

SHERRI MORA

THE STATE OF TEXAS

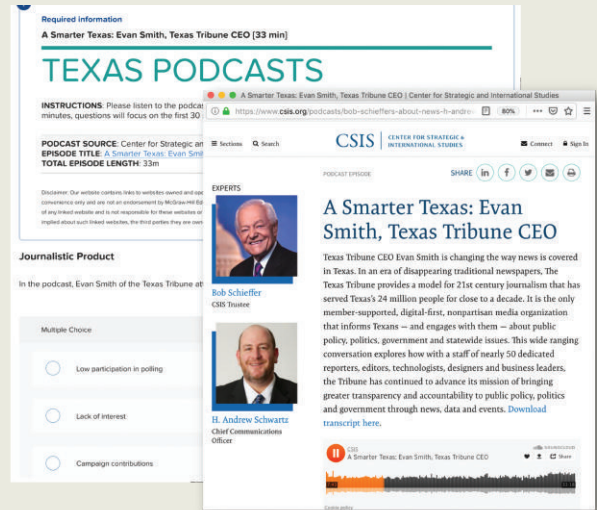
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, AND POLICY

FOURTH EDITION

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Deepen understanding of how politics happens in the real world by leveraging the most popular podcasts available with our new **Texas Podcast Assignments**. These assignments, allow faculty to bring context and nuance while engaging students through the storytelling power of podcasts. **New podcasts will be added each semester!**



SAMPLE PODCASTS (by Course Learning Outcome)

TX LO: Describe the state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government.

- Plastic Bag Ban **Texas Matters**
- Medical marijuana, debate talk and Russian spies, it's all Texas **Texas Take**
- City of the Future **BBC: The Documentary Podcast**
- Exploring the Debate Over Sanctuary Cities **We the People**
- State vs City in Texas **Texas Standard**

TX LO: Demonstrate knowledge of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Texas government.

- Medical marijuana, debate talk and Russian spies, it's all Texas **Texas Take**
- Texas as a Bellwether of American Politics **The New Yorker**
- Comptroller Hegar Downplays Potential Tax Benefit of Sports Gambling in Texas **Tribcast**



Texas Podcast Assignments

TX LO: Evaluate the role of public opinion, interest groups, and political parties in Texas.

- Civil Protests & Protesting Civility **Texas Matters**
- Texas as a Bellwether of American Politics **The New Yorker**
- A Smarter Texas **Center for Strategic and International Studies**

TX LO: Analyze the state and local election process.

- Will this be the year of 'reverse coattails' in Texas? **Texas Take**
- Risks of Candidate Debates **Houston Matters**
- O'Rourke and Cruz Clash Over What it Means to Be American **Texas Take**
- Cannabis Oil, Special Elections, and Redistricting **Texas Tribune**

TX LO: Identify the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

- The Gun Show **More Perfect**
- Civil Protests & Protesting Civility **Texas Matters**
- A Right To An Education **Texas Matters**
- Texas v. Hernandez **Stuff You Missed in History Class**

TX LO: Analyze issues, policies, and political culture of Texas.

- Racism in Law Enforcement **Houston Matters**
- How Will Cuts To Arts Funding Impact The Texas Economy? **The Source**
- Lethal Injections and Opioids **Texas Standard**
- Why Texas Works **Alphachat**

Want to Nominate a Podcast episode for the next update?

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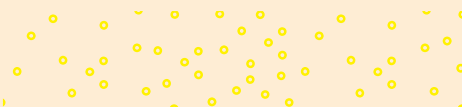


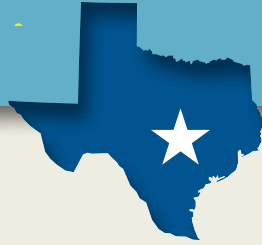
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THE STATE OF TEXAS: Government, Politics, and Policy

FOURTH EDITION





THE STATE OF TEXAS:

Government, Politics, and Policy

FOURTH EDITION

Sherri Mora

Texas State University

With contributions from:

- Donna Hooper, North Central Texas College
- Patrick Moore, Richland College
- Veronica Reyna, Houston Community College
- Thomas Varacalli, Texas State University
- Geoffrey Willbanks, Tyler Junior College





THE STATE OF TEXAS: GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, AND POLICY, FOURTH EDITION

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Built for Texas Government Courses . . .

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For Texas Government Students!



The State of Texas: Government, Politics, and Policy, 4e, combines concise content with effective digital tools that provide a personalized learning experience for every student. Built to align directly with state learning outcomes and core objectives, this highly readable program provides students with the content and tools to make Texas government relevant in their lives.

Developing Foundational Knowledge and Honing Skills

With a comprehensive content program, a revision that was informed by student data, and numerous assignable activities in Connect Texas Government®, *The State of Texas* includes ample material for a full semester course on Texas government. SmartBook 2.0®, found in Connect Texas Government, is organized around the Texas Learning Outcomes and Core Objectives, providing the ability to assess directly on those outcomes.

Better Data, Smarter Revision, Improved Results

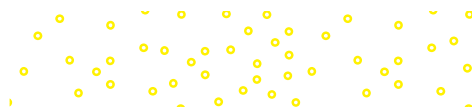
Students study more effectively with SmartBook 2.0. SmartBook 2.0 is an adaptive reading experience designed to help students learn better, study smarter, and retain more knowledge for greater success. It helps students distinguish what they know from what they don't know and focus on concepts they are most likely to forget.

New to this edition, SmartBook is now optimized for mobile and tablet and is accessible for students

with disabilities. And as part of any government course, SmartBook now focuses on the broader context for and building blocks of the political system. Specifically, it has been enhanced with improved learning objectives to ensure that students gain foundational knowledge while also learning to make connections for broader understanding of government institutions, events, and behavior. SmartBook personalizes learning to individual student needs, continually adapting to pinpoint knowledge gaps and focus learning on topics that need the most attention. Study time is more productive and, as a result, students are better prepared for class and coursework. For instructors, SmartBook tracks student progress and provides insights that can help guide teaching strategies.

Using SmartBook, students helped inform the revision strategy:

STEP 1. Over the course of two years, data points showing concepts that caused students the most difficulty were anonymously collected from the Connect Texas Government SmartBook product.



- STEP 2.** The data from SmartBook were provided to the authors in the form of a **Heat Map**, which graphically illustrated “hot spots” in the text that impacted student learning (see images left).
- STEP 3.** The authors used the **Heat Map** data to refine the content and reinforce student comprehension in the new edition. Additional quiz questions and assignable activities were created for use in Connect Texas Government to further support student success.
- RESULT:** Because the **Heat Map** gave the authors empirically based feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level, they were able to develop the new edition using precise student data that pinpointed concepts that caused students the most difficulty.

Understanding Impact

Understanding Impact features help students understand why key content matters and includes critical thinking questions to help them apply what they learn. Topics include understanding the impact of informal qualifications in the Texas gubernatorial race and understanding the impact of Internet-savvy campaigns for upstart candidates.

Understanding Impact In the previous section, Formal Powers of the Governor, you learned that the powers of the Texas governor are relatively weak when compared to the power conferred on governors of other states. In this section you learned that the informal powers of the governor have evolved over time and the position has achieved new relevance. Do you believe the governor’s informal powers have strengthened the power of the office, or does our governor still occupy a relatively weak position in state government? Give reasons for your answer.

How To

How To features provide students with step-by-step guidance for developing skills they need for college and for life. Topics include “How to Think Critically about Issues” and “How to Interpret a Table.”

How to



Interpret a Table

Tables summarize and simplify information. They present names, numbers, percentages, and amounts in a way that is easy to read. Let’s use Table 4.3 to work through the process of interpreting a table.

Step 1: What is the title of Table 4.3?

The title of the table tells you how the elements within the table are related. Table 4.3 has the title “Governor Rick Perry Campaign Contributions and Appointments to Boards and Commissions.” The title presents the relationship between Governor Perry’s campaign contributions and the appointments he made to state boards and commissions.

\$10,616 each. This information suggests that those appointed to education boards and commissions gave more money to Rick Perry’s campaign than any other appointed office category. Conversely, 28 individuals that Perry appointed to retirement boards and commissions contributed less than other appointed office categories, with an average contribution of \$248 per appointee.

Step 4: What conclusions can you draw from Table 4.3?

Though it is possible to make several observations about the data included in the table, it is important to look for the big picture. For example, the total appointee do-



Critical Thinking Activities

At the *apply*, *analyze*, and *evaluate* levels of Bloom's taxonomy, **Critical Thinking activities** in Connect Texas Government allow students to engage with the political process and learn by doing. For example, students will understand how Texas is a majority-minority state.

Informing and Engaging Students on Texas Government . . . as It Happens

Using Connect Texas Government, students can learn the course material more deeply and study more effectively than ever before.

Texas NewsFlash


We ensure that you have the most up-to-date content to share with your students through our NewsFlash activities, which are updated monthly. **NewsFlash** exercises tie current news stories to key Texas government concepts and learning objectives. After interacting with a contemporary news story, students are assessed on their ability to make the connection between real-life events and course content.

Texas Podcasts

Texas government faculty can now create broader interest, engagement, and relevancy in their courses by leveraging political podcasts about Texas government and politics. These assignments, which will be periodically expanded, will ask students to listen to relevant podcasts, demonstrate their understanding of the basic concepts presented, and reflect the broader context of the Texas political system.

Concept Clips

Concept Clips help students break down key concepts in government. Using easy-to-understand audio narration, visual cues, and colorful animations, Concept Clips provide a step-by-step presentation that aids in student retention. In addition to the concept-based clips, the new edition also offers several **Skills Based Clips** that equip students for work within and outside the classroom. These skills-based clips include the following:

- How to Evaluate News Source
 - How to Think Critically
 - How to Read a Court Case
 - How to Understand Charts and Graphs
 - How to Interpret Political Cartoons
 - How to Avoid Plagiarism
- 

Focus On

Focus On features present students with engaging examples of how Hispanic and Latino individuals, groups, and culture play an important role in Texas political life. Focus On features now profile individuals relevant to today's student. In Chapter 4, for example, the Focus On feature is titled "A Hispanic Governor for Texas?"

Focus On



A Hispanic Governor for Texas?

Absolutely, proclaims *Texas Monthly* magazine. The article, "El Gobernador," written in February 2008, begins with a hypothetical story of Rafael Anchia, currently serving as a state legislator from Dallas, winning the 2018 Texas gubernatorial race. Although the article begins with a look forward, its main focus is on the history of Hispanic politics and the changing demographics of the state.³ According to the U.S. Census, 38.6 percent of Texans are Hispanic.⁴ Texas will likely have a Hispanic governor someday; the main question is when.

During the 2002 governor's race, the state came very close. Tony Sanchez, a business executive and politician from Laredo, was the first Hispanic to run for governor in the statewide election. Before the election, he served as board regent for the University of Texas at Austin and also worked, albeit unsuccessfully, to get a Hispanic to run for president of the UT Health Science Center in San Antonio. Moving into election season, Sanchez won the Democratic primary with 60 percent of the vote and faced off against Rick Perry, who had been unopposed in the Republican primary.⁵

During the election, many Democrats hoped that the state's Hispanic population would turn out in larger numbers and become a more distinct bloc in favor of the Democratic Party.⁶ Unfortunately for Democrats and Sanchez, there was less Hispanic mobilization for their party than desired. Sanchez lost the election, winning only 40 percent of the vote.⁷ In addition, although Hispanic turnout improved somewhat from the 2000 election, there was not enough movement to indicate a surge.⁸ Hispanic turnout has been historically low as a percentage of Hispanic population and remains so.⁹ (See Chapter 9 for more information on Hispanic voter turnout.)



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2018 Governor's Race

Lupe Valdez, former sheriff of Dallas County, was one of the two top vote-getting candidates in an indecisive Democratic primary in March 2018. She faced off against Andrew White, the son of former governor Mark White, in a May 2018 runoff to determine the candidate of the Democratic Party.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have been making inroads, capturing votes as well as candidates from the grassroots up. Although voter turnout among Hispanics remains low, Rafael Anchia and Lupe Valdez are part of a rising group of Hispanic politicians who have very real potential to capture the governor's office in the near future. This group also includes current Texas Land Commissioner George P. Bush and former secretary of Housing and Urban Development Julian Castro.



Lupe Valdez ©REX/Shutterstock

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What do you think it will take to mobilize and expand the Hispanic electorate?
2. In your opinion, why might the Hispanic vote be important for candidates seeking statewide office?

Emphasizing Texas Voices

The Fourth Edition is proud to include the contributions from several Texas faculty members with a wealth of experience in the Texas government classroom:

- Donna Hooper, North Central Texas College
- Patrick Moore, Richland College
- Veronica Reyna, Houston Community College
- Thomas Varacalli, Texas State University
- Geoffrey Willbanks, Tyler Junior College

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Content Changes

As mentioned, we revised the Fourth Edition in response to student Heat Map data that pinpointed the topics and concepts where students struggled the most. This was reflected primarily in the chapter on public policy in Texas.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Texas History and Politics

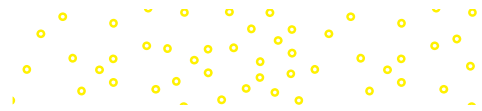
- Reduced the number of historical details
- Added information on diversity within Texas
- Updated political and economic information
- Added a “How to Read a Map” feature

Chapter 2: The American Federal System and the Texas State Constitution

- Enhanced discussion of American federalism
- Explained the connection between culture and constitutional history
- Highlighted characteristics common to state institutions
- Updated information on Navarro’s legacy today and how it impacts us
- Added a “How to Read Critically” feature

Chapter 3: The Texas Legislature

- Reordered text to improve flow
- Reduced the amount of detail



- Revised information on gerrymandering
- Included information on how students can find contact information for their own representatives
- Added a “How to Think Critically about Issues” feature
- Updated political information, economic information, and research results

Chapter 4: The Executive Department and the Office of the Governor of Texas

- Enhanced discussion of governor’s formal and informal powers
- Explained how race, class, and gender play into the history of the Texas governorship
- Highlighted the role informal powers play in the governorship
- Updated the Focus On feature with the 2018 Texas governor’s race
- Added a “How to Interpret a Table” feature

Chapter 5: The Court System in Texas

- Enhanced discussion of Texas judicial selection
- Explained the role campaign finance plays in judicial elections and decision making
- Highlighted the difference between civil and criminal procedures
- Updated the Focus On feature to include a brief discussion of Hispanics on the Texas Supreme Court today
- Added a “How to Interpret Figures” feature

Chapter 6: The Criminal Justice System in Texas

- Added information on juvenile justice and the death penalty
- Updated research data and polling results
- Added a “How to Locate Primary Sources” feature, with a focus on Texas primary sources

Chapter 7: Local Governments in Texas

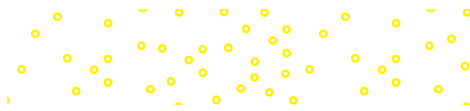
- Enhanced discussion of types of local government
- Explained municipal elections in Texas
- Highlighted the issue of voter turnout
- Updated information on special purpose districts
- Added a “How to Speak Effectively” feature

Chapter 8: Public Opinion and the Media in Texas

- Enhanced coverage on the role of public opinion
- Explained the functions of media in Texas politics
- Highlighted the role of the media in Texas political campaigns
- Updated information of the various sources of media
- Added a “How to Interpret Polling Data” feature

Chapter 9: Voting and Political Participation in Texas

- Added an explanation of how wealth and political protests affect politics
- Added information on gerrymandering in Texas

**Chapter 10: Campaigns and Elections in Texas**

- Enhanced coverage of the election process
- Explained primary elections
- Highlighted information on federal Voting Rights Act
- Updated data on early voting
- Added a “How to Get Involved with a Candidate or Issue” feature

Chapter 11: Political Parties in Texas

- Added specifics on voter fraud to make the chapter livelier and easier to understand
- Included information on Texas women seeking the right to vote
- Included information on “white primaries” in Texas and on nonwhite people being excluded from voting
- Updated information on Texas political races
- Clarified information on the impact of third parties in Texas, including Raza Unida
- Included information on the “bathroom bill” in Texas and on transgender citizens

Chapter 12: Interest Groups and Lobbying in Texas

- Added a “How to Evaluate Sources” feature
- New “Understanding Impact” feature challenging students to think critically about the political process in which interest groups operate
- Updated map of right-to-work states and added new photos
- Enhanced discussion of Hispanic interest groups and recent challenges to Texas immigration law
- Updated data on labor union participation rates and lobbyists in Texas
- Provided new examples of interest group activity

Chapter 13: Public Policy in Texas

- Added an introduction explaining what public policy is and why it matters to an individual student
- Revised and streamlined information on why and how public policy changes
- Revised information on policy liberalism indices to focus on Texas
- Streamlined chapter by reducing or deleting information on welfare policy, school curricula, sex education, water policy, and veteran policy
- Updated information on LGBTQ rights
- Updated information on border control
- Updated information on tuition costs at public universities in Texas and elsewhere in the United States
- Updated research results

Chapter 14: Financing State Government

- Enhanced coverage of tax equity
- Explained the principles of taxation
- Highlighted new data on tax structures
- Updated data on Texas expenditures
- Added a “How to Interpret a Graph” feature

Learning Outcomes and Core Objectives

GOVT 2306 is one of the foundational component areas within the Core Curriculum identified by the Undergraduate Education Advisory Committee (UEAC) of the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB). The UEAC has identified six core objectives, of which four—critical thinking skills, communication skills, social responsibility, and personal responsibility—must be mapped to content in GOVT 2306. Those four core objectives are mapped to specific *The State of Texas* content here and throughout each chapter.

Institutions must assess learning outcomes (provided in the *UEAC's Academic Course Guide Manual*); for example, the student's demonstrated ability to explain the origin and development of the Texas Constitution, consistent with assessment practices required by the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACSCOC).

These requirements include an explanation of measures, methodology, frequency, and timeline of assessment; an explanation of targets and benchmarks of “Core Objective” attainment; evidence of attainment of the required core objectives; interpretation of assessment information; and the use of results for improving student learning. SACS principles of accreditation 3.3.1.1 requires institutions to identify expected learning outcomes, assess the extent to which it achieves these outcomes, and provide evidence of improvement based on analysis of the results.

Adopting *The State of Texas* and using the provided assessment tools makes SACS compliance easy while meeting the purpose of the Core Curriculum.

Learning Outcomes and Core Objectives Correlation Table

CHAPTER 1	Learning Outcome: Explain the history, demographics, and political culture of Texas.	Thinking Critically	List the several different “waves” of immigration. How have these settlement patterns changed over time and/or how have they stayed the same? How did they change the character and culture of Texas?
	Learning Outcome: Explain the history, demographics, and political culture of Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Write a short synopsis of Texas’s changing economy and its role in international trade.
	Learning Outcome: Explain the history, demographics, and political culture of Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	What can you do to become well informed about political issues so that you can make good decisions at election time?
	Learning Outcome: Explain the history, demographics, and political culture of Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	Understanding the relationship between religious affiliations and politics can improve civic knowledge. How would you use this knowledge to engage effectively in your community? Think about your own religious affiliations (if any) and political beliefs and how they compare with those of your neighbors. How might knowing your neighbors’ religious affiliations help you better understand their political views?
CHAPTER 2	Learning Outcome: Describe separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Analyze the diagram in Figure 2.3 and the division of powers in Table 2.2 to describe the separation of powers and checks and balances in both theory and practice in Texas.
	Learning Outcome: Explain the origin and development of the Texas Constitution.	Thinking Critically	What is the impact of a constitutional convention dominated by one party? What were the consequences of the 1875 constitutional convention in the development of the Texas Constitution?
	Learning Outcome: Describe state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government.	Being Socially Responsible	To what extent should the government “promote general welfare”? What does promoting general welfare mean to you? In developing an understanding of state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government, who do you think should play a greater role—the states or the federal government?
	Learning Outcome: Describe state and local political systems and their relationship with the federal government.	Taking Personal Responsibility	As a resident of Texas and a citizen of the United States, can you identify and discuss examples that reinforce the Full Faith and Credit Clause and the Privileges and Immunities Clause of the U.S. Constitution? Which examples, in your opinion, violate these principles?
CHAPTER 3	Learning Outcome: Describe the legislative branch of Texas government.	Communicating Effectively	Some people contend that smaller constituencies might allow a wider array of people to participate in state politics, rather than just the “rich” or “well born.” How would you argue in favor of or against this statement?
	Learning Outcome: Describe the legislative branch of Texas government.	Being Socially Responsible	Use this website to find your representatives: https://capitol.texas.gov/ . The “Who Represents Me” section allows you to put in your address and locate your state house and senate members.
	Learning Outcome: Describe the legislative branch of Texas government.	Thinking Critically	Both demographics and voting patterns have changed in Texas, and some districts have become more competitive, especially for Democrats in South Texas and in inner-city districts. Discuss what these shifts mean for future elections and the composition of the Texas House and Senate. Reference Table 3.5 in your answer.
	Learning Outcome: Describe the legislative branch of Texas government.	Taking Personal Responsibility	It has been stated that the success of legislation depends largely on a relative few individuals who make up the leadership in the Texas House and Senate. Do you think the Speaker of the House and the lieutenant governor have too much control over the passage of bills? How can you influence legislation? What can individuals do to affect legislation?

CHAPTER 4	Learning Outcome: Explain the structure and function of the executive branch of Texas government.	Communicating Effectively	Analyze Map 4.1. What inferences can you draw from the data? Think about how the data relate to Texas, its neighbors, and other regions of the country.
	Learning Outcome: Explain the structure and function of the executive branch of Texas government.	Being Socially Responsible	How does the comptroller promote effective involvement in regional, national, and global communities?
	Learning Outcome: Explain the structure and function of the executive branch of Texas government.	Taking Personal Responsibility	What can you do to become more actively engaged in the civic discourse about the role of the State Board of Education?
	Learning Outcome: Explain the structure and function of the executive branch of Texas government.	Thinking Critically	The six factors that influence the strength of the power of the governor are the number of elected statewide executives, the tenure of office, the governor's appointive powers, the governor's budgetary powers, the governor's veto powers, and the extent to which the governor controls his or her political party. What can you conclude about the powers of the governor?
CHAPTER 5	Learning Outcome: Describe the structure and function of the judicial branch of Texas government.	Communicating Effectively	Analyze Figure 5.4. Describe the appeals process for a civil case filed in county court.
	Learning Outcome: Describe the structure and function of the judicial branch of Texas government.	Being Socially Responsible	What impact, if any, do you think partisan election of judges has on judicial outcomes?
	Learning Outcome: Describe the structure and function of the judicial branch of Texas government.	Thinking Critically	Reflecting on the discussion about representation of minorities and women in the Texas judicial system, do you think it is important to have a judiciary that is representative of the general population? Why or why not?
	Learning Outcome: Describe the structure and function of the judicial branch of Texas government.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Given what you read in this section, it would seem that citizens have little impact in disciplining and/or removing judges. What do you think is a citizen's responsibility in this matter? How can individuals take greater personal responsibility to ensure that judges perform properly?
CHAPTER 6	Learning Outcome: Analyze issues and policies in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Explain the difference between criminal and civil law, including how the standard of proof differs for each. Provide an example of each type of case.
	Learning Outcome: Analyze issues and policies in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Currently, at what age does the state of Texas consider a person an adult in criminal and civil proceedings? At what age do you think the state should require individuals to take personal responsibility? Why?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze issues and policies in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	Why might the use of special courts to punish crimes like prostitution provide a cost savings for the criminal justice system?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze issues and policies in Texas.	Thinking Critically	Given the current challenges faced by the criminal justice system, what types of reforms would you recommend? What might be some of the negative or unintended consequences of your recommendations?
CHAPTER 7	Learning Outcome: Describe local political systems in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Compare Figures 7.1, 7.3, and 7.4 with Table 7.2. Discuss the fundamental differences between weak mayor, strong mayor, and council-manager forms of government. Which do you prefer and why?
	Learning Outcome: Describe local political systems in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	Compare at-large election systems and single-member district systems. An argument in favor of single-member district systems is that they increase minority representation in local government. In your opinion, does increased minority representation increase intercultural competency? Why?
	Learning Outcome: Describe local political systems in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Local government directly impacts people in their daily lives. What can you do to improve local governance?
	Learning Outcome: Describe local political systems in Texas.	Thinking Critically	Identify some of the problems facing county governments. What solutions would you propose?

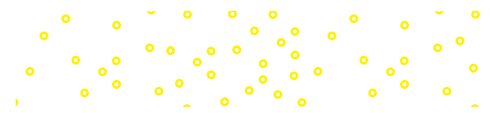
CHAPTER 8	Learning Outcome: Evaluate public opinion and the role of the media in Texas politics.	Thinking Critically	Review Figure 8.3. Note that Donald Trump (Republican) was the U.S. president at the time of polling. Why might Texas Democrats display higher levels of trust in the U.S. Supreme Court than in other branches of government? Why might Texas Republicans and Independents display less trust in the Supreme Court than in the presidency?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate public opinion and the role of the media in Texas politics.	Taking Personal Responsibility	What media sources do you consume? Print? Television? Social media? Which do you access most and least often? How might social media influence you differently than television?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate public opinion and the role of the media in Texas politics.	Being Socially Responsible	What responsibility do citizens have as social media participants within the context of political campaigns?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate public opinion and the role of the media in Texas politics.	Communicating Effectively	Explain how the federal government regulates print and electronic media.
CHAPTER 9	Learning Outcome: Identify the rights and responsibilities of citizens.	Taking Personal Responsibility	What activities do you engage in that are related to governance? Which forms of political participation do you think are the most effective?
	Learning Outcome: Identify the rights and responsibilities of citizens.	Thinking Critically	How do you think the Texas voter ID law impacts voter turnout in Texas? Where do you stand on the issue? Explain why you favor or oppose voter ID laws.
	Learning Outcome: Identify the rights and responsibilities of citizens.	Being Socially Responsible	Considering the discussion of the socioeconomic factors that affect voter turnout, identify effective ways to increase civic knowledge in culturally diverse communities.
	Learning Outcome: Identify the rights and responsibilities of citizens.	Communicating Effectively	Write a one-page summary of the rationalist explanations for low voter turnout.
CHAPTER 10	Learning Outcome: Analyze the state and local election process in Texas.	Thinking Critically	Explain the challenges that hinder minor party candidates from succeeding in statewide elections.
	Learning Outcome: Analyze the state and local election process in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Do you think the Voting Rights Act requirement that Texas provide a bilingual ballot increases voter turnout? Construct an argument in favor of or against this provision of the Voting Rights Act.
	Learning Outcome: Analyze the state and local election process in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	What responsibility do you think the media have in covering campaigns and elections? Are the media living up to your expectations?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze the state and local election process in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	If you choose to contribute to a candidate's campaign, to what extent is the candidate obligated to you as a contributor? Should your contribution influence public policy? What about corporate contributions?
CHAPTER 11	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of political parties in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Explain how political reforms have weakened political parties.
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of political parties in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Examine your political values and compare them to the expressed values of both parties. Do your ideas about the role of government, politics, and policy align with one particular party?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of political parties in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	What impact, if any, do factions have on enhancing or diminishing civic engagement? In your opinion, do factions promote acceptance of diverse opinions?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of political parties in Texas.	Thinking Critically	For a variety of reasons, third parties do not currently have much impact on Texas politics. What measures might be taken to level the playing field for third parties and improve their competitiveness in elections?

CHAPTER 12	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of interest groups in Texas.	Thinking Critically	Review Table 12.1. Are you a participant in a membership organization? If so, how does the organization represent your interests? If not, how are your interests represented at the state and federal levels of government?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of interest groups in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Socrates suggested “know thyself,” and Shakespeare’s Hamlet admonished “to thine own self be true.” It is important to know what your interests are and how they are represented in government. Consider what you have read in this chapter and determine how interest group efforts align with your personal interests. If they do not, what can you do to ensure that government addresses your interests or the interests of those who share similar values?
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of interest groups in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Review the data presented in Table 12.4. Identify the interest group category that spent the most money in 2014. Discuss the impact that PAC spending has on government.
	Learning Outcome: Evaluate the role of interest groups in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	How can geographic distribution of interest groups improve political awareness between culturally diverse populations?
CHAPTER 13	Learning Outcome: Analyze important public policy issues in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	How can you impact public policy decisions? At what point in the policy cycle could you voice your preferences? Use Figure 13.1, the policy cycle graphic, to help you answer these questions.
	Learning Outcome: Analyze important public policy issues in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	To what extent should Texas be responsible for ensuring equal funding for wealthy school districts and poor school districts?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze important public policy issues in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Summarize the legislation that Texas has passed on abortion. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of state involvement in this policy issue.
	Learning Outcome: Analyze important public policy issues in Texas.	Thinking Critically	Given the water-related challenges facing Texas, what measures would you recommend to ensure all Texans have access to water? What might be some negative or unintended consequences of your recommendations?
CHAPTER 14	Learning Outcome: Analyze state financing issues and policies in Texas.	Thinking Critically	What goods and services do you think state government should provide? Consider the consequences of your answer. What would the possible impact to society be, given your position? Who would benefit, and who would lose out?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze state financing issues and policies in Texas.	Being Socially Responsible	Texas taxes prepared food items, but does not tax unprepared food items (e.g., raw meats and fresh produce). Earlier in this chapter, you learned that individuals can be excluded from receiving services such as electricity if they cannot pay. Keeping this in mind, how does taxing prepared food affect our state’s poorest citizens?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze state financing issues and policies in Texas.	Communicating Effectively	Consider Table 14.8, which illustrates how specific appropriations are restricted. What percentage of funds is not restricted? How does restricting funds impact budget flexibility?
	Learning Outcome: Analyze state financing issues and policies in Texas.	Taking Personal Responsibility	Although few individuals would express a preference for higher taxes, given the information in this chapter about the goods and services the state provides and the revenue data presented in Figure 14.9 and Table 14.9, should Texans advocate for a personal income tax? Why or why not?



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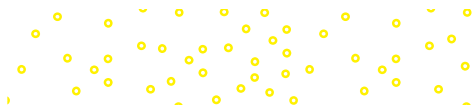
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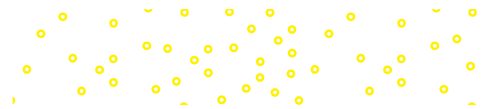
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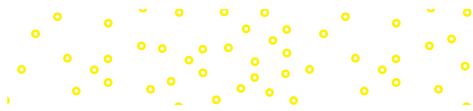
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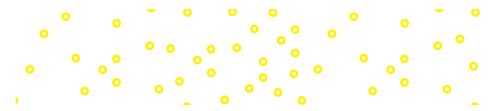
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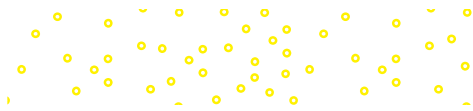
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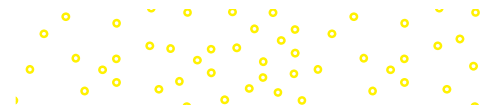
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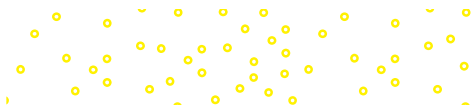
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sherri Mora is the Associate Chair and Undergraduate Program Coordinator for Political Science and Public Administration at Texas State University. She earned advanced degrees in political science, public administration, and education from Texas State University. She has published on teaching and learning in political science and has served as a vertical team member on College and Career Readiness Standards since 2004. As an active member of the assessment group, Mora is responsible for core curriculum assessment and programmatic review in the Department of Political Science at Texas State. She has received numerous awards from the university for distinction as a professor, coordinator, and scholar, including the College of Liberal Arts Achievement Award for Excellence in Service and the Foundation of Excellence Award.

With Contributions From:

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Eric Miller, Blinn College, Bryan
Patrick Moore, Richland College
Chad Mueller, Weatherford College
Martha Musgrove, Tarrant County College, South
Sharon Ann Navarro, University of Texas at San Antonio
Sharon Navarro, University of Texas, San Antonio
John M. Osterman Jr., San Jacinto College, Pasadena
William Parent, Houston Community College, San Jacinto
Paul Philips, Navarro College
Blayne J. Primozych, El Paso Community College, Verde
Prudencio Ramirez, San Jacinto College, Pasadena
Wesley Riddle, Central Texas College, Killeen
Mario Salas, University of Texas at San Antonio
Michael Sanchez, San Antonio College
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Texas History and Politics



Texas Learning Outcome

- Explain the history, demographics, and political culture of Texas.

Texas is the product of many factors:

- Cultural influences
- A unique geography, including a vast amount of land that borders a foreign nation and has thriving ports
- Complicated historical relations with European powers
- A distinctive experience with the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction
- Economic shifts from agriculture to industry
- Shifts in political dominance from one party to the other
- Changing demographics as people come to take advantage of economic opportunities

Texas today faces many challenges that are also tied to national events and concerns. To gain a full appreciation for Texas government, we must examine the Texas of the past as well as today's Texas and put them in a framework within which we can understand them—the framework of political culture. By doing this, we can begin to appreciate the special position Texas occupies within the United States, the ways in which it is very much “American,” and the ways in which it is uniquely Texan.

Chapter Learning Objectives

- Explain the significance of Texas's six flags.
- Describe the Civil War and Reconstruction in Texas.
- Describe post-Reconstruction Texas.
- Explain the challenges facing Texas today.
- Explain U.S. and Texas political cultures.

Flags of Texas: From Spain to Statehood

Learning Objective: Explain the significance of Texas's six flags.

Settlement of the territory known as Texas began with north Asian tribal groups migrating down from the Bering land bridge into the Americas. These groups spread out throughout the Americas, and several eventually occupied the plains, grasslands, and coastal woodlands that are now called Texas. The Caddo tribe settled primarily in the eastern parts of Texas. The Wichita tribe claimed much of the Red River Valley and the lowland grass plains. The Karankawas made their home along the coastal plains, and the western parts of the state were settled by those tribes that eventually became part of the great horse cultures in North America: the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and Tonkawas. Each of these groups would have an impact on later European settlers.

In the last 500 years, six Western countries have governed Texas: Spain, France, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Texas, the United States of America, and, briefly, the Confederacy. This rich history is the origin of the “six flags of Texas.” All six of these flags affected the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural development and diversity of Texas.

Spain

Spain was the first of the modern European nations to lay claim to the territory of Texas, although Spanish Texas included only a small part of today's state. Alonso Alvarez de Pineda explored and mapped the Texas coastline as early as 1519, more than 100 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. However, it was not until 1540 that Francisco Vazquez de Coronado intentionally surveyed the interior of Texas. After Coronado dispelled rumors that the land was brimming with treasures, Spain all but abandoned Texas for almost a century and a half.

France, Briefly

France was the second nation to lay claim and bring its flag, briefly, to the territory of Texas. After the European discovery of North America, France laid claim to all the territory encompassing the Mississippi River system (bordering much of the territory of Texas in the east and north along the Red River) as well as parts of the Spanish claims in the northwestern territories of Mexico. One settlement attempt, led by René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, began in 1685 when his expedition overshot New Orleans and landed on the Texas coast near Matagorda Bay. Fort Saint Louis, however, was a dismal failure because the expedition was inadequately supplied and La Salle was a poor leader. When La Salle left in 1687, taking an overland route to seek help from New Orleans, his own men killed him. The next year, the Karankawa tribe destroyed the fort and either killed or captured the remaining settlers.

Spain Returns

After the remains of Fort Saint Louis were discovered in 1689, the Spanish crown decided to increase settlement efforts by establishing missions and presidios

(fortified settlements) in the eastern part of its territory. The goal was to fend off future French claims by bringing Spanish settlers from Mexico into Texas territory. These Spanish settlers were known as Tejanos, and the first area they settled was the Rio Grande Valley. They established settlements along the Rio Grande and as far north and east as San Antonio. Spanish settlements in other parts of the state lasted for only a few years, with the exception of Nacogdoches.

Although permanent Spanish settlement did not penetrate much beyond San Antonio, Spanish influence permeated the entire state. For example, most of the major rivers in Texas have Spanish names, as do other geographic features and a number of cities and counties. Notably, the Spanish introduced horses, sheep, and cattle into Texas. Spanish legal systems also left their legacy on state laws, especially those regarding land ownership and rights. For example, current laws regarding community property and protections against the forced sale of property (to pay off a debt or court-ordered judgment) have their origins in Spanish law.¹ The homestead exemption is another such legacy. This exemption provided family homesteads more protections from creditors and foreclosures if the economy failed. With this protection, the homestead exemption helped populate the rural regions of Texas.²

When the United States bought the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, new settlement and immigration patterns emerged in East Texas. As **Anglos** encroached through Louisiana, Spain continued to promote settlement. But Spanish-Mexican relations deteriorated, and Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821.

The Republic of Mexico

The third flag to fly over Texas was that of the Republic of Mexico, which included what had been Spanish Texas. By 1824 Texas, the northeasternmost territory of the new nation had been combined with another province to form the new Mexican state of Coahuila and Texas.³ The **empresario** land-grant system that had begun under the Spanish continued. Mexico continued to attract settlers into East Texas. Southern U.S. Anglos and the African American slaves they brought with them began settling there in the 1820s. These southern white Protestants were decidedly different from the Spanish Catholic settlers who already occupied Texas. Because of Mexico's own history of ethnic diversification, a strong antislavery movement was brewing. When President Santa Anna effectively declared himself dictator of Mexico and issued decrees limiting property rights and economic freedom for Anglos, the simmering conflict led to increased Anglo-Texan calls for rebellion.

Open revolt began in late 1835 when Texan and Mexican forces fought over a small six-pound cannon in Gonzales, Texas. Famously, the defenders of the cannon at Gonzales raised a flag with the words "Come and Take It" underneath a lone star and cannon. A Texan victory fed the

Anglo

Here, refers to non-Hispanic white North Americans of European descent, typically (but not exclusively) English speaking

empresario

A person who contracted with the Spanish or Mexican government to recruit new settlers to Texas in exchange for the ability to claim land



Gonzales Flag

©Gallery of the Republic



The Battle of the Alamo, Percy Moran, 1912

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZC4-2133

fever of revolt, and political leaders began planning for rebellion against Mexico. Internal conflicts in Texas complicated matters. Many of the Catholic Spanish remained loyal to Mexico, while the more recently arrived Protestant Anglos generally favored independence.

Santa Anna himself took command of the Mexican forces and marched north into Texas to suppress the rebellion and expel the Anglos. His first battle was the siege of the Alamo (an old mission turned fortress) in San Antonio in February 1836. Texan forces under the command of William B. Travis were hopelessly outnumbered and had no real chance to be reinforced. The siege lasted two weeks, ending with the death of all 187 Alamo defenders on March 6, 1836. The brave resistance by the Alamo's defenders provided additional motivation for the independence movement and is today seen as the Texan equivalent of the famous Battle of Thermopylae between the Greek forces led by the Spartan 300 and the Persians. On March 2, 1836, just before the Alamo's fall, the provisional government of Texas declared its independence from Mexico.

The Republic of Texas

The Republic of Texas flew the fourth national flag. The immediate problem for the new republic was surviving the war with Mexico. The republic did not have an organized army, and the one being assembled had little to no experience. Sam Houston, the general of the Texan army, knew that he needed time to organize and train if Texas was to have a chance at victory. Meanwhile, Santa Anna continued his march north and captured and killed all 350 of James Fannin's troops at what is now called the Goliad Massacre. It became clear that Santa Anna intended to wipe out

the Anglo-American presence in Texas permanently. In what came to be known as the “Runaway Scrape,” Texans and Texas forces retreated for several weeks, fleeing ahead of Santa Anna’s army toward Louisiana. Finally, on the banks of the San Jacinto River on April 21, 1836, Houston found himself with a tactical advantage; he attacked and defeated Santa Anna’s army. Santa Anna was captured and forced to sign the Treaty of Velasco, recognizing Texas’s independence from Mexico.

In the aftermath of the revolution, Texas found itself a new country with no real desire to *be* an independent country. With limited resources and infrastructure, the new government was quickly bound by debt and struggled to meet its minimum obligations to its citizens. Houston had been elected the first president of Texas, and as one of the first acts of the new republic, he petitioned the government of the United States for statehood. Because the vast majority of Anglo settlers considered themselves Americans, it seemed fitting for Texas to become part of the United States. However, the petition for statehood was denied because of the intensely political and divisive issue of slavery. At that time, if Texas was admitted into the Union as a slave state, a corresponding free state would need to be created. This balancing act was not possible then, and Texas was forced to stand on its own. The United States recognized Texas’s independence and set up diplomatic relations.

From 1836 to 1845, the Republic of Texas struggled to survive. Poor relations and border disputes with Mexico to the south and open hostilities with natives in the west made governing Texas difficult. Lack of revenue and poor infrastructure continued to plague the young republic and made economic development challenging. Nonetheless, Texas promoted settlement of its frontier to Americans and Anglo-Europeans by offering the one thing it did have: land. In the 1840s, an organization called the **Adelsverein Society** aided this appeal for settlers by actively promoting German immigration to Texas. In other words, Texas actively sought out immigration to help stabilize its economy, increase its population, and protect its unpopulated regions from conquest. By 1847 this society had brought more than 7,000 Germans to Texas, most of whom settled in the vicinity of Fredericksburg in what is now known as “Hill Country.”⁴ By 1850, German settlers made up 5.4 percent of the population.⁵

Adelsverein Society

An organization that promoted German immigration to Texas in the 1840s

**CORE OBJECTIVE****Thinking Critically . . .**

Texas has always been a state full of immigrants. How have settlement patterns affected Texas? List the several different “waves” of immigration. How have these settlement patterns changed over time and/or how have they stayed the same? How did they change the character and culture of Texas?

The Twenty-Eighth State of the Union

Meanwhile, the idea of Manifest Destiny was gaining popularity in the United States. Many in Washington wanted to ensure that Texas and all its lands would be part of this nation, one that would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Although the diplomatic efforts to bring Texas into the Union were complex, on December 29, 1845, President Polk signed the act making Texas the twenty-eighth state of the Union. When Texas entered the Union, it retained its public debt and



MAP 1.1 **Compromise of 1850** Present state boundaries are shown along with territory transferred to the federal government as part of this agreement.

its public lands, forcing the U.S. government to buy all land that was to be designated as federal. During the Compromise of 1850 (see Map 1.1), when Texas's boundary lines were finally settled, the U.S. government purchased lands that were formerly the western and northwestern parts of Texas (now much of present-day New Mexico and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, and Oklahoma).⁶

Thus the U.S. flag became the fifth to fly over Texas. But Mexico did not give up easily. Still claiming all of Texas as its own, Mexico had voiced objections to U.S. annexation of Texas and broke diplomatic relations with the United States in early 1845. Moreover, Mexican territory at that time extended as far north as the Great Salt Lake and west to the Pacific, in direct opposition to the U.S. goal of spreading across the whole continent. Crossing the Rio Grande on April 25, 1846, Mexican troops attacked U.S. troops provocatively stationed in a disputed area, leading the U.S. Congress to declare war. The resulting Mexican-American War lasted from 1846 to 1848, ending with a decisive victory for the United States. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (in conjunction with the Gadsden Purchase in 1853), the United States officially gained Texas, California, and all the land between them. However, Texas had entered the Union at a time when the very structure of that Union was becoming tenuous.

The Confederate State of Texas

From 1848 to 1860, settlement increased dramatically, with more immigrants coming from the southern United States and Europe. Increasingly, Texas's economy became tied to that of the southern states and the slave system. These ties were the primary reason Texas seceded from the Union in 1861 and joined the Confederacy. Texas was not among the first states to do so because its constitutional requirements were more stringent than other southern states, but in the end, the Confederate flag was the sixth national flag to fly over Texas.

Understanding Impact Cities and towns throughout Texas reflect the diversity of the twenty-eighth state and its six flags. For example, the Spanish established San Antonio and El Paso. The Spanish presence in these cities is still palpable in the cuisine, the culture, the ruins of the missions, and the names of the streets. German immigrants of the 1840s and 1850s established important cities such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, and Boerne. German culture is still tangible in several of the cities that dot the Hill Country. Many German restaurants and festivals still attract large followings. Also, some of the most important cities in Texas bear the names of heroes of the Texas Revolution: Houston is named after Sam Houston, and Austin is named after Stephen F. Austin.

Conduct some research on cities, towns, street names, cuisines, or historic sites that you grew up with or that interest you. How do these subjects reflect the history of Texas? What places, events, or objects would you recommend to a non-Texan who would like to learn more about the history or diversity of Texas?

How to



Read a Map

Maps have been one of the key instruments of exploration, trade, and progress. Being able to read a map allows you to better understand the world in which you live, but many adults have difficulty with map reading. Let's go through the process step by step. Keep in mind that not every map has all the features listed below.

Step 1. Look at the map's orientation.

The first thing to look for is the map's orientation. Usually, near one of the corners of the map there is a compass rose, which sometimes looks like a cross or a star. The compass rose should have four key parts: N (North), S (South), E (East), and W (West). Finding the compass rose is important because very rarely is it helpful to read a map upside down.

Some professional maps of larger areas may even have the longitude and latitude of the area. Longitude measures how east or west a certain location is; longitudinal lines go from the North to South Pole. Latitude measures how north or south a certain location is; latitudinal lines are either above or below the Equator.

Step 2. Decide what type of map it is.

Some maps show physical geography: mountains, plains, bodies of water. Others, like Map 1.1, show political borders and the names of political entities such as countries, states, and cities. Still others show historic information, such as a map of troop movements during a battle, or statistical information, such as Map 1.2, which shows population density by Texas county. Some maps even

show thematic information, such as Map 1.3, which classifies U.S. states as having traditionalist, individualistic, or moralistic culture.

Step 3. Examine the map's scale.

A scale is the ratio of what the map is trying to measure. On some maps, an inch or centimeter may measure 1,000 miles. On other maps, it may measure 10 miles. The scale is what allows a given territory to fit on the paper.

Maps sometimes purposefully exaggerate or distort geographic features because paper maps are flat, whereas the actual world is a sphere. Think about what happens when you peel an orange. The peel doesn't lie flat unless you make tears between some of the sections. Those tears are equivalent to the types of distortions it takes to show a round globe on a flat map.

Step 4. Interpret the map key.

The map key, or legend, is a box or chart usually placed near the compass rose. The map key is a directory of all the symbols on the map.

Step 5. Decipher the area you would like to study.

Using the map's orientation, scale, and key, you should be able to find out more about what you are trying to study.

These steps should help you get more out of maps in all sorts of situations—whether you are trying to understand the events of a historic battle or just find the nearest parking lot. The more practice you have reading maps, the more they will teach you.

Civil War and Reconstruction: A Time of Transition

Learning Objective: Describe the Civil War and Reconstruction in Texas.

Few moments in Texas history are more momentous than the state's decision to secede from the Union. The majority of Texans supported secession, including many notable men from the Republic of Texas such as General Albert Sidney Johnston, future governor Francis Lubbock, and future governor Edward Clark. Many of the secessionists were staunchly in favor of the preservation of slavery, and they feared that the policies of Abraham Lincoln and the newly formed

Republican Party would jeopardize the infamous institution. Texas had few Unionists because of the slave question. The most notable Unionist was Sam Houston—the distinguished general and diplomat who guided Texas to independence from Mexico, led the fledgling Republic of Texas to join the Union, and served as U.S. senator and governor. Although Houston favored slavery, he still believed that Texas should remain faithful to the Union. Texans evicted Houston from the governorship because he failed to support the Confederacy. The politics around the war were so divisive that many Texans vilified him, friends shunned him, and some people threatened to kill him. Despondent about the future of the place he held so dear, Houston died in 1863. The fact that so many Texans could turn on one of the state's founding leaders only highlights the drama of the Civil War and its later consequences.⁷

Effects of the Civil War

The Civil War was a costly and brutal conflict, but Texas was lucky compared to many Confederate states. Politics and geography combined to create that “luck.” The machinations of Napoleon III of France played a role in the war in Texas. France had invaded Mexico in 1861. Napoleon's goal was to set up a new government under French protection in Mexico, with Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria as emperor. Napoleon was openly pro-Confederate but did not want to risk war with the United States. Despite the Confederacy's desperate need for French funds and official recognition, events in Europe combined with U.S. threats to keep the French from fully committing to Confederate support. After the war ended in 1865, the United States stationed 50,000 troops in Texas, primarily along the border with Mexico to oppose the “French Intervention.” However, conflict did not break out between the United States and Mexico at that time.

Geography also played a role in limiting Texas's exposure to the ravages of war. Anglo southerners had not created many substantial settlements west of the Balcones Escarpment, a natural geological feature that separates the Coastal Plains and pine forest regions of Texas from the middle and High Plains of the state. In fact, white people did not settle in most areas west of this line until after the Civil War, for two reasons. First, Native American tribes—Comanche, Lipan Apache, Kiowa, and Tonkawa Indians—already lived in the region. In the 1850s, the U.S. Army tried to control this region by building a series of forts on the edge of the Cross Timbers area. Forts Belknap, Cooper, Phantom Hill, Chadborne, McKavett, and Terrett were part of this plan. During the Civil War, however, the U.S. government abandoned these forts, and the native presence in the region reemerged. Indeed, both Union and Confederate forces engaged in skirmishes with Native Americans in Texas during the Civil War. Native domination of the area continued until 1875, when U.S. forces captured Comanche Chief Quanah Parker in Palo Duro Canyon, near present-day Amarillo. The second geography-related reason settlement was limited was that the dry, arid, treeless plains west of the Balcones Escarpment (Grande Prairie, Cross Timbers, lower plains, and High Plains) were not conducive to the wood, water, and plantation culture that southern Anglos brought with them. This terrain likewise did not offer much food or water for an invading army trying to live off the land.

Despite Texas's relative luck during the war years from 1861 to 1865, it was the home of some important Civil War events. Foremost among them were the Battle of Sabine Pass and the Battle of Galveston, both fought in 1863. In the



Battle of Galveston, Harper's Weekly, January 31, 1863

©Courtesy of Texas State Library & Archives Commission

former, a small Confederate force prevented a larger Union force, led by General Banks, from moving into Texas. In the latter, Confederate forces on land recaptured Galveston while its naval forces captured the U.S. ship *Harriet Lane*, despite being heavily outnumbered and losing the Confederate vessel *Neptune*. Other noteworthy actions included the Union blockade of the Texas coast, General Henry Sibley's march to El Paso in an attempt to take New Mexico and other federal territories for the Confederacy, and the final land conflict of the war, the Battle of Palmito Ranch (which took place more than a month after Lee's surrender in Virginia). Roughly 90,000 Texans served in the war.⁸ The lives lost in battle and the time and money lost to the conflict devastated Texas and the nation.

Reconstruction in Texas

Immediately after the Civil War, Texas, like many other states of the former Confederacy, found itself deeply in debt and under the military control of the Union army. The era that began in 1865 and was known as Reconstruction had two primary political goals. First, the Union wanted to restore law and order to a society recovering from war and allow southern states to be readmitted to the Union. Second, the Union sought to finally dismantle the institution of slavery. As historians James M. McPherson and James K. Hogue stated, "No single generalization can encompass the variety of ways in which freedom came to the slaves."⁹ In Texas, Union General Gordon Granger started the process of emancipation on his arrival at Galveston by issuing General Order Number 3 on June 19, 1865. This order informed Texans that "in accordance with a proclamation from the Executive of the United States, all slaves are free." Importantly, it went on to note that "This involves an absolute equality of personal rights and rights of property

between former masters and slaves, and the connection heretofore existing between them becomes that between employer and hired labor.” This is the origin of the “Juneteenth” holiday in Texas and other states.¹⁰

Upon learning of their freedom, former slaves were overcome with great jubilation. Many cried, and others danced. The Freedman’s Bureau organized the first Juneteenth celebration in Austin in 1867. Since then, many cities and individual families celebrate Juneteenth with barbecues, parties, baseball, concerts, and marches.¹¹ Some African Americans celebrate Juneteenth not only to commemorate emancipation but also to remember the resilience of African Americans throughout the centuries in facing discrimination and bigotry.¹²

When the Thirteenth Amendment became law in December 1865, slavery was outlawed across the United States. It would prove more difficult to reunite the country and truly protect the rights of African Americans in the former states of the Confederacy.

Reconstruction’s goals created a culture clash between the two major ideological groups in Texas. One group was the dominant Confederate sympathizers (typically southern Democrats) who wanted to maintain the status quo of society as much as possible. The second group was composed of Union supporters, including Republican “**carpetbaggers**,” a pejorative term used to describe Republicans who moved to the South to be appointed to political office during Reconstruction, and “scalawags,” an equally derisive descriptor of southerners who supported Reconstruction policies. During this time, being a Republican in the South essentially came to mean that you were an outsider and could not be trusted by “true” (meaning white) southerners.

In 1866, Texas adopted a new constitution that abolished slavery, nullified the ordinances of secession, renounced the right of future secession, and repudiated (refused to accept responsibility for) the state’s wartime debt. This constitution was short-lived; yet another constitution replaced it in 1869 as a result of the Reconstruction acts of the U.S. Congress and later military rule imposed on Texas. This so-called carpetbagger’s constitution was a drastic departure from other Texas constitutions, past and future (see Chapter 2), and granted African Americans the right to vote while also disenfranchising whites who had participated in the Civil War. Texas formally rejoined the Union in 1870.

Republican Edmund Jackson Davis became governor in 1870, but his administration was controversial and unpopular with Texas citizens, who protested taxes and government expenditures during his tenure of office.¹³ Southern Democrats were able to regain control of state government with the election of 1874. The new governor, Richard Coke, called for a convention to write yet another constitution. When Texas adopted its new constitution in 1876, the document demonstrated a strong distrust in the institutions of government and a heavy emphasis on the freedoms and liberties of its citizens. Although it has changed dramatically due to hundreds of amendments over the years, the 1876 constitution remains the outline of our fundamental law for the state of Texas. The Coke administration also marked the beginning of one-party Democratic politics in Texas that lasted about 100 years. Without the legal tools created by the policies of Reconstruction, or the broad political support necessary to win any public office, Republicans began to vanish from the political scene. Democrats were triumphant in Texas.

carpetbagger

Someone who engages in political activities in a place he or she does not live. After the American Civil War, people from Union states and elsewhere went to the South to engage in politics and business. Southerners saw them as exploiters and called them “carpetbaggers” because of the type of luggage they typically used

Post-Reconstruction Texas

Learning Objective: Describe post-Reconstruction Texas.

In 1893, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner famously declared the end of the American frontier.¹⁴ The frontier was a significant symbol and reality for Texans in the nineteenth century. The end of the frontier changed the character of Texas forever. For most of its history, the Lone Star State has had a **land-based economy**. However, that economy has evolved in the many decades following Reconstruction. Texas is no longer simply a rural state with an economy dominated by cattle, cotton, and oil.

land-based economy

An economic system in which most wealth is derived from the use of the land

Land

Early in Texas's history, offers of free land lured many settlers to the region. The Spanish and Mexican governments provided generous land grants to any family willing to settle in the state. Each family could receive one *sitio* or *legua* (Spanish for "league"), the equivalent of about 4,428 acres of land, and a single person could receive 1,500 acres. By the 1820s it took generous incentives to convince people to settle in Texas, given the hardships of travel and simple survival there. "GTT" ("Gone to Texas") was a common sign left behind by those escaping debt or the long arm of the law. In a letter dated 1855 from Fort Clark, Texas, General P. H. Sheridan said, "If I owned Hell and Texas, I'd rent out Texas and live in Hell."¹⁵

Land issues also played a role in the Texas revolution in 1836 and annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845. The sheer vastness of Texas—all those acres of land—has played a role in Texas history for generations.

Transformation of the Texas Economy

From the 1820s to the 1860s, the primary use of that land was for cotton farming. King Cotton was the state's major cash crop, helping Texas pay its bills from independence through Reconstruction. The giant cattle ranches in south and west Texas also helped develop the cowboy culture and mystique of the frontier Texan. In the years following the Civil War, cattle became Texas's economic mainstay. In 1901, however, a well in the Spindletop field near Beaumont gushed with oil, and the economy and politics of the state began to change dramatically.

The discovery of oil transformed Texas in three major ways over the next century:

- Oil sparked the transition from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. In addition to jobs directly related to the oil industry, high-tech peripheral jobs and industries developed to support or benefit from the oil industry.¹⁶
- It accelerated the growth of Texas's population and brought in new citizens from all over the United States and abroad, looking for work. These new citizens brought with them ideas about government and economics that challenged and diversified the ideas of Texas Democrats and Republicans.



Queen of Waco gusher. Spindletop, Beaumont, Port Arthur, and vicinity. Texas oil industry ca. 1901.

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-26332]

- Oil accelerated the demographic shift from a rural society to an urban society. In 1900, less than 20 percent of Texans lived in urban areas. In 1950, about 63 percent lived in urban areas. By 1990, that number had increased to more than 80 percent.¹⁷

During the 1970s and early 1980s, the state economy experienced tremendous growth because of an increase in oil prices. But oil was not always reliable. In the mid-1980s, the price of oil declined, and with it the economy of the entire state. To many, the economic recession of the 1980s pointed to a need for more economic diversity. Perhaps the old land-based economy, which had been so important in Texas's history, could not carry the state into the twenty-first century.

Passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which went into effect in 1994, offered the promise of significant economic growth because of increased trade with Mexico. Furthermore, new high-tech industries—especially in Austin, Dallas, and Houston—significantly bolstered the Texas economy. Texas Instruments helped turn the calculator into a common household item in the 1970s, and today's Texas boasts a thriving software, equipment, telecommunications, and semiconductor industry.

To support this industry, Texas has become a leader in scientific and technological research and development. A reliable indicator of technological innovation is the number of international patent applications filed under the Patent Cooperation Treaty. In 2008, Texas ranked fourth among the 50 states in the number of patents filed, trailing only California, New York, and Massachusetts. According to the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, Texas was second among the 50 states in total patents granted in 2015 (although this ranking is not nearly as high when considered on a per capita basis).¹⁸ Although energy and agriculture are still important to the state's economy, many new elements exist today.

The service industry now dominates the Texas economy. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, service-providing industries include trade, transportation, utilities, information and financial activities, real estate, professional and business services, education, health care, and leisure and hospitality, among others. In March 2018, service industries employed more than half of the private-sector workforce in Texas. Moreover, that number increases to 82 percent if farm labor is excluded.¹⁹ The state's location, its nearness to Mexico, and its centrality within the continental United States has pushed this sector's growth. Trade has expanded rapidly owing to NAFTA and globalization, and Texas has become a transportation hub. Increased trade has also fueled the growth of professional and business services in accounting, legal services, computer services, construction, engineering, and management. Meanwhile, population expansion has led to a marked increase in the need for health care and education services. Simultaneously, the rise in trade and population has sparked the growth of the leisure and hospitality industry.

Texas has become a major trading power in its own right, leading the 50 U.S. states in exports. When Congress passed NAFTA in 1993, Texas anticipated significant economic growth because of increased trade, primarily with Mexico. But in reality, Texas has become a major center of international trade. From 2003 to 2017, it led all states in U.S. exports. In 2017, Texas exported \$264 billion in goods, whereas California, in second place, exported only \$171 billion. Texas by itself accounted for 17.1 percent of all U.S. exports. The state's major trading

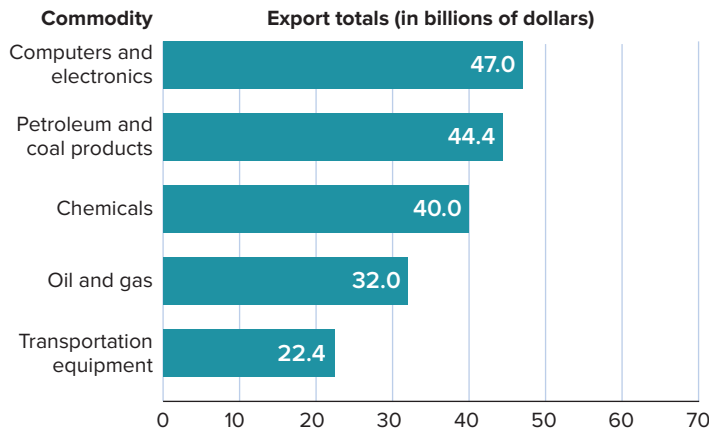


FIGURE 1.1 Top Exports from Texas (in billions of dollars), 2017

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, "Texas Exports, Jobs, and Foreign Investment," <https://www.trade.gov/mas/ian/statereports/states/tx.pdf>.



CORE OBJECTIVE

Communicating Effectively . . .

Write a short synopsis of Texas's changing economy and its role in international trade.

partners are Mexico and Canada, followed by China, Brazil, South Korea, and Japan. Mexico's importance is not to be underestimated, however; that nation alone received more than 36 percent of Texas's exports in 2017 (see Figure 1.1 for major categories of exports).²⁰

Texas's Economic Regions

The state comptroller's office has divided Texas into 12 **economic regions** as a convenient way to talk about areas of the state.²¹ To simplify discussion, this book merges these 12 regions into 6, as shown in Figure 1.2. A basic knowledge of these regions will be useful in considering how Texas's economic diversity affects its government.

The East Texas or Piney Woods region was traditionally dominated by agriculture, timber, and oil. Today, agriculture is less important, and oil is declining, but timber is still important. Some diversification has occurred, with manufacturing becoming more important.

The Plains region of the state, with Lubbock and Amarillo as its major cities, has historically been dominated by agriculture (especially cotton, wheat, and maize) and by ranching and cattle feedlots. In recent years, the economy of this region has become more diversified and less dominated by agriculture.

The Gulf Coast region, extending from Corpus Christi to Beaumont/Port Arthur/Orange and including Houston, is dominated by petrochemical industries, manufacturing, shipping, and fishing. In recent years, this area has further diversified

economic regions

Divisions of the state based on dominant economic activity



FIGURE 1.2 Economic Regions of Texas

Industrial landscape: ©Hal Bergman/Getty Images; cityscape: ©Molly Dean/Getty Images; crane: ©Greg Cooksey/Getty Images; riverscape: ©ericfoltz/Getty Images

with the addition of high-tech industries. It is also the area with the highest concentration of organized labor unions in the state.

The border area of South Texas and the Rio Grande Valley, stretching from Brownsville to El Paso, is noted primarily for its agricultural production of citrus fruits and vegetables. In recent years, trade with Mexican border cities has diversified the economy of this region, a process increased by the passage of NAFTA.

The Metroplex, or Dallas–Fort Worth area, is considered the financial center of the state. This region is the most economically diversified, with a combination of banking, manufacturing, high-tech, and aerospace industries.

The Central Corridor, or midstate region, is an area stretching roughly from College Station in the east to Waco in the north and Austin and San Antonio in the southwest. This area is dominated by three large state universities—the University of Texas at Austin, Texas A&M University, and Texas State University—along with high-tech industries in Austin and San Antonio and major military bases in the Waco/Temple/Killeen and San Antonio areas.

Texas Politics: From Democrat to Republican

The Democratic Party dominated Texas politics from the end of Reconstruction until the mid-1970s. In the absence of a strong and viable Republican Party, third parties became the main challengers to the Democratic Party during the **Progressive Era** of American politics. Groups such as the Greenback Party, the Farmers Alliance, and the Populists became known as progressives because they believed in the “doctrine of progress”—the concept that people can improve governing institutions by using science to solve public problems.²² Each of these groups wanted to use government to positively affect the economy, by either increasing the value of agriculture or reining in the power of business and banking.²³ The Democratic Party successfully responded to these challenges by adopting many progressive reform proposals into its own platform. By the start of the twentieth century, Texas was effectively a one-party state with Progressive Democrats and Conservative Democrats contesting offices. A lack of meaningful competition from Republicans often led to straight-ticket party voting in elections. The term “Yellow Dog Democrat,” coined to describe someone who would vote only for Democratic candidates, aptly described the voting habits of many Texans (that is, “He would vote for a yellow dog if it ran as a Democrat”).

From the 1920s through World War II, the oil industry helped shape state and local politics. Most Texas Democrats were conservative. Conservative business interests actually aligned more with the national Republican Party at times, and the state supported Herbert Hoover in 1928—one of only four instances from the end of Reconstruction to the mid-1970s in which a majority of Texas voters favored the Republican candidate in a presidential election.²⁴ The Great Depression, however, soured Texans on the Republican Party again, and the Democratic New Deal brought Texans back into the party fold. Progressive Democrats supporting jobs programs and military development helped attract more liberal-minded citizens to the party.

The next time a majority of Texas voters supported the Republican candidate was in 1952, when Dwight Eisenhower was elected president. He was backed by the “Shivercrats,” a faction of Texas Democrats who followed conservative Democratic governor Allan Shivers. Texans supported Eisenhower again in 1956.

As the national Democratic Party increased the federal government’s role in the lives of individuals and businesses through the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and Great Society programs, conservative Texas Democrats became disenchanted with the national party and chose not to support it in national races. This coincided with an increase in the number of liberal Democrats joining the party and achieving leadership positions. The **civil rights movement** of the late 1950s and 1960s also pushed socially conservative Democrats away from the Democratic Party and started pulling them toward the Republican Party. John Tower’s 1961 election, the first time Texas had sent a Republican to the U.S. Senate since 1870, reflected the beginning of this shift.²⁵ A majority of Texas voters supported Richard Nixon, a Republican, for president in 1972.

This pattern of supporting Republicans for national political offices eventually evolved into supporting Republican candidates for state offices (for example, Bill Clements for governor in 1978) and, eventually, supporting Republican candidates for local office. Beginning with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, a majority of Texans have voted Republican in every presidential election to date.²⁶ Texas fully transitioned from a predominantly Democratic (conservative) majority to a fully Republican statewide majority by 2002. After the 1994 political party

Progressive Era

A movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that sought increased federal and state government regulation to help wipe out economic, social, and political ills

civil rights movement

A political movement, primarily in the 1950s and 1960s, that demanded equal civil rights for people of color

realignment, which swept away Democratic majorities in the U.S. House and Senate, Texans voted a large sector of experienced, powerful Democratic officeholders out of public office. Anglo male voters, as well as businesses and conservatives seeking big changes in the state's legal and regulatory system, found and supported Republican candidates at all levels. By 1998, all statewide elective officeholders were Republicans, and by 2002, the Texas House of Representatives had a Republican majority for the first time in its history, also a testament to the significance of redistricting. (See the Chapter 3 section titled "Reapportionment and Redistricting Issues" for an in-depth discussion of redistricting.)

There are other, nonideological reasons for the shift toward a one-party, Republican state. Culturally, there are likely many more individuals who would self-identify as Democrats or who would vote for Democratic candidates than are currently registered or voting. Structurally, however, there are problems with making today's Democratic Party a competitive entity. Many likely Democratic voters either do not register or do not vote (see Chapter 9 for more on why people vote). Some independents might vote Democratic if that party had a better chance of winning statewide seats or legislative control. And redistricting has virtually guaranteed Republican majorities in the state and federal representative races.

Evidence from the 2008 election suggests that if these conditions changed, very different political outcomes could occur in Texas. In the March 2008 presidential primary election, nearly 3 million Texans voted in the Democratic primary, compared to only 1.3 million in the Republican primary (though the poor turnout on the Republican side was because eventual party nominee John McCain had all but sewn up the nomination).²⁷ In the general election, 8 million Texans cast ballots, and although Republican John McCain won the state, Democrats (with a strong presidential candidate with coattails in Barack Obama) made significant gains in the Texas House, closely missing a tie with 74 seats.

The situation, though, changed quickly and dramatically. Reaction to the Obama presidency in 2010 and 2012 prompted a tidal wave of small-government and social conservatives to run for office, and many unseated a number of long-standing Democrats in both the state and U.S. House of Representatives. However, in 2013, Democratic operatives launched "Battleground Texas," a **political action committee (PAC)** whose goal was to revitalize the Democratic Party in the state and ultimately "turn Texas blue."²⁸

The success of the Battleground Texas movement has been mixed. As discussed in Chapter 11, the Democratic Party's gubernatorial candidate Wendy Davis failed to defeat Republican Greg Abbott and actually performed worse than its candidate Bill White did against incumbent governor Rick Perry in 2010. Davis received fewer total votes than White and only 39 percent of the total statewide vote compared to the 42 percent he had received.

However, in 2016, Democrats saw some semblance of hope. Although Donald Trump carried Texas in the presidential election, he did it by an unimpressive margin for such a conservative state. Hillary Clinton carried more than 500,000 more votes in Texas than Barack Obama had collected in 2012.²⁹

Democrats made even further gains in 2018. Despite Republican senator Ted Cruz' reelection victory, Democratic challenger Beto O'Rourke came within three points of defeating him.

Although political party realignment has occurred in the past 50 years, the ideological landscape of Texas has not really changed. When public opinion polls

political action committee (PAC)

A spin-off of an interest group that collects money for campaign contributions and other activities

ask about political ideology, a solid plurality of Texans continue to identify themselves as conservative (rather than moderate, independent, or liberal). Texas political culture has had a strong tendency toward conservative ideological principles in all areas of public policy. In fact, “ideology” has meant more to many Texas voters than political party labels. This strong ideological association helps explain why Texas voters realigned between the two major parties during the latter part of the twentieth century. For most Texas voters, whether a candidate was a Democrat or a Republican was not relevant; the most “conservative” candidate would likely win most elections.



CORE OBJECTIVE

Taking Personal Responsibility . . .

What can you do to become well informed about political issues so that you can make effective decisions at election time?

Demographics: The Road to Majority-Minority

Demography refers to the statistical characteristics of a population. Typically, data used to develop and describe population statistics come from the United States Census, which the government conducts every 10 years. Regardless of the best efforts, the census is subject to error, particularly in the form of an undercount. Nonetheless, census questions and the information from them provide a means of measuring meaningful features of a population. Population trends reflect much about the political, social, and cultural features of a given region and are important indicators for government at all levels. Population data allow governments to plan well, and well in advance, in providing the vital needs for which they are responsible.

Of the 50 states, Texas ranks second not only in total land size but also in terms of population. Moreover, that population has been growing at an explosive rate. In 1970, Texas’s population was 11.2 million; by 1990 it had increased to almost 17 million. In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau calculated the state’s official population at 25,145,561. The 2017 estimate jumped to 28,304,596, reflecting an increase of more than 3 million residents in 7 years.³⁰ (See Figure 1.3 for a comparison of the Lone Star State’s population growth with that of other states.) Although birthrates account for part of this growth, it is also attributable to the arrival of newcomers from other states and countries.

This incredible growth has affected Texas’s standing in national politics. As a result of the 2010 Census, Texas was awarded four more seats—the biggest gain of any state—in the U.S. House of Representatives.³¹ The location of the four new districts highlights two important shifts in political power in the state: from rural to urban and suburban areas and increasing majority-minority demographics.

Urban and Rural

As *The Economist* noted, “The imagery of Texas is rural—cattle, cotton, cowboys and, these days, wind turbines whirring against the endless sky. But the reality is

demography

The scientific study of a population

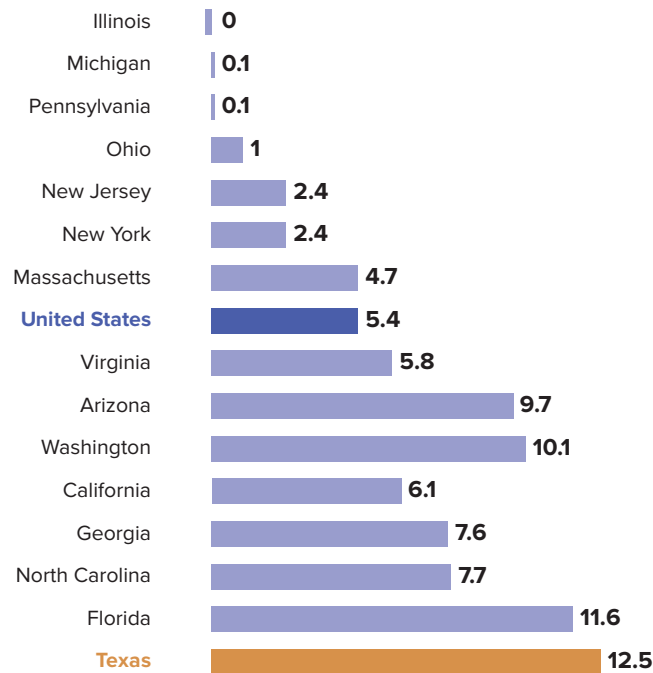


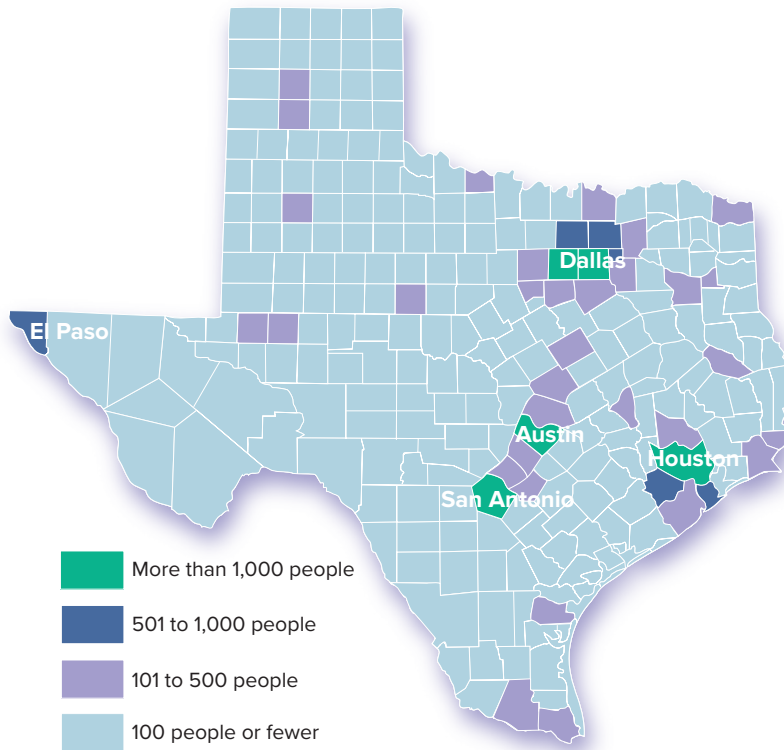
FIGURE 1.3 Percentage Change in Population for the 15 Most Populous States, 2010–2017

Source: Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, “State Population Totals and Components of Change: 2010–2017” Table 1: Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for the United States, Regions, States, and Puerto Rico: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2017/demo/popest/state-total.html>

increasingly urban.”³² Although definitions of rural and urban can vary, the U.S. Census Bureau uses the following distinction for densely populated areas: “Urbanized Areas (UAs) consist of 50,000 or more people; Urban Clusters (UCs) comprise at least 2,500 but less than 50,000 people, and ‘rural’ encompasses all population, housing, and territory not included within an urban area.”³³ Applying this definition to 2010 census data, 21,298,039 Texans lived in urban areas that year. This was 84.7 percent of the state’s population, leaving 15.3 percent of the population (or 3.8 million people) in rural areas.³⁴ By comparison, in 2000, 17.5 percent of Texans (or 3.6 million people) were considered “rural.”³⁵ In other words, while the overall population of Texas has increased, the proportion of Texans living in rural areas is declining. The state comptroller’s office has projected that over the next 40 years, urban areas will continue to grow much more rapidly than rural areas.³⁶ In Map 1.2, the urban nature of today’s Texas is apparent, with so many Texans living in a handful of populous counties.

As stated previously, Texas has added four new congressional districts: numbers 33, 34, 35, and 36. These new districts were primarily established in or near cities and are capable of capturing significant numbers of minority voters. District 33 includes Dallas and Tarrant counties and covers parts of the Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area. District 34 covers the Gulf Coast between Brownsville and Corpus Christi. District 35 covers multiple counties including parts of San Antonio and Austin. District 36 likewise includes multiple counties in southeastern

Percentage of All Texas Voters in 2012, By County



MAP 1.2 Population Density in Texas per County

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census, <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>.

Texas near Houston.³⁷ Minority groups are particularly concentrated in major cities because of minority migration to cities and higher birthrates on average for minorities, along with white migration to suburban areas. The role of minority groups is particularly important in Texas.

Majority-Minority

Since 2004, Texas has been a “**majority-minority**” state, meaning that all racial and ethnic minority groups combined now form a majority of the population and outnumber the non-Hispanic white population.³⁸ As of 2016, white non-Hispanics made up 42.6 percent of the total state population, making them a numerical, statistical minority.³⁹ Public school enrollments have been majority-minority for some time. According to the Texas Education Agency, 2001–2002 was the first school year in which Hispanic students outnumbered whites. By 2016–2017, Hispanic enrollment was more than half of all students (52.4 percent), and white enrollment had declined to 28.1 percent of the total school population.⁴⁰ These changes in majority and minority status have significant implications for state politics and public policy decisions.

Hispanic immigration from Mexico to Texas has steadily increased over the course of the past half-century and has become a major factor in state politics. In

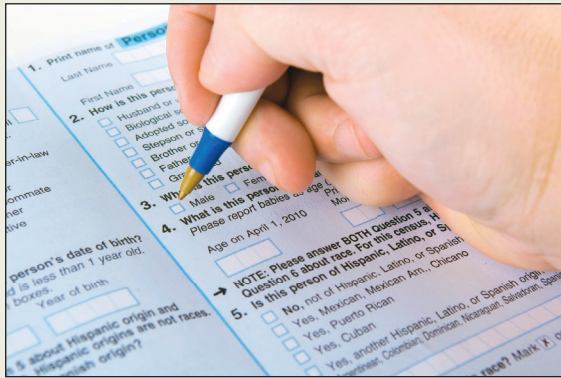
majority-minority

Minority groups make up a majority of the population of the state

Focus On



How the Government Defines “Hispanic”



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Many forms ask respondents to indicate whether or not they are “Hispanic” or “Latino,” but what do these terms mean? How do people and the government define “Hispanic” and “Latino”? As with many questions, the answer depends on whom you ask!

First championed by a Hispanic bureaucrat in the 1970s,⁴¹ U.S. government use of the term “Hispanic” has grown steadily. One of the earliest references was a 1976 law directing various federal departments to collect data regarding “Americans of Spanish origin or descent.”⁴² This group was originally defined as people who are “of Spanish-speaking background and trace their origin or descent from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish-speaking countries.”⁴³ The actual term

“Hispanic” first appeared on U.S. Census forms in 1980.⁴⁴ In 1997, the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) revised the definition of “Hispanic” to refer to “persons who trace their origin or descent to Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish cultures.” The OMB also began to use “Latino” in conjunction with “Hispanic” at that time. As justification, the OMB cited regional conventions, suggesting that “Hispanic” was often used in the eastern U.S. and “Latino” preferred in the western U.S.⁴⁵ (In some contexts, “Latino” may be a more inclusive term reflecting origins anywhere in Latin America—such as Brazil, where Portuguese is the primary language—and not just Spanish-speaking countries. Others have suggested the use of “Latino/Latina” or “Latinx” may be associated with certain age groups or political affiliations.)⁴⁶ Despite the existence of these official governmental definitions, no proof or documentation is required to establish membership in this group. For census purposes, determining whether someone is Hispanic is based solely on self-identification. In other words, if one says one is Hispanic or Latino, then one is considered Hispanic or Latino.⁴⁷ According to the federal government’s approach, race is a separate classification. The Census Bureau states people “who report themselves as Hispanic can be of any race.”⁴⁸ This may differ from the perception of many Hispanics. According to a recent study by Pew Research Center, more than half of Hispanic adults surveyed considered their Hispanic background to be part of both their origin and their race.⁴⁹ Much of the demographic information in this book is based on census data.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Why might the federal government collect data regarding particular ethnic groups?
2. In what way is the federal government’s definition of the term “Hispanic” appropriate or inappropriate? What might be a better definition?

1960, Hispanics represented 15 percent of the total population of Texas. That increased to 18 percent by 1970, 21 percent in 1980, and 25 percent in 1990. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanics or Latinos made up 39.1 percent of the state’s total population in 2017.⁵⁰

As the Hispanic population continues to grow, Hispanics have increased voter turnout in the border areas, in some sections of South Texas and the Gulf Coast, and in the San Antonio area. They have elected local officials to city and county government and school boards, to the state legislature, and to Congress. The

first Hispanic either appointed or elected to statewide office was Raul Gonzales, in 1984, to the Texas Supreme Court.⁵¹ Dan Morales was subsequently elected state attorney general in 1990 and served until 1999. In 2002, Tony Sanchez was the first Hispanic to become a major-party candidate for governor. The 2012 election of Ted Cruz to the U.S. Senate marked the first time the state sent a Hispanic to the upper chamber of Congress.⁵² In 2015, George P. Bush (whose mother, Columba, is a native of Mexico who became a U.S. citizen in 1979) took office as Commissioner of the General Land Office (the state's fifth-highest elected position), and Carlos Cascos was appointed Texas secretary of state.⁵³ Hispanic voters and leaders will continue to be a major force in Texas state politics.

The Hispanic population has grown as a percentage of total state population since the 1960s, but the African American population has remained fairly constant over that period. The 2017 estimate for African Americans was 12.6 percent of the population.⁵⁴ African Americans tend to be concentrated in three metropolitan areas: Houston, Dallas–Fort Worth, and Austin. African Americans have had some political success winning election to local offices (school boards, city councils, and county offices) and the state legislature, in addition to winning a few seats in the U.S. Congress. Currently, in the U.S. House of Representatives, there are several powerful and influential African American representatives. Houston's Al Green was the first to call for President Trump's impeachment, and Southern Texas's Will Hurd is one of the few black Republican members of Congress.⁵⁵

Only one African American, Morris Overstreet, has been elected to statewide office. From 1990 to 1999, Judge Overstreet served on the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, the highest court for criminal matters in the state. In 2002, Ron Kirk, the popular African American mayor of Dallas, ran for a U.S. Senate seat. Although polls showed Kirk to be in a dead heat with Republican John Cornyn, Kirk lost the race by a margin of almost 12 percent (43 percent for Kirk compared to 55 percent for Cornyn).⁵⁶

Asian Americans were less than 1 percent of the population of Texas in 1980 but made up 4.8 percent of the state population by 2017.⁵⁷ The state's Asian American population is projected to increase in the years ahead. In fact, the state demographer's office argues that "the non-Hispanic Other group, consisting of mostly Asian Americans, will grow at the fastest rate, when compared to other racial/ethnic categories."⁵⁸ Most of Texas's Asian American population is concentrated in the Houston area. In fact, one section of Houston has such a large proportion of Chinese Americans that some of the street signs are in Chinese. However, there are also significant concentrations of Korean Americans in the Dallas–Fort Worth Metroplex and in Killeen. Asian Americans in the Houston area have had some success in electing local officials, including one city council member and a county court of law judge. In 2002, Martha Wong was elected to represent the Houston area in the Texas statehouse. Wong was only the second Asian American to serve in the Texas House and the first Republican of Asian descent. In 2004, Hubert Vo was the first Vietnamese American elected to serve as a state representative, and he continues to represent his Houston area district. The first Asian American elected to the Texas House was Tom Lee from San Antonio. As of 2016, there have been five Asian Americans in the Texas House, including three in the current legislature.⁵⁹



Raul A. Gonzales, Jr.

Courtesy of Raul A. Gonzalez

TABLE 1.1**Religious Affiliation in Texas**

Evangelical Protestant	31%
Mainline Protestant	13%
Historically Black Protestant	6%
Catholic	23%
Mormon	1%
Jehovah's Witness	1%
Orthodox Christian	< 1%
Other Christian	1%
Jewish	1%
Muslim	1%
Buddhist	1%
Hindu	1%
Other World Religions	< 1%
Other Faiths	1%
Unaffiliated	18%

Source: U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, Pew Research Center, 2014.



Lakewood Church, the largest congregation in the country, meets in a former sports arena in Houston.

©Eric Kayne/Houston Chronicle/AP Images

Religion in Texas

Religion in Texas bears the Roman Catholic imprint of its Spanish and Mexican roots as well as the conservative Protestantism of its later Anglo settlers. According to a 2014 survey by the Pew Research Center (see Table 1.1), approximately 82 percent of Texans affiliate with a religious tradition. About 3 in 4 Texans identify as Christians, with Protestants accounting for 50 percent of the population and Catholics accounting for another 23 percent.⁶⁰

The Roman Catholic Church's presence in Texas dates back to the sixteenth century, when almost all of the Spanish settlers were Catholic. Although the influence of Catholicism waned in the nineteenth century with the rise of white Protestant immigration, it is now witnessing a resurgence of political and social clout due to the influx of Latin American immigration. Interestingly, Catholic theology and the political positions of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) do not neatly align with any particular party. On social issues, the Catholic bishops hold similar views to the Republican Party on abortion and same-sex marriage. However, due to the contemporary debates on sanctuary cities and the rise of undocumented workers, the Catholic bishops have aligned themselves on immigration with policies that are closer to the Democratic Party.⁶¹ As a consequence, sometimes the Catholic Church gets criticized from both sides of the aisle for its political stances.

Due in part to the state's large population of evangelical Protestants and its large metropolitan areas,

Party affiliation among adults in Texas by religious group

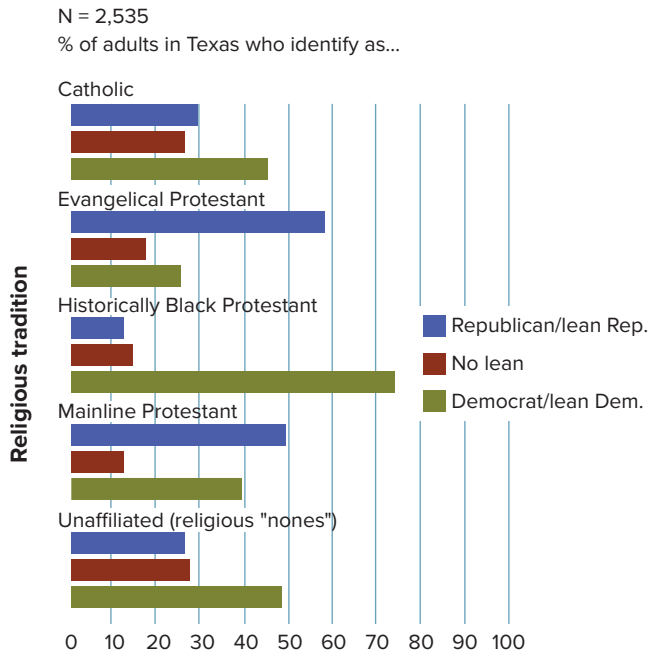


FIGURE 1.4 Party Identification of Texas Voters by Religious Affiliation

Source: Pew Research Center, Religious Landscape Study, "Party Affiliation among Adults in Texas," accessed May 15, 2018, <http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/state/texas/party-affiliation/>.

Texas is home to some of America's largest churches. The Houston area, for example, boasts the largest congregation in the United States: Joel Osteen's Lakewood Church has a weekly attendance in excess of 40,000. According to the Hartford Institute for Religion Research, 207 Protestant churches in Texas have an average weekly attendance of at least 2,000 persons, making them "megachurches."⁶²

Religion is also an important feature of Texas politics, and Republican politics in particular. For example, shortly before former governor Rick Perry launched his 2012 presidential primary campaign, he organized a national televised prayer meeting in Houston. A 2012 report by the Irma Rangel Public Policy Institute at the University of Texas at Austin helped underscore the relationship between religion and politics in Texas. The approximately one-third of Texans who are evangelical Protestants are overwhelmingly Republican, whereas Roman Catholics are fairly evenly split in party affiliation. Protestants of the black church tradition, those who identify as atheist or agnostic, and those who do not identify with an organized religion are overwhelmingly Democratic (see Figure 1.4).

Understanding Impact How do religions affect Texas politics and culture today? According to the Pew Research Center, 18 percent of adults in Texas say they have no religious affiliation.⁶³ What impact do you believe these "religious nones" will have on Texas?