissioner of Agriculture.	371
The Secretary of State.	373

The State Bureaucracy 374

The Institutional Context	375
State Employees	376
Education	379
Health and Human Services.	382
Employment.	382
Economic and Environmental Agencies	384

Chapter 10:**The Judicial Branch 391****State Law in Texas 393**

Sources of Law	393
Code Revision	393

**Courts, Judges, Lawyers,
and Juries 394**

Trial and Appellate Courts	394
Selecting Judges and Justices	405
Disciplining and Removing Judges and Justices.	407
Lawyers	408
Juries	410

Judicial Procedures in Civil Cases413

Civil Trial Procedure 414

Trial and Appeal of a Civil Case 415

Judicial Procedures in Criminal Cases . . .416

Criminal Justice System 416

Criminal Trial and Appeal 417

Chapter 11:**Finance and Fiscal
Policy****421****Fiscal Policies.423**

Taxing Policy. 423

Budget Policy 425

Spending Policy 427

Revenue Sources427

The Politics of Taxation 427

Revenue from Gambling 433

Other Nontax Revenues. 436

The Public Debt 438

Budgeting and Fiscal Management440

Budgeting Procedure 440

Budget Expenditures 444

Budget Execution 444

Purchasing. 445

Facilities 445

Accounting 445

Auditing 446

Future Demands446

Public Education. 447

Public Higher Education. 450

Public Assistance 457

Infrastructure Needs. 458

Chapter 12:**Public Policy and
Administration****463****Making Public Policy in Texas464**

Models of Policymaking. 465

The Institutional Context 468

Education.470

Public Schools. 471

Colleges and Universities 478

Health and Human Services483

Human Services 487

Health and Mental Health Services 488

Employment. 492

Economic and Environmental Policies . . .493

Business Promotion 494

Economic Regulatory Policy. 494

Environmental Regulation. 499

Immigration502**Chapter 13:****The Criminal Justice
System****508****Elements of the Criminal Justice****System510**

Criminal Justice Law. 511

Criminal Justice Policy. 511

The Death Penalty515

Reinstitution of the Death Penalty 515

Revisiting the Death Penalty 517

Correction and Rehabilitation521

The Texas Department of Criminal Justice . . . 522

Local Government Jails 531

Private Prisons and Jails. 532

Juvenile Justice533

State and Local Agencies 533

Procedures. 534

Problems and Reforms: Implications**for Public Policy535**

Overcrowding and Mental Illness in Prison . . . 536

Technology 537

Exoneration Issues. 538

Racial Bias in the Criminal Justice System . . . 540

Misconduct by District Attorneys and

Prosecutors 541

Glossary**546****Endnotes****561****Index****603**

Don't Overspend on Course Materials.

Save money and simplify with



Access to all
Cengage eTextbooks—
roughly 15,000—
across disciplines



Access to every Cengage
online homework
platform—*MindTap*,
WebAssign, *SAM* and more



At least four FREE hardcopy
textbook rentals—
just \$7.99 shipping &
handling per book



Offline access to
read/listen to your
eTextbooks via the
Cengage Mobile App

Purchase in bookstores and online. Better yet, ask your instructors
if your school has already purchased Cengage Unlimited access for you!

Compare your plan options at
cengage.com/unlimited

Currently available in the US only.



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 <i>Practicing Texas Politics</i>	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO) that are specifically addressed in the chapter
1: The Environment of Texas Politics	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.
	SLO 8 Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.
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.

(Continued)

Chapter in <i>Practicing Texas Politics</i>	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO) that are specifically addressed in the chapter	
3: Local Governments	SLO 7	Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens.
	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.
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.
5: Voting 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.

Chapter in <i>Practicing Texas Politics</i>	GOVT 2306 State Learning Outcomes (SLO) that are specifically addressed in the chapter	
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. Uncommon events, like the COVID-19 pandemic and 2021's Winter Storm Uri, bring into sharp relief the importance of government and the fragility of the state's economy and infrastructure. 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

In this edition, we have continued to focus on aligning our narrative with the **state learning outcomes** for GOVT 2306 and the skills-based **core objectives** required of the discipline, as defined by the Undergraduate Education Advisory Committee (UEAC) of the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB).

- This edition has been designed to support students' development of these core objectives, with the expansion of core objective questions that prompt students to engage in critical thinking, develop communication skills, evaluate social responsibility, and reflect on their own sense of personal responsibility.
- **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.
- Effects of social change, including the death of fellow Texan George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement are discussed throughout.
- **"Keeping Current: The Impact on Texas"** analyzes the outcome and effect of both the national and state 2018 and 2020 elections on aspects of Texas politics and the 86th and 87th legislative sessions.
- The text has been updated to include the effects of **recent court decisions** and other changes in laws and procedures.
- Updates highlighting **new laws enacted by the 87th regular session** are included.
- The role of the COVID-19 pandemic on the state's health care system, economy, and relationships with federal and local officials is included.

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.

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. You're in a state that continues to respond to a global pandemic, erratic weather, and active social change. Even with the unpredictability of the energy sector and related uncertainty about jobs, the number of new Texans continues to increase. Four of the 11 largest metropolitan areas in the nation are in Texas: Dallas-Ft. Worth, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin. All are projected to experience significant population growth in the coming decades. This same state, however, has the most uninsured children and adults in the nation, one of the greatest gaps in earnings between the wealthy and the poor in the United States, and lower-than-average college graduation rates. A decaying transportation infrastructure and depleted water resources will require multibillion-dollar solutions. And who will solve these problems? You, the future voters and taxpayers 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 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—a state that responded quickly to the threat of COVID-19 by conducting the first virtual court hearings and trials in the nation and a state that continues to experience exponential population growth in its major cities and boomtown population growth and busts in many of its rural areas. 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. The features highlight how Texas students like you have participated in the community or provide 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.
- **Skills-based, core objective** questions with all images ask you to engage in critical thinking, develop communication skills, evaluate social responsibility, and reflect on your personal responsibility by thinking 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.
- **Keeping Current: The Impact on Texas** provides insight into what recent state and national elections and legislative decisions mean for the Lone Star State.

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. 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.cengage.com.

If you purchased MindTap access with your book, click on “Register a Product” and then enter your access code.

Cengage Mobile App

Complete course work on the go with the *Cengage Mobile App*, which delivers a seamless course experience on a smartphone or tablet. Read or listen to your textbook whether online or offline and study with the help of flashcards, practice quizzes and instant feedback from your instructor. You can receive due date reminders and complete assignments from the convenience of your mobile device!

Cengage Unlimited

Cengage Unlimited saves students money, time and hassle when accessing course materials. One student subscription includes access to every Cengage etextbook, online homework platform, print rental benefits, study tools, and more—in one place, for one price. Cengage Unlimited eTextbooks is an option for courses that use textbooks only. Available for students in bookstores and online.

Details at www.cengage.com/unlimited. Available in select markets only.

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 for *Practicing Texas Politics*

MindTap for *Practicing Texas Politics* is an immersive, outcomes-driven online learning experience built upon Cengage content and correlated to a core set of learning outcomes. MindTap is the platform that gives you complete control of your course—to craft unique learning experiences that challenge students, build confidence and elevate performance. The design maximizes how the brain learns new information and minimizes distraction for students, guiding them through their course material. Each MindTap activity is anchored to a single concept, and pairs content and assessment in a visually captivating side-by-side presentation. These activities engage students with a variety of content types—including graphs, infographics, and explanation videos—that extend learning experience beyond the textbook, while also providing students with ample opportunities to check themselves for where they need extra help. The Cengage Mobile app enables greater flexibility for students to fit learning into their day, wherever they are, through bite-sized content and the ability to complete activities on a phone or tablet.

Cengage Infuse

Cengage Infuse for Political Science is the first-of-its-kind digital learning platform solution that uses your Learning Management System (LMS) functionality so that you can enjoy simple course set-up and intuitive management tools. Offering just the right amount of auto-graded content, you'll be ready to go online at the drop of a hat.

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

ISBN: 9780357505250

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through www.cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations, a Test Bank compatible with multiple learning management systems (LMSs), an Instructor Manual, and more.

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

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

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

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

Cognero for *Practicing Texas Politics*, 18e—for instructors only

ISBN: 9780357505304

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 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*, Enhanced 18e, contains Learning Objective-specific and core competency-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 affect politics in the Lone Star State. The 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 Anastacia De Gorostiza, Avery Stewart, Patrick Alan Hall, Sirena L. Casper, Julia Ann Cloudt, Jessica Marie Green, Diane Vecchio, and Annaleesah Pina of Austin Community College; and, Citlalli Rivera, a student and political science major at St. Mary's University and a participant in the Texas Civic Ambassadors Program.

We would also like to thank John Osterman, for authoring this edition's Instructor's Manual and PowerPoint, and MPS North America, LLC, 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

Reynaldo Flores

Richland College

Dawna Montanelli

Texarkana College

Raymond Sandoval

Richland College

Previous Edition Reviewers

Eric T Lundin

Lone Star College—Kingwood

Neal Tannahill

Houston Community College

Jamey Crane

Houston Community College

Reisha Beaty

Houston Community College

Jennifer Bachan

Houston Community College

Daniel Allen

Hardin-Simmons University

Alicia Andreatta
Angelina College
Dorris Robinson
Texas Southern University
Vida Davoudi
Lone Star College—Kingwood
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
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 is professor emeritus of political science at Baylor University, where he 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. His political activities include serving as a delegate to county and state party conventions.

Joyce Langenegger teaches government at Blinn College and is the college's Executive Director of Academic Success. 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 undergraduate degree in political science from St. Mary's University, master's degree from the University of Arizona, and her Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Santa Barbara. She has published articles on Latina politics and is a co-author of *Mexican Americans and the Law: El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido* and lead author of *Políticas: Latina Public Officials in Texas*. Her involvement in politics includes leadership development for various Latino/a-based organizations.

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 T. Rynbrandt is a professor of political science at Collin College in Plano, Texas, where he teaches American Government and Texas Government. Professor Rynbrandt leads campus initiatives that help students improve academic and life skills, develop mental and emotional resilience, and increase civic engagement. His research and writing examines the role of the pursuit of happiness in American political history, culture, and public policy. He earned his master's degree from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. 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 colleges and universities in San Antonio.

Juan Carlos Huerta is a professor of political science 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 president of the Political Science Education Organized Section of the American Political Science Association and the Southwestern Political Science Association and was nominated to serve as Vice President of the American Political Science Association. He is the founding president of the Learning Communities Association. His research and writing examines political representation, public opinion, Latino/a politics, political science education, and learning communities. His most recent research (with Beatriz Cuartas), “Red to Purple? Changing Demographics and Party Change in Texas,” is published in *Social Science Quarterly*.



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.

Business

Knowledge and skills gained in a political science major are well suited to pursue a career in business. Understanding governance and how government influences the economy is critical knowledge for a successful business career. In addition, analytical, quantitative, and communication skills provide political science majors with a strong foundation for any profession. Visit with career counselors to select appropriate electives.

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 regard 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 clearly, 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 these 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!

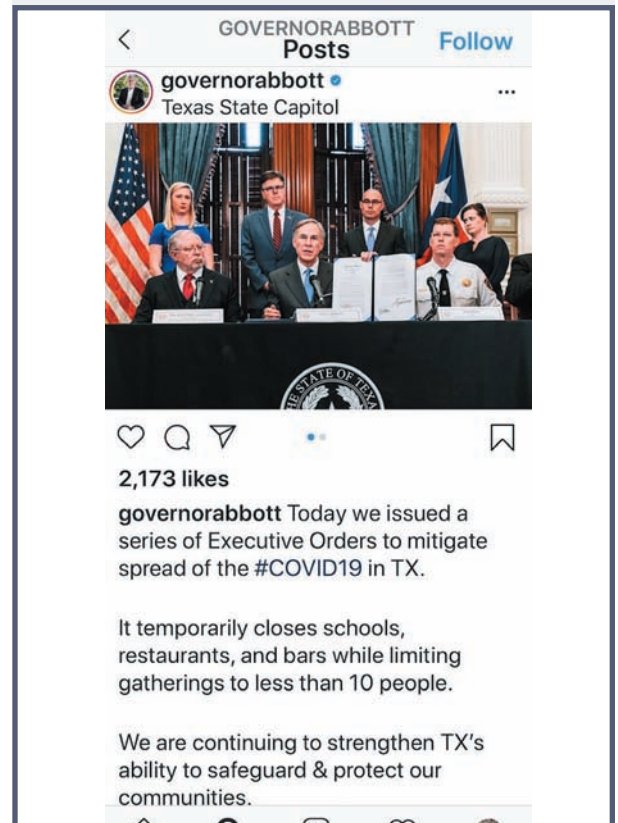


The Environment of Texas Politics

Learning Objectives

- 1.1** Describe the relationship between the social history of Texas and the political characteristics of the state's diverse population.
- 1.2** Analyze how political culture has shaped Texas's politics, government, and public policy.
- 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 economic implications for Texas politics.
- 1.5** Identify four major policy challenges Texas faces in the 21st century.

Image 1.1 Governor Abbott uses social media to announce Executive Orders relating to COVID-19.



Source: Instagram

Competency Connection CRITICAL THINKING

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

*“Yesterday is not ours to recover,
but tomorrow is ours to win or lose.”*

—Lyndon B. Johnson

Everything Is Changing in Texas

On March 13, 2020, less than a month after Texas officially recorded its first case of COVID-19, Governor Greg Abbott declared a state of disaster for all Texas counties. Six days later, the Texas Department of State Health Services responded to the threat caused by the novel coronavirus by declaring a public health disaster for the first time in almost 100 years.¹ Local governments began issuing a patchwork of “shelter-in-place” orders for individuals and restrictions on organizations of all kinds. Life in Texas had been changing rapidly for decades, but the life-threatening coronavirus transformed life for nearly every resident of the state (and indeed almost every human being on the planet). Beyond damage to life and health, social and governmental responses to the pandemic devastated the economy, exacerbated political divisions, and unleashed social unrest. Individuals, private organizations, and government institutions struggled to adjust to the new reality and clashed over the proper balance of liberty, safety, and equality.

If you live here, these transformations and the way our political system handles them have a significant impact on your life. State governments arguably have more direct effect on your quality of life than does the national government. The varying state responses to the pandemic show how different they can be.

If you don’t live here, pay attention anyway. 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 2020, the U.S. Census Bureau ranked Texas second largest among the 50 states, with a population over 29 million. That placed the Lone Star State between California with 39.5 million residents and Florida with more than 21.5 million.³

Our analysis of the politics of Texas’s state and local governments will help you understand political action and prepare you for active and informed participation 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 (ordinary citizens, activists, politicians, public employees, and opinion leaders), and the rules of the game (state and federal constitutions, laws, and political processes).

Follow Practicing
Texas Politics on
Twitter @PracTexPol

Managing Change: Government, Policy, and Politics in Texas

Restrictions on liberties, such as governmental responses to COVID-19, along with expressions of liberties, such as protests sparked by some instances of police brutality, have inspired passionate disagreement about the proper powers and responsibilities of national, state, and local governments. There has never been full agreement in democratic societies about such issues. Views vary widely and are held deeply. Yet aside from a handful of anarchists (who oppose all governments), 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 a representative democracy or “republic” modeled on the government of the United States. As such, it incorporates U.S. political principles, discussed in other chapters, such as popular sovereignty, political equality, separation of powers, due process of law, civil rights, and personal liberties. Our government is thus responsible for representing all citizens of this diverse state as political equals. Power of state government to make policy is 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 other branches. The state government also delegates some policy-making power to local governments, including counties, cities, and special districts. As a result, **public policies** take different forms.

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 government services or shifting tax revenue from police departments to violence prevention programs. 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 civil penalties (fines that must be paid) for price gouging after a disaster. In addition, the government can encourage or discourage behaviors through public relations and information campaigns, such as social media posts and press conferences encouraging social distancing and wearing masks during a pandemic.

government

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

public policy

What government does or does not do to and for its citizens



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, critics have compared government to a sausage factory—even if you like the product it produces, the process isn't 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.

The People of Texas

LO 1.1 Describe the relationship between the social history of Texas and the political characteristics of the state's diverse population.

Texas is amazingly diverse in racial, ethnic, and cultural terms. Defining groups is not a straightforward exercise, but is important because people often receive differential treatment depending on their perceived race and ethnicity. Genetic research has revealed that human beings are not clearly divisible into what we call “races,” or “ethnicities.”⁴ Such divisions are not scientific facts but **social constructs**. “Race” is a construct based on physical or social characteristics commonly considered distinctive; and “ethnicity” is a construct based upon shared characteristics such as language, ancestry, homeland, cultural heritage, and the like. All this can make proper terminology difficult and confusing.

For example, the racial category of “White” has changed dramatically over time. Prior to the 1940s Americans commonly recognized numerous “White races” with persons of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, or Nordic ancestry considered superior and those of Irish, Italian, Eastern European, and other ancestries ranked in a hierarchy from less inferior to more inferior. While all “White races” received the right to vote, discrimination against the supposedly inferior Whites in hiring, housing, and lending was common. The country also operated on the “one drop rule” according to which Whites with one drop of African blood were to be considered Black. For a time, those with one Black grandparent were classified by the U.S. Census Bureau as “quadroons” and anyone with one Black great-grandparent was classified as an “octoroon.” By contrast, the U.S. Census Bureau now classifies anyone “with origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East or North Africa” as “White” and allows those of mixed ancestry to choose multiple races. The terms “Black” and “African American” are now used by the Census Bureau interchangeably to indicate “a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.” Yet in common usage “African-American” is nation-specific and generally used to indicate Black people born in the United States or whose direct

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.

social construct

concept or belief developed and maintained by the collective views of a society rather than existing inherently or naturally.



ancestors were enslaved in the United States. “Black” is a more inclusive term that is more likely to be embraced by people who come from or trace their roots more directly to Latin America (usually the Caribbean region), Europe or Africa.⁵

Further complicating matters, a person categorized by the U.S. Census Bureau as ethnically Hispanic may be of any race. “Hispanic” is used to indicate someone of Spanish-speaking ancestry. It overlaps with, but is distinct from “Latino,” which indicates ancestral roots in **Latin America**, where a variety of languages are spoken. While any label for a group is necessarily imperfect, the authors of this book aim to use the most inclusive language possible as consistently as possible. They diverge from this practice only when it is clearly not applicable or when referring to specific U.S. Census Bureau data. In reference to race, they will use the terms White, Black, Native American (which includes American Indians and Indigenous Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, and Alaskans), and Asian (which includes persons with origins in the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent). When referring to ethnicity, they will use the term Latino/a.⁶

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, more than one-half of all Texans are either Black or Latino. The remainder are predominantly non-Hispanic Whites, with a small but rapidly growing Asian population and approximately 320,000 Native Americans. More than one-third of all Texans speak a language other than English at home. More than 145 languages are spoken in the Houston metropolitan area, which replaced New York City in 2012 as the most ethnically diverse city in the country. In 2021, Dallas ranked as the 4th most 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. Racial and ethnic tensions in recent years have been high; and there are strong disagreements about the nature, extent, and proposed remedies for discrimination. Nevertheless, one of the remarkable facets of Texas is that most 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 calls “breathhtakingly violent.”⁷

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 for that time vary widely, ranging from 50,000 to 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

Latin America

Countries in the western hemisphere south of the United States where Spanish, Portuguese and French are the official languages.



tribe in shaping Texas history. Excellent horsemen and valiant warriors, these buffalo hunters maintained a successful resistance to the northward expansion of Spaniards and Mexicans, and later to the westward expansion of Whites.⁸ Native American tribes were not unified. For example, the Tonkawa of Central Texas often allied with Whites 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 like smallpox that decimated native communities. Though sometimes peaceful, early contact also included the taking of slaves, torture, and even cannibalism.⁹ Spain and France claimed Texas, but neither country actively ruled all of the territory. Their activities involved exploring, surveying, and fighting. Spanish activities also included trading, 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 like Laredo and El Paso, 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, White American settlers began coming to the Mexican province of *Tejas* in greater numbers. The first non-Spanish-speaking immigrants to Texas were largely of English ancestry, along with some other European nationalities. Arrival of White settlers sped decline of the Native American population, which had already been reduced to between 20,000 and 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 these immigrants. Many White newcomers would not learn Spanish and 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. Much blood was shed to establish the independent Republic of Texas in 1836.¹⁰

The Republic of Texas The two elected presidents of the Republic, Sam Houston (twice) and Mirabeau B. Lamar, along with members of the Texas Congress, struggled to establish Texas as an independent nation, even as many in the government sought to join the United States. Burdens of establishing and maintaining an army and navy, operating a postal system, printing paper money, administering justice, and providing other governmental services were made difficult by conflicts within and without the Republic's borders.



Warfare between Whites and Native Americans continued because of increased immigration from the United States and because some **Texian** leaders pursued policies of removal and extermination. Fighting was so fierce that two decades after independence, one observer in 1856 estimated the state's Native American population at only 12,000, with most having been killed or driven from the state.¹¹ While many **Tejanos** (Latino Texans) had fought for Texas's independence, Cal Jillson notes that "some Texas leaders sought to equate Indians and Mexicans and urge the expulsion or extermination of both."¹² From the time of Texas independence until 1890, immigration from Mexico all but ceased. Latinos remained concentrated in settlements such as San Antonio that were founded during the 18th century and within Central and South Texas. Conflicts, in some cases violent, among White Texans, Native Americans, and Tejanos, continued into Texas's statehood, which came about in 1845, less than a decade after its independence.

The Lone Star State In South Texas, Latinos comprised a majority of the population despite the increased number of White arrivals after the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848 (which followed admission of Texas into the Union). White immigration dominated much of the rest of the state. Before the Civil War, more than one-half of the state's White residents had migrated from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee. Many of these new immigrants were slaveholders, so the Republic of Texas legalized slavery and entered the federal Union as a slave state. By 1847, Blacks accounted for one-fourth of the state's population, and most were slaves.

Yet slavery was not universally accepted in Texas. Some estimates suggest as many as 24,000 German immigrants and descendants settled in the Hill Country of Central Texas by 1860. Most opposed slavery on principle, whereas others simply had no need for slaves. As a result, 14 counties in the region voted 40 percent or greater against secession in 1861. Despite Sam Houston's opposition, the secessionists won and Texas joined the Confederate States of America in February of that year. In the Ordinance of Secession and in an official explanation of the causes of secession issued the following day, Texas leaders repeatedly cited northern attacks on the institution of slavery, along with the alleged failure of the federal government to protect White Texans against Mexican and Indian banditry, and other grievances.¹³

The Civil War and Reconstruction Although Texas experienced less fighting than other southern states in the Civil War, ravages of combat were felt. In addition to battles with Union troops, Central Texas was scarred by what has been called "a civil war within a Civil War," as hundreds of opposing Union and Confederate sympathizers died in armed confrontations. The Confederacy lost the war, and Texas was brought back into the Union through Reconstruction, a period in which the U.S. government sought to protect freed slaves and to remake the political and economic structures of southern states.

Governor Edmund J. Davis's active work to enfranchise freed slaves during Radical Reconstruction temporarily made political participation safe for Black Texans. This change even led to a small wave of freedmen migration from other

Texian

A term referring to early White settlers of Mexican Texas and the Republic of Texas, especially those who supported the Texas Revolution. All residents of Texas today are referred to as Texans.

Tejano

A term referring to early Mexican settlers of Mexican Texas and the Republic of Texas. All residents of Texas today are referred to as Texans.

southern states into Texas. Disenfranchised White citizens who had supported the Confederacy considered Davis's tactics heavy-handed and sought to re-establish White control once Reconstruction ended.

The Great State of Texas Texas was fully readmitted to the United States in 1870, but civil strife continued. Although White migration into the state declined during the Civil War and Reconstruction, it resumed by the 1870s. Westward settlement further displaced Native Americans and converted the prairies into cattle and sheep ranches. A combination of White in-migration and Black out-migration reduced the percentage of Black Texans in the population from 31 percent in 1870 to 13 percent by 1950.

Black Texans who remained in the state faced great difficulty. Slavery was replaced for many by a different form of servitude in the form of sharecropping, in which they farmed land as tenants for a portion of the crops grown. *De jure* segregation, or segregation by law (also known as Jim Crow laws), resulted in denial of adequate education, scarcity of economic opportunities, and incidents of racial violence. Texas saw more than 700 lynchings of Blacks and Latinos between 1882 and 1968.¹⁴

Early in the 20th century, waves of Mexican immigrants escaping the Mexican Revolution and its aftermath fed the American need for seasonal laborers. Many worked for White farmers and ranchers. The Great Depression and resulting competition for work greatly increased anti-immigrant sentiment and policy in Texas. Violence sometimes erupted as a result.¹⁵

After World War II, many Mexican immigrants left agriculture and sought manufacturing jobs in cities. Most of them experienced improvements in wages and working conditions as unskilled or semiskilled laborers. Nevertheless, a growing number entered managerial, sales, and clerical professions. Many Texans joined Latino/a and Black civil rights groups in the fight for equality.¹⁶ In the 1960s, the federal government began to enforce the desegregation decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, and Texan President Lyndon Johnson signed a series of new anti-discrimination civil rights laws. Public schools, workplaces, and some neighborhoods, especially in urban areas, began to integrate.

Integration has reduced, but not eliminated, intergroup tension in Texas. Events within Texas and outside the state have sparked dramatic incidents of racial animosity in the Lone Star State in recent years. Protests of deadly encounters between police and Blacks—along with statistics demonstrating continued discrimination in housing, employment, and criminal justice—have heightened long-simmering tensions in the Lone Star State.

On May 25, 2020, videos were released to the public of Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin kneeling on the neck of George Floyd until he died. Floyd, a Black man originally from Texas, had been arrested for allegedly passing a counterfeit bill. Within days, large protests against police violence toward Black people spread through the nation and Texas cities, large and small. While the vast majority of the tens of thousands of protesters remained peaceful, some looting and property damage occurred in several Texas cities and some instigators threw objects at police. Police response to protesters varied from police firing tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets, and beanbag rounds (beanbags filled with

metal pellets) at protestors in Austin to uniformed bicycle police kneeling with and hugging protestors in Fort Worth. In response to the protests, Governor Greg Abbott activated the Texas National Guard and declared a statewide state of disaster, issuing statements affirming the First Amendment right to protest while condemning violence and destruction.¹⁷ Some local governments imposed curfews and continued to make arrests.

With the **Black Lives Matter** movement at the forefront, Texans of all ages, races, and ethnicities took to the streets. Demands for police reform divided Texans but did result in a few policy changes. Some counties and cities enacted reforms including bans on police using chokeholds or firing at moving vehicles, requiring de-escalation training, limiting no-knock warrants, banning the use of deterrents such as pepper spray and beanbag rounds, and requiring police officers to intervene when another officer uses excessive force. In addition, local governments removed numerous Confederate monuments around the state and renamed schools that had been named for Confederate leaders.¹⁸ Conflicts over police use of force and over monuments celebrating the Confederacy are part of a larger debate in Texas and across the United States about **systemic racism**.

The concept of systemic racism argues that racially and ethnically discriminatory laws and policies have resulted in segregated housing; isolation of many members of historical minority groups into low-income neighborhoods; disparate treatment in the criminal justice system; and fewer life opportunities, such as education, quality health care, and the opportunity to accumulate wealth. Systemic racism is different than individual racism in that it refers to disadvantages inherited by people of color because of multiple racist practices, systems, and institutions that shaped the society we live in today.

Although Texas continues to struggle with individual and systemic racism, historical minority groups have made major strides in education, employment, and political representation in recent decades. In 2020, Texas ranked second on a list of best states for Black entrepreneurship.¹⁹ In increasing numbers, Texans work, live, socialize, date, and marry across racial, ethnic, and religious lines. Evidence shows that young people use more social media than other groups and that persons who use social media have more racially and ethnically diverse social networks. Generation Z, the generational designation for those born between 1997 and 2012, is the most racially and ethnically diverse generation in American history and is poised to become the largest generation in the United States. The U.S. Census Bureau projected racial/ethnic categories in Texas for 2019 at the following percentages:

White, non-Latino/a	41.2
Hispanic/Latino	39.7
Black/African American	12.9
Asian	5.2
American Indian or Alaskan Native	1.0
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0.1
Two or more races	2.1

Totals exceed 100 percent because some people report in more than one racial or ethnic category.

Black Lives Matter
A decentralized social movement advocating non-violent protest and civil disobedience in reaction to police brutality and racially motivated violence against Black people.

systemic racism
Systems, structures, procedures, or processes that disadvantage people of color. Also known as “institutional racism” or “structural racism.”



Texans Today

Texas ranks among the most racially and ethnically diverse states in the nation. There really is no such thing as a “typical Texan.” Five groups comprise the major racial and ethnic groups in the state: Native American, Asian, Black, Latino, and White.

Native Americans Although some counties (Cherokee, Comanche, Nacogdoches), cities and towns (Caddo Mills, Lipan, Waxahachie), and other places have Native American names, by 2019, Texas Native Americans only numbered about 320,000. Most Native Americans live and work in towns and cities, with only a few remaining on three reservations. Approximately one-half of the 1,291 members of the Alabama-Coushatta tribe reside on a 4,351-acre East Texas reservation. On the U.S.–Mexican border near Eagle Pass, a few hundred members of the Kickapoo tribe are allowed by the governments of Mexico and the United States to move freely between Texas and the Mexican state of Coahuila. At the far western boundary of the state, the 1,700-member Tigua tribe inhabits a reservation near El Paso.

As of mid-2021, all three tribes operated casino-like facilities. The Kickapoo have done so continuously since 1996, transforming their 850-member tribe from poverty to a middle-class lifestyle. The Tigua and Alabama-Coushatta tribes gained federal recognition later than the Kickapoo. At that time federal treaties allowed Texas to apply all state laws to Native American tribes, including those regarding gambling. Though both tribes opened successful casino-like facilities, a federal judge ordered them closed in 2002. Since then the Tigua and Alabama-Coushatta have organized politically to gain gaming rights on their reservations, making substantial campaign contributions, using the courts, and engaging in lobbying activity. In 2015, the National Indian Gaming Commission and the U.S. Department of the Interior declared that they would allow certain types of casino-like facility gambling on both the Tigua and Alabama-Coushatta reservations. Despite repeated attempts by Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton to close the facilities, both tribes used some forms of gambling to generate tens of millions of dollars each year. In 2020 the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 2019 District Court ruling declaring tribal gaming facilities to be in violation of state law and ordering them to halt operations. In that same year, a resolution in the U.S. House authored by Brian Babin (R-Woodville) seeking to allow bingo-style gaming and to clarify that tribes fall under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act failed in the U.S. Senate. U.S. Senator John Cornyn caused the Senate Indian Affairs Committee to postpone hearings regarding the resolution until Texas state government and the tribes reached agreement.²⁰ In 2021, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the U.S. Department of Justice to weigh in on the issue of tribal gaming facilities in Texas, allowing gaming to continue during the appeals process.

Asians The Lone Star State is home to one of the largest Asian populations (more than 1.5 million) in the nation. “Asian” is a broad term encompassing those with roots in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. Texas has long received immigrants from these regions. In recent years, Asian immigration increased, while immigration from Latin American countries declined. Census

data indicate that the Asian population of Texas is diverse, with the largest groups claiming ancestry from Vietnam or the Indian subcontinent, but with substantial populations of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) or Filipino heritage. Most Asian Texans live in the state's largest urban centers. Fort Bend County near Houston has the greatest percentage of Asian Americans in the state at almost 21 percent.

More than one-half of Texas's first-generation Asian Americans entered this country with college degrees or completed their degrees after arrival.²¹ The intensity with which the state's young Asians focus on education is revealed by enrollment data at major Texas universities. Although Asians account for less than 4 percent of the total population of the state, they comprised 31 percent of the undergraduate enrollment at Rice University and 37 percent of the enrollment at the University of Texas at Dallas in the fall 2020 semester. Asians have the highest median household income of any racial group in Texas, at \$111,900. Four Asian representatives served in the 87th Legislature. In 2020 Jacey Jetton was elected to the Texas House of Representatives. Jetton's father is a sixth-generation White Texan and his mother is South Korean, making him the first Korean American elected to the Texas Legislature.

Blacks By 2019, Texas was home to approximately 3.7 million Black residents, approximately 12.9 percent of the state's population. The Black population has continued to grow, but more slowly than other ethnic or racial groups. Today, Texas has the second highest number of Black residents in the nation (after New York) with most residing in southeast, north central, and northeast Texas. More than one-half of the state's Black population lives in and near major urban areas. In recent years, a significant number of people seeking employment and a higher standard of living have immigrated from the African continent to the United States and settled in Texas. Although Black people constitute a majority in some small towns, they do not constitute a majority in any Texas county or large city. According to the 2014–2018 Community Survey, the city of Beaumont had the highest percentage of Black residents among larger Texas cities at more than 48 percent.²²

For more than 80 years from the end of Reconstruction until 1958 (when Hattie White was elected to the Houston School Board), no Black person held elective office in the state. Over the last 50 years, the political influence of Black Texans has increased in local, state, and national government. In 1972, Barbara Jordan became the first Black politician since Reconstruction to represent Texas in Congress. In 1992, Morris Overstreet became the first Black person to win a statewide office when he was elected to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals. In 2018, Eddie Bernice Johnson became the first Black Texan to chair a standing committee in the U.S. House. The number of Black voters, candidates, and officeholders in Texas has continued to rise in recent years.

Latinos Although many Texas Latinos trace their ancestry to Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, more than 88 percent are of Mexican origin. By 2020, Texas ranked second in the nation behind California in the number of Latino/a residents with more than 11.4 million and second in the nation behind



New Mexico in percentage of Latino/a residents with approximately 39 percent of the state's population. More than one-half of all newborns in the state are Latinos. Based on current population trends, some demographers suggest that by 2022 Latinos will be the largest population group in the Lone Star State. Though poverty rates are significantly higher for Latinos than Whites, Texas's Spanish-surnamed residents are gaining economic strength, and the number of Latino/a-owned businesses is growing rapidly.²³

As Latinos continue to be the fastest-growing ethnic group in Texas (in terms of numbers), their political influence is increasing. Between 1846 and 1961, only 19 Latino politicians were elected to the Texas legislature. Since 1961, however, Latinos have won election to many local, state, and national positions. In 1984, Raul Gonzalez became the first Latino in a statewide office when he won election to the Texas Supreme Court. Though group solidarity among Latino/a voters is lower than other groups and they do not always support Latino/a candidates, organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project have worked to increase voter registration and turnout in recent years. By 2019, Texas had almost 2,740 Latino/a elected officials, by far the largest number of any state and approximately 40 percent of all Latino/a elected officials in the country.²⁴ Henry González was the first Texas Latino elected to the U.S. House in 1963, and in 2012, Ted Cruz became the first elected to the U.S. Senate. Texans reelected him to the Senate in 2018 and sent the state's first two Latinas, Sylvia Garcia and Veronica Escobar, to the U.S. House of Representatives. Of the 29 officials elected on a statewide basis, as of 2021, three were Latino/a.

Whites According to the 2000 census, more than 52 percent of Texas's population was composed of "non-Hispanic Whites," a category including people of European ancestry but also those of Middle Eastern and North African heritage. That percentage dropped to less than 50 percent in 2004, when Texas joined Hawaii, New Mexico, and California as majority-minority states. By 2019, the White population of Texas was almost 12 million, or about 41.2 percent of the state's population. Projections indicate that the percentage of Whites in the state will continue to decrease and the percentage of other racial/ethnic groups will continue to increase. Although White Texans trace their roots to all parts of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, White Texans of English ancestry predominate in eastern, central, and northern Texas and those of German ancestry predominate in central and western Texas. Many small towns in Texas remain exclusively, or almost exclusively, White. The whitest large city in Texas is Spring (near Houston), with over 88 percent of its more than 205,000 residents identifying as non-Hispanic White.²⁵

Poverty rates among Texas Whites remain dramatically lower and incomes remain significantly higher than all groups except Asians. The poverty rate for Texas Whites was 8 percent in 2018, compared to 20 percent for Blacks and 21 percent for Latinos.²⁶ In 2018, Black and Latino/a households had median annual incomes below \$49,000 whereas White households averaged \$102,000. Despite making up less than half the state's population, more than two-thirds of all businesses in Texas are owned by White people. An advantage in resources

Image 1.2 Protesters march in Austin demanding reforms to end police discrimination and excessive force.



Vic Hinterlang/Shutterstock.com

Competency Connection

± PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ±

In an increasingly diverse political landscape, how might you contribute to the representation of your community's interests?

also translates into political advantage. White Texans are more likely to vote, to contribute to campaigns and interest groups, and to run for office than any other racial group. As a result, they also continue to hold a disproportionate share of local, state, and national political offices in the Lone Star State.

Implications of Racial and Ethnic Diversity The changing demographics of Texas lead many to speculate that the partisan makeup of Texas will soon change. “Demographics Is Destiny,” as the saying goes. Many point to the increasingly small margins by which Republican candidates won elections over the past several election cycles as evidence that Texas will soon become a Democratic state.

Yet the ascendance of Democrats over Republicans in Texas is not a foregone conclusion. While a sizable majority of Texas Latinos identify with the Democratic Party, many are ineligible to vote. Among those who are eligible, voting rates have been increasing but continue to be lower than the voting rates of White voters, a sizeable majority of whom identify with the Republican party. Moreover, Texas Republicans have historically done better among Latino/a voters than Republicans at the national level and are making efforts to continue that trend.

✓ 1.1 Learning Check

1. How has the size and political power of Texas's Latino/a population changed in recent decades?
2. What is systemic racism?

Answers at the end of this chapter.



Texas Political Culture

LO 1.2 Analyze how political culture has shaped Texas's politics, government, and public policy.

Types of Political Culture

In a state as diverse as Texas, people 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 concept **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.”²⁷ Based on the settlers in the original colonies, Elazar identified three distinct subcultures that exist in the United States: moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic. Although elements of each exist in Texas, proponents of the individualistic and traditionalistic subcultures have historically dominated the state and controlled the political system.

Texas Moralism In the moralistic subculture 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 in order 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 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. 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 Black political participation made him many enemies among conservative White Democrats who regained control of the government when Reconstruction ended. Reaction to Davis’s 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.²⁸ From the mid-1800s 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, Blacks and Latinos in Texas engaged in organized political activism to change the traditionalistic political structure of the state.

political culture

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

progressive

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

Texas Individualism The individualistic subculture grew out of the focus on individual opportunity, especially in business, in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Business leaders advanced this subculture, often viewing government as an adversary that used taxes and regulations to limit their economic freedom. Therefore, they saw government as mostly negative and wanted to limit its size and scope. Today, the individualistic subculture is dominant in a majority of the midwestern and western states. 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 individualistic subculture is the mostly English-speaking, White settlers who came to Texas in the early 19th century from the United States either 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 while persevering through extreme hardships.²⁹

Elements of the individualistic subculture in the Lone Star State are its limited government and excessively restricted powers. 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 among 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. Texans consistently report levels of trust in state government that are almost twice as high as their trust in the government in Washington, D.C. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Lone Star State's individualistic political subculture has been displayed by strong resistance to business closures and shelter-in-place orders.³⁰

Evidence of individualistic subculture can also be seen in Texas's economic conservatism and deference to the power of wealthy businessmen and corporations. Texas remains one of the few states without a personal or corporate income tax, and it has adopted **right-to-work laws** that hinder the formation and operation of labor unions. The state and its municipalities offer public funding and tax abatements to encourage private corporations and businesses in other states to relocate to Texas. A traditionalistic-individualistic political culture is reflected in the important role powerful individuals and families continue to play in local and state politics, and in their influence on public policies.

Texas Traditionalism The traditionalistic subculture grew out of the Old South. It 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 that designed policies to preserve their dominant role in the social order. Poor Whites and minorities were often disenfranchised. In traditionalistic subculture, government is a vehicle for maintaining the status

right-to-work laws

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



quo and its hierarchy. This subculture has often developed one-party systems that tend to strengthen people who are already powerful. Today, traditionalistic subculture still remains dominant throughout the South.

The traditionalistic subculture in Texas can be traced to the early 19th century and the immigration of Southern cotton plantation owners. Before Texas joined the Confederacy, much of its wealth was concentrated in a few plantation-owning 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.³¹ After the Civil War (1861–1865) and Reconstruction, **Jim Crow laws** limited Black Texans' access to public services, such as education, and to both public and private facilities, like restrooms. 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 one-party politics were entrenched. In addition, the traditionalistic influence of Mexico, as evidenced by the *patrón* (political boss) system that dominated some areas of South Texas, has also affected political attitudes of some Texans of Mexican ancestry.

For most of its history, Texas has been a one-party-dominant state (first Democrat and later Republican), which is one of the key identifiers of a traditionalistic political subculture. 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. With few exceptions, participation in politics and voter turnout are consistently low, averaging less than 50 percent for presidential elections and 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 Blacks and other minority groups. Though Texas has in recent years removed more symbols of the Confederacy than any other state, and has increased the pace of removal in the wake of the protests following the murder of George Floyd, it still has the second highest number of Confederate memorials.³²

Jim Crow laws

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

✓ 1.2 Learning Check

1. Which two types of political subculture have traditionally been dominant in Texas?
2. What influences have been challenging Texas's traditionalistic-individualistic subculture?

Answers at the end of this chapter.

A Changing Culture?

Since the mid-1970s Texas has experienced massive population influx from other countries and from states with more heavily moralistic political cultures. Since 2005, Texas has welcomed nearly twice the number of new arrivals as any other state. The addition of tens of millions of residents in a few decades raises important questions: Will individualistic and traditionalistic subcultures continue to dominate? Will population changes shift the state toward moralistic subculture? 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.

Image 1.3 Texas State Capitol Building

Courtesy of the Texas House of Representatives

Competency Connection
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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?

🗺️ The Land and Population Distribution

LO 1.3 Discuss the political implications of Texas's size in both geography and population, along with the geographic distribution of its residents.

Texas's politics and public policy have always been shaped by the state's size. With more than 267,000 square miles of territory, Texas is second only to Alaska (570,640 square miles) in area and is as large as the combined areas of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Connecting the more than 1,200 incorporated cities in Texas requires approximately 315,000 miles of roadways, including more than 80,000 miles of major highways constructed and maintained under the supervision of the Texas Department of Transportation. The state government is also responsible for more than 6,200 traffic signals, 1,000 dynamic message signs, and many programs to prevent and respond to accidents and damage to roads and bridges.³³ Texas's massive size has an impact on political campaigns. Running for statewide office—and in some instances for district-level



office—requires a significant investment of financial resources. Despite the rise of social media as an inexpensive and effective campaigning and organizing tool, traveling the state for rallies and fundraisers while targeting 20 media markets with advertisements is an expensive undertaking that requires extensive fundraising.

Texas is large both physically and in population. In every decade since 1850, Texas's population has grown more rapidly than the overall population of the United States. According to the 2020 federal census, Texas's resident population totaled 29,145,505—a stunning increase of 40 percent from 2000. (The resident population of the United States in 2020 was 331,449,281—an increase of approximately 18 percent from 2000.) By 2020, Texas also had six of the top 13 fastest-growing large cities in the country.³⁴

Urbanization

Although many people living outside of Texas may still associate the Lone Star State with lonesome cowboys on vast ranges, the great majority of the state's population growth has occurred in urban and metropolitan areas that are composed of one or more large cities and their surrounding suburban communities. Texas's four most populous counties (Harris, Dallas, Bexar, and Tarrant) have a combined population of almost 11.5 million people, larger than the population of 43 of the 50 states. Texas was 80 percent rural at the beginning of the 20th century, but today more than 88 percent of the state's population lives in Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) (those with populations greater than 50,000) in fewer than 20 percent of the state's 254 counties. It is politically significant that these 48 counties potentially account for about four of every five votes cast in statewide elections. Thus, governmental decision-makers holding statewide office are primarily accountable to people living in one-fifth of the state's counties. Urban voters are consistently more supportive of the Democratic Party. Fort Worth voters were an exception to this trend until a majority of the city's voters cast their ballots for Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden in 2020. Suburban voters tend more toward the Republican Party. Since metropolitan voters, as a whole, are rarely of one mind at the polls, they do not tend to overwhelm rural voters by taking opposing positions on all policy issues.

From 2010 to 2020, two Texas metropolitan statistical areas (Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington and Houston-The Woodlands-Sugarland) added more than a million people each, making them the fourth and fifth most populous MSAs in the nation. The Texas Demographic Center projects that nearly 95 percent of the state's 2010–2050 population growth will be in its 82 metropolitan counties.³⁵ Most of these population concentrations are within the Texas Triangle, roughly outlined by segments of interstate highways 35, 45, and 10 that connect the cities of Houston, Dallas–Fort Worth, and San Antonio.

Suburbanization and Gentrification

Between 1980 and the present, Texas suburbs (relatively small municipalities, usually outside the boundary limits of a central city) experienced explosive growth and spread into rural areas. The early history of suburbanization was

redlining

A discriminatory rating system used by federal agencies to evaluate the risks associated with loans made to borrowers in specific urban neighborhoods. Today, the term also refers to the same practice among private businesses like banks and real estate companies.

marked by racial segregation, with Whites in more affluent suburbs and historical minority groups in the inner city and less affluent suburbs. Government policies were used purposefully to ensure residential segregation. The federal government used **redlining** to restrict lending in low-income neighborhoods. Because historical minorities are disproportionately included in lower socioeconomic groups, this practice barred lending to many minority borrowers. Additionally, the federal government used interstate highway designs and **urban renewal** projects to isolate and eliminate minority neighborhoods. Local policies like **exclusionary zoning** and federal policies requiring **racial covenants** prevented minorities from renting or buying homes in more affluent suburbs. In many White suburbs, the powers of city governments (including some police departments and inspectors' offices) and homeowners' associations were used to harass, intimidate, or neglect minority families or businesses that moved in. Even when laws and court decisions moved official policies away from racially discriminatory practices, integration was limited by economic inequality, the phenomenon of White flight, and the practice of some realtors and lenders to steer their clients into segregated neighborhoods. Today, *de facto* racial segregation (segregation by fact rather than by law) remains, especially in suburban areas, though to a lesser extent than in the past.³⁶

Texas has seen large demographic movements from rural to urban areas and from large cities to the suburbs and back. Although the shift from rural to urban areas and the growth of exurbs (extra-urban areas beyond suburbs) have continued into the 21st century, a repopulation of inner cities has revitalized numerous downtown neighborhoods and attracted new residents. In a process called **gentrification**, middle-class and affluent people move into struggling inner city areas, investing in property improvement and new businesses. Gentrification can be controversial, as lower-income residents are often displaced by increases in

urban renewal

The relocation of businesses and people, the demolition of structures, and the use of eminent domain to take private property for development projects.

exclusionary zoning

The use of local government zoning ordinances to exclude certain groups of people from a given community.

racial covenants

Agreements written into real estate documents by property owners, subdivision developers, or real estate operators in a given neighborhood, binding property owners not to sell, lease, or rent property to specified groups because of race, creed, or color.

gentrification

A relocation of middle class or affluent people into deteriorating urban areas, often displacing low-income residents.



How Do We Compare...

In Population?

2020 Resident Population as Reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census

Most Populous U.S. States	Population	U.S. States Bordering Texas	Population
California	39,538,223	Louisiana	4,657,757
Texas	29,145,505	Oklahoma	3,959,353
Florida	21,538,187	Arkansas	3,011,524
New York	20,201,249	New Mexico	2,117,522

Competency Connection
★ CRITICAL THINKING ★

How does a large and rapidly growing population create both opportunities and challenges for Texas?



rent, property values, and tax rates. Locally owned small businesses are also frequently unable to compete with new competition from incoming businesses.³⁷ Local governments, however, may benefit from increased property tax revenue.

Rural Texas

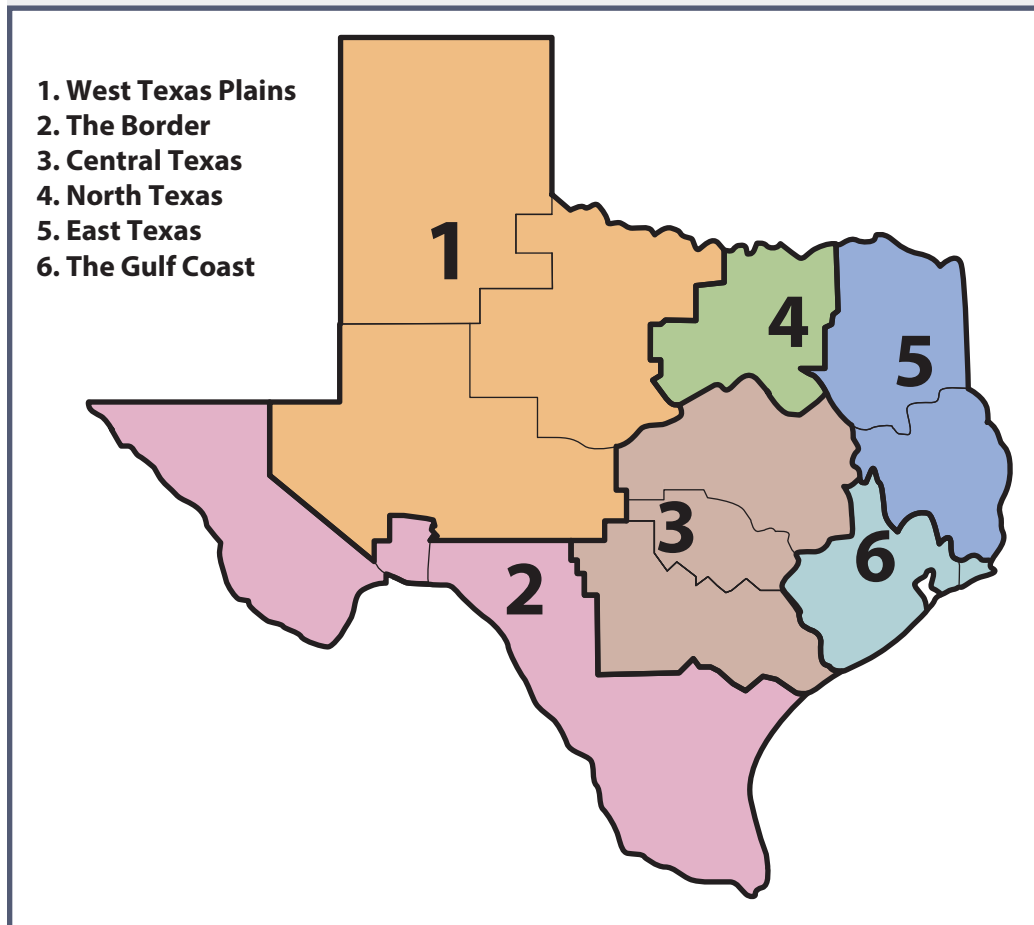
Though Texas is primarily metropolitan, small-town Texas is still a reality for the more than 14 percent of Texans who live in rural areas, which cover 84 percent of the state's total land area. In rural Texas, a variety of challenges complicate the charms of small-town life. Hospital closures and the difficulty of recruiting doctors have increased the difficulty of accessing health care in rural communities. Roads, water systems, and other public infrastructure age and crumble as the cost of upgrades, repairs, and maintenance falls most heavily on local taxpayers. The same funding shortages have led to school closures and cutbacks in important educational services, including those for the increasing number of homeless rural students. The threat of natural disasters in the form of floods, fires, droughts, and tornadoes make farming a risky business, which many young people choose to avoid.

Farming and ranching communities tend to change slowly. Texas's least-populated county (Loving County) has remained at a population between 33 and 285 since 1900 (169 in 2019). Yet some rural areas in the Lone Star State experienced rapid population growth and development as a result of the resurgence in oil and natural gas production that reached a fever pitch after 2010 and again after 2015. In times of increased production, these boomtowns have explosive growth in employment, investment, and tax revenue as drilling operations move in. But booms also bring challenges to small communities in the form of environmental damage, crime, drugs, traffic, and soaring housing costs. Many such towns experience equally rapid economic decline following a rapid drop in oil prices as occurred in 2014 and again in 2020.³⁸

The Regions of Texas

Because of the state's vast size and geographic diversity, many Texans have developed a concept of five areas—North, South, East, West, and Central Texas—as five potentially separate states. In fact, the United States congressional resolution by which Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845 specifies that up to four states “in addition to said state of Texas” may be formed out of its territory and that each “shall be entitled to admission to the Union.” Various plans for carving Texas into five states have been proposed to the Texas legislature, but few Texans have taken these plans seriously. The Texas Comptroller's office identifies 13 separate economic regions in Texas; but for simplicity, we condense these 13 regions to 6 (Figure 1.1).

The West Texas Plains Agriculture is the economic bedrock of the West Texas Plains, from sheep, goat, and cattle production in its southern portions to cotton, grain sorghum, and feedlot cattle in the north. This area depends heavily on water from the continually depleting and environmentally sensitive Ogallala Aquifer. Formed almost 10 million years ago during the Pliocene epoch, this

Figure 1.1 The Six Regions of Texas

Competency Connection
★ CRITICAL THINKING ★

How does Texas's large geographic size affect its politics and governance? How do the state's regions differ in culture, politics, and economy?

aquifer underlies eight states in the Great Plains, including the High Plains of Texas with the cities of Lubbock and Amarillo. Heavy agricultural demands are depleting the aquifer's water more rapidly than it is being replenished. Careful management of this underground water-bearing rock formation will be crucial to the region's future. South of the Cap Rock Escarpment, oil production forms the economic base of cities like Odessa and Midland. Though the recent boom in oil production in the Permian Basin lifted the local economy, a precipitous drop in oil prices due to the COVID-19 pandemic ushered in another economic bust in 2020 followed by a recovery in 2021.

From the Panhandle to Odessa, West Texas is known for social, economic, and political conservatism. Dominated by White evangelical Christians, agriculture,



and oil, West Texas is fertile soil for the Republican Party. Democrats have little electoral success here, even in the larger cities of Lubbock and Amarillo.

The Border South and Southwest Texas border Mexico. Like the West Texas Plains, the western border region also benefited economically from the Permian Basin oil boom but saw that boom end due to COVID-19. The region produces citrus fruits and vegetables; but increasingly international trade is vital to the area's economy, which can thus be sensitive to swings in the Mexican economy. In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) lowered trade barriers among Mexico, the United States, and Canada, which increased economic activity in the region. In 2018, the Trump administration renegotiated the agreement with the intention of reducing the U.S. trade deficit and moved to replace NAFTA with the **United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA)**. All three countries adopted the agreement that went into effect on July 1, 2020. By that time, however, border counties were among the hardest hit by the coronavirus and resulting limits on cross-border travel and trade.³⁹

From El Paso to Brownsville, many Texans living near the border are Latinos who have close ties with Mexico and are strongly linked to that country through family, friends, media, and trade. Spanish is the primary language for many here, and the Catholic Church is a major part of everyday life. Many Latinos tend to show strong support for government intervention in the economy, an extensive social safety net, and progressive taxation. The large Latino/a population has helped the Democratic Party have substantial electoral success in the region.

Central Texas Waco, Austin, and San Antonio are all in Central Texas. The region benefits from its universities and colleges, the high-tech sector, state government, tourism, and major military bases. It is also home to the German Hill Country, an agricultural region that holds onto its Central European (mostly German) cultural identity and its social and political conservatism.

Despite being the capital of a conservative state, Austin is politically and socially liberal and self-avowedly “weird.” With a boom in the high-tech industry, a major university, and a thriving art and music scene, Austin has experienced rapid growth and in-migration from all over the country and the world. In particular, there has been an influx of highly educated former residents of the Northeast and West Coast. Austin also has the second highest concentration of Millennials in the nation. Since these groups tend to hold more progressive or liberal political values, the Democratic Party does well in Austin. San Antonio, home of the Alamo, is also one of the fastest-growing cities in the United States. Though San Antonio's numerous military installations and large Catholic population make it somewhat more conservative than Austin, the city has a relatively young population that is almost 65 percent Latino/a. Thus, San Antonio's voters are prone to electing Democratic candidates. Surrounding areas tend toward Republican conservatism.

North Texas The metropolitan area that contains Dallas, Fort Worth, and the more than 200 incorporated cities and towns that surround them is known popularly as the DFW Metroplex. This area has seen decades of explosive growth

United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA)

A trade agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico which revised and replaced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Major changes to NAFTA focus on the auto industry, new labor and environmental standards, intellectual property law, and some digital trade provisions.



and economic development as national and international corporations continue to move their headquarters to its cities. Observers often refer to Fort Worth as the place where the west begins and many residents still embrace their cowboy past. Dallasites seem to prefer diving headlong into the future. Both cities have become modern centers for high-tech industries, financial services, defense contractors, and food processing.

Dallas County Judge Clay Jenkins became nationally famous for his leadership in response to the coronavirus outbreak, taking a more active and aggressive approach than state leadership. The Democratic party's preference for more active government has increasingly found electoral success in the urban centers of the Metroplex in recent years. Suburban and rural parts of the Metroplex have generally remained conservative Republican strongholds. With many large corporations and wealthy residents, the Dallas–Fort Worth area is also a major source of funding for the Republican Party, with a sizeable number of the biggest political donors in the country living in the area.⁴⁰

East Texas Cotton production has been a constant in East Texas since its settlement by White colonists and Black slaves, but recent years have been difficult for cotton farmers. In the past decade, the area's economy has also felt the impacts of both boom and bust in oil and gas production. Forestry and logging, along with production of wood and paper products in the area known as the Piney Woods, cattle and poultry farming, and some manufacturing helped fill the gap while other economic diversification has continued. A decline in demand for such products due to the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 caused a decline in the economy of the region, which already had a history of wages and employment lower than the state average and a poverty rate above the state average.

The westernmost extension of the Deep South, East Texas can seem a world apart, as references to life “behind the Pine Curtain” suggest. This area remains predominantly racially segregated, and it is dominated by evangelical Christianity and powerful families with deep historical roots. East Texas is now firmly a part of the Republican “Solid South.”

The Gulf Coast The coast of the Gulf of Mexico stretches from the Louisiana border to the Rio Grande, though the region we focus on here surrounds Houston, the most populous city in Texas and the South, and the fourth most populous in the United States. Shipping and fishing are naturally important to the economy, but so are manufacturing and the presence of major corporate headquarters. Petrochemicals remain fundamental to the region's economy. It has thus been sensitive to oil booms and busts, including the recent fluctuations in fracking activity and in oil prices. In 2014, with fracking at its height, Houston's local economy was adding 100,000 jobs per year, far better than the nation as a whole. From 2015 through 2017, low oil and gas prices slowed job growth while unemployment rates exceeded the national rate. The city has continued to diversify its economy to cope with booms and busts. In 2018, Houston began a recovery that was halted by the 2020 coronavirus pandemic and the cold weather with power outages of February 2021 that had a devastating impact on the oil and gas industry and on international trade. Recovery resumed in spring of 2021.⁴¹



✓ 1.3 Learning Check

1. What is the impact of the Lone Star State's size on Texas's politics?
2. True or False: All the regions of Texas are economically dependent on the same industries, and thus are nearly identical in culture and politics.

Answers at the end of this chapter.

The Beaumont–Port Arthur area has the highest concentration of union members in Texas. As a result of Houston's ethnic diversity and high levels of union membership in Beaumont–Port Arthur, Democrats have scored some electoral wins in the region. Suburban and rural parts of the Gulf Coast remain reliably Republican, however.

The Economy

LO 1.4 Describe the industries that formed the historic basis for the Texas economy, the diversification of the modern Texas economy, and economic implications for Texas politics.

The Lone Star State's economic success has relied heavily on four land-based industries. These days, the Texas economy is vastly more diverse and includes a variety of 21st-century industries. Texas now produces more than 8 percent of U.S. GDP, second only to California.

The Texas Economy Through History

Much of Texas's early history was dominated by cattle, cotton, timber, and minerals (oil and gas). These four industries remain important sectors of the Lone Star State's economy and culture.

Cattle Plentiful land and minimal government interference encouraged cattle empires in Texas, established by politically powerful entrepreneurs such as Richard King and Mifflin Kenedy. During the 25 years after the Civil War, approximately 35,000 men, including many Black cowboys and Latino “vaqueros,” drove nearly 10 million cattle and 1 million horses north to Kansas railheads. By the late 1880s, when railroads were built closer to Texas ranches, the cattle drives ended. In time, newly emerging industries diluted the economic impact of the beef business; but Texas still leads the nation in cattle production. Its inventory of approximately 13.1 million cattle is twice as many as that of Nebraska, the next largest cattle-producing state. Texas also leads the nation in production of horses, hay, sheep, goats, wool, and mohair.

Texas's \$12.3 billion beef industry saw a 30 percent decrease in production as a result of meat-processing plant shutdowns due to coronavirus infections among workers in mid-2020.⁴² Though plants began re-opening over the next several months and an industry rebound continued into 2021, damage to the Texas cattle industry was substantial.

Cotton Although popular culture romanticizes 19th-century cowboys and cattle drives, cotton formed the backbone of the state's economy in that era. This was particularly true in East and Central Texas, where soil and weather conditions resemble those in the Old South. Before the Civil War, slaves performed much of the field labor as cotton production spread. During that war, revenue from the export of Texas cotton (mostly shipped from Mexico to Europe) aided the Confederacy. As more frontier land was settled, cotton production moved westward and increased in volume.

Today, the Lone Star State produces almost a quarter of the nation's cotton and leads the country in exported cotton. Although cotton is grown throughout



the state, the High Plains region of West Texas accounts for approximately 60 percent of the state's annual cotton yield. Since 2011, cotton production in West Texas has struggled to manage weather challenges that include drought, hail, blowing sand, flooding, and crippling storms. In addition, cotton farmers had to face a glut in global supply and elimination of federal price subsidies for the crop in 2014. Though the federal government announced new taxpayer-funded subsidies in early 2018, the U.S. government's trade war led China to enact retaliatory tariffs on U.S. cotton exports in the summer of that year. The 2020 coronavirus pandemic further reduced demand for cotton, cutting the market price per pound nearly in half. Year 2020 ended without demand and prices reaching pre-pandemic levels, but the industry continued to rebound into 2021.⁴³

Timber East Texas includes the densely wooded Piney Woods and Big Thicket areas that were largely uninhabited until the 1800s. As the population grew, new towns and railroad lines increased demand for timber. By the mid-1800s, more than 200 sawmills were in operation from East to Central Texas. In the early 1900s, the timber industry was the state's largest employer, manufacturer, and revenue generator.⁴⁴

The economic impact of timber declined in the 1920s, as clear-cutting by some logging companies and those exploring for oil depleted timber supply in many parts of East Texas. In 1933, the Texas legislature authorized the federal government to purchase more than 600,000 acres in East Texas for four national forests (Angelina, Davy Crockett, Sabine, and Sam Houston). In addition, the timber industry began to implement reseedling and sustainable logging practices. At the end of the 20th century, Texas was the nation's 10th largest timber producer, generating more than \$12.9 billion annually.

In 2011, the beginning of a major drought, and to a lesser extent wildfires, resulted in the loss of between 100 and 500 million trees throughout the state, leading one Texas Parks and Wildlife Department official to predict that it would take more than half a century to recover fully from the loss. Precipitation increased in 2015; and by 2016 demand for timber in the housing, construction, and oil and gas industries fueled a Texas timber recovery. President Trump's trade war with China, coupled with the coronavirus pandemic, dramatically reduced exports and sent prices for the state's timber tumbling. By August 2020, mining and logging had seen the worst drop in employment of any sector of the Texas economy, with a striking 24 percent decrease in jobs. Though timber prices saw remarkable gains through the beginning of 2021, the volatility of the market makes predictions difficult even for experts.⁴⁵

Oil and Gas In 1901, when the Spindletop Field was developed near Beaumont, petroleum ushered in the industry that dominated the state's economy for nearly a century. During the next 50 years, drilling, refining, and delivering oil and gas brought industrial employment on a grand scale to rural Texas. Several major oil companies were created, such as Humble (now ExxonMobil Corporation), Magnolia Petroleum Company, Sun Oil Company, Gulf Oil Corporation, and the Texas Company. (Gulf Oil Corporation and the Texas Company [Texaco] now are a part of Chevron.) Domination of the state by a single industry resulted in the rise of some of the most politically powerful businesses and individuals in



Texas history. In 1919, the Texas legislature gave the Railroad Commission of Texas limited regulatory jurisdiction over the state's oil and natural gas industry.⁴⁶ Because oil and gas producers were so economically and politically powerful, the commission quickly gained a reputation less for regulating the industry than for supporting and promoting it.

At its peak in the early 1980s, the Texas oil and gas industry employed half a million workers, who earned more than \$11 billion annually. Oil and natural gas production and related industries accounted for almost one-third of the state's economy. That peak ended in an oil price crash that reached full swing in 1986 and ushered in an economic recession for the state. Over the next two decades, fluctuating prices reduced revenue and led Texas's leaders to seek diversification of the state's economy. Nevertheless, despite increased stability overall, the boom and bust cycle in oil and gas continues.

Discovery of major natural gas deposits in South, Central, and North Texas in the early 21st century, along with the newly profitable drilling method of **hydraulic fracturing** (fracking), launched an oil boom, but oil prices dropped from more than \$100 a barrel in June of 2014 to \$35 a barrel in early 2016.⁴⁷ Soaring production in the Permian Basin and new U.S. Geological Survey estimates of massive reserves of recoverable oil in that region started a second boom. Oil revenues were dealt a harsh blow when states and local governments issued stay-at-home orders for much of the country due to the coronavirus pandemic. In April 2020, the price for a barrel of oil went negative for the first time ever, forcing some producers to pay buyers to take their oil. Monthly oil and gas tax revenues plummeted. In July 2019, producers paid \$440 million in oil and gas production taxes. In July 2020, they paid only \$118 million; and revenues remained more than 40 percent lower than the previous year through the beginning of 2021.⁴⁸ Revenues from taxes on oil and gas help the Texas state government increase its Rainy Day Fund, complete highway construction and maintenance, invest in higher education through the Permanent University Fund, and finance the State Water Plans. Fluctuations in prices have a corresponding effect on the state's tax revenues.

The oil industry began 2021 on a rebound, and Texas remains the nation's top producer of oil and gas. The state accounts for approximately 30 percent of U.S. refinery capacity and 75 percent of U.S. petrochemical production.⁴⁹ If it were its own country, Texas would be the fourth largest oil and gas producer in the world.

Most oil and gas jobs pay relatively high wages and salaries, but employment in the industry rises and falls rapidly based on swings in oil prices and other factors. In the past decade, the number of jobs changed frequently, bouncing between a high of 306,300 in December 2014 and a low of 158,500 in September 2020. The industry ended 2020 with the largest drop in employment (29.7 percent) of any sector. Despite dramatic booms and busts in petrochemical industry revenue and jobs, because of the diversification of the state's economy, such cycles do not have the same impact on Texas's revenues or its overall economy as they once did. The oil and gas industry now accounts directly for around 1 percent of the state's jobs. Although industry officials continue to be politically powerful in Texas, they are not expected to regain their former level of political dominance.

hydraulic fracturing

Also known as "fracking," this method of extracting oil and natural gas involves forcing open fissures in subterranean rocks by introducing liquid at high pressure.

New Economic Directions

Devastation of plunging oil prices in the 1980s demonstrated the dangers of reliance on a single industry. Texas's business and government leaders subsequently pursued a restructuring and diversification of the state's economy. Texans launched new industries that quickly spread across the state, bolstering the Texas economy and playing an important role in the national economy. In 2006, for the first time, more *Fortune* 500 companies were headquartered in Texas than in any other state. In 2020, however, New York ranked first with 54 and Texas ranked third (behind California) with 50.⁵⁰ Until the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the state was adding jobs in nearly all major nonagricultural industries. These areas included construction, manufacturing, trade, transportation, utilities, financial activities, professional and business services, education, health services, leisure and hospitality, government, and other services. The diversity of the Texas economy, its employer-friendly taxation and regulation policies, and other factors are believed to have combined to help Texas weather the Great Recession that began in 2008 better than most states. In 2019, Texas experienced the lowest unemployment rate since it began tracking that statistic in 1976, and the state added almost 1,000 jobs a day.⁵¹ The coronavirus pandemic brought that growth to an abrupt halt and led to employment losses in all sectors of the Texas economy. Recovering from this economic reversal will require effective public policies, an educated and productive labor force, an adequate supply of capital, and sound business management practices.

Energy Thirty-nine of the forty-eight *Fortune* 500 companies headquartered in Texas in 2020 were energy-related. Texas is the country's leading producer not only of oil and gas but also lignite coal. In addition to the pandemic-induced downturn in the energy industry, awareness is growing of research results that establish fossil fuels as the world's principal source of air pollution that contributes to significant health problems. These fuels include oil, gas, and coal burned for industrial purposes and in automobiles, trucks, buses, and airplanes.⁵² As a result, Texas is placing increased emphasis on new industries and opportunities, including the production of alternative energy, such as wind and solar power. In Texas, growth of renewable energy sources outpaced the growth of coal, natural gas, and other energy sources until the peak of the fracking boom. In 2019, Texas ranked only 44th out of 50 states in renewable energy production. Still, that was also the first year that Texas produced more energy from renewables than from coal.⁵³

The overwhelming share of Texas's renewable energy comes from wind power, largely produced on West Texas wind farms. With 26 percent of its electricity generated by wind, Texas leads the nation in generation capacity from wind power and is well positioned to produce even more. The U.S. Department of Energy projects that Texas will have almost 20 percent of the nation's wind capacity by 2030.⁵⁴

The Lone Star State also has abundant yearly sunshine. Though the solar industry has received little support from the Texas legislature, local governments and the private sector have increasingly turned to solar power to meet their energy needs. By 2020, Texas ranked fifth among the states in solar energy



Image 1.4 Texas leads the nation in energy production capacity from wind farms and continues to develop its solar energy potential.



Sarah Fields Photography/Shutterstock.com

Competency Connection
 ⚙️ **CRITICAL THINKING** ⚙️

What industries are essential to sustain and continue to develop the Texas economy in the 21st century?

production. Though solar accounts for only about 1 percent of electricity production in Texas, a recent study by Rice University researchers concluded that Texas has enough sun and wind combined to operate without coal. Texas also generates a small amount of energy from geothermal and hydroelectric plants.⁵⁵

The Lone Star State already ranks second in the nation for employment in the renewable energy industry. Today, students in Texas can enroll in renewable energy programs and classes in wind and solar power at eight of Texas's public universities, Texas State Technical College, and community colleges in Austin, San Antonio, El Paso, Amarillo, Dallas County, and Tarrant County.

Despite some claims that reliance on renewable energy caused failure of the Texas power grid during winter storm Uri in February 2021, every type of generator in Texas (including nuclear, coal and natural gas) struggled to operate during subfreezing temperatures. Left largely unregulated, most Texas power companies had opted not to incur the costs of sufficiently “winterizing” generators.⁵⁶

High Technology The term *high technology* applies to research, development, manufacturing, and marketing of a seemingly endless line of electronic products, such as computers, smartphones, and drones. High-technology businesses employ almost 8 percent of Texas's labor force and comprise just over 8 percent of the state's economy. Most high-tech jobs in Texas are in the fields of information technology and software services, engineering, research and development, testing, telecommunications, internet services, and technology manufacturing. The field is dominated by large firms, such as Motorola, Dell, Hewlett-Packard, Texas Instruments, and Applied Materials.

Salaries and wages in the Texas high-tech sector, averaging over \$90,000 per year, are almost double average wages for the rest of the state's economy. The vast majority of these jobs are centered in Texas's major cities.⁵⁷ The number of technology companies either moving headquarters to or expanding operations in Texas in recent years has been high. Included are large companies like Amazon, Apple, Google, and Tesla, along with up-and-coming tech firms like Airtable, QuestionPro, Cloudflare, and Bold Commerce. Though COVID-19 damaged the overall economy, emphasis throughout the pandemic on digital working, shopping, and interacting created new opportunities. Even with a decline in job openings during the pandemic, Texas ranked second only to California in the number of high tech jobs available.⁵⁸

In addition to efforts to expand the high-tech industry, the Texas government has also worked to develop **biotechnology** and the life sciences, which comprise a multibillion-dollar industry producing new medicines and vaccines, chemicals, and other products designed to benefit medical science, human health, and agricultural production. In the past two decades, biotech-related jobs have increased four times faster than the overall increase in employment in Texas. Home to more than 5,400 biotechnology firms, manufacturing companies, industry consortia, and research university facilities including 11 medical schools, Texas employs more than 106,000 workers in the biotech sector at an average annual salary of almost \$84,000.⁵⁹

Four areas of particular focus in Texas are biodefense and pandemic preparedness, personalized medicine, regenerative medicine, and vaccines. The Texas biotech industry spends approximately \$5.6 billion annually on research and development projects. Almost \$3.2 billion of that is spent at the state's research universities and colleges. The Texas A&M Center for Innovation in Advanced Development and Manufacturing, established in 2012 to lead the nation's biosecurity research efforts, is a public-private partnership likely worth \$1.5 to \$2 billion. An initial federal grant of more than \$175 million is the largest sum of federal money awarded in the state since NASA (near Houston) in the 1960s.

Services Employing one-fourth of all Texas workers, in recent decades service industries provided new jobs more rapidly than all other sectors. Service businesses include healthcare providers (hospitals and nursing homes); personal services (hotels, restaurants, and recreational enterprises, such as water parks and video arcades); and commercial services (printers, advertising agencies, data processing companies, equipment rental companies, and consultants). Other service providers include education, investment brokers, insurance and real estate agencies, banks and credit unions, and merchandising enterprises. Most service jobs come with few or no benefits and pay lower wages and salaries than manufacturing firms that produce goods.

As local and state governments responded to the coronavirus outbreak by ordering non-essential face-to-face businesses to close or restrict services, unemployment in this sector soared. When many of the affected businesses were allowed to re-open with reduced capacity, the service sector experienced a moderate recovery. A subsequent resurgence of the virus sent the service sector back into a nosedive.⁶⁰ This industry remained sensitive to the fluctuations of coronavirus infections, experiencing a recovery as the pandemic receded in 2021.

biotechnology

Also known as "biotech," this is the use and/or manipulation of biological processes and microorganisms to perform industrial or manufacturing processes or create consumer goods.