

# POLITICS

in States and  
Communities



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## in States and Communities

FIFTEENTH EDITION

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# PREFACE

*Politics in States and Communities* is distinguished by:

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

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

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

## NEW TO THE FIFTEENTH EDITION

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

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

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

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

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

## FOCUS OF BOXED INSERTS

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

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

## RACIAL AND ETHNIC POLITICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## GENDER AND POLITICS

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

Chapter 1: Civil rights issues facing women.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 13: Women’s attitudes toward growth policies.

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

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

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

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

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

## INSTRUCTIONAL FEATURES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SUPPLEMENTARY PACKAGE

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

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### **PowerPoint Presentation (0133745686)**

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

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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

*Thomas R. Dye*

*Susan A. MacManus*

