# **Treatment of Minorities in Texas Government Textbooks**

DEBRA P. AVARA, Amarillo College
JOHN DAVID RAUSCH, JR, West Texas A&M University

**ABSTRACT:** The authors compare Texas Government textbooks publishes between two periods: 1971 to 1984 and 1996 to 2005 for their discussion about the contributions made by women and racial minorities to the state. Results show books published in the second time frame provide more details. Except for a detailed discussion about late Governor Ann Richards, these books focus provide a less-than-average coverage on either topic.

#### Introduction

Minorities have been an integral part of Texas government in some form or fashion since before the formation of the state. Blacks were initially slaves brought in to work plantations, and eventually became part of the reason for the Civil War. For centuries, they fought for rights and privileges that were common and natural for the white male population. During this time, blacks suffered severely at the hands of whites that wanted to keep them in a position of subjugation. Eventually, the state of Texas had to give them their rights due to a federal government mandate.

Mexicans became instant minorities when 55% of Mexico was ceded to the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. If the Mexican nationals chose to stay in their homes, now part of the United States, then after one year they were allowed to become citizens. The treaty was intended to protect the civil rights of these nationals, and allow them to continue to live as they had prior to the enactment of the treaty. The United States Senate revised the treaty after signing, and Mexicans became targets of discrimination.

Women, too, had been kept down and in their place, which at that time was considered in the home. Throughout the United States, with Texas being no exception, women also had to fight for their rights. Women were (and still are) discriminated against in many areas including job status and pay equity, and especially in the political arena. When women fought and won the right to vote, men still expected their wives to vote how they were told. When women choose to speak up and be heard, they too became an integral part of the political system.

All states have a connection between their government and their history. Texas is no exception. For stu-

dents of Texas Government to appreciate the role that minorities played in shaping the Texas political system, they must understand what role the minorities took in history. Textbooks often are the most common source of information for most students. It is appropriate then to ask if Texas Government textbooks have provided a clear understanding of minorities, and their role in shaping Texas government. In addition, to fully understand the changing concepts of minorities, it is appropriate to see how minorities were treated over the past three and one half decades in Texas government texts.

## Methodology

Two sets of textbooks were selected for analysis. All textbooks were regarded as college level textbooks. Major publishing firms published all of the texts with the first set being published between 1971 and 1984 (see Table 1). More recent texts were published between 1996 and 2005 (see Table 2). In order to analyze the changes over the years several of the texts are from the same authors but are different editions.

To measure coverage of minorities, each text was subject to the same analysis. Using the index for reference, each page listed in the index for each minority was researched and the number of times the minority was listed was counted. This count included all text, subtext or headings to pictures, tables or graphs, and references as endnotes. If, in the count of one minority, another minority was listed, it was also counted, even if that page was not listed for that minority in the index. In addition, in some indexes the minority would be listed with the reference "See Minorities." (i.e., Black: see Minorities). In that case, "minorities" would be referred to for the pages regarding that race. Only the pages listed in the

**Table 1.** List of Analyzed Texas Government Textbooks (1971–1984)

Anderson, J., Murray, R. & Farley, E. (1971). Texas Politics: An Introduction. NY: Harper and Row.

Kraemer, R. H., & Newell, C. (1979). Texas Politics. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing.

Kraemer, R. H., & Newell, C. (1984). Texas Politics. 2nd ed. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing.

MacCorkley, S., Smith, D., & May. J. C. (1974). Texas Government. 7th ed. NY: McGraw Hill.

Nimmo, D., & Oden, W. (1971). The Texas Political System. NJ: Prentice Hall.

index under each minority were researched. Hence, if a minority was listed on a page *not* listed in the index or in combination with another minority, it was not counted.

The number of paragraphs and pages were also counted when mostly dedicated to that minority. Paragraphs for Blacks and Mexicans were difficult because in many texts, when one minority was listed, so was the other. In many cases, however, just based on the count of the minority word used, that paragraph would be given to the minority with the larger word count. Total pages are an approximation based on an accumulation of paragraph sizes. The total pages mentioned in the index for each minority were also counted along with the "minorities" reference.

Terminology for minorities was different for most of the textbooks according to the published dates. When counting for black, the terms Negro, Colored, Black, Black Texan and African American were counted. For Mexican, the terms Mexican American, Spanish American, Mexican, Hispanic, Latino, Chicano and brown were counted. For women, women and female were counted.

In the second set of texts, those dated 1996 through 2005, in addition to the minorities being counted, Tony Sanchez, Ann Richards, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Carole Keeton Strayhorn (formerly Rylander) were also counted. These persons are, or were, in our opinion, relevant minority figures in Texas politics. This same process for counting was applied to these people.

Pictures regarding the minorities were counted separately. All pictures, whether real, cartoon, or editorial, were counted. Pictures for women may have been counted twice in order to satisfy the race-gender factor. Pictures for Mexican Americans also proved to be difficult due to several factors. Some of the pictures were too small to be able to distinguish between white and Hispanic, and in some cases, unless a name was attached to the picture that was clearly of Hispanic origin, differentiation was not possible.

### **Analysis**

Content analysis of the selected texts indicates an uneven treatment of minorities over the decades. In the early texts, Table 4, except for MacCorkel, Smith and May, women seem to be mentioned as an after thought (though Texas had already had a female governor—Mariam "Ma" Ferguson in 1924). When comparing the early texts to the newer texts, Table 3, women are still underrepresented in most texts, with the exception of Ann Richards, who receives significant mention in many of the texts.

When comparing minority word count to paragraph or page counts, in many texts the numbers are vastly swayed. In these texts, this indicated that the majority of words counted were only as a statistic regarding either demographics or geographical locations.

African American and Hispanic counts ranged from no coverage (according to the index) in the Coleman, Calvi and Marsh text, to extensive index coverage with the Tannahill text listing African Americans 53 times, and Latinos 52 times. The Kraemer, Newell and Prindle, 8th edition, listed African Americans 45 times, Mexican Americans 28 times, Hispanic nine times, and Latino four times. The Gibson and Robinson text referenced African Americans 32 times, and Hispanic 28 times in the index. Though Tannahill had the greatest number of mentions in the index for African Americans (53), they did not have the greatest number of word, paragraph, or page totals. In fact, Tannahill had the least total paragraphs and pages compared to the other two texts for both minorities. Haig, Peebles and Keith, with just 27 mentions in the index, had the same number of paragraphs and a greater page count than the Tannahill text. This again could be an indication of statistical usage for the minority, or could indicate the amount of substantive coverage provided by the author.

In 8 of the 15 books analyzed, the word count difference between African American and Hispanics was 17 mentions or less. The three Maxwell and Crain texts had Coleman, S., Calvi, J. V. & Marsh, F. L. (1996). Texas Government. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Crain, E., & Perkins, J. (2005). Introduction To Texas Politics. 5th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth.

Gibson Jr., L. T., & Robison, C. (2005). Government and Politics in The Lone Star State, Theory and Practice. 5th ed. New Jersey: Pearson-Prentice-Hall.

Haag, S. D., Peebles, R. C. & Keith, G. A. (1997). Texas Politics and Government Ideas, Institutions and Policies. NY: Longman.

Kraemer, R. H., Charldean, N., & Prindle, D. F. (2002). *Texas Politics*. 8th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thomson Learning. Kraemer, R. H., Charldean, N., & Prindle, D. F. (2004). *Texas Politics*. 9th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thomson Learning.

Maxwell, W. E., & Crain, E. (with Davis, E. S., Flores, E. N., Ignagni, J., Opheim, O. & Wlezien, C. B.). (2000). *Texas Politics Today.* 9th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thomson Learning.

Maxwell, W. E., & Crain, E. (with Davis, E. S., Flores, E. N., Ignagni, J., Opheim, O. & Wlezien, C. B.). (2002). *Texas Politics Today.* 10th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thomson Learning.

Maxwell, W. E., & Crain, E. (with Davis, E. S., Flores, E. N., Ignagni, J., Opheim, O. & Wlezien, C. B.). (2004). *Texas Politics Today.* 11th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth-Thomson Learning.

Tannahill, N. (2005). Texas Government, Policy and Politics. 8th ed. NY: Pearson Longman.

a significant spread between minority counts due to each text containing essays regarding Mexican Americans in Politics.

As the tables show, the total word count is not the deciding factor when looking for coverage. Only 5 of the 15 texts analyzed have a word count for African American or Black over 50, and 7 of the 15 texts have the terms for Mexican American listed over 50 times. However, the total pages for African American for these five texts range from 3  $\frac{5}{8}$  pages to none of the texts having more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  total pages. For Mexican Americans, the total pages for these seven texts range from two pages to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  pages due to the political essays included in the text.

Analysis of the picture counts held the same theory. If a text lists one picture, it may be less than  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a page, or a full-page picture. The Maxwell, Crain, et al., 9th and 10th editions show 22 pictures of women for each text, yet the total pages dedicated to the pictures was 4 pages for the 9th edition, and  $2\frac{3}{16}$  pages for the 10th edition.

#### Conclusion

The amount of information that a student can receive from these texts concerning minorities in the Texas government ranges from zero or no coverage to some coverage. The Gibson and Robinson text, in my opinion, had the best coverage for all three of the discussed minorities when compared to the other 14 texts. The Haig, Peebles and Keith text had good coverage for the African Americans and Hispanics, but fell short with less than adequate coverage for the women.

As indicated by the analysis, the greater index mention was not indicative of the most, or even the best, coverage. Nor is the size of the book. The only way to decide who has the best coverage, therefore, is to read the text. The three Maxwell, Crain, et al. texts had essays regarding Mexican Americans in Politics. These essays did indeed contribute to the coverage, both historically and current, of Mexicans to the political arena. Without these essays however, the coverage for Mexican Americans was sparse.

Most surprisingly in analysis of the pictures was the Kraemer, Newell 2nd edition, published in 1984. This text contained five pictures of African Americans and each of these pictures were in comic or editorial form. In each of the pictures the African American women were dressed in a fashion associated with historical times. The women had on large aprons, turbines on their heads, and in the comic form, extremely large lips and very black faces. Some of the same pictures were still in the 8th edition, published in 2002.

Texas has a very long history of slavery, as well as racial and minority discrimination. Ten of the texts had less than three pages of coverage for African Americans, six texts had less than three pages for Mexican Americans, and all fifteen texts had three or less pages for women (without Ann Richards). Which means that for most of the authors, whether published between

 Table 3. Content Analysis of Minorities in Texas Government Textbooks, 1996–2005

Total Word Count From Index Reference

Text	Total Text Pages	Minority	Page/ Citation*	Paragraph	Pages <sup>†</sup>	Pictures <sup>‡</sup>	Other
Coleman, Calvi, Marsh		African American	NL/0	0	0	1	
		Mexican American	NL/0	0	0	1	
	254	Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0		
	Published 1996	Women	1/7	1	1 ½	3	
		Ann Richards	17/24	5	1/2		
		Kay Hutchison	5/8	0	0		
		Carole Rylander	NL/0	0	0		
		Minorities	NL				
		African American	8/22	4	1 1/4	0	
		Mexican American	7/27	8	1 1/16	1	
	175	Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0		
Coming Develope	175	Women	3/10	1	1/8	6	
Crain, Perkins	Published	Ann Richards	5/5	0	1/16		
	2005	Kay Hutchison	3/2	0	0		
		Carole Rylander	1/2	0	0		
		Minorities	1/-				
		African American	32/150	29	4 3/16	6	
		Mexican American	28/158	22	4 5/8	4	a
	491	Tony Sanchez	7/25	2	5/8		
Gibson, Robinson		Women	12/59	13	2 1/16	13	
(5th ed.)	Published	Ann Richards	43/85	19	3 3/8		
()	2005	Kay Hutchison	7/15	2	5/16		
		Carole Strayhorn	5/11	1	1		
		Minorities	40/-				
		African American	27/100	17	4 1/2	6	
		Mexican American	12/67	5	2	2	a
		Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0		
	632	Women	4/28	1	1/16	11	
Haig, Peebles, Keith	Published	Ann Richards	37/95	19	4		
Kraemer,Newell, Prindle (8th ed.)	1996 450 Published 2002	Kay Hutchison	2/6	1	1/16		
		Carole Rylander	NL/4	0	0		
		Minorities	54/-				
		African American	45/92	19	4 1/2	2	
		Mexican American	41/106	18	5 3/8	2	Ь
		Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0	_	
		Women	3/13	0	0	18	
		Ann Richards	38/67	14	2 7/16		
		Kay Hutchison	10/12	1	1/16		
		Carole Rylander	9/10	3	5/8		
		Minorities	16/-				
Kraemer, Newell, Prindle (9th ed.)	299 Published 2004	African American	6/13	2	5/8	0	
		Mexican American	6/19	5	1	0	
		Tony Sanchez	11/22	5	2 ½		
		Women	1/1	0	0	4	
		Ann Richards	12/17	3	5/16		
		Kay Hutchison	2/3	0	0		
		Carole Rylander	2/2	1	1/16		
		Minorities	, _				

Table 3. Continued

Text	Total Text Pages	Minority	Page/ Citation*	Paragraph	Pages <sup>†</sup>	Pictures <sup>‡</sup>	Other
	396 Published 2000	African American	9/45	5	3/8	8	
		Mexican American	17/145	34	9 1/2	3	С
		Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0		
Maxwell, Crain , et al. (9th ed.)		Women	2/19	3	1	22	
		Ann Richards	9/17	7	2 ½		
		Kay Hutchison	8/10	2	1/2		
		Carole Rylander	2/2	0	0		
		Minorities	6/-				
Maxwell, Crain, et al. (10th ed.)	385 Published 2002	African American	sм/19	2	5/16	7	d
		Mexican American	sм/47	13	3 1/8	2	c, d
		Tony Sanchez	NL/0	0	0		
		Women	3/19	5	1	22	
		Ann Richards	10/14	5	3/8		
		Kay Hutchison	5/7	2	0		
		Carole Rylander	3/1	0	0		
		Minorities	9/-				
	418 Published 2004	African American	7/32	3	5/8	5	e
		Mexican American	10/77	20	3 1/4	2	c
		Tony Sanchez	14/23	2	5/8		
Maxwell, Crain, et al. (11th ed.)		Women	2/17	3	3/8	23	
		Ann Richards	9/13	5	7/16		
		Kay Hutchison	7/7	1	0		
		Carole Strayhorn	2/1	0	0		
		Minorities	NL				
	399 Published 2005	African American	53/140	17	3 5/8	11	f
Tannahill (8th ed.)		Mexican American	52/123	17	2 1/16	15	g
		Tony Sanchez	13/8	3	1		
		Women	4/47	3	3/4	23	
		Ann Richards	7/12	1	1/4		
		Kay Hutchison	2/2	0	0		
		Carole Rylander	1/1	0	0		
		Minorities	NL				

<sup>\*</sup> Page/Citations category is the total number of pages mentioned in the index/total word count of the minority from those pages. NL = category was not listed in the index.

SM = Referenced "See Minorities".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Page totals are an estimate on the part of the authors.

<sup>\*</sup> Pictures counted for women include all minorities and may be counted twice to satisfy race and gender.

a. Mexican Americans listed as "Hispanic."

 $b.\ Authors\ listed\ Latinos,\ Mexican\ American,\ and\ Hispanics\ separately\ in\ index.$ 

c. Include essay's regarding Hispanics in politics.

d. African American and Hispanic referenced "See minorities."

e. Index listed "Blacks, see African American."

f. Author uses "colored" and "black" along with "African American."

g. Author uses "Latino" and "Hispanic."

**Table 4**. Content Analysis of Minorities In Texas Government Textbooks 1971–1984

Total Word Count From Index Reference

Text	Total Text Pages	Minority	Page/ Citation*	Paragraph	Pages <sup>†</sup>	Pictures <sup>‡</sup>	Other
Anderson, Murray, Farley	327 Published 1971	Black (Negroes)	20/46	6	3	0	
		Mexican American	21/35	6	3	0	
		Women	5/12	0	0	0	
		Minorities	17/-				
Kraemer, Newell (1st ed.)	460 Published 1979	Black	14/23	5	1 1/8	3	
		Mexican American	20/88	29	7	0	a
		Women	0/1	1	1/16	8	
		Minorities	27/-				
Kraemer, Newell (2nd ed.)	406 Published 1984	Black	3/11	1	5/8	5	ь
		Mexican American	10/63	18	5 1/4	0	
		Women	NL/0	0	0	11	
		Minorities	NL				
MacCorkle, Smith,	438 Published 1974	Black	6/29	0	0	0	С
		Mexican American	7/29	1	3/4	0	c, d
May		Women	3/25	5	15/8	0	С
(7th ed.)		Minorities	NL				
Nimmo, Oden	166 Published 1971	Black Texan	16/68	4	1 3/4	0	c, e
		Mexican American	19/43	10	3 1/2	0	С
		Women	NL/3	1	1/16	0	С
		Minorities	NL				

Page/Citations category is the total number of pages mentioned in the index/total word count of the minority from those pages. NL = category was not listed in the index.

1971 and 1984 or between 1996 and 2005, the amount of coverage did not significantly change. The texts averaged 380 pages. Three pages of coverage is less than one percent of coverage for minorities. African Americans, Mexican Americans and Women all have a place and a voice in the political arena. As time passes, their participation in politics is growing and they have become target voters for politicians to focus on. I would encourage future authors to look at how minorities have been covered in previous textbooks, and to modify the

coverage to coincide with the important roles that they have played in the forming of and the current direction of Texas Government.

DEBRA P. AVARA is a government instructor. JOHN DAVID RAUSCH, JR is an associate professor of political science.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Page totals are an estimate on the part of the authors and does not include pictures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup> Pictures counted for women include all minorities and may be counted twice to satisfy race and gender.

a. Totals include one three-page essay regarding Chicanos and politics.

b. All pictures involving black were in comic or editorial form only.

c. This text had no pictures in the textbook.

d. Authors use "Spanish American" in tables.

e. Blacks listed in index as "Black Texans."

## Reference

Eksterowicz, A. J., & Cline, P. C. (1991). Ratification of the Constitution: The great debate as portrayed in American Government textbooks. *PS: Political Science & Politics.* June, 211–215.