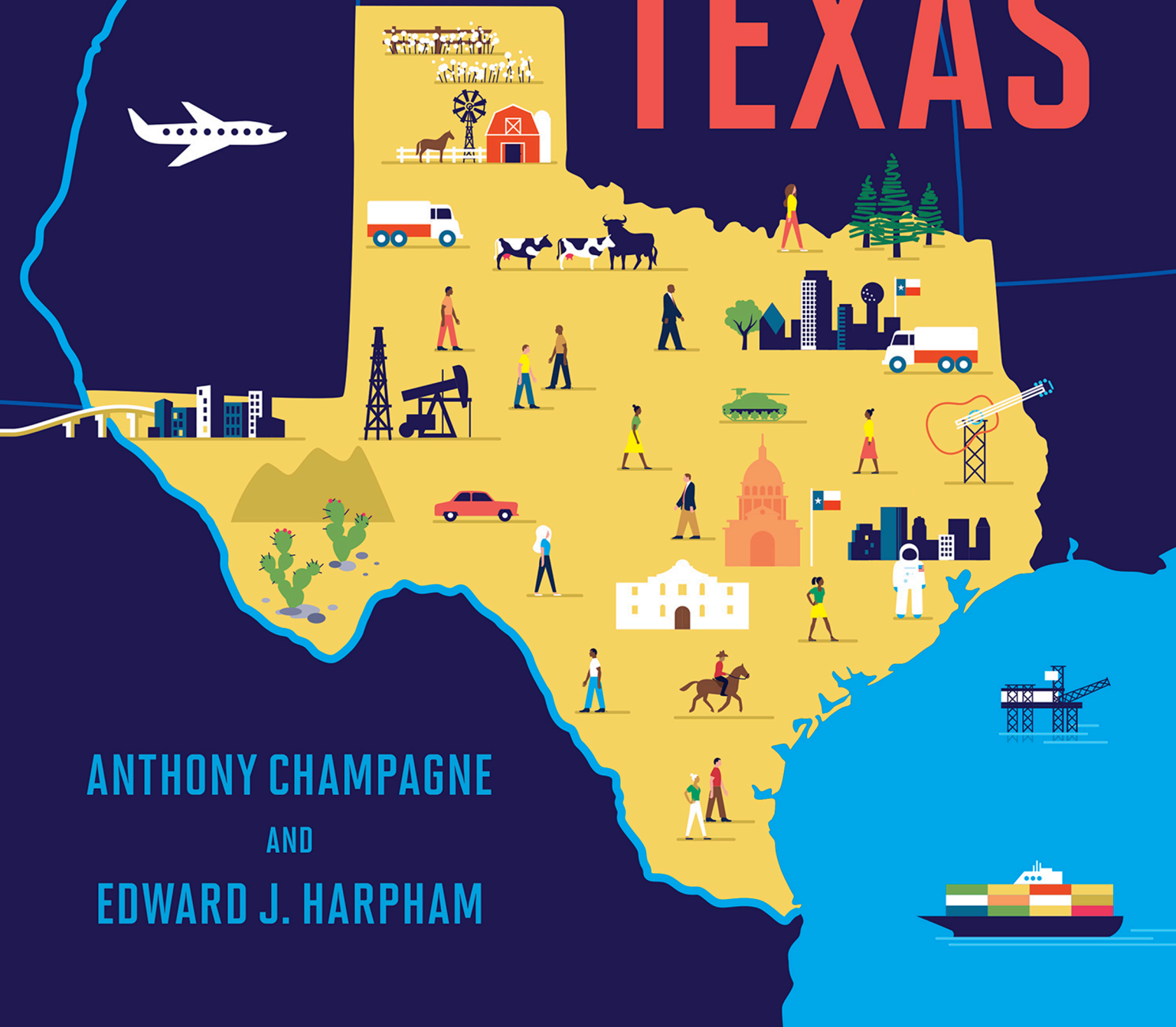


SECOND EDITION

GOVERNING TEXAS



ANTHONY CHAMPAGNE
AND
EDWARD J. HARPHAM

SECOND EDITION

Governing Texas

SECOND EDITION

Governing Texas

Anthony Champagne

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT DALLAS

Edward J. Harpham

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT DALLAS



W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
NEW YORK LONDON

W. W. Norton & Company has been independent since its founding in 1923, when William Warder Norton and Mary D. Herter Norton first published lectures delivered at the People's Institute, the adult education division of New York City's Cooper Union. The firm soon expanded its program beyond the Institute, publishing books by celebrated academics from America and abroad. By mid-century, the two major pillars of Norton's publishing program—trade books and college texts—were firmly established. In the 1950s, the Norton family transferred control of the company to its employees, and today—with a staff of four hundred and a comparable number of trade, college, and professional titles published each year—W. W. Norton & Company stands as the largest and oldest publishing house owned wholly by its employees.

Copyright © 2015, 2013
All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

Editor: Peter Lesser
Project Editor: Christine D'Antonio
Editorial Assistants: Sarah Wolf and Samantha Held
Manuscript Editor: Ellen Lohman
Managing Editor, College: Marian Johnson
Managing Editor, College Digital Media: Kim Yi
Senior Production Supervisor, College: Ashley Horna
Media Editor: Toni Magyar
Media Editorial Assistant: Michael Jaoui
Marketing Manager, Political Science: Erin Brown
Art Director: Rubina Yeh
Text Design: Lissi Sigillo
Photo Editor: Evan Luburger
Photo Researcher: Donna Ranieri
Permissions Manager: Megan Jackson
Information Graphics: Kiss Me I'm Polish LLC, New York
Composition: Achorn International, Inc.
Manufacturing: Courier—Kendallville

Permission to use copyrighted material is included in the credits section of this book, which begins on page A53.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Champagne, Anthony.
Governing Texas / Anthony Champagne, University of Texas at Dallas, Edward J. Harpham,
University of Texas at Dallas.—Second edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-393-93684-1 (pbk.)

1. Texas—Politics and government. I. Harpham, Edward J. II. Title.

JK4816.C48 2015

320.4764—dc23

2014041101

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10110
www.wwnorton.com

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street, London W1T 3QT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

contents

Preface xv

Acknowledgments xvii

1 ● The Political Culture, People, and Economy of Texas 3

Texas Political Culture 5

The One-Party State 6

Provincialism 6

Business Dominance 7

The Land 7

The Gulf Coastal Plains 7

The Interior Lowlands 9

The Great Plains 9

The Basin and Range Province 9

Economic Change in Texas 10

Cotton 10

Cattle 11

Oil 12

High-Tech Industries 15

NAFTA 17

Texas in the Great Recession 18

The People of Texas 19

Whites 20

Latinos 21

African Americans 23

Asians 25

Age 25

Poverty and Wealth 26

Urbanization 26

● **WHO ARE TEXANS?** How Is the Texas Population Changing? 27

The Urban Political Economy 28



- **YOU DECIDE** Immigration in Texas 29
- Thinking Critically about Texas's Political Culture 32
- **TEXAS AND THE NATION** How Does Texas's Population Compare to Other Major States'? 33
- Study Guide 35
- Recommended Websites 37



2 ● The Texas Constitution 39

- The Role of a State Constitution 41
- The First Texas Constitutions 43
 - The Texas Founding 43
 - The Constitution of the Republic of Texas, 1836 45
 - The Texas State Constitution of 1845 49
 - The Constitution of 1861: Texas Joins the Confederacy 50
 - The Constitution of 1866: Texas Rejoins the Union 52
 - The Reconstruction Constitution of 1869 53
- The Constitution of 1876 54
- The Constitution of Texas Today 55
 - The Preamble 57
 - Article 1: Bill of Rights 57
 - Article 2: The Powers of Government 58
 - Article 3: Legislative Department 58
 - Article 4: Executive Department 59
 - Article 5: Judicial Department 59
 - Article 6: Suffrage 59
 - Article 7: Education 61
 - Article 8: Taxation and Revenue 61
 - Articles 9 and 11: Local Government 61
 - Articles 10, 12, 13, and 14 61
 - Article 15: Impeachment 61
 - Article 16: General Provisions 62
 - Article 17: Amending the Constitution 62
- Recent Attempts to Rewrite the Texas Constitution 63
 - Sharpstown and the Failed Constitutional Reforms of 1974 63
- **TEXAS AND THE NATION** Which State Has the Longest Constitution? 65
 - The 1999 Ratliff-Junell Proposal 66
 - Recent Amendments 66
- **WHO ARE TEXANS?** Who Votes in Texas Elections Amending the Constitution? 67
- **YOU DECIDE** Proposition 2 and Same-Sex Marriage 70
- Thinking Critically about the Texas Constitution 73
- Study Guide 75
- Recommended Websites 77

3 ● Texas in the Federal System 79

Understanding Federalism 80

Federalism in Early America 83

Dual Federalism 86

Marble-Cake Federalism 87

● **TEXAS AND THE NATION** Federal Funds to Texas versus Other States 89

Coercive Federalism 90

● **WHO ARE TEXANS?** How Do Federal Funds Flow to Texas? 91

Major U.S. Constitutional and Statutory Restrictions on the States 93

Incorporation of the Bill of Rights 93

The Equal Protection Clause 94

● **YOU DECIDE** Voting and Redistricting in Texas 95

State Regulation of Voting 97

Flexibility for States under the Constitution: Independent State Grounds 99

Thinking Critically about the Federalism 100

Study Guide 101

Recommended Websites 103



4 ● Political Parties in Texas 105

The Role of Political Parties in Texas Politics 106

Texas Parties in the National Context 107

Public Attitudes about Parties 109

The Contemporary Republican Party in Texas 109

The Contemporary Democratic Party in Texas 111

Democratic and Republican Party Organization 112

● **TEXAS AND THE NATION** How Republican Is Texas? 113

Third Parties in Texas 115

● **YOU DECIDE** Third-Party Ballot Access in Texas 117

The Occupy and Tea Party Movements in Texas 119

Texas's History as a One-Party State 120

The Era of Conservative Democrats 122

The Growth of the Republican Party 122

● **WHO ARE TEXANS?** When Did Texas Become Republican? 123

The Disappearance of Conservative Democrats 126

Issues in Texas Party Politics 127

Party Unity and Disunity 127

Urban, Rural, and Suburban Influences on Partisanship 128

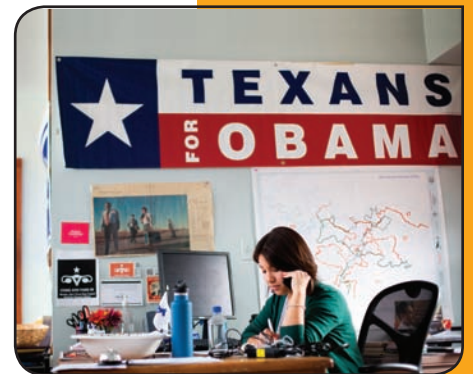
African Americans in Texas Political Parties 130

Latinos and the Future of Party Politics in Texas 131

Thinking Critically about Parties in Texas 133

Study Guide 134

Recommended Websites 135





5 ● Election in Texas 137

Features of Elections in Texas 139

- Primary Elections 139
- General Elections 140
- Special Elections 140
- Running as an Independent 141

Participation in Texas Elections 142

- Earlier Restrictions on the Franchise 142
- Expanding the Franchise 145
- Contracting the Franchise? 146

● YOU DECIDE Voter Identification Laws 147

- Qualifications to Vote 148
- Low Voter Turnout 148

● WHO ARE TEXANS? Who Votes in Texas? 151

- Early Voting 152

● TEXAS AND THE NATION How Did Texans Vote in 2012? 153

- The Importance of the Republican Primary 154
- Racial and Ethnic Variations in Voting and Participation 154
- Redistricting in Texas 156
- Contemporary Barriers to Voting 157

Campaigns 160

- Important Issues in Texas Campaigns 164

Thinking Critically about Election in Texas 166

- Study Guide 168
- Recommended Websites 169



6 ● Interest Groups and Lobbying 171

Interest Groups in the Political Process 173

- Resources and Strategies of Interest Groups 173
- Interest Groups and Democratic Politics 174
- Interest Groups and Policy Makers 176
- Types of Interest Groups and Lobbyists 177
- Getting Access to Policy Makers 178

● YOU DECIDE Is He a Lobbyist? 181

- Who Represents Ordinary Texans? 182

Another Side to Lobbying 184

- Getting Out the Vote 184

● WHO ARE TEXANS? Which Interest Groups Contribute the Most? 185

- Defeating Opponents 186

● TEXAS AND THE NATION Contributions to State Legislators:

- How Does Texas Compare? 187
- Interest-Group Capture 190

Individuals as Lobbyists 191

Thinking Critically about Interest Groups 193

- Study Guide 195
- Recommended Websites 197

7 ● The Texas Legislature 199

Structure of the Texas Legislature 201

- Bicameralism 201
- Membership 202

Sessions of the Legislature 204

- Regular Sessions 204
- Special Sessions 204

● WHO ARE TEXANS? Who Are the Members of the Texas Legislature? 205

Powers of the Legislature 206

- Legislative Powers 206

● TEXAS AND THE NATION Characteristics of Texas Legislators Compared to Other States 207

● YOU DECIDE A Full-Time or Part-Time Legislature? 208

- Nonlegislative Powers 209

How a Bill Becomes Law in Texas 210

- Introduction in the House 211
- Referral 211
- Committee Action 211
- Floor Action 211
- Conference Committee 215
- The Governor 216

Additional Players in the Legislative Process 217

- The Comptroller of Public Accounts 218
- The Media 218
- The Courts 218
- Lobbyists 218
- The Public 219

Power and Partisanship in the Legislature 219

- Leadership 219
- Centralizing Power: Sources of the Leadership's Power 221
- Partisanship in the Texas Legislature 224

Redistricting 226

- How Redistricting Works 226
- Power and Partisanship in the Redistricting Battle 227

Thinking Critically about the Texas Legislature 229

Study Guide 230

Recommended Websites 233

8 ● The Texas Executive Branch 235

The Governor 236

- Qualifications 238
- Election and Term of Office 239
- Campaigns 239
- Removal of a Governor 240



- **TEXAS AND THE NATION** Comparing the Governor of Texas with the Governors of Other States 241
 - Succession 242
- **WHO ARE TEXANS?** Who Elected Governor Greg Abbott in 2014? 243
 - Compensation 244
 - Staff 244
 - Executive Powers of the Governor 245
 - Legislative Powers of the Governor 251
 - Judicial Powers of the Governor 253
 - The Office and Its Occupants 253
- The Plural Executive** 254
 - Secretary of State 256
 - Lieutenant Governor 257
 - Attorney General 259
 - Commissioner of the General Land Office 260
 - Commissioner of Agriculture 260
 - Comptroller of Public Accounts 261
 - Accountability of the Plural Executive 261
- **YOU DECIDE** A Plural or Single Executive? 262
 - The Plural Executive and the Governor 263
- Boards, Commissions, and Regulatory Agencies** 263
 - Multimember Appointed Boards 264
 - Appointed Single Executives 265
 - Multimember Elected Boards 267
 - Making Agencies Accountable 269
- Thinking Critically about the Executive in Texas** 269
- Study Guide 271
- Recommended Websites 273



9 ● The Texas Judiciary 275

- Court Structure** 277
- The Legal Process** 282
- Judicial Politics** 285
 - Initial Appointment of Judges by the Governor 286
 - The Elections Become Highly Partisan 286
- **YOU DECIDE** Elected or Appointed Judges? 289
 - The Name Game 292
 - Minority Representation in the Texas Judiciary 292
 - Alternative Means of Selection 294
- **WHO ARE TEXANS?** Who Are Texas Judges? 295
- **TEXAS AND THE NATION** Comparing How Texas Selects Its Judges to the Rest of the Country 297
- Issues in the Texas Court System** 298
 - Civil Cases and Tort Reform 299
 - Judicial Districts 300
 - The Role of Lawyers 301
 - Discipline of Judges 303

Thinking Critically about the Judiciary in Texas 305

Study Guide 307

Recommended Websites 309

10 ● Local Government in Texas 311

County Government in Texas 312

Numerous County Offices: Checks and Balances or
Built-In Problems? 313

Are Some Counties Too Small? 315

The Functions of County Government 318

County Government in Perspective 319

City Government in Texas 320

Forms of Government in Texas Cities 321

● **TEXAS AND THE NATION** How Extensive Are Texas's Local
Governments? 323

A Tale of Five Cities 324

● **WHO ARE TEXANS?** Where Does Texas Spend Its Money? 327

● **YOU DECIDE** Choosing City Council Members 329

Special Districts 330

Types of Special Districts 330

School Districts 331

Nonschool Special Districts 332

Councils of Government (COGs) 336

Financial Issues Facing Local Government 337

Capital Appreciation Bonds 337

Local Government Pensions 338

Thinking Critically about Local Government 341

Study Guide 343

Recommended Websites 345

11 ● Public Finance in Texas 347

What Is the Budget? 349

Spending and Revenue in Texas 351

Trends in State Spending 351

Revenue in Texas 352

● **TEXAS AND THE NATION** Who Pays the Highest State Taxes? 353

The Question of the Income Tax in Texas 358

● **WHO ARE TEXANS?** Who Pays the Most Taxes in Texas? 359

Other State Revenue 360

State Funds 361

● **YOU DECIDE** What to Do with the Budget Surplus 364

The Texas Constitution and the Budget 366

The Budgetary Process 369



Budget Crises in Twenty-First-Century Texas	372
Looking Beyond the Budget Crisis of 2011	376
Thinking Critically about Public Finance in Texas	378
Study Guide	379
Recommended Websites	381



12 ● Public Policy in Texas 383

The Policy-Making Process	384
Rationality of Policy Making	386
Education Policy	387
Desegregation	390
Equity in the Public School System	390
● WHO ARE TEXANS? Who Attends School in Texas?	391
Educational Excellence and Accountability in Texas	394
Education Policy in a New Era	396
Welfare Policy	397
Poverty in Texas	398
Welfare in Texas, 1935–96	399
The Idea of Dependency and Welfare Reform in the 1990s	400
Evaluating Welfare Reform	402
Medicaid and Health Care Policy	403
Medicaid	403
Broader Health Care Issues in Texas	407
The Affordable Care Act	409
● YOU DECIDE The Texas Sonogram Law	411
Water Policy	412
Water Law in Texas	413
Planning Authorities and Water Policy	414
● TEXAS AND THE NATION What Are the Trade-Offs in Texas Public Policy?	415
Thinking Critically about Public Policy in Texas	418
Study Guide	419
Recommended Websites	421



13 ● Crime and Corrections Policy in Texas 423

Categorizing Crime in Texas	425
Felonies	425
Misdemeanors	426
Punishing Crime	426
The Criminal Justice Process	427
Arrest and Posting Bail	427
Grand Jury Indictment	428
Pretrial Hearings	428

Trial and Sentencing	429
Does the Criminal Justice System Create Criminals?	429
Crime and Texas District Attorneys	430
Crime and Criminal Defense	433
Crime, Corrections, and the Texas Prison System	434
● WHO ARE TEXANS? Who Is in Prison in Texas?	435
History of the Prison System	436
The Prison System Today	437
● TEXAS AND THE NATION How Does Criminal Justice in Texas Compare to Other States?	441
● YOU DECIDE Concealed Weapons on Campus	442
The Death Penalty	443
The Integrity of the Texas Criminal Justice System	445
How Fair Is the Criminal Justice System?	446
Reforms	450
Thinking Critically about Criminal Justice in Texas	451
Study Guide	453
Recommended Websites	455
Appendix	A1
Glossary	A23
Endnotes	A31
Answer Key	A51
Credits	A53
Index	A55

preface

Our goal in this text is to offer readers a broad understanding of the factors that are reshaping political processes and institutions in the Lone Star State in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. We are particularly concerned with explaining how the principles underlying constitutional government in Texas are being reworked in the face of new political, economic, and demographic changes. By supplementing our institutional analysis with concrete examples from everyday political life in Texas, we hope to show the reader that politics and government in Texas are not only important to their lives but endlessly fascinating as well.

Features of the Second Edition

Another, related goal of the book is to provide students with extensive pedagogical support throughout each chapter. In every chapter, several features engage students' interest and help them master the learning objectives for the topic.

- **Chapter Goals** appear at the start of the chapter and then recur at the start of the relevant sections throughout the chapter to create a more focused, active reading experience.
- **Extensive end-of-chapter review sections organized around Chapter Goals** include section outlines, practice quiz questions, key terms, and Recommended Websites, as well as information about related online resources. Students have everything they need to master the material in each section of the chapter.
- **“Who Are Texans?” infographics** engage visually oriented students with a “statistical snapshot” of the state related to each chapter’s topic. These features help students grasp the political implications of demographic, political, economic, and regional diversity in Texas. Related exercises in the online coursepacks and slides in the instructor PowerPoints make it easy for instructors to bring these graphics into their online or face-to-face classrooms.
- **NEW “Texas and the Nation” infographics** enable students to compare Texas’s government and politics to other states’. Critical thinking questions accompany each “Texas and the Nation” graphic and encourage students to engage deeply with the graphics and draw their own conclusions. Related

exercises in the online coursepacks and slides in the PowerPoints make it easy for instructors to bring these graphics into their online or face-to-face classrooms.

- **“You Decide” boxes in every chapter** address controversial issues in Texas politics that students care about. These boxes encourage students to think beyond their knee-jerk reactions and consider all sides of the debate.
- **“What Government Does and Why It Matters” chapter introductions** draw students into the chapter by showing them why they should care about the chapter’s topic.

Revisions to the Second Edition

In the second edition of *Governing Texas*, we have tried to provide students with the most up-to-date account of Texas government and politics. Every chapter was scrutinized with help from dozens of outside reviewers, and we have tried to provide the most current examples and data throughout the text. Highlights of the new edition include:

- Updated material on the 2013 legislative session and the 2014 elections throughout, including new data from the Legislative Budgeting Board
- A new graphic feature—“Texas and the Nation”—in each chapter, enabling students to look at Texas from a broader national perspective
- Updated data in the “Who Are Texans?” graphics throughout
- An expanded discussion of the Texas constitutional founding in Chapter 2
- A new appendix, featuring a group of primary source readings that complement the text, including the Texas Declaration of Independence and the Texas Ordinance of Secession
- A completely revised chapter on “Texas in the Federal System” (Chapter 3), now placed after the chapter on the Texas Constitution
- Updated chapter on interest groups, which now offers discussions of collective action and interest group capture
- Heavily revised chapter on local government, which has been moved up in the text to appear after chapters about the other institutions established by the constitution and now includes an extended discussion of the politics surrounding the provision and funding of public pensions
- New discussions of efficiency and rationality in the policy-making process in Chapter 12 on public policy

We believe that these changes will assist professors in teaching students the nuts and bolts of Texas government and politics, as well as the broad themes and issues that will shape the Lone Star State in the coming decades.

Resources for Assessment and a Dynamic Classroom Experience

The media package for *Governing Texas*, Second Edition, offers all of the tools needed for effective assessment, targeted self-study, and dynamic classroom presentations—either online or face-to-face. Features include the following.

Norton Coursepacks: Our content, your course

Rachel Bzostek, *University of Texas, Tyler*

Jeremy Duff, *Midwestern State University*

Alexander Hogan, *Lone Star College, CyFair*

Sharon Navarro, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

Easily add high-quality Norton digital media to your online, hybrid, or lecture course—all at no cost. Norton Coursepacks work with and leverage your existing Learning Management System, so there's no new system to learn, and access is free and easy. Comprehensive Coursepacks are ready to use, right from the start, but are easy to customize, using the system you already know and understand. Norton Coursepacks include exclusive multimedia content and assessment tools that are not found anywhere else, such as test banks and quizzes, interactive learning tools, and exercises covering chapter objectives and tagged to State Learning Outcomes. Every chapter includes:



- Video exercises from *The Texas Tribune* and ABC News to help students retain and apply information through current events
- NEW “Who Are Texans?” and “Texas and the Nation” animated infographics to guide students through interpreting data
- Simulations to get students thinking about how Texas government really works
- NEW “You Decide” exercises to help students engage varying views on contemporary issues
- NEW “By the Numbers” exercises to help students practice quantitative skills by exploring key datagraphics from the text

Norton Ebook: Same great book, a fraction of the price

Norton ebooks allow students to access the entire book and much more; they can search, highlight, and take notes with ease, as well as collaborate and share their notes with teachers and classmates. The *Governing Texas*, Second Edition, ebook can be viewed on any device—laptop, tablet, phone, even a public computer—and will stay synced between devices.

Lecture PowerPoints

Ronald Vardy, *Wharton County Junior College*

The second edition of *Governing Texas* offers fully customizable lecture slides with clicker questions, teaching ideas, and discussion questions in the instructor-only notes field. “Who Are Texans?” and “Texas and the Nation” slides feature popular infographics and pop quiz questions for the optimal lecture experience.

Art Slides

Photographs and drawn figures from the book are available for classroom use.

Instructor's Manual

Jeremy Duff, *Midwestern State University*

The Instructor's Manual includes chapter outlines, class activities, and group discussion questions. Each chapter also offers suggested video clips with links and discussion questions.

Test Bank

Sharon Navarro, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

The revised test bank assesses chapter learning goals and Texas Student Learning Outcomes, applies Bloom's Taxonomy across these goals and outcomes, and improves the overall quality and accuracy of our assessment through extensive peer review.

About the Authors

Over the past 25 years, we have worked together on a number of books that have studied various aspects of government and political life in Texas. We come to the study of Texas politics and government from two very different backgrounds.

Anthony Champagne was born in Louisiana as the French surname suggests. His mother's family, however, were pioneer farmers and ranchers in Hopkins County, Texas. It was growing up with Louisiana and Texas connections that gave him a life-long interest in politics. When he moved to the University of Texas at Dallas in 1979, he immediately visited the Sam Rayburn Library in Bonham. Sam Rayburn was one of the Texas's most influential political figures. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1912 and served until his death in 1961. During that time, he was chairman of one of the most influential committees of the House, was Majority Leader, Speaker, and Minority Leader of the House. He is responsible for much of the major legislation in the New Deal and for his key role in the politics of the Truman, Eisenhower, and early Kennedy Administrations. A chance meeting at the Sam Rayburn Library with H. G. Dulaney, Sam Rayburn's secretary for 10 years, led to the opportunity to do over 130 oral histories with persons associated with Sam Rayburn. As a result, Champagne was completely hooked on studying Texas politics. He was particularly interested in the transformation of the state from an overwhelmingly Democratic state to a Republican bulwark. And, he was interested in how Texas changed from being a key partner with the national government in the cooperative federalism of the New Deal period to a state whose leaders are frequent critics of national power today. Political change in the state from the Sam Rayburn era to today is a key research focus of his.

Edward Harpham, in contrast, was born in Montreal to second generation Canadian parents who immigrated to the United States soon after his birth. His family's migration over the last 100 years from Sheffield to Toronto (1919) to Delaware (1952) to Texas (1978) and the industries that employed the family (auto service industry, chemical industry, and academia) mirror the demographic changes that have reshaped much of the population movement in the United States and Texas throughout the twentieth century. Trained as a political theorist with a deep interest in political economy, Harpham's move to Texas sparked an interest in how economic changes in the late twentieth century were changing the contours of the state's traditional political life in new and unexpected ways. At the heart of his work lies an abiding interest on the role that ideas play in shaping the growth and development of political institutions and public policies in the modern information age.

acknowledgments

We are grateful for the suggestions that we have received from many thoughtful and experienced government instructors across the state. For their input on the plan and execution of this book, we thank:

Jason Abbott, Hill College
Lee Almaguer, Midland College
Marcos Arandia, North Lake College
Ellen Baik, University of Texas–Pan American
Robert Ballinger, South Texas College
Annie Johnson Benifield, Lone Star College–Tomball
David Birch, Lone Star College–Tomball
Robin Marshall Bittick, Sam Houston State University
Patrick Brandt, University of Texas at Dallas
Gary Brown, Lone Star College–Montgomery
Lee Brown, Blinn College
Jonathan Buckstead, Austin Community College
Daniel Bunye, South Plains College
James V. Calvi, West Texas A&M University
Michael Campenni, Austin Community College
Larry Carter, University of Texas at Arlington
Max Choudary, Northeast Lakeview College
Mark Cichock, University of Texas at Arlington
Adrian Clark, Del Mar College
Tracy Cook, Central Texas College
Cassandra Cookson, Lee College
Leland M. Coxe, University of Texas at Brownsville
Rosalyn Crain, Houston Community College–Northwest
Sandra K. Creech, Temple College
Kevin Davis, North Central Texas College
Steve Davis, Lone Star College–Kingwood
Henry Dietz, University of Texas at Austin
Brian Dille, Odessa College
Douglas Dow, University of Texas at Dallas
Jeremy Duff, Midwestern State University
David Edwards, University of Texas at Austin
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, University of North Texas
Lou Ann Everett, Trinity Valley Community College
Victoria Farrar-Myers, University of Texas at Arlington
John P. Flanagan, Weatherford College
Ben Fraser, San Jacinto College
Joey Fults, Kilgore College
Frank J. Garrahan, Austin Community College
Will Geisler, Collin College
David Garrison, Collin College
Terry Gilmour, Midland College
Randy Givens, Blinn College
Donna Godwin, Trinity Valley Community College
Larry Gonzalez, Houston Community College–Southwest
Paul Gottemoller, Del Mar College
Kenneth L. Grasso, Texas State University
Heidi Jo Green, Lone Star College–CyFair
Sara Gubala, Lamar University
Yolanda Hake, South Texas College
Sabrina Hammel, Northeast Lakeview College
Jeff Harmon, University of Texas at San Antonio
Tiffany Harper, Collin College
Billy Hathorn, Laredo Community College
Ahad Hayaud-Din, Brookhaven College
Virginia Haysley, Lone Star College–Tomball
Tom Heiting, Odessa College
John Hitt, North Lake College
Kevin Holton, South Texas College
Taofang Huang, University of Texas at Austin
Casey Hubble, McLennan Community College
Glen Hunt, Austin Community College
Tammy Johannessen, Austin Community College
Doris J. Jones, Tarrant County College
Joseph Jozwiak, Texas A&M Corpus Christi
Christy Woodward Kaupert, San Antonio College
David Kennedy, Lone Star College–Montgomery
Edward Korzetz, Lee College
Melinda Kovacs, Sam Houston State University
Heidi Lange, Houston Community College–Southwest
Boyd Lanier, Lamar University
James Lantrip, South Texas College
David Lektzian, Texas Tech University
Raymond Lew, Houston Community College–Central
Bob Little, Brookhaven College

Robert Locander, Lone Star College–North Harris
 Nicholas Long, St. Edward’s University
 George Lyon, El Paso Community College
 Mitzi Mahoney, Sam Houston State University
 Lynne Manganaro, Texas A&M International University
 Sharon Manna, North Lake College
 Bobby J. Martinez, Northwest Vista College
 David McClendon, Tyler Junior College
 Mike McConachie, Collin College
 Elizabeth McLane, Wharton County Junior College
 Phil McMahan, Collin College
 Eddie Meaders, University of North Texas
 Banks Miller, University of Texas at Dallas
 Eric Miller, Blinn College
 Patrick Moore, Richland College
 Sherri Mora, Texas State University–San Marcos
 Dana Morales, Lone Star College–Montgomery
 Amy Moreland, Sul Ross State University
 Rick Moser, Kilgore College
 Mark R. Murray, South Texas College
 James Myers, Odessa College
 Sugumaran Narayanan, Midwestern State University
 Sharon Navarro, University of Texas at San Antonio
 Jalal Nejad, Northwest Vista College
 Timothy Nokken, Texas Tech University
 James Norris, Texas A & M International University
 John Osterman, San Jacinto College
 Cissie Owen, Lamar University
 David Putz, Lone Star College Kingwood
 Himanshin Raizada, Lamar University
 Prudencio E. Ramirez, San Jacinto College
 John Raulston, Kilgore College
 Daniel Regalado, Odessa College
 Darrial Reynolds, South Texas College
 Donna Rhea, Houston Community College–Northwest
 Laurie Robertstad, Navarro College
 Mario Salas, University of Texas at San Antonio
 Larry Salazar, McLennan Community College
 Michael Sanchez, San Antonio College
 Raymond Sandoval, Richland College
 Gilbert Schorlemmer, Blinn College
 Mark Shomaker, Blinn College
 Dennis Simon, Southern Methodist University
 Shannon Sinegal, Temple College
 Brian William Smith, St. Edward’s University
 Michael Smith, South Plains College
 Thomas E. Sowers II, Lamar University
 John Speer, Houston Community College
 Jim Startin, University of Texas at San Antonio
 Andrew Teas, Houston Community College–Northwest
 John Theis, Lone Star College Kingwood
 Sean Theriault, University of Texas at Austin
 John Todd, University of North Texas
 Delaina Toothman, Texas State University
 Steven Tran, Houston Community College
 Homer D. Trevino, McLennan Community College
 Christopher Turner, Laredo Community College
 Ronald W. Vardy, University of Houston
 Linda Veazey, Midwestern State University
 Albert Waite, Central Texas College
 David Watson, Sul Ross State University
 Clay Wiegand, Cisco College
 Neal Wise, St. Edward’s University
 Kathryn Yates, Richland College
 Michael Young, Trinity Valley Community College
 Tyler Young, Collin College
 Rogerio J. Zapata, South Texas College

We also thank Jason Casellas of the University of Houston for his contributions to the book. Jason developed Chapters 4 and 5 on parties and elections, bringing a current perspective and important insights to these topics. Jason also revised and created new “Who Are Texans?,” “Texas and the Nation,” and “You Decide” features. We thank the following University of Texas at Dallas students for their assistance: Lisa Holmes, Josh Payne, Ali Charania, Alan Roderick, Basel Musharbash, Liza Miadzvedskaya, and Sachi Dave.

At W. W. Norton, Peter Lesser provided editorial guidance throughout the process of developing and publishing the book. Project editor Christine D’Antonio and editorial assistants Sarah Wolf and Samantha Held kept everything organized. Copy editor Ellen Lohman helped polish the text. Production manager Ashley Horna made sure we ended up with a high-quality book, right on schedule. Media editor Toni Magyar and associate media editor Laura Musich worked with the authors of accompanying resources to develop useful tools for students and instructors. Our sincere thanks to all of them.

Anthony Champagne
 Edward J. Harpham

December 2014

SECOND EDITION

Governing Texas

In some ways state-level politics in Texas resembles national politics, but in other ways Texas's political culture is quite distinctive.



The Political Culture, People, and Economy of Texas

WHY TEXAS'S POLITICAL CULTURE MATTERS In his *Travels with Charley*, John Steinbeck once described Texas as “a state of mind . . . a mystique closely approximating a religion.” Americans passionately loved or hated Texas. Steinbeck believed that Texas, despite its vast space, its varying topography, its many cultures and ways of life, had a cohesiveness that may be stronger than any other part of America. He writes, “Rich, poor, Panhandle, Gulf, city, country, Texas is the obsession, the proper study and the passionate possession of all Texans.”

Certain myths define the obsession that is Texas—and Texans—in the popular imagination. The cowboy who challenges both Native American and Mexican rule, the rancher and farmer who cherish their economic independence, the wildcatter who is willing to risk everything for one more roll of the dice, and the independent entrepreneur who fears the needless intrusion of government into his life—such are the myths about Texans.

These myths extend far into the popular imagination when we think about various politicians who have led the state since its founding: the visionary Stephen F. Austin locked in a Mexican jail after presenting Texas grievances to the authorities, the military hero Sam Houston who wins the Battle of San Jacinto but is thrown out of office because of his rejection of secession, the irrepressible Ma and Pa Ferguson who both served as governors, and the larger-than-life Lyndon Baines Johnson who began his career as a schoolteacher in Cotulla, Texas, and completed it as a champion of civil rights and the poor.

The reality of Texas today, its people and its leaders, is much more complicated than the Texas of popular myths. Texas is not only the second-largest state in the Union, comprising more than 261,000

square miles; it is also the second most populous. Texas has a population of more than 26 million people, and that population is rapidly growing and becoming more and more diverse. Whites constitute a little more than 45 percent of the population, while Latinos constitute more than 38 percent. Just fewer than 12 percent of the population are African American, and roughly 4 percent are Asian. Eighty-five percent of Texans live in urban areas, with many involved in an economy driven by high-tech industry and globalization. More than a quarter of the population has a bachelor's degree. On the whole, Texans are young, with 26.8 percent under the age of 18 and 10.9 percent over the age of 65.

Texas politics today is a political community that is dominated by the Republican Party. The Democratic Party of Vice President John Nance Garner (1868–1967), Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (1882–1961), President Lyndon Johnson (1908–1973), and Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock (1929–1999) no longer controls the key political offices in the state. Since the mid-1990s, Texas politics and government have been largely controlled by an establishment within the Republican Party led by such individuals as President George W. Bush (b. 1946), Governor Rick Perry (b. 1950), Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst (b. 1945), and Texas Speaker of the House Joe Straus (b. 1959). In recent years, however, this establishment has been challenged from within the party. An increasingly aggressive group of dissidents tied into the Tea Party movement have advanced hyperconservative political positions on a variety of social and economic issues, including abortion, birth control, same-sex marriage, immigration, and taxes. Led by politicians like Senator Ted Cruz (b. 1970), Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick (b. 1956), and Attorney General Ken Paxton (b. 1962), Tea Party supporters have pushed Texas Republicans further to the right by melding a cultural conservatism on issues like abortion and gay rights to an anti-Washington rhetoric that calls for lower taxes, less government spending and regulation, and a balanced budget.

The Democratic Party, too, has moved in new directions, spurred on by new and younger leaders. Gubernatorial candidate Wendy Davis (b. 1963) gave her party a shot in the arm when she filibustered against antiabortion laws at the end of the 2013 legislative session. Likewise, the twin brothers Julian and Joaquin Castro (b. 1974) represent something new to the party and the state. Educated at Stanford and Harvard Law School, the former has served two terms as the mayor of San Antonio before moving on to a cabinet position in the Obama administration. The latter, meanwhile, has entered the U.S. House of Representatives.

Undoubtedly, Tea Party Republicans like Ted Cruz and up-and-coming Democrats like Wendy Davis and the Castro brothers will give rise to new myths about the people and politicians found in Texas. We should be careful before we fully accept any of these myths. As in the past, the reality of Texas—its people and its politics—is much more complex than the myths we spin about it. Conservative Republicans may control today's political agenda, but their long-term dominance in politics and government is not certain. Increasing racial and ethnic diversity points to a new Texas, one that looks sharply different from the one in the history books and one that appears to favor Democrats (the party preferred today by most Latinos, African Americans, and recent immigrants). The future of the state and its people will be determined in large part by the struggle between an assertive Republican majority and a resurgent Democratic minority as both

try to address the various political, economic, and demographic challenges facing the state. Moving our understanding of governance and politics beyond the myths about Texas is the goal of this chapter and the book.

chaptergoals

- Describe the defining characteristics of political culture in Texas (pp. 5–7)
- Explain how Texas’s geography has influenced its political culture (pp. 7–9)
- Trace the evolution of Texas’s economy (pp. 10–19)
- Explain how the population of Texas has changed over time (pp. 19–26)
- Describe Texas’s shift from a rural society to an urban one (pp. 26–32)

● Texas Political Culture

Describe the defining characteristics of political culture in Texas

Studies of Texas politics often begin with a discussion of Texas’s **political culture**. Though the concept is somewhat open ended, states do often exhibit a distinctive culture that is the “product of their entire history.” Presumably the political culture of a state has an effect on how people participate in politics and how individuals and institutions interact.¹ Political scientist Daniel Elazar has created a classification scheme for state political cultures that is used widely. He uses the concepts of moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic to describe such cultures. These three state political cultures are contemporary manifestations of the ethnic, socioreligious, and socioeconomic differences that existed among America’s original thirteen colonies.²

According to Elazar, **moralistic political cultures** were rooted in New England, where Puritans and other religious groups sought to create the Good Society. In such a culture, politics is the concern of everyone, and government is expected to take action to promote the public good and advance the public welfare. Citizen participation in politics is viewed as positive; people are encouraged to pursue the public good in civic activities.

Individualistic political cultures, on the other hand, originated in the middle states, where Americans sought material wealth and personal freedom through commercial activities. A state with an individualistic political culture generally places a low value on citizen participation in politics. Politics is a matter for professionals rather than for citizens, and the role of government is strictly limited. Government’s role is to ensure stability so that individuals can pursue their own interests.

Traditionalistic political culture developed initially in the South, reflecting the values of the slave plantation economy (pre-1865) and its successor, the Jim Crow era (1876–1965). Rooted in preindustrial values that emphasize social hierarchy

political culture broadly shared values, beliefs, and attitudes about how the government should function and politics should operate; American political culture emphasizes the values of liberty, equality, and democracy

moralistic political culture the belief that government should be active in promoting the public good and that citizens should participate in politics and civic activities to ensure that good

individualistic political culture the belief that government should limit its role to providing order in society, so that citizens can pursue their economic self-interests

traditionalistic political culture the belief that government should be dominated by political elites and guided by tradition

elite a small group of people that dominates the political process



The Lone Star is the symbol of Texas and reflects its individualistic political culture.

for critical analysis

How would one describe Texas political culture? What patterns of Texas politics reflect its political culture?

provincialism a narrow, limited, and self-interested view of the world often associated with rural values and notions of limited government

and close interpersonal, often familial, relations among people, traditional culture is concerned with the preservation of tradition and the existing social order. In such states, public participation is limited and government is run by an established **elite**. Public policies disproportionately benefit the interests of those elites.

States can, of course, have cultures that combine these concepts. One book classified Colorado, for example, as having a “moralistic” political culture. California was classified as having a “moralistic individualistic” political culture and New York an “individualistic moralistic” culture. New Jersey was classified as “individualistic” and Georgia “traditionalistic.” Florida and Kentucky were seen as “traditionalistic individualistic.” Often Texas is categorized as having a “traditionalistic individualistic” political culture.³ Taxes are kept low, and social services are minimized. Political elites, such as business leaders, have a major voice in how the state is run. In spite of the difficulty in measuring the concept of political culture in any empirical way, it is a concept widely regarded as useful in explaining fundamental beliefs about the state and the role of state government.

Yet, the political culture of a state can change over time. Texas is undergoing dramatic changes, including some change in its political culture. It is also difficult to classify the political culture of a state as large and as diverse as Texas in any one category. In fact, Texas has many different political cultures or subcultures within its borders.⁴

Three long-lasting patterns in Texas politics seem to indicate a “traditionalistic individualistic” state political culture. Indeed, political elites interested in limited government with low taxes and few social services dominate Texas politics today. It is also the case that at least some of these characteristics of state politics are undergoing rapid change. We examine these elements of Texas political culture below.

The One-Party State

For over 100 years, Texas was dominated by the Democratic Party. Winning the Democratic Party primary was tantamount to winning the general election. As we will see in later chapters, this pattern no longer holds. During the 1990s substantial competition emerged between the parties for control of the state legislature. Following redistricting in 2002 the Republicans secured a 7-vote majority in the state Senate and a 24-vote majority in the state House. Between 2002 and 2014 all major statewide elected offices were controlled by Republicans. The question today is not whether the political culture of Texas will continue to be defined by a powerful Democratic Party, but how that culture will be redefined by two forces: a powerful Republican Party in most suburban and rural areas and a resurgent Democratic Party in Texas’s most urban counties.

Provincialism

A second pattern that once defined Texas political culture is **provincialism**, a narrow view of the world that is often associated with rural values and notions of limited government. The result often was an intolerance of diversity and a notion of the public interest that dismissed social services and expenditures for education. Some of the more popular politicians in Texas have stressed cornpone—a hickish rural rejection of modern urban lifestyles—intolerance, and a narrow worldview rather than policies that might offer advantages to the state as it competes with other

states and with other nations. Like the one-party Democratic state, Texas provincialism has faded as a defining feature of the political culture. The growing influence of minorities, women, and gays in state politics, increasing urbanization, and Texas's relevance in the global economy have all undercut Texas's provincialism.

Business Dominance

A third, continuing pattern that has helped define Texas's political culture is its longtime dominance by business. Labor unions are rare in Texas except in the oil-refinery areas around Beaumont–Port Arthur. Other groups that might offer an alternative to a business perspective, such as consumer interests, are poorly organized and poorly funded. Business groups are major players in Texas politics, in terms of campaign contributions, organized interest groups, and lobbyists.

This chapter will investigate the economic, social, and demographic changes that transformed Texas's political culture during the twentieth century. These changes shook Texas government and politics in the 1990s and have continued to shape them in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

● The Land

Explain how Texas's geography has influenced its political culture

Much of Texas's history and political life has been shaped by the relationship forged between its people and the land. Texas is the second-largest state in size, next to Alaska. To understand the dynamics of political life and governance in Texas demands an appreciation of the vast spaces and topography that define the state.

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of Texas's geography is its size. The longest straight-line distance across the state from north to south is 801 miles; the longest east–west distance is 773 miles. To put this into perspective, the east–west distance from New York City to Chicago is 821 miles, cutting across five different states. The north–south distance between New York City and Charleston, South Carolina, is 763 miles, cutting across six different states.

Distances alone do not tell the whole story of the diverse geography found in Texas. There are four distinct physical regions in Texas: the Gulf Coastal Plains, the Interior Lowlands, the Great Plains, and the Basin and Range Province (Figure 1.1).⁵ The distinctive features of these regions have shaped politics in Texas in a number of important ways.

The Gulf Coastal Plains

The Gulf Coastal Plains extend from the Louisiana border and the Gulf of Mexico, along the Rio Grande up to Del Rio, and northward to the line of the Balcones Fault and Escarpment. As one moves westward, the climate becomes increasingly arid. Forests become less frequent as post oak trees dominate the landscape until they too are replaced by the prairies and brushlands of central Texas.

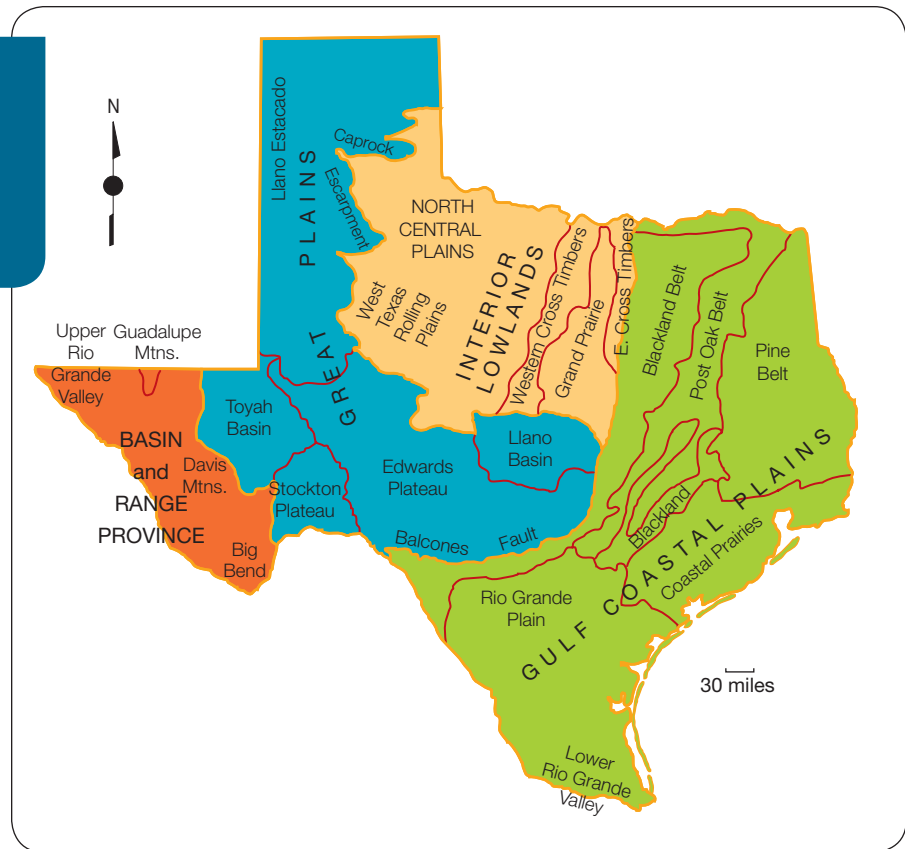


Ties between business and political leaders in Texas have always been strong. Here, then governor Rick Perry appears with Ralph Babb, the chief executive of Comerica Bank, to announce that Comerica would move its corporate headquarters to Dallas.

FIGURE 1.1

The Physical Regions of Texas

SOURCE: Dallas Morning News, *Texas Almanac 2000–2001* (Dallas: Dallas Morning News, 1999), p. 55.



The eastern portion of the Gulf Coastal Plains—so-called east Texas—is characterized by hilly surfaces covered by forests of pine and hardwoods. Almost all of Texas’s timber production takes place here. It is also the home of some of Texas’s most famous oilfields. To the west is the Blackland Belt. A rolling prairie soil made the Blackland Belt a prime farming area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was a major center of cotton production in Texas. Today it is the most densely populated area of the state and has a diversified manufacturing base.

The Coastal Prairies around Houston and Beaumont were the center for the post–World War II industrial boom, particularly in the petrochemical industry. Winter-vegetable and fruit production plays a major role in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, while livestock is important in the Rio Grande Plain, an area that receives less than 24 inches of rainfall on average every year and during the summer months experiences rapid evaporation.

Texas’s political life grew out of the Gulf Coastal Plains. The land grants made available to Americans willing to come to Texas in the first half of the nineteenth century were located here. This region was the foundation of plantation life during the antebellum period when slavery flourished in the state. The Dallas–Fort Worth area is located in the northwestern part of this region, once a bastion of a small Republican Party. A union movement grew out of the industrialized areas along the coast, providing support to a liberal wing of the Democratic Party. For the most part, though, the Gulf Coastal Plains were dominated by rural conservative values, be they located in the Democratic Party (from 1876 to the early 1990s) or in the

Republican Party (from the 1990s to today). Urbanization and suburbanization in Houston and Dallas–Fort Worth have added new dimensions to the political life of this region. Urban areas have become increasingly Democratic, while suburban areas have become more Republican.

The Interior Lowlands

The Interior Lowlands are an extension of the interior lowlands that run down from Canada. They are bordered by the Balcones Escarpment on the east and south and the Caprock Escarpment on the west. Beginning to the west of Fort Worth, the eastern edge of the Interior Lowlands has predominantly an agricultural economy and a rural population. The western portion, meanwhile, rises from 750 to 2,000 feet in elevation. The West Texas Rolling Plains contain much level, cultivable land and are home to a large cattle-raising industry. Many of the state's largest ranches are located here. The region is dominated by conservative politics and the Republican Party.

The Great Plains

Pushing down into northwest Texas from the Rocky Mountains to the Balcones Fault, the Great Plains define the terrain in much of western Texas, rising from 2,700 feet in the east to more than 4,000 feet along the New Mexico border. The major city on the northern plains is Amarillo. Ranching and petroleum production dominate the economy. The southern plains economy centers on agriculture and cotton production, with Lubbock as the major city. Large-scale irrigation from underwater reservoirs, particularly the Ogallala Aquifer, has played a major role in the economic development of this region. A major concern of policy makers is that pumping out of the aquifer exceeds replenishment, raising questions of the viability of basing future growth on the irrigation practices of the past. We will return to a discussion of the problem of aquifer depletion in the public policy chapter (see Chapter 12).

As in East Texas, conservative political values have a home in the Interior Lowlands and the Great Plains. While representatives from this area have played a major role in the political life of the state over the last 100 years, their power has been ebbing in the face of the population pressures of Texas's expanding urban areas elsewhere.

The Basin and Range Province

The fourth geographic region in Texas is the Basin and Range Province. Here one finds Texas's mountains in the Guadalupe Range along the border with New Mexico, which includes Guadalupe Peak (8,749 feet) and El Capitan (8,085 feet). To the southeast is Big Bend country, so named because the Rio Grande River surrounds it on three sides as the river makes its southward swing. Rainfall and population are sparse in this region.

The area running from the Basin and Range Province to the Lower Rio Grande has always had a distinctive political culture, heavily dominated by the fact that Texas and Mexico have been joined at the hip economically and demographically. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the Border region, including El Paso, McAllen, and Brownsville, has remained a Democratic Party bastion.

for critical analysis

How has the diverse geography of Texas affected its development?