

{ THE STATE  
OF THE  
RELIGIOUS RIGHT  
2008 }



# THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION:

DRAGGING TEXAS SCHOOLS INTO THE CULTURE WARS



TEXAS  
FREEDOM  
NETWORK  
EDUCATION  
♦ FUND ♦

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## DRAGGING TEXAS SCHOOLS INTO THE CULTURE WARS

### A REPORT FROM THE TEXAS FREEDOM NETWORK EDUCATION FUND

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### ABOUT THE TFN EDUCATION FUND

The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation. Created in 1996, the TFN Education Fund researches the agenda, activities and funding of the religious right. It also educates mainstream people of faith in how to formulate and to advocate a faith-based response to the religious right's policy agenda.

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## INTRODUCTION

The debate over proposed new environmental science textbooks for Texas public schools was long and heated in 2001. Criticism from religious conservatives on the State Board of Education was withering. They charged that the textbooks contained “many, many, many errors,”<sup>1</sup> but they offered few specifics. They insisted that the textbooks were part of a plot by “radical environmentalists” to “destroy America,”<sup>2</sup> were anti-capitalist,<sup>3</sup> and promoted paganism over Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

Yet the official state review panel and experts from Texas A&M University and the Science Teachers Association of Texas concluded that the textbooks were free of factual errors. Moreover, professors at Baylor University – the world’s largest Baptist institution of higher education – and two University of Texas campuses actually used one of these allegedly dangerous textbooks for their own classes. Even the Texas commissioner of education recommended that the board approve all of the textbooks – including the advanced placement textbook used also at the college level.

None of that mattered.

In an arrogant display of raw political power, the State Board of Education – led by a united faction of far-right religious conservatives – voted 10-5 to reject the sole advanced placement textbook offered in this subject. The book’s publisher withdrew a second proposed textbook that had also been attacked by the faction. Another publisher, desperate to win approval for its own textbook, agreed to make changes to satisfy the objections of board conservatives.<sup>5</sup> It was a textbook example, so to speak, of the way politics often trumps all other considerations – including a sound science education for schoolchildren – on the State Board of Education in Texas. Indeed, it was just one battle in a campaign by an increasingly powerful faction of board members to drag the state’s public schools into the nation’s divisive culture wars.

### Attacking Evolution

In 2008 the state board revisits science, and the board’s far-right faction has even more influence now. The focus will be on a revision of the curriculum standards

that guide instruction in *all* science classes, including environmental science and biology. Instruction about evolution in biology classes has, like discussions of global warming and other environmental issues, drawn sharp attacks from far-right pressure groups and members of the state board. Such attacks are alarming because evolution is the foundation for understanding all of the biological sciences, from genetics to animal behavior.

Even so, an array of pressure groups flatly rejects, exclusively on religious grounds, the overwhelming scientific evidence for evolution. “Old Earth” creationists hold that the earth is ancient but that evolution occurs only within narrow and divinely ordained limits. “Young Earth” creationists, on the other hand, take the most literal view of the Bible’s creation story. They believe, as laid out in Genesis, that God created Earth and all life as we know it today in six days just a few thousands years ago. In their view, dinosaurs roamed the Earth with early humans. “Young Earth” creationists have even founded museums, complete with “evidence” of the coexistence of dinosaurs and humans. For example, the founder of the Creation Evidence Museum<sup>6</sup> southwest of Fort Worth, Texas, in Glen Rose, claims to have found footprints of humans and dinosaurs from the same period despite unequivocal evidence in mainstream science that dinosaurs had become extinct millions of years before humans walked the land. The new Creation Museum in Petersburg, Kentucky, is perhaps better known. “The Bible speaks for itself at the Creation Museum,” the museum’s Web site tells visitors.<sup>7</sup> “We’ve just paved the way to a greater understanding of the tenets of creation and redemption.”

Some “young Earth” creationists go even further by claiming that Earth’s location at the center of the universe is revealed in the Bible and, thus, is also a fact. In early 2007, state Rep. Warren Chisum, R-Pampa, the powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, distributed to fellow Texas lawmakers a memo<sup>8</sup> attacking evolution as an anti-religion plot hatched by an ancient Jewish sect. The memo, apparently authored by Georgia lawmaker Ben Bridges, also provided a link to a Web site<sup>9</sup> promoting the claim – backed, supporters say, by a literal reading of biblical



State Board of Education meeting

passages – that the sun and rest of the universe revolve around a stationary Earth.

### Evolving Strategies

Efforts by proponents of teaching creationism in public schools have increasingly run into obstacles across the country. In *Edwards v. Aguillard*, 482 U.S. 578 (1987), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that teaching so-called “creation science” unconstitutionally promotes religion in public schools.<sup>10</sup> In addition, voters in Kansas and Ohio in 2006 defeated candidates for their state boards of education who attacked evolution and pushed for teaching creationism.

As a result of these and other setbacks, the strategy of creationists has evolved, if you will, over time. Groups such as the Seattle-based Discovery Institute avoid using the term “creationism” or “creation science.” They promote, instead, a concept called “intelligent design.” Proponents of “intelligent design” claim that life forms are so complex that they could only have been designed and created by an intelligent agent. They also avoid calling this intelligent agent “God,” fearing – logically – that doing so would reveal the concept’s religious foundation. The reality, of course, is that “intelligent design” – while presented as “science” – is simply another name for creationism and the promotion of a particular religious point of view. A federal court reached that conclusion in a key Pennsylvania case, *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District*, in 2005. “It is our view that a reasonable, objective observer

would, after reviewing both the voluminous record in this case, and our narrative, reach the inescapable conclusion that [intelligent design] is an interesting theological argument, but that it is not science,” the court wrote.<sup>11</sup> Earlier that year, the current chairman of the Texas State Board of Education – a self-described creationist – also acknowledged that “creationism” and “intelligent design” are the same thing. “Whether you’re a progressive creationist, recent creationist, ‘young Earth,’ ‘old Earth,’ it’s all in the tent of intelligent design,” Don McLeroy said in a 2005 lecture at Grade Bible Church in Bryan.<sup>12</sup> Gov. Rick Perry named McLeroy chairman of the State Board of Education in July 2007.

Another key creationist strategy – which has become more prominent since the federal court’s decision in the *Dover* case – is to sow doubt among science students by demanding that schools teach about phony “weaknesses” of evolution. The wealth of evidence supporting the science behind evolution is overwhelming, with research stretching back well over a century. Scientists generally see remaining questions about evolution as avenues for further research. Creationists, however, misrepresent such questions as profound failures of science to explain and demonstrate the processes of evolution. Moreover, evidence presented in the *Kitzmiller v. Dover* case in Pennsylvania revealed that many of the so-called “weaknesses” promoted by creationists are simply nonsense.

Alarmingly, however, this cynical strategy by creationists could handicap our schoolchildren with a weak science education that leaves them woefully unprepared for college and the jobs of the future. The pressure groups promoting creationism in our schools don’t seem to care. Why? Because by fabricating so-called ‘weaknesses’ to undermine the science behind evolution, they hope to open the door to teaching alternatives – creationism – in the future. This is, in fact, a classic case of promoting ideological agendas ahead of a sound education for schoolchildren. “(K)eepp chipping away at the objective empirical evidence,” McLeroy told Grace Bible’s congregation in 2005. “Keep pointing out that their deductive reasoning depends on the premise nature is all there is to be true. Remind them that they may be wrong.”<sup>13</sup>

This creationist strategy has been clearly evident in Texas. During the 2006 elections to the State Board of Education, two candidates – Cynthia Dunbar of Richmond and Ken Mercer of San Antonio – endorsed instruction on “intelligent design”/creationism in public schools. Yet a few months later, nearly all state board members – including members of the far-right faction – claimed that they simply want students to learn about the “strengths and weaknesses” of evolutionary theory. “Intelligent design”/creationism, they now say, doesn’t belong in public school science classes.<sup>14</sup> One may be excused for wondering what these state board members really believe: what they have said during election campaigns and before friendly church audiences, or what they now say to reporters.

On the following pages, this report will identify members of the board’s far-right faction, with profiles of each one in this year’s TFN Education Fund Watch List. Together they will dominate debate over the revision of science standards on evolution and other topics. Since the early 1990s, the far-right faction has managed to cobble together board majorities on certain issues, including the rejection of an environmental science textbook in 2001 and the adoption of abstinence-only health textbooks in 2004. After the 2006 elections, however, two new members have almost given the faction its ultimate goal – a solid majority of board seats. Whether or not that faction finally gets that majority could depend on the vote of former board chairwoman Geraldine “Tincy” Miller, R-Dallas. Miller

is the sole remaining old-line social conservative from the state board’s textbook wars in the 1980s and early 1990s. Her brand of conservatism, however, has been eclipsed by the radicalism of the board’s current far-right faction.

### **Also Inside This Report**

This report also includes background information about the State Board of Education and the process for revising the state’s curriculum standards. In addition, the appendices offer memorable quotes from the religious right in 2007 and the TFN Education Fund’s annual catalog of Texas-based far-right groups, with information on the leadership, missions and finances of those groups. The catalog of far-right groups includes information about two foundations this year. Covenant Foundation is a 501(c)(3) private foundation created by wealthy San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger. Covenant has provided vast sums of money to a web of far-right groups in Texas. In fact, without that money, the religious right in Texas would be very different today. Many groups likely wouldn’t exist. Similarly, the Niemoller Foundation is a 501(c)(3) private foundation that has served as the primary funding mechanism for the Texas Restoration Project, a network of conservative pastors (also profiled in the catalog). Niemoller has received the bulk of its funding from Leininger, Houston homebuilding Bob Perry, East Texas chicken tycoon Bo Pilgrim, and beer and wine distributor Don O’Neal. All are prominent donors to the Republican Party and its candidates for office.

# Watch List: 2008

## Watch List: 2008

The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund's 2008 Watch List focuses on the seven individuals who form the far-right faction on the 15-member State Board of Education. This faction has grown in numbers and influence since the early 1990s. The two newest members won their seats in 2006 with strong support of other faction members. Their election – replacing two conservative, but not radical, board members – and the appointment of one faction member as chairman has put the far right on the verge of complete control over the board.



**David Bradley**  
BEAUMONT



**Barbara Cargill**  
THE WOODLANDS



### **David Bradley, (R) BEAUMONT**

District 7 SBOE member David Bradley, R-Beaumont, is possibly the most abrasive member of the board's far-right faction.

Originally elected in 1996, he won re-election in 2000, 2002 and 2004.<sup>15</sup> An insurance and real estate executive, Bradley has home-schooled his two children.<sup>16</sup> Despite his personal snub of public schools, Bradley claims he is involved in setting public education policy "because I'm a taxpayer and a businessman."<sup>17</sup>

In 2002, Bradley was indicted on a misdemeanor charge of violating the state's law on open meetings. Bradley stood accused of meeting with two other SBOE members and three financial advisors about the Permanent School Fund (PSF), which the board manages. The group was suspected of steering money from the PSF, which pays for Texas schoolchildren's textbooks, to investment managers who were financially linked to the advisors.<sup>18</sup> The charges were later dropped. In July 2007, Bradley confirmed that he was under investigation by the state Attorney General's Office for possibly living outside the SBOE district he represents. Authorities had announced no resolution of that case as this report went to press.

Bradley has persistently sought to censor public school textbooks based on his own personal political or religious objections to content. In 2003, he voted with three other board members against adopting new

biology textbooks because the books did not include what he believes are "weaknesses" of the theory of evolution. "My vote is a subjective vote," he said. "I am not a scientist; I am a lay board member . . . and we are elected to represent the common people out there in our districts."<sup>19</sup>

He also rejected an advanced placement environmental science textbook in 2001 because he said the book erred in saying that suburban development "swallows up" hillside country in California. In his view, "such developments create jobs and 'quality of life.'"<sup>20</sup> The board ultimately rejected the textbook, with members of the board's far-right faction calling it anti-American and anti-Christian and criticizing its discussion on pollution and global warming as "junk science."

His most dramatic rejection, however, was of an algebra textbook that he criticized for pictures, recipes (!), and references to women's suffrage, biology and the Vietnam War. By law, the state board can reject textbooks only if they fail to cover established state curriculum standards, contain factual errors or do not meet manufacturing specifications. Knowing that his ideological bias was not a legally sufficient reason to reject the math textbook, Bradley tore the cover off (with some effort), stating, "Ladies and gentlemen, worthless binding. I reject this book."<sup>21</sup>

## WATCH LIST: 2008



**Cynthia Dunbar**  
RICHMOND



**Terri Leo**  
SPRING



**Gail Lowe**  
LAMPASAS



**Don McLeroy**  
BRYAN



**Ken Mercer**  
SAN ANTONIO



**Barbara Cargill, (R) THE WOODLANDS**

District 8 SBOE member Barbara Cargill, R-The Woodlands, won election to the board in 2004. Since her election, Cargill has demonstrated that she will be a vocal and ambitious member of the far-right faction, not simply a backbencher recruited by like-minded colleagues to run for election.

Cargill defeated a Republican incumbent, Linda Bauer, whom the far-right faction targeted in 2004 after Bauer refused the previous year to oppose biology textbooks that included a full scientific account of evolution. "I think the district also wanted a more conservative voice," Cargill declared.<sup>22</sup> She also had the financial backing of San Antonio businessman James Leininger, who has regularly donated to far-right board candidates. Others endorsing her included Cathie Adams, president of the far-right Texas Eagle Forum.

Despite her experience as a public school science teacher, Cargill has been a supporter of ideas far outside the scientific mainstream. Cargill founded and directs Wonders of the Woodlands Science Camp. The camp is billed as an outreach program of the Woodlands United Methodist Church. A link from the camp's Web site to "Kids4Truth" takes viewers to stories promoting "intelligent design," a religion-based concept favored by creationists as an alternative to the theory of evolution.

In a letter posted on an anti-evolution Web site,<sup>23</sup> Cargill thanked her supporters in the 2004 election: "To God be the Glory for our victorious election results last night!" She was referring to her own election and the victories of incumbent SBOE members Terri Leo and Gail Lowe, other members of the board's far-right faction, in March 2004.<sup>24</sup>



**Cynthia Dunbar, (R) RICHMOND**

Like many others who have been part of the state board's far-right faction, District 10 SBOE member Cynthia Dunbar, R-Richmond, shunned public schools when deciding where to educate her children. Her two children have been home-schooled and have attended private schools.<sup>25</sup>

"I don't feel that where I place my children is really relevant to the issues facing the state board," she said during the 2006 campaign in which she first won election to the board. "I think I can empathize with parents."<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps. But key supporters of private school vouchers see her as an ally. Voucher schemes would drain millions of dollars from public schools to pay for tuition at private and religious schools. Wealthy school voucher proponent James Leininger and his wife, Cecilia, provided key funding for Dunbar's campaign in 2006.<sup>27</sup>

Dunbar's connections to the religious right are extensive. She earned her law degree from Pat Robertson's Regent University Law School, which seeks to "fully integrate the study of law with biblical principles."<sup>28</sup> In addition, her list of supporters includes far-right groups such as the Texas Eagle Forum, the Free Market Foundation, American Family Association, WallBuilders, the Texas Home School Coalition, Concerned Women for America and the Christian Coalition.<sup>29</sup>

During her election campaign, Dunbar said she would like to see "intelligent design" included in the public school science curriculum and textbooks. The concept, she said, is "at least as viable, if not more so, than evolution."<sup>30</sup>

In November 2007, Dunbar led the far-right faction's rejection of a third-grade mathematics textbook. State law permits the board to reject a textbook only if the book fails to meet established curriculum standards, has factual errors, or does not meet manufacturing specifications. Formal opinions from two state attorneys general – a Democrat and a Republican – have upheld that law. Dunbar argued, however, that board members were not obligated to explain their rejection of the mathematics textbook. Such a rationale would allow the board to censor and reject any textbook based simply on the personal and political objections of a majority of members. The Texas Freedom Network has called on the state attorney general to enforce the law. As this report goes to press, neither the attorney general nor any board member who voted to approve the mathematics textbook has taken any action to challenge the rejection.

talking points supplied by the anti-evolution Discovery Institute. The next year she demanded publishers revise proposed new health textbooks by adding passages attacking homosexuality and defining marriage explicitly as a union of one man and one woman. She claimed that the textbooks used "asexual stealth phrases" – such as "marriage partners," "married couples," and "married people" – designed to promote homosexuality and same-sex marriage. "Texas law rejects homosexual 'marriage,'" Leo declared. "Students can therefore maintain that homosexuality and heterosexuality are not moral equivalents, without being charged with 'hate speech.'"<sup>31</sup> She acknowledged that her demands had been suggested by a senior reviewer for the far-right Educational Research Analysts (ERA). ERA, founded by Mel and Norma Gabler in Longview, Texas, has played a prominent role in censoring public school textbooks since the 1960s.

Further evidence of Leo's ambition and willingness to push her agenda – and her obsession with homosexuality – came in 2005. That year she led successful efforts to stop the state board's dues payments to the National Association of State Boards of Education. She objected to – among other things – the national association's policies against anti-gay harassment. "They're [NASBE] encouraging the school board to develop policies on hate crime, just to, really, to pave the way for, I think, the suppression of free speech," she explained. "I think that this is one action that they're using to stop any kind of dissent from acceptance of a lifestyle that many feel is a dangerous lifestyle and should not be promoted in our schools."<sup>32</sup>



**Terri Leo, (R) SPRING**

District 6 SBOE member Terri Leo, R-Spring, won election to her seat in 2002. Although she sits on a board that sets policy for public schools, Leo has sent her children to private school.

Leo has been a major ringleader in efforts to build the far-right faction on the state board. Among the most prepared of the board members at each meeting, she has emerged as a public spokesperson for the far-right faction and is often quoted in news stories regarding the faction's efforts.

Leo is not shy about being the tool of outside pressure groups. In 2003, for example, Leo directed attacks on proposed new biology textbooks by relying on



**Gail Lowe, (R) LAMPASAS**

District 14 SBOE member Gail Lowe, R-Lampasas, is said by some supporters to have "the most consistently conservative voting record of all SBOE members."<sup>33</sup> She was elected to the board in 2002 and re-elected in 2004. She works as an editor and copy editor for a semi-weekly newspaper in Lampasas.<sup>34</sup> James and Cecilia Leininger, proponents of private school vouchers and social conservative causes, donated to her campaign in 2004.<sup>35</sup>

Like other members of the board's far-right faction, Lowe wants full authority to censor textbooks returned to the SBOE. The board lost that authority in 1995. "Without an elected body that answers to its constituents and seeks to provide an education that supports the mainstream values of Texas families, there

is no telling what outrageous education fad or liberal agenda may be mandated in the curriculum,” Lowe wrote in an article for the Texas Tea Party Republican Women’s group. “Let’s continue working together to ensure that the authority for such decisions rests with the State Board of Education, not with an appointed edocrat or administrative bureaucracy.”<sup>36</sup>

In 2003, Lowe was one of four SBOE members to vote against the adoption of new biology textbooks because those textbooks did not include creationist-fabricated “weaknesses” in the theory of evolution. “The board must ensure the [biology] textbooks under consideration are accurate, up to date, and adequately cover strengths and weaknesses of scientific theories,” Lowe said on her campaign Web site.<sup>37</sup> It didn’t matter to Lowe and other far-right board members that a long list of scientists – including at least one Nobel laureate – had already vouched for those textbooks as meeting those requirements.

Lowe also supports abstinence-only-until-marriage sex education. She opposes teaching high school health students about contraception and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases through any method other than abstinence. “I believe parents have overwhelmingly shown that they want abstinence to be taught,” she said,<sup>38</sup> apparently unaware of – or ignoring – public opinion polls showing that parents overwhelmingly favor teaching about abstinence *and* medically accurate information on contraception and disease prevention.<sup>39</sup>



**Don McLeroy, (R) BRYAN**

In July 2007, Gov. Rick Perry appointed District 9 SBOE member Don McLeroy, R-Bryan, to chair the State Board of Education. A dentist and former local school board member, McLeroy has a warm and gracious personality. He is, however, one of the far-right faction’s most dogmatic members.

McLeroy has long been affiliated with religious-right organizations. He has, for example, touted his links to far-right groups such as the Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America and Family Research Council.<sup>40</sup> In his successful first bid for the board in 1998, one of McLeroy’s biggest campaign backers was wealthy private school voucher sugar daddy James Leininger of San Antonio.<sup>41</sup> McLeroy won re-election in 2002 and 2006.<sup>42</sup>

“Keep chipping away at the objective empirical evidence. Keep pointing out that their deductive reasoning depends on the premise nature is all there is to be true. Remind them that they may be wrong.”

— **Creationist SBOE Chairman Don McLeroy,**  
explaining how to undermine teaching evolution

During hearings about proposed new biology textbooks in 2003, McLeroy advocated positions of the anti-evolution Discovery Institute.<sup>43</sup> He argued in favor of including what he called the “weaknesses” of evolutionary theory in textbooks.<sup>44</sup> He even referred to the scientific theory of evolution – which is backed by more than a century of research and is the foundation of scientific understanding of how life and species develop – as merely an opinion. His opposition to the proposed biology textbooks had “nothing to do with religion,” he stated. “It has to do with good science and not presenting opinions as facts.”<sup>45</sup> McLeroy claimed that the textbooks he opposed “presented evolution in an overly ‘dogmatic’ manner.”<sup>46</sup> “People don’t realize the threat of scientific dogmatism [with regard to] evolution in our society,” he said.<sup>47</sup>

McLeroy has posted his thoughts on a variety of subjects in essays on his personal Web site. In one essay attacking evolution, he argues that Copernicus’ “Heliocentric hypothesis” – that the earth revolves around the sun – has been proven scientifically, but that the theory of evolution has not.<sup>48</sup>

McLeroy also opposes including medically accurate information on contraception and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases in health classes. “Abstinence-only is the only realistic message,” he says. “It’s the only thing that works.”<sup>49</sup> Before serving on the state board, McLeroy was a member of the Bryan school district’s “Teen Sexuality Committee.” In his time on that committee, McLeroy worked to ensure that local high schools provided no information on responsible pregnancy and disease prevention other than through abstinence-only-until-marriage.<sup>50</sup>

McLeroy was also among the far-right faction members who rejected the only advanced placement environmental textbook that went before the board for approval in 2001. He sided with board members who argued that the textbook was anti-western and anti-Christian.<sup>51</sup>



**Ken Mercer, (R) SAN ANTONIO**

District 5 SBOE member Ken Mercer, R- San Antonio, is a former state representative who won election to the state board in 2006. He defeated a Republican incumbent who was not aligned with the board's far-right faction. In that race, wealthy San Antonio businessman James Leininger renewed his role as the primary financial backer of far-right candidates for the state board. He gave Mercer's campaign \$35,000 – more than half of the money Mercer raised to defeat incumbent Dan Montgomery of Fredericksburg in the Republican primary.<sup>52</sup>

Mercer was also endorsed by the Texas Home School Coalition, Texas Right to Life, Texas Eagle Forum, Concerned Women for America, and the creationist Texans for Better Science Education.<sup>53</sup> "We should let kids hear both sides of the story," Mercer told a reporter when asked whether "intelligent design" should be taught alongside the scientific theory of evolution.<sup>54</sup> And according to voters' guides, he strongly opposes including comprehensive sex education in the public school health curriculum.<sup>55</sup>

Mercer has published a series of letters to the *San Antonio Express-News* that provide more insight into his political ideology. In a 1996 letter, he demanded that

more social conservatives be made Texas delegates to the Republican National Convention. He wanted the Texas Republican convention to reject what he thought were efforts by the campaign of eventual GOP presidential nominee Bob Dole to stack the national convention with moderates. "Like it or not, the pro-family, social conservatives are in control of this state convention and rightfully deserve a percentage of the national delegation," Mercer wrote.<sup>56</sup> In a 1997 letter, he also voiced his support for private school vouchers.<sup>57</sup>

In addition, he has criticized public funding for the arts in San Antonio and the expansion of the city's nondiscrimination clause to include sexual orientation. He accused the National Endowment for the Arts of "supporting pornographic and anti-Christian art."<sup>58</sup> He attacked the San Antonio City Council for funding "art, drama, theater and film glorifying a [gay] lifestyle objectionable to a large majority of constituents."<sup>59</sup>

Mercer also argues that Christians are a victimized group. "The most discriminated people in this country are not blacks or Hispanics, or any other groups of color or race," he has written, but rather "the most ... politically correct discrimination is ... against any Christian American who would dare stand up for the protection of their family!"<sup>60</sup> According to a voters' guide from the Free Market Foundation – the Texas affiliate of James Dobson's Focus on the Family – Mercer also strongly opposes legislative protections against discrimination based on a student's sexual orientation.<sup>61</sup>

# **The State Board of Education in Texas**

## 1: The State Board of Education in Texas

The administration of public education in Texas has undergone almost constant reform since the Legislature created the first state public school system in 1854. From that time until 1876, lawmakers established a variety of statewide administrative authorities for public schools. Those authorities included a governor-appointed state superintendent, a Bureau of Education and, for a short time during Reconstruction after the Civil War, a State Board of Education. The governor, comptroller and state superintendent made up the state board.

The Constitution of 1876 abolished the superintendent's office, but lawmakers restored it as an elected position in 1884. A constitutional amendment in 1923 changed the State Board of Education to a nine-member panel appointed by the governor. A sweeping legislative reform plan in 1949 replaced the Department of Education with the Texas Education Agency. It also expanded the state board and made it an elected body, which eventually grew to 27 members. The plan replaced the state superintendent of instruction with a commissioner of education appointed by the state board.

Another round of major education reforms in 1984 included reducing the size of the State Board of Education to its current 15 seats, each filled by an appointee of the governor. Voters in 1987, however, made the state board an elected body once again, with the state divided into 15 board districts. The governor has appointed the state commissioner of education since the early 1990s.

### State Board Authority

In general, the state Legislature sets overall education policy for Texas, including making state funding available for public schools. The State Board of Education, however, is the governing body that essentially determines what students learn in Texas public schools. The board's specific policy authority, set out in statute and the state Constitution, includes the following areas:<sup>62</sup>

- establishing statewide curriculum standards for public school courses, including content knowledge and skills students are to master;
- reviewing and adopting proposed textbooks for

purchase by local school districts and ensuring that those textbooks conform to the statewide curriculum standards;

- setting graduation requirements;
- determining standards of performance for state-mandated assessment tests;
- overseeing the investment of the state's Permanent School Fund, which is funded through the sale and leasing of vast public lands as well as royalties derived from mining on those lands;
- approving the creation of specific charter schools; and
- adopting regulations and standards for adult education programs provided by local school districts and institutions of higher education.

### Elections

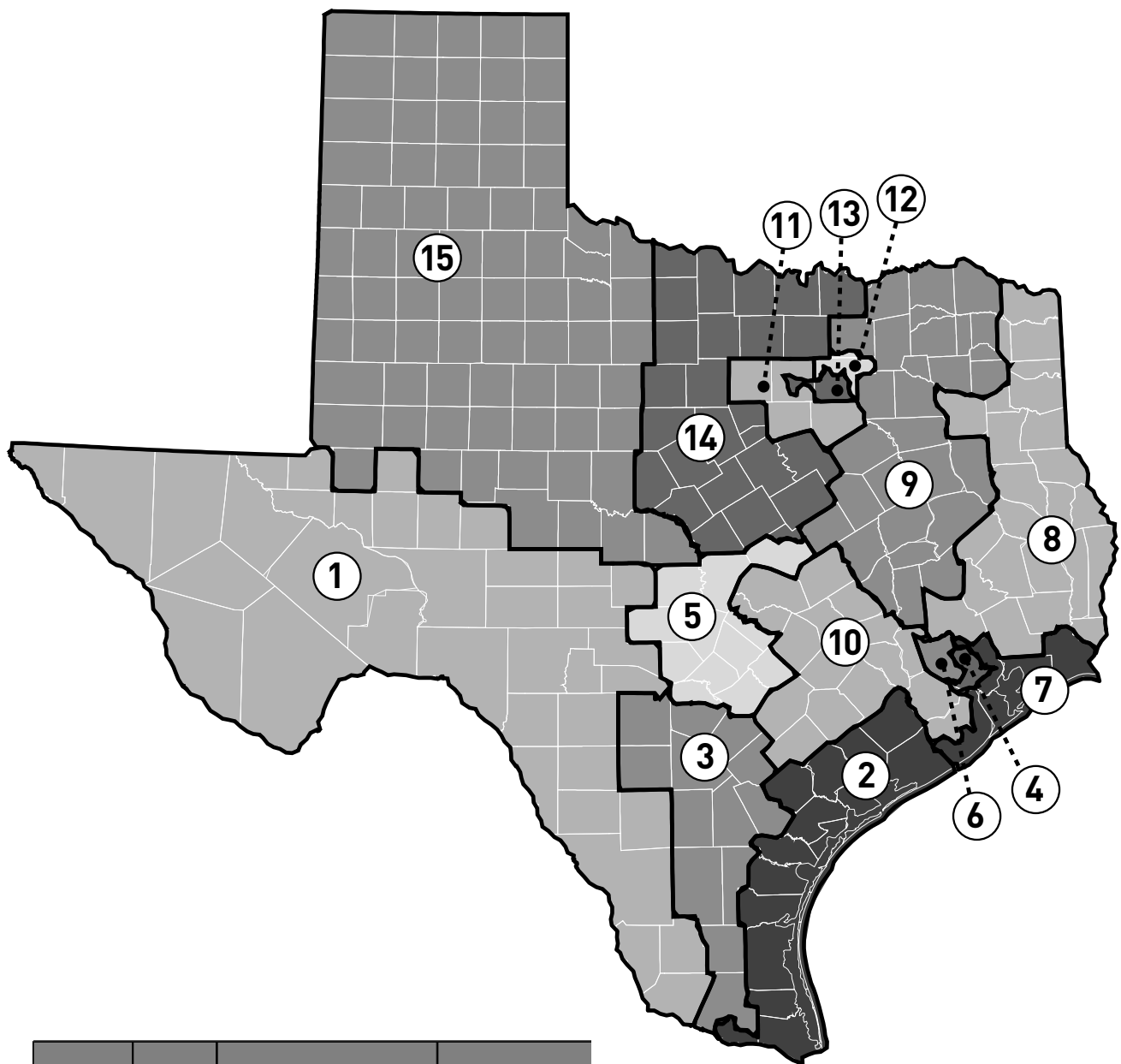
Texans choose members of the State Board of Election in partisan elections, with political parties nominating their candidates through primaries or other methods the parties choose. (See Map 1: State Board of Education Districts.) In 2007-08, Republicans outnumber Democrats on the panel 10-5. Roughly half of the board's seats are filled in elections every two years. Seven seats are up for election in 2008 and eight in 2010. (See Table 1: State Board of Education Election Schedule.)

In most other states, the governor or other state and/or local officials appoint members to the state board. (See Table 2: State Boards of Education: How Members Are Chosen by State.) The boards of education in six states are made up of both elected and appointed members. Texas is one of 14 states, plus the District of Columbia (D.C.), with elected state boards of education. In four states and D.C., voters cast ballots for board members in nonpartisan general elections. Voters in 10 states, including Texas, elect their state boards through partisan elections.

### Election Battles over Evolution

Battles in recent years over teaching evolution and creationism have been major stories in at least two of the states with partisan state board elections. In Ohio, supporters of teaching evolution swept to victory in 2006. Also that year, pro-evolution candidates

Map 1: State Board of Education Districts



District	Party	Member	City
1	D	Rene Nuñez	El Paso
2	D	Mary Helen Berlanga	Corpus Christi
3	D	Rick Agosto	San Antonio
4	D	Lawrence Allen	Houston
5	R	Ken Mercer	San Antonio
6	R	Terri Leo	Spring
7	R	David Bradley	Beaumont
8	R	Barbara Cargill	The Woodlands
9	R	Don McLeroy	College Station
10	R	Cynthia Noland Dunbar	Richmond
11	R	Patricia Hardy	Fort Worth
12	R	Geraldine Miller	Dallas
13	D	Mavis B. Knight	Dallas
14	R	Gail Lowe	Lampass
15	R	Bob Craig	Lubbock

regained control of the Kansas state board. But the battle in Kansas has been ongoing for a decade. Control of the Kansas board has alternated between social conservatives who reject evolution in favor of teaching creationism and moderates who want to teach a full scientific accounting of evolution without creationism. The result has been educational schizophrenia. In 1999, a new far-right board majority deleted most references to evolution from the state's science standards. Two years later, a moderate majority put evolution instruction back into schools. The far right regained control of the board in 2005 and inserted creationist-fabricated attacks on evolution into the curriculum. Since the 2006 elections, a moderate majority has rolled back those anti-evolution policies.<sup>63</sup>

Dragging Kansas public schools into the culture war over evolution has had significant consequences. The war launched by far-right forces in the late 1990s has

cut into the Kansas board's credibility and demoralized teachers. In fact, between 1999-2000 and 2004-05, the number of licenses the state granted to new science teachers dropped by more than half. "This back-and-forth game they're playing with the kids in Kansas makes us look like bunch of idiots," a Topeka high school science teacher told a reporter in 2007. In addition, high school students have been worried that the war over evolution will hurt their chances to enroll in the best universities. "No matter what you believe, it's not a good idea to change what is taught from year to year," said one Kansas high school senior. "Science is confusing enough as it is."<sup>64</sup>

Now far-right pressure groups are bringing the war over evolution back to Texas. Currently, public school textbooks in Texas classrooms reflect a full scientific accounting of evolution. If anti-evolution groups get their way, that may change in coming years.

**Table 1: State Board of Education Election Schedule**

SBOE District Elections in 2008 (incumbent)	SBOE District Elections in 2010 (incumbent)
<b>District 2</b> (Mary Helen Berlanga, D-Corpus Christi)	<b>District 1</b> (René Nuñez, D-El Paso)
<b>District 6</b> (Terri Leo, R-Spring)	<b>District 3</b> (Rick Agosto, D-San Antonio)
<b>District 7</b> (David Bradley, R-Beaumont)	<b>District 4</b> (Lawrence Allen, D-Houston)
<b>District 8</b> (Barbara Cargill, R-The Woodlands)	<b>District 5</b> (Ken Mercer, R-San Antonio)
<b>District 11</b> (Patricia Hardy, R-Weatherford)	<b>District 9</b> (Don McLeroy, R-Bryan)
<b>District 13</b> (Mavis Knight, D-Dallas)	<b>District 10</b> (Cynthia Dunbar, R-Richmond)
<b>District 14</b> (Gail Lowe, R-Lampasas)	<b>District 12</b> (Geraldine "Tincy" Miller, R-Dallas)
	<b>District 15</b> (Bob Craig, R-Lubbock)

The 2008 State Board of Education elections will include races for four seats currently held by members of the board's far-right faction: Districts 6, 7, 8 and 14.

Table 2: State Boards of Education: How Members Are Chosen by State

State	Appointed	Combination of appointed and elected members	Partisan elections	Nonpartisan elections
Alabama			✓	
Alaska	✓			
Arizona	✓			
Arkansas	✓			
California	✓			
Colorado			✓	
Connecticut	✓			
Delaware	✓			
DC		✓		✓
Florida	✓			
Georgia	✓			
Hawaii				✓
Idaho	✓			
Illinois	✓			
Indiana	✓			
Iowa	✓			
Kansas			✓	
Kentucky	✓			
Louisiana		✓	✓	
Maine	✓			
Maryland	✓			
Massachusetts	✓			
Michigan			✓	
Minnesota*				
Mississippi	✓			
Missouri	✓			
Montana	✓			
Nebraska				✓
Nevada				✓
New Hampshire	✓			
New Jersey	✓			
New Mexico			✓	
New York	✓			
North Carolina	✓			
North Dakota	✓			
Ohio		✓	✓	
Oklahoma	✓			
Oregon	✓			
Pennsylvania		✓	✓	
Rhode Island		✓	✓	
South Carolina	✓			
South Dakota	✓			
Tennessee	✓			
Texas			✓	
Utah				✓
Vermont	✓			
Virginia	✓			
Washington*		✓		✓*
West Virginia	✓			
Wisconsin*				
Wyoming	✓			

\* Minnesota and Wisconsin do not have state boards of education. Washington voters elect a nonpartisan superintendent of public instruction to their state board.



# **A History of Censorship in Texas**

## 2. A History of Censorship in Texas

For decades, culture warriors on the far right have sought to drag Texas public schools into controversies on issues such as evolution, homosexuality, environmental science (particularly issues involving pollution and global warming), school prayer and religious freedom. Beginning in the 1960s, for example, Mel and Norma Gabler regularly launched well-publicized political broadsides against proposed new textbooks in Texas. Over time the self-described “conservative Christian organization” founded by the East Texas couple – Educational Research Analysts – became stunningly influential. Even textbook publishers began seeking their blessing for new textbooks.

The Web site for the Longview-based Educational Research Analysts describes the group’s focus on at least seven subject areas:<sup>65</sup>

- Scientific “weaknesses” in evolutionary theories
- Phonics-based reading instruction
- Principles and benefits of free enterprise
- Original intent of the U.S. Constitution
- Respect for Judeo-Christian morals
- Emphasis on abstinence in sex education

The Gablers employed a variety of strategies to push those goals. For example, they regularly compiled long lists of what they claimed were factual errors in textbooks, presenting their lists to the state board and to reporters. Some of the errors were real, such as inaccurate dates or figures. Many of the alleged “errors,” however, were often ideological objections to material the Gablers believed promoted what they considered liberal, socialist and anti-Christian agendas. Yet many parents and taxpayers focused on reports of hundreds of “errors” in some textbooks and saw the Gablers as defenders of good education rather than the censors they were. In addition, the Gablers sponsored “training sessions” to teach like-minded individuals how to censor textbooks and push a Christian conservative agenda in public schools.

### The State Board and Textbooks

By the time of Mel Gabler’s death in 2004, followed by Norma’s passing in 2007, Educational Research Analysts had come under the direction of their protégé, Neal

“During the 1990s, the State Board of Education’s simmering culture war finally boiled over, as a new faction of aggressive, uncompromising far-right ideologues marched to the fore.”

Frey. Long before then, however, others had joined the textbook censorship movement. These new censors gained support from a growing number of social conservatives on the Texas State Board of Education. During the 1990s, the board’s simmering culture war finally boiled over, as a new faction of aggressive, uncompromising far-right ideologues marched to the fore. Outside pressure groups such as Texas Eagle Forum, Citizens for a Sound Economy and the Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF) also joined the fray. Groups like TPPF even adopted some of the Gablers’ tactics, offering “reviews” made up of long lists of ideological objections – labeled “errors” – to textbook content. Pressure groups like TPPF often attacked textbook passages as anti-Christian, anti-Western and anti-free enterprise.

In 1994-95, social conservatives on and off the state board demanded that publishers make hundreds of changes to proposed high school health textbooks. They vigorously objected to including medically accurate information on contraception and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. They insisted, instead, on an “abstinence-only-until-marriage” approach to sex education – never mind that teen birth and STD rates in Texas were among the nation’s highest. They even demanded that publishers remove illustrations of breast self-exams for cancer. Such illustrations, they worried, were too suggestive for high school students, even in a health class. They also pressured a publisher to replace a photo of a woman carrying a briefcase with another showing a woman putting a cake in the oven. Far-right board members found the replacement photo more in line with their personal social views about gender roles.<sup>66</sup> (Although publishers made many of the demanded changes, one far-right board member called on local

school boards in her SBOE district to refuse to buy the new textbooks anyway.<sup>67</sup>)

An embarrassed Texas Legislature acted decisively in 1995 to place strict limits on the state board's ability to censor textbooks. The Legislature barred the board from editing textbook content. Under the new law, the board could not reject a textbook unless the book failed to cover established curriculum standards, contained factual errors or failed to meet manufacturing specifications (such as durability). The bill's Senate sponsor, Republican Bill Ratliff of Mount Pleasant, warned that the process for getting a textbook through the state board's adoption process had become too restrictive and difficult. Frustrated publishers were becoming increasingly reluctant even to submit a textbook for approval. The result, Sen. Ratliff said, was that local school districts had fewer and fewer options when purchasing textbooks. "In effect the [state] school board was dictating which books would be used," he later said.<sup>68</sup>

The board's growing far-right faction promptly set out to undermine the new law. The faction's primary strategy involved expanding the definition of "factual error" to include, in practice, ideological objections to information included in or missing from textbook content. This tactic was familiar to board members – it had been a common practice of the Gablers and others even before the legislative crackdown on textbook censorship.

In almost an annual ritual, faction members launched crusades against literature, social studies and science textbooks that failed to conform to their ideology. They criticized, for example, the study of evolution in biology textbooks and perceived anti-Christian and anti-American bias in social studies textbooks.

The changes they demanded were not trivial. The publisher of one textbook, for example, agreed to change a reference to geological events "millions of years ago" to read "in the distant past." The changed reference thus did not conflict with the beliefs of "young Earth" creationists, whose literal interpretations of Bible passages suggest a planet that is only a few thousand



Far-right pressure groups and their allies on the State Board of Education have pushed hard for abstinence-only-until-marriage sex education in high school health classes.

years old. Far-right faction members also demanded textbook revisions to attack Islam, sanitize discussions of slavery, and promote Christianity. "Promoting Christianity? That's a crime?" thundered board member David Bradley, R-Beaumont. "America was founded on Christian principles."<sup>69</sup>

In 2003, the faction launched a fresh assault on the teaching of evolution in proposed new biology textbooks. They insisted that publishers had committed "errors of omission" by not including in their new textbooks creationist-fabricated "weaknesses" of the theory of evolution. Publishers resisted, and – after months of debate and national media coverage – the state board voted to adopt the textbooks anyway.

That battle over biology and evolution, however, seemed to mark an important turning point in the textbook wars. Weary publishers appeared to have grown tired of the constant and expensive battles over getting their textbooks adopted in Texas. Moreover, they remembered the bitter debate over sexuality education in 1994-95. So in 2004, the year after the evolution battle, publishers simply censored their own proposed new health textbooks before submitting them for approval by the state board. Despite curriculum standards that required

it, missing from the new textbooks was any medically accurate information about responsible pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease prevention except through abstinence-only-until-marriage. The textbooks failed to identify using barrier protection, such as condoms, as a strategy for avoiding sexually transmitted diseases. One textbook suggested, instead, strategies such as “go out with a group,” “be aware of your emotions,” and “get plenty of rest.”<sup>70</sup> Social conservatives purred at publishers’ obedience to their “abstinence-only” fetish and approved the new textbooks. (In 2007, however, a major study ordered by Congress showed that “abstinence-only” education programs fail to lower the incidence of sexual activity among teens.<sup>71</sup> Another comprehensive study revealed that Texas had the nation’s highest birth rate among teens ages 15 to 19 in 2004<sup>72</sup> – the same year the State Board of Education adopted new, “abstinence-only” health textbooks for Texas high school students.)

### Other Targets

The state board’s far-right faction has also trained its sites on matters not directly related to textbooks. In 1995, for example, faction members bitterly and loudly opposed – unsuccessfully – the state’s participation in a federal grant program called Goals 2000. The program provided tens of millions of dollars to help improve student achievement. The faction, however, saw the program as part of a liberal conspiracy to ensure a federal takeover of local schools.<sup>73</sup>

In 1998 the faction forced the Permanent School Fund – managed by the state board – to sell \$43 million in Disney stock. The divestment came at a time when Disney’s stock values had been soaring. Social conservatives criticized the company as immoral for distributing what they called violent and sexually explicit movies and for gay-friendly policies (such as access to benefits by same-sex domestic partners of employees). The faction voiced no moral objections, however, to beer, liquor and gambling companies in which the fund continued to invest.

Then in 2005, the faction spearheaded a successful campaign to stop the state board from paying dues to the National Association of School Boards of Education. Faction leader Terri Leo, R-Spring, and others claimed that the national association – among other sins – promoted homosexuality. As evidence, Leo cited a symposium at an association convention that discussed anti-bullying policies that would protect gay and lesbian students from harassment.

The faction has not always succeeded in such efforts. Until recently, the faction failed to control a majority of board seats. Following the 2006 elections, however, that may be changing.

**The Right Ascendant:  
How the Far-Right Faction  
Has Grown**

### 3: The Right Ascendant: How the Far-Right Faction Has Grown

As with other government offices in Texas, Democrats largely controlled the State Board of Education for decades. That began to change in the late 1980s, just as the Christian right began its takeover of the Republican Party of Texas. By the early 1990s, the ascendancy of the Christian right in Texas politics began to be seen on the state board itself.

“Far-right candidates have launched vicious, no-holds-barred assaults on their electoral opponents. Truth has been in short supply.”

The election of Bob Offutt, a San Antonio Republican, to the state board in 1992 marked the beginning of the Christian right's rise on the board. Of course, the board already included other social conservatives, including Republicans Montie Hasie of Lubbock and Geraldine “Tincy” Miller of Dallas. Miller, in fact, played a leading role in the board's meltdown over the proposed new health textbooks in 1994. But a coordinated far-right faction, with members voting almost in lockstep on most issues, had yet to form.

In 1994, however, Offutt recruited five other extreme social conservatives to run for the board. Three won: Donna Ballard of The Woodlands, Randy Stevenson of Tyler, and Richard Watson of Gorman. Their defeat of Democratic incumbents gave Republicans a majority of seats on the state board for the first time. More importantly, their election created the nucleus of a hard-right faction of board members who would team up to force a showdown on a host of controversial culture-war issues.

#### Smear Campaigns

The 1994 elections themselves clearly foreshadowed a troubling future for the state board. Offutt's recruits launched vicious, no-holds-barred assaults on their Democratic opponents. Truth was in short supply. Campaign fliers accused one Democratic board incumbent of promoting masturbation by five-year-old children and instruction about oral, anal and vaginal sex for older students. Another flier, used to support multiple far-right candidates for state board seats, accused “liberal” Democratic incumbent board members of promoting a “radical leftist agenda” that included “homosexuality,” “lesbian adoption” and “condom usage.” To make sure voters got the message, the flier included a picture of a black man kissing a white man, both half-nude.<sup>74</sup>

Texans for Governmental Integrity, a political action committee, paid for the attack fliers, which called on voters to support far-right Republican candidates such as Ballard and Stevenson. The PAC itself was funded largely by San Antonio businessman James Leininger. Leininger, a wealthy backer of private school voucher schemes, cut his political teeth in those early state board elections. Leininger-funded PACs would use similar smear tactics – complete with lurid fliers filled with half-truths and outright lies – in legislative elections a decade later. In those legislative races, Leininger sought to unseat Democrats as well as Republicans who were deemed not conservative enough or who opposed vouchers.

In 1996, another PAC gathered more than \$300,000 largely from Leininger and Wal-Mart heir John Walton of Arkansas to back far-right candidates for the state board.<sup>75</sup> Such dollar totals were vastly higher than board candidates had spent in previous decades.

Leininger is still a major player in state board elections. In 2004 he donated \$10,000 and \$5,000, respectively, to the winning campaigns of Republicans Terri Leo of Spring (an incumbent elected two years earlier) and Barbara Cargill of The Woodlands. He directed \$35,000 to San Antonio challenger Ken Mercer's successful bid to unseat fellow Republican Dan Montgomery of Fredericksburg in 2006. In fact, Leininger's donations accounted for more than half of the contributions to Mercer's campaign, allowing the challenger to outspend Montgomery nearly five-to-one.<sup>76</sup> The same year Leininger and his wife gave \$10,000 to Cynthia Dunbar of Richmond. That money accounted for a third of Dunbar's party primary campaign war chest and helped her outspend her opponent in the GOP primary by nearly three-to-one. She won the primary in a rout, and, ultimately, the state board seat of a retiring Republican board member who had not been a member of the board's far-right faction.<sup>77</sup>

### Building a Board Majority

The 1996 elections expanded the far-right faction to six SBOE members, not including Miller and Hasie. That was the faction's high-water mark for a while, and it was enough to tie up the board's business with seemingly endless battles over a host of culture-war issues that had been targeted by far-right pressure groups in Texas and across the country. Paul Burka of *Texas Monthly* noted the nonsense in a December 1998 piece:

"The problem isn't just the agenda of the Double R's [the religious-right faction] – it's also their style. They don't compromise, and their minds can't be changed. No issue is too small to overlook, and every fight is a crusade: forcing the state to dump Walt Disney stock from the endowment for public education because of films deemed morally offensive; indicating disapproval of an algebra textbook by ripping its cover off; refusing to approve the minutes of the previous meeting until a sentence critical of [education] commissioner [Mike] Moses was inserted, accusing Moses in writing of 'feigned ignorance,' 'pandering,' 'stonewalling,' and 'cover-up'; proposing to wrest the right to name the board's chairman away from the governor; and in the meantime, urging [then-Gov. George] Bush to remove board chairman Jack Christie – a fellow Republican. Indeed, their greatest ire is reserved not for Democrats but for members of their own party who fail to support them. They go for the kill, and no one is exempt, not even Bush."<sup>78</sup>

The faction even went after Montie Hasie, who was, one might say, the board's reigning social conservative before it was cool. A weary Hasie eventually decided not to run for reelection in 1998. Yet the faction's divisive tactics turned off potential allies and slowed its growth, at least for a while.

By 2003, the faction was down to four members, but that number included Terri Leo, R-Spring. (To learn more about Leo, see the Texas Freedom Network Education Fund's *God's Lawgivers: Carrying the Water for the Religious Right in Texas Government*, published in February 2007, at [www.tfn.org/religiousright/rreport07/](http://www.tfn.org/religiousright/rreport07/).)

Leo, a former Concerned Women for America lobbyist, won election to her seat in November 2002. Since that time, she has played a key role in recruiting other social conservatives to run for the state board.



SBOE Member Terri Leo

Sometimes Leo and the rest of the far-right faction have miscalculated. For example, they supported Linda Bauer's winning race against fellow Republican – and board chair – Grace Shore in 2002. After Bauer took her seat on the board, however, she committed the grave sin of approving proposed new biology textbooks that included full scientific accounts of evolution. The faction then turned on Bauer. "It was like being trapped in a bad Lifetime movie," Bauer said later.<sup>79</sup> With the faction's help – and money from Leininger – Barbara Cargill of The Woodlands defeated Bauer in the 2004 Republican primary.



SBOE Chairman Don McLeroy

With the addition of Dunbar and Mercer following the 2006 elections, the far-right faction now has seven seats on the SBOE. Miller, the remaining old-line social conservative from the 1980s, provides the potential eighth vote for a majority. In July 2007, Gov. Rick Perry enhanced the faction's authority by naming one of its members, Republican Don McLeroy of Bryan, as the board's chairman. McLeroy, a creationist who opposes the theory of evolution, will direct debate as the state board takes up revisions to the state's science curriculum standards in 2008.



# Targeting Curriculum Standards (TEKS)

## 4. Targeting Curriculum Standards (TEKS)

The expansion of the far-right faction's authority on the State Board of Education comes at a perilous time. The board is currently revising all of the state's curriculum standards – the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills, or TEKS. The TEKS guide the writing of textbooks and what more than 4.5 million Texas public school students learn. (See Tables 3 and 4.)

In 2008 the board is set to revise the state's science TEKS, including standards for biology and environmental science. In 2003 the state board's far-right faction lacked the votes to reject new biology textbooks that did not identify creationist-fabricated "weaknesses" in the theory

of evolution. Now, however, the expanded faction – with one of its members sitting as board chair – has more power to threaten the teaching of a full scientific account of evolution in Texas public schools.

In addition, in 2007 the Texas Legislature passed House Bill 1287, which instructs the state board to create TEKS for new high school courses about the Bible in literature and history. H.B. 1287 calls for standards and approved textbooks to be available by the 2009-10 school year. Even veteran board watchers shudder at the thought of the current state board presiding over a debate about the Bible.

**Table 3: Science TEKS Standards Revision Schedule for 2008**

September 2007	Winter 2008	July 2008	September 2008	November 2008	January or April 2009
Revision work groups convene	Work group meetings	SBOE update on proposed TEKS revision	SBOE discussion of proposed TEKS revision	SBOE first reading of proposed TEKS revision	SBOE second reading and final approval of proposed TEKS revision

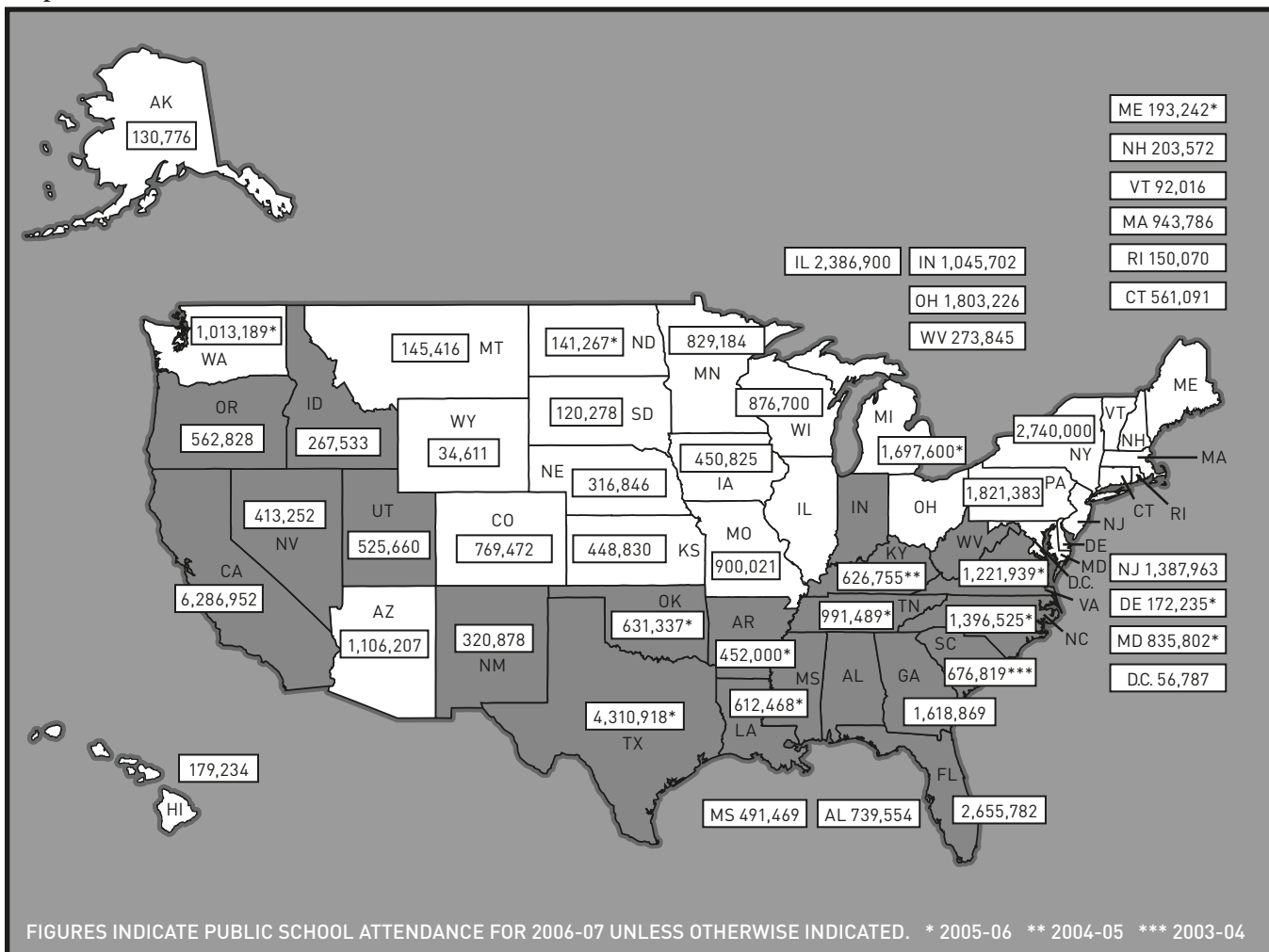
This tentative schedule (as this report went to press) reflects a desire by state board members to complete revisions of the state standards for science by no later than spring 2009. It is possible, however, that final approval could come as early as November 2008.

**Table 4: Textbook Adoption Schedule**

Subject Area	Tentative Date for Adoption of New Textbooks
English/language arts and reading	2009 (K-1) 2010 (Grades 2-12)
Spanish language arts and reading	2009 and 2010
Bible literacy	2009
Science and engineering	2011
Social studies	2012
Career and technical education and technology applications	2013
Mathematics and languages other than English	2014 (K-5) 2015 (6-12)
Health and physical education	2015

This tentative textbook adoption schedule reflects information available as this report went to press. The State Board of Education typically finalizes TEKS curriculum standards for a particular subject two years before a textbook adoption in that discipline.

Map 2: How States Choose Textbooks



- Textbook adoption states  
(including Grades K-8 in California)
- No statewide textbook adoption process  
(including Grades 9-12 in California)

California and Texas have, by far, the largest public school enrollments. As a result, publishers often create textbooks specifically for those states and then sell the same or minimally revised books in smaller states around the country. That has been gradually changing, however, as new technology allows publishers to create textbooks for specific smaller states at less expense. Texas and California are also two of 21 states with a centralized process for adopting textbooks. In general, an adoption state creates procedures for reviewing and approving all textbooks submitted for sale to public schools in that state. Local schools then purchase textbooks from the state-approved list. Textbook publishers call other states "open territory" or "open market." Such states do not create statewide "approved" lists. Textbook adoption decisions are made almost entirely at the local level.



# Appendices

## APPENDIX A

## Who's Who in Science Textbook Censorship

Two primary groups have emerged as key players in the movement to undermine the study of evolution and promote biblical creationism in Texas public schools. In addition, a number of other pressure groups have also supported textbook censorship efforts in the state in subjects such as science, social studies, health and English/language arts.

### Discovery Institute

The Discovery Institute is the leading proponent of teaching "intelligent design"/creationism in public schools. According to the group's Web site:

"The point of view Discovery brings to its work includes a belief in God-given reason and the permanency of human nature; the principles of representative democracy and public service expounded by the American Founders; free market economics domestically and internationally; the social requirement to balance personal liberty with responsibility; the spirit of voluntarism crucial to civil society; the continuing validity of American international leadership; and the potential of science and technology to promote an improved future for individuals, families and communities."<sup>80</sup>

The Institute has been heavily involved in state and local debates over teaching evolution and creationism, including during the adoption of new biology textbooks in Texas in 2003. In fact, far-right members of the Texas State Board of Education relied heavily on talking points supplied by the Discovery Institute throughout the debate.

Some of the nation's most prominent proponents of "intelligent design"/creationism populate the Discovery Institute's list of associates. Among them are senior

fellows Michael J. Behe, a professor of biological sciences at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, and William A. Dembski, a research professor in philosophy at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Tex. Another Institute fellow is Raymond Bohlin, president of Texas-based Probe Ministries. From Probe's Web site:

"Probe's mission is to present the Gospel to communities, nationally and internationally, by providing life-long opportunities to integrate faith and learning through balanced, biblically based scholarship, training people to love God by renewing their minds and equipping the Church to engage the world for Christ."<sup>81</sup>

The Discovery Institute has suffered several setbacks in recent years, however. In 2005, for example, a Republican federal judge ruled (*Kitzmiller v Dover Area School District*, Case No. 04cv2688) that the teaching of "intelligent design"/creationism in the public schools of Dover, Penn., was unconstitutional. The judge said that evidence presented at trial made it overwhelmingly clear that "(intelligent design) is a religious view, a mere re-labeling of creationism, and not a scientific theory." The next year, in 2006, proponents of teaching "intelligent design" also suffered major electoral defeats in races for the Kansas and Ohio state boards of education.

### Texans for Better Science Education

Evolution opponents created Texans for Better Science Education in the summer of 2003, during that year's heated debate over proposed new biology textbooks for the state's public schools. The group's founder, Mark Ramsey of Spring near Houston, and other spokespersons demanded that publishers cast doubt on the science behind evolution in their textbooks. The group criticized the textbooks for failing to include discussions of creationist-fabricated "weaknesses" of the theory evolution.

Ramsey is also Web site administrator for the Greater Houston Creation Association (GHCA). The GHCA advocates for “young Earth creationism.” According to its Web site, the group is:

“an organization of Christians who take the Bible in its original manuscripts to be the actual inspired Word of God preserved by Him over time for our use as an unchanging source of truth. We find that the internal scriptural evidence overwhelmingly presents a young supernatural creation followed later by several world changing events of supernatural judgment including expulsion from the original paradise and “curse” of the ground, a cataclysmic global flood that radically altered much of Earth’s geology, and a ‘confusion’ of language that forced the dispersion of people groups around the world. These events are as much a key to the past as observation of the present and they preclude the uniformitarian approach to understanding the distant past. We highly value the scientific method and the body of scientific knowledge based on observation and experimental testing of hypotheses (which is necessarily done in the present) but we reject the uniformitarian assumption in making inferences about the past.”<sup>82</sup>

Ramsey incorporated the Texans for Better Science Education Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, in January 2005. The TBSE Foundation reported that it was not required to file a 2005 Form 990 with the Internal Revenue Service because it had less than \$25,000 in contributions and other revenue that year. Information about the group’s more recent finances was unavailable as this report went to press.

According to the Texans for Better Science Education Web site:

“Texans for Better Science Education is a group of concerned Texas citizens who support the right of all students and teachers to learn about both the strengths and weaknesses of evolutionary theories free from censorship and intimidation, and as required by existing Texas law.”<sup>83</sup>

*TFN note: In fact, the requirement about teaching “strengths and weaknesses” is part of the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills curriculum standards for science, not state statute.*

As of January 31, 2005, the Texans for Better Science Education Foundation listed the following directors:

**Mark Ramsey, Spring, TX**  
**Pauline Ramsey, Spring, TX**  
**Frank Mayo, Houston, TX**  
**Ide Trotter, Duncanville, TX**  
**Norma Jeter, Spring, TX**  
**Darrell White, Baton Rouge, LA**  
**Jobe Martin, Rockwall, TX**

The following organizations have also been involved in textbook censorship battles in Texas. Most have a listing and description in Appendix E:

**Texas Eagle Forum**  
**Americans for Prosperity/Citizens for a Sound Economy**  
**Educational Research Analysts**  
**Texans for Life Coalition**  
**The Justice Foundation (formerly Texas Justice Foundation)**  
**Texas Public Policy Foundation**

## APPENDIX B

## TEXTBOOK CENSORSHIP IN TEXAS: A Timeline

Texas textbooks have long been a target for censorship efforts by groups like the Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy, The Justice Foundation, Texas Eagle Forum and Texas Public Policy Foundation. These and other far-right pressure groups work to delete information they disagree with and inject their own political ideology and religious values. Their efforts over time have also succeeded in getting publishers to censor their own textbooks before submitting them to the state for approval. A prime case of publisher self-censorship occurred in 2004. Publishers that year submitted proposed new health textbooks that included no information on responsible pregnancy prevention and avoiding sexually transmitted diseases except through abstinence-only-until-marriage, despite the fact that the information was a required part of the health curriculum. Health textbooks proposed 10 years earlier had included significant information on contraception and disease prevention. In addition, the state's curriculum standards – Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills – required that students be able to analyze the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of barrier protection and other forms of contraception. Yet today their health textbooks include no such information on which students may base such analyses.

Below is a timeline describing how far-right pressure groups have worked over time to censor textbooks in Texas.

**1960s TO PRESENT** Efforts to censor Texas textbooks stretch back to at least the 1960s, when Mel and Norma Gabler began to review the books. Mel died in 2004, followed by Norma's death in 2007. Associate Neal Frey now runs the Gablers' Educational Research Analysts. The Gablers – whose motto was “We review public school textbooks from a conservative, Christian perspective” – were based in the East Texas city of Longview. According to the Web site of their organization, the Gablers targeted more than a half-dozen “subject areas of concern,” including evolution, phonics-based reading in instruction, the free-enterprise system, “original intent” of the U.S. Constitution, “respect for Judeo-

Christian morals,” abstinence sex education, and “politically incorrect degradation of academics.” The media-savvy Gablers adopted a variety of strategies in their censorship efforts. Primary among such strategies was the identification of long lists of “errors” in textbooks they reviewed. Often, however, many of the errors were simply ideological objections to textbook content. In recent years, other far-right pressure groups have eclipsed Educational Research Analysts in the public eye. Under Frey's leadership, however, the group continues to review textbooks, and vigilance about the promotion of religions other than Christianity continues to animate the critiques. For example, among the group's critiques of new math textbooks in 2007: “Replacing standard algorithms with haphazard searches for personal meaning unconstitutionally establishes New Age religious behavior in public school Math instruction.” (<http://www.textbookreviews.org/>)

**1993** Other pressure groups in Texas join the Gablers in trying to remove discussions of evolution from biology textbooks or have it taught alongside Bible-based creationism.

**1994** Far-right critics target proposed new health textbooks, focusing largely on discussion involving sex and gender roles. Much of the far right's venom is focused on textbook information about contraception, the use of barrier protection to prevent sexually transmitted diseases and sexual orientation. Pressure groups also call for the removal of an illustration of a female breast used to teach breast self-exams to girls. In addition, they push to replace a photograph of a woman carrying a briefcase with one showing a woman cooking at home – thereby promoting what pressure groups saw as a more acceptable gender role for women. Led by social conservatives, the State Board of Education (SBOE) demands that publishers make hundreds of changes to their health textbooks. One publisher ultimately withdraws its textbook from consideration by the SBOE rather than make such changes.

**1995** The Texas Freedom Network begins monitoring the textbook adoption process to counter censorship efforts.

**March 1995** SBOE member Donna Ballard – an early member of the board’s far-right faction – sends a letter to local school board presidents urging them not to adopt certain health textbooks that teach about sexually transmitted diseases and condom use.

**June 1995** The 74<sup>th</sup> Texas Legislature passes Senate Bill 1, which limits the power of the SBOE to edit textbooks. The state attorney general subsequently writes an opinion that interprets this law strictly, confirming that the SBOE can reject a textbook only if it does not meet physical specifications, fails to cover the state curriculum standards or contains factual errors. Since then, members of the state board’s far-right faction and allied pressure groups have sought to overturn the law and remove limits on the board’s ability to censor textbooks. Even though those legislative limits remain in place, the far-right faction has sought to interpret the law to its advantage, essentially redefining “factual errors” to include ideological objections they have to content.

**1996** Censors attempt to delete certain photographs in new social studies textbooks, saying publishers went “overboard” in their inclusion of minorities. They also claim the textbooks overemphasize the cruelty experienced by slaves, demand that the age of Earth be determined by biblical genealogy rather than fossil evidence and attempt to eliminate discussions of endangered animals and environmental issues.

**2001** The Texas Public Policy Foundation and other pressure groups successfully lobby to ban an environmental science textbook they called “anti-free enterprise” and “anti-Christian.” Among the criticisms are those regarding textbook information on global warming and the U.S. role in creating pollution. The textbook had been used at the college level for several years. Publishers make changes

to other books that significantly curtail the talk of endangered species and discussions of Native American cultures.

**2002** Again under pressure from groups like the Texas Public Policy Foundation, publishers remove passages in social studies textbooks that have positive references to Islam and that note any negative characteristics of capitalism. They also delete references to events happening “millions of years ago,” changing them to “in the distant past” in order to avoid conflict with biblical timelines.

**2003** The Seattle-based Discovery Institute mounts a campaign to alter the discussion of evolution in biology textbooks and suggests that evolution is controversial and unproven. (The Discovery Institute supports a religion-based concept called “intelligent design.”) After the Texas Freedom Network launches a campaign to counter these efforts, the state board votes to approve the biology textbooks with discussions of evolution intact.

**2004** Publishers beat censors to the punch by submitting to the state four new high school health textbooks that include no state-mandated information on responsible pregnancy prevention and ways to avoid sexually transmitted diseases other than through abstinence-only-until-marriage. The state board ultimately votes to approve the four textbooks after publishers include very limited information on contraception *only* in Teacher’s Editions. Student’s Editions still lack this basic, medically accurate information. Publishers also agree to define marriage in middle and high school textbooks as a “lifelong union between a man and a woman.” Although that change is not required by the state’s curriculum standards, publishers agree to the change after SBOE members argue that the textbooks subtly promote same-sex relationships with phrases like “married partners” and “couples.”

**2005** State board member Don McLeroy, R-Bryan, a key member of the board’s far-right faction, delivers

a church lecture on evolution and creationism in his hometown. During the lecture, McLeroy points out that the strategy for promoting instruction on creationism in public schools relies first on undermining the science behind evolution. McLeroy also claims that only the board's four "really conservative, orthodox Christians" opposed the adoption of evolution-based biology textbooks in 2003. (<http://www.tfn.org/publiceducation/textbooks/mcleroy/index.php>)

**2006** In the 2006 elections, the far-right faction wins two more seats, giving it effective control of the state board. The same year, the board begins a systematic review of all state curriculum standards, starting with English/language arts.

**2007** Gov. Rick Perry appoints far-right faction member Don McLeroy, R-Bryan, as the state board's

new chairman. McLeroy and other far-right board members later claim they do not favor including information on "intelligent design"/creationism in the state's science curriculum standards and textbooks. They renew their desire, however, to force publishers to include so-called "weaknesses" of the theory of evolution in their textbooks. That approach mirrors the anti-evolution strategy outlined in McLeroy's 2005 church lecture, in which he said a key step in promoting Bible-based creationism in public schools is to undermine the science behind evolution. Work on the revision of the state's science standards begins. In November, the board votes to reject a third-grade mathematics textbooks but refuses to explain why. That action came despite state law limiting the reasons why the board can reject a textbook. Board chairman McLeroy acknowledges to a reporter that the board's action sets a precedent for future textbook adoptions.

## APPENDIX C

TEXTBOOK CENSORSHIP IN TEXAS: **The Record**

Far-right members of the State Board of Education and allied pressure groups have worked to censor Texas public school textbooks in nearly all disciplines, but especially science, social studies and health education. Below is a partial record of censorship examples.

- **SCIENTIFIC DATES:** History textbook references to the Ice Age and other events occurring “millions of years ago” were changed to read “in the distant past” so ancient geological events did not conflict with literal interpretations of the Bible. (2002 testimony on file at TEA)
- **EVOLUTION:** State Board of Education members and advocacy groups lobbied for evolution to be taught on par with Biblical creationism or the religion-based concept of “intelligent design” (creationism in a lab coat). They also sought to add information about phony “weaknesses” in the theory of evolution in an effort to undermine the science behind this foundational theory. (1993 and 2003 testimony on file at TEA)
- **SLAVERY AND CIVIL RIGHTS:** Pressure groups targeted history textbooks for what critics called an “overkill of emphasis on cruelty to slaves,” asserting that coverage of slavery, civil rights struggles and discrimination was unpatriotic and anti-Christian. (1996 & 2002 testimony on file at TEA)
- **WORKING WOMEN:** Board members worked to remove a picture of a woman carrying a briefcase, which they said undermined traditional family values. (1994 testimony on file at TEA)
- **HEALTH EDUCATION:** A line drawing illustrating a breast self-exam, which state board members called “embarrassing” and “objectionable,” was deleted from health textbooks in 1994. In 2004, the State Board of Education adopted textbooks that included no information about contraception and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases except through abstinence – even though the state’s curriculum standards for health education required students to learn such information. (1994 and 2004 Board recommendations on file at TEA)
- **SCIENCE:** Board members rejected an environmental science textbook that far-right censors called “anti-free enterprise” and “anti-Christian.” The book included discussions of global warming and the U.S. role in creating pollution and had been used at the college level (including at Baylor University) for several years. Changes to other textbooks significantly curtailed the talk of endangered species and discussions of Native American cultures. (2001 Board transcripts on file at TEA)
- **RELIGIOUS MINORITIES:** Far-right activists stripped history textbooks of positive references to Islam, which they called “propaganda.” (2002 testimony on file at TEA)
- **RACIAL MINORITIES:** Far-right groups said history books went “overboard” on including pictures of minorities and worked to replace a picture of an African-American family with a white family to accompany a discussion of the “American Family.” (1996 testimony on file at TEA)

## APPENDIX D

## THEY REALLY SAID IT: Quoting the Religious Right in 2007

## THE WAR ON SCIENCE

"They all had to exist at the same time because they were all made on the same day. There may not be any fossil evidence showing dinosaurs and people in the same place at the same time. But it is clearly written that they were alive at the same time."

**Mark Looy, co-founder of Answers in Genesis**, the organization that opened the Creation Science Museum in Kentucky, explaining why he isn't swayed by fossil evidence presented by paleontologists that dinosaurs and humans were separated by more than 60 million years.

SALON.COM, MAY 31, 2007

"EBIO (evolutionary biology) professors are terrorists against America and intellectual and spiritual child abusers of their young and impressionable students."

An excerpt from a threatening letter slipped under the doors of Colorado University evolutionary biology professors.

COLORADO DAILY, JULY 12, 2007

"It was only the four really conservative, orthodox Christians on the board [who] were willing to stand up to the textbooks and say they don't present the weaknesses of evolution."

**Don McLeroy, chairman of the Texas State Board of Education**, implying in a recorded church sermon from 2005 that other members of the state board were not true Christians because in 2003 they approved new biology textbooks that include full scientific accounts of evolution.

TEXAS OBSERVER BLOG ARTICLE, AUGUST 3, 2007

"If some of my associates want to believe their ancestors were monkeys, that is their right. I believe God is responsible for our creation. . . Given that none of today's scientists were around when the first frog crawled out of the pond, there is no one who can say exactly what happened."

**David Bradley, Texas State Board of Education member**, responding to questions about whether the board will seek to add intelligent design to the state's public school science curriculum in 2008.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS, AUGUST 23, 2007

"We have a republic, and the source of authority in that republic is God. A revolution has happened in America. It has happened over the past 150 years. Evolution is at the bottom of it, and some very un-American people have been and are behind it. The purpose of the revolution is to stop you from being able to think and believe like an American any more .... It's been a calculated and evil anti-God, anti-Christian revolution."

**Michael Peroutka, a Pasadena, Md.**, attorney who ran for president on the U.S. Constitution Party ticket in 2004, speaking at a "God & Country Patriotic Celebration & Conference."

CHURCH AND STATE (MAGAZINE OF AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE), SEPTEMBER 2007

"A lot of people think the Bible is full of myths. This shows how the creation account is true."

**A visitor to Kentucky's Creation Museum**, which offers exhibits designed to prove that Earth was created in six days just a few thousand years ago.

COURIER-JOURNAL (LOUISVILLE, KY.), NOVEMBER 2, 2007

## PUBLIC SCHOOL BIBLE CLASSES

"(W)e do better (than other countries.) A lot of it's because of what's written in that book, because we have a moral standard. Not everybody has a moral standard."

**Texas Rep. Warren Chisum, R-Pampa**, answering a question about what he's trying to accomplish with a bill that would require public high schools in Texas to offer courses on the Bible.

FORT WORTH STAR TELEGRAM, APRIL 5, 2007

"If they don't have children in the class, they can kiss my butt. They're just looking to impose their beliefs and their views on everybody, and we don't put up with that crap out here."

**Ector County Independent School District board member L.V. "Butch" Foreman III**, criticizing plaintiffs in a lawsuit filed in May alleging Davis and others on the ECISD school board established an unconstitutional Bible class in Odessa public schools.

ODESSA AMERICAN, MAY 16, 2007

"The bill applies to the Bible as a text that has historical and literary value. It can't go off into other religious philosophies because then it would be teaching religion, when the course is meant to teach literature. The Quran is a religious philosophy, not of historical or literary value, which is what the Bible is being taught for."

**State Rep. Warren Chisum, R-Pampa**, author of legislation calling for Bible classes in Texas public high schools, responding to a question about whether the new law also makes room for a course the Quran if enough students express interest.

THE RANGER (SAN ANTONIO COMMUNITY COLLEGE NEWSPAPER),  
JULY 5, 2007

"I shall continue to promote religious beliefs. If we had a more moral classroom, a classroom that respected teachers, a classroom where you could learn, I think we could solve a lot of the problems in this state."

**State Rep. Warren Chisum, R- Pampa**, explaining his motivation for sponsoring a bill to encourage Bible classes in Texas public schools.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS, JULY 14, 2007

"Our kids are hurting, our society is hurting and we are losing our nation. We're not trying to indoctrinate. We're trying to teach history and use (the Bible) as a source. Our kids are lost and they have nowhere to go. They have no idea where they came from since the Bible was removed from public schools in 1963. It's a declining trend, and our kids and our nation are going by the wayside."

**Debra Powell**, a Colorado woman who insists it is wrong to teach western history and culture without a focus on Christianity.

CRAIG PRESS DAILY, JULY 28, 2007

"Take that, you dang heathens!"

– A celebratory e-mail message from a school district official in Odessa after local school board members voted in 2005 to adopt a blatantly sectarian Bible course offered by the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools. The American Civil Liberties Union unearthed the e-mail during preparation for its current lawsuit challenging the district's Bible course.

LOS ANGELES TIMES, AUGUST 5, 2007

## RELIGION AND POLITICS

"It's called secondary virginity. It is a big movement in high school and also available for politicians."

**Anti-tax crusader Grover Norquist**, explaining that John McCain, Rudy Giuliani and other Republicans could still redeem themselves in the eyes of the Christian right despite their past records, just as some high school students take abstinence pledges even after having had sex.

NEW YORK TIMES, FEBRUARY 25, 2007

"It's very clear in the party platforms that one party does support traditional marriage and opposes abortion and supports school prayer—and the other opposes that. This [Republican Party] is your logical home if you're concerned about Biblical issues."

**David Barton**, the Texas-based political activist hired by the Republican National Committee to tell pastors that they are allowed to engage in partisan political activity from the pulpit.

BELIEFNET.COM, MARCH 2007

"Especially as Republicans, as long as we do those things, we kind of keep our faith-based constituents out there encouraged that we're doing the right thing. It is political ... as well it should be."

**State Rep. Warren Chisum, R-Pampa**, explaining a key reason why so many religion-related bills were under consideration in the Legislature in 2007.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS, APRIL 22, 2007

"The end of the world as we know it is rapidly approaching. Just before us is a nuclear countdown with Iran followed by Ezekiel's war (as described in Ezekiel, chapters 38 and 39), and then the final battle – the battle of Armageddon."

**Evangelical pastor John Hagee of San Antonio**, writing in his book, "Jerusalem Countdown." Hagee and other far-right evangelicals have been backing President Bush's hard-line policy on Iran.

BENDWEEKLY.COM, APRIL 27, 2007

"It is not enough to stop public recognition of 'gay marriage,' nor to oppose 'safe-sex education' in the public schools, nor to ban partial-birth abortion, nor to create 'covenant' marriages. Victory for the natural family will come only as we change the terms of the debate."

**From a manifesto produced at the World Congress of Families in Poland**, attended by far-right leaders and groups such as James Dobson (Focus on the Family), the Heritage Foundation and the Discovery Institute.

DALLAS VOICE, MAY 31, 2007

## RELIGION AND SOCIETY

"I didn't want my attendance on the floor to appear to be an endorsement. I think that it's important that we are tolerant of all faiths. That doesn't mean we have to endorse all faiths."

**State Sen. Dan Patrick, R-Houston**, explaining why he marched off the floor of the Texas Senate rather than stay during the day's opening prayer by a Muslim imam. Sen. Patrick also said that the imam was fortunate to be in "a nation that is so tolerant of others' dream and faiths."

AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, APRIL 5, 2007

"Lord Jesus, forgive us father for allowing a prayer of the wicked, which is an abomination in your sight. . . We shall have no other gods before You."

**The shouts of a religious-right protestor** in the U.S. Senate chambers while Hindu cleric Rajan Zed was leading the U.S. Senates' morning invocation. It was the first time a Hindu delivered the morning prayer.

TPMCAFE.COM, JULY 12, 2007

"We have not only a Hindu prayer being offered in the Senate, we have a Muslim member of the House of Representatives now, Keith Ellison from Minnesota. Those are changes -- and they are not what was envisioned by the Founding Fathers."

**U.S. Rep. Bill Sali, R-Idaho**, who believes God might destroy America because a Hindu offered a prayer in the U.S. Senate and a Muslim serves in the U.S. House of Representatives.

ONENESSNOW.COM, AUGUST 8, 2007

"Step back and look at the big picture. America is not as Christian as it used to be. The Ten Commandments are not where they should be, gay marriage is accepted more and more, abortion is being permitted. The big picture is that there is a loss of biblical authority in this nation and a much greater loss over in England and in Europe generally."

**Ken Ham, the principle founder of the Creation Museum in Kentucky**, which features exhibits such as the "Culture in Crisis" Room, a dark and grimy back alley featuring "evils" such as gay marriage, extra-marital sex and abortion

THE INDEPENDENT (UK), AUGUST 19, 2007

"Why should God bless America?  
She's forgotten he exists  
And has turned her back  
On everything that made her what she is."

**A verse from the reworded version of "God Bless America"** sung by the Church of God Choir, from Springfield, Ohio, at the Values Voter debate in September 2007.

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2007

## SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

"I don't believe there's such a thing as the separation of church and state."

**State Rep. Leo Berman, R-Tyler**, throwing his support behind a bill calling for Bible classes in Texas public high schools.

KLTV-TV, APRIL 4, 2007

"(A)s The Eagle calls this 'forcing our faith on others,' whether you realize it or not, that religion called evolution has been forced upon our children for years."

**Tracey Kiesling**, a Texas teacher who works with the far-right National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools, responding to a newspaper editorial against a bill requiring the state's public high schools to offer a course on the Bible.

THE BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION EAGLE, APRIL 7, 2007

"I just have to say in all candor that since this nation was founded primarily on Christian principles, that's a decision the American people would have to make, but personally, I prefer someone who I know who has a solid grounding in my faith."

**Presidential hopeful Senator John McCain**, responding to a question about the possibility of a Muslim's running for president.

NEW YORK TIMES, SEPTEMBER 30, 2007

"We just want Jews to be perfected."

**Far-right commentator Ann Coulter**, explaining why she thinks a Christian America would be ideal.

CNBC'S "THE BIG IDEA," OCTOBER 8, 2007

*"You place your hand on this Bible when you swear to tell the truth,  
There's no separation; we're one nation under Him.*

*There are those among us who want to push Him out And erase  
His name from everything this country's all about.*

*From the schoolhouse to the courthouse, they are silencing  
His word Now it's time for all believers to make our voices heard."*

**The opening anthem** at the annual Fourth of July Patriotic Celebration at the 7,000-member Central Christian Church in Kansas.

NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 28, 2007

## REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND HEALTH

"I do not think the state of Texas should be in the business of preventative health care for teenage sluts."

**Robert Morrow**, a conservative activist, testifying at a Texas House committee hearing about Gov. Rick Perry's order mandating that schoolgirls receive a vaccine for HPV. HPV is a sexually transmitted virus that is linked to cervical cancer. The Texas Legislature eventually passed legislation overturning Gov. Perry's order.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, FEBRUARY 20, 2007

"We just need to make sure there isn't even the perception of baby buying going on."

**Joe Pojman of the anti-abortion group Texas Alliance for Life**, expressing concern over Houston Sen. Dan Patrick's bill that would pay women \$500 for choosing adoption over abortion.

AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, MARCH 23, 2007

"I don't know, it's not about the money. It is going to make her pause and think there is a family some place that might want to have my child... It's a simple concept."

**State Sen. Dan Patrick, R-Houston**, on how many women would take advantage of his (failed) bill that would have offered money to women choosing not to have an abortion and, instead, putting their child up for adoption.

TEXAS MONTHLY BURKA BLOG, MARCH 26, 2007

"I contend [abortion] affects you in immigration. If we had those 40 million children that were killed over the last 30 years, we wouldn't need the illegal immigrants to fill the jobs that they are doing today. Think about it."

**Republican former U.S. House Majority Leader Tom DeLay**, offering his odd take on immigration and social policy at a gathering of College Republicans.

RAWSTORY.COM, JULY 18, 2007 (AND THE HUFFINGTON POST)

## CIVIL/EQUAL RIGHTS

"I realize this sounds very offensive to homosexuals, but it's the only way a Christian can look at it."

**Rev. R. Albert Mohler Jr.**, president of a leading Southern Baptist seminary, advocating prenatal treatments to reverse homosexuality in fetuses.

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, MARCH 14, 2007

"So the first thing that you look for in a society if you're trying to discern whether God has abandoned that society is whether or not that society has gone through a sexual revolution so that illicit sex, adultery, every form of immorality is accepted as normal in that society. And we're there. [...] You know a society has been abandoned by God when it celebrates lesbian sex."

**John MacArthur**, pastor of Grace Community Church in Sun Valley, Calif., in a sermon titled "A Nation Abandoned by God." MacArthur claims that God would be justified in bringing destruction to a sinful America.

MEDIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA, JUNE 7, 2007

"I planned on sending him to hell. ... It's not that I'm a bad dude. I love God."

**Terry Mark Mangum**, who says he stabbed to death a man he met in a Houston gay bar because he was carrying out God's judgment against the victim.

HOUSTON CHRONICLE, JULY 16, 2007

"I'm not gonna put my wife in a hijab. And I'm not gonna put my daughter in a burqa. And I'm not gettin' on my all-fours and braying to Mecca. And you could drop dead if you don't like it. You can shove it up your pipe. I don't wanna hear anymore about Islam. I don't wanna hear one more word about Islam. Take your religion and shove it up your behind. I'm sick of you."

**Conservative radio host Michael Savage**, screaming attacks on Muslims, Islam and the Quran during his October 29, 2007, program.

"SAVAGE NATION," SYNDICATED BY TALK RADIO NETWORK, OCTOBER 29, 2007

## EDUCATION

"They don't care enough about their kids. They care an awful lot about this system, this bureaucracy, but they don't care enough about their kids to think outside the box."

**Overstock.com chief executive Patrick Byrne**, insulting Utahns who voted overwhelmingly against a sweeping statewide private school voucher scheme. Byrne, who bankrolled the pro-voucher side, said Utah voters had failed a "statewide IQ test."

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE, NOVEMBER 7, 2007

## JUST PLAIN CRAZY

"Be sure you tell them that I, as governor, support the waving of the rebel flag at the Laredo airport, alongside with the American, Texas and Mexican flags, and tell them to drop dead."

**What rocker Ted Nugent says Gov. Rick Perry told him** after Nugent was criticized for wearing a Confederate flag T-shirt to the governor's inaugural ball.

FT. WORTH STAR TELEGRAM, JANUARY 2007

"At what should be a crowning moment of blessing, celebration and thanksgiving to God, America is being held hostage by savage philosophies reanimated from the grave and marching on Jamestown. It's down on Western Christendom, up with spirit guides."

**Doug Phillips**, president of the Texas-based "historical home-school ministry," Vision Forum, speaking about concerns some Christian fundamentalists have about commemorations of the founding of Jamestown colony in Virginia 400 years ago.

MSNBC, JUNE 25, 2007

"What do most countries do with those who commit treason? The governments either incarcerate the traitors for the rest of their lives or they execute them. Rejection of God is surely treason because mankind originates from Him: the DNA to form our bodies, the gravity to keep it intact, air to keep us breathing, food and water resources to sustain our bodies, materials for shelter, materials for clothing, and all the other good things about life that we take for granted everyday. What, then, does a human being deserve when he dismisses God, disregards His law (that is written on our hearts), then even goes so far as to say He does not exist and that evolution is our creator?"

**Raptureready.com**, an evangelical Christian Web site, describing the future of unbelievers in the Frequently Asked Questions section of the site.

THE VILLAGE VOICE (NEW YORK), SEPTEMBER 12, 2007

## APPENDIX E

## Organizations of the Religious Right in Texas

Following is a list of organizations that advance the agenda of the religious right in Texas. Most financial data comes from tax information nonprofit organizations must file with the Internal Revenue Service (Form 990). The data shown is for the most recent year available. Information on leadership, including board members, comes from IRS filings, documents filed with the Texas Secretary of State, and Web sites for each group. Because some organizations do not update their Web sites regularly, some information about leaders may be out of date. Even so, this appendix represents a compilation of data that was available at the end of 2007.

**Christian Coalition of America – Texas Chapter**

501(c)(4) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2830534

Founded by Pat Robertson, the Christian Coalition was once the best-known religious-right organization. In 1997, Fortune listed the organization as the seventh most influential lobbying group in our nation's legislative system. The Christian Coalition's highly partisan electoral activities, however, got it in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service. In 1999, the IRS revoked the group's tax-exempt status, recognizing the partisan nature of the group. The Christian Coalition's membership and fundraising has been in decline ever since.

Christian Coalition of America – Texas Chapter was established in 2006, replacing the defunct Texas Christian Coalition (CCTX, Inc.). CCTX – which moved from the North Texas city of Bedford to Sugar Land near Houston in 2005. The new Texas chapter of Christian Coalition of America, headquartered in Duncanville near Dallas, is apparently as partisan as ever, listing itself as a coalition affiliate of GOPUSA. GOPUSA describes itself as an organization that strives "to be the first source Republicans and conservatives turn to for news and information, both at the state and national levels." (<http://gopusa.com/company/mission.shtml>, as of 12/15/06.)

**From the Web site:** <http://www.ccoatx.com>

**Mission:**

"The Christian Coalition of America - Texas Chapter offers people of faith the vehicle to be actively involved in shaping their government - from the County Courthouse to the halls of Congress.

Today, Americans are bombarded with countless political messages from across the ideological spectrum. Because of this, it is becoming increasingly difficult to separate truth from fiction and right from wrong. The Christian Coalition of America-Texas Chapter is committed to representing the pro-family agenda and educating Texans on the critical issues facing our society. Whether it is the fight to end Partial Birth Abortion or efforts to improve education or lower the family's tax burden, your chapter stands ready and able to work for you.

Our Chapter will work to have a full time staff, lobby our elected

officials from local to National office holders, so that Texans voices can be heard. During this upcoming election we will provide non-partisan guides to give voters a clear understanding of where various candidates stand on the issues importance to them. With this knowledge, voters can go to the polls to make their decision.

We shall not stop with voters guides we will host events, grassroots training schools around the State to draw pro-family supporters. If you are interested in having a positive pro-family impact on your government, the Christian Coalition of America - Texas Chapter is your organization. Your involvement is paramount to our efforts. After deciding how you want to be involved, please contact us by letter, phone or email so we can send you the information you need to be successful. In politics, every voice counts."

**Leadership:** Buck Werner, Executive Director

**Board of Directors:** Unknown

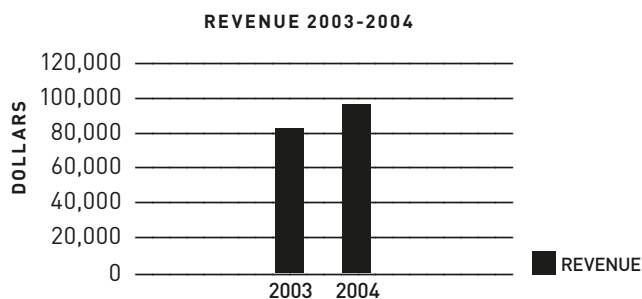
**Revenue:** Unknown

**Leadership:** Chuck Anderson (2005); Norm Mason, chairman (2004); Mike Hanneschlagel, executive director (2004)

**Board Members:** Stuart Lane, Betty Anderson

*Data for defunct Texas Christian Coalition (CCTX, Inc.)*

Revenue 2003:	Revenue 2004	Assets 2004:
\$80,343.00	\$98,974.00	\$287

**Contact Information:**

P.O. Box 380206

Duncanville, TX 75138

Phone: (972) 709-5871

Email: [administrative@CCOATX.com](mailto:administrative@CCOATX.com)

**Council on Faith in Action (CONFÍA)**

501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 20-2870794

CONFÍA seeks to build a “Hispanic values movement” linked with other fundamentalist Christian evangelical groups. The group opposes abortion, embryonic stem cell research, same-sex marriage and euthanasia. CONFÍA has also worked to build support in the Hispanic community for a publicly funded voucher program open to any “public, private or Christian school.”

*From the Web site: <http://confianow.com/>*

**Mission:**

“Council on Faith In Action is a 501(c)3 organization educating Hispanics on the importance of Civic Involvement.

The acronym CONFÍA comes from the Spanish word *Confiar* - to put one’s trust or faith in someone. CONFÍA is putting our trust in God. And we are putting our faith into action.

CONFÍA’s vision is to equip and mobilize Hispanics in America to uphold justice, righteousness and truth.

We are a non-profit organization dedicated to train Hispanics – of all ages and from all walks of life - to uphold our Christian worldview in the civic arena.

CONFÍA is committed to developing a strong, informed Hispanic grassroots network. We will do this by:

- Encouraging Hispanics to exercise their vote responsibly
- Educating Hispanics on the basics of civic involvement
- Providing resources through our seminars, newsletter and website”

**Leadership:**

David Contreras, Executive Director  
Tomas Lares, Jr., Southeast Director  
Mark Gonzales, Texas Field Director  
John Mendez, West Coast Director

**Original CONFÍA Task Force:**

Maria Hernandez Ferrier  
Beto Gonzales  
Marta Guevara  
Juan Carlos Hernandez  
Ana Maria Hernandez  
Tomas Lares, Jr.  
Abel Lopez  
John Mendez  
Alice Patterson

**Board of Directors:**

Maria Hernandez Ferrier, Chairman of the Board  
Beto Gonzalez, Vice Chairman of the Board  
Alice Patterson, Treasurer (also a director of Justice at the Gate, an evangelical Christian organization)  
Abel Lopez, Secretary

David Barton (also director of WallBuilders, which opposes separation of church and state)

Marta Guevara

Jonathan Saenz (an attorney for Liberty Legal Institute, the legal arm of the far-right Free Market Foundation)

CONFÍA reported that it did not meet the \$25,000 income threshold for filing an IRS Form 990 for 2005.

**Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:**

\$48,425.00	\$8,174.00
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**Contact Information:**

P.O. Box 461488  
San Antonio, TX 78246  
Phone: (210) 617-4684  
Fax: (210)617-4683  
Email: [info@CONFIAnow.com](mailto:info@CONFIAnow.com)

**Covenant Foundation, Inc.**

501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2622129

It is for good reason that James Leininger has been called the “sugar daddy” of the religious right in Texas. If not for him, many far-right groups in Texas – not to mention a Republican-controlled state legislature – might well be nonexistent. Through a variety of personal foundations, as well as through direct contributions, James and Cecilia Leininger have given millions of dollars to far-right religious and political groups and causes.

Leininger, a San Antonio physician and businessman, made his fortune selling specialty hospital beds. He created the Covenant Foundation, Inc., in 1991. Six years later, he merged Covenant with his older JCL Foundation (created in 1987). Covenant now appears to be the oldest and largest of Leininger’s personal foundations. Among his other foundations was the Children’s Covenant Foundation, which existed from 1991 to 2004. He and three other Leininger family members were on the founding board of the PAL Foundation in 1993 (which still exists). Leininger is also president of the Children’s Educational Opportunity Foundation’s governing board. CEO supports private school voucher schemes and funds a privately funded voucher program for students in the Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio. The official address listed for board members is the same building as the Covenant Foundation.

From 2001 to 2005 (the last year available), The Foundation Center ranked Covenant as one of the Top 50 Texas foundations in total dollars donated in a calendar year. It’s highest ranking was 15<sup>th</sup> in 2001. In 2005 it came in 21<sup>st</sup>, with donations totaling nearly \$11 million. That number put Covenant ahead of other Texas heavyweights such as the Sid W. Richardson Foundation, The Wortham Foundation, Shell Oil Company Foundation and the M.D. Anderson Foundation. Covenant reported total assets of \$40.2 million at the end of 2005 (the latest year for which data was available).

Among political groups, some of the largest Texas-based recipients of Covenant funding are The Justice Foundation (formerly Texas Justice Foundation), which promotes the religious right’s agenda in the courts; Texas Public Policy Foundation, one of the most influential supporters of private school voucher schemes and a strong opponent of the Children’s Health Insurance Program; and WallBuilders, which attacks the separation of church and state as a “myth.” (See entries for each of these and other far-right groups in this appendix.)

Leininger money from the Covenant Foundation has been instrumental in building those and other far-right groups. For example, \$535,000 from Covenant in 2002 represented about half of Justice Foundation’s entire budget. In 1999, two years

after WallBuilders founder and president David Barton became vice chair of the Republican Party of Texas, Covenant gave the organization \$1 million. That money accounted for nearly two-thirds of all WallBuilders’ income that year. Another \$360,000 in Covenant funding went to WallBuilders over the next six years. Nearly half of the Texas Public Policy Foundation’s 1997 revenue came from Covenant’s \$333,000 in contributions. Covenant funds also accounted for between about 10 and 25 percent of TPPF’s annual revenue from 1998 to 2003. Similarly, half of San Antonio-based Justice at the Gates’s income in 2002 came from \$375,000 in Covenant contributions. Those contributions were followed by \$250,000 more in 2003 and \$125,000 in 2004.

From 1997 to 2005, Covenant contributed at least \$450,000 to the Medical Institute for Sexual Health. The Austin-based MISH is devoted to persuading young people that condoms and other forms of contraception are not effective ways to prevent unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. The group promotes, instead, abstinence-only sex education policies despite increasing evidence that such programs fail to change teen behavior.

Covenant also doles out significant sums to private schools, churches, ministries and other religious groups. Christian Academy of San Antonio, founded by Leininger in 2002, was by far the largest recipient of Covenant funding in 2005: \$4.8 million.

That same year, Covenant gave \$500,000 to Patrick Henry College, which recruits students who were home-schooled and on whose governing board Leininger sits. Covenant has also donated substantial sums – at least \$206,000 from 1997 to 2004 – to Love Demonstrated Ministries, a Christian boot camp that uses “tough-love” tactics on troubled teens. In 2007, authorities charged San Antonio pastor Charles Eugene Flowers, who runs the camp, and an assistant with aggravated assault involving a camp resident. The 15-year-old camp resident said Flowers and an assistant dragged her by a rope tied to a van after she fell behind on a run one morning. Each time she fell to the ground, the van dragged her down a gravel road. Another camp employee said the girl similarly felt the love of administrators the previous day as well. “The torture to this girl went on all afternoon,” she said. (“Boot Camp Pastor Charged in Girl’s Dragging,” ABC News, 8-16-2007)

**Covenant Foundation Donations, 1997-2005***(Data from 1998 unavailable.)***Texas-Based Recipients**

The Justice Foundation (formerly Texas Justice Foundation)	\$1.5 million
Texas Public Policy Foundation	\$1.38 million
WallBuilders Presentations	\$1.36 million
Justice at the Gate Ministries	\$750,000
Medical Institute for Sexual Health (promotes abstinence-only sex education)	\$450,000
Vision America	\$360,000
Educational Research Analysts	\$152,400
Free Market Foundation	\$150,000

**Board Members:**

James R. Leininger, chairman  
 Cecilia A. Leininger  
 Brian C. Leininger  
 David C. Craven, president  
 Tracy M. Craven  
 Thomas W. Lyles, Jr., secretary  
 Charles A. Staffel, treasurer  
 Kelly C. Welch  
 Richard H. Welch  
 Robert Welch

**Contact Information:**

8122 Datapoint Dr., #1000  
 San Antonio, TX 78229-3270  
 Phone: 210-614-7051

**National Recipients**

Focus on the Family	\$440,000
Family Research Council	\$390,000
American Family Association	\$100,000
Alliance Defense Fund	\$90,000
National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools	\$52,000

**Total Covenant Foundation Donations, 2001-2005**

Date	Amount Donated	Rank Among Texas Foundations
2005	\$10,804,087	21
2004	\$9,221,636	24
2003	\$12,328,655	17
2002	\$6,913,789	39
2001	\$14,341,693	15

SOURCE: THE FOUNDATION CENTER

## Educational Research Analysts

501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-1407723

Educational Research Analysts is likely to play a role in the revision of public school curriculum standards over the next few years. Mel and Norma Gabler of Longview (Texas), who started the organization, began reviewing textbooks in the 1960s. The Gablers and their successors have criticized textbooks for, as they see it, coverage of evolution, failure to promote phonics-based reading instruction, insufficient support for principles of free enterprise, a failure to promote a strict interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, a lack of respect for Judeo-Christian morals, failure to emphasize abstinence-only-until-marriage instruction in health textbooks, and the “politically correct degradation of academics.”

The group’s “reviews” are often really political documents in which many textbook “errors” are simply ideological objections to content. In 2004 the group attacked proposed new health textbooks in Texas as somehow promoting homosexuality and same-sex marriage. Yet the student textbooks included no discussions of sexual orientation, and the teacher editions barely touched on the topic. But Educational Research Analysts argued that the books promoted same-sex marriage through the use of “asexual stealth phrases,” such as “married couples” and “married people,” rather than using language making it clear that marriage is a union of a man and a woman.

In May 2007, Educational Research Analysts attacked two sixth-grade mathematics textbooks for, among other things, allegedly violating the U.S. Constitution’s establishment clause regarding religion. From the group’s May 2007 newsletter: “In *Everyday Math* and *Connected Math*, students laboriously concoct their own computation methods instead of just quickly learning best practices. Replacing standard algorithms with haphazard searches for personal meaning unconstitutionally establishes New Age religious behavior in public school Math instruction.” ([http://www.textbookreviews.org/pdf/NL\\_5-07\\_front\\_page.pdf](http://www.textbookreviews.org/pdf/NL_5-07_front_page.pdf))

In recent years the group has appeared to adopt a tactic of releasing reviews of textbooks after the State Board of Education has already voted on approving or rejecting those books. This tactic seems to fit into an overall strategy by Educational Research Analysts to discredit public school textbooks altogether rather than help ensure that the state’s public schools have the best choices available to them.

Mel Gabler died in December 2004. Neal Frey, a longtime textbook reviewer for the Gablers, runs the organization today. For an informative feature on Frey, see “Chapter & Verse,” *Teacher Magazine*, Jan. 1, 2006 ([www.edweek.org](http://www.edweek.org)).

**From the Web site:** <http://www.textbookreviews.org>

## Mission

“We are a conservative Christian organization that reviews public school textbooks submitted for adoption in Texas. Our reviews have national relevance because Texas state-adopts textbooks and buys so many that publishers write them to Texas standards and sell them across the country.

Our unique 45 years’ experience gives us expertise equal to or beyond that of the education establishment itself in all phases of the public school textbook adoption process, and in that our standard review criteria spell out what public school textbooks often censor on certain topics.

Publisher’s market textbooks — and many teachers select them — based on convenience of their teaching aids. Unlike them, we review textbooks for academic content only. Parents, teachers, and school board members can all profitably use our materials.”

## Leadership

Neal Frey, senior textbook analyst

## Board Members:

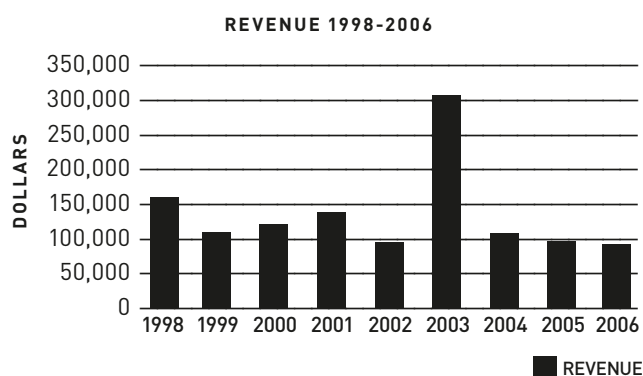
Neal Frey, President

Judith S. Frey, Director and Secretary

Richard Gibson, Director

Elsie Livers, Director

Revenue 1998:	Revenue 2006:	Assets 2006:
\$158,780.00	\$92,744	\$339,831



## Contact Information:

P.O. Box 7518

Longview, Texas 75607-7518

Phone: (903) 753-5993

Fax: (903) 753-8424

E-mail: [info@textbookreviews.org](mailto:info@textbookreviews.org)

## Free Market Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-1403169

The Free Market Foundation has increasingly looked to organizing conservative Christian pastors as a strategy in advancing its political agenda. In 2005, the group's head, Kelly Shackelford, created Texans for Marriage, a political action committee that made outreach to conservative pastors a key part of efforts to pass a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions. Shackelford has also been a prominent organizer of the Texas Restoration Project, a network of conservative Christian pastors. Just days before the November 2006 election, Shackelford – a member of Gov. Rick Perry's re-election steering committee – participated in a statewide get-out-the-vote conference call to conservative pastors identified by the Texas Restoration Project.

The Free Market Foundation serves as the statewide policy council for the far-right Focus on the Family, a national organization based in Colorado. The Free Market Foundation was created by Richard Ford, a high-level far-right political donor and organizer in Texas. Ford supports private school vouchers and also founded FreePAC (now Heritage Alliance PAC; see below), a political action committee that used its contributions to try to unseat moderate republican state legislators in Texas and replace them with candidates aligned with the religious right.

Today the head of the Free Market Foundation is Shackelford, an attorney who previously worked for the Rutherford Institute. The Rutherford Institute specializes in suing the government and public entities in "defense of religious liberty." Shackelford also serves as chief counsel for Liberty Legal Institute, a litigation arm of the Free Market Foundation.

Shackelford has also supported state workers who removed a child from her mother's custody because she was involved in a lesbian relationship. Shackelford contended that the state should "not knowingly place children in homes where they know there is ongoing criminal sexual activity." Shackelford reasoned that state's the sodomy law (since then struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court) meant that the state can't "place children in homosexual households."

The Free Market Foundation has supported failed legislation permitting religious organizations to ignore civil rights laws. The group also produces one of the most widely distributed religious-right voter guides in Texas, typically covering issues such as private school vouchers, same-sex marriage and teaching creationism in science classes. In addition, the Free Market Foundation has demanded that judicial candidates state their

affiliations with various organizations ranging from the Christian Coalition and Eagle Forum to the American Civil Liberties Union and Planned Parenthood. The group also created the Texas Physicians Resource Council, a statewide network of Christian physicians and dentists interested in local and state public policies involving such issues as abortion rights, homosexuality, parenting and sexuality education.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.freemarket.org>

### Mission:

"To protect freedoms and strengthen families throughout Texas by impacting our legislature, media, grassroots, and courts with the truth. To do this we are guided by the principles, which limit government, promote free enterprise and Judeo-Christian values."

### Vision:

All churches and ministries in the state of Texas will create, foster, and encourage an environment of freedom that strengthens the church and protects the practice of faith. The intimate relationships between church, community, and family will take on their God-given responsibilities and government will relinquish control of these areas.

We will accomplish this vision by:

- Sharing resources and providing relational support
- Fostering a culture of unity among Christian ministries from various backgrounds
- Developing a strong moral voice to government leaders, and challenge destructive political initiatives that harm churches and families
- Accomplishing things of strategic significance
- Impacting our state with a bold, strong Christian influence

### Leadership:

Kelly J. Shackelford, President, Chief Counsel of the legal division (Liberty Legal Institute)

Mark E. Swafford, Executive Vice-President

Hiram S. Sasser III, Director of Litigation

Jonathan Saenz, Director of Legislative Affairs

Rev. Gary Woolverton, Director of Pastoral Relations

Joan Padgett, Assistant to the Chief Counsel

Tonya Coffman, Director of Programs

Sarah Crawford, Director of Community Relations

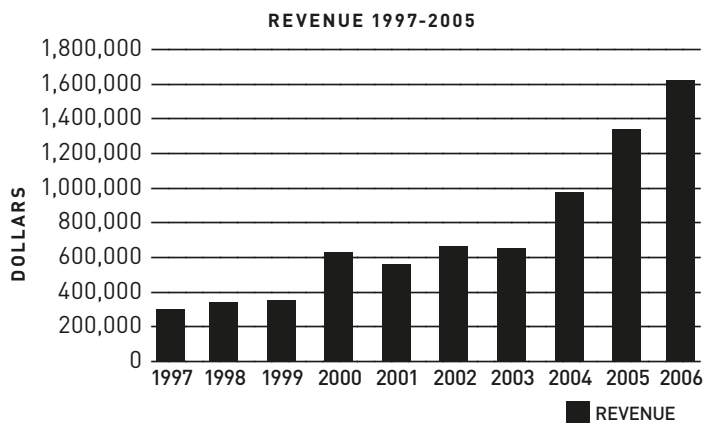
Nicole Hay, Director of Media & Communications

**Board Members:**

Mr. & Mrs. W.W. Caruth III, Dallas, chairman  
 Mr. & Mrs. Tim Dunn, Midland  
 Mr. & Mrs. Kelly Rogers, Frisco  
 Mr. Al Angel, Dallas  
 Cindy Asche, Frisco  
 Mark Cover, Houston  
 William Crocker, Austin  
 Mr. & Mrs. Dale Brown, Midland  
 Mr. & Mrs. James Robertson, Plano  
 Mr. & Mrs. Archer Bonnema, Plano  
 Deborah & Ken Carlson, Dallas  
 Dr. Linda Flower, Tomball  
 Judge Paul Pressler, Houston

**Revenue 1997: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:**

\$314,004.00      \$1,600,766.00      \$1,158,297.00

**Contact Information:**

Free Market Foundation  
 903 East 18th Street, Suite 230  
 Plano, Texas 75074  
 Phone: (972) 423-8889  
 Fax: (972) 423-8899  
 E-mail: [programs@freemarket.org](mailto:programs@freemarket.org)

## Heritage Alliance

A 501 (c)(4) nonprofit  
 EIN: 73-1164337

Founded by Richard Ford, the Heritage Alliance and the Heritage Alliance PAC were once known as the Free Market Committee and the Free Enterprise PAC, or FreePAC. Funded by conservative donors such as San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger, FreePAC backed a slate of far-right candidates in the 2002 state elections. In an attempt to purge moderates from the ranks of Republican elected officials, FreePAC also distributed mailers attacking a half-dozen GOP House members and senators during the party primary elections that year. Some of the inflammatory mailers included photos of two men kissing. The mailers painted their moderate Republican targets as, among other sins, being anti-family and supportive of teaching children about gay sex. They also attacked lawmakers for supporting women's reproductive rights, including access to abortion services. The attacks drew condemnation from newspapers and other Republican officials from across the state, and all six of the targeted Republican moderates won their primaries. In 2005 the Heritage Alliance *Marriage* PAC worked to pass a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions.

Heritage Alliance PAC reported total contributions of \$131,933.25 in 2006 and \$115,051.33 in 2005. (Texas Ethics Commission records) No electronic info available for Heritage Alliance Marriage PAC.

**From the Web site:** [www.heritagealliance.com](http://www.heritagealliance.com)

### Mission:

"Heritage Alliance seeks to empower the handful of citizens necessary to restore principles of free enterprise, limited government, limited taxation, and our traditional Judeo-Christian heritage in government.

Our founders believed in electing legislators of character and ability to represent principles on behalf of the common good, not simply to pander to public opinion. We believe that God entrusted us with the right to vote. When we choose not to vote or to not vote intelligently, we forfeit our responsibility to choose just legislators.

It is amazing how few people it takes to influence a legislator or an election! Only 50 emails, letters, or phone calls will influence a legislator on a particular bill. And only 5,000 voters will change the outcome of a primary election.

Your voice and your vote really do make a difference. Heritage Alliance serves to help you use your voice and vote wisely to hold our legislators accountable and ensure traditional values for our children and grandchildren."

### Leadership:

Richard Ford, president  
 M. Clare Jones, Vice-President

### Board Members:

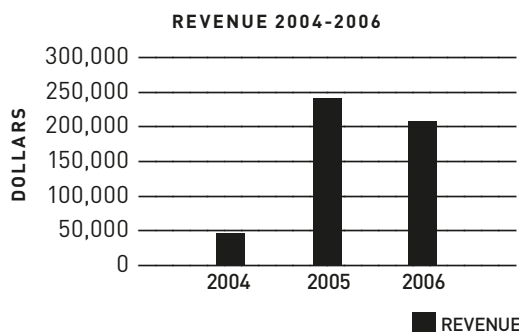
Dale Brown, Midland  
 Robert Carrel, Bonham  
 Richard Ford, Dallas  
 Greg Lamb, Dallas  
 J. Keet Lewis, Dallas, director  
 Tom Miller, Dallas, director  
 Robert Schoolfield, Austin  
 Cindy Sullivan, Galveston

### Revenue 2004: Assets 2004:

\$49,580.22 \$8,119.15

### Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:

\$203,058.00 \$-5,678.00



### Contact Information:

P.O. Box 741777  
 Dallas, TX 75374  
 Phone: (214) 348-2801  
 Email: [info@heritagealliance.com](mailto:info@heritagealliance.com)

## Justice at the Gate

A 501 (c)(3) nonprofit  
 EIN: 75-2633461

Justice at the Gate is the assumed name of 'At the Gate Ministries, Inc.' According to paperwork filed with the IRS, the organization's primary exempt purpose is to "promote reconciliation among persons of all beliefs." However, the group's Web site is an online organizing tool that designed to help build a political machine based on local organizers. The site invites visitors to volunteer for such positions as "civic awareness coordinators" and city or county coordinators. Coordinators distribute election material and facilitate voter registration efforts.

The site encourages conservative Christians to engage in political affairs, supports the appointment of "godly judges," and includes targeted outreach to minority communities in its activities. The group has coordinators in at least nine states, including Texas, where it has been actively involved in voter registration and other electoral activity. In 2005, for example, Justice at the Gate campaigned for passage of a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions in Texas.

The group's Web site includes detailed information about legal issues involving political work by churches and religious leaders. Much of the information is useful, but some of the advice might endanger the tax-exempt status of a church or other house of worship. For example, Justice at the Gate suggests that pastors may personally endorse or oppose a candidate from the pulpit. The Internal Revenue Service, however, has been investigating specific instances in which such activities may have, in fact, put the tax-exempt status of a church or other house of worship at risk.

From <http://www.praytexas.com/text/newsletter.htm>: Justice at the Gate director Alice Patterson also founded Pray Texas in 1996 in the West Texas town of Junction. One project of Pray Texas is a weekly prayer group that prays for the Texas Legislature in an office in the state Capitol. The current president of Pray Texas is Cathe Halford, who with Alice Patterson was active in the Ector County chapter of the Texas Christian Coalition.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.justiceatthegate.org/>

### Mission:

"Building strategic partnerships to mobilize Christians to pray effectively and to vote righteously.

Empowering believers in God's presence through reconciliation and education to impact our nation through focused prayer for our judiciary and through the power of the ballot by purposing to:

- Build strategic partnerships to connect with key ethnic leaders
- Prepare a place of healing in God's presence by continuing the reconciliation work of black and white abolitionists
- Empower Christians to impact our nation by connecting their faith values to electoral choices, evidenced by the power of the ballot
- Open doors of access to government by educating and connecting the faith community to dedicated believers serving in government
- Mobilize governmental prayer by connecting an intercessor to every judge in America, from the county to the federal level"

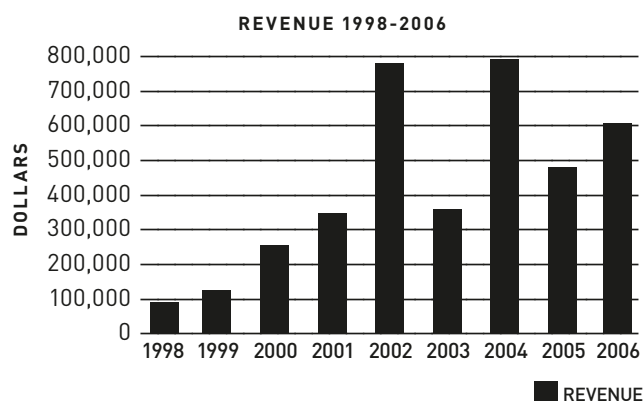
### Leadership:

John and Alice Patterson, Director

### Board Members:

E. Gaye Rowe, Director  
 Susan Weddington

<b>Revenue 1998</b>	<b>Revenue 2006:</b>	<b>Assets 2006:</b>
\$91,775	\$613,754	\$20,472



### Contact Information:

Street Address:  
 7203 Wilder  
 San Antonio, Texas 78248

### Mailing address:

P.O. Box 681148  
 San Antonio, TX 78268  
 Phone: (210) 677-8214  
 Fax: (210) 677-8201  
 Email: [justiceatthegate@aol.com](mailto:justiceatthegate@aol.com)

## The Justice Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2676958

The Justice Foundation (formerly known as the Texas Justice Foundation) has been working to elevate its profile at the national level. Through its program called Operation Outcry, TJF has circulated to public policymakers around the country affidavits from 2,000 women who say they have been harmed by abortions they had. The group has strongly supported so-called abortion “trigger laws,” which would automatically ban abortion in a state – often with no exceptions – should the U.S. Supreme Court overturn its landmark *Roe v. Wade* ruling from 1973. In November 2006, TJF and its allies suffered a stinging defeat when South Dakota voters repealed such a draconian trigger law in their state. In 2007, Texas Senator Dan Patrick, R-Houston, filed a similar trigger bill – SB 186 – in the Legislature. The bill’s House companion, HB 175 by state Rep. Warren Chisum R-Pampa, received a public hearing but failed to make it out of committee.

TJF was formed as a spin-off of the far-right Texas Public Policy Foundation to litigate on behalf of what TJF considers “good government practices.” TJF has filed legal briefs in support of the right of people under restraining orders to bear arms, the right of students to impose their religious beliefs on others, and the religious right’s campaign for “parental rights.”

TJF has been active in the campaign for private school vouchers in Texas by arguing for parental rights and vouchers in front of the Texas Supreme Court, sponsoring a “Putting Children First” private school choice conference at the Capitol, and “evaluating” charter schools for the State Board of Education.

In 2000, TJF filed an amicus brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Santa Fe ISD v. Doe*, arguing in support of school prayer at Texas high school football games. The Justice Foundation also has represented both Norma McCorvey, formerly “Roe” of *Roe v. Wade*, and Sandra Cano, the “Doe” of *Doe v. Bolton*, in the effort to overturn the two landmark cases that protected a woman’s right to choose whether or not to have an abortion.

In 2005, TJF filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of Cano and 180 women who said they were injured by undergoing an abortion procedure. Justice Anthony Kennedy cited the brief in the majority opinion in *Gonzalez v. Carhart*, which upheld the constitutionality of a federal law banning so-called partial birth abortions. Justice Kennedy referenced the brief to write more broadly about the emotional impact of abortion on women, asserting that the ban would ultimately be good for women, who – he argued – would be spared the mental and moral trauma of the procedure.

Attorney Allan Parker leads TJF and is a former Bexar County Christian Coalition president. Parker and former directors of TJF have been familiar names in other pro-voucher organizations.

Fritz Steiger, president of CEO America (now Children First America), was a TJF director. Thomas W. Lyles, who is on the board of directors for CEO America and TPPF and was involved with Texans for Governmental Integrity, a political action committee founded by Dr. Leininger, served as TJF’s secretary.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.txjf.org>

### Mission:

“The Justice Foundation seeks to mobilize citizens, through financial and service contributions to provide free legal representation in landmark cases to protect and restore justice.

We seek to protect, through litigation and education, those fundamental freedoms and rights essential to the preservation of American society.”

### Leadership:

Allan E. Parker Jr., President

Clayton Trotter, General Counsel

George Pond, Vice President of Development

### Board Members:

Allan E. Parker, Jr., President

Richard C. Trotter, Vice President

George Pond, Vice President

Linda Schlueter, Vice President

Charles A. Staffel, Treasurer

Thomas Lyles, Secretary/Director

Fritz Steiger, Director

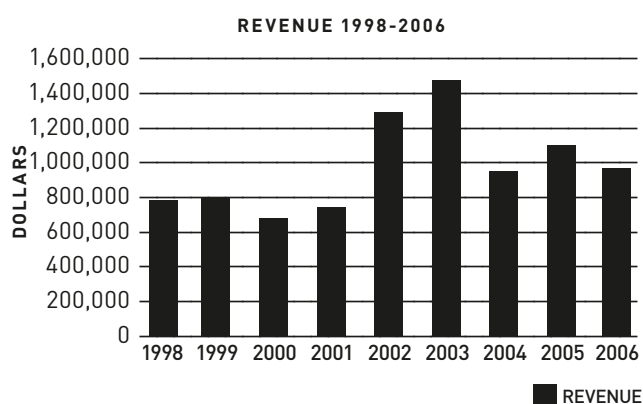
James R. Leininger, Director

### Revenue 1998: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:

\$796,915.00

\$972,873.00

\$26,514.00



### Contact Information:

Texas Justice Foundation

8122 Datapoint, Suite 812

San Antonio, Texas 78229

Phone: (210) 614-7157

Fax: (210) 614-6656

E-mail: [info@txjf.org](mailto:info@txjf.org)

## Liberty Legal Institute

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

An arm of Free Market Foundation – itself the Texas outpost of James Dobson's Focus on the Family – Liberty Legal is a litigation group that attempts to insert religion into the public sphere through lawsuits. The organization specializes in blowing local controversies into legal battles over religious freedom. In March 2006, for example, Liberty Legal helped a student Bible-study group sue the Plano Independent School District for the right to post an organizational description of the group on the district's Web site. In April the group threatened to sue a Fort Worth-area school over whether a religious student group should have to pay a fee to host a rally – including a sound system and a Christian rock band – in a school gym.

In August of 2005, Liberty Legal provided work for the National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools (NCBCPS). The NCBCPS had come under fire following a Texas Freedom Network Education Fund report detailing blatant sectarian bias, numerous errors and plagiarism in a Bible curriculum the National Council is aggressively marketing to public schools around the country. In May 2007, Liberty Legal agreed to defend the Ector County Independent School District (Odessa) in West Texas after the American Civil Liberties Union filed a federal lawsuit charging that the district's Bible course – which is based on NCBCPS materials – violates the U.S. Constitution's establishment clause.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.libertylegal.org>

"Liberty Legal Institute (LLI) is a 501(c)(3) organization that was founded in 1997 to protect religious freedoms and First Amendment rights for individuals, groups and churches. LLI offers its assistance pro bono to ensure all individuals and groups can thrive without the fear of governments restricting their freedoms.

Liberty Legal consists of staff attorneys and a network of over 120 dedicated litigators committed to successfully battling in the courts for:

- Religious freedoms
- Student's rights
- Parental rights
- The definition of family

These litigators donate their professional expertise and time to fight for these sacred freedoms. Liberty Legal Institute is headquartered in Plano, Texas with affiliate offices located in Dallas, Houston, Austin, Midland, Lubbock and San Antonio."

### Mission:

"To achieve expanded religious freedom and family autonomy through litigation and education designed to limit the

government's power, increase the religious rights of citizens and promote parental rights."

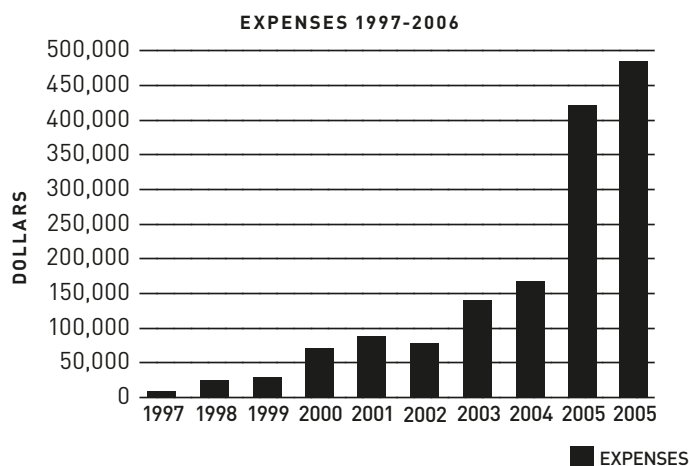
### Leadership:

Kelly Shackelford, Chief Counsel

### 1997 Expenses: 2006 Expenses:

\$6,797.00

\$477,857.00



### Contact Information:

Liberty Legal Institute  
 903 E. 18th Street, Suite 230  
 Plano, TX 75074  
 Phone: (972) 423-3131  
 Fax: (972) 423-8899  
 E-mail: [libertylegal@libertylegal.org](mailto:libertylegal@libertylegal.org)

## Life Dynamics

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2436409

Founded in 1992, Life Dynamics opposes the right to abortion in all circumstances, including to save the life of the mother. The group has backed its extreme position with extreme tactics, including the distribution of literature with “jokes” suggesting that doctors who perform abortions should be shot. The group also distributed a video charging that clinics were engaged in an illegal underground trafficking of fetal tissue. When members of a Congressional committee pointed out discrepancies between the statements of a spokesman in the video and statements on an affidavit by the same individual, the spokesperson answered: “I would go by the affidavit, when I was under oath I told the truth. Anything I said on the video when I was not under oath, that is a different story.” (*Roll Call*, 3/13/2000)

Life Dynamics has also threatened legal action against school districts. The group sent a letter to school districts notifying them that they could be held liable for not reporting criminal activity if any minor sought family planning services as a result of finding out about these services through school. ([www.lifedynamics.com/Anti-Abortion\\_Prolife/Teen\\_Abortion\\_Facts/](http://www.lifedynamics.com/Anti-Abortion_Prolife/Teen_Abortion_Facts/))

**From the Web site:** <http://www.lds.org>

### Mission:

“The official Life Dynamics position is that no action should be legally permissible if its intent is to take the life of an innocent human being.

Therefore, in recognition of the biological reality that human life begins at the moment of fertilization, the unborn child is entitled to the protection of the law under all circumstances and at every stage of pregnancy. In those extraordinarily rare instances in which a pregnancy poses an immediate and life threatening risk to the mother, she should be allowed to direct her physician to perform any medical procedure that is necessary to save her life. In that effort, however, the physician must always do whatever is possible to save the life of both mother and baby. If as an unintended consequence of saving the mother’s life, her unborn child loses its life, that should be viewed as a profoundly regrettable but lawful outcome.”

### Motto:

“Pro-Life: without compromise, without exception, without apology.”

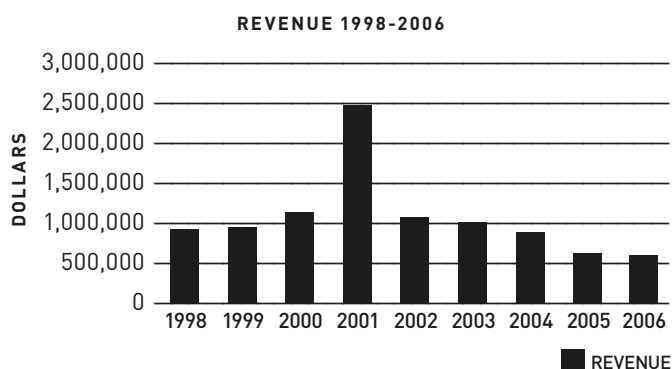
### Leadership:

Mark Crutcher, founder and president

### Board Members:

Mark Crutcher  
Tulane Crutcher  
B.J. Posey  
Louise Coleman  
Cherie Johnson  
Terrance Anderson  
Arden Morley

Revenue 1998:	Revenue 2006:	Assets 2006:
\$914,657.00	\$555,232.00	\$980,880.00



### Contact Information:

Life Dynamics Incorporated  
204 Cardinal Drive  
Denton, TX 76209  
Phone: (940) 380-8800  
Fax: (940) 380-8700

**Texas Alliance for Life**

A 501(c)(4) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2505952

**Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund**

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2727699

Texas Alliance for Life was created in 1988 by Joseph Pojman as the Greater Austin Right to Life Committee. In 1999, the organization adopted another name: Texas Coalition of Parents' Rights. Finally, in 2002, the organization became known as Texas Alliance for Life, but it can still operate under any of the assumed names. Texas Alliance for Life holds anti-abortion rallies around the state and opposes a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion; embryonic stem cell research; and the expansion of Planned Parenthood facilities. Although officially nonpartisan, the group has made its support for certain political candidates – especially Gov. Rick Perry – obvious. "The pro-life vote, generated with the help of Texas Alliance for Life, gave Perry a strong margin of victory," the group wrote after the governor's re-election in November 2006 ("TAL Update 12/4/06, [http://texasallianceforlife.org/TAL%20Updates/TAL%20Update%202006\\_12\\_04.htm](http://texasallianceforlife.org/TAL%20Updates/TAL%20Update%202006_12_04.htm).)

**From the Web site:** <http://texasallianceforlife.org/>

**Mission:**

"Texas Alliance for Life is a nonprofit organization made up of people. We are committed to protecting the fundamental right to life of all innocent human beings and to promoting respect for their value and dignity from the moment of conception until natural death. We therefore oppose the advocacy and practice of abortion (except to preserve the mother's life), infanticide, euthanasia, and all forms of assisted suicide."

**Organization's purpose, from records filed with the Texas Secretary of State's Office:**

- A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the unborn child, from the moment of fertilization through the moment of natural death.
- B. To combat, curb, and eliminate abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia and any other medical practice that support the taking of innocent human life or involuntary experiments upon human beings.
- C. To organize and conduct educational and public-relations programs directed at advising the public of the true nature of the aforementioned medical practices: which is that these are profane attacks upon the foundations of our society; that these are cruel violence illegally visited upon the victims of such practices; and that they are crimes against humanity.
- D. To provide alternatives to abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia through care and comfort to needy pregnant women, elderly persons, and other potential victims of perverted medical science so as to curb the aforementioned medical practices.
- E. To engage only in peaceful actions not prohibited by law for implementing the aforementioned purposes.

**Leadership, Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund**

Joseph Pojman, Executive Director

Patty Fennessey, Project Director

Erin Mallard, Data Entry

Mary Shearer, Director of Administration

Jill Davis, Special Assistant to Director

Jennifer Stratton, Comm. Director

**Board Members:**

Christopher Maska

**Leadership, Texas Alliance for Life, Inc:**

Joseph Pojman, Executive Director

Mary Shearer, Director of Administration

Kristin Jones, Director of Communications

Alexis Dobson, Director of Community Development

Jayme Bennett, Vol. Mgr.

Christine DeLoma, Comm. Dir.

Jill Davis, Special Assistant

Patty Fennessey, Project Director

Jennifer Stratton, Comm. Dir.

**Board Members:**

Jean Cullen

Scott Gilmore

Beverly Nuckols, M.D.

Davida Stike

Kayo O'Keefe

Jim Teegarden

Rich Phillips

John Partridge

Brandon Frye

Christopher Maska

Pastor David Smith

Clara Urias

Jim Shaw

Kristin Jones

Christina Moore

**Texas Alliance for Life 501(c)(4)****Revenue 2005: Assets 2005:**

\$73,666.00

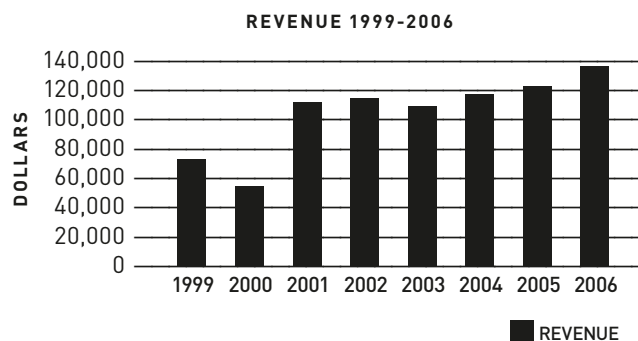
-\$5,876

**Texas Alliance for Life Trust Fund 501(c)(3)****Revenue 1999: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:**

\$72,994

\$137,161

\$25,579

**Contact Information:**

Texas Alliance for Life

2026 Guadalupe Street, Suite 220

Austin, TX 78705

Phone: (512) 477-1244

Fax: (512) 472-6246

E-mail: [info@texasallianceforlife.org](mailto:info@texasallianceforlife.org)

**Texas Eagle Forum**

A 501(c)(4) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2310138

**Texas Eagle Education Fund**

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-2310139

The Texas Eagle Forum is a branch of the national Eagle Forum, which is headed by founder Phyllis Schlafly. Texas Eagle Forum has been active at the State Board of Education (SBOE) on textbook and curriculum issues. The group's lobbyists have held positions on the SBOE writing team for English/Language Arts and the curricular review committee for Careers and Technology. In addition, the group's director, Cathie Adams, can often be seen at SBOE hearings testifying on textbook content. Her testimony has opposed the inclusion of references to Cesar Chavez, pictures of Mexican-American cowboys in history textbooks, and recipes to illustrate measurement and fractions in mathematics textbooks.

The group has been a staunch opponent of any instruction on AIDS prevention or pregnancy prevention in Texas high schools other than through an abstinence-only-until-marriage curriculum. It also opposes immunizations requirements, school-based health centers and school nurses, and School-to-Work programs.

From the Web site: <http://www.texaseagle.org>

**Mission:**

"Texas Eagle Forum's mission is to enable conservative and pro-family men and women to participate in the process of self-government and public policy-making so that America will continue to be a land of individual liberty, respect for family integrity, public and private virtue, and private enterprise."

**Leadership:**

Cathie Adams, President

Marilyn Statler, Secretary

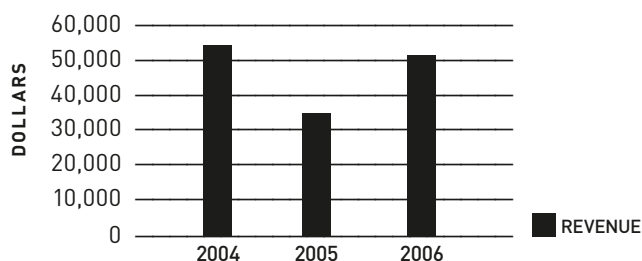
Cheri Isett, Vice President

**Texas Eagle Forum 501(c)(4)****Revenue 2004: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:**

\$55,814.00

\$50,276

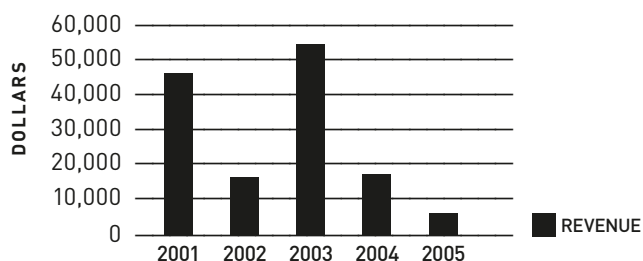
\$36,523

**REVENUE 2004-2006****Texas Eagle Education Fund 501(c)(3)****Revenue 2001 Revenue 2005: Assets 2005:**

\$46,390

\$5,842.00

\$16,866.00

**REVENUE 2001-2005****Contact Information:**

Texas Eagle Forum

P.O. Box 795354

Dallas, TX 75379

Phone: (972) 250-0734

Fax: (972) 380-2853

E-mail: [torch@texaseagle.org](mailto:torch@texaseagle.org)

## Texans for Life Coalition

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-1908415

Texans for Life (formerly Texans United for Life) is involved in religious-right politics throughout Texas. The organization has opposed comprehensive sex education in Texas health textbooks, embryonic stem cell research, reproductive choice and physician-assisted suicide. Though the organization supported Harriet Miers in her run for a Dallas City Council seat in 1989, it turned against her in 2005 when President Bush nominated her to as an associate justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

*From the Web site: <http://www.texlife.org/>*

### Leadership:

Kyleen Wright, President

Betty Garcia, Assistant Director

Terri McLaughlin, Education Coordinator

Dot Hogue, Treasurer

### Board Members:

Casey Burke

Dot Hogue

David Edmonson

Dr. Patrick J. McCarty

Betty Garcia

Jeffrey Stewart

Dr. Jack Hatcher

Kyleen Wright

Wade Birdwell

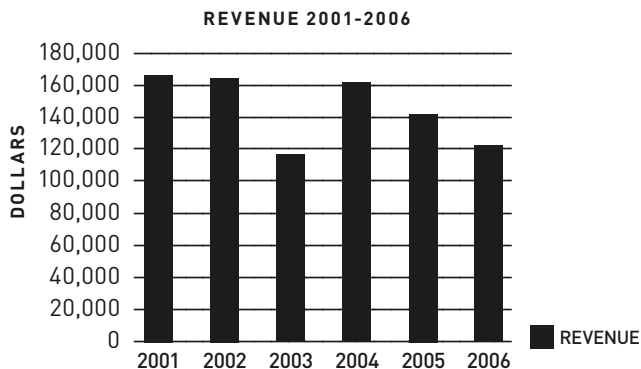
Sheree Havlick

### Revenue 2000: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:

\$168,565.00

\$124,608

\$7,916



### Contact Information:

Texans for Life Coalition

P.O. Box 177727

Irving, TX 75017-7727

Phone: (972) 790-9044

E-mail: [webservant@texlife.org](mailto:webservant@texlife.org)

## Texas Public Policy Foundation

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 74-2524057

While its work today is not based explicitly on conservative religious principles, the Texas Public Policy Foundation (TPPF) has played an increasingly influential role in shaping public policy in Texas from a far-right perspective. In fact, many Republican lawmakers attend TPPF's "policy orientation" events, and TPPF leaders and staff members advise Gov. Rick Perry and other elected officials on public policy. The group has supported censorship of school textbooks in the past, opposes funding for the Children's Health Insurance Program and promotes policies – such as private school vouchers and school "deregulation" – that threaten public education in the state.

San Antonio businessman Dr. James Leininger founded TPPF in 1989, using the Heritage Foundation as a model for a conservative "think tank." The organization writes and disseminates supportive reports on issues long important to Dr. Leininger, especially private school vouchers and tort reform.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.texaspolicy.com>

"The Texas Public Policy Foundation is a 501(c)(3) non-profit, non-partisan research institute guided by the core principles of individual liberty, personal responsibility, private property rights, free markets and limited government.

The Foundation's mission is to improve Texas by generating academically sound research and data on state issues, and by recommending the findings to opinion leaders, policymakers, the media and general public.

Funded by hundreds of individuals, foundations and corporations, the Foundation does not accept government funds or contributions to influence the outcomes of its research.

The public is demanding a different direction for their government, and the Texas Public Policy Foundation is providing the ideas that enable policymakers to chart that new course."

### Leadership:

Brooke L. Rollins, president

Byron Schlomach, chief economist

Mary Katherine Stout, Director of Center for Health Care Policy Studies

Marc Levin, Director of Center for Effective Justice

Jamie Story, Education Policy Analyst

Shari Hanrahan, Director of Development

Bill Peacock, Director of Center for Economic Freedom

Talmadge Helfin, Visiting Research Fellow

Arlene Wohlgemuth, Visiting Research Fellow

Sally Lay, Director of Development

Brooke Dollens Terry, Education Policy Analyst

Nancy Druart, Publications and Marketing Manager

Law Armstrong, Visiting Research Fellow

David Guenther, Director of Media and Government Relations

Will Franklin, Visiting Research Fellow

### Board Members

Phil Adams, Bryan

Tim Lyles, San Antonio

Ernest Angelo, Midland

William A. McMinn, chairman, Houston

Tim Dunn, vice chairman, Midland

Vance C. Miller, Dallas

Ramiro Galindo, Bryan

Wendy Gramm, Helotes

Brenda Pejovich, Dallas

George W. Strake Jr., Houston

Bill Jones, Austin

Brooke L. Rollins, Dallas

Dale Laine, Austin

Jeff Sandefer, Austin

James R. Leininger, MD, San Antonio

Fritz Steiger, Bentonville, Ark.

Michael Stevens, Houston

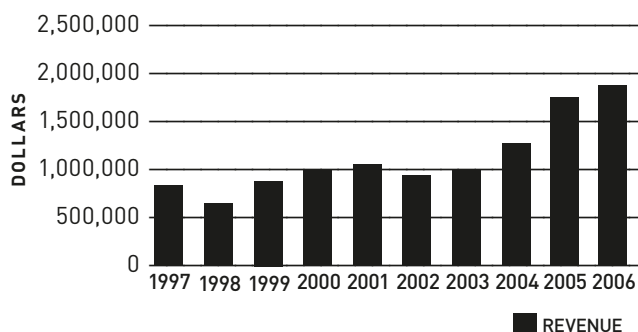
### Revenue 1997: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:

\$810,456

\$1,924,407

\$921,922

REVENUE 1997-2006



REVENUE

### Contact Information

Texas Public Policy Foundation

900 Congress Ave. Ste. 400

Austin, TX 78701

Phone: (512) 472-2700

Fax: (512) 472-2728

E-mail: [info@TexasPolicy.com](mailto:info@TexasPolicy.com)

## Texas Restoration Project/ Niemoller Foundation

Nonprofit status: Niemoller is a 501(c)(3) private foundation  
EIN: Niemoller's EIN is 11-3749299

The Texas Restoration Project, a network of conservative Christian pastors, is part of a growing web of similar organizations in various states. It became active in Texas in 2005. The group received its funding from the Niemoller Foundation, a 501(c)(3) private foundation headed by the Texas Restoration Project's chairman, Rev. Laurence White, as well as his wife and Andrew Adams. The Niemoller Foundation raised and spent nearly \$1.3 million for the Texas Restoration Project's activities in 2005. Much of that funding, according to IRS records, came from prominent Republican donors Dr. Jim Leininger of San Antonio, Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, East Texas chicken tycoon Bo Pilgrim, and liquor distributor Don O'Neal. All have also been prominent contributors to Gov. Rick Perry's political campaigns.

Most of the states with similar "Restoration" or "Renewal" projects are key battlegrounds in presidential elections, including Ohio, Pennsylvania, Florida, Minnesota, Iowa and Colorado. Most of the networks have been established since 2004. Prominent supporters have included Rod Parsley – a fundamentalist evangelical pastor from Ohio – and David Barton, the former vice chair of the Texas Republican Party and the founder and head of WallBuilders, a Texas-based group that opposes separation of church and state.

The Texas group played a key role in helping pass Proposition 2, a state constitutional ban on same-sex marriage, in November 2005. That effort also appeared to be a voter identification and mobilization project intended to benefit the reelection of Gov. Rick Perry in 2006. In fact, Gov. Perry was the only candidate for governor in 2006 who spoke at the group's six "Pastors' Policy Briefings." ("Pastors' Policy Briefings" have been typical organizing tools for Restoration Projects around the country. These statewide events host hundreds of pastors and their spouses, who attend at no charge for food and accommodations.) The Texas group also sponsored a get-out-the-vote conference call for conservative pastors in the state just days before the November 6, 2006, election. After the election, the group called on pastors to join together in Austin to celebrate Gov. Perry's inauguration in January.

### **Mission:** *(From Texas Restoration Project literature)*

"The Texas Restoration Project was established to mobilize pastors and pews to restore Texas and America to our Judeo-Christian heritage. We strive to provide the resources necessary for Churches to educate their members on the moral issues facing our society and encourage them to participate in the democratic process."

### **Leadership:**

Rev. Laurence White, chairman  
David Lane, executive director

### **Board Members of the Niemoller Foundation:**

Rev. Laurence White  
Deborah White  
Andrew Adams

### **Niemoller Foundation revenue for 2005:**

\$1,289,000

### **Niemoller Foundation assets for 2005:**

\$29,241

*Data for 2006 unavailable as this report went to press.*

### **Texas Restoration Project Contact Information:**

P.O. Box 200222  
Austin, TX 78720-0222  
Phone: (800) 491-9032  
restoration@sanjacintogroup.com

### **Niemoller Foundation Contact Information:**

427 West 20th Street, Suite 501  
Houston, TX 77008-2431  
(713) 869-8346

**Vision America**

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

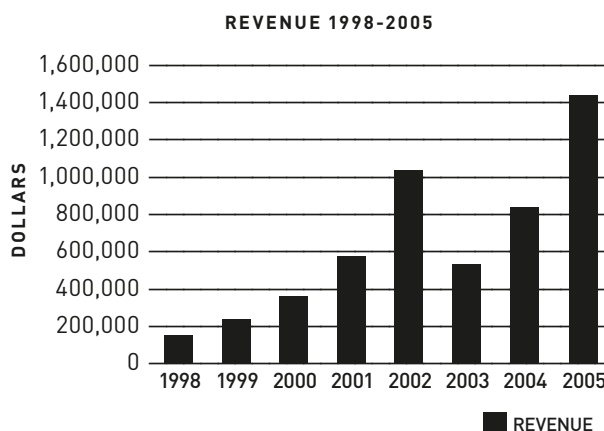
EIN: 76-0572974

Founded in 1994, the Lufkin (Texas)-based group calls on pastors – so-called “patriot pastors” – to promote a conservative political agenda in their congregations. That agenda is virulently anti-gay and includes opposition to abortion rights, comprehensive sex education and embryonic stem cell research. One of the members of the group’s board of directors is the Rev. Dr. Laurence White, who serves as chairman of the Texas Restoration Project – another organization whose mission is to mobilize pastors into a conservative political force.

The president of Vision America is Rick Scarborough, a former Southern Baptist pastor who is a prominent leader in the far right’s campaign to undermine an independent judiciary. In fact, the group has called for the impeachment of “activist judges” whose rulings it opposes. Scarborough has been one of the loudest voices proclaiming that “activist judges” are engaged in a “war on Christians” and people of faith. In March 2006, Vision America hosted a national conference in Washington, D.C., called “The War on Christians and Values Voters.” The event featured a long list of heavy hitters on the far right, including U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay of Texas, U.S. Sen. John Cornyn of Texas, Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, and former Republican presidential candidate Alan Keyes.

<b>Revenue 1998:</b>	<b>Revenue 2005:</b>	<b>Assets 2005:</b>
\$131,826	\$1,410,989	\$696,644

Data for 2006 unavailable as this report went to press.

**Contact Information:**

Vision America  
P.O. Box 10  
Lufkin, Texas 75902  
Phone: (866) 522-5582  
Fax: (936) 560-3902  
E-mail: [mail@visionamerica.us](mailto:mail@visionamerica.us)

**From the Web site:** <http://www.visionamerica.us>

**Mission:**

“Our mission is to inform, encourage and mobilize pastors and their congregations to be proactive in restoring Judeo-Christian values to the moral and civic framework in their communities, states, and our nation.”

**Head of the Group:**

Rick Scarborough, President  
William Gattis, Vice-President

**Board Members:**

Randall Odom  
Mike Valerio  
William Gattis  
Dr. Laurence White, Co-Chairman  
Keith Drewery  
Damon Keeley  
Bo Chin  
John Graves

**WallBuilders** (*WallBuilder Presentations, Inc.*)

A 501(c)(3) nonprofit

EIN: 75-1627779

Headquartered in the North Texas town of Aledo, WallBuilders is an “educational” organization with a distinct ideological agenda – that the United States is a Christian nation, founded on Christian principles and that its laws should be based on conservative Christian biblical teaching. The group has an increasingly partisan agenda as well. Its founder and president, David Barton, was vice chair of the Republican Party of Texas from 1998 to 2006. He remains a prominent speaker before Republican and other conservative groups around the country.

In 2004, Barton served as a political consultant for the Republican National Committee, traveling the country and speaking at about 300 RNC-sponsored lunches for local evangelical pastors. During these lunches, he presented a slide show of American monuments, discussed his view of America’s Christian heritage – and encouraged pastors to endorse political candidates from the pulpit.

Barton has published several books and produced several videotapes calling for the restoration of “America’s Christian values.” In these works Barton argues that the separation of church and state is a myth foisted on the country when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that government-sponsored prayer in the public schools was unconstitutional. The United States, Barton insists, was founded by Christians and was intended to be a fundamentalist-style “Christian nation.” In fact, Barton argues that the Supreme Court’s ruling against state-sponsored prayer in schools is directly tied to the erosion of morals in this country and is just one example of “renegade federal judges who too often impose their own personal values on communities.”

To achieve the group’s desired influence on government, WallBuilders’ ProFamily Legislative Network monitors and collects information on so-called “pro-family” legislation from various states, including on such issues such as marriage, abortion, education, gay and lesbian rights, public morality, gambling and parental rights. This information is then made available to other states where far-right lawmakers can introduce similar bills and spread far-right legislation across America.

Barton’s publications and videos are widely distributed through other religious-right organizations, such as Focus on the Family and Rev. Jerry Falwell’s Liberty University bookstore. WallBuilders’ has also marketed materials in public schools as a “Biblical History of the Middle East.” When parents in a Mississippi public school asserted that the course designed by Barton was a ruse for teaching fundamentalist Christianity, a federal court ruled that materials like Barton’s video “America’s Godly Heritage” were inappropriate for use in public schools. The U.S. district judge acknowledged that the films are an attempt to indoctrinate students in religious beliefs under the ruse of “Mid-East History.” Even so, the North Carolina-based National Council on Bible Curriculum in Public Schools recommends Barton’s materials for teachers who use the NCBCPS’s own curriculum.

Barton also apparently takes on issues that would seemingly have little to do with WallBuilders’ mission. In June 2007, for example, Barton testified at a hearing before the Environment and Public Works Committee of the U. S. Senate that global warming is not occurring: He specifically urged legislators that in the unlikely case that it is occurring, we shouldn’t have to do anything about it.

**From the Web site:** <http://www.wallbuilders.com>

“WallBuilders is an organization dedicated to presenting America’s forgotten history and heroes, with an emphasis on the moral, religious, and constitutional foundation on which America was built – a foundation which, in recent years, has been seriously attacked and undermined. In accord with what was accurately stated by George Washington, we believe that “the propitious [favorable] smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation which disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained.”

WallBuilders’ goal is to exert a direct and positive influence in government, education, and the family by (1) educating the nation concerning the Godly foundation of our country; (2) providing information to federal, state, and local officials as they develop public policies which reflect Biblical values; and (3) encouraging Christians to be involved in the civic arena.”

**Leadership:**

David Barton, founder and president

Cheryl Barton, Secretary and Treasurer

**Board Members:**

Jeff Fisher

Richard Watson

Rose Barton

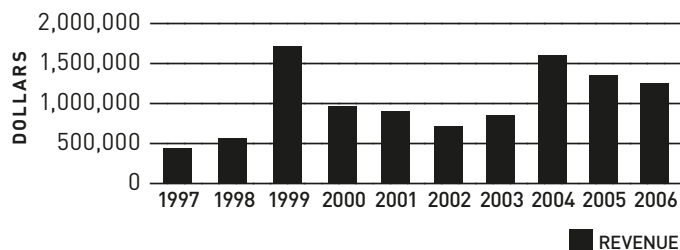
Stephen McDowell

**Revenue 1997: Revenue 2006: Assets 2006:**

\$424,949.91

\$1,114,638

\$963,541

**REVENUE 1997-2006****Contact Information:**

WallBuilders

P.O. Box 397

426 Circle Drive

Aledo, TX 76008-0397

Phone: (817) 441-6044

Fax: (817) 441-6866

Email: [info@wallbuilders.com](mailto:info@wallbuilders.com)

## ENDNOTES

- 1 "State board rejects science texts," *Dallas Morning News*, November 9, 2001
- 2 "State board rejects science texts," *Dallas Morning News*, November 9, 2001
- 3 "Science books rejected on factual-error claim," *Houston Chronicle*, November 9, 2001
- 4 "State approves 2 of 3 textbooks; some call the ban censorship," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, November 10, 2001
- 5 "Back to the basics: Define 'fact,'" *Dallas Morning News*, December 2, 2001
- 6 [www.creationevidence.org/](http://www.creationevidence.org/)
- 7 [www.creationmuseum.org/](http://www.creationmuseum.org/)
- 8 [www.tfn.org/files/fck/Chisum%20Anti-Evolution%20Memo.pdf](http://www.tfn.org/files/fck/Chisum%20Anti-Evolution%20Memo.pdf)
- 9 [www.fixedearth.com](http://www.fixedearth.com)
- 10 *Edwards v. Aguillard*, 482 U.S. 578 (1987); [http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC\\_CR\\_0482\\_0578\\_ZS.html](http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0482_0578_ZS.html)
- 11 *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District*, Case No. 04cv2688 (2005); [http://www.pamd.uscourts.gov/kitzmiller/kitzmiller\\_342.pdf](http://www.pamd.uscourts.gov/kitzmiller/kitzmiller_342.pdf)
- 12 Transcript of lecture by Don McLeroy at Grace Bible Church in Bryan, [www.tfn.org/publiceducation/textbooks/mcleroy/index.php](http://www.tfn.org/publiceducation/textbooks/mcleroy/index.php)
- 13 Transcript of lecture by Don McLeroy at Grace Bible Church in Bryan, [www.tfn.org/publiceducation/textbooks/mcleroy/index.php](http://www.tfn.org/publiceducation/textbooks/mcleroy/index.php)
- 14 Stutz, Terrence. "Science in Texas unlikely to cover intelligent design," *Dallas Morning News*, August 24, 2007
- 15 <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/sboe/board/bios/bradley.html>; After redistricting in 2001, term periods were adjusted, with about half of board seats assigned for election in 2002 and the other half in 2004. Terms afterward were set at four years. Bradley drew a two-year term and was forced to run for re-election in 2002.
- 16 Elliot, Janet. "School of naught; No State Board of Education member has a child in a public school." *Houston Chronicle*, March 31, 2002
- 17 Elliot, Janet. "School of naught; no state board of education member has a child in a public school." *Houston Chronicle*, March 31, 2002
- 18 Suydam, Jim. "Stat board of education: Central Texas incumbent wins another leading." *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 6, 2002
- 19 Harmon, Dave. "State Board OKs biology textbooks 11-4 vote foils attempts to temper the teaching of theory of evolution." *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 7, 2003
- 20 Moritz, John. "Texas Board of Educators changes course, approves science textbook." *Ft. Worth Star-Telegram*, Nov. 10, 2001
- 21 Fikac, Peggy. "School board member divides math text in 2." *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 8, 1997
- 22 Zuniga, Jo Ann. "Board of Education's Social Conservatives Gain Ground." *Houston Chronicle*, Star Edition, March 15, 2004
- 23 [www.strengthsandweaknesses.org](http://www.strengthsandweaknesses.org)
- 24 <http://www.strengthsandweaknesses.org/Archives/GOP.Primary.recap.htm>
- 25 Robison, Clay. "Donation stirs concern in education race; The choice of ultraconservatives receives \$10,000 from a voucher proponent's wife." *The Houston Chronicle*, February 25, 2006
- 26 Robison, Clay. "Donation stirs concern in education race; The choice of ultraconservatives receives \$10,000 from a voucher proponent's wife." *The Houston Chronicle*, February 25, 2006
- 27 Robison, Clay. "Donation stirs concern in education race; The choice of ultraconservatives receives \$10,000 from a voucher proponent's wife." *The Houston Chronicle*, February 25, 2006
- 28 <http://www.regent.edu/acad/schlaw/welcome/home.cfm>
- 29 [www.cynthiadunbar.com/others.htm](http://www.cynthiadunbar.com/others.htm). also Robison, Clay. "Donation stirs concern in education race; The choice of ultraconservatives receives \$10,000 from a voucher proponent's wife." *The Houston Chronicle*, 25 February 2006
- 30 Obernauer, Matthew. "Five from GOP gun for 2 state education seats." *Austin American-Statesman*, 20February 2006.
- 31 "Book Learnin' Another Year of textbook follies." *Houston Press*, Nov. 18, 2004
- 32 Transcription from Nov. 2005 SBOE meeting.
- 33 <http://www.strengthsandweaknesses.org/Archives/GOP.Primary.recap.htm>
- 34 <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/sboe/board/lowe.html>
- 35 Texas Ethics Commission
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