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**CHARTING CONSTELLATIONS OF POWER:
TEXAS PUBLIC EDUCATION POLICY**

A Master's Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of
Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science, Applied Anthropology

By

Hollie Wright

December 2017

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CHARTING CONSTELLATIONS OF POWER: TEXAS PUBLIC EDUCATION POLICY

Sociology and Anthropology

Missouri State University, December 2017

Master of Science

Hollie Wright

ABSTRACT

For decades, public education in Texas has been entrenched in neoliberalism-inspired policies that research shows largely fail to produce promised results and have a tendency to perpetuate the very problems advocates claim the policies will solve. This raises questions about the decision-makers and what is happening in the public education policy process. In line with Laura Nader's directive for more anthropologists to make those in power the subject of their research, I used both ethnographic and social network analysis methods to 'study up' in Texas public education. This study describes some relationships of members of the Texas State Board of Education and Texas Legislature, discusses implications of these relationships, and offers things that members of the general public can do to become more involved in the public education policy decision-making process. My investigation revealed that some actors have high degree centrality in the network, that homophily is present, and that opportunities for the general public to become more involved already exist; however, many people are unaware of them. Furthermore, people who utilize those opportunities often are ignored due to their behavior, their lack of knowledge on key issues, and/or their inability to present a reasonable alternative. Educational policy and practice are resistant to change due to the high levels of homophily. If people want to change policy, they must take advantage of opportunities and learn better advocacy methods.

KEYWORDS: studying up, Texas, public education, social network analysis, policy, neoliberalism, ethnography

This abstract is approved as to form and content

Margaret Buckner, PhD
Chairperson, Advisory Committee
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December 2017

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Margaret Buckner, PhD

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In the interest of academic freedom and the principle of free speech, approval of this thesis indicates the format is acceptable and meets the academic criteria for the discipline as determined by the faculty that constitute the thesis committee. The content and views expressed in this thesis are those of the student-scholar and are not endorsed by Missouri State University, its Graduate College, or its employees.

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I dedicate this thesis to Texas educators---those people who stand on the front lines in public education day in and day out with little reward or thanks. No matter the political climate or the policies that come and go, it is all of you who truly make Texas public education great. The debt owed to you for what you do can never be repaid.

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INTRODUCTION

For decades, public education in the United States has been entrenched in neoliberal-inspired policies that research shows largely fail to produce promised results and have a tendency to perpetuate the very problems advocates claim the policies will solve (Lee, 2008; Salinas & Reidel, 2007; Ellison, 2012; Sturges, 2015; Thompson & Allen, 2012; see also Silova & Brehm, 2015). This is troubling given that policies and reforms ultimately shape the realities of public education. Public education policy in many, if not most, states across the United States embodies one of those “stuck places” in education that “force us to acknowledge a certain kind of failure and oblige us to follow Derrida’s (1994:59) injunction to *think and think otherwise*” (Priyadharshini, 2003, p. 428). It also raises questions about what is happening in the public education policy process. Who is making these decisions and, of the “who,” which people are exercising the most power in education policy? Why are decision-makers choosing to enact and support these policies? What can be done by people who are not key decision-makers, particularly teachers, that has the potential to change the policies and practices used?

While many studies have been conducted on campus-level factors related to school failure, fewer have focused on higher-level factors like policy implemented at the federal and state level (see Hamann, 2003). This is due in part to difficulties that arise when research focuses on those in power, a practice that Laura Nader (1969) termed “studying up” (Hamann, 2003; Priyadharshini, 2003). Nader (1969) said that anthropologists should engage more in “studying up,” no matter the difficulties, because

anthropology is uniquely suited to uncovering processes of power exercised by those positioned as decision-makers and gatekeepers.

The lack of research and the narrowness of the existing research on state and federal educational policy processes is problematic because policy directly and strongly influences what happens at the campus level. Additionally, the body of research literature demonstrating that actors within groups “make decisions based on the attributes and actions of their peers, as well as individual-level factors,” and the relationships that exist between the actors in the group (Gleason & Howard 2015, p. 1485) offer compelling reasons for researchers to engage in social network analysis when investigating decision-making processes.

Texas was chosen as the site for this case study because Texas policy, in education and otherwise, has a historically high likelihood of being adopted in some way at the federal level. The state also exercises a high degree of influence on education across the country because it is one of the two largest textbook markets in the country, and state officials generally have a contract with publishers to buy on first printing 110% of approved, required textbooks. For this reason, textbook publishers have a tendency to choose what information to include and/or exclude in the textbooks they market nationally based on the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS). A full discussion of how and why Texas policy exerts as much influence as it does outside of the state is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a more thorough explanation of these issues, please refer to Gail Collins’ (2013) *As Texas Goes...: How the Lone Star State Hijacked the American Agenda* and Scott Thurman’s 2012 documentary *The Revisionaries*.

This case study in public education policy, which was approved by the Missouri State University Institutional Review Board (Case No. IRB-FY2017-251), “studies up” using social network analysis and ethnographic methods to chart some relationships and affiliations of some key decision-makers and describe some of the things that are happening in the process that influence what policies and practices are chosen. It further identifies some potential paths of influence that people who are not key decision-makers can use to advocate for change. Throughout this paper, several acronyms will be used for the board and committees that were the focus of this research project. A complete list of the acronyms and their associated committee or board is included in Appendix N on page 173.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter begins with a section that offers a synthesis of existing literature that will familiarize readers with the contexts and realities that current policy and actors both exist within and perpetuate. This section is provided to define the problems with the current policies and practices because it is their ineffectiveness that acts as the primary driver for questioning what is happening with actors in the decision-making process. The synthesis also shows that what is happening in Texas is happening in other states that rely on neoliberal policies and practices in education. The background on public education policy will be followed by a brief discussion of previous studies on policy, decision-making, and people in power. Rather than an in-depth discussion of theories that could explain why policy-makers are acting as they are, I will explore various concepts from social network analysis and policy studies that explain, at least partially, what I discovered during my research.

Neoliberal Policy and Reform in Public Education

The 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, linked the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression to ineffectual and inefficient schools and teachers who were not well educating students (see also Cohen-Vogel, 2010; Diamond, 2007; Koyama & Varenne, 2012; Salinas & Reidel, 2007; Sahlberg, 2011 & 2014). Published in a time when many U.S. politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, were enthralled by neoliberalism, *A Nation at Risk* (1983), along with the “more than 300 state and national business reports and commissions assessing the public schools (Ray and Mickelson 1990)” (Bartlett,

Frederick, Gulbrandsen, & Murillo, 2002, p. 11) it instigated, provided the catalyst for a shift from social Democratic to neoliberal policies that brought about changes in the discourses and structures in education (Hursh, 2007). Since then, “neoliberal ideals, although rarely explicitly stated,” have formed “the basis for most of the education reform” (Hursh, 2007, p. 498; see also Lee, 2008; Salinas & Reidel, 2007; Ellison, 2012; Silova & Brehm, 2015).

Neoliberal school policy and reforms were proffered as a necessary tool to increase school efficacy and to increase excellence through competition while holding teachers and schools accountable for student learning (Bartlett et al., 2002; Ellison, 2012; see also Camicia & Franklin, 2011). These policies and reforms often aimed to convert the educational system “into markets and, as much as possible, privatize educational service” (Hursh, 2002, p. 501). Proponents argued that schools would benefit from neoliberal policies because “competition would lead to better schools, and, hence, better education for all students, closing the achievement gap between students of color and white students” (Hursh, 2002, p. 498). These proponents maintained that giving choices to parents and students, effectively constructing them as consumers of educational services, was the only way to address efficiency and equity in education (Hursh, 2002; Lee, 2008; Salinas & Reidel, 2007; Ellison, 2012). Furthermore, they stipulated that objective, quantitative information is necessary for parents and students to make informed choices in the educational marketplace because the data would “indicate the quality of the education provided” (Hursh, 2002, p. 498).

Two of the five neoliberal assumptions that influence policy in the educational arena are that neoliberal policies 1) increase academic achievement (Ellison, 2012; see

also Hursh, 2002; Salinas & Reidel, 2007); and 2) increase educational opportunities and academic achievement for all students, thereby closing the achievement gap (Ellison, 2012). A third assumption routinely touted by neoliberal educational policy supporters is that a marketplace educational system facilitates the creation of innovative school systems that specialize and cater to specific educational needs and desires of different student populations (Ellison, 2012, p. 122).

Specifying Failure

Usually, when school failure and student achievement are referenced in public settings, the discussion is based on student performance in reading, math, and science (see Ripley, 2013; Tarc, 2012). Another international indicator of public school system success commonly relied on is related to the level of equality present in the system. Different metrics and distributive rules are used by researchers and entities to define equity in education, but there is general consensus that, no matter what metric or distributive rule is used, for any system to be truly equitable there should not be significant gaps between populations (Striethold, Bos, & Gustafsson, 2014).

There are different means used to measure these factors, most notably local and international standardized tests. Comparative global ratings and rankings (R&R) have become increasingly prevalent because they “provide succinct information quickly and in an easily understandable way” and highlight “possible solution strategies or best practice examples in a specific problem field, and hence, open a window of opportunity for policy reforms” (Martens & Niemann, 2013, p. 314). One international R&R that has allowed more thorough investigation of both student achievement and equity is the Organisation

for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), which has been a driver of the discourses on international educational success since 2001 (Martens & Niemann, 2013). In addition to student testing, PISA uses surveys to gather data relevant to student performance in school from students, principals, and families in an effort to establish what social, cultural, economic, and educational predictors are correlated to student performance (Ripley, 2013; Striethold et al., 2014). The data gathered from PISA, considered the "largest internationally instituted study" (Martens & Niemann, 2013, p. 315), has contributed "significantly to the knowledge base that was previously available from national studies on educational effectiveness" (Striethold et al., 2014, p. 195).

Besides U.S. students consistently showing lackluster performance, PISA results have demonstrated that the U.S., along with the majority of participating countries, has not managed to well educate "even all of the 'better-off' students" (Ripley, 2013, p. 4). Furthermore, PISA reveals that the United States has one of the greatest gaps between their most advantaged and least advantaged student populations, with a 90-point separation (Ripley, 2013, p. 17; Program for International Student Assessment, Key Findings, 2000-2012). To put that in context, Korea, one of the traditional top performers on PISA, reported only a 33-point separation (Ripley, 2013, p. 17). PISA, along with other research and international indicators, divulges that countries that have adopted the neoliberal-imbued educational marketplace have "promoted stratification of students according to race and class," thereby failing to produce or promote equity (Ellison, 2012, p. 125; see also Ripley, 2013; Sahlberg, 2014).

Reports that detail positive gains under neoliberal school reform policies, including the vast majority of those conducted at the U.S. federal or individual state government's request or associated governmental agencies, do not always satisfy rigorous scientific methods (Lee, 2008). Moreover, the quantitative data on the success of neoliberal school reform policies is contradictory and hotly contested (Hursh, 2002, p. 508). Furthermore, reported gains are often based on only a portion of the data or, worse, misconstrued data (Hursh, 2002, p. 510). Even in the studies that strictly follow the scientific method, reported positive effects are modest at best and rarely indicate positive effects on the racial achievement gap (Lee, 2008). Studies, such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress and many conducted in Texas and New York, suggest that the driving goals and assumptions of the educational marketplace are not being fulfilled (Hursh, 2002, p. 504). Data pulled from the Texas State Assessment and Academic Readiness (STAAR) Statewide Summary Reports (2011-2015), Texas Accountability Rating System Reports (1995-2015), and Texas Academic Performance Reports (1990-2015) also provides evidence that neoliberal policies have not increased academic achievement or helped to reduce the achievement gap (see Student Assessment Division 2016b; Performance Reporting Division 2016a & 2016b). What the evidence does overwhelmingly show is that "educational inequality is worsening" (Hursh, 2002, p. 504; see also Lee, 2008; Salinas & Reidel, 2007).

Unintended Realities of Neoliberal Policy and Reform

Under neoliberal reforms, high-stakes testing has grown ever more pervasive as a substantial means to hold schools, particularly teachers, accountable, but testing has not

significantly increased student accountability (see Lee, 2008; see also Ripley, 2013). This is exemplified in recent Texas Senate Bill 149 (SB 149) enacted in May 2015 that allowed high school students who did not pass all five of the required STAAR End of Course Exams to still graduate by completing a school-approved plan based on criteria outlined in SB 149. Other exemptions in Texas have allowed schools to also pass younger students, specifically fifth and eighth graders, to the next grade even if they fail STAAR End of Course Exams, which were originally set as an absolute prerequisite to move up to the next grade (see Hart, 2015). Texas is not the only state to engage in such practices. In fact, several other states have also passed legislation to allow students to graduate whose failing test scores would have barred them from graduation (Ripley, 2013).

Although students are routinely able to avoid the consequences of bad test scores, teachers are not able to so easily escape punitive measures when test scores are low. The tendency to ascribe the majority of the responsibility for learning, and subsequently condemnation for failure, to teachers has many interrelated origins. For example, Educational Effectiveness Research (EER) has definitively demonstrated that teachers have the strongest correlation with impact on student achievement being positive or negative among *school-related* [emphasis added] factors (Cohen-Vogel, 2011; Kyriakides, Christoforou, & Charalambous, 2013).

However, the translation of these findings in common usage routinely omits the vital specifier “school-related” and this changes the message in dangerous ways, because “influences on student achievement are multilevel (Teddle & Reynolds, 2000)” (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2010, p. 264), and not all influences are school-related

(Creemers & Kyriakides, 2010; Goldstein, 2014; Ripley, 2013; Sahlberg, 2014). In fact, socioeconomic status has been shown to be the biggest determinant in student performance (Program for International Student Assessment, Key Findings, 2000-2012; Ripley, 2013). Recognizing and acting upon these other determinants of student achievement is important in mitigating problems and in formulating improved policies and practices (see Creemers & Kyriakides, 2010).

Additionally, few studies examine which school-related factors (such as school administration, policies, and opportunities for professional development) affect teacher effectiveness in the classroom. Moreover, much of the research in EER, or at least a majority that eventually filters down to teachers in schools, focuses on only a few factors, or sometimes just one in isolation, which leads to practices being promoted that eventually fail (Creemers & Kyriakides, 2010).

In addition to failing to hold students accountable for their learning, high-stakes testing regimes have also whittled down the curriculum to more “guaranteed” content (Cohen-Vogle, 2011; Lee, 2008; see also Brown & Clift, 2010; Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Datnow, 2012; Sahlberg, 2014; Stewart, 2012). Teachers are increasingly instructed to “teach to the test” by aligning curriculum and resources to the format and content of state tests (Hursh, 2002). School administrators also routinely

schedule to the test, reducing time allocated for lunch, recess, and some untested subjects (Center on Education Policy, 2005; Matthews, 2007; McMurrer, 2007, 2008); reclassify to the test by identifying low-performing students as disabled or Limited English Proficient to exclude them from the testing pool (Allington and McGill-Franzen, 1992; Figlio and Getzer, 2002; Haney, 2000; Heilig and Darling-Hammond, 2008) (Cohen-Vogel 2011, p. 483).

This type of narrowing of the curriculum and resources culminates in educational environments that routinely stifle meaningful critical thinking and problem solving and suppress innovation and risk taking (Hursh, 2002; Sahlberg, 2011 and 2014; Stewart, 2012). Perhaps more worrisome than the other practices is that, in high-stakes accountability systems, highest and lowest performing students are often neglected or ignored all together, usually at the behest of administration, so that teachers can give more instructional time to “bubble kids” (Hursh, 2002, p. 510; see also Booher-Jennings, 2005 and 2006; Bracey, 2008; Campbell, 2007; Desimone, 2013; Ho, 2008; Nelson, McGhee, Meno, & Slater, 2007). “Bubble kids” refer to those students who are closest to the passing score for state tests as indicated by things such as benchmark tests given throughout the year (Hursh, 2002; see also Booher-Jennings, 2005 and 2006; Bracey, 2008; Brown & Clift, 2010; Campbell, 2007; Desimone, 2013; Nelson et al., 2007).

Investigating Policy and Networks

The fact that United States federal and state education policy-makers rely on policies and reforms that are demonstrated as ineffective by a significant body of literature contradicts the commonly held assumption that decision-making in the policy process is rational. This assumption is based on rational choice theory, which posits that “all action is fundamentally ‘rational’ in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do” (Browning, Halcli, & Webster, 2000). However, since educational policy in Texas, and the United States in general, continues to perpetuate failing policies and reforms with few if any real benefits, serious questions are raised about how policy is developed. Despite its longevity as an

area of interest for researchers and practitioners alike, there is not one single theory that can explain the connection, or lack thereof, between knowledge and action in every decision-making situation (see Contandriopoulos, Lemire, Denis, & Tremblay, 2010). This is likely due to the complexity of the process.

Policies are not just the result of a decision made after weighing the pros and cons. As Bogdanor (1987) explained, policies result from “a series of actions” taken and choice made by members of a group, often “to further their common interests” (cited in Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008, p. 498). Policies are also created within “particular contexts” that, as Shore and Write (1997) said, “[e]ncapsulate the entire history and culture for the society that generated them” (Wedel, Shore, Feldman, & Lathrop, 2005, p. 33). Likewise, actors are embedded within their own contexts, histories, values, and cultures. Furthermore, as a growing body of literature demonstrates, “political actors, such as legislators, interest groups, and others, are interdependent and make decisions based on the attributes and actions of their peers, as well as individual-level factors” (Gleason & Howard, 2015, p. 1485; see also Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & Labianca, 2009; Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008; Scott, 2013). Thus, policy is not created in sterile environments as the rational model suggests, but, rather, in the collision of the contexts, values, motives, resources, and cultures of the actors and relationships involved in the process (Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008; see also Rice & Yoshioka-Maxwell, 2015).

“Studying Up”

Anthropology—with its “multiple means, methods, and perspectives”—is well suited to investigating the intricacy of both policy-making and the networks of policy-

makers (Hamann, 2003, p. 435). In fact, Laura Nader (1969) exhorted anthropologists to apply their methods and perspectives to studying “the processes whereby power and responsibility are exercised at home” (Priyadharshine, 2003, p. 420).

Nader (1969) supported “studying up” because the ethnographic information anthropologists can provide on both the culture of power and the brokers of that power can enable citizens “to gain access to, or attempt to use, a public agency” and “...to gauge whether the cards are stacked and in what direction they are stacked in terms of real access to, and use of, a public agency” (p. 296; see also Hamann, 2003; Wedel, Shore, Feldman, & Lathrop, 2005). To Nader, having this type of information and understanding of power and “those who shape attitudes and actually control institutional structures” is vital for citizens living within a democratic framework because “the quality of life and our lives themselves may depend” on understanding “those who shape attitudes and actually control institutional structures” (Nader, 1969, p. 284; see also Priyadharshini, 2003). Furthermore, this insight into these issues allows citizens “to plug in and exercise rights other than voting to make the ‘system’ work for them” (Nader, 1969, p. 294-295).

Despite social science’s tendency to “study down,” Priyadharshini (2003) has noted increased interest in researching the concept of power and those (e.g. individuals, groups, formal organizations, etc.) who possess high degrees of power (p. 420; see also Levinson, Cade, Padawer, & Elvir, 2002. However, “at least in the United States, it has been noted that educational anthropologists still do not do enough ‘studying up’” (Priyadharshini, 2003, p. 420). There are several reasons why studying up *a la* Nader is not done frequently. Commonly cited reasons are the difficulty in accessing respondents

and sites, restrictions imposed on what can and cannot be talked about, and ethical concerns related to privacy and security (Levinson et al, 2002; Mountz, 2012; Priyadharshini, 2003; see also Deeb & Marcus, 2011). Further complicating these issues is the fact that researchers interested in studying up have limited resources to help them navigate these difficulties because of the lack of “...scholarly discussion of this process and its implications...” in the literature since “...most research is written from the studying down paradigm in which the researcher has more power than the researched” (Priyadharshini, 2003, p. 423).

Political Actors, Social Network Analysis, and Centrality Measures

Due to the complexity in which power interactions and policy development and implementation occur, social network analysis provides useful concepts and an ideal tool for investigation (see Knoke, 1990, p. 7). Network analysis is built upon two initial assumptions: that the relations between actors in a social network exert important influences on actor behavior and choice; and that open communication ties between actors in a political network are essential because “influence occurs when one actor intentionally transmits information to another that alters the latter’s actions from what would have occurred without that information” (see Knoke, 1990, p. 3; Knoke & Yang, 2007; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Social network analysis can depict and be used to describe relationships and networks (Knoke 1990, p. 9). It can also identify how individual actor placement within the network and the network’s structure create the constraints and opportunities that determine what can be presented as a choice and, ultimately, what choice an actor can

make (see Sandstrom & Carlsson, 2008, p. 507). A researcher using social network analysis aims to discover the framework in which relations affect actors and networks, as well as to pinpoint the conditions and empirical contexts that constitute the parameters under which particular processes work (see Knoke & Yang, 2007). Anthropology complements social network analysis because its traditional methods, such as talking to people and observation, allow for a more thorough and nuanced contextualization, analysis, and understanding of the actors, their relationships, and the network (see Rice & Yoshioka-Maxwell 2015).

Social network analysis can include two types of variables: 1) structural measurements of specific relations between actors; and 2) composition measurements, which include attributes defined at the individual actor level (see Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 29; see also Knoke & Yang, 2007). Attribute data include actor “attitudes, opinions, and behavior of agents so far as these are regarded as the properties, qualities, or characteristics that belong to them as individuals or groups” (Scott, 2013 (a), p. 2). Relations, also commonly referred to as ties, links, or linkages in social network analysis, have two properties that are critical “for understanding their [network] measurement, and for categorizing the methods” (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 44): 1) whether a relation is directional or nondirectional; and 2) whether it is dichotomous or valued (see also Knoke & Yang, 2007; Scott, 2013 (a)). A relation is directional if it is shown to be initiated by an actor and it is nondirectional if it simply shows that a tie exists between two actors. A dichotomous relation is closely related to nondirectional relationships in that it only indicates that a tie exists. However, directional relations can also be dichotomous. A valued relation indicates the strength or intensity of the tie, for example, when a study

maps peer relationships at a high school by showing who are friends, who are enemies, who are acquaintances, etc.

Structural relations essentially act as “complex pathways for assisting or hindering flows of knowledge.... through a population,” and “are crucial to sustaining cohesion and solidarity within a group, but may also reinforce prejudices and conflicts within groups” (Knoke & Yang, 2005, p. 5). Relations are thus a means to advance group and societal norms (see Knoke & Yang, 2005; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The more direct connections there are between actors, the more likely it is that a network is going to have “better information, greater awareness, and higher susceptibility to influenc[e]” (Knoke & Yang, 2007, p. 5). Indirect connections within a network tend to “bring exposure to new ideas and potential access to useful resources that may be acquired through transactions with others” (Knoke & Yang, 2007, p. 5; see also Scott, 2013 (a); Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Within a network, it is rare that all actors hold places of equal importance (Tichy, Tushman, & Fombrun, 1979). This means that actors tend to exert different levels of influence. Some may be positioned as gatekeepers while others may be isolated and have little, if any, real power (see Tichy et al, 1979; see also Knoke & Yang, 2007; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). To determine an actor’s position within the network, the data are analyzed for centrality measures. Centrality is used to identify the most important actors in a network. The basic assumption is that the most important actors are located in strategic places within the network, and that centrality in a network is an important attribute of the structure of social networks and “is relevant to the way groups get

organized to solve at least some kinds of problems” (Freeman, 1979, p. 216; see also Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Network centrality can be measured in various ways. Non-directed data is generally measured for centrality based on how many direct ties actors have to other actors in the network. Centrality measures for directed data can also be calculated based solely on the number of direct contacts, or they can be calculated on in-degree and/or out-degree contacts. In-degree centrality measures are based on how many direct contacts to Actor A are initiated by other actors. This measure is also referred to as a measurement of an actor’s prestige within a network. Out-degree centrality measures are based on how many direct contacts Actor A initiates to other actors. It is used to indicate an actor’s level of influence in a network.

Freeman and Bonacich pioneered two approaches that are the most commonly used when measuring centrality and power in a network. I refer to them as approaches, as do others in social network analysis, because their equations were developed based upon research findings and, also, as a means to provide further refined findings that would validate emerging theories in social network analysis. When I refer to Freeman or Bonachich’s equation, I am specifically referencing the equation used to compute the centrality measure from their respective approaches.

The degree centrality measurement in Freeman’s approach, the standard in social network analysis, refers to the sum of direct links between one actor and the others within the network (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005; see also Knoke & Yang 2007; Scott 2013 (a); Tichy et al 1979; Wasserman & Faust 1994). Freeman’s approach is based on the previously stated idea that an actor with more ties, regardless of whether or not they are

the ones initiating the tie, is more “extensively involved in relationships with other actors” and more visible within the network (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 173). This standard assumption “that centrality is equivalent to power” (Bonacich, 1987, p. 1170) means that, when using Freeman’s equation, degree centrality scores are used to make inferences about how powerful the actor is.

However, some studies “have shown that power does not equal centrality” (Bonacich, 1987, p. 1170) in all networks. Those findings inspired Bonacich to create a centrality and power equation that “has been widely accepted as superior to the original measure” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Bonacich’s approach argues that an actor’s centrality and, consequently, power is based upon how many direct connections Actor A has and also how many ties exist among actors to which Actor A is connected.

Bonacich’s equation can also be used to more directly measure an actor’s degree of power through the inclusion of a variable, referred to as the attenuation factor, Beta, or β ; it is generally a number between -1 and 1 (though it can be greater or less than those values depending on the research goals). If it is greater than zero, then the actor has higher centrality when tied to people who are central. If β is less than zero, then the actor has higher centrality when tied to people who are not central (Bonacich, 1987; Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). (If it is 0, it calculates traditional degree centrality, i.e. Freeman’s measure.) In simpler terms, if β is a positive number, then, if an actor is connected to other actors with more connections, that actor is more powerful. If β is a negative number, it is calculating the dependency of actors in the network. For example, if Actor A is connected to other actors who do not have many ties to still other actors in the

network, then it is likely that the others are dependent on Actor A, making Actor A more powerful.

The empirical evidence indicates that actors with high degrees of centrality and power should be recognized by others as “a major channel of relational information, indeed, a crucial cog in the network, occupying a central location” (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 179). In fact, the literature demonstrates that well-connected decision-makers in policy, particularly legislators, are more successful at promoting and enacting policy and/or practices (Bratton & Rouse, 2011; Fowler 2006). Additionally, centrality is well suited to identifying how information and power are accessed, controlled, and brokered within a network (Knoke & Burt, 1983).

Homophily and Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

Social network analysis can also indicate heterogeneity or homophily within a group. These terms refer to the diversity present within a group, with higher levels of heterogeneity indicating greater diversity. When used as a principle, homophily denotes how “similarity breeds connection” (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001, p. 415). The high probability of a tie between actors who share similar attributes, values, and beliefs “was one of the first features noted by early structural analysts” (McPherson et al, 2001, p. 416). A high degree of homophily has been correlated with a lack of innovation, especially as it has a tendency to suppress ideas outside of the dominant group’s value set (see Knoke & Yang, 2007; Hanneman & Riddle, 2005; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Homophilous relations therefore have noteworthy implications, given their tendency to

“limit people’s social worlds...the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interactions they experience” (McPherson et al, 2001, p. 415).

Homophily can be evaluated along different attributes such as race and ethnicity, social class and education level, and values and ideology. Depending on the social context, some homophily attributes may become more important than others. For instance, in political contexts similarities in values and ideology tend to exert greater influence than ethnic and racial similarities (Bratton & Rouse, 2011; Henry, Lubell, & McCorry, 2011; Peoples, 2008).

One causal theory in policy studies that was partially developed on the homophily principle is the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). ACF posits that “actors with similar belief systems are more likely to form coalitions, leading to policy subsystems that are fragmented into ideological groups” (Henry et al, 2011, p. 419-420; see also Jenkins-Smith; Sabatier, 1994). Homophily helps to build these coalitions through transitivity, otherwise known as “the phenomenon of ‘the friend of my friend is my friend’” (Henry et al, 2011, p. 423). So while Actor B, who already has an established tie with Actor A, may have no immediate direct connection to Actor C in the network, if Actor A has an established tie with Actor C, then Actor B and C are much more likely to seek each other out as trusted collaborators. Additionally, homophily tends to cause actors to avoid collaborating with those who are different than them, especially if that difference is related to values and ideology (Bratton & Rouse, 2011; Henry, Lubell, & McCorry, 2011; Peoples, 2008).

One possible way to indicate homophily within a network is to identify whether or not any cliques exist. A clique can be defined as “a sub-set of a network in which the

actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005); that is, a clique is a group of actors who have many direct mutual ties “across which influence communications are transmitted” and are generally made up of people who are similar (Knoke, 1990, p. 11-12).

Conclusion

There is compelling evidence that a significant achievement gap exists among Texas students, as well as among students in many other states. Many students are also struggling to achieve even basic proficiency in reading/writing, science, and math. These problems have persisted, in varying degrees of severity, for decades, and the neoliberal policies and reforms that have been rolled out by decision-makers have failed to solve either of them. In fact, these policies and reforms that have been favored for as long as these problems have been a matter for national public concern, actually sustain or worsen the problems. These realities raise questions about why these policies and reforms continue to be implemented.

To figure out why ineffective policies and reforms are relied on, it is prudent to know about the decision-makers supporting and enacting the policies (e.g., through attributes and centrality measures), and what systematic and structural elements influence (e.g., homophily) both what can become a choice in the policy process and the choice decision-makers ultimately make. Social network analysis can investigate the complex policy process and discover how the actors and the structural elements of a policy network both constrain and enable possibilities and opportunities. Anthropology enhances social network analysis through both data collection and methods of analysis,

which together allow a researcher to more thoroughly explore the nuances of meaning and context when discussing actors, their relationships, and the network.

METHODS

Social network analysis must include two components: a set of objects (variously called nodes, positions, or actors) and a set of relationships (variously called edges, ties, or lines) among the objects (Knoke, 1990, p. 8-9). Social network analysis provides methods to analyze information on these components in a way that could identify: 1) the individual actor level factors that influence choice and/or action; 2) network structure elements that influence choice and/or action; and 3) potential pathways that people might be able to use in order to exert more influence on choices and/or action in policy and practice.

Defining the objects and relationships to be studied is a critical part of designing social network analysis research because the chosen objects and relationships act as limits on what can be studied and discovered. The selection of the actors is commonly referred to as boundary specification, although relationship selection is also a part of the specification process. Network boundaries are generally defined using one of two primary frameworks, nominalist and realist (Laumann et al, 1983; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The nominalist perspective is taken when a researcher defines a network boundary based solely on their analytical goals and purposes. The realist perspective is based on the boundaries already in place for a network; for example, if a researcher wanted to investigate the peer relationships between 15-year-old classmates at a high school, then the actors in the study would be comprised of 15-year-olds at that particular high school. In addition to these two frameworks, researchers also sometimes use an operational justification. An operational justification is utilized when things such as limited resource

(e.g., time, size of research team, etc.) affect the research project and necessitate that the researcher “stop pursuing chains of contacts after a certain point” (Laumann et al, 1983, p. 20). I utilized both approaches and operational justifications for network boundary specification in my research project.

Ethnographic methods, essentially talking and interacting with people and observing them, were also used because information gathered in this way is able to more fully explain the intricacies of a network, especially at an individual actor level. This is valuable because of the variances found among actors, especially in how actors (through either word or action or both) define relationship categories (e.g. friend, ally, and colleague). For example, as will be more fully explored in the findings section, while being a colleague may simply mean being members of the same political body for most actors in the network, for a few actors, a colleague relationship may mean higher levels of bi-partisan interaction and collaboration. Ethnographic methods also allow more areas, besides just the relationships among actors, to be studied so that a more accurate and rich description of what is occurring in the Texas public education policy process can be created.

The rest of this chapter describes how this research project was conducted using social network analysis and ethnographic methods in the following subsections: boundary specification, data collection, data analysis, and limitations of the study.

Boundary Specification

When using social network analysis, boundary specification is an important aspect of research design. At the beginning of the actor selection process, the network

boundary was already partially delineated by my focus on educational policy decision-makers in Texas. However, the actual network of those involved in the formulation and implementation of educational policy is vast—including at least a thousand people. Due to operational concerns (e.g. time constraints and resources limitations), I had to narrow the actors I would include.

First, I narrowed the field by focusing on actors who, either by statute or practice, are able to exercise more power than casting a vote at a final bill hearing. My initial investigation into who those actors would be led me to the Texas State Board of Education (SBOE) and the Texas Legislative Education Board. However, further research led to the discovery that the Texas Legislative Education Board had been dissolved by an obscure piece of legislation. The duties once performed by the board were delegated to various legislative committees: the Senate Education Committee (SEC), the House Committee on Public Education (HCPE), the Senate Finance Committee (SFC), the House Appropriations Committee (HAC), and the Legislative Budget Board (LBB). The number of members on all of these legislative committees was still too large. I chose to focus primarily on members of the Senate Education Committee and the House Committee on Public Education because these committees are the ones that typically bring bills directly tied to public education before the full legislature for consideration and voting.

However, I did not want to exclude members of the SFC, HAC, and LBB as they are able to wield considerable power in education policy and practice, even if they are not the members of committees that exert the most direct control over public education policy legislation. For example, in this year's 85th Legislative Session, the HAC

effectively killed a Senate bill that had passed both the education committee and the floor vote that would have created a voucher system in Texas. The HAC, however, introduced budget legislation that banned any state monies being allocated to any type of voucher system for the next biennium. This legislation passed 103-44 (Zelinski, 2017).

Thus, I decided to designate the SBOE, SEC, and HCPE as focal actors and the SFC, HAC, and LBB as peripheral actors. These designations should not be used to imply that the committees comprising the peripheral actors are any less important in public education policy and practice in Texas. The term peripheral is a created designation to specify actors who were not the primary focus in this project. This means that I did not actively collect data on the peripheral actors as I did on focal actors. The inclusion of the peripheral actors was based on the information and data gathered from the sources used in the study on the focal actors. A more detailed discussion of the focal actors is provided in the next chapter.

Relationship Selection

After determining which actors to include in the study, I then had to determine what types of relationships, or ties, I would map. The very existence of a tie can be noteworthy, even if a tie's value cannot be quantified; therefore, a tie between actors was recorded if evidence showed that a tie existed, even if it could not directly or with confidence be given a value/strength/intensity label (e.g. friendship, colleague, family.). I also specifically looked for evidence of the following ties: combative, colleague, ally, friendship, close or intimate friendship, and familial. I chose these valued ties because they could potentially influence the interactions between actors and also the decisions

they make while conducting official business regarding education policy and/or practice formation and implementation.

Colleague ties were established primarily based on shared membership on a board/committee, although in some cases, it was found that shared membership also meant active collaboration with other members. Ally ties were established primarily based on voting patterns, but bills authored/co-authored and public advocacy of bills and issues authored by actors were also considered when defining a tie as allied.

Combative/antagonistic ties were established based on hostile interactions (e.g. verbal disparagement at meetings and in the press, arguing in public meetings, etc.) among actors and, often, chronic opposition of bills and issues supported or proposed by other actors. Friend ties were defined only if there was a self-report of that value by at least one of the actors sharing the tie. The self-report could be from an interview, media article, and/or social media posting. Close friend ties were defined first as friend ties, then by additional evidence that the actors also spent significant time together outside of work (e.g. celebrating holidays and attending family gatherings together, group vacations, etc.) and/or a self-report of a close friend tie were considered.

Affiliation Inclusion

During data collection, I found that members of the legislative committees and SBOE shared common affiliations with certain groups and/or common behaviors that grouped them together and likely exert some kind of influence on the policy and practices actors support. This early finding led to the inclusion of some identified affiliations. It should be noted that I do not use the term affiliation as it is traditionally used in social

network analysis. It is in part guided by traditional usage, but it is also partly a designation created for certain groups (such as schools) and shared behaviors. Since I was specifically interested in seeing how people such as educators, administrators, and school boards were already connected to focal actors, I coded and included relationship ties to individual schools and school staff within the affiliation framework. This was done because the existence of ties to particular schools or types of education professionals was more important to the goals of this research than the individuals within the school or group of professionals to which the actors were connected.

Identification of an actor affiliation does not necessarily indicate a value of a relationship between the actors and the other node. It simply means that there is an official attachment or connection to a group or, in the case of the affiliation designated as “moderate” in this thesis, a shared set of behaviors that I have used as a criteria to group a set of actors together. A more detailed discussion of affiliations is in the next chapter.

Data Collection

Participant Recruitment. All of the offices of members on the Senate Education Committee and the House Committee on Public Education were contacted via telephone using the information listed on the official Texas Senate and House websites. I briefly explained my thesis and inquired what the proper protocol was for requesting an interview with the Senator or Representative. I was mostly directed to email scheduling coordinators, but in a few cases, I was told to email the Senator or Representative directly. In each case, the appropriate email address was provided to me.

I sent a form email that outlined my thesis, which included information about the informed consent document that I attached, requested to schedule a telephone or video chat interview, and my contact information. A copy of this email is attached as Appendix A and a copy of the informed consent is attached as Appendix B. Out of the eleven members on the Senate Education Committee, I received ten responses. Six of the scheduling coordinators indicated that the Senator they worked for would participate and that I would be put into the scheduling queue for a telephone interview. They also requested that a copy of interview questions be sent to them beforehand. The remaining four declined to participate due to busy schedules. After sending out a list of tentative interview questions, I received an email from one Senator's staff member stating that after review of the question by the Senator, despite an earlier offer to participate, the Senator would no longer be participating. In the following weeks, I received three more emails with virtually the same statement. One staff member who sent a follow-up refusal email indicated that she would allow me to interview her instead.

Out of the eleven members on the House Committee on Public Education, I received eight responses. Two representatives agreed to participate, asked for a copy of the interview questions, and provided me with a list of available dates and times when I could schedule an interview. Four of the emails stated that the representative was usually happy to help students and asked for a copy of the interview questions to be forwarded for review. The other two emails stated that the representatives declined to participate since the new legislative session had just begun. In the following weeks, all four of the representatives' offices that had indicated their representatives were generally happy to help sent a follow-up email stating the representative now declined to participate.

During the same time period, I sent a form email with an attached informed consent to each member on the SBOE, using email contact information contained on the official SBOE website. Copies of this email and informed consent are attached as Appendix C and Appendix D. When no contact information was provided for the SBOE member, I did a Google search to find contact information for their places of business. If I could not find any contact information, I emailed the general SBOE email address that is maintained by the TEA and asked them to forward the information to the appropriate SBOE member. Out of the fifteen members on the SBOE, I received six responses. Each indicated they would be happy to participate, and three of them asked me to forward a copy of the interview questions. One respondent even returned an electronic copy of the signed informed consent and said we should schedule a Google chat in the near future.

Once I had forwarded copies of the interview questions, one respondent emailed and canceled the interview because of discomfort with answering questions regarding relationships with members of the legislature. Three of the other respondents stopped responding to my contact attempts, so an interview could not be scheduled. Out of the six SBOE members who initially responded, I was only able to interview two.

Additionally, as it became clear that the Lieutenant Governor and Speaker of the House were centrally situated within the network and were also co-chairs of the Legislative Budget Board (LBB), I used the same approach I had used with the senators and representatives and contacted each of their offices to request an interview. I was again directed to email scheduling coordinators and to include a copy of the questions. I sent a modified version of the form email sent to senators and house representatives on the SEC and HCPE. I received one response declining to participate because the office

did not “do interviews.” I received another response stating the office holder could not participate due to schedule constraints, and I was directed to contact members of the staff who could answer some questions.

Interviews. Out of the thirty-seven focal actors in the network, I conducted six interviews: two with senators, two with house representatives, and two with SBOE members. Additionally, I conducted two interviews with legislative staff members for a total of eight interviews. Seven of the interviews were conducted over the telephone and one was conducted via Skype. Four of the participants agreed to audio recording of their interviews. For the remaining four, I took handwritten notes with permission from the participants.

The interviews were guided by a predetermined list of questions, the same questions sent at the request of participants before the interview (see Appendix E and Appendix F). However, some questions were omitted during interviews because respondents’ answers led to other questions or because respondents only had a certain time frame to complete the interview, and the length of their answers to other questions took up the entire time frame. However, all participants were asked questions regarding: 1) their interactions and relationships with members of the board or committee they belong to; 2) their interactions with people not on their board or committee about business related to education, specifically, though not limited to, members of the other board or committee involved in the study; 3) their relationships with people identified in responses to question two; 4) their membership on any committee or subcommittee; 5) how issues are placed on the official agenda and the process that occurs once something is placed on the agenda; 6) who they report to concerning their work in education; 7) if

anyone on the board or committee reports to them concerning work in education; and 8) what types of resources (e.g. peer reviewed research, testimony, etc.) they use when making education policy and/or practice decisions and how they gain access to those resources.

Observation and Publicly Available Sources. Given the population I was studying, time constraints, and geographical distance, I was unable to conduct true participant observation. Instead, I spent approximately 200 hours observing the actors and the policy process through video and/or audio webcasts of SBOE, Senate Education Committee, and House Public Education Committee meetings dating back to 2010 that are hosted on their respective official websites. I observed past committee meetings because I wanted to include as much of a longitudinal perspective as possible, especially since many of the actors have served on their respective committee or board for decades. I chose to go back to 2010 because that was the beginning of several changes that affected the State Board of Education and issues that had been on the agenda in 2010 were up for review in 2016 and 2017. This allowed me to better identify how stable actor choices and interactions have remained over time for that board.

For SBOE archived meetings, I had to directly contact the company under contract with the TEA to store webcasts. They issued me an administrative login so that I could access the archives that are inaccessible from the SBOE website. If any focal actor also had membership on the Senate Finance Committee (SFC) or the House Appropriations Committee (HAC), I also observed portions of that committee's current and archived video and audio recordings dating back to 2010. I could not find any webcasts of Legislative Budget Board (LBB) meetings. Additionally, any online videos

of actors that I was able to find via internet searches or actors' social media postings were also viewed, though most of these were essentially campaign commercials and did not yield as much useful information.

Detailed internet and LexisNexis Academic searches were conducted to locate as many publicly available sources as possible on actors and their respective committees, including newspaper and magazine articles, editorials, images, blogs, articles and/or newsletters written and published by organizations such as the Texas Freedom Network, actors' personal and/or professional websites, social media accounts, personal financial statements filed in accordance with chapter 572 of the Texas Government Code, and newsletters created and published by the actors themselves. Furthermore, I reviewed official agendas and meeting minutes hosted on SBOE, SEC, and HCPE official websites dating back to 2010.

Data Analysis

The first objective of data analysis was to establish the existence or absence of ties among the focal actors. An Excel sheet was created with the names of each of the focal actors placed in the rows and the columns of the spreadsheet, as is traditionally done to create a matrix for social network analysis. As new actors were discovered who could be influential in selecting educational policy and practice, their names were added to this spreadsheet. I used the customary binary markings from social network analysis to indicate the absence or presence of a tie (i.e. 1=presence, 0=absence). The initial spreadsheet was directed but non-valued, meaning that when the presence of a tie was marked, it indicated that the presence was found from webcasts, interview response,

personal website statement, and/or social media account(s) postings of the actor designated in that row.

Simultaneously, as data were gathered from sources, they were first coded under a priori codes, those codes that were predetermined based upon the primary research objectives and current policy contexts: 1) neoliberalism (e.g., related to policies, reforms, and practices in public education that are clearly dominated by neoliberal ideas), 2) alternatives (e.g. related to policies, reforms, and practices in public education that are not dominated by neoliberal ideas), 3) neutral relations, 4) negative relations, 5) positive relations, 6) attributes (e.g. demographic information, education level, etc.) 7) pathways (e.g., related to ways in which people who are not key decision-makers can influence policy and practice); and 8) resources (e.g., related to research and other things used in order to make policy and practice decisions). After this, refined, emergent sub-category codes were established as branches under the a priori codes, as shown in Table 1.

After this, three new Excel spreadsheets were created. The first contained the focal actors and peripheral actors. This spreadsheet was a non-directed, non-valued spreadsheet that used standard binary markers to indicate the presence or absence of the tie. The second spreadsheet contained the same actors as the previous spreadsheet, except instead of being non-directed and non-valued, it was non-directed and valued to show possible strengths and intensities of ties between actors. The value scale for this spreadsheet was: 0=no tie; 1=combative; 2=colleague; 3=allies; 4=friends; 5=close friends; and 6=family.

The third spreadsheet was an affiliation spreadsheet in which actor names were used as row labels and columns were labeled with the affiliations found to be most

common and/or directly influential on education policy and practice. These included the affiliations described in the data collection section and, also, the State Board of Education, the Senate Education Committee, the House Committee on Public Education, the Senate Finance Committee, the House Appropriations Committee, and the Legislative Budget Board. This spreadsheet was non-directed and non-valued. These spreadsheets are attached as Appendices G-I.

Each spreadsheet was then imported into Ucinet (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002) software specifically designed to analyze social network analysis data in a variety of ways. After the spreadsheets were imported, the data were opened in either Netdraw or Pajek, both of which are software programs that create visual representations of network data. Spreadsheets were also broken down into smaller units to show the relationships and affiliations of specific actor groups (i.e. SBOE, Senate Education Committee, and House Committee on Public Education) and to show the relationships and affiliations of individual actors within the network.

Next, Ucinet was used to calculate standard degree and out-degree centrality using both Freeman's and Bonacich's approaches as described in the literature review. I focused on out-degree centrality when using Bonachich's approach since I was primarily interested in which actors have the most influence within the network. Three variations of Bonacich's approach were used in order to construct a better picture of the power of actors and to triangulate data from Freeman's equation. Descriptive statistics relevant to interpretation and discussion of the centrality measures (e.g. mean, mode, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum) were then calculated. Ucinet was also used to

identify the presence of cliques. Cliques were used as part of the process of checking the networks for homophily.

Table 1. Sub Category Coding Labels Used with A Priori Codes in Analysis

Neoliberalism	Charter	Vouchers	Measurement				
	Schools		(e.g. testing, ratings)				
Neutral R	Unknown Value	Colleagues					
Negative R	Political Opposition						
Positive R	Friends	Close Friends	Allies				
Attributes	Traditional Democrat	Tea Party, Extreme Conservative	Traditional Republican	Ethnicity Race	Moderate	Time and Attention Given	Experience or Expertise
Pathways	Information Access	Access Opportunities	Affiliations				
Resources	Articles from non-peer reviewed sources	Government Funded and directed Research Reports	Policy Briefs	Peer Reviewed Research			

All of the visuals, calculations, and coded data were then used to analyze the networks in order to describe them, focusing on who appeared to be the most powerful or influential actors, who seemed to act as bridges, to what degree—if any—homophily existed within the network, and what pathways were potentially available for people to become more involved in the policy and decision-making process.

Limitations

This study was affected by potential limitations. First, I was unable to interview many people, and, of the interviews I was able to conduct, only four yielded valuable

data; the other participants refused to answer most questions, stating they were too political. My specification of the network boundary and the judgments I made based on the information I was able to gather also limit this study. Furthermore, although actors from the House Appropriations Committee (HAC), the Senate Finance Committee (SFC), and the Legislative Budget Board (LBB) have been included in a limited capacity within this study, they were considered peripheral actors; thus, they and their relationships were not studied in depth. This means that there is a possibility that influential actors in the education and policy decision-making process are not included in this analysis. “In studies concerned with the explanation of particular events..., it is obviously of great consequence if a key intervening actor or ‘bridging’ tie is omitted...” (Laumann et al, 1983, p. 18-19).

Another limitation is the use of social media posts to determine the value of some ties. Social media posts may not reflect the entire truth, as users choose exactly what to post, and people seem to tend to post what they want to present to the world. This also means that while Actor A may have posted a picture with Actor B and captioned it as “friends” or “good friends,” Actor B may not actually reciprocate that relationship. Moreover, in the instance of the one familial tie I found, it is impossible to tell the strength or intensity of that relationship from the information gathered. Therefore, although it is included as a valued tie, I actually coded the familial tie as a neutral, unknown relationship. I have attempted to overcome these limitations through triangulation based on all interviews, observations, and publicly available sources.

FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into three sections: 1) findings on the focal actors and affiliations, 2) findings from social network analysis, and 3) findings from observation of meetings via archived video and audio webcasts and analysis of publicly available sources. All findings are based on a synthesis of the data gathered from all sources. In order to keep this thesis manageable in size, not every specific example supporting each finding is outlined nor is each source that contributed to that finding cited within the body of this thesis. Instead, a few specific examples supporting findings are presented, and then sources not cited within the body of the thesis that were used to generate findings are included in Appendices J-L.

Focal Actor Findings

As stated in the previous chapter, the focal actors in this study are members of the SBOE, SEC, and HCPE. The following subsections will more fully describe both the actors and their respective committee or board.

Texas State Board of Education (SBOE). As detailed on the official Texas State Board of Education website hosted by the Texas Education Agency, this board is comprised of fifteen members elected by the public to represent state designated districts. Under state law, to be eligible to run in a partisan election for membership a candidate must:

- be a United States citizen who is at least thirty-years-old;
- demonstrate proof of at least five years continuous bona fide residence within the district he or she is running;
- not hold office with the State of Texas or any political subdivision;
- not receive any compensation for services from the state or any political subdivision, excepting retirement benefits; and

- not engage in organized public educational activity (Texas H.B. No. 72, 1984).

Elected members serve staggered four-year terms. This means that only half of the SBOE members are on the ballot in a given election year. One member serving on the board is appointed by the governor to chair the SBOE. Additionally, the board has a vice chair and a secretary who are voted into office by members of the board (Participant B, 2017).

The SBOE writes, reviews, and adopts state standards (i.e. Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills; TEKS); reviews and adopts instruction materials (i.e. textbooks and supplements); creates graduation requirements; administers the Texas Permanent School Fund; appoints members to designated special school districts and military reservation districts; serves as the final evaluation for State Board of Educator Certification rules; and reviews, with the authority to veto, the awarding of new charter schools proposed by the commissioner. SBOE has three distinct, permanent subcommittees each with five members who are primarily tasked with addressing specific subsets of these responsibilities. Members submit a paper to SBOE officers indicating their first, second, and third choice for subcommittee membership. The officers then appoint members based on seniority and party representation. For example, the longer a member has served on the board, the more likely that member will receive their first choice of subcommittee appointment. However, if three Republicans have already been appointed to a subcommittee, it is unlikely a fourth or fifth Republican will be appointed to that subcommittee despite their seniority status as compared to a Democrat (Participant B, 2017; Participant C, 2017). There also seems to be some type of consensus or informal rule that subcommittee membership should include more members from the majority

party. At times, other subcommittees or panels are convened to handle special issues at the direction of the legislature, Texas Education Agency, and/or SBOE members (Participant C, 2017; Participant B, 2017).

Members are required to meet each quarter, and these meetings take place at the Texas Education Agency's building in Austin, Texas. They may also have other full board meetings as needed. Members are subject to the Texas Open Meetings Act as detailed in Chapter 551 of the Government Code. Under this act, members constituting a quorum of either the full board or a subcommittee may not meet together or with other entities to discuss board-related matters unless they have provided proper posted public notice at least seventy-two hours before the meeting so that members of the public can attend (Participant C, 2017; SBOE webcast A, 2010; SBOE webcast C, 2011). If there is a statutorily defined emergency or "urgent public necessity," the meeting notice may be posted only two hours prior to a meeting. Closed meetings are restricted to a limited number of statutorily defined situations (TX GOV'T Code 551, 1999; Participant C, 2017; SBOE webcast A, 2010; SBOE webcast C, 2011).

The SBOE was created by the passage of the Gilmer-Aikin laws in 1949 (TEA, Welcome and Overview, retrieved April 2017; Texas State Library Archives, State Board of Education, retrieved April 2017). Over the years, legislative action continued to shape and define the power and responsibilities of the board with bills such as House Bill 72 in 1984, Senate Bill 1 passed in 1995, House Bill 600 (a redistricting map) passed in 2011, and Senate Bill 6 passed in 2011 (Ferguson, 2012; Phillips, 2011; Quinn, 2011; Texas State Library Archives, State Board of Education, retrieved April 2017). Some of these legislative changes were, at least in part, a response to the highly controversial reputation

the board had acquired because of the highly publicized actions and rhetoric of social conservatives who have dominated the board for most of its existence (see House Research Organization, 2000; Stutz, 2007; Stutz, 2009; Thevenot, 2010; Thurman, Silver, Wood, & Thurman, 2012; see also SBOE webcast d-e, 2011; SBOE webcast a-b, 2012). A full account of all of the controversies in which the SBOE has been involved over the years is beyond the scope of this thesis, but more comprehensive documentation of this history can be found in Scott Thurman's 2012 documentary, *The Revisionaries*, and in articles hosted in the Texas Freedom Network, *Texas Monthly*, and *Texas Tribune* archives. In general, these controversies have revolved around writing state standards or adopting instructional materials based on individual belief systems and ideology, particularly religious ideology.

The board is comprised of ten Republicans and five Democrats. Six of the ten Republicans are also affiliated with the Texas Tea Party, which is considered a subset of the Republican Party. Six of the fifteen members can be classified as political moderates as defined below in the affiliation section. There are ten white members, four Hispanic members, and one African American member. Eight members are female, and seven are male. Eleven of the members have formal public education experience, seven have been public school teachers, five have been or currently are in school administration or special programs, and three have been school board trustee members. Additionally, three members are actively engaged in formal education research, and two members have created their own education research and/or consultation organizations to provide professional development and other resources to teachers and schools. As noted by one member of the board, having this many members with formal experience with education

is a departure from the board's historical actor makeup (Participant B, 2017). Five of the members have served on the board for ten years or longer, and four of those members are a part of the highly controversial social conservative block (Burka, 2011; Michels, 2013; Smith, 2011; TEA, SBOE, retrieved March 2016; Thurman et al, 2012).

Texas SEC and HCPE. Each of these committees is comprised of legislative members who applied for committee membership and were subsequently appointed (Participant A, 2017). In the Senate, committee appointments are made by the Lieutenant Governor. In the house, the Speaker of the House appoints committee members. In both the Senate and the House, committee applicants are evaluated based on individual qualifications, seniority, and political party affiliation (Participant A, 2017; Participant D, 2017). Additionally, factors such as personal relationships with the person making the appointments, especially involving demonstrated reciprocity, can influence a committee appointment (Participant A, 2017; Participant D, 2017).

Committees in the Senate and the House act as gate keepers for bills that are filed and introduced. Once introduced, the bills are sent to the appropriate committees. However, it is ultimately the chair of a committee who decides which of those bills are placed on the agenda for full committee consideration (Participant A, 2017; Participant D, 2017). Thus, the chair of a committee holds great power. If a bill is never placed on the agenda for committee consideration, it can never make it to the floor for a vote (Rosenthal, 2017; HCPE Webcast A, 2017; HCPE Webcast B, 2017).

Once a bill is placed on the agenda, meetings and work sessions are held. At the end of all meetings and work sessions, the bill is voted on. A committee can choose to take no action or to send it before the full legislative body. Usually, a committee report is

also drafted that includes things such as the text of the bill, a detailed analysis, an impact report, a record of committee voting, and recommendations. These reports are distributed to all members of the house or Senate (See Appendix M).

The SEC has eight Republicans and three Democrats. Seven of the Republicans are also affiliated with the Tea Party. One SEC member can also be classified as a political moderate. Eight of the members are white, two are Hispanic, and one is African American. There are ten men and one woman. Four SEC members have served ten years or more.

The HCPE has seven Republicans and four Democrats. Seven of the members could be classified as political moderates. There are six white members, one Hispanic, and three African American members. Nine members are men and two are women. One member has served on HCPE for ten years or more. Two members have formal educational experience as teachers and administrators. One member also served for over ten years on the SBOE before being elected to the House of Representatives and also has a son currently serving on the SBOE.

Affiliations. In addition to actor affiliations with committees and/or boards that are influential in public education policy and practice, as explained in the methods section, the commonality of affiliation (i.e., formal attachment or connection) with other groups and formal organizations or of shared behaviors that were used as criteria to group actors together that seemed likely to influence choices prompted me to map actor ties with them, as well. These affiliations are the: 1) Tea Party, 2) Republican political party, 3) Democrat political party, 4) moderates, 5) Texas Eagle Forum, 6) Home School Coalition, 7) professional teacher organizations, 8) school extra-curricular organizations

such as the Future Farmers of America (FFA), and 9) independent research and policy groups such as think tanks. I also coded ties to certain types of people (i.e. educators, administrators, school boards, small and large business owners/CEOs), schools (both public and private), and/or businesses and the business community (e.g., chambers of commerce, professional business organizations) as affiliations. Names of people, schools, and other groups were not recorded on actor to actor spreadsheets because the individual people and/or entities were not as important or relevant to the goals of this research.

I also gathered information regarding affiliations with education region centers and school choice. The inclusion of affiliations with school choice were investigated because it is currently the neoliberal policy and reform that is most favored by education policy and practice decision-makers. An affiliation with school choice was evidenced by participation in the annual school choice rally held in Austin, Texas, relationships with and advocacy for charter schools and/or school choice organizations, and/or support for the institution of a voucher system. Additionally, membership in one of the other legislative committees that influence education policy was coded and mapped as an affiliation to show boundary penetration. These committees include: 1) Senate Finance Committee (SFC), 2) House Appropriations Committee (HAC), and 3) Legislative Budget Board (LBB).

In the following subsections, more specific information is provided on groups that may not have a readily apparent tie to influence in education policy and decision-making or that may not be well known, including: the Tea Party, moderates, the Texas Eagle Forum, the Home School Coalition, and education region centers. This information serves to clarify how these groups either exert influence or how they can act as pathways

for members of the public, specifically teachers, to become more involved in the policy process.

Texas Tea Party. The Tea Party, as it is known today, did not become a formal political movement or subset of the Republican Party until 2009 after Rick Santelli's call for a new Tea Party in response to President Obama's mortgage relief plan (Britannica, 2017, retrieved March 2017; see also DiMaggio, 2011). However, it had existed in Texas for many years before, albeit under a different moniker: social conservatives. In fact, the SBOE has a long history of being dominated and controlled by social conservatives (see Auten & Smith 1997; Blake 2010; Burka 1998; Cavanagh 2009; Fernandez 2016; Johnston 1999; Ramsey 2012; Wear 2002).

Despite different names, the tenets of members are essentially the same. In a broad sense, Tea Party members are in favor of fiscal responsibility and extremely limited government intervention, especially in the private sector (see Tea Party Org, retrieved March 2017). Some of the other "non-negotiable core beliefs" that may affect their stances on education include the belief that reducing taxes, both personal and business, is "a must," that "traditional family values" are of paramount importance, and that assimilation must be mandatory for immigrants (see Tea Party Org., retrieved March 2017). Traditional family values can be translated as Christian values as laid out in the Bible.

Specifically related to education and their belief that government intervention should be extremely limited, Tea Party members believe that parents and students should be given more power to "choose the best education options for themselves" (see Tea Party Org., retrieved March 2017; see also On the Issues, retrieved March 2017). They

also believe that the amount of money allotted per pupil should not be restricted to the district boundaries determined by where they live. They believe it should be allowed to follow a student to their educational choice, even if it is a private school or home schooling (On the Issues, retrieved March 2017). Furthermore, they believe that all schools and their employees, especially teachers, should be subject to standardized measurement tools and that results of those measurements should be published (see Tea Party Org., retrieved March 2017; On the Issues, retrieved March 2017). Additionally, as will be more fully detailed in the third section in this chapter, Tea Party members also seek to incorporate their Christian ideals and values into school curricula through textbook selection and the adoption of state-wide standard learning objectives.

Since 2009, the Tea Party has been able to grow in political power through the election of members to legislative positions on the Republican ticket (see DiMaggio, 2011; Skocpol & Williamson, 2012). They have managed to create a schism in the party and have sought to redefine what it means to be conservative and what the party line actually is (see also Skocpol & Williamson, 2012). Members consistently bill themselves as “true conservatives” while Republicans who are not affiliated with the Tea Party or do not support Tea Party agenda, legislation, and/or beliefs are labeled RINOs (Republicans in Name Only) who cannot be trusted to uphold conservative values (Burka, 2011; Michels, 2013; Smith, 2011; See also Ap J-L).

Moderates & ERCs The term “moderate” was used to designate actors who share select common behaviors. This term generally refers to actors who do not lean to either party extreme and/or that routinely engage in bipartisan collaboration and advocacy on matters and issues that may not be in line with the overall agenda of the political party or

movement they are affiliated with (Reference Online, retrieved March 2017; see also Ap J-L). In this thesis, an actor who is said to be affiliated with moderates is an actor who has shown a willingness to listen to and work with people with different political party affiliations and ideologies.

ERCs were established by the 59th Texas Legislature in 1965 after “witnessing the success” of the Valley Association for Superior Education (VASE) that was created to serve the school districts in the Texas Rio Grande Valley (Garcia, 2016). Originally created as centers to distribute media and equipment to school districts within SBOE designated regions, ERC services and roles were expanded in 1967 by the 60th Texas Legislature to coordinate educational planning, and now these non-regulatory entities are also tasked with assisting school districts to improve student performance, to operate more efficiently and economically, and to help with the implementation of initiatives designated by the Texas Commissioner of Education or the Texas Legislature (Garcia, 2016). ERCs often host guest speakers and professional development opportunities for educators. Additionally, as was discovered during data collection, these centers are utilized by SBOE and legislative members to meet with school district employees about policy and practice issues.

Texas Eagle Forum & Texas Home School Coalition (THSC). The Texas Eagle Forum is an organizational branch of the Eagle Forum that was created by Phyllis Schlafly in the late 1960s (Texas Eagle, retrieved February, 2017). According to their website, it is a conservative group, most closely affiliated with the Tea Party, that aims to influence policy and practices at the state level by endorsing and providing campaign contributions to candidates who are members or align with their values and by informing

and rallying members and public supporters to become more involved in politics and in advocacy. They also publish an endorsement list to influence voters.

According to their website, the THSC promotes parental rights and provides a network for families that home school so they can find resources and connect to other home school families. THSC also provides campaign contributions and lobbies the legislature to have bills introduced and/or supported. Furthermore, in their political action section, they provide a list of bills they approve (though occasionally they will list bills that they oppose), a list of political candidates they endorse, and a “shame wall” where they post negative reviews of office holders, particularly judges.

Social Network Analysis Findings: Relational Data, Centrality Measures, and Homophily

Now that actors and affiliations have been thoroughly described, visual representations of the relationships among the focal actors and also of relationships between focal actors and peripheral actors will be provided, along with a discussion on network structure, centrality, and homophily. This will be followed by visual representations of affiliations of focal and peripheral actors. Refer to Appendices J-L for a complete list of sources not cited within the body of this thesis that were used in generating findings in this section.

As explained in the Methods chapter, actor relationships were recorded on separate spreadsheets in two ways: 1) directed, non-valued and 2) non-directed, valued. For each visual representation in this subsection, nodes are color coded: blue=peripheral actor, orange=member of the SEC, purple=member of the HCPE, and green=member of

SBOE. The Texas Lt. Governor, Dan Patrick, was assigned an orange node and Texas Speaker of the House, Joe Strauss, was assigned a purple node due to their direct involvement in assigning committee members and committee chairs in the legislative branches that they essentially manage. Visual representations showing non-directed, valued relationships also have color coded lines: light blue=colleague, black=allies, yellow=combative/antagonistic, violet=friends, dark blue=close friends, and dark purple=family.

The figures show that some type of tie, whether directly or indirectly, links all focal actors in the network, except Harold V. Dutton, Jr. However, the lack of ties linking Harold V. Dutton, Jr. to other actors is not necessarily indicative that no relationship actually exists. House Representative Dutton has virtually no digital footprint, and there are few publicly available sources pertaining to him. The public sources I was able to find, both directly pertaining to him and also sources related to other actors, did not provide information regarding relationships with other actors. So, it is possible that Dutton is tied to actors in the network in other ways than what is shown in the figures.

The network structure visual representations also indicate that the Lt. Governor and, to a lesser extent, the Speaker of the House act as primary bridges between the legislative committees and the SBOE.

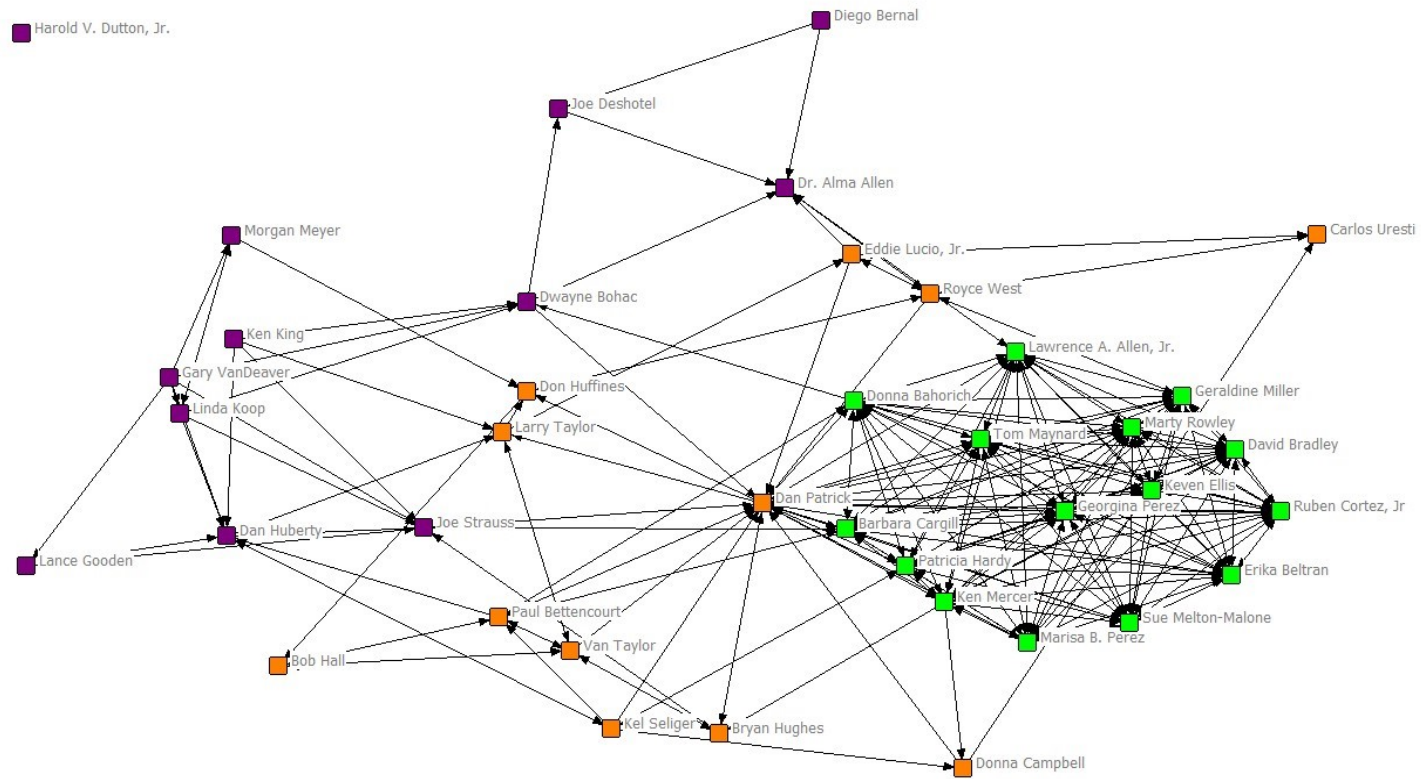


Figure 1. Map of Directed, Non-Valued Relationships among Focal Actors.



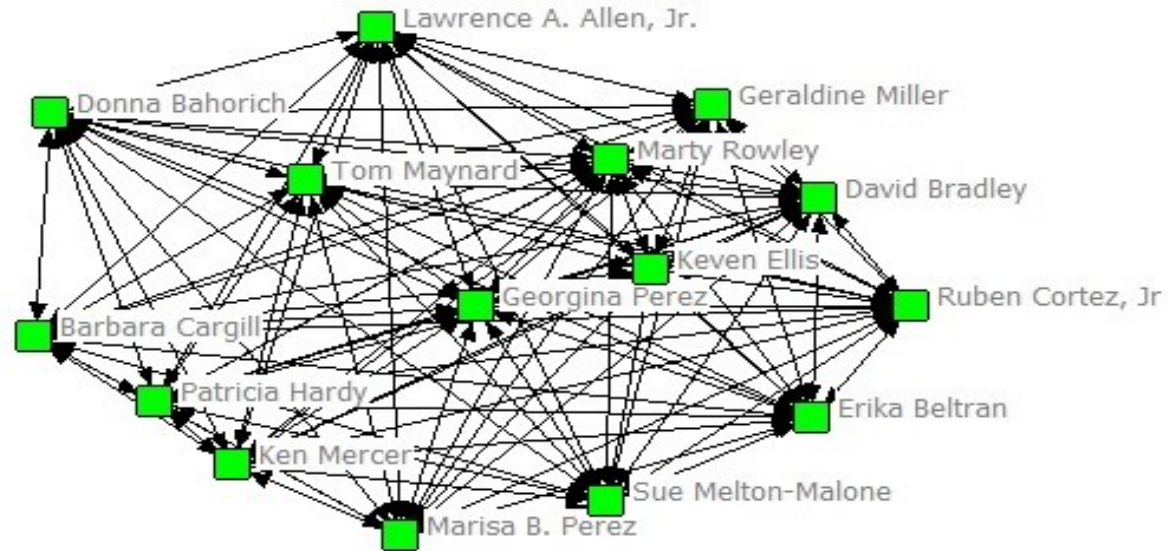


Figure 2. Map of Directed, Non-Valued Relationships among SBOE Actors.

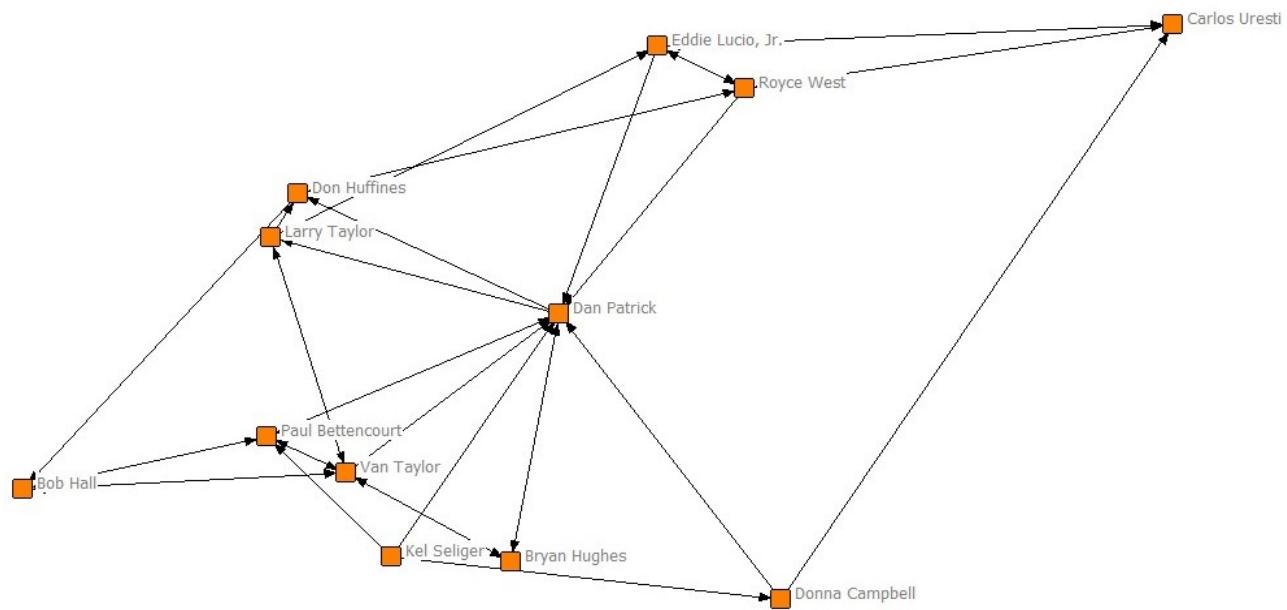


Figure 3. Map of Directed, Non-Valued Relationships among SEC Actors and Lt. Governor.

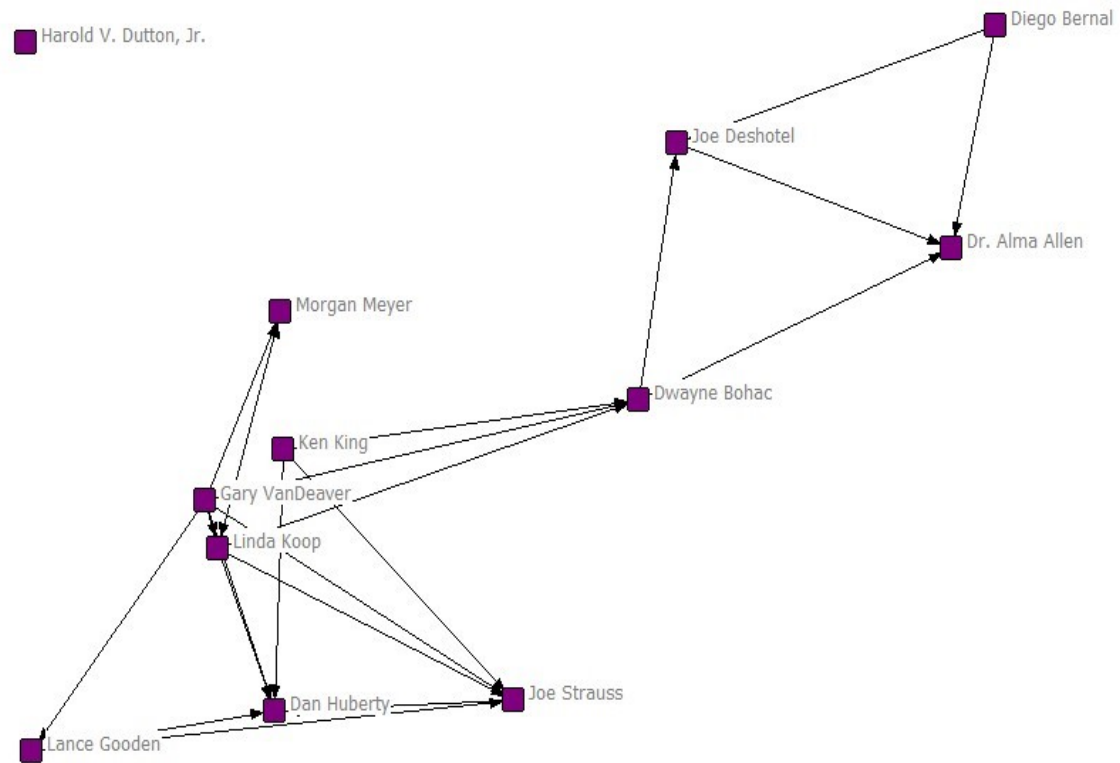


Figure 4. Map of Directed, Non-Valued Relationships among HCPE Actors and Speaker of the House.

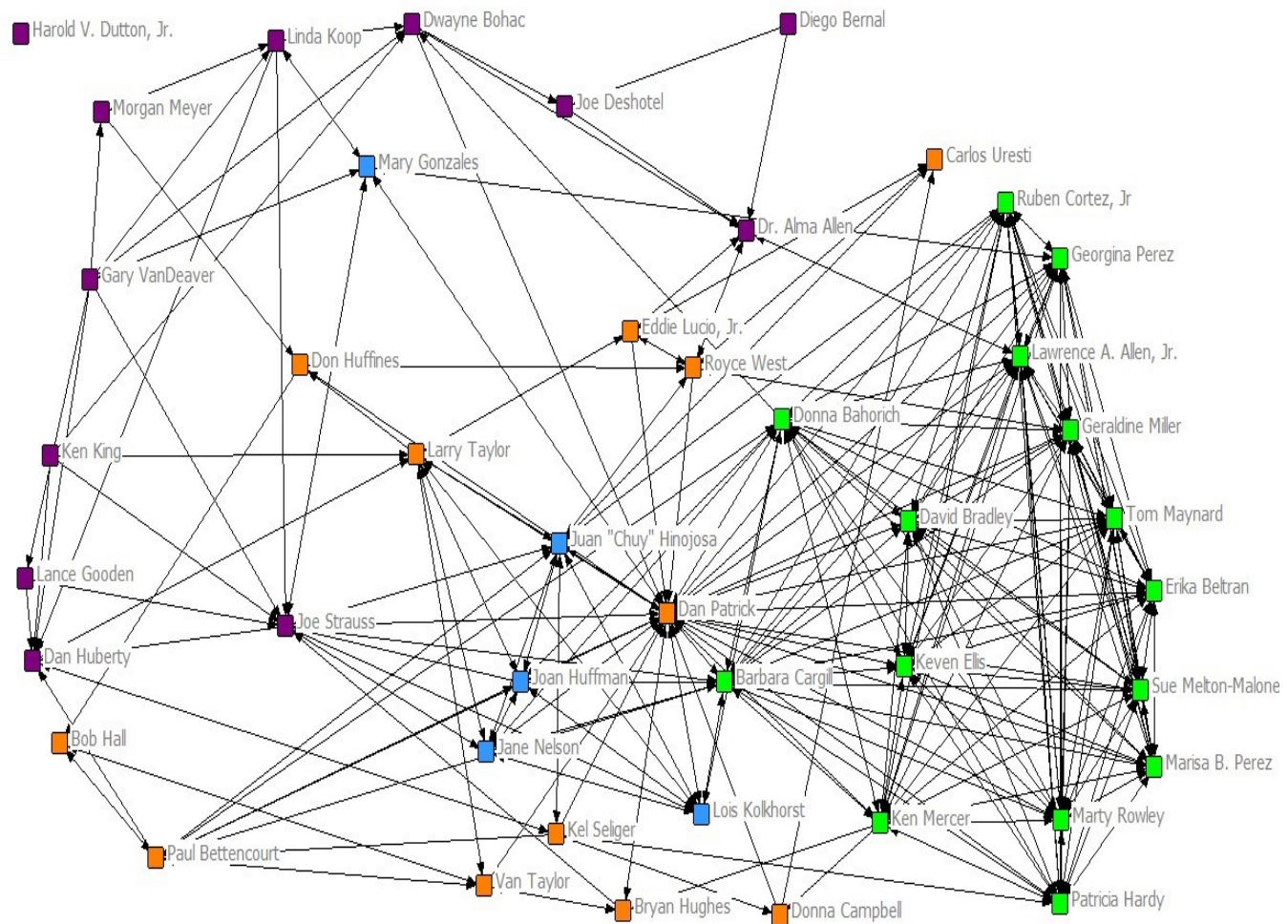


Figure 5. Map of Directed, Non-Valued Relationships among Focal and Peripheral Actors.

- SBOE
- SEC
- HCPE
- Peripheral Actors

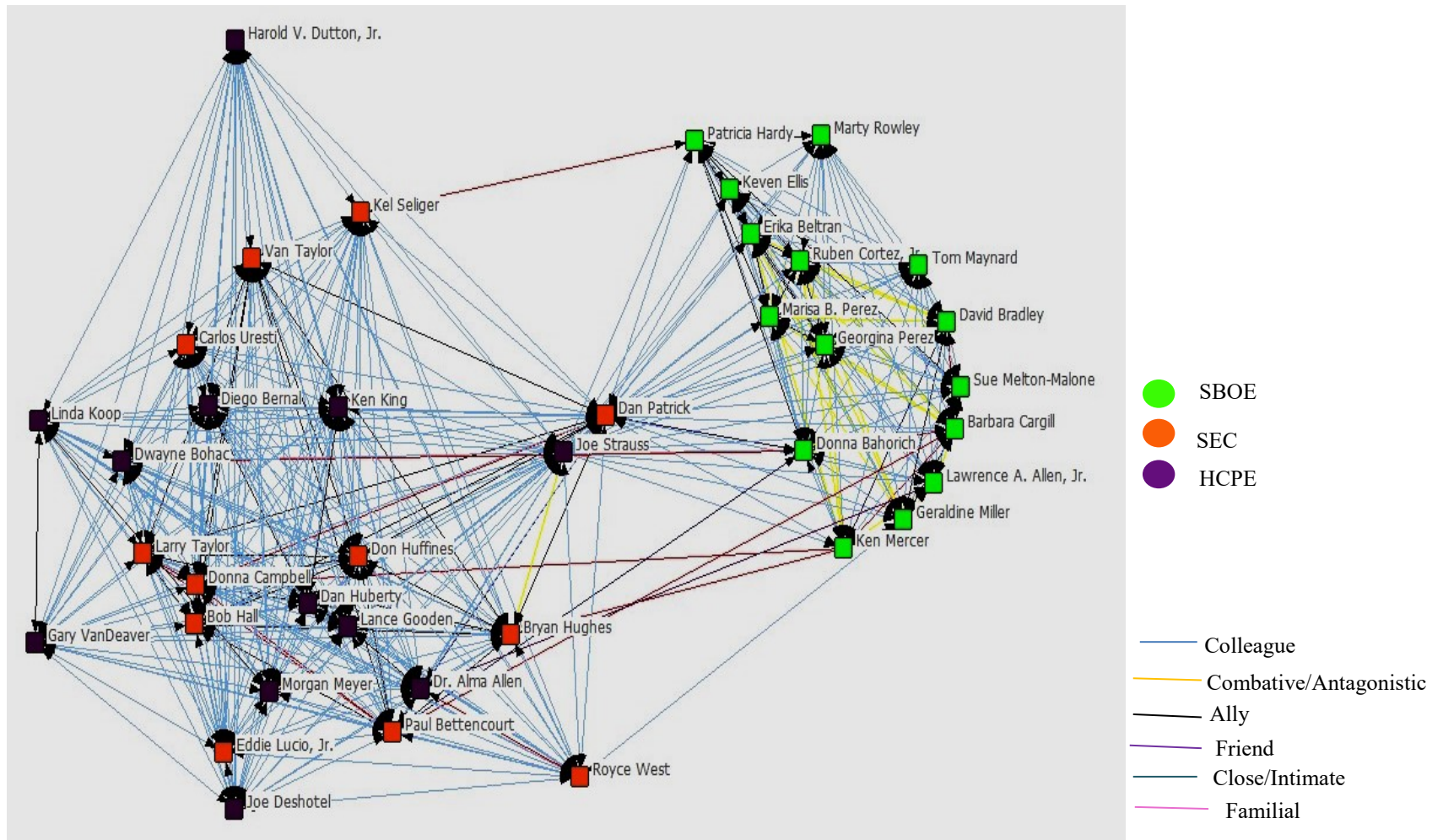


Figure 6. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Relationships among Focal Actors.

Figure 7. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Combative/Antagonistic Relationships among Focal Actors.

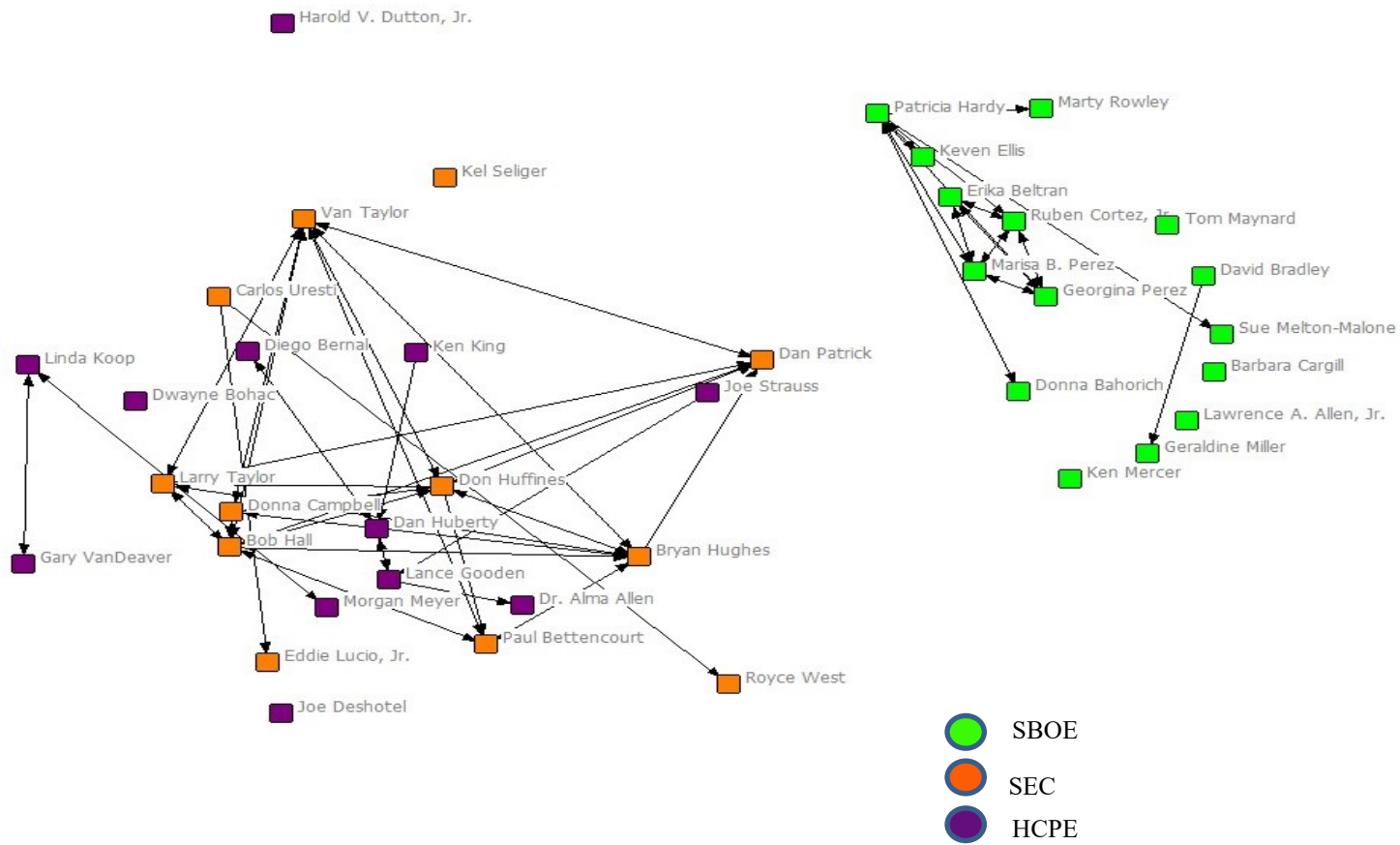


Figure 8. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Ally Relationships among Focal Actors.

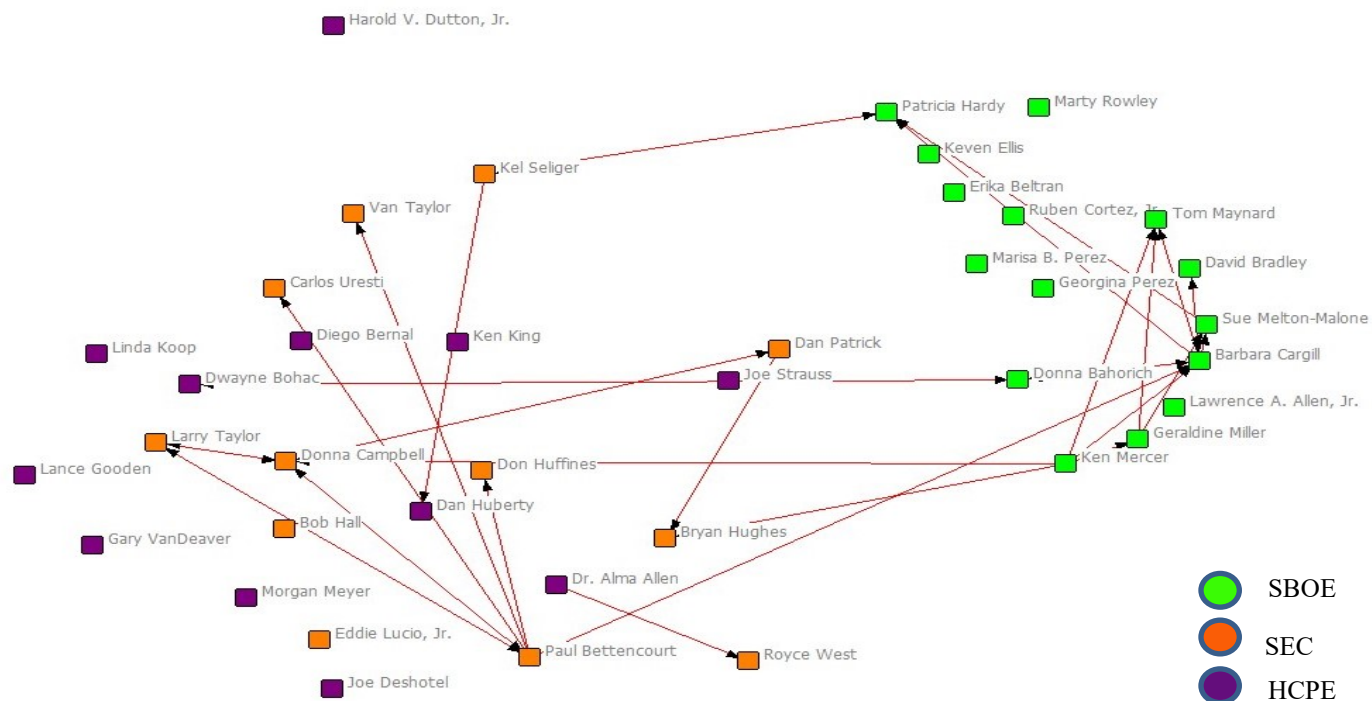


Figure 9. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Friend Relationships among Focal Actors.

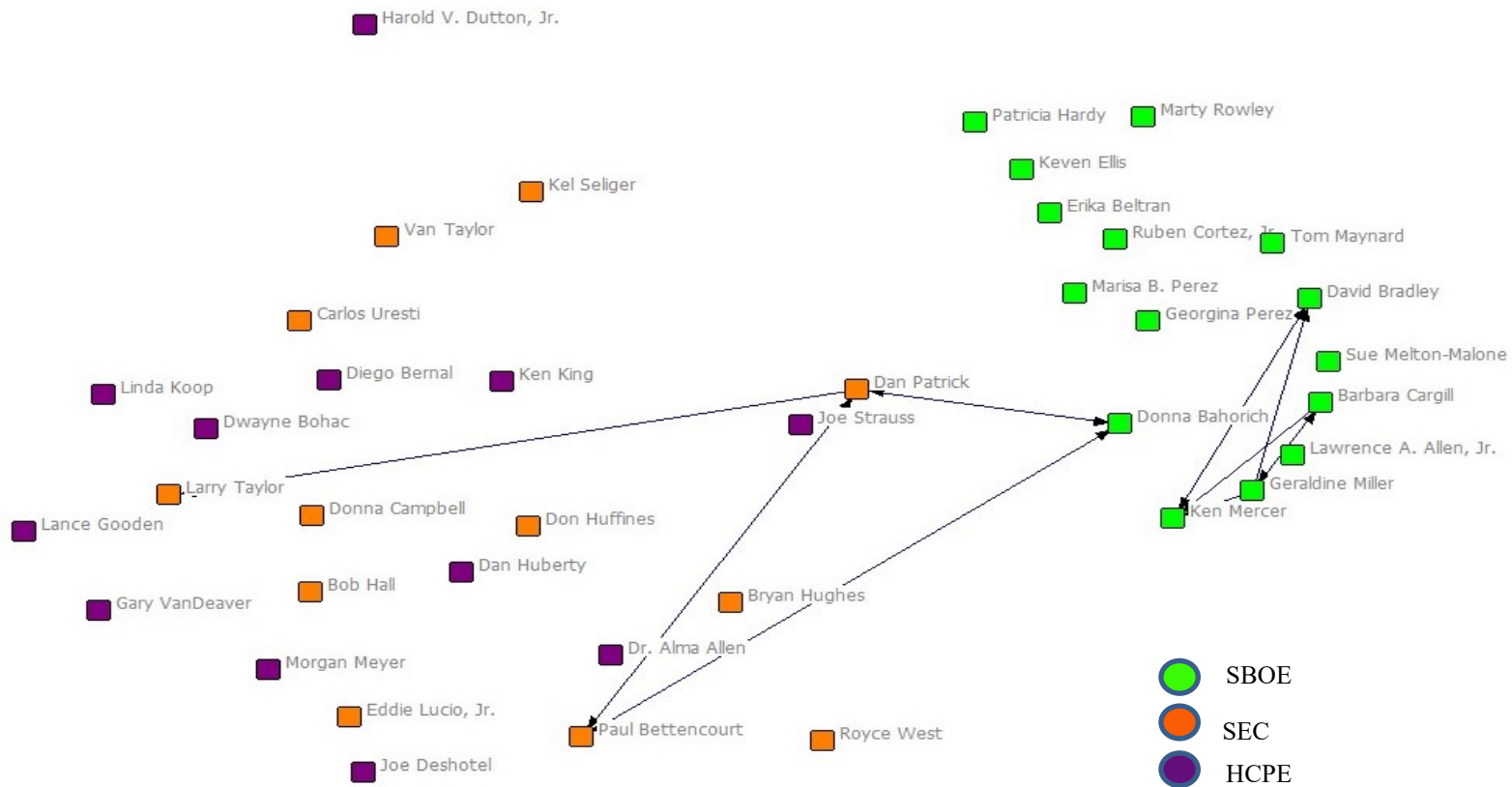


Figure 10. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Close Friend Relationships among Focal Actors.

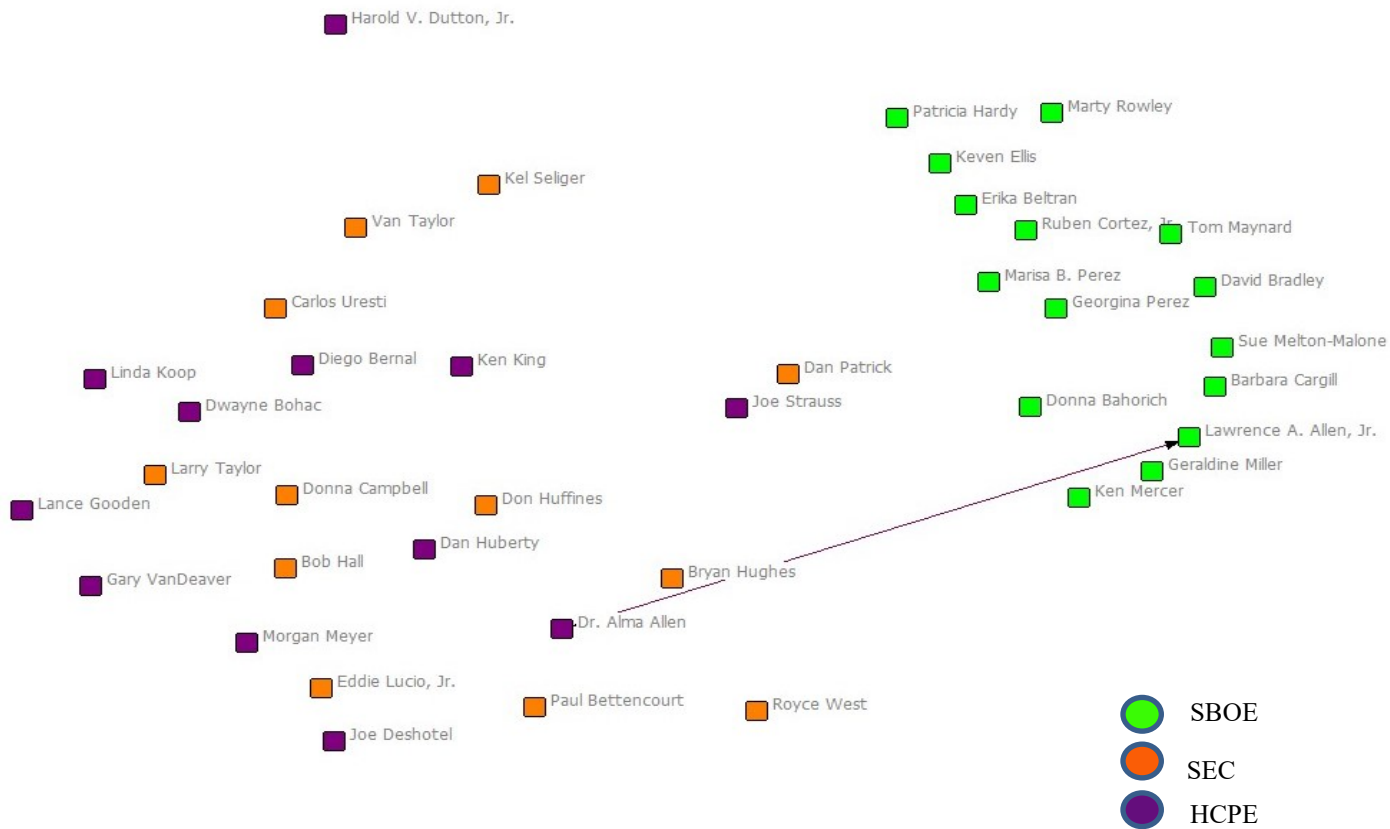


Figure 11. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Familial Relationships among Focal Actors.

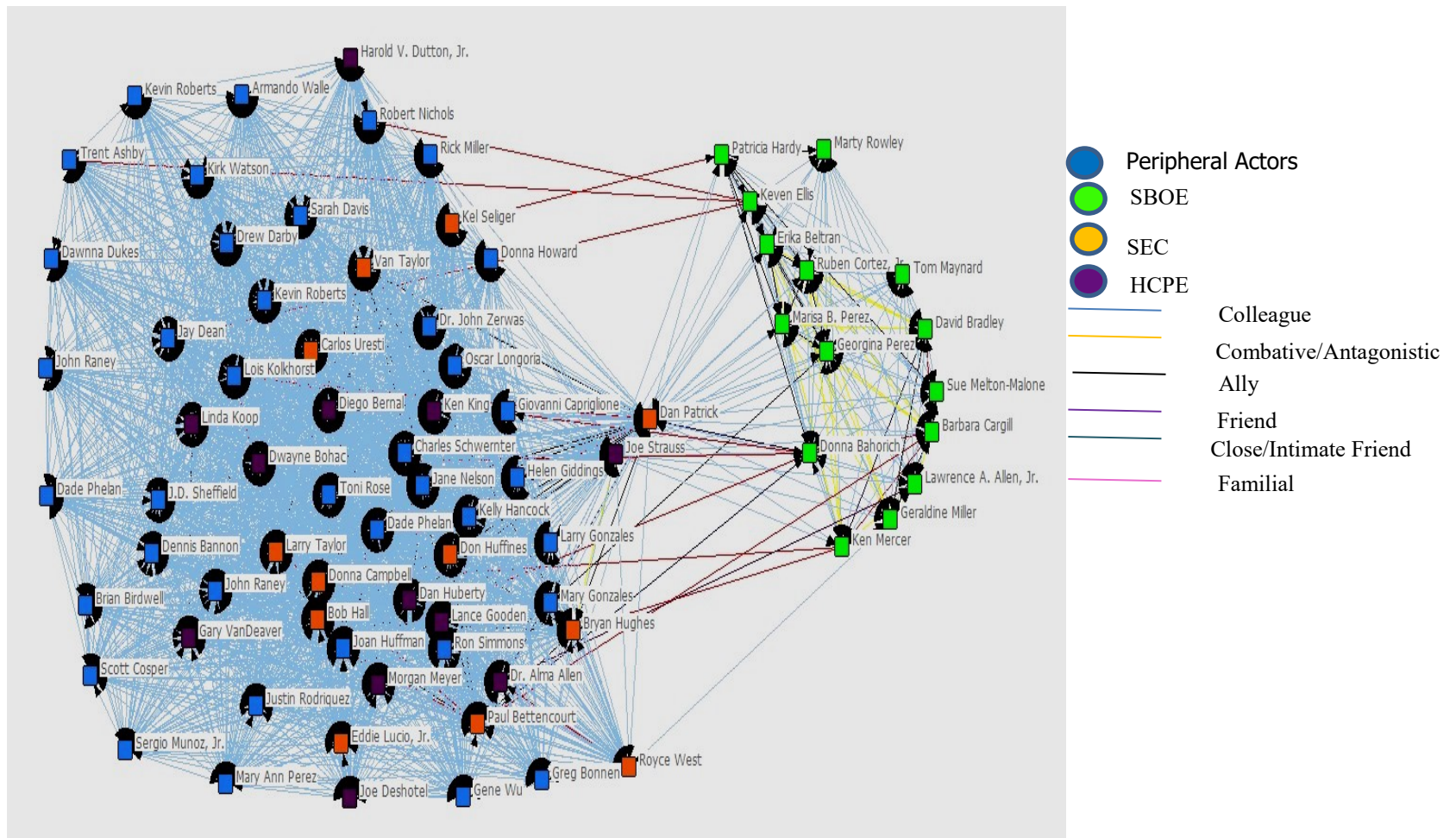


Figure 12. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Relationships among Focal and Peripheral Actors.

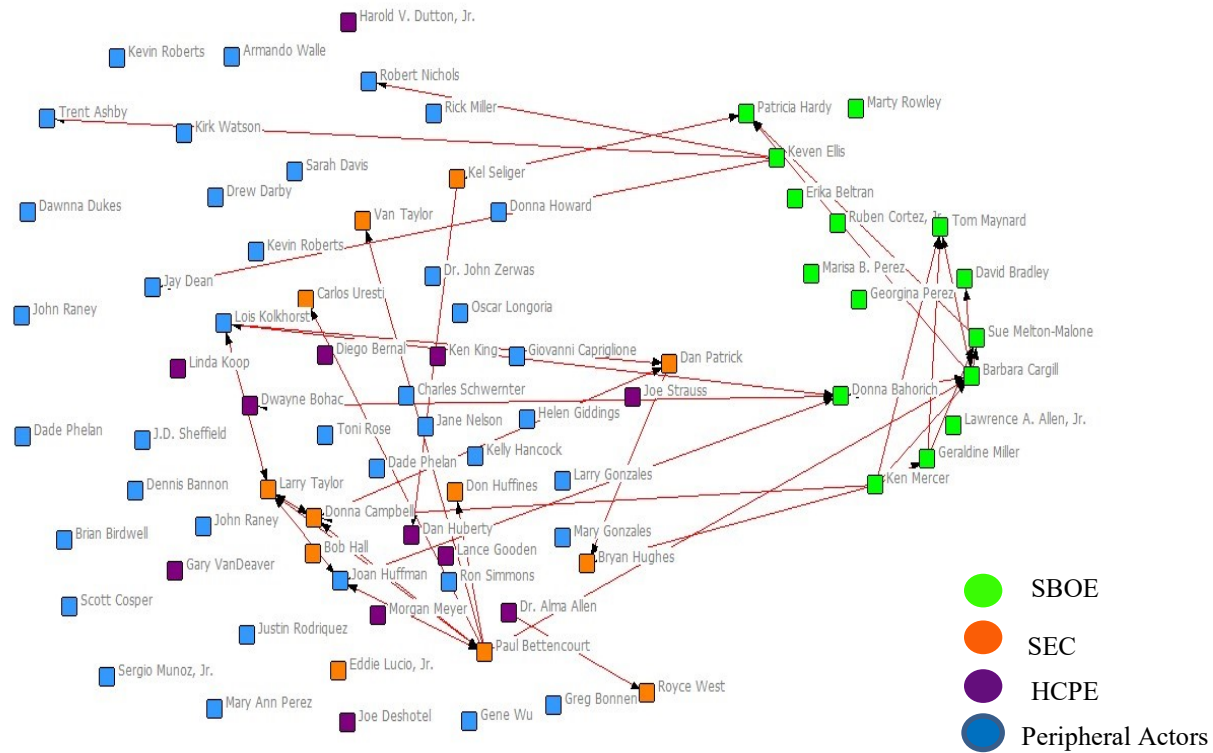


Figure 13. Map of Non-Directed, Valued Friend Relationships among Focal and Peripheral Actors.

SBOE chair Donna Bahorich also has several ties to actors on legislative committees, both focal and peripheral. The directed, non-valued network structure demonstrates that several ties exist between the focal actors and five of the peripheral actors. Additionally, SBOE members are clearly well connected by direct ties to one another as demonstrated in Figure 2, and Figures 6-11 clarify the strength and intensity of those ties. This clarification is important for interpretation of results because generally in social network analysis, a well-connected network is considered cohesive. However, the many combative/antagonistic ties that exist between members of the SBOE reveal that the board is only unified as a group by membership on the board, and it is not unified in solidarity. This distinction means that theories typically applied to cohesive networks are not applicable to the SBOE.

The SEC and HCPE networks do not have as many direct ties between actors as the SBOE; however, all actors within their respective committees are connected, even if the tie is indirect. Figure 3 shows that the Lt. Governor has the most direct ties with members of the SEC and is positioned in the very center of the network, despite not being a member. Figure 4 illustrates that HCPE members are, to a certain degree, divided into at least two groups along party lines. It is readily evident that few directed relationships exist between Democrats and Republicans in this committee, although two Republicans, Dwayne Bohac and Linda Koop, who each have a tie to a Democrat, act as a bridge between Republicans and Democrats.

Figure 6, which shows the non-directed, valued relationships between all focal actors, the Lt. Governor, and the Speaker of the House, suggests that the entire network is connected by many direct ties and could be cohesive. As previously explained when

considering whether the SBOE was a truly cohesive network, this suggestion can be misleading because of the strength and intensity of ties and nuances in the meaning of relationship labels. For instance, Figure 6 shows that there are many direct links between actors, but the majority of these are colleague relationships. This relationship was originally used in my research to specify that the actors were tied together by their mutual membership on their respective committees and/or by their official positions as key decision-makers in education policy. This label does not mean, though, that the actors routinely collaborate or exert influence over one another. In fact, I discovered that this designation usually just means that they are members of the same committee or board. In some cases, though, being a colleague meant more. This particular nuance will be discussed in more depth in the observation section of this chapter.

Figure 7 displays the combative/antagonistic relationships among focal actors that were found. This relationship label was created to encompass relationships characterized by conflict. This relationship tends to exist among actors with different political party affiliations (e.g. Democrats combative with Republicans), although there is some interparty conflict among Republicans and the Tea Party subgroup. Ally relationships are shown in Figure 8. This relationship tends to exist among members of the same political party (e.g. Democrats ally with Democrats), although there are some instances where members of different political parties show a tendency to work together to accomplish goals. I found that the majority of ally relationships between actors with different political party affiliations included at least one actor who can be classified as a moderate.

There are several friendship ties linking actors from the board and committees together, but fewer close friend relationships as seen in Figure 9 and Figure 10. All of the

close friend ties I found existed between actors from the same political party. On the SBOE, the close friend ties are between Tea Party Republicans who have served on the board for ten years or longer. The close friend ties I was able to map among SEC members and the Lt. Governor from the available information were also among Tea Party Republicans. The chair of the SBOE, Donna Bahorich, is also tied to an SEC member (Paul Bettencourt) and the Lt. Governor by close friend relationships. The relationships between Bettencourt, the Lt. Governor, and Bahorich predate Bahorich's election to the SBOE and Bettencourt's election to the Senate.

Figure 12 presents valued relationships among the focal actors and the peripheral actors. Notice, again, that as in Figure 6, there are numerous direct ties between the majority of actors. However, as previously explained, most of these ties are colleague relationships that do not necessarily correlate to influence on other actors in the network. I was able to discover friend ties between some focal actors (Keven Ellis, Donna Bahorich, Bob Hall, and Larry Taylor) and five peripheral actors (Trent Ashby, Robert Nichols, Joan Huffman, Lois Kolkhorst, and Jay Dean). Additionally, a friendship tie was found between the Lt. Governor and a peripheral actor (Lois Kolkhorst). These relationships are shown in Figure 13. For the majority of these ties, it was impossible for me to determine whether the friendship ties between the actors predated their joint membership on the legislature, legislative committees, or the SBOE. The exception was in the case of ties between Donna Bahorich, Paul Bettencourt, and Dan Patrick, as there was ample data to confirm their close friendship tie predated their membership. It would, however, be plausible that Lt. Governor Dan Patrick's tie to Larry Taylor and Lois Kolkhorst at least predates his election to Lt. Governor.

Centrality, Power, and Homophily. The focal actors, along with the Lt. Governor and Speaker of the House, were analyzed for degree centrality using both Freeman's and Bonacich's measurement approaches. The figures on the following pages display descriptive statistics below the charts depicting centrality scores. These figures include the Freeman measure (Figure 14), the Bonacich measure for out-degree centrality when $\beta=0$ (Figure 15), the Bonacich measure for out-degree centrality when $\beta=0.5$ (Figure 16), and the Bonacich measure for out-degree centrality when $\beta= -0.5$ (Figure 17).

The Freeman measure, represented in Figure 14 below, shows stable patterns of centralization, with 97.4% of actors falling within one standard deviation of the mean and 2.5% falling within two points. The Lt. Governor, Dan Patrick, has the highest degree centrality with a score of twenty-eight out of a possible thirty-eight. With a score of seventeen, SBOE members Donna Bahorich, Barbara Cargill, and Ken Mercer have the second highest degree centrality. The chair of the SEC, Larry Taylor, and HCPE member Ken King received centrality measures on the lower end of the computed scores. Taylor's score is thirteen, and King's is twelve.

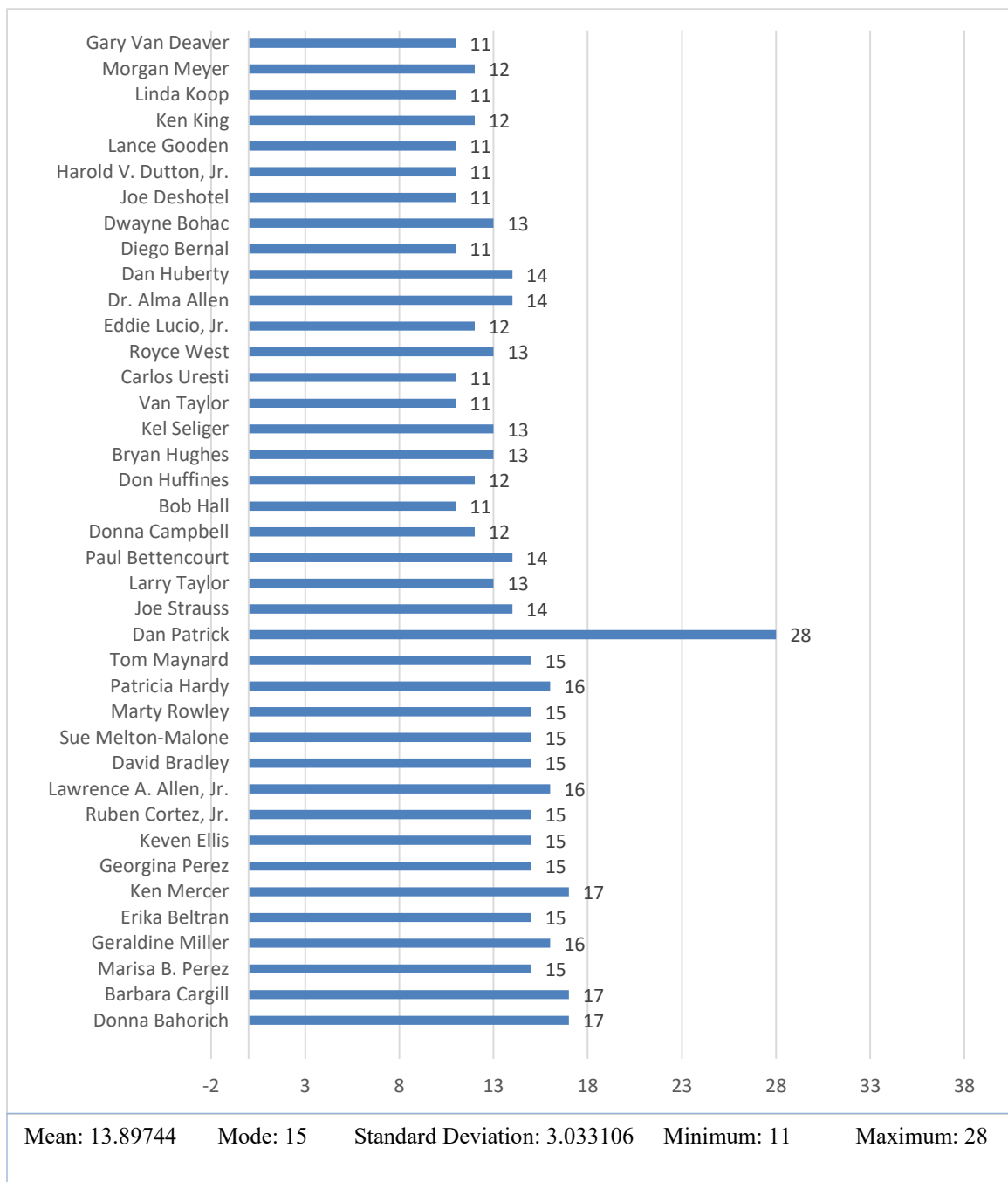


Figure 14. Freeman Degree Centrality of Focal Actors and Descriptive Statistics.

Figure 15, which uses Bonacich's measure when $\beta=0$, shows that most of the centrality scores remain the same or, for SBOE members, within one point of centrality

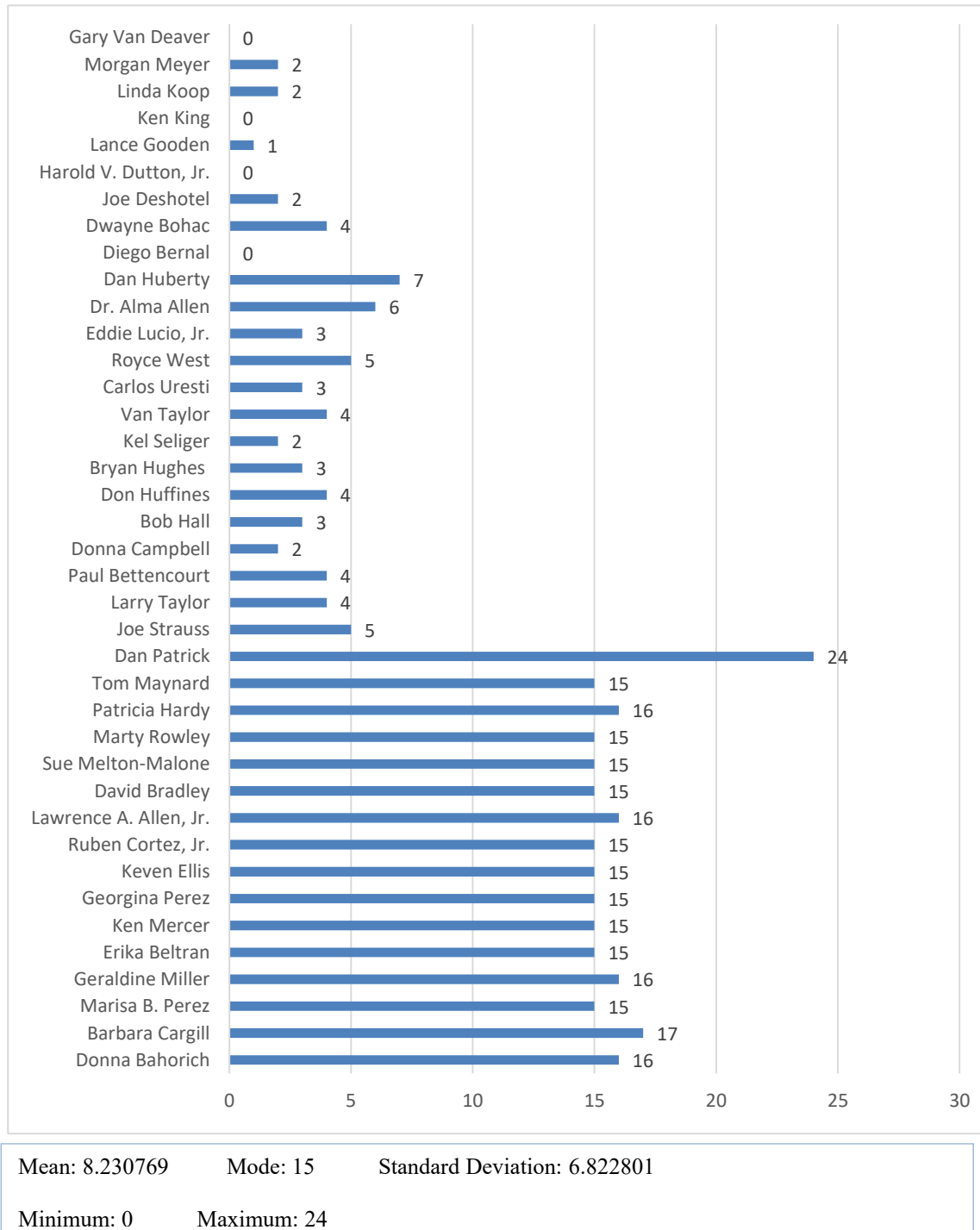
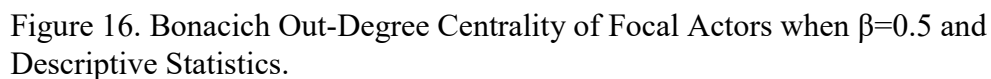


Figure 15. Bonacich Out-Degree Centrality of Focal Actors when $\beta=0$ and Descriptive Statistics.

Figure 16, which uses Bonachich's measure when $\beta=0.5$ (centrality and power measures based on how well connected are the other actors to which Actor A is directly connected),



shows something radically different, with SEC members in general showing the greatest power index. Carlos Uresti, Royce West, Eddie Lucio, Jr., and Van Taylor have the highest scores¹. The Lt. Governor still remains within the top six. Standard deviation scores break down as follows: 69% of actors fall within one point, 28% within two points, and 2.5% within three points of the standard deviation.

Figure 17, which uses Bonacich's measure when $\beta = -0.5$ (power measure based on Actor A being directly connected to many other actors, many of whom do not have many direct connections to other actors in the network), shows that SBOE member Ken Mercer, who has the highest score, is connected to many actors with few ties, which could make those actors more dependent on him and, thus, make him more powerful. Linda Koop, who was not near the top percent in centrality or power under the other measures, also had a higher score under this measure. SBOE chair Donna Bahorich and the Lt. Governor also have high scores. When using this measure, 79.5% fall within one point, 12.8% within two points, 5.1% within three points, and 2.5% within four points of the standard deviation.

¹ Figure 16 may seem counterintuitive to say people with the greater negative numbers have the highest scores. However, for this measure, the "lower" a number actually is on the negative scale, the bigger indicator it is that their connections make the actors more powerful.

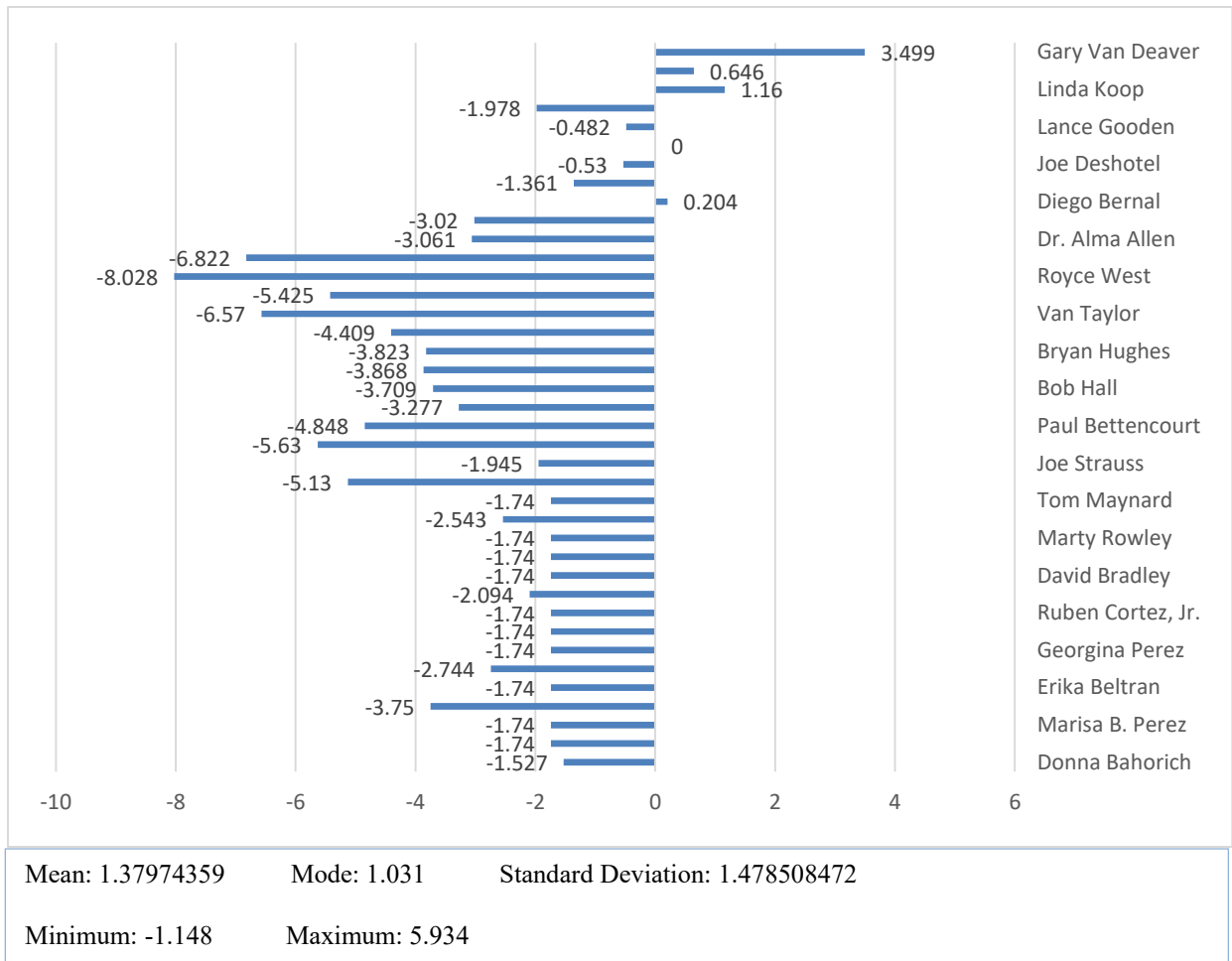


Figure 17. Bonacich Out-Degree Centrality of Focal Actors when $\beta = -0.5$ and Descriptive Statistics.

Analyzing all these measures together, it appears that the Lt. Governor, Dan Patrick, occupies the most central and powerful position within the network. Also having a high indicator of centrality and power are: SBOE members Donna Bahorich, Ken Mercer, and Barbara Cargill. It also appears that the SEC, as an overall group, has the most centrality and power within the network.

Actors within the network showed high levels of homophily in connections, primarily along party lines, although in the SBOE, there is also homophily along racial lines. This homophily has also resulted in five cliques. Clique one includes: David Bradley (SBOE), Ken Mercer (SBOE), Geraldine “Tincy” Miller (SBOE), and Barbara Cargill (SBOE). Clique two. includes: Donna Bahorich (SBOE), Barbara Cargill (SBOE), and Patricia Harding (SBOE) Clique three includes: Donna Bahorich (SBOE), Dan Patrick (Lt. Governor), Larry Taylor (SEC), Paul Bettencourt (SEC), and Van Taylor (SEC). Clique four includes: Erika Beltran (SBOE), Marisa B. Perez (SBOE), Georgina Perez (SBOE), Ruben Cortez, Jr. (SBOE), and Lawrence Taylor (SBOE). Clique five includes: Erika Beltran (SBOE), Marisa B. Perez (SBOE), Georgina Perez (SBOE), and Ruben Cortez, Jr.

Observations and public sources indicated that even actors outside of the identified cliques were subject to homophily and routinely chose to interact and vote in line with members from their political party, while opposing most measures proposed by a different party. The Republican Party had two distinct homophily groups, one made up of Tea Party Republicans and the other made up of Republicans who do not identify with the Tea Party.

Affiliations. Recall that in this thesis, affiliations refers to official attachment or connection to a group and/or shared behaviors that were used as criteria for grouping people together. Provided on the following pages, are the figures displaying actor affiliations to the categories discussed previously in this section.

These data shows that the entire network is dominated by the Republican Party, with 69% of actors affiliated. Republicans also identifying as Tea Party members represent 41% of the total 69% in the network. The Texas Eagle Forum, a dominant Tea Party group, has 35.9% actor affiliation. What is notable is that the HCPE has no actors affiliated with the Tea Party or the Texas Eagle Forum. Of all Republicans and Democrats in the network, 25.64% are affiliated with being moderates.

Additionally, there is far greater affiliation with the business community (64.1%) than with all education entities, except for school administration and trustee boards, which has 79.49% actor affiliation. Education region centers (ERCs) had the next highest actor affiliation with 48.72%. Close in number to the ERCs were extra-curricular organizations (30.77%) and professional teacher organizations (41%). However, only 23% of actors are affiliated with teachers.

More than half (58.97%) of the actors support neoliberal policies and practices aligned with ideas of school choice, but only 23.08% of the actors showed support for a voucher system. Affiliation with independent research and policy organizations was lower on the scale, with 30.77% actor affiliation. After analysis, it did not seem that affiliations were strong enough with the Home School Coalition to show that it could exert influence within the network (only 12.82%), but, given that the actors affiliated

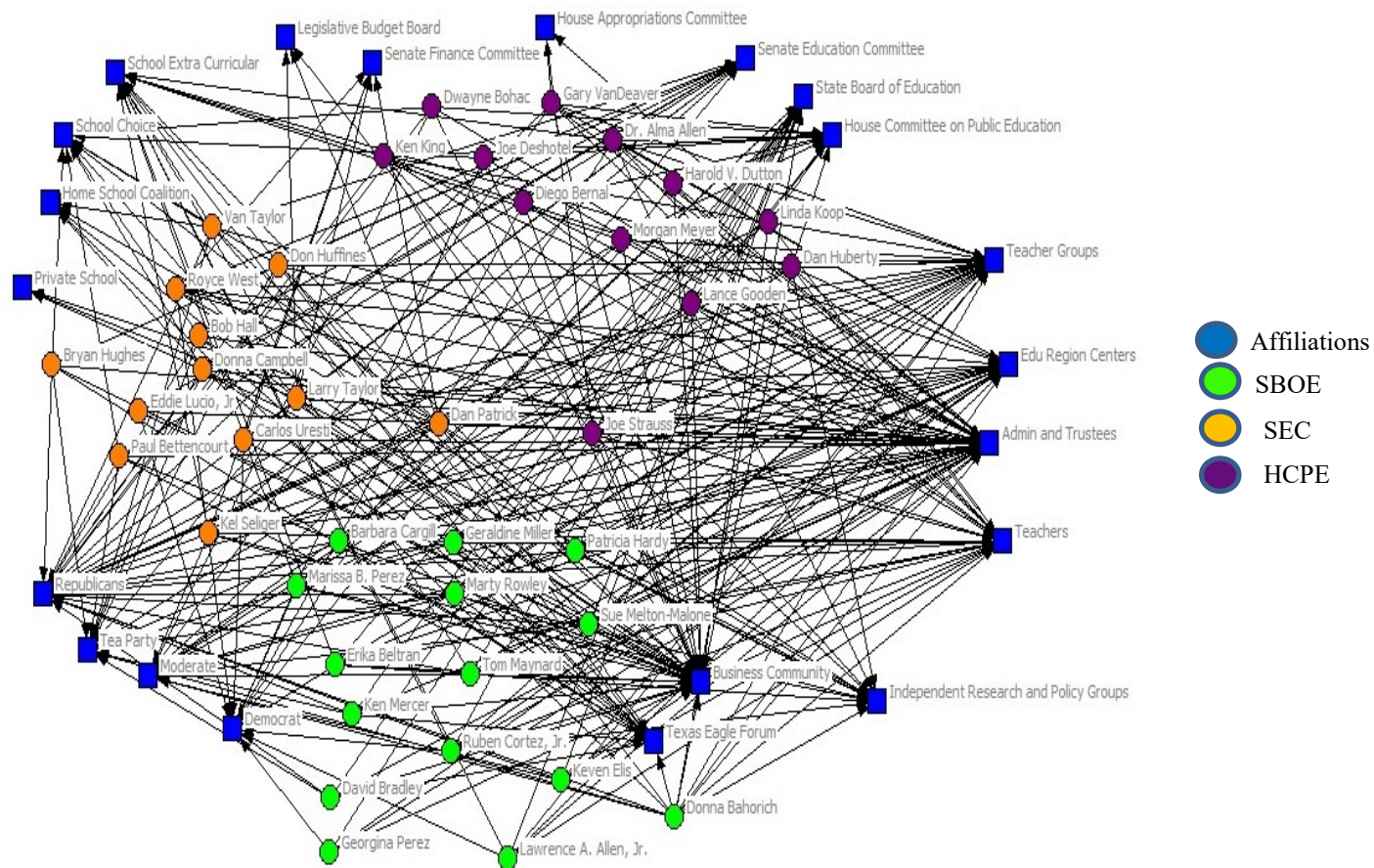


Figure 18. Focal Actor Affiliations.

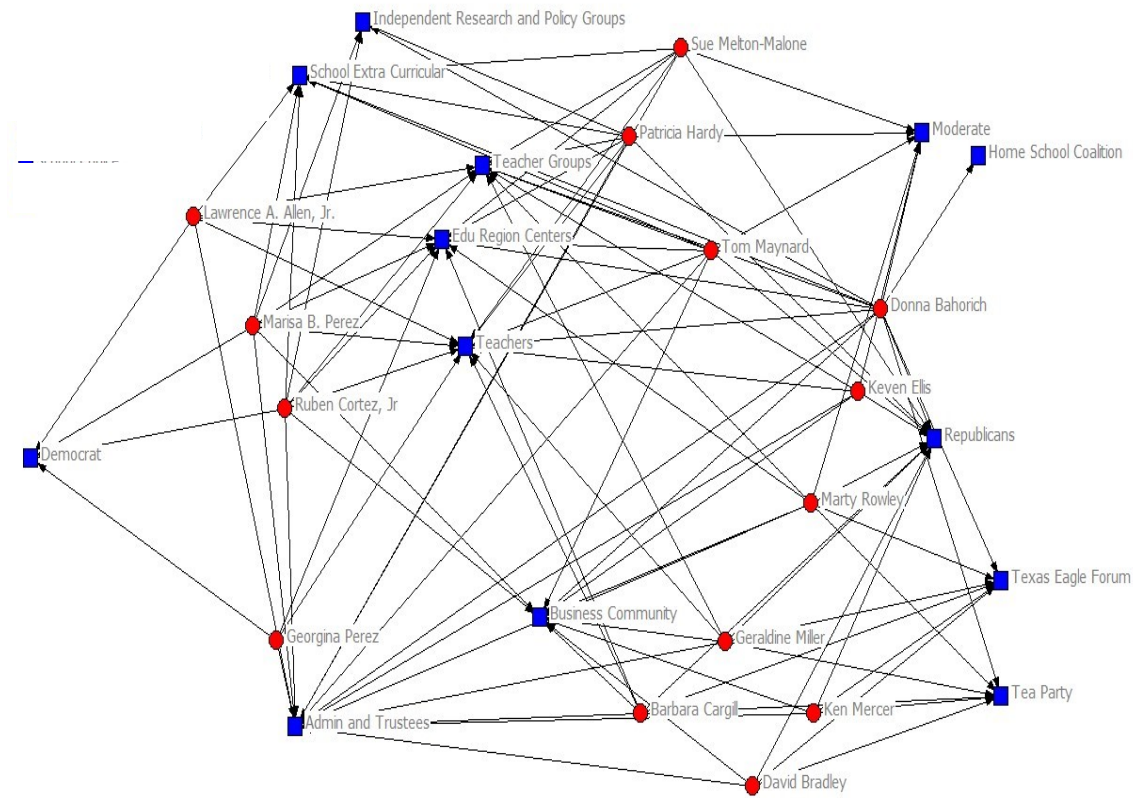


Figure 19. SBOE Affiliations.

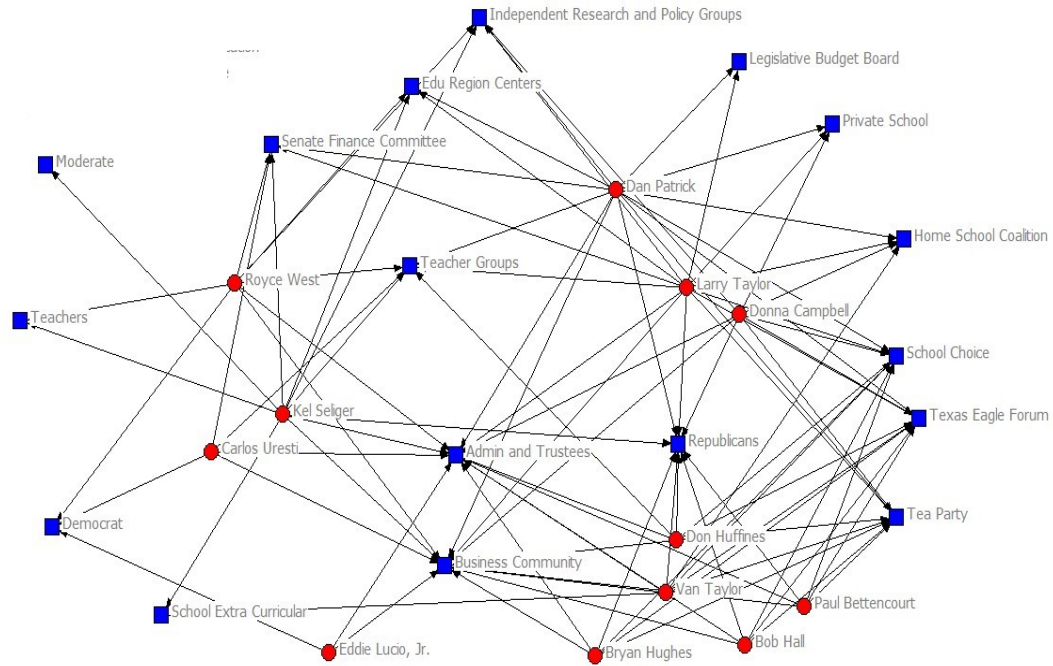


Figure 20. HCPE and Speaker of the House Affiliations.

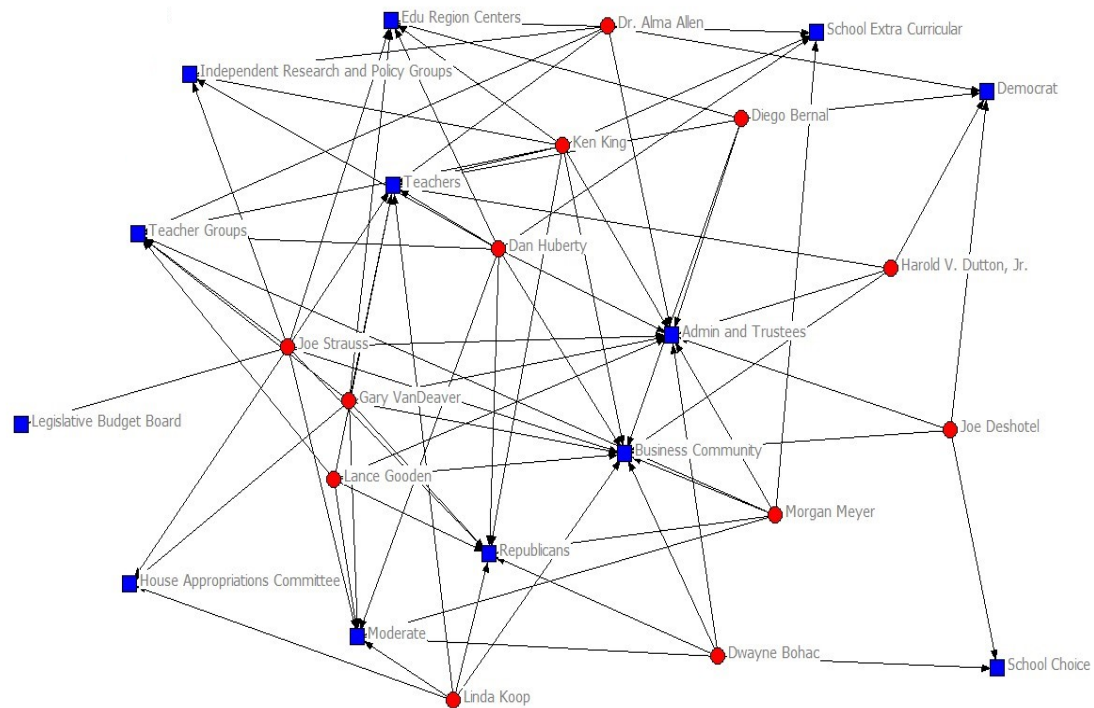


Figure 21. SEC and Lt. Governor Affiliations.

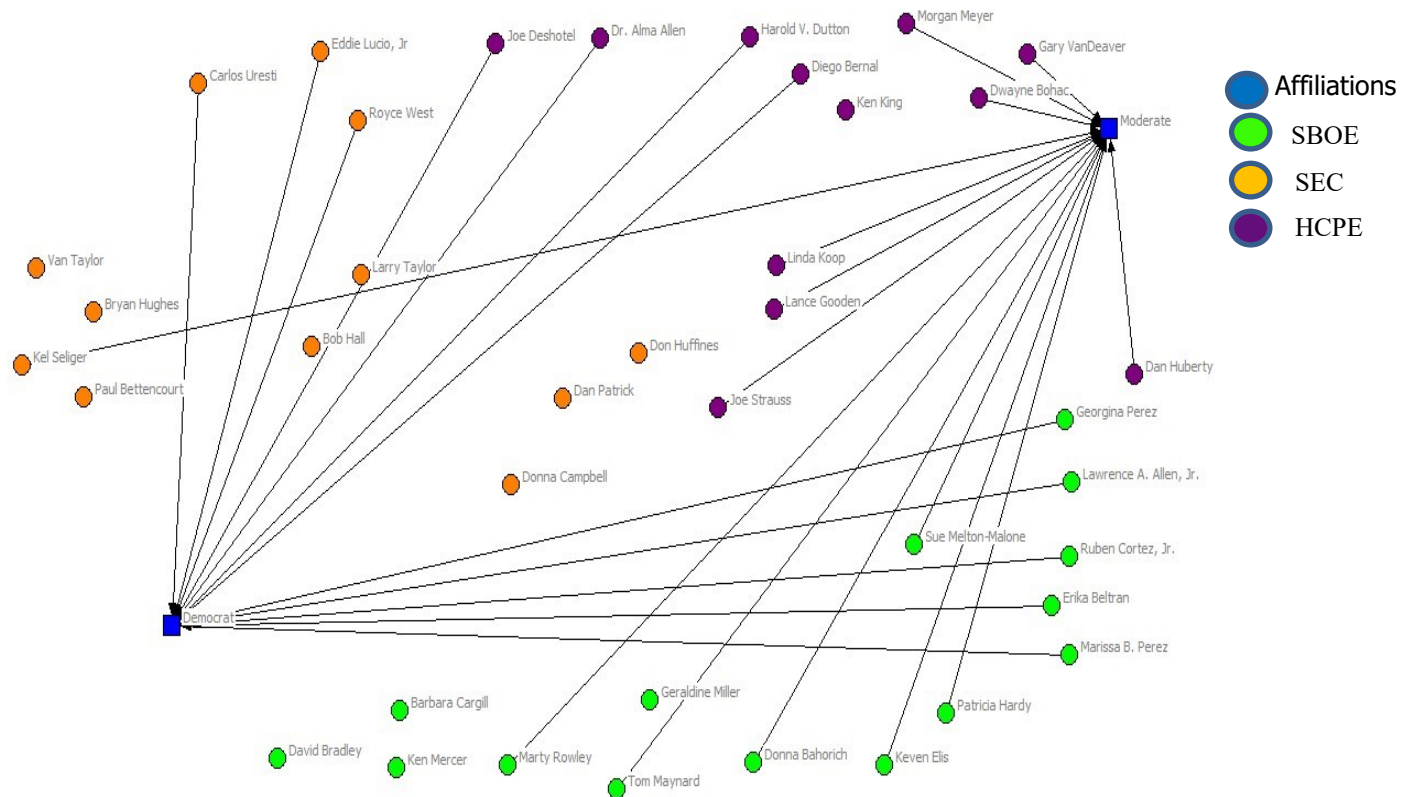


Figure 22. Actors Affiliated with Democratic Party and Moderate.

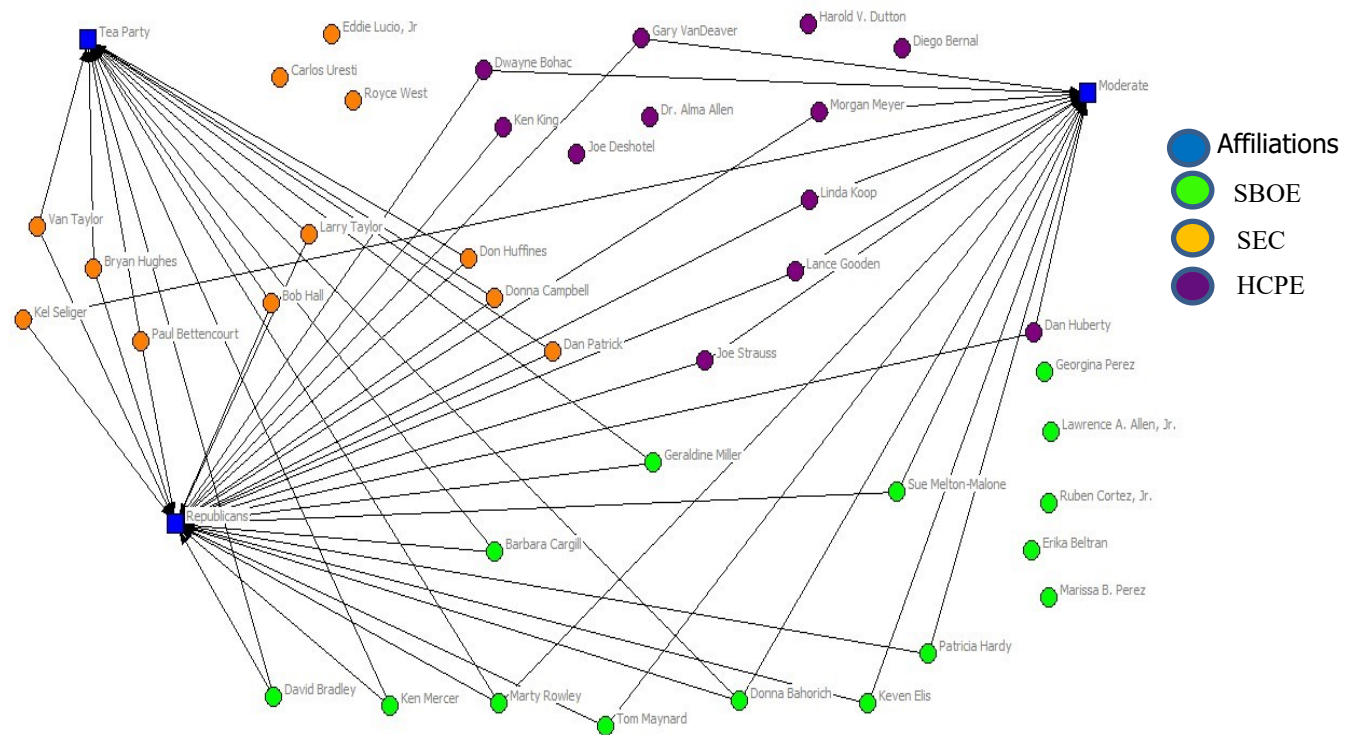


Figure 23. Actors Affiliated with Republican Party, Tea Party, and Moderate.

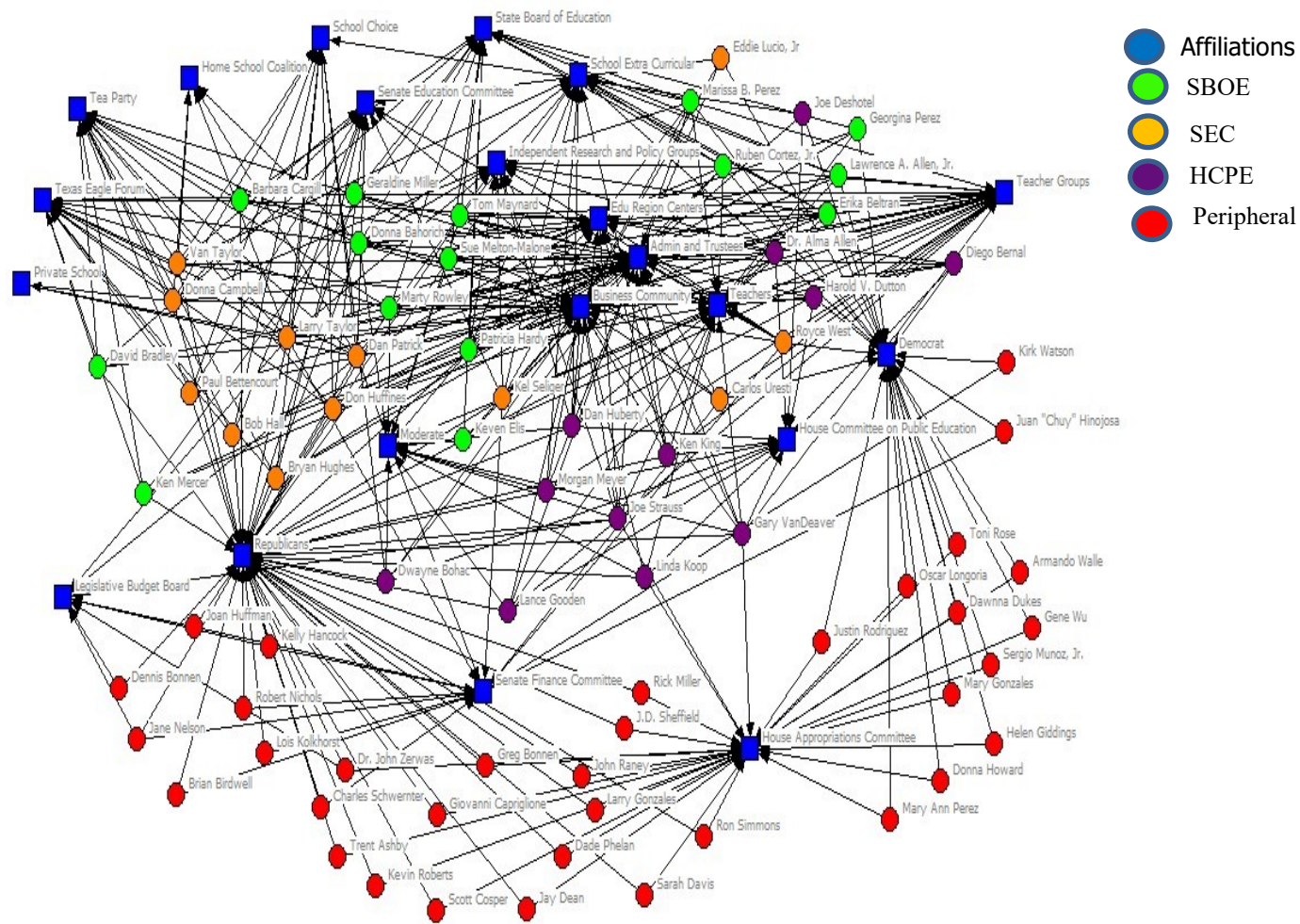


Figure 24. Focal and Peripheral Actors Affiliations

with it have high degrees of centrality and power, this low number is probably not as great an indicator of its influence as who is connected to the organization. The same is true of private schools, which has 7.69% actor affiliation, but among actors possessing high degrees of centrality and power. It is noteworthy that the actors sharing these affiliations are the strongest proponents of school choice in the form of vouchers.

The percentages provided in the preceding paragraphs represent the entire bounded network used within the study. If the data is broken down for each specific board/committee that makes up the network, then there is a more precise picture of how these affiliations may affect choices in education policy and practice. This breakdown can be seen in Table 2 on the following page, which also shows actors boundary penetration by their joint membership on peripheral committees.

Findings from Observations of Webcasts, Interview Responses, and Public Sources

The information gathered from interviews, webcasts, and public sources provides context and detail that increase understanding of the significance of relationships and affiliations, and it also better explains what is happening in the policy process (see Ap J-L for a complete list). This section will describe observations that contextualize the social network analysis data, opportunities for public interaction in the policy process, changes in the SBOE, and what I saw happening in the policy process.

Finding 1: Ideology Greatest Influence over Homophily and Actor Choice.

The most common practice among actors was for them to support only policies and practices that are aligned with their party's agenda and/or their personal beliefs and ideologies.

Table 2. Affiliation Percentages Breakdown by Actor Group.

Affiliation	Actor Group SBOE	Actor Group SEC	Actor Group HCPE
Republicans (Tea Party)	66.66% (60%)	81.81% (77%)	54.54%
Democrats	33.33%	27.27%	27.27%
Moderates comprised of both Republicans and Democrats	33.33%	9.09 %	36.36%
Business Community	46.66%	90.9%	72.72%
Admin/Trustees	80%	100%	72.72%
Formal Teacher Organization	40%	54.54%	36.36%
Public School Teachers	53.33%	18.18%	45.45%
Extra-Curricular Organizations	40%	18.18%	36.36%
Eagle Forum	40%	72.72%	0%
Home School Coalition	6.66%	36.36%	0%
School Choice (Vouchers)	93.33% (6.66%)	63.63% (72.72%)	18.18% (18.18%)
Independent Research and Policy Groups	26.66%	45.45%	27.27%
Education Region Centers (ERCs)	60%	45.45%	45.45%
Private School	0%	27.27%	0%
Senate Finance Committee	0%	45.45%	0%
Legislative Budget Board (LBB)	0%	9.09%	0%
House Appropriations Committee	0%	0%	27.27%

This leads many actors to refuse to listen to other actors or members of the public when they oppose policies that fall within that scope or propose policies that fall outside of that scope.

This was strongly evident for Barbara Cargill, Geraldine “Tincy” Miller, Ken Mercer, David Bradley, Larry Taylor, Van Taylor, Paul Bettencourt, and Dwayne Bohac (SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2010; SBOE Webcast B, 2011; SBOE Webcasts C-D, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-C, 2013; SBOE Webcasts B-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-C and E, 2016; SBOE Webcasts B and E-G, 2017; SEC Webcasts A-B, 2015; SEC Webcasts A-C, 2017; see also Ap J-L). To put this in perspective, during the official meeting of the full SBOE board on February 1, 2017, when an amendment was proposed on an action issue² and that amendment did not match up with his Christian Tea Party ideology, one actor asked the chair why they were even wasting time discussing it because he, along with his fellow party members who represented the majority of the quorum, were going to vote no. He and the others in the party did not even pretend to listen to the other member’s proposal and instead interrupted whenever they could and accused the member who made the proposal of trying to make a power move. In another instance, the chair of the HCPE, Dan Huberty, refused to consider any proposed legislation that would introduce a voucher system into public education and would not set a House bill filed dealing with vouchers on the agenda (Batheja & Wiseman, 2017; Zelinski & Rosenthal, 2017).

This type of behavior is not only directed at other actors. During public testimony time, when members of the public are called for their turn to speak, many of these actors

² Action issue means it was something that was on the agenda to be voted on.

either completely and blatantly ignore them, often playing on their phones or speaking to their neighbor, or exhibit hostile questioning techniques after the testimony is over (SBOE Webcast E, 2010; SBOE Webcast A, 2011; SBOE Webcast C, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-E, 2013; SBOE Webcast D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts C-D, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-B and E, 2016; SEC Webcast A, 2012; SEC Webcast B-C, 2013; SEC Webcast B, 2015; Thurman et al, 2012; see also Ap J-L). Actors also did not show equitable practices in question and response time with those who testified.

Usually, if a member of the public presents testimony that is not aligned with these actors' personal and/or party beliefs and ideology, they do not ask any questions. They just dismiss the testifier. However, if a member of the public presents testimony that is aligned with these actors' personal and/or party beliefs and ideology, they almost always take the time to engage in questions and conversations with the person testifying. This is significant because public testimony time is limited to a few minutes, usually between two to five minutes, although there are some exceptions to this. When the actors engage in questioning and conversing with testifiers, it provides much more time for the testifier to present his or her case.

Some actors, though, were exceptions to this general rule and demonstrated a willingness to listen to and work with people who were affiliated with a different political party and/or belief system and ideology. These actors were Donna Bahorich, Patricia Hardy, Kel Seliger, Erika Beltran, Dan Huberty, Lance Gooden, and Royce West (Participant B, 2017; Participant C, 2017; SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-C and F, 2013; SBOE Webcasts B-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-D, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-C and E, 2016; SBOE Webcasts A and E-G, 2017; SEC Webcasts A-B,

2012; SEC Webcasts A, 2014; SEC Webcast B, 2015; SEC Webcasts A-C, 2017; HCPE Webcasts A-E, 2016; HCPE Webcasts A-E, 2017; see also Ap J-L). These actors seem to be more invested in creating and implementing policies and practices that they believe are likely to improve Texas public education than in just promoting a party line. As one actor put it, when speaking on the often highly contentious debates caused by political party ideology, “I always get annoyed by this, I mean, I am conservative as the day is long, but I am not stupid and I am not going to be obnoxiously determined that my way is the only way” (Participant B, 2017). Dan Huberty, though, is a special case within this group because, while he has demonstrated that he is willing, more often than not, to work with people regardless of party lines, ideology, or belief systems, the willingness to work with diverse actors did not usually extend to Tea Party Republicans.

In an another instance, during the meeting of the full board on April 9, 2014, SBOE chair Donna Bahorich opposed the Tea Party Republicans on the board by supporting the motion put forth by Democrat Ruben Cortez, Jr. to create state standards for a Mexican-American History class to be developed and included in the elective choices available to schools. Bahorich vocally championed the measure, citing how important inclusiveness and becoming aware of other cultures is to educating students well.

One can see how ideology affects actor choice by considering the process of reviewing and writing standards for the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS). When the SBOE reviews and updates science and history TEKS, most of this process involves actors trying to add standards to TEKS subject areas (especially science and history) that only include concepts and people that align with their personal beliefs,

particularly Christian religious beliefs (SBOE Webcasts B-D, 2010; SBOE Webcasts D-E, 2013; SBOE Webcasts B-C, 2016; SBOE Webcasts B and E-G, 2017). This has resulted in language in science TEKS that minimizes the scientific findings supporting evolution and in historical figures and groups being removed from the TEKS because they did not fit the actors' personal beliefs about what it means to be a good American citizen and patriot (see Ap J-L).

Finding 2: Connections to Public Schools. While the social network analysis data does indicate high levels of connections with schools (at least with administrators and boards of trustees), what that data does not show is that these connections are with an extremely limited number of school districts in Texas (see Appendix K). There are 1,247 school districts in Texas, and many of these school districts have multiple elementary, middle, and secondary schools (TEA, Overview of Texas Schools, retrieved February 2017). However, I was only able to find ties to 117 school districts, which is only 9.38% of the total school districts in Texas (see Appendix K-L). Furthermore, the ties in the 117 school districts were usually between actors and schools in their voting districts. So, schools in voting districts represented by actors who were not connected to any schools potentially have no real representation in the process. Rural schools also encounter low levels of connection with actors because most actors are connected with school districts in urban areas within their voting district. A few actors have shown a willingness to connect with schools outside of their voting district on issues; however, many of these actors are tied to those schools because they graduated from the school system or have a good friend who works for the school in some capacity. A few actors were connected to

school districts because they were employed in some capacity within the school district (see Ap J-K for list of sources).

Some actors did establish ties with schools outside of their voting district in order to be more informed about what is happening or to provide assistance or support when contacted by school representatives, especially if the school representative indicates that the board or committee member from their district will not respond to their contact efforts (Participant B, 2017; Participant A, 2017). These actors include Donna Bahorich, Patricia Hardy, Royce West, Larry Taylor, Diego Bernal, and Dr. Alma Allen (Marks 2016; see also Appendix J-K).

Finding 3: Problems with Awareness of Opportunities for Public

Involvement. Several opportunities to become more involved in the policy process exist. Many policies and practices, particularly those handled by the SBOE, have a mandate to provide time for the public to comment on them before they can become a final action item. Additionally, whenever a Texas Essential Knowledge and Skill (TEKS) standard comes up for review and update, the TEA and SBOE jointly put out a call for teachers to be a part of a writing team. These writing teams make revision recommendations to the board. These recommendations are given in conjunction with, before, or after any expert recommendation. Not all TEKS standards have expert panels convened. This is usually reserved for core, tested subjects (see Ap J-L). When a TEKS standard does not have a panel convened, usually just the writing team makes formal recommendations to the board before their final deliberation and vote.

However, these opportunities are not well known, mostly because postings, even those required by statute, are provided in places that the majority of Texans are unaware

of or never visit. Most postings are made on the internet on official websites and social media accounts, although not all postings are shared by actors on their official social media accounts (TEX. GOV'T CODE ANN. § 551.041; see also Ap J-K). Public exposure to such postings can be limited for a variety of reasons, including public access to internet, public connection to actors via social media, and lack of awareness among the general public about where to look on official websites for these postings. This also means that public commentary and testimony can be limited. In several cases, the lack of public awareness has resulted in no public commentary on policies and practice (Participant B, 2017; Participant D, 2017; HCPE Webcast B-C, 2017; SBOE Webcast B, 2017; SEC Webcast C, 2017). It also limits opportunities for educators to be able to help construct the standards that teachers must use.

Finding 4: Problems with Engaging in Public Testimony. Providing comments on issues and/or testifying before a board or committee does not guarantee that anything productive will come from it. As already explained, testifiers often face hostile actors who will not listen to them unless they share the same beliefs and ideology as the actors. Sometimes, though, it is the testifier's behavior that makes actors not listen. Some testifiers are hostile and rude to actors before, during, and after testimony. Some even go as far as to openly insult actors (Participant A, 2017, Participant B, 2017; Participant D, 2017; SBOE Webcast E, 2010; SBOE Webcast A, 2011; SBOE Webcast C, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-E, 2013; SBOE Webcast D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts C-D, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-B and E, 2016; SEC Webcast A, 2012; SEC Webcast B-C, 2013; SEC Webcast B, 2015; Thurman et al, 2012; see also Ap J-L). Other times, actors do not consider public input because they have only seen a few people, sometimes just one

person, support it. “You need more than one person—or even more than just a couple or three or four people. I’m sorry but that’s just not enough people to cut it” (Participant C, 2017). Additionally, in several instances, testifiers who came to advocate that a policy or practice be changed or omitted completely were asked what they proposed to replace the current policy and practice. Testifiers often answered, essentially, that they didn’t know (SBOE Webcast E, 2010; SBOE Webcast A, 2011; SBOE Webcast C, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-E, 2013; SBOE Webcast D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts C-D, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-B and E, 2016; SEC Webcast A, 2012; SEC Webcast B-C, 2013; SEC Webcast B, 2015; Thurman et al, 2012; see also Ap J-L). Once that statement was made, question and conversation time was usually immediately ended by the actors and the testifier dismissed. “Everybody wants to complain, but hardly anybody has any suggestions on what else to do that would be better. It gets old. I just want to scream at them sometimes, if you don’t have anything to contribute then stop complaining. But I can’t scream at ‘em, so I just tune ‘em out and go on about my business. It’s not just me either. Lots of the others feel the same way” (Participant B, 2017).

Finding 5: Poor Attendance at Public Meetings. Other opportunities to interact with actors and the policy process exist outside of official public hearings. Several actors take time to travel around their voting district to host town hall meetings, sometimes specifically on education. Either many people are unaware of these meetings and/or talks, or they simply do not attend. The majority of pictures posted and identified as town hall meetings show that very few people attend. In some cases, only two or three people showed up (See Appendix K). I could not distinguish whether this was due to a lack of

awareness or people simply choosing not to attend, though it is likely a combination of both.

Finding 6: SBOE Conflict and Public Meetings. Earlier in this thesis, I discussed the fact that, for many years, the SBOE garnered national and even international attention for their controversial choices and heated infighting (see also Appendix J). While the SBOE still makes headlines for what might be seen as poor and highly questionable decisions, especially in their selection of textbooks and what to include in the science and history TEKS, since 2011, the board has undergone changes in membership and decorum practices that have made meetings less contentious than they were. With the redistricting that was done in 2011, members of the “social conservative block” on the board were unable to win reelection and lost out to more moderate actors.

As Participant B explained,

“there was a dogmatism there that played nicely into the media. I mean a lot of media coverage. I was sitting one day in a meeting and we had a break. I looked around the room and there were people over here and over there with national media interviewing them, and I looked over at the staff sitting beside me and said, ‘no one ever wants to interview me.’ She said, ‘it’s because you’re too normal. You’re thinking logically, they want to hear extremism.’ But we broke the hold of the ultra conservatives on the board and now the general tenor is more gentle, not as dogmatic” (Participant B, 2017).

Beginning in 2010, board members were assigned their own parliamentarian to instruct them in parliamentary procedure and to ensure they followed the procedure during meetings. For the first year, the enforcements of parliamentarian procedures and rule of law was met with much derision and ridicule, especially by the social conservatives on the board, but as it became apparent they would not be allowed to continue their “Wild West ways,” actors began to accept and follow the procedure with

more respect (SBOE Webcasts A-E, 2010; SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2011; SBOE Webcasts A-B, 2012; Thurman et al, 2012).

Some conflict is still present, though, and since the addition of some of the newest SBOE members, specifically Ruben Cortez, Jr., Georgina Perez, and Marisa B. Perez, it appears to be worsening (Collier 2016; SBOE Webcasts A-F, 2013; SBOE Webcasts B-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-G, 2016; SBOE Webcasts A-G, 2017; See also Appendix J). These three Democrats do not bother to hide frustration or annoyance when interacting with other board members, especially with Ken Mercer, David Bradley, Barbara Cargill, and Geraldine “Tincy” Miller. Many of these three new members use any opportunity they are given to speak during public meetings to make pointed statements that are disparaging in nature about other actors (SBOE Webcasts A-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-G, 2016; SBOE Webcasts A-G 2017; see also Appendix L). This hostility can largely be traced back to the bitter fight between Democrats, particularly Hispanic Democrats, and Tea Party Republicans over the inclusion of the Mexican-American Studies course and the highly controversial textbook that was nominated for adoption for that course (Cortez 2016; SBOE Webcasts A-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-G, 2016; SBOE Webcasts A-G 2017; Zelinski, 2016; see also Ap J-L). One actor affiliated with Tea Party Republicans called the Democrats “radical Hispanic activists” because these Democrats supported the course and opposed the textbook that was filled with errors and insulting representations of Mexican-Americans (Cortez 2016; see also Ap J-K).

Finding 7: Actions and Choices that Contradict Support of Local Control and Teachers. Many actor choices and actions contradict actor rhetoric supporting

increased local control and empowering teachers to teach without interference (HCPE Webcasts A-B, 2015; HCPE Webcasts A-C, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2010; SBOE Webcasts A-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A-D, 2015; SBOE Webcasts B-C, 2016; SEC Webcasts A-B, 2015; SEC Webcasts A-C, 2017). In meetings, actors often show a high level of distrust of local level governance of schools and teachers' ability to do their jobs (see Ap J-L). Many policies and practices essentially micromanage teachers in the classroom. Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) standards for subjects are many pages long due to the extreme detail that SBOE members include within them. These details specify exactly what should be taught, and not just general concepts, but specific things such as what literature can be read at certain grade levels, what historical events and figures should be covered, etc.

The policies and practices actors enact and the direct statements they make about teachers show clear contempt for and distrust of teachers. Policies and practices often punish teachers based on student performance because of the assumption that if a student fails, it is the teacher's fault, despite that idea being based on research that is often taken out of context, as was shown in the literature review. During policy formulation, significantly more time is spent on determining how to make better teachers and how to punish them if they fall short than on identifying and mitigating any other factors that affect student achievement (see Appendix J; Appendix L). The sentiment seems to be that the academic achievement gap problem will be solved if the "teacher problem" is solved. Contempt for and distrust of teachers is further shown through actor references that other people, such as members of the business community and parents, should be listened to more than educators (HCPE Webcasts A-B, 2012; HCPE Webcast A-C, 2015; HCPE

Webcast C, 2016; SBOE Webcast A-C, 2014; SBOE Webcast B, 2016; SBOE Webcast B, 2017; SEC Webcasts A-B, 2012; SEC Webcasts A, 2014; SEC Webcast B-C, 2017). For example, surveys were released to the Texas general public asking for their input on state standards. During the meeting of the full board on January 31, 2017 that included the SBOE's review and update of these standards, several actors repeatedly cited answers from respondents in the oil and gas industry to either support a provision those actors wanted or to squash another actor's suggested provision that was constructed from direct input from teachers in the actor's district. In the SEC, this was also seen during discussions in meetings and in public comment on the voucher system. SEC members in favor of the voucher system routinely cited that it was what parents wanted and deserved (see Appendix K, particularly entries for Dan Patrick, Larry Taylor, Van Taylor, and Paul Bettencourt). Teachers' views were rarely brought up in any meetings or in public commentary.

Some actors, though, did demonstrate some degree of trust in teachers and advocated for them. These same actors appear to be more proactive in meeting with educators within their district and/or across the state (see Ap J-L). These actors include Patricia Harding, Kel Seliger, Donna Bahorich, Sue Melton-Malone, Gary VanDeaver, Royce West, and Dr. Alma Allen. Four of those seven actors had been classroom teachers in the past.

Finding 8: Time Spent On Issues Unrelated to Student Academic Achievement and Educational Inequality. Actors, particularly members of the SBOE, also spend a significant amount of time discussing (or arguing about) educational policies and practices that are in no way related to low student achievement in tested subjects and

educational inequality. Sometimes they are not even directly related to education at all, such as this year's Senate Bill 6, which focused solely on making sure that schools have separate bathrooms for boys and girls and that transgendered individuals only use the restroom that coincides with their genitalia. Additionally, actors prioritize policies and practices that are important to them as individuals, including but not limited to: the Mexican-American Studies course and textbook issue brought forth by Hispanic Democrats on the SBOE; Tom Maynard's push for more vocational classes due to his personal affiliation with the Future Farmers of America; Donna Bahorich's success at passing measures mandating that all Texas schools offer more computer science and technology classes; and SEC members who spent the majority of this legislative session on two bills—an educational savings voucher plan and a bill that would increase penalties for teachers convicted of inappropriate relationships with a student.

Actors on the legislative boards also vary in how much time and attention they give to educational matters when they are not engaged in official committee meetings. They spend more public time discussing and advocating for policies and practices from other committees they are assigned to (see Ap J-L). These actors tend to support and vote in line with the actors they are most strongly tied to on their respective committees (SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2010; SBOE Webcast B, 2011; SBOE Webcasts C-D, 2012; SBOE Webcasts B-C, 2013; SBOE Webcasts B-D, 2014; SBOE Webcasts A, 2015; SBOE Webcasts A-C and E, 2016; SBOE Webcasts B and E-G, 2017; SEC Webcasts A-C, 2017; SEC Webcasts A-B, 2015; see also Ap J-L). Some actors on the SBOE also display signs of disinterest, though not in the same way. Their disinterest manifests itself in the fact that they spend little to no time outside of quarterly meetings on board issues

(Participant B, 2017; Smith, 2011). Some SBOE actors also seem more concerned with how much power they do or do not have to enforce their particular agenda than on what is best for public education (SBOE Webcasts A-E, 2010; SBOE Webcasts A-C, 2012; SBOE Webcasts A-G, 2017).

Finding 9: Distrust of Experts and Selection of Sources. A particularly troublesome finding is related to the types of information and research that actors use when creating and implementing policies and practice. The majority of research used by legislative actors is from internet websites, government-ordered studies, reports compiled from student performance on the STAAR, and policy research on how programs worked in certain other states (Participant A, 2017; Participant C, 2017; Participant D, 2017; see also Ap K-L). As was discussed in the literature review, government-ordered studies are problematic because they do not tend to follow rigorous scientific methods, base findings on only a portion of the data or misconstrued data, and only show modest positive gains that rarely show a positive effect on the achievement gap. Using policy research for programs that only focuses on certain states is also worrisome because this means that legislative members can choose only states where programs were successful and ignore states where the same programs failed. In many cases, especially with policies such as vouchers, states exhibiting successful programs are the minority. Many of the websites used are also suspect because they are maintained by people or entities that are attempting to achieve a very specific goal and, consequently, they tend to only present portions of studies, many times out of context, or studies that support that goal while omitting any studies showing findings that would negatively reflect on the issue they are advocating for.

SBOE actors also use the research sources favored by legislative actors to gather information on policies and practices, but more concerning than that is the fact that they routinely espouse the idea that experts cannot be wholly trusted—that, in fact, people with no real expertise, training, education, or knowledge on an issue are better able to make important education policy and practice decisions. Some actors have actually made public statements in meetings, on their official websites and social media accounts, and/or to the press expressing this exact sentiment (SBOE Webcast, 2010; SBOE Webcast B, 2017; SEC Webcast B, 2012; Thurman et al, 2012; see also Ap J-L). It is also evident in their frequent practice of ignoring recommendations from panels that they themselves convened and that are comprised of experts who were nominated by SBOE members. The designation of “expert” seems to vary among SBOE actors, as some seem more concerned with nominating someone to a panel who will support the actors’ agenda. For example, Barbara Cargill at least once strong-armed the Texas Education Agency (TEA) representative who handles the administrative side of selecting experts from SBOE actors’ nominations so that a devout creationist and personal friend, Dr. Garner, would be added to the Biology TEKS panel, despite the fact that Dr. Garner is a chemist and not a biologist (Wray 2016; see also SBOE Webcasts A-B, 2016).

Furthermore, some of these same actors bolster their stance on an issue with advice and recommendations from seemingly random people with unknown qualifications. For example, Ken Mercer cited a conversation with a “grad school student” who had attended a hearing on a first reading of proposed changes to elementary literacy TEKS (SBOE Webcast A, 2010). According to Mr. Mercer, he conversed with the student afterwards and decided to use her support of the change he wanted as solid evidence that it was a

good practice. He offered no other qualification than she was a graduate student, and yet he still presented her recommendations as superior to those made by another SBOE actor, despite the fact that the other SBOE actor had experience as a public school teacher and had consulted at length with educators (both at the public school level and university level) who also had experience with literacy standards and practices (SBOE Webcast A, 2010).

DISCUSSION

The goals of this thesis were to discover, in as much detail as possible, what is happening among the actors in the Texas public education policy process that leads them to continue to support and enact unsuccessful neoliberal policies and practices and to find ways that people, particularly teachers, who are not key decision-makers could become more involved in ways that might allow them to effect change. The findings section provides a map of the network and an overview of some of the salient things happening in the process. This chapter will discuss the implications of the findings and the potential paths of influence suggested by the findings.

It is not possible from the data available to pinpoint every motivation or influence that leads actors to continue to implement failing neoliberal policies and practices in education. However, the data did reveal high levels of homophily, which works to suppress new ideas and curb change and innovation because homophilous relations are known to lead to ideological coalitions and fragmented policy subsystems comprised of actors who will avoid collaborating with actors who are different than them, especially if that difference is related to values and ideology. When one considers actors in the education policy process in Texas often hold their position for many years, sometimes decades, along with the advocacy coalition framework and theories of homophily, it is likely that the strong homophilous relationships are one reason why policy and practices are so resistant to change.

Another reason found in the research that is related to the homophily issue is the lack of meaningful communication channels between key decision-makers and the

public, including teachers. As was discussed in the literature review, influence in political systems is contingent on actors intentionally transmitting information to other actors. In the absence of such communication lines, it is impossible to alter an actor's actions. Additionally, the negative tie between policy-makers and expert recommendations and sound, peer-reviewed research, both for and against particular policies and practices, help to ensure continued reliance on unsuccessful policies and practices.

To combat these issues, the first thing that the public, educators, and even experts must do is to utilize more regularly the many opportunities to interact with actors in the policy process that already exist. People can contact their local legislative representatives via mail, email, phone, or by scheduling an appointment to meet them in person. Also, if a representative from a person's district is not on one of the legislative committees, members on the SEC and HCPE can be contacted, as well. My research has indicated that representatives are not always responsive, so in the event that representatives do not respond or are not willing to seriously consider recommendations, people should also contact other members on the committee/board. As one interview respondent stated, "Contact all the members... if you want that in there, you make the effort" (Participant D, 2017).

In addition to contacting members and representatives, people can also use social media and official websites to track what policies and practices are being considered (and the stages they are at), find out when public meetings are taking place, sign up to present testimony, provide online commentary on proposed policies and practice, and apply to be a part of a standards writing committee. People can attend public meetings and hearings to present testimony. These meetings could also lead to more opportunities because

actors are known to talk to attendees before the meeting, during breaks, and/or after the meeting ends. People can also attend town halls and present issues and recommendations to representatives. Many opportunities exist for communication lines to be established and, thus, for paths of influence to be forged.

Certain things will make establishing and maintaining communication lines more successful. First, these lines must remain consistent over time. It is not enough to show up for one hearing, send one letter, or make one phone call. If someone wants to influence the policy process, then they must be a part of it as often as possible.

Additionally, communication lines and influence will be more successful if many people work together to advocate for a particular policy or practice. The research suggests that advocacy attempts would also be more successful if some of the people involved in the efforts are part of the business community or a school administrator or board trustee. Equally important to exercising potential influence is being knowledgeable about the issue being spoken for or against, presenting testimony and/or commentary in a respectful manner, and being able to propose a viable alternative.

Furthermore, people who wish to become more involved in the policy process should attempt to build communication lines and relationships with actors in the network with high indicators of influence within the network or who are directly connected to actors with high levels of influence, especially if the actor is a moderate. In the Texas Senate and SEC, actors with high indicators of influence are Dan Patrick, Royce West, Carlos Uresti, Eddie Lucio, Jr., and Van Taylor. In the HCPE they are Dr. Alma Allen, Dan Huberty, and Linda Koop. The SBOE actors with the highest indicators of influence are Donna Baborich, Ken Mercer, and Barbara Cargill. The data show that, of these

actors, some are more willing than others to listen to and work with people who have different belief systems, ideologies, and political affiliations, including Donna Bahorich, Royce West, and Dan Huberty. Establishing ties with these actors may be more successful for people who are aligned with a different political party and/or ideology. Furthermore, by establishing ties to actors such as Donna Bahorich, who has several strong and intense ties to other actors, such as Dan Patrick and SEC chair Larry Taylor, a person may be able to indirectly affect actors who are usually unwilling to consider ideas and proposals from someone with different beliefs, ideologies, and political party affiliation. For example, if Public Actor Joe establishes strong communication lines and engages in dialogue with Donna Bahorich, and she sees the merit of his position and decides to support it, it is possible that she will also advocate for it among her close friends. Since success of communication and influence are tied to how credible and/or trustworthy the source of the information is, and since Dan Patrick and Larry Taylor already believe Donna Bahorich is credible and trustworthy, being able to gain the support and ear of the SBOE chair could pave more paths of influence.

I would recommend, given the limitations of my findings, that future research be done in order to gather more direct input from actors about their ties to other actors and their affiliations, and to include more actors who are influential in the public education policy process, such as the Senate Finance Committee (SFC), House Appropriations Committee (HAC), and Legislative Budget Board (LBB). Additionally and separately, I would recommend that future research investigate to what extent the recommendations made in this discussion section are successful in helping people become more involved in influential ways with Texas public education policy.

SUMMARY

Ethnographic and social network analysis methods were used in this thesis to map some of the relationships of key decision-makers in Texas public education policy; describe what was happening in the policy process; identify and discuss some of the implications of actor relationships, network structure, and what is happening in the policy process; and offer recommendations on how members of the public, including teachers, can become more involved in the public education policy decision-making process. I found that a few actors have high centrality and power in the network, that homophily is present, and that opportunities exist for people to become more involved in the policy process. However, many people do not take advantage of these opportunities or do not seem to be aware of the best way to utilize these opportunities so that change can be effected. Anyone who wants to become more involved should initiate and maintain communication lines with actors, connect with other people who are advocating for the same or a similar position, and connect directly with actors with the highest levels of centrality and power within the network, particularly those who are moderate.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: SEC and HCPE Recruitment Email

Good day. I am a Texas resident, former Texas teacher, and graduate student currently conducting research for my master's thesis on the Texas education policy process and would like to interview you regarding your position on and work for the Texas Senate Committee on Education or House Committee on Public Education.

My thesis work will use social network analysis and ethnographic methods to describe the education policy process and showing ways that the public can become more productively involved in the process.

I have attached the informed consent that would need to be signed should you choose to participate. The informed consent outlines the goals of the study along with the rights and protections afforded to participants. Additionally, in procedures section, the topics I wish to cover during the interview are provided.

The interview, which will last between thirty minutes to an hour depending on your responses, can be done all at once or broken up into smaller sessions if that is more convenient. Further, interviews can be conducted via phone, video chat, or in person at a location of your choosing.

Thank you so much for your consideration and assistance with this matter. If you have any questions or need any further information, please do not hesitate to email or call me at (806) 939-2281.

Best Regards,

Hollie Wright
Graduate Assistant
Missouri State University

Appendix B: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE SEC and HCPE

Charting Constellations of Power: Texas Education Policy and Reform

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Hollie Wright, who is a Texas resident, former Texas teacher, and graduate student from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Missouri State University. Ms. Wright is conducting this study for her master's thesis. Dr. Margaret Buckner is her faculty sponsor for this project.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You should read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a member of the **Texas Senate Committee on Education or House Committee on Public Education.**

- **GOALS OF THE STUDY**

The ultimate goals of this study are to: 1) demystify the education policy decision-making process in Texas; 2) map the connections of members of the State Board of Education and the legislative education boards; and 3) elucidate how the public—especially teachers, parents, and students—can interact with the decision-making process in productive ways

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in one or more interviews addressing: 1) how the appointment process works; 2) who you work with when engaging in the education policy and reform process; 3) what your relationship is with the people you work with in the education policy and reform process; 4) what sources you consult when engaging in the education policy and reform process; 5) what happens during the initial phases of education policy decision-making; and 6) what exactly is required to recommend and finalize a policy or reform. These interviews will be conducted via telephone or video chat, or, alternatively, can be conducted in person at a location of your choice. If you agree and are willing, these interviews will be recorded and transcribed. If you are not comfortable with audio recordings that is completely okay, and hand written notes can be taken during the interview. If there are any questions asked that you would rather not answer, you can inform me and we will move on to the next question. Also, an online portal will be provided where you may submit answers to any questions anonymously.

Additionally, you will be observed at meetings related to the education policy and reform process. This includes public meetings and, if you consent, meetings closed to the public. Please note, that you may opt out of being observed at closed meetings, but still participate in interviews.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS and CONFIDENTIALITY**

Issues of confidentiality will be given the utmost regard due to the fact that matters of educational policy can be sensitive and certain views may not be positively received by politicians, fellow board members, or constituents. To ensure confidentiality each participant will be assigned a numbered code so that no names are associated with interview data. Once interview data is collected, it will be culled to discover and remove any potential identifiers. This includes, but is not limited to, references to gender, geographical districts, and any information included in public biographies and/or resumes online. All data collected and the table containing the number assignments of participants will be encrypted and stored on a secure password protected drive that is only accessible by me.

It is important to note that while every safeguard will be put into place and every precaution taken, there is always a risk, no matter how small, that someone will be able to identify you from your responses.

This study has been submitted to and approved by the Missouri State University Institutional Review Board (IRB)

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

This study has the potential to act as a collaborative space whereby negative views of those involved in education policy decision-making can be dispelled, the policy process can be made clear, and as a way to help the public become more productively involved in strengthening the Texas public school system.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You can choose whether or not to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. There is no penalty if you withdraw from the study and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

- **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact

Ms. Hollie Wright
Investigator
Department of Anthropology and Sociology
Missouri State University
435 E Harrison, 211
Springfield, MO 65806
806-939-2281
hollie113@live.missouristate.edu

Dr. Margaret Buckner
Principal Investigator
Department of Anthropology and Sociology
Missouri State University
901 S. National Ave, Strong Hall 451
Springfield, MO 65897
417-836-6165
MBuckner@MissouriState.edu

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Please check the box below if you wish to participate in interviews but not closed meeting observation.

☐

Printed Name of Subject

Signature of Subject

Date

Appendix C: SBOE Recruitment Email

Good day. I am a Texas resident, former Texas teacher, and graduate student currently conducting research for my master's thesis on the Texas education policy process and would like to interview you regarding your position on and work for the Texas State Board of Education (SBOE).

My thesis work will use social network analysis and ethnographic methods to describe the education policy process and showing ways that the public can become more productively involved in the process.

I have attached the informed consent that would need to be signed should you choose to participate. The informed consent outlines the goals of the study along with the rights and protections afforded to participants. Additionally, in procedures section, the topics I wish to cover during the interview are provided.

The interview, which will last between thirty minutes to an hour depending on your responses, can be done all at once or broken up into smaller sessions if that is more convenient. Further, interviews can be conducted via phone, video chat, or in person at a location of your choosing.

Thank you so much for your consideration and assistance with this matter. If you have any questions or need any further information, please do not hesitate to email or call me at (806) 939-2281.

Best Regards,

Hollie Wright
Graduate Assistant
Missouri State University

Appendix D: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE SBOE

Charting Constellations of Power: Texas Education Policy and Reform

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Hollie Wright, who is a Texas resident, former Texas teacher, and graduate student from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Missouri State University. Ms. Wright is conducting this study for her master's thesis. Dr. Margaret Buckner is her faculty sponsor for this project.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You should read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate. You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a member of the **Texas State Board of Education (SBOE)**.

- **GOALS OF THE STUDY**

The ultimate goals of this study are to: 1) demystify the education policy decision-making process in Texas; 2) map the connections of members of the State Board of Education and the legislative education boards; and 3) elucidate how the public—especially teachers, parents, and students—can interact with the decision-making process in productive ways

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in one or more interviews addressing: 1) the process of becoming a member of the SBOE; 2) duties of the board; 3) your experiences; 4) The SBOE board in general; 5) who you work with when engaging in the education policy and reform process; 6) your interactions with members of the legislative education boards; 7) what your relationship is with the people you work with in the education policy and reform process; 8) what sources you consult when engaging in the education policy and reform process; 9) what happens during the initial phases of education policy decision-making; and 10) what exactly is required to recommend and finalize a policy or reform. These interviews will be conducted via telephone or video chat, or, alternatively, can be conducted in person at a location of your choice. If you agree and are willing, these interviews will be recorded and transcribed. If you are not comfortable with audio recordings that is completely okay, and hand written notes can be taken during the interview. If there are any questions asked that you would rather not answer, you can inform me and we will move on to the next question. Also, an online portal will be provided where you may submit answers to any questions anonymously.

Additionally, you will be observed at meetings related to the education policy and reform process. This includes public meetings and, if you consent, meetings closed to the public. Please note, that you may opt out of being observed at closed meetings, but still participate in interviews.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS and CONFIDENTIALITY**

Issues of confidentiality will be given the utmost regard due to the fact that matters of educational policy can be sensitive and certain views may not be positively received by politicians, fellow board members, or constituents. To ensure confidentiality each participant will be assigned a numbered code so that no names are associated with interview data. Once interview data is collected, it will be culled to discover and remove any potential identifiers. This includes, but is not limited to, references to gender, geographical districts, and any information included in public biographies and/or resumes online. All data collected and the table containing the number assignments of participants will be encrypted and stored on a secure password protected drive that is only accessible by me.

It is important to note that while every safeguard will be put into place and every precaution taken, there is always a risk, no matter how small, that someone will be able to identify you from your responses.

This study has been submitted to and approved by the Missouri State University Institutional Review Board (IRB)

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

This study has the potential to act as a collaborative space whereby negative views of those involved in education policy decision-making can be dispelled, the policy process can be made clear, and as a way to help the public become more productively involved in strengthening the Texas public school system.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You can choose whether or not to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. There is no penalty if you withdraw from the study and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

- **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact

Ms. Hollie Wright
Investigator
Department of Anthropology and Sociology
Missouri State University
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Principal Investigator
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Springfield, MO 65897
417-836-6165
MBuckner@MissouriState.edu

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Please check the box below if you wish to participate in interviews but not closed meeting observation.

☐

Printed Name of Subject

Signature of Subject

Date

Appendix E: SEC and HCPE Interview Questions

Senate Committee on Education and House Committee on Public Education Member Questions

1. Can you describe the appointment process?
 - a. Do potential candidates know beforehand they will be nominated?
 - b. Is there any campaigning for appointments?
2. How many years have you served on a public education policy decision-making board in Texas?
3. Can you explain/describe your role, duties, and responsibilities as a member of the SEC/HCPE?
4. What do you think the committee's most important functions are?
5. Is there anyone on the committee you report to?
6. Is there anyone on the committee reports to you?
7. Does any of your other work in the legislature intersect with your work on the SEC/HCPE?
8. How often do you have: public meetings and closed meetings on board issues?
 - a. Where are meetings held?
9. How much time do your SEC/HCPE duties typically require during a quarter?
10. Did you know any of the SEC/HCPE members prior to becoming a member of the board? If so, how?
11. What members of the committee do you interact with most during scheduled meetings?
12. Do you ever meet with committee members outside of official meetings?
13. Which committee members do you interact with the most overall?
14. Do you ever have meetings or interactions about committee business with people who are not a member of SEC/HCPE? For example, members of House committees, constituents, teachers and administrators, researchers or experts on issues, textbook representatives, representatives of philanthropic groups or think tanks.
15. What resources do you use when making decisions about board matters?
 - a. Is there any type or specific source they use more than others?
 - b. How do you receive access to these resources?
16. Do you ever meet with members from the State Board of Education?
17. The SBOE has a highly reported history of conflict and controversy. Have you experienced any conflicts or controversies during your term(s) on the board?
18. Do you think Texas public schools are successful?
 - a. Why do you think they are successful/unsuccessful?
19. What do you think Texas public schools greatest strength is?
20. What do you think needs the most improvement in Texas public education?
21. Do you think Texas students are learning the knowledge and skills they need for life outside of school?
22. What do you think needs to be improved in public education?

23. Do you think education policy in Texas is effective?
24. What policies do you think will improve Texas education?
25. Have you and any person you consult about or work with on board issues ever exchanged gifts? (e.g. congratulatory presents, holiday gifts, campaign contributions)

Appendix F: SBOE Interview Questions

1. What made you decide to run for SBOE?
 - a. Can you describe the campaign process?
2. Is there anyone on the board you report to?
3. Does anyone on the board report to you?
4. Is there anyone outside of the board that you report to in relation to your duties and functions as an SBOE member?
5. Do you have a job outside of SBOE?
6. What are your primary duties on the board?
 - a. What do you think the board's most important function(s) are?
7. Are you a member of any subcommittee?
 - a. How are subcommittee members appointed?
8. The board has scheduled quarterly meetings, but how often in a year do you typically have closed meetings either at the Travis building in Austin or at another location?
 - a. Are they usually at the Travis building or another location?
 - b. What other locations do you go to? (e.g. cities, restaurants, conference rooms, offices)
9. Did you know any board members prior to becoming a member of the board? If so, how?
10. What members of the board do you interact with outside of quarterly public meetings?
 - a. Are these interactions all related to board matters?
 - b. How would you classify your relationship with other board members? (i.e. colleagues, business acquaintances, friends, confidante/intimate)
11. Which board members do you interact with the most overall?
12. Do you ever have meetings or interactions about SBOE board business with people who are not a member of SBOE? For example, members of the legislature, constituents, teachers and administrators, researchers or experts on issues, textbook representatives, representatives of philanthropic groups or think tanks.
 - a. Of any people listed, ask: if they knew any of them prior to becoming a board member, how the board member classifies their relationship (i.e. colleague, friend, acquaintance, confidante/intimate), which ones the board member interacts with the most, if they interact with any of these people more than other board members, and if they ever meet for reasons unrelated to SBOE business. Do they exchange gifts, etc.
13. How do items get placed on the official agenda?
14. What happens in the interim between an item being placed on the agenda and final decision-making?
15. What resources do you use when making decisions about board matters? (e.g. peer reviewed research, reports, testimony)
 - a. Is there any type or specific source they use more than others?

- b. How do you receive access to these resources? (e.g. does someone provide them, independent research)
 - i. If someone provides access have them identify who provides it if they have not already.
- 16. Do you provide resources to any board members?
- 17. The SBOE has a highly reported history of conflict and controversy. Have you experienced any conflicts or controversies during your term(s) on the board?
 - a. If so ask them: to describe the conflict or controversy, what factors contributed to the conflict or controversy and how it was ultimately resolved.
- 18. Do you think Texas public schools are successful?
 - a. Why do you think they are successful/unsuccessful?
- 19. Do you think Texas students are learning the knowledge and skills they need for life outside of school?
 - a. Why or why not? Ask for specific examples to.
- 20. What do you think needs to be improved in public education?
- 21. Do you think education policy in Texas is effective?
 - a. Why do you think they are effective/ineffective?
- 22. What policies do you think will improve Texas education?
 - a. Why do you think they will be effective?

Appendix G. Directed, Non-valued Master Spreadsheet

	A	B	C	D	E
1		Donna Bahorich	Barbara Cargill	Marisa B. Perez	Geraldine Miller
2	Donna Bahorich	0	1	1	1
3	Barbara Cargill	1	0	1	1
4	Marisa B. Perez	1	1	0	1
5	Geraldine Miller	1	1	1	0
6	Erika Beltran	1	1	1	1
7	Ken Mercer	1	1	1	1
8	Georgina Perez	1	1	1	1
9	Keven Ellis	1	1	1	1
10	Ruben Cortez, Jr	1	1	1	1
11	Lawrence A. Allen, Jr.	1	1	1	1
12	David Bradley	1	1	1	1
13	Sue Melton-Malone	1	1	1	1
14	Marty Rowley	1	1	1	1
15	Patricia Hardy	1	1	1	1
16	Tom Maynard	1	1	1	1
17	Dan Patrick	1	1	1	1
18	Joe Strauss	0	1	0	0
19	Larry Taylor	0	0	0	0
20	Paul Bettencourt	1	1	0	0
21	Donna Campbell	0	0	0	0
22	Bob Hall	0	0	0	0
23	Don Huffines	0	0	0	0
24	Bryan Hughes	0	0	0	0
25	Kel Seliger	0	0	0	0
26	Van Taylor	0	0	0	0
27	Carlos Uresti	0	0	0	0
28	Royce West	0	0	0	1
29	Eddie Lucio, Jr.	0	0	0	0
30	Dr. Alma Allen	0	0	0	0
31	Dan Huberty	0	0	0	0
32	Diego Bernal	0	0	0	0
33	Dwayne Bohac	0	0	0	0
34	Joe Deshotel	0	0	0	0
35	Harold V. Dutton, Jr.	0	0	0	0
36	Lance Gooden	0	0	0	0
37	Ken King	0	0	0	0

38	Linda Koop	0	0	0	0
39	Morgan Meyer	0	0	0	0
40	Gary VanDeaver	0	0	0	0
41	Joan Huffman	1	1	0	0
42	Jane Nelson	1	1	0	0
43	Lois Kolkhorst	1	1	0	0
44	Mary Gonzales	0	0	0	0
45	Juan "Chuy" Hinojosa	0	0	0	0
46					

	F	G	H	I	J
1	Erika Beltran	Ken Mercer	Georgina Perez	Kevin Ellis	Ruben Cortez, Jr
2	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1
6	0	1	1	1	1
7	1	0	1	1	1
8	1	1	0	1	1
9	1	1	1	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	0
11	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0

30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	1	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	1

	K	L	M	N	O
1	Lawraence A. Allen, Jr	David Bradley	Sue Melton- Malone	Marty Rowley	Patricia Hardy
2	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	1
12	1	0	1	1	1
13	1	1	0	1	1
14	1	1	1	0	1
15	1	1	1	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0

24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	1
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0

		P	Q	R	S
1		Tom Maynard	Dan Patrick	Joe Strauss	Larry Taylor
2		1	1	0	0
3		1	1	0	0
4		1	1	0	0
5		1	1	0	0
6		1	1	0	0
7		1	1	0	0
8		1	1	0	0
9		1	1	0	0
10		1	1	0	0
11		1	1	0	0
12		1	1	0	0
13		1	1	0	0
14		1	1	0	0
15		1	1	0	0
16		0	1	0	0
17		1	0	0	1

18		0	1	0	0
19		0	0	0	0
20		0	1	0	0
21		0	1	0	0
22		0	0	0	0
23		0	0	0	0
24		0	1	1	0
25		0	1	0	0
26		0	1	0	1
27		0	0	0	0
28		0	1	0	0
29		0	1	0	0
30		0	0	0	0
31		0	0	0	1
32		0	0	0	0
33		0	1	0	0
34		0	0	0	0
35		0	0	0	0
36		0	0	1	0
37		0	0	1	1
38		0	0	1	0
39		0	0	0	0
40		0	0	1	0
41		0	1	1	1
42		0	1	1	1
43		0	1	1	1
44		0	1	1	0
45		0	1	1	1

	T	U	V	W	X
1	Paul Bettencourt	Donna Campbell	Bob Hall	Don Huffines	Bryan Hughes
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	1	0	0	1
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0

12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	1	0	0	1	1
18	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	1	0
20	0	0	1	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	1	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	1	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	1	1	0	0	0
26	1	0	1		1
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	1	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	1	0
40	0	0	0	0	0
41	1	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0
45	1	0	0	0	0

	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC
1	Kel Seliger	Van Taylor	Carlos Uresti	Royce West	Eddie Lucio, Jr.
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	1	0

6		0	0	0	0	0
7		0	0	0	0	0
8		0	0	0	0	0
9		0	0	0	0	0
10		0	0	0	0	0
11		0	0	0	0	0
12		0	0	0	0	0
13		0	0	0	0	0
14		0	0	0	0	0
15		1	0	0	0	0
16		0	0	0	0	0
17		0	0	0	0	0
18		0	0	0	0	0
19		0	1	0	0	1
20		0	1	0	0	0
21		0	0	1	0	0
22		0	1	0	0	0
23		0	0	0	1	0
24		0	1	0	0	0
25		0	0	0	0	0
26		0	0	0	0	0
27		0	0	0	1	1
28		0	0	1	0	1
29		0	0	1	1	0
30		0	0	0	1	0
31		1	0	0	0	0
32		0	0	0	0	0
33		0	0	0	0	0
34		0	0	0	0	0
35		0	0	0	0	0
36		0	0	0	0	0
37		0	0	0	0	0
38		0	0	0	0	0
39		0	0	0	0	0
40		0	0	0	0	0
41		0	0	0	0	0
42		0	0	0	0	0
43		0	0	0	0	0
44		0	0	0	0	0
45		1	0	1	1	0

		AD	AE	AF	AG	AH
1		Dr. Alma Allen	Dan Huberty	Diego Bernal	Dwayne Bohac	Joe Deshotel
2		0	0	0	1	0
3		0	0	0	0	0
4		0	0	0	0	0
5		0	0	0	0	0
6		0	0	0	0	0
7		0	0	0	0	0
8		0	0	0	0	0
9		0	0	0	0	0
10		0	0	0	0	0
11		1	0	0	0	0
12		0	0	0	0	0
13		0	0	0	0	0
14		0	0	0	0	0
15		0	0	0	0	0
16		0	0	0	0	0
17		0	0	0	0	0
18		0	1	0	0	0
19		0	0	0	0	0
20		0	1	0	0	0
21		0	0	0	0	0
22		0	0	0	0	0
23		0	0	0	0	0
24		0	0	0	0	0
25		0	1	0	0	0
26		0	0	0	0	0
27		0	0	0	0	0
28		1	0	0	0	0
29		1	0	0	0	0
30		0	0	0	0	0
31		0	0	0	0	0
32		1	0	0	0	1
33		1	0	0	0	1
34		1	0	0	0	0
35		0	0	0	0	0
36		0	1	0	0	0
37		0	1	0	1	0
38		0	1	0	1	0
39		0	0	0	0	0
40		0	1	0	1	0

41		0	0	0	0	0
42		0	0	0	0	0
43		0	0	0	0	0
44		0	0	0	0	0
45		0	0	0	0	0

	AI	AJ	AK	AL	AM
1	Harold V. Dutton, Jr.	Lance Gooden	Ken King	Linda Koop	Morgan Meyer
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0

35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	1
39	0	0	0	1	0
40	0	1	0	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	1	0
45	0	0	0	0	0

	AN	AO	AP	AQ	AR
1	Gary VanDeaver	Joan Huffman	Jane Nelson	Lois Kolkhorst	Mary Gonzales
2	0	1	1	1	0
3	0	1	1	1	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	1
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	1	1	1
18	0	0	1	1	1
19	0	1	1	1	0
20	0	1	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0

29	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	1
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	1
41	0	0	1	1	0
42	0	1	0	1	0
43	0	1	1	0	0
44	1	0	0	0	0
45	0	1	1	1	0

	AS
1	Juan "Chuy" Hinojosa
2	0
3	0
4	0
5	0
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	0
10	1
11	0
12	0
13	0
14	0
15	0
16	0
17	1
18	1
19	1
20	1
21	0
22	0

23	0
24	0
25	1
26	0
27	1
28	1
29	0
30	0
31	0
32	0
33	0
34	0
35	0
36	0
37	0
38	0
39	0
40	0
41	1
42	1
43	1
44	0
45	0

Appendix H: Non-Directed, Valued Master Spreadsheet

	A	B	C	D	E
1		Donna Bahorich	Barbara Cargill	Marisa B. Perez	Geraldine Miller
2	Donna Bahorich	0	4	2	2
3	Barbara Cargill	4	0	2	5
4	Marisa B. Perez	2	1	0	1
5	Geraldine Miller	2	5	1	0
6	Erika Beltran	2	1	3	1
7	Ken Mercer	2	4	1	4
8	Georgina Perez	2	1	3	1
9	Keven Ellis	2	2	2	2
10	Ruben Cortez, Jr	2	1	3	1
11	Lawrence A. Allen, Jr.	2	1	2	1
12	David Bradley	2	4	1	3
13	Sue Melton-Malone	2	2	2	2
14	Marty Rowley	2	2	2	2
15	Patricia Hardy	3	2	3	2
16	Tom Maynard	2	2	2	2
17	Dan Patrick	5	2	2	2
18	Joe Strauss	2	2	2	2
19	Larry Taylor	0	0	0	0
20	Paul Bettencourt	5	4	0	0
21	Donna Campbell	0	0	0	0
22	Bob Hall	0	0	0	0
23	Don Huffines	0	0	0	0
24	Bryan Hughes	0	0	0	0
25	Kel Seliger	0	0	0	0
26	Van Taylor	0	0	0	0
27	Carlos Uresti	0	0	0	0
28	Royce West	0	0	0	2
29	Eddie Lucio, Jr.	0	0	0	0
30	Dr. Alma Allen	0	0	0	0
31	Dan Huberty	0	0	0	0
32	Diego Bernal	0	0	0	0
33	Dwayne Bohac	4	0	0	0
34	Joe Deshotel	0	0	0	0
35	Harold V. Dutton, Jr.	0	0	0	0
36	Lance Gooden	0	0	0	0
37	Ken King	0	0	0	0
38	Linda Koop	0	0	0	0

39	Morgan Meyer	0	0	0	0
40	Gary VanDeaver	0	0	0	0
41	Joan Huffman	4	0	0	0
42	Jane Nelson	0	0	0	0
43	Kelly Hancock	0	0	0	0
44	Dennis Bannon	0	0	0	0
45	Drew Darby	0	0	0	0
46	Dr. John Zerwas	0	0	0	0
47	Lois Kolkhorst	4	0	0	0
48	Robert Nichols	0	0	0	0
49	Charles Schwernter	0	0	0	0
50	Kirk Watson	0	0	0	0
51	Brian Birdwell	0	0	0	0
52	Trent Ashby	0	0	0	0
53	Oscar Longoria	0	0	0	0
54	Greg Bonnen	0	0	0	0
55	Giovanni Capriglione	0	0	0	0
56	Jay Dean	0	0	0	0
57	Mary Gonzales	0	0	0	0
58	Scott Cospers	0	0	0	0
59	Sarah Davis	0	0	0	0
60	Dawna Dukes	0	0	0	0
61	Helen Giddings	0	0	0	0
62	Larry Gonzales	0	0	0	0
63	Donna Howard	0	0	0	0
64	Rick Miller	0	0	0	0
65	Sergio Munoz, Jr.	0	0	0	0
66	Mary Ann Perez	0	0	0	0
67	Dade Phelan	0	0	0	0
68	John Raney	0	0	0	0
69	Kevin Roberts	0	0	0	0
70	Armando Walle	0	0	0	0
71	Ron Simmons	0	0	0	0
72	J.D. Sheffield	0	0	0	0
73	Toni Rose	0	0	0	0
74	Justin Rodriguez	0	0	0	0
75	Dade Phelan	0	0	0	0
76	John Raney	0	0	0	0
77	Kevin Roberts	0	0	0	0
78	Gene Wu	0	0	0	0

	F	G	H	I	J
1	Erika Beltran	Ken Mercer	Georgina Perez	Kevin Ellis	Ruben Cortez, Jr
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	2	5	2	2	2
4	3	1	3	2	3
5	1	5	1	2	1
6	0	1	3	2	3
7	1	0	1	2	1
8	3	1	0	2	3
9	2	2	2	0	2
10	3	1	3	2	0
11	2	1	2	2	2
12	1	5	1	2	1
13	2	2	2	2	2
14	2	2	2	2	2
15	2	2	3	3	3
16	2	2	2	2	2
17	2	2	2	2	2
18	2	2	2	2	2
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0

41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0

	K	L	M	N	O
1	Lawraence A. Allen, Jr	David Bradley	Sue Melton- Malone	Marty Rowley	Patricia Hardy
2	2	2	2	2	3
3	2	4	4	2	4
4	2	1	2	2	3
5	1	5	4	2	2
6	2	1	2	2	2
7	1	5	2	2	2
8	2	1	2	2	3
9	2	2	2	2	3
10	2	1	2	2	2
11	0	2	2	2	2
12	2	0	2	2	2
13	2	2	0	2	4
14	2	2	2	0	2
15	2	2	3	3	0
16	2	2	2	2	2
17	2	2	2	2	2
18	2	2	2	2	2
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
21	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	4
26	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0
30	6	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	0	0	0

41	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0
43	0	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0
50	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	0	0	0	0
54	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0

	P	Q	R	S	T
1	Tom Maynard	Dan Patrick	Joe Strauss	Larry Taylor	Paul Bettencourt
2	2	5	0	0	5
3	4	2	0	0	0
4	1	1	0	0	0
5	4	2	0	0	0
6	1	1	0	0	0
7	4	2	0	0	0
8	2	1	0	0	0
9	2	2	0	0	0
10	2	1	0	0	0
11	2	2	0	0	0
12	2	2	0	0	0
13	2	2	0	0	0
14	2	2	0	0	0
15	2	2	0	0	0
16	0	2	0	0	0
17	2	0	0	5	5
18	2	2	0	2	2
19	0	3	2	0	4
20	0	5	2	4	0
21	0	4	2	4	4
22	0	3	2	3	3
23	0	3	2	3	3
24	0	3	1	3	3
25	0	2	2	2	2
26	0	3	2	3	3
27	0	2	2	2	2
28	0	2	2	2	2
29	0	2	2	2	2
30	0	2	2	2	2
31	0	2	2	2	2
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36	0	2	2	2	2
37	0	2	2	2	2
38	0	2	2	2	2
39	0	2	2	2	2
40	0	2	2	2	2

41	0	3	2	4	4
42	0	3	2	2	2
43	0	2	2	2	2
44	0	2	2	2	2
45	0	2	2	2	2
46	0	2	2	2	2
47	0	4	2	4	2
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67	0	2	2	2	2
68	0	2	2	2	2
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70	0	2	2	2	2
71	0	2	2	2	2
72	0	2	2	2	2
73	0	2	2	2	2
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75	0	2	2	2	2
76	0	2	2	2	2
77	0	2	2	2	2
78	0	2	2	2	2

	U	V	W	X	Y
1	Donna Campbell	Bob Hall	Don Huffines	Bryan Hughes	Kel Seliger
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	4	0	0	4	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
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12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	4
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	4	3	3	4	2
18	2	2	2	1	2
19	4	3	2	3	2
20	4	3	4	3	2
21	0	3	3	3	2
22	3	0	3	3	2
23	3	3	0	3	2
24	3	3	3	0	2
25	2	2	2	2	0
26	3	3	3	3	2
27	2	2	2	2	2
28	2	2	2	2	2
29	2	2	2	2	2
30	2	2	2	2	2
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36	2	2	2	2	2
37	2	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
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43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	2	2	2	2	2
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67	2	2	2	2	2
68	2	2	2	2	2
69	2	2	2	2	2
70	2	2	2	2	2
71	2	2	2	2	2
72	2	2	2	2	2
73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD
1	Van Taylor	Carlos Uresti	Royce West	Eddie Lucio, Jr.	Dr. Alma Allen
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	2	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	6
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	3	2	2	2	0
18	2	2	2	2	2
19	3	2	2	2	2
20	4	4	2	2	2
21	3	2	2	2	2
22	3	2	2	2	2
23	3	2	2	2	2
24	3	2	2	2	2
25	2	2	2	2	2
26	0	2	2	2	2
27	2	0	3	3	2
28	2	2	0	2	2
29	2	2	2	0	2
30	2	2	4	2	0
31	2	2	2	2	2
32	2	2	2	2	2
33	2	2	2	2	2
34	2	2	2	2	2
35	2	2	2	2	2
36	2	2	2	2	3
37	2	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
40	2	2	2	2	2

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42	2	2	2	2	2
43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	2	2	2	2	2
47	2	2	2	2	2
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73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI
1	Dan Huberty	Diego Bernal	Dwayne Bohac	Joe Deshotel	Harold V. Dutton, Jr.
2	0	0	4	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0
18	2	2	2	2	2
19	2	2	2	2	2
20	2	2	2	2	2
21	2	2	2	2	2
22	2	2	2	2	2
23	2	2	2	2	2
24	2	2	2	2	2
25	4	2	2	2	2
26	2	2	2	2	2
27	2	2	2	2	2
28	2	2	2	2	2
29	2	2	2	2	2
30	2	2	2	2	2
31	0	3	2	2	2
32	3	0	2	2	2
33	2	2	0	2	2
34	2	2	2	0	2
35	2	2	2	2	0
36	3	2	2	2	2
37	3	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
40	2	2	2	2	2

41	2	2	2	2	2
42	2	2	2	2	2
43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	2	2	2	2	2
47	2	2	2	2	2
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50	2	2	2	2	2
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64	2	2	2	2	2
65	2	2	2	2	2
66	2	2	2	2	2
67	2	2	2	2	2
68	2	2	2	2	2
69	2	2	2	2	2
70	2	2	2	2	2
71	2	2	2	2	2
72	2	2	2	2	2
73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	AJ	AK	AL	AM	AN
1	Lance Gooden	Ken King	Linda Koop	Morgan Meyer	Gary VanDeaver
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
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9	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
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13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0
18	3	2	2	2	2
19	2	2	2	2	2
20	2	2	2	2	2
21	2	2	2	2	2
22	2	2	2	2	2
23	2	2	2	2	2
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26	2	2	2	2	2
27	2	2	2	2	2
28	2	2	2	2	2
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35	2	2	2	2	2
36	0	2	2	2	2
37	2	0	1	2	2
38	2	2	0	3	3
39	2	2	3	0	2
40	2	2	3	2	0

41	2	2	2	2	2
42	2	2	2	2	2
43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	2	2	2	2	2
47	2	2	2	2	2
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68	2	2	2	2	2
69	2	2	2	2	2
70	2	2	2	2	2
71	2	2	2	2	2
72	2	2	2	2	2
73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	AO	AP	AQ	AR	AS
1	Joan Huffman	Jane Nelson	Kelly Hancock	Dennis Bannon	Drew Darby
2	4	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
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10	0	0	0	0	0
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14	0	0	0	0	0
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16	0	0	0	0	0
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35	2	2	2	2	2
36	2	2	2	2	2
37	2	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
40	2	2	2	2	2

41	0	2	2	2	2
42	2	0	2	2	2
43	2	2	0	2	2
44	2	2	2	0	2
45	2	2	2	2	0
46	2	2	2	2	2
47	2	2	2	2	2
48	2	2	2	2	2
49	2	2	2	2	2
50	2	2	2	2	2
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68	2	2	2	2	2
69	2	2	2	2	2
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71	2	2	2	2	2
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73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	AT	AU	AV	AW	AX
1	Dr. John Zerwas	Lois Kolkhorst	Robert Nichols	Charles Schwertner	Kirk Watson
2	0	4	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	4	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
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12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0
17	2	4	2	2	2
18	2	2	2	2	2
19	2	4	2	2	2
20	2	2	2	2	2
21	2	2	2	2	2
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35	2	2	2	2	2
36	2	2	2	2	2
37	2	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
40	2	2	2	2	2

41	2	2	2	2	2
42	2	2	2	2	2
43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	0	2	2	2	2
47	2	0	2	2	2
48	2	2	0	2	2
49	2	2	2	0	2
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74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	AY	AZ	BA	BB	BC
1	Brian Birdwell	trent ashby	Oscar Longoria	Greg Bonnen	Giovanni Capriglione
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	4	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0
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35	2	2	2	2	2
36	2	2	2	2	2
37	2	2	2	2	2
38	2	2	2	2	2
39	2	2	2	2	2
40	2	2	2	2	2

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43	2	2	2	2	2
44	2	2	2	2	2
45	2	2	2	2	2
46	2	2	2	2	2
47	2	2	2	2	2
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51	0	2	2	2	2
52	2	0	2	2	2
53	2	2	0	2	2
54	2	2	2	0	2
55	2	2	2	2	0
56	2	2	2	2	2
57	2	2	2	2	2
58	2	2	2	2	2
59	2	2	2	2	2
60	2	2	2	2	2
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67	2	2	2	2	2
68	2	2	2	2	2
69	2	2	2	2	2
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72	2	2	2	2	2
73	2	2	2	2	2
74	2	2	2	2	2
75	2	2	2	2	2
76	2	2	2	2	2
77	2	2	2	2	2
78	2	2	2	2	2

	BD	BE	BF	BG	BH
1	Jay Dean	Mary Gonzales	Scott Casper	Sarah Davis	Dawanna Dukes
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	3	0	0	0
9	4	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0
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	BI	BJ	BK	BL	BM
1	Helen Giddings	Larry Gonzales	Donna Howard	Rick Miller	Sergio Munoz, Jr.
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1	Mary Ann Perez	Dade Phelen	John Raney	Kevin Roberts	Armando Walle
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1	Ron Simmons	J.D. Sheffield	Toni Rose	Justin Rodriquez	Dade Phelan
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1	John Raney	Kevin Roberts	Gene Wu
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Appendix I: Affiliation Master Spreadsheet

List of Abbreviations Used on Spreadsheet

LBB= Legislative Budget Board HAC=House Appropriations Committee SEC=Senate Education Committee HPE=House Public Education Committee SFC=Senate Finance Committee
SBOE=State Board of Education R=Republican D=Democrat M=Moderate TP=Tea Party
T=Teachers A&T=Administration/Trustees of schools TG=Professional Teacher Organization
TEF=Texas Eagle Forum SC= School Choice BC=Business Community ERC=Education Region Centers ECP=School Extra Curricular Programs
HSC=Home School Coalition P=Private Schools R&PO=Outside Research and Policy Organizations

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1		LBB	SEC	HPE	HAC	SFC	SBOE	R	M	TP	D
2	Donna Bahorich	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
3	Barbara Cargill	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
4	Marisa B. Perez	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
5	Geraldine Miller	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
6	Erika Beltran	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
7	Ken Mercer	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
8	Georgina Perez	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
9	Keven Ellis	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
10	Ruben Cortez, Jr	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
11	Lawrence A. Allen, Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
12	David Bradley	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
13	Sue Melton-Malone	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
14	Marty Rowley	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
15	Patricia Hardy	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
16	Tom Maynard	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
17	Dan Patrick	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
18	Joe Strauss	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
19	Larry Taylor	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
20	Paul Bettencourt	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
21	Donna Campbell	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
22	Bob Hall	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
23	Don Huffines	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
24	Bryan Hughes	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
25	Kel Seliger	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
26	Van Taylor	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
27	Carlos Uresti	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

28	Royce West	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
29	Eddie Lucio, Jr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30	Dr. Alma Allen	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
31	Dan Huberty	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
32	Diego Bernal	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
33	Dwayne Bohac	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
34	Joe Deshotel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
35	Harold V. Dutton, Jr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
36	Lance Gooden	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
37	Ken King	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
38	Linda Koop	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
39	Morgan Meyer	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
40	Gary VanDeaver	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
41	Joan Huffman	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
42	Kelly Hancock	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
43	Dennis Bonnen	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	-	0
44	Jane Nelson	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
45	John Zerwas	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
46	Oscar Longoria	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
47	Trent Ashby	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
48	Greg Bonnen	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
49	Giovanni Caprigilone	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
50	Scott Cospers	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
51	Sarah Davis	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
52	Jay Dean	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
53	Dawnna Dukes	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
54	Helen Giddings	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
55	Larry Gonzales	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
56	Mary Gonzales	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
57	Donna Howard	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
58	Rick Miller	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
59	Sergio Munoz, Jr.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
60	Mary Ann Perez	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
61	Gene Wu	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
62	Armando Walle	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
63	Ron Simmons	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
64	J.D. Sheffield	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
65	Toni Rose	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
66	Justin Rodriguez	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	-	1
67	Dade Phelan	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
68	John Raney	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0

69	Kevin Roberts	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	0
70	Juan Chuy Hinojosa	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	1
71	Brian Birdwell	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
72	Lois Kolkhorst	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
73	Robert Nichols	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
74	Charles Schwernter	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	0
75	Kirk Watson	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	1

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
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Appendix K
Specific Social Media Postings Dates

Actor	Facebook Posting Dates	Twitter Posting Dates
Georgina Perez	2/1/17; 11/22/13; 4/28/14; 11/24/16; 1/25/17; 1/26/17	1/4/17; 1/18/17; 11/29/17; 11/25/16; 8/24/16; 8/20/16; 1/1/17; 1/24/17; 9/13/16; 9/9/16; 2/1/17 (3); 2/1/17 (4);
Erika Beltran	11/20/14; 4/9/14; 2/1/17(3); 5/11/16; 4/11/16; 7/22/16; 1/31/14; 11/16/16; 11/15/16; 9/9/16; 9/25/16 (2); 3/8/14; 9/17/15; 9/9/16; 1/9/16; 1/17/15; 11/25/14; 9/11/15; 7/23/16; 7/11/16/ 11/21/14; 11/22/16; 11/18/15; 12/20/13; 1/31/14; 5/5/14; 9/12/16; 1/16/16; 7/27/16; 7/14/16; 4/11/16; 2/13/15; 4/26/16; 4/11/16; 4/17/14; 2/10/14; 2/9/14;	2/1/16; 11/15/16; 3/4/16; 10/9/15; 2/1/17; 11/21/14; 2/4/17; 2/1/17 (3); 10/13/15; 10/9/15 (2); 9/11/15 (2); 9/23/16; 1/25/17 (2); 1/26/17; 1/25/17; 1/10/16; 1/7/17; /4/17; 1/2/17; 12/17/16; 12/14/16; 12/14/16; 12/8/16 (2); 11/29/16; 11/29/16;
Donna Bahorich	3/14/13; 12/4/12; 11/14/16; 7/11/16; 4/30/16; 1/11/16; 9/19/15; 7/7/15; 1/16/14; 2/5/13; 12/16/11; 11/9/12; 4/16/12; 9/24/12; 12/13/15; 7/20/15; 5/2/14; 1/8/13; 1/8/12; 1/5/12; 12/6/15; 7/17/15; 10/16/13; 12/16/11; 12/13/15; 9/11/15; 1/27/12; 9/11/15; 12/5/12; 12/16/11; 2/23/16; 10/2/15; 3/23/16; 2/17/16; 9/11/15/ 9/30/16; 8/24/14; 8/21/16; 9/27/15; 1/19/15; 5/1/14; 2/5/13; 12/6/12; 4/16/12;	2/6/13; 7/30/15; 9/19/13; 10/19/16; 11/11/16; 1/16/14; 2/9/12; 1/1/12; 10/19/16; 1/17/12; 12/17/11; 1/24/12; 1/1/16; 10/17/15; 1/31/14; 1/28/14; 1/24/14; 1/10/12; 1/19/12; 4/4/12; 10/22/12; 10/26/12; 1/31/13; 1/30/13; 1/16/14; 11/26/16; 11/25/16; 11/11/16; 11/3/16; 11/2/16; 11/1/16;
Texas State Board of Education	3/23/16; 12/13/12; 7/14/16	
Marisa B. Perez	9/11/15; 12/9/16; 9/22/16 (3); 8/7/16; 7/18/16; 2/20/16; 5/15/16; 2/27/15;	

	1/28/15; 1/26/15; 1/21/15; 12/4/14; 10/19/14; 10/8/14; 10/6/14; 9/26/14; 8/14/14; 7/18/14; 5/21/14; 5/13/14; 5/19/14; 5/14/14; 5/6/14; 9/16/13 (2); 7/22/13 (2); 6/28/13; 5/29/13; 10/18/12 (2); 9/16/16 (3); 6/21/16; 5/24/16; 5/16/15; 5/15/15; 12/17/14; 10/25/14; 10/22/14; 7/9/13; 7/17/13; 5/29/13; 5/28/13; 10/26/12; 9/12/16; 9/22/16; 8/22/16; 7/6/16; 7/23/16; 7/22/16; 4/9/16; 2/18/16; 2/5/16; 1/27/16; 1/21/16; 9/11/15; 8/18/15; 7/16/15 (2); 5/20/15; 3/3/15; 2/21/15; 2/16/15; 12/17/14; 12/13/14 (2); 11/5/14; 11/4/14; 10/31/14; 10/27/14 (2); 10/25/14; 10/23/14; 10/22/14; 10/19/14; 10/17/14; 10/13/14; 10/12/14; 10/8/14; 9/24/14; 8/27/14; 7/10/14 (3); 6/19/14; 5/6/14; 5/5/14; 4/18/14; 4/8/14; 3/5/14; 1/21/14; 9/19/13; 9/3/13 (3); 8/30/13; 8/6/13; 7/19/13; 4/23/13; 4/19/13; 4/17/13; 3/25/13; 1/23/13; 11/12/12; 11/10/12; 11/7/12; 10/30/12; 10/29/12	
Barbara Cargill	2/21/15; 7/17/15; 7/21/15; 1/21/12; 12/13/12; 4/27/12; 4/24/12; 4/22/12; 2/23/12;	
Ken Mercer		12/7/09; 12/5/09; 12/4/09; 12/3/09; 4/30/11; 4/26/11; 4/19/11; 3/29/11; 3/2/11; 2/25/11; 2/17/11; 2/10/11; 5/28/10; 5/21/10; 5/20/10; 1/15/10; 1/14/10 (2); 11/10/09; 11/8/09;
Keven Ellis	8/2/16; 5/24/15; 5/19/16; 1/18/16; 1/17/16; 2/3/17;	9/26/16; 8/17/16; 1/31/17; 9/20/16; 1/1/17; 12/26/16;

	10/23/16; 10/20/16; 10/10/16; 10/5/16; 9/26/16; 9/13/16; 3/9/16; 2/17/16; 2/16/16; 2/8/16 (2); 1/18/16;	5/24/16; 2/25/16; 1/26/16; 2/15/16; 2/18/16; 9/24/13
Pat Hardy	11/7/14; 10/27/14 (2); 10/8/14; 10/2/14 (2); 9/6/14; 5/26/14 (4); 5/22/14; 5/2/14; 4/11/14; 4/6/14; 2/24/14; 2/10/14; 2/7/14; 1/23/14 (2);	7/18/16; 4/6/16; 3/5/16; 2/25/16;
Geraldine "Tincy" Miller	11/26/12; 11/7/12 (2); 11/5/12; 10/17/12; 10/15/12; 10/1/12; 9/28/12; 9/25/12; 9/13/12; 9/4/12; 8/10/12; 6/11/12; 6/9/12; 5/8/12; 3/30/12; 3/21/12; 1/18/12;	6/25/12; 6/7/12; 3/26/12; 3/21/12; 3/11/12; 2/27/12; 2/22/12; 10/20/09; 10/7/09; 9/20/09; 9/14/09; 10/15/16
Ruben Cortez, Jr.	10/20/12; 2/6/12; 1/1/12; 11/20/12; 5/12/12; 3/12/12; 5/8/12; 3/24/12; 5/5/12; 4/28/12; 5/21/12; 5/22/12; 3/29/12 (3); 5/27/12; 6/8/12 (2); 4/10/12; 4/18/12; 6/15/12; 5/26/12; 4/28/12; 5/5/12; 2/13/13; 11/8/12; 2/14/12; 10/10/12; 2/15/12; 5/27/12; 5/28/12; 2/6/12; 3/12/12; 4/18/12; 3/23/13; 3/11/13 (2); 3/22/13; 11/18/14; 12/16/14; 3/3/15; 3/25/15 (3); 6/6/16; 9/28/16; 11/16/16; 7/17/13; 7/27/14; 3/31/14; 11/10/12;	
Dan Patrick		1/27/17; 1/26/17; 1/24/17 (2); 1/23/17; 1/21/17; 1/17/17; 12/31/16; 12/2/16; 12/1/16; 11/22/16; 11/19/16; 11/17/16; 11/4/16; 10/24/16; 10/19/16(2); 10/17/16; 10/13/16; 9/23/16; 9/21/16; 9/20/16; 5/18/16; 5/3/16;

		4/16/15; 4/26/16; 2/9/17; 1/28/16; 1/27/15; 1/27/16; 1/26/16; 1/25/16; 1/24/16; 4/30/15; 9/2/15; 8/25/15; 8/5/15; 7/9/15; 8/24/15 (4); 8/21/15;
Dr. Alma Allen	3/1/15; 1/22/17; 1/6/17; 11/20/16; 10/12/16; 9/2/16; 4/16/12;	
Paul Bettencourt	3/25/17; 3/17/17; 3/15/17; 3/13/17; 3/10/17; 3/3/17; 2/26/17; 2/20/17; 2/17/17; 2/14/17; 2/13/17; 1/24/17; 1/19/17; 12/9/16; 2/3/16; 10/14/15; 9/24/15;	3/25/17 (3); 3/14/17; 3/9/17; 3/8/17; 3/7/17; 2/1/17;
Bob Hall	3/24/17; 3/22/17; 3/16/17; 3/13/17; 3/3/17; 2/27/17; 2/24/17; 2/21/17; 1/24/17; 10/20/16; 9/2/16;	
Dwayne Bohac	3/9/17; 1/19/17; 9/29/16; 8/24/16; 1/29/16;	
Bryan Hughes	3/22/17; 3/19/17; 9/3/16;	
Carlos Uresti	3/21/17; 3/14/17; 3/2/17; 2/27/17; 2/23/17;	
Dan Huberty	3/20/17; 3/3/17 (2); 2/28/17; 12/9/16; 12/3/16; 11/11/16; 10/17/16; 9/29/16;	3/20/17; 10/17/16; 10/7/16;
Joe Deshotel		7/23/16 (3);
Diego Bernal	3/24/17; 3/22/17; 3/18/17;	8/18/16; 3/24/17; 3/22/17; 3/20/17; 3/19/17; 3/15/17 (2); 3/1/17; 2/23/17 (2); 2/23/17;
Don Huffines	3/23/17 (3); 3/13/17; 3/1/17 (3); 2/17/17; 2/5/17; 1/27/17; 1/26/17; 1/25/17; 1/18/17; 1/17/17; 1/6/17; 11/17/16; 11/16/16;	3/23/17; 3/4/17;
Donna Campbell	3/25/17; 3/9/17; 3/8/17; 2/25/17; 1/25/17; 1/24/17; 12/21/16; 11/29/16; 11/11/16; 6/16/16;	3/17/17; 3/16/17; 3/8/17; 3/7/17; 2/21/17; 1/27/17; 1/24/17 (3); 1/17/17; 10/11/17; 9/28/17; 9/14/17

		(3); 9/13/17; 9/2/17; 8/16/17; 6/16/16; 6/9/16; 5/25/16; 5/24/16; 5/13/16; 1/29/16 (2); 10/17/15;
Eddie Lucio Jr.	2/21/17;	
Gary VanDeaver	10/17/16; 9/29/16; 9/28/16; 8/7/15; 2/25/15;	
Lance Gooden	3/25/17; 3/22/17; 3/3/17; 3/1/17; 2/26/17; 2/24/17; 2/23/17; 2/21/17; 2/11/17; 2/9/17; 2/5/17; 2/3/17; 1/30/17; 2/7/17; 2/6/17;	
Kel Seliger	12/16/16; 11/2/16; 10/20/16; 10/15/16;	3/25/17; 3/21/17; 2/24/17 (2); 1/24/17 (2); 1/18/17; 1/10/17; 11/2/16; 10/20/16; 9/7/16; 8/25/16; 8/23/16; 8/19/16;
Ken King	1/31/17; 12/9/16; 10/5/16; 9/20/16; 9/8/16; 9/19/16;	
Linda Koop	3/1/17; 2/15/17; 2/27/17; 9/29/16; 9/7/16; 8/18/16; 5/18/16; 5/14/16; 5/13/16;	
Morgan Meyer	3/15/17; 2/21/17; 2/10/17; 1/9/17; 11/2/16;	
Royce West	8/16/16; 2/29/16;	
Van Taylor	3/22/17; 3/13/17; 3/1/17; 2/28/17; 2/18/17; 1/18/17; 1/25/17; 12/16/16; 4/26/16; 1/29/16; 1/28/16;	

Appendix L
Webcasts Observed

Actors	Webcast Name	Date
SBOE	General Meeting	11/19/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	11/18/2010
SBOE	General Meeting	9/24/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	9/22/10
SBOE	General Meeting	7/23/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	7/22/10
SBOE	General Meeting	5/21/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	5/19/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	5/18/10
SBOE	General Meeting	3/12/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board "Work Session" Parts 1-2	3/10/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	3/10/10
SBOE	General Meeting Parts 1-4	1/15/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/14/10
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	1/13/10
SBOE	General Meeting	11/18/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	11/17/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	11/16/11
SBOE	General Meeting	9/16/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	9/15/11
SBOE	General Meeting	7/22/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	7/21/11
SBOE	General Meeting	4/15/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	4/1/11

SBOE	General Meeting	1/21/11
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	1/20/11
SBOE	General Meeting	1/19/11
SBOE	General Meeting	11/16/12
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	11/15/12
SBOE	General Meeting	7/20/12
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	7/19/12
SBOE	General Meeting	4/20/12
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-4	4/19/12
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	4/18/12
SBOE	General Meeting	1/27/12
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	1/26/12
SBOE	General Meeting	11/22/13
SBOE	General Meeting and Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	11/21/13
SBOE	Ad Hoc Review Committee: CSCOPE Hearing	11/19/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	9/20/13
SBOE	General Meeting	9/20/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	9/18/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Public Hearing: Instructional Materials	9/17/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts; Public Hearing: HB 5 Graduation Requirements	9/17/13
SBOE	Ad Hoc Review Committee: CSCOPE Hearing	9/13/13
SBOE	General Meeting	7/19/13
SBOE	Work Session	8/01/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	7/17/13
SBOE	General Meeting	4/19/13

SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	4/17/13
SBOE	General Meeting	2/1/13
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/30/13
SBOE	General Meeting Parts 1-2	1/30/13
SBOE	General Meeting	11/21/14
SBOE	Ad Hoc Review Committee: Long-Range Plan	11/20/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	11/19/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts	11/18/14
SBOE	Work Session	10/24/14
SBOE	Ad Hoc Review Committee: Long-Range Plan	10/20/14
SBOE	General Meeting	9/19/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	9/17/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	9/16/14
SBOE	General Meeting	7/18/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	7/16/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	7/15/14
SBOE	General Meeting	4/11/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	4/9/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	4/8/14
SBOE	General Meeting	1/31/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	1/30/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/29/14
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Public Hearings: TEKS and HB5	1/28/14
SBOE	General Meeting	11/20/15
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	11/18/15
SBOE	General Meeting	9/11/15

SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	9/9/15
SBOE	General Meeting	7/17/15
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	7/15/15
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	7/14/15
SBOE	General Meeting	4/17/15
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	4/15/15
SBOE	General Meeting	2/13/15
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-4	2/11/15
SBOE	General Meeting Parts 1-3	2/11/15
SBOE	General Meeting	11/18/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	11/16/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	11/15/16
SBOE	General Meeting	9/16/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	9/14/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Public Hearing on Instructional Materials	9/13/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Work Session on Mathematics TEKS	9/13/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Work Session: Learning Roundtable	9/12/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board; Work Session: Learning roundtable, educating children of poverty	9/12/16
SBOE	Texas Commission on Next Generation Assessments and Accountability	7/27/16
SBOE	General Meeting	7/22/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-2	7/20/16

SBOE	Committee of the Full Board 1-2	7/19/16
SBOE	Texas Commission on Next Generation Assessments and Accountability	4/20/16
SBOE	General Meeting	4/8/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	4/6/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	4/5/16
SBOE	General Meeting	1/29/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/27/16
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/26/16
SBOE	SBOE General Meeting	2/3/17
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	2/1/17
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board	2/2/17
SBOE	Committee on School Initiatives	2/2/17
SBOE	Committee on School Finance and Permanent School Fund	2/2/17
SBOE	Committee on Instruction	2/2/17
SBOE	Committee of the Full Board Parts 1-3	1/31/17
SBOE	General Meeting	1/31/17
SBOE	Public Hearing on Charter School Amendment	1/30/17
SEC	Meeting	12/7/15
SEC	Press Conference: Lt. Governor Dan Patrick	8/5/15
SEC	Senate Session	6/1/15
SEC	Committee on Finance Meeting	5/22/15
SEC	Meeting (audio only)	5/22/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/21/15
SEC	Senate Session Parts 1-2	5/20/15
SEC	Meeting parts 1-2	5/20/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/19/15

SEC	Committee on Finance Meeting	5/14/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2 (part 2, audio only)	5/14/15
SEC	Meeting	5/5/15
SEC	Senate Session Parts 1-2	5/5/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/28/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	/23/15
SEC	Senate Session	4/22/15
SEC	Committee on Finance Meeting Parts 1-2	4/21/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/21/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/16/15
SEC	Meetings Part 1-2	4/14/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/7/15
SEC	Meeting (recovered video)	3/26/15
SEC	Meeting	3/26/15
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/19/15
SEC	Press Conference: Senator Carlos Uresti and Lt. Governor Dan Patrick	3/12/15
SEC	Meeting	3/4/15
SEC	Meeting	2/19/15
SEC	Meeting	9/13/16
SEC	Meeting	8/16/16
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/6/17
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/30/17
SEC	Committee on Finance Meeting	3/22/17
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/21/17
SEC	Senate Session	3/21/17
SEC	Committee on Finance Parts 1-2 Meeting Parts 1-2	3/16/17
SEC	Meeting	2/28/17
SEC	Meeting	2/23/17
SEC	Senate Session	2/15/17
SEC	Meeting	1/27/17
SEC	Committee on Finance	1/26/17
SEC	Press Conference: Senator Van Taylor	1/25/17
SEC	Press Conference: Senator Royce West	1/25/17

SEC	Press Conference: Senator Don Huffines	1/25/17
SEC	Meeting	10/12/10
SEC	Meeting	4/20/10
SEC	Meeting	4/21/10
SEC	Meeting	3/22/10
SEC	Meeting	2/22/10
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	6/6/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	6/2/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-3	5/19/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/17/11
SEC	Meeting	5/10/11
SEC	Meetings	5/5/11
SEC	Meetings Part 1-3	4/19/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/14/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/12/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/7/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/31/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/29/11
SEC	Meeting	3/23/11
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	10/30/12
SEC	Meeting	10/8/12
SEC	Meeting	9/13/12
SEC	Meeting	8/24/12
SEC	Press Conference: Senator Dan Patrick	5/20/13
SEC	Meeting	5/17/13
SEC	Meeting	5/16/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/14/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/9/13
SEC	Senate Session Parts 1-2	5/8/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	5/7/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/30/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/23/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	4/11/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/26/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	3/12/13
SEC	Meeting Parts 1-2	2/19/13
SEC	Senate Session Parts 1-3	1/29/13
SEC	Meeting	8/26/14
SEC	Meeting	4/14/14

SEC	Press Conference: Senator Eddie Lucio	2/19/14
HCPE	Meeting	2/4/10
HCPE	Meeting	9/25/12
HCPE	Public School Finance System	7/30/12
HCPE	Meeting	6/19/12
HCPE	Meeting	2/17/12
HCPE	Meeting	1/23/12
HCPE	Meeting	5/17/11
HCPE	Meeting	5/13/11
HCPE	Meeting	4/26/12
HCPE	Meeting	4/12/11
HCPE	Meeting	3/29/11
HCPE	Meeting	3/22/11
HCPE	Meeting	2/22/11
HCPE	Meeting	10/16/14
HCPE	Meeting	10/8/14
HCPE	Appropriations	10/6/14
HCPE	Meeting	5/14/14
HCPE	Meeting	4/22/14
HCPE	Meeting	4/16/13
HCPE	Meeting	2/19/13
HCPE	Joint Hearing: Appropriations and Public Education	9/29/16
HCPE	Joint Hearing: Appropriations and Public Education	9/28/16
HCPE	Meeting	10/17/16
HCPE	Meeting	5/11/16
HCPE	Meeting	2/9/16
HCPE	Meeting	2/10/16
HCPE	Appropriations	12/10/15
HCPE	Meeting	5/1/15
HCPE	Meeting	5/21/15
HCPE	Meeting	5/12/15
HCPE	Meeting	4/21/15
HCPE	Meeting s/c on Educator Quality	4/16/15
HCPE	Meeting	4/7/15
HCPE	Meeting	3/17/15

HCPE	Meeting s/c on Educator Quality	3/3/15
HCPE	Meeting	3/3/15
HCPE	Meeting	2/21/17
HCPE	Meeting	2/28/17
HCPE	Meeting	3/7/17
HCPE	Meeting	3/14/17
HCPE	Meeting	3/20/17

Appendix M. “How A Bill Moves.” Web.



How a Bill Becomes a Law

Introducing a Bill

A representative or senator gets an idea for a bill by listening to the people he or she represents and then working to solve their problem. Other ideas for legislation come from interest groups, lobbyists, and local or state government institutions or agencies. A bill may also grow out of the recommendations of an interim committee study conducted when the legislature is not in session. The idea is researched to determine what state law needs to be changed or created to best solve that problem. A bill is then written by the legislator, often with legal assistance from the Texas Legislative Council, a legislative agency which provides bill drafting services, research assistance, computer support, and other services for legislators.

Once a bill has been written, it is introduced by a member of the House or Senate in the member's own chamber. Sometimes, similar bills about a particular issue are introduced in both houses at the same time by a representative and senator working together. However, any bill increasing taxes or raising money for use by the state must start in the House of Representatives.

House members and senators can introduce bills on any subject during the first 60 calendar days of a regular session. After 60 days, the introduction of any bill other than a local bill or a bill related to an emergency declared by the Governor requires the consent of at least four-fifths of the members present and voting in the House or four-fifths of the membership in the Senate.

After a bill has been introduced, a short description of the bill, called a caption, is read aloud while the chamber is in session so that all of the members are aware of the bill and its subject. This is called the first reading, and it is the point in the process where the presiding officer assigns the bill to a committee. This assignment is announced on the chamber floor during the first reading of the bill.

The Committee Process

The chair of each committee decides when the committee will meet and which bills will be considered. The House rules permit a House committee or subcommittee to meet: (1) in a public hearing where testimony is heard and where official action may be taken on bills, resolutions, or other matters; (2) in a formal meeting where the members may discuss and take official action without hearing public testimony; or (3) in a work session for discussion of matters before the committee without taking formal action. In the Senate, testimony may be heard and official action may be taken at any meeting of a Senate committee or subcommittee. Public testimony is almost always solicited on bills, allowing citizens the opportunity to present arguments on different sides of an issue.



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<http://www.tmcec.com/public/files/File/MTSI/DRSR/How%20a%20Bill%20Moves.pdf>



The Committee Process continued....

A House committee or subcommittee holding a public hearing during a legislative session must post notice of the hearing at least five calendar days before the hearing during a regular session and at least 24 hours in advance during a special session. For a formal meeting or a work session, written notice must be posted and sent to each member of the committee two hours in advance of the meeting or an announcement must be filed with the journal clerk and read while the House is in session. A Senate committee or subcommittee must post notice of a meeting at least 24 hours before the meeting.

After considering a bill, a committee may choose to take no action or may issue a report on the bill. The committee report, expressing the committee's recommendations regarding action on a bill, includes a record of the committee's vote on the report, the text of the bill as reported by the committee, a detailed bill analysis, and a fiscal note or other impact statement, as necessary. The report is then printed, and a copy is distributed to every member of the House or Senate.

In the House, a copy of the committee report is sent to either the Committee on Calendars or the Committee on Local and Consent Calendars for placement on a calendar for consideration by the full House. In the Senate, local and noncontroversial bills are scheduled for Senate consideration by the Senate Administration Committee. All other bills in the Senate are placed on the regular order of business for consideration by the full Senate in the order in which the bills were reported from the Senate committee. A bill on the regular order of business may not be brought up for floor consideration unless the Senate sponsor of the bill has filed a written notice of intent to suspend the regular order of business for consideration of the bill.

Floor Action

When a bill comes up for consideration by the full House or Senate, it receives its second reading. The bill is read, again by caption only, and then debated by the full membership of the chamber. Any member may offer an amendment, but it must be approved by a majority of the members present and voting to be adopted. The members then vote on whether to pass the bill. The bill is then considered by the full body again on third reading and final passage. A bill may be amended again on third reading, but amendments at this stage require a two-thirds majority for adoption. Although the Texas Constitution requires a bill to be read on three separate days in each House before it can have the force of law, this constitutional rule may be suspended by a four-fifths vote of the House in which the bill is pending. The Senate routinely suspends this constitutional provision in order to give a bill an immediate third reading after its second reading consideration. The House, however, rarely suspends this provision, and third reading of a bill in the House normally occurs on the day following its second reading consideration.



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Floor Action continued...

In either House, a bill may be passed on a voice vote or a record vote. In the House, record votes are tallied by an electronic vote board controlled by buttons on each member's desk. In the Senate, record votes are taken by calling the roll of the members.

If a bill receives a majority vote on third reading, it is considered passed. When a bill is passed in the House where it originated, the bill is engrossed, and a new copy of the bill which incorporates all corrections and amendments is prepared and sent to the opposite chamber for consideration. In the second House, the bill follows basically the same steps it followed in the first House. When the bill is passed in the opposite House, it is returned to the originating chamber with any amendments that have been adopted simply attached to the bill.

If a bill is returned to the originating chamber without amendments, it is put in final form, signed by the Speaker and Lieutenant Governor, and sent to the Governor.

Action on the Other House's Amendments and Conference Committees

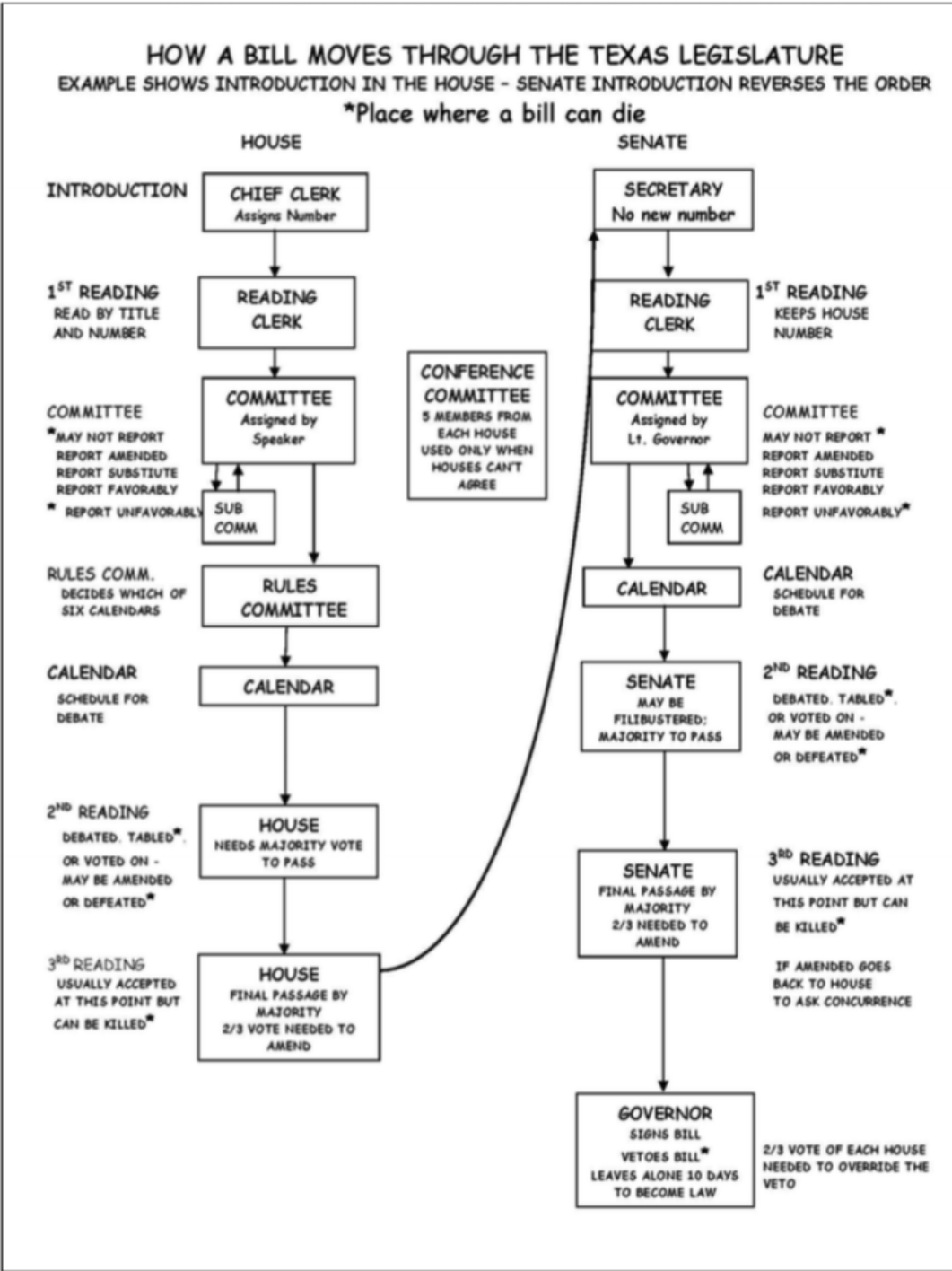
If a bill is returned to the originating chamber with amendments, the originating chamber can either agree to the amendments or request a conference committee to work out differences between the House version and the Senate version. If the amendments are agreed to, the bill is put in final form, signed by the presiding officers, and sent to the Governor.

Conference committees are composed of five members from each House appointed by the presiding officers. Once the conference committee reaches agreement, a conference committee report is prepared and must be approved by at least three of the five conferees from each House. Conference committee reports are voted on in each House and must be approved or rejected without amendment. If approved by both Houses, the bill is signed by the presiding officers and sent to the Governor.

Governor's Action

Upon receiving a bill, the Governor has 10 days in which to sign the bill, veto it, or allow it to become law without a signature. If the Governor vetoes the bill and the legislature is still in session, the bill is returned to the House in which it originated with an explanation of the Governor's objections. A two-thirds majority in each House is required to override the veto. If the Governor neither vetoes nor signs the bill within 10 days, the bill becomes a law. If a bill is sent to the Governor within 10 days of final adjournment, the Governor has until 20 days after final adjournment to sign the bill, veto it, or allow it to become law without a signature.

Adapted from Texas House of Representatives website.
<http://www.house.state.tx.us/resources/bill2law.htm>



Appendix N. Acronyms

The following presents each committee name and the corresponding abbreviation used.

- House Appropriations Committee (HAC)
- House Committee on Public Education (HCPE)
- Legislative Budget Board (LBB)
- Senate Education Committee (SEC)
- Senate Finance Committee (SFC)
- Texas State Board of Education (SBOE)