

EL PASO  
VOTER **TURNOUT:**  
A DEVELOPING **STORY**

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**El Paso Voter Turnout**  
*A Developing Story*

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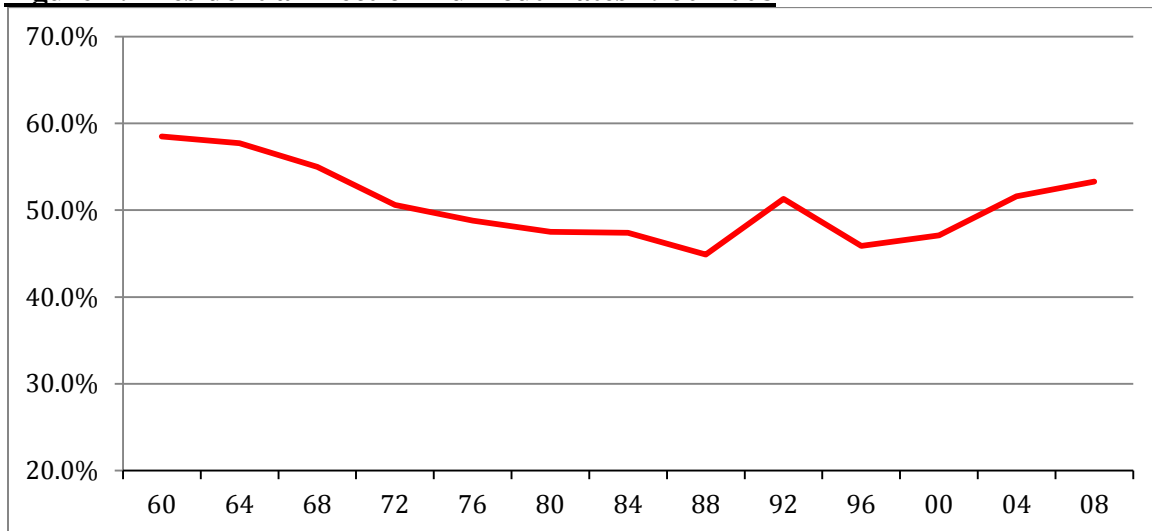
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Voting is the most effective way to measure civic participation in an area. It is one of the many ways in which citizens can determine what policies may be passed and additionally, hold elected officials accountable. Voting, in the United States, carries certain restrictions. In order to vote, a person must be a citizen and at least eighteen years of age. Once the potential voter has reached this age, they must register to vote and live in the United States with no felonies to attain their eligibility.<sup>1</sup> Certain people are not allowed to partake in the voting process because they have been convicted to the penal system or a mental institution. Additionally, several people become ineligible because they fail to meet certain requirements from state and local governments.<sup>2</sup>

Voting rates vary across different areas of the country, as well as the state. Despite this fluctuation in voting across geographic regions, it has been noted that a decreasing amount of people have been participating in all types of elections. The following line graph displays the decrease in voting percentages during Presidential elections from 1960-2008.

**Figure 1: Presidential Election Turnout Rates 1960-2008**



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The line graph outlines the decreasing voting rates during a 48-year period. There was a net decrease of about nine percent from 1960 to 2008. Although voting decreased over this period, there were several years of fluctuations in between. Between 1960 and 1988, a steady decrease in turnout occurred, while a big spike was seen in 1992. There was a decrease until 2000, and voting has since been on the rise.

### Determinants of Low Voter Turnout

Although the nation as a whole has seen a decrease in voter participation, El Paso County has had a lower turnout than the national and state average. Voter turnout rates refers to the ratio of votes cast to the number of registered voters for a given location and election. Voter turnout varies across areas due to a number of factors. Researchers have long attempted to identify the

<sup>1</sup> (Texas Criminal Justice Coalition, 2008)

<sup>2</sup> (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)

main factors that contribute to low voting numbers but such factors vary across geographic locations and ethnic groups. Community Scholars has identified the main factors that affect voter turnout as: ethnicity, age, educational attainment, income, political competition, voter attitudes and voter suppression.

Hispanics are a fast growing group not only in Texas, but in the rest of the nation as well. According to the U.S Census Bureau, Hispanics were the fastest growing minority in the country, accounting for more than half of the nation's total growth. Over a span of 10 years, the number of Hispanics living in the United States grew from 35.3M to 50.5M.<sup>3</sup> Although the number of Hispanics has been growing, they are the group attributed some of the lowest voting numbers in comparison to other ethnic groups.<sup>4</sup> Because of its proximity to Mexico, El Paso County has attracted a large population of Hispanics to the area, making up 82.2 percent of the population.<sup>5</sup> Because of Hispanic tendencies to abstain from voting and El Paso's large Hispanic population, low voting trends in the area are better explained. In a recent PEW Institute study, the top three reasons Hispanics did not vote were, "They were too busy; they weren't interested or they forgot."<sup>6</sup>

Understanding the main reasons Hispanics do not vote becomes important in creating programs that attempt to mobilize this ethnic group to reach out to the polls. Some of these programs are discussed later in the report. Additionally, the El Paso area has the potential to be a leader across the nation. El Paso paints an accurate picture of what the rest of the nation will look like within the next several decades. Tackling such issues here not only improves voting locally, but also addresses potential future problems. In order to handle such a task, one must understand the main factors that contribute to a low voter turnout. The following section outlines the major factors and relates them to the El Paso voting problem.

The age of a person is useful in determining their probability to vote. The probability of a person voting generally increases as the individual gets older.<sup>7</sup> In the United States, voting percentages among young people are very low. Older citizens are more likely to vote because of the amount of taxes they pay, as well as length of time they have been paying them.<sup>8</sup> Younger people, who have not been exposed to taxes as long do not see the immediate benefits of voting and stay away from participating in elections. El Paso has long been considered a "young city," considering that 43 percent of its population is 24 years and younger.<sup>9</sup> With almost half of the area's population being made up of young voters, stressing the importance of voting in the youth must be made in order to improve voting turnouts in areas such as El Paso.

The attitude a voter expresses towards an area and politicians may also affect voter turnout. Negative events, particularly in the area of politics, may cause individuals to grow cynical. For example, when corruption is prevalent in an area, citizens develop a pessimistic mentality towards politics, believing all politicians to seek personal gain. This causes people from going out and casting a vote during elections. Texas has had a historic tendency of political

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<sup>3</sup> (QueensLatino, 2011)

<sup>4</sup> (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010)

<sup>5</sup> (U.S Census Bureau , 2011)

<sup>6</sup> (Rascon, 2011)

<sup>7</sup> (Goerres, 2007)

<sup>8</sup> (Rocha, 2011)

<sup>9</sup> (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)

corruptness, especially along the border as land owners used to buy out votes in the past. More recently, the County of El Paso was recently involved in a corruption scandal, with several elected officials having being indicted for a variety of offenses. As a result, voting numbers have decreased in the area slightly.<sup>10</sup>

The educational level a person has reached has been shown to positively influence the likelihood of them voting.<sup>11</sup> Taking a part in the election process requires voters to be registered and informed on candidates and policies. Sometimes, policies are complicated and understanding their ramifications is not first nature to all people. This process becomes easier for people who have been in school longer and have had some exposure to politics on higher-level courses. This translates on to the fact that 77.0 percent of people with at least a Bachelor's Degree voted in the 2008 Presidential Election, compared to 39.4 percent of those who did not graduate from high school.<sup>12</sup> El Paso's overall educational attainment is low in comparison to the State as a whole. Only 69.8 percent of people in the area have graduated from high school and 18.8 percent have attained a Bachelor's Degree. The State of Texas has an average of 79.3 percent of people who have graduated High School, and 25.4 percent who have obtained a college degree.<sup>13</sup>

People with higher incomes are more likely to vote. People with incomes between \$75,000 and \$99,999 voted more at a rate of 72.6 percent. In comparison, families with an income of \$10,000 or lower voted at a rate of 41.3 percent.<sup>14</sup> People with higher incomes have access to more resources. Larger amount of resources facilitate and lower the cost of voting. For example, people with higher incomes will be able to afford transportation to and from voting locations. The median household income in El Paso, Texas reported in 2009 was \$36,078; lower than the state average. Additionally 23.7 percent of the total population was living below the poverty line in 2009. This was also lower than the 17.1 percent of people living in poverty in Texas during the same year.<sup>15</sup>

Competition has been shown to boost up voter turnout. A division in policies among candidates creates debates among voters and spikes up interest. Races that see a large divide between candidates and where they stand on a variety of issues see the highest turnout rates. El Paso has largely been known as a Democratic region, seeing little to no competition from Republican candidates. Without startling differences among candidates, little interest is shown on Election Day.<sup>16</sup>

A low voting turnout is attributed to a variety of factors, but one of the most important to notice is that Hispanics have only been able to freely vote for several years. Hispanics, along with other ethnic minorities, faced several voting restrictions until the 1960s. Additionally, El Paso has only started encouraging voter education over the past thirty years, so many residents in the area are not aware of issues as those found closer to the center of Texas. Research has found that when voting restrictions are placed against a given group of people and then removed,

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<sup>10</sup> (Rocha, 2011)

<sup>11</sup> (Rocha, 2011)

<sup>12</sup> (Ffle & Crissey, 2010)

<sup>13</sup> (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011)

<sup>14</sup> (Depotdazed, 2010)

<sup>15</sup> (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011)

<sup>16</sup> (Rocha, 2011)

voting numbers among that group will not reach normal levels until several decades later.<sup>17</sup> This can be seen among women, who were given the right to vote in the 1920s. By eliminating restrictions placed on minority voting, voter trends should see a natural increase over the course of several decades.

There is a variety of reasons the electorate gives for not showing up to vote during election days. People generally state time as one of the main concerns for not being able to vote. There is a misconception that the voting process is time consuming. Showing up to a voting precinct, casting a ballot and heading back takes no more than several minutes. Additionally, voters are concerned that the polls are open only during their work hours, and thus, are not able to vote. However, most citizens are not aware that many employers are mandated by law to give employees time off from work in order to vote under certain circumstances. Texas is one of 23 states that require employers to give their employees paid time off to vote. If the voting polls are not open for at least two consecutive hours off the employees shift, then paid time off must be given.<sup>18</sup> Various programs and legislations have been created over time in order to address the voting problem, all of which will be discussed further in the report. All information from the report was gathered from various Internet and news sources and through personal interviews.

## **Purpose**

A large percentage of the population does not participate in the voting process in El Paso. As a result of this, voter improvement programs have emerged in order to address the problem, although little research has shed light on their success rates. The low voting situation brings to question whether certain areas of town vote at higher rates than other areas of town, whether these trends have been consistent throughout time, and the consequences of such trends.

A portion of El Paso's voting problem is explained by its socioeconomic status (SES). Low turnout rates, however, may have other underlying consequences. Areas of the state are said to be able to secure funding for services and programs that affect the quality of life of citizens through strong relations with legislators. The possibility of these connections being partly secured through the voting process is a much talked about topic, but no clear research has been conducted to clearly define its significance. As a result, Community Scholars explores whether such a correlation exists between budget expenditures and areas of the State that vote in higher numbers.

There are varieties of reports that shed light into the voting problem and provide effective research models that may be applied in El Paso. The various journal articles used for the purpose of this research vary from the natural boost seen in turnout as voting restrictions are removed from minorities to various research models that argue against the decline in voter turnout. The last core of previous research outlined within the report will focus on money distributions given between given elected official and areas that vote in higher numbers.

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<sup>17</sup> (Garcia, 1986)

<sup>18</sup> (Find Law, 2011)

## Literature Review

A study conducted by Garcia found that people affected by voter suppression through various policies and pieces of legislation will slowly begin to partake in the voting and civic process of a democracy over a series of decades. Passing the Voting Rights Act and several of its subsequent provisions affected minorities in the United States greatly. Black voters saw a 100 percent increase in registered voters within a fifteen-year period. Likewise, Hispanics should similarly begin to see an increase in voter turnout rates. Garcia maintains the following four points throughout his research:

- Discriminatory practices against minorities decrease political participation
- Federal action in the form of legislation eliminates minority voting barriers
- Voting restriction removals increase voter registration and turnout
- An increase in minority eligible voters will result in an increase in minorities running for public office

Although voter registration has grown for various Hispanic groups, increases in voter registration, turnout, and the number of Hispanic elected officials have not been observed to take effect as quickly as they did for Blacks. Garcia concludes that it is because large groups of Hispanics living in the United States are not naturalized citizens and thus, unable to vote.<sup>19</sup>

The conclusion that voter turnout is naturally boosted up by the removal of restrictions over time serves as the basis for looking into historical turnout rates within El Paso. Garcia's study took place in the 1980s, when further provisions of the Voting Rights Act had just been created. His study does not allow for a sufficient amount of time with which to see the natural boost in turnout among Hispanics. By expanding the period of time voter turnout is researched, in an area, namely El Paso, a better period with which to study this phenomenon can be better developed. This allows one to draw on more reasonable conclusions and determine whether Hispanics are just now naturally accommodating to the voting process or not. It generally takes several decades for a minority to reach the voting levels of other groups of people that have not been discriminated against. Blacks and women are a prime example of this; after women were allowed to vote in the 1920s, voter registration numbers and voting numbers increased over time and eventually surpassed those of men in the 1960s.

In a different study, Matsusaka explores the idea of voter turnout patterns by extending the rational voter model to include other information. This theory argues that voters vote during elections in order to make a political impact one election at a time, and not to take control of an area with the voters chosen party affiliation. He argues that voters attempt to maximize their utility when deciding what candidate to vote for in any given election. Utility is then maximized when a voter is most confident about their decision. Potential voters decide whether to cast a ballot by using a system of costs and benefits. If the cost of voting is outweighed by the perceived benefits, voters will abstain from casting a ballot. Even if people understand the importance of voting, they often choose not to vote because they cannot fully evaluate their choices. A voter needs to comprehend the policies and the consequences of those policies in order to vote effectively. If there is any doubt that they are making the wrong decision, they will

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<sup>19</sup> (Garcia, 1986)

choose to not vote and allow others who are able to make a wiser choice make those decisions. Because a large number of voters are not well informed on policies, voter turnout rates have lowered over time. Matsusaka uses this theory to provide an alternative explanation into the highly researched decline in voter participation since the 1960s. He argues that people are not uninterested in politics, but that government has become increasingly more complicated to fully understand.<sup>20</sup> McDonald and Popkin, in another study similarly conclude that decreases in voter turnout are not due to the psychology of the voter but the way government itself is structured.<sup>21</sup>

Both studies provide a different perspective and method in analyzing what drives voter turnout and ways to research it. Matsusaka primarily focuses on decision making from an economic standpoint. Although the model he created is effective in understanding decision-making, Community Scholars has not adopted this model because it would require analytical information on a voter-by-voter basis. Instead, Matsusaka's unorthodox methodology influenced this report to adopt a variety of methods to analyze gathered voting data. Additionally, Matsusaka's decision-making rationale may be extended to the mentality of citizens of El Paso. Because the region suffers from lower socioeconomic status conditions, it is possible voters in the area are not able to fully measure out the meaning of several policies and are not entirely confident in the candidate of their choice.

The "Myth of the Vanishing Voter" also provides a model to study voter turnout patterns. The study argues that voter turnout has not been vanishing as drastically as previous research has claimed it to be. Most research has used the Voter Age Population (VAP) as a means of understanding voter turnout rates. In reality, VAP skews results greatly because it includes a large portion of people that are excluded from the voting process and excludes a small group that is voting eligible. VAP takes into account non-citizens and felons while it excludes those living abroad. The authors argue that voter turnout rate is not decreasing; instead, the voter ineligible population is increasing. According to the study, the VAP leads to certain errors. Results found that turnout did lower, but no continual downward trend exists.<sup>22</sup> This piece of research influenced the methodology Community Scholars will take when conducting its research. While the model provided by the study uses Voter Eligible Population (VEP) in order to explain a decline, the one created by Community Scholars will be varied. Community Scholars will determine voter turnout rates without using VAP or VEP. Instead, turnout rates will be calculated simply by using registered voters and votes cast. The report will further elaborate on voter information by using two other measures. The report will compute net changes in the number of registered voters for a given area throughout time. Changes in the number of votes cast are also highlighted. This methodology provides with various ways with which to analyze voter turnout patterns, which may or may not concur with Matsusaka and McDonald's findings that voter turnout is not decreasing as most other literature suggests.

The situation of low voter turnout raises the question of what negative consequences come about in areas that consistently vote in low numbers. It has been long thought that a connection exists between government spending and areas that vote at higher rates. Elected officials are given the task of assuring they acquire the maximum amount of money to the districts they represent, while still maintaining office during the next election. Voter participation

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<sup>20</sup> (Matsusaka, 1995)

<sup>21</sup> (McDonald & Popkin, 2001)

<sup>22</sup> (McDonald & Popkin, 2001)

offers a medium with which elected officials may facilitate their duties. Members of the House or Senate choose areas that vote the highest by rewarding them with more money in grants and are thus better able to keep their constituents happiest. Martin further explores this concept in *Voting's Rewards: Voter Turnout, Attentive Publics, and Congressional Allocation of Federal Money* by describing the relationship between Congressional Elections and voter turnout at a county level. According to Martin, voter turnout is symbolic of an attentive public. An attentive public refers to citizens that are able to make a connection between a given project occurring in an area and the member of Congress or the Senate that was able to allocate funding for that given project, as opposed to citizens who see the project occurring but make no association with the legislator attached to it. Results from his regression analysis show that voter turnout was consistently related to the distribution of federal spending. The report analyses voter turnout across geographic areas and tracks federal budget allocations per capita for those given regions.<sup>23</sup> Community Scholars has chosen to take a similar approach as Martin's but will instead use State Expenditures per capita for all counties in the State of Texas. Using this research model will help shade better light on whether legislators in the State of Texas are unevenly funding certain government programs within their respective areas.

## Methodology

Voting has been historically low in the El Paso Region. Because of this, Community Scholars has chosen to analyze voting rates and their possible effects on the quality of life within a community. Through various research methods, Community Scholars will achieve the following:

- Describe local and state funded programs created to improve voter turnout in the region and measure their effectiveness.
- Describe voting trends in El Paso from 1980-2010
- Describe voter turnout patterns among all Texas counties between 1998 and 2008.
- Determine whether a correlation exists between voting rates in Texas counties and the way the State distributes monies to higher and lower voting counties.
- Rank El Paso County's voting against all other Texas counties

## Voter Improvement Programs

The voting process requires that citizens not only register to vote, but also take time to become informed on political candidates and their stances. Research sheds light on the lack of information most people have on certain political candidates. Without proper access to information, the voting process will not occur. In order to improve voting numbers, citizens must become better informed and have better access to the voting process itself. In response to low voting trends seen across El Paso, several local, state and even federally funded programs have emerged. Community Scholars has grouped voter improvement programs into two separate categories. These include government sponsored programs and voter mobilization programs. The first category focuses on programs governments initiate in order to facilitate the voting process while the second arise from the access to information they provide citizens.

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<sup>23</sup> (Martin, 2003)

Government Programs Although both types of voter improvement seek to improve the number of registered voters and turnout, they differ in their respective methodologies. Government programs are initiatives by state and local governments through the form of various legislations and policies in order to facilitate the voting process. They include the Texas voter registrations laws and early voting programs. The voting process takes two steps. First, a citizen must register to vote and second, cast a ballot. Government programs, through their policies make both steps easier and more accessible to the public.

The registration process in the State of Texas is simple. As previously mentioned, a person is eligible to register as a citizen of the United States who is at least 18 years of age. In the State of Texas, one must be a resident of the county they are applying to and not be convicted of a felony and deemed mentally stable. In order to register, the potential voter may pick up a voter registration application at various locations throughout their county of residence. These include public places such as the County Elections Department, the Secretary of State's Office, public libraries, post offices, schools and the Texas Department of Motor Vehicles. The registration card must be filled out and mailed out (free of postage). Applications must be postmarked 30 days before any given election.<sup>24</sup> The registration laws in Texas allow citizens to register quickly and free of charge, but with a 30-day time restriction. Although voting registration laws facilitate the voting process, they only help in the first step of voting. Other government initiatives seek to improve voting numbers in the actual election process.

Federal, state and local governments have taken many initiatives and passed legislations that make voting easier for the citizenry. Election laws in the State of Texas allow citizens to vote prior to Election Day. Although, these are grouped into one category, Community Scholars has distinguished between the three types of available early voting options. These include voting by mail, through mobile voting sites and designated early voting locations.

Mailed voting, also known as absentee voting, is an option available to a certain group of people. People who will be away during the election period, are 65 and older, sick or disabled may submit a request for an absentee ballot and return it to their respective elections departments. Early voting is open to the public and lasts from 17-4 days prior to Election Day.<sup>25</sup> The third option is mobile voting. These units generally set up in various locations across an area in El Paso. Units change geographic areas throughout an election unlike designated early voting locations. The City of El Paso currently hosts 20 different mobile voting sites during each election cycle. Each units costs \$3,000 per day, rising total costs to \$60,000 per election.<sup>26</sup> High costs such as these raise the question of whether the City is spending their money in the right places and whether implementing these programs is worth the costs. The table below displays early voting program turnouts between this period. Percentages were calculated by comparing mailed votes, mobile votes and early votes (without mobile or mailed votes included) to the total number of votes cast during the election. The combined percentage of all early voting options is also presented.

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<sup>24</sup> (Texas Secretary of State, 2010)

<sup>25</sup> (Texas Secretary of State, No Date)

<sup>26</sup> (Shladen, Mobile-Voting Sites Now Limited to Public Places, 2011)

**Table 1: Early Voting Turnout 2000-2010**

Year	Mailed Votes	Mobile Votes	Early Votes	Total Votes	Mailed to Total	Mobile to Total	Early to Total	Combined Early to Total
2000	2,988	6,180	57,234	142,704	2.09%	4.33%	40.11%	<b>46.53%</b>
2001	399	3,042	25,625	40,744	0.98%	7.47%	62.89%	<b>71.34%</b>
2002	3,332	6,267	37,289	104,333	3.19%	6.01%	35.74%	<b>44.94%</b>
2003	200	2,105	19,084	54,159	0.37%	3.89%	35.24%	<b>39.49%</b>
2004	4,305	11,260	80,855	173,076	2.49%	6.51%	46.72%	<b>55.71%</b>
2005	203	2,534	17,628	44,181	0.46%	5.74%	39.90%	<b>46.09%</b>
2006	1,443	4,982	30,917	93,654	1.54%	5.32%	33.01%	<b>39.87%</b>
2007	177	2,307	11,098	28,183	0.63%	8.19%	39.38%	<b>48.19%</b>
2008	4,633	13,424	96,708	189,119	2.45%	7.10%	51.14%	<b>60.68%</b>
2009	197	2,209	12,896	32,950	0.60%	6.70%	39.14%	<b>46.44%</b>
2010	1,400	4,833	37,418	92,004	1.52%	5.25%	40.67%	<b>47.44%</b>

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

The table displays votes cast for all three early voting programs and their ratios to the total number of votes cast during each election. It is important to note that although mailed votes constitute the smallest percentage of all three programs, they are targeted at a specific group of people. Not all voters are eligible to use this option, unlike mobile and early voting. Mailed votes only made up, at their highest point in 2004, about 2.5 percent of the total votes cast during the election. The table also shows that the number of votes increases with mobile votes. Mobile votes make up the second highest number of votes out of all election programs, although they are not much higher than absentee voting. The number of votes significantly increases for designated early voting sites. Early voting sites alone made up between 35 and 62 percent of the total votes cast. Anywhere between a third and over half of all votes cast during an election cycle come from early voting programs. After combining all early voting programs together, percentages increase to about half of all votes cast during any given election. The statistics from the table above show that Early Voting Programs have a significant impact on votes cast during an election cycle in the El Paso Region. Removing several early voting programs would reduce voter turnout in an area that already experiences low voting.

Voter Mobilization Programs Unlike government-affiliated programs, voter mobilization programs are usually set up by non-profit organizations. While early voting programs use policies as methods, mobilization program use access to information and educational techniques in order to encourage people to register and vote. The following section will describe several national, state and local voter mobilization programs.

The Prosperity Project from the Business Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) is a grassroots organization that targets businesses and attempts to improve government/business relations. BIPAC posts voting records of elected officials online in order to create a network of political information sharing between businesses, stakeholders and employees of different organizations. This information-sharing network will ultimately help business leaders become more aware of elected officials whose ideals are more in tune with their own. The Prosperity

Project ultimately seeks to engage business leaders in the political process and promote transparency in both business and government relations.<sup>27</sup>

The League of Women Voters focuses on encouraging political organization and promoting participation among the public. Although the League is a national program, several local organizations have emerged throughout the country. El Paso currently hosts its personal branch. Despite its name, men and women are welcome to partake in the organization, which is responsible for a variety of projects that include holding candidate forums, distributing non-partisan voter guides and assisting with voter registration drives.<sup>28</sup>

The Project Voters of Tomorrow through Education (Project V.O.T.E) is a subdivision of an online program created by the Texas Secretary of State in 1992. Project V.O.T.E introduces the voting process to students in the public school system at an early age, in order to instill its importance before students are eligible to vote. The program introduces various aspects of the legislative and electoral process into the every-day curriculum and has grown to reach over one million Texas students since its inception. Project V.O.T.E is comprised of a 600-page curriculum that exposes students to the electoral process through things such as mock elections held in the classroom.<sup>29</sup>

The Texas American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is a subdivision of the American Federation of Teachers Labor Union. They have started the Educator-To-Voter-Education Project in an effort to reform the Texas Legislature, specifically on issues dealing with Education. The program mails participating educators a set of invitation cards and encourages Teachers to write a message concerning key education issues from an educator's point of view in order to inform voters on where certain candidates stand on education policy.<sup>30</sup>

Vote El Paso was an initiative started by the El Paso Chamber of Commerce to improve relations between local government and El Paso business leaders. Although the program is no longer active due to funding issues, it posted voting histories of local elected officials and held monthly luncheons with various elected officials. Additionally, participating organizations were given political toolkits containing, registration, location, absentee ballots, and early voting cards.<sup>31</sup> In the past, Vote El Paso encouraged businesses to house mobile voting units outside of the workplace to make voting more accessible. City Council has since banned such practices in fear of business leaders influencing the vote of their employees.<sup>32</sup>

Numerous mobilization efforts exist in El Paso in an effort to improve the much-researched diminishing vote. Although most of these programs aspire to the same goals, measuring their effectiveness is difficult. This is partly because most programs are not able to offer any concrete data on the exact amount of people they convinced to register and vote. The voting process is a two-fold one, which makes it complicated to keep track of statistics. A program might register a given number of people to vote, and be able to maintain count of those

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<sup>27</sup> (BIPAC, No Date)

<sup>28</sup> (League of Women Voters of El Paso, 2011)

<sup>29</sup> (Texas Secretary of State, 2010)

<sup>30</sup> (Texas American Federation of Teachers, No Date)

<sup>31</sup> (El Paso Chamber of Commerce, 2011)

<sup>32</sup> (Short, 2011)

people. However, there is no way of telling exactly how many of the newly registered people have stepped out to vote in any given election. A program's impact on its community is hard to measure because certain elections spike up turnout simply based on topic and differentiating between this and any given program becomes exceedingly complicated.<sup>33</sup>

Although programs that target a broad scope of people have the potential to reach out to a large number of people, their attentions are unadjusted. Most voter mobilization programs are targeted at the public and mainly focus on the first aspect of voting; registration. By registering more people, they hope to see more turn out to the polls. However, as will be outlined further in the report, some of these newly registered voters are not exercising their right to vote. Although measuring efficacy is complicated, programs that target a specific group of people are more focused and effective. Previous research shed light on the fact that mobilization efforts that are efficient on a certain group of people might have little to no effect on other groups. This is particularly true of different ethnic groups. For example, although many socioeconomic factors help determine who will vote or not, some affect certain groups to a larger extent than others. In a study conducted by Jackson, marital status had a higher influence on registration status for Latinos, while being a recent immigrant and education had much higher effects on voting for Anglos.<sup>34</sup> Considering this, programs that focus their attention on a specific type of person are better able to create a model whose methodology and message caters to the needs and wants of that group of people.

Additionally, simply registering people to vote is not enough. Programs should aim to create a system where people pledge to vote and there is a follow up before and after the elections. This pledge system would allow organizations to keep better track of the amount of people being affected by such programs. Although this type of model is more costly, it allows a better way to measure the effectiveness of the program and its effect on voter turnout in a specific region. Voter improvement programs are not specific to the El Paso Region alone, although local ones were created to address the much talked about fact that El Paso votes in lower numbers than other areas of the state. In order to better understand the voting problem in El Paso and see if votes are more concentrated in a given area of town, Community Scholars will outline historical voting trends in the area to the present.

### **El Paso Voting Trends, 1980-2010**

There is a notion that voting across El Paso is low across the County as a whole. The following section of the report provides an analysis of voter turnout rates for the County of El Paso. Information gathered was originally gathered by voting precinct. Voting precincts are geographic boundaries created in order to assign a group of people a given voting location. There are 173 voting precincts in the County of El Paso. Community Scholars has consolidated this information by combining voting precincts into 16 different designated areas across the City and County, including the City of El Paso's Districts 1-8.

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<sup>33</sup> (Short, 2011)

<sup>34</sup> (Jackson, 2003)

**Table 2: El Paso County Areas and Associated Voter Precincts 2010**

<b>County Area</b>	<b>Voter Precincts</b>
Town of Anthony	1
Village of Vinton	1-3
District 1 (Westside)	5-7, 10-16, 18-20, 22, 23, 30, 170
District 2 (Central)	58-71, 164
District 3 (East Central)	79-83, 90, 121-127, 131, 162
District 4 (Northeast)	41-57
District 5 (Far East)	93, 94, 97-100, 103-105, 109-114, 146, 171
District 6 (Eastside/ Lower Valley)	107, 115-120, 140-145, 165, 172, 173
District 7 (Eastridge/Midvalley)	95, 96, 101, 102, 106, 108, 128-130, 132-139
District 8 (Southwest)	8, 9, 17, 24-29, 32, 34-40, 72, 78
City of Socorro	149-154, 158, 163
Town of Clint	158
Horizon City	147, 148, 157, 167
Montana Vista	156
Fabens	160, 169
Tornillo	161

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

The 16 areas of the County are presented in geographic order, moving from west to east. Generally, areas outside of city limits tend to contain a smaller amount of voting precincts in comparison to the City’s eight Council Districts, where the majority of the area’s population is concentrated.

The following section of the report will analyze voter trends in El Paso from a variety of angles. First, a summary of the growth in registered voters will be presented, followed by a summary of growth in number of votes cast by each area over the same period. Median voter turnouts throughout the same period are outlined, but have been grouped into three separate categories. Voter turnout fluctuates greatly over time and across election type. Because of this, information on Presidential, Gubernatorial and City Elections is presented separately. Because of length, the following tables present a summary of information over a 30-year period. *For year-by-year voting data, refer to Appendix A.*

--Continued on the Next Page--

**Table 3: El Paso Registered Voter Growth Rates 1980-2010**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Change in Registered Voters</b>
Anthony	24.75%
Vinton	41.16%
District 1	35.35%
District 2	-25.93%
District 3	35.91%
District 4	45.35%
District 5	83.27%
District 6	53.06%
District 7	53.06%
District 8	6.84%
Socorro	72.42%
Clint	0.93%
Horizon	89.08%
Montana Vista	14.95%
Fabens	100.95%
Tornillo	0.11%

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

The table shows that overall; the number of registered voters has increased for every area of the county although percentages themselves vary across each area. At the City level, seven out of eight council districts saw growth in the pool of registered voters. District 2 was the only area of town that experienced a decrease in the number of registered voters, declining by 25.93 percent. District 5 saw the largest growth at 83.27 percent. When taking areas of El Paso outside the City limits, areas of the Far East side experienced large growths in the number of registered voters. These include the areas of Fabens and Horizon, with growth rates of 100.95 percent and 89.08 percent respectively.

The City of El Paso is growing in large numbers, being ranked 18<sup>th</sup> in the nation in population increase from 2007 to 2008.<sup>35</sup> Overall, total growth in population translates into the total growth seen in the number of registered voters countywide. District 2 is located in Central El Paso, where people have been known to leave to the outskirts of the city. In contrast, areas of the Far East Side of town, including District 5, Fabens and Horizon are all areas that saw the highest increases in number of registered voters.

Because voter turnout rates are based on two variables, registered voters and votes, the next section also summarizes growth rates for votes cast throughout the 16 areas between 1980 and 2010.

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<sup>35</sup> (El Paso Regional Economic Development Corporation, No Date)

**Table 4: Change in El Paso Votes Cast 1980-2010**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Change in Votes</b>
Anthony	-86.67%
Vinton	-66.49%
District 1	-65.46%
District 2	-145.50%
District 3	-85.29%
District 4	-31.23%
District 5	-158.35%
District 6	39.62%
District 7	1.06%
District 8	-201.40%
Socorro	30.14%
Clint	-2.58%
Horizon	65.80%
Montana Vista	-23.78%
Fabens	74.02%
Tornillo	0.35%

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

Overall, El Paso County saw a decrease in votes cast during the same thirty-year period. Within the City, Districts 8, 5 and 2 saw the largest decreases in number of voters at 201.40, 158.35 and 145.50 percent, respectively. Of the sixteen different areas within El Paso County, only six saw increases in the number of votes cast. However, much of this growth was not substantial, only Fabens and Horizon had significant increases votes with 74.02 percent and 65.80 percent, respectively.

Growth rates for turnout were separated into the number of registered voters and votes cast because of the dual nature of voting. Voters must first register to vote then step out to a voting precinct to cast their ballot. The increases in registered voters shed light on the fact that voter registrations laws allow citizens to register at very little personal cost and have thus grown. However, the second step of voting has not been as fortunate. The costs associated with registering to vote are low, only requiring potential voters to fill out a document with personal information and at no monetary expense. Voting however, is much more costly when weighed against its immediate benefits. This process is much more time consuming than the other. Seeing decreases in votes cast gives evidence to the argument that understanding government policies has grown more difficult over time as previous research has suggested.<sup>36</sup>

A turnout rate is the ratio of two variables for a given election. In the case of voter turnout, it is the number of votes divided by the number of registered voters. If the number of votes cast decreases over time while registered voters increases over the same period, the given area will see a decrease in voter turnout. Divisions in these variables create a gap that over time is seen as a negative trend in voter turnout. The research model presented by Community Scholars described the widening gap and shows how turnout has decreased over the past three decades. District 5, which saw the highest increase in registered voters within city limits, saw the

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<sup>36</sup> (Matsusaka, 1995)

second largest decrease in votes cast within the same period. The decreasing numbers in votes cast show that newly registered voters are not exercising their rights to vote.

Previous turnout research has shown that the highest turnout rates are seen during presidential elections. This may be partly attributed to the fact that larger campaigns raise more money and receive larger media attention.<sup>37</sup> Over time, national elections have displayed the highest turnout rates to other election types. The following section of the report highlights median turnout rates for three election types arranged by the most voters they attract to the least between 1980 and 2010.

**Table 5: Presidential Median Turnout Rates 1980-2010**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Median Turnout</b>
Anthony	47.36%
Vinton	43.53%
District 1	59.33%
District 2	46.24%
District 3	44.17%
District 4	48.23%
District 5	51.02%
District 6	44.80%
District 7	41.93%
District 8	41.00%
Socorro	40.97%
Clint	49.19%
Horizon	53.84%
Montana Vista	37.56%
Fabens	40.36%
Tornillo	42.29%

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

Turnout rates, although varied across the sixteen areas of El Paso, all remained within a ten percent range of each other. Presidential Elections garnered turnouts between low 40 percent and high 50 percent through the thirty-year period. District 1, located on the West Side of El Paso voted at the highest rate in comparison to any other area of town with a median turnout rate of 59.33 percent. In contrast, the Montana Vista area of town voted at the lowest rate, with a median turnout of 37.56 percent.

The next election type identified was Gubernatorial Elections. These elections take place two years after presidential elections in the State of Texas. The governor and state legislators are elected into office during gubernatorial elections. Gubernatorial Elections draw the second highest turnout, although it is significantly less than Presidential elections. The following table displays median turnout rates for gubernatorial elections between 1980 and 2010.

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<sup>37</sup> (Short, 2011)

**Table 6: El Paso Gubernatorial Median Turnout Rates by Area 1980 – 2010**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Median Turnout</b>
Anthony	27.57%
Vinton	27.57%
District 1	37.30%
District 2	28.55%
District 3	27.45%
District 4	28.30%
District 5	27.70%
District 6	23.17%
District 7	25.06%
District 8	27.33%
Socorro	23.80%
Clint	32.70%
Horizon	29.50%
Montana Vista	16.46%
Fabens	19.30%
Tornillo	31.78%

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

Gubernatorial elections received about half the turnout rates in comparison to Presidential elections throughout all areas of El Paso. Similar trends across areas of El Paso were measured. District 1 had the highest turnout rate at 37.30 percent and Montana Vista had the lowest turnout at 16.46 percent. Unincorporated areas of the Far East Side Montana Vista and Fabens had the lowest turnout rates, both under 20 percent.

The third and final election types covered by Community Scholars were City elections. City elections occur more frequently than both Presidential and Gubernatorial elections, at least once a year. Policies not only include elections for running officials, but school board elections, school district and quality of life bonds. Their policies are more locally based and affect citizens more directly than all other elections.

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**Table 7: El Paso City Median Turnout Rates by Area 1980 – 2010**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Percent Median Turnout</b>
Anthony	25.33%
Vinton	13.63%
District 1	26.60%
District 2	19.20%
District 3	16.70%
District 4	17.70 %
District 5	15.40%
District 6	11.74%
District 7	14.05%
District 8	27.06%
Socorro	9.80%
Clint	5.37%
Horizon	13.62%
Montana Vista	1.27%
Fabens	1.70%
Tornillo	4.11%

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

Voter turnout rates drop the most during citywide elections and ranged from one percent to 26.60 percent. Once again, District 1 saw the largest turnout rate, followed by the City of Anthony with a turnout rate of 25.33 percent. Montana Vista, Fabens and Tornillo displayed the lowest turnout rates at 1.27 percent, 1.70 percent and 4.11 percent respectively.

Presidential elections spike voter turnout the highest. Gubernatorial and city Elections decrease in turnout in the mentioned order. Although turnout rates decrease by election type, several other voting trends remained consistent throughout time. District 1 consistently voted at higher rates than all other geographic areas, while Montana Vista consistently voted at the lowest rates. Drawing back to previously mentioned research, socioeconomic status contributes either positively or negatively toward voter turnout. A wealthier, more educated person is more likely to vote than one who has not graduated from high school and lives paycheck to paycheck. These factors translate onto observed voting patterns in the area. District 1 is populated by wealthier more educated people, while the unincorporated area of Montana Vista is populated by citizens with lower income and educational attainments.

### **Texas County Voter Turnout Patterns**

Understanding local turnout patterns gives insight into the voting problem singularly, but drawing comparisons to other counties in the State of Texas gives perspective to El Paso in the larger scheme of things. The next area of research conducted by Community Scholars explored voter turnout patterns for all counties in the State of Texas between 1998 and 2008. There are 254 counties in the State of Texas, however only a summary of the information will be presented. Community Scholars obtained turnout patterns for all 254 Texas Counties and determined the ten highest voting counties and ten lowest voting counties during the ten-year time span. These counties were calculated based on median turnout rated for all election years.

The following section presents information on the previously mentioned twenty counties, but median turnout rates for all Texas Counties was collected. *For all turnout data refer to Appendix B.*

The ten highest voting counties consistently displayed turnout rates above the state average during each election. The top ten counties in the State of Texas include the following:

- Borden
- Briscoe
- Edwards
- Glasscock
- Jeff Davis
- King
- McMullen
- Motley
- Terrell

Only one county, Jeff Davis County, was a Border county. All other counties were non-border counties. The following table displays voter turnout for elections between 1998 and 2008.

**Table 8: Texas Counties with Highest Turnout 1998-2008**

County	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	Median
Borden	56.83%	71.60%	56.35%	78.90%	57.39%	82.42%	72.60%	<b>71.60%</b>
Briscoe	47.55%	59.06%	61.71%	61.06%	44.02%	66.13%	40.61%	<b>59.06%</b>
Edwards	55.23%	64.04%	46.80%	61.45%	49.46%	68.09%	60.74%	<b>60.74%</b>
Glasscock	67.01%	72.92%	55.83%	70.31%	45.60%	75.37%	52.68%	<b>67.01%</b>
Jeff Davis	38.30%	63.70%	57.17%	64.01%	57.33%	67.35%	60.74%	<b>60.74%</b>
King	73.68%	65.86%	54.09%	77.22%	43.36%	80.69%	60.20%	<b>65.86%</b>
Loving	68.35%	73.93%	41.44%	74.07%	66.17%	66.38%	58.11%	<b>66.38%</b>
McMullen	41.92%	64.36%	59.06%	81.97%	62.10%	74.68%	41.96%	<b>62.10%</b>
Motley	49.40%	66.04%	64.20%	73.70%	44.57%	65.70%	58.68%	<b>64.20%</b>
Terrell	35.11%	60.30%	50.62%	59.82%	63.74%	62.45%	63.89%	<b>60.30%</b>
<b>State</b>	<b>32.39%</b>	<b>51.81%</b>	<b>36.24%</b>	<b>56.57%</b>	<b>33.64%</b>	<b>59.50%</b>	<b>37.52%</b>	<b>37.52%</b>

Source: Texas Secretary of State

The ten listed counties are presented by alphabetical order. It is important to note that unlike the previous section, presidential and gubernatorial elections were not differentiated from one another. Instead, median turnout rates were calculated for both election types combined. Individual turnout rates for a given year show that turnout fluctuates between election types. Despite this fact, Borden displayed the highest median turnout rate of all Texas counties at 71.60 percent. The second highest voting county was Loving at 66.38 percent. When compared to the state median turnout for the same period, all ten counties lie well above by at least 20 percent.

In order to compare the top ten counties with a group, Community Scholars also determined the ten counties that consistently voted at the lowest rates. These include the following counties:

- Bell
- Cameron
- Coryell
- Dallam
- El Paso
- Frio
- Hidalgo
- Maverick
- San Patricio
- Starr

Unlike the small number of Border counties that ranked in the top ten, the bottom ten houses five Border counties. These are Cameron, El Paso, Hidalgo, Maverick, and Starr County. This means that half of the Counties who consistently voted at the lowest rates in the State of Texas all lay along the Texas/Mexico Border. The following table displays turnout rates for the bottom ten Texas Counties.

**Table 9: Texas Counties with Lowest Turnout 1998-2008**

County	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	Median
Bell	25.36%	44.34%	30.10%	51.61%	28.46%	55.70%	30.07%	<b>30.10%</b>
Cameron	24.18%	41.68%	29.67%	42.59%	24.48%	43.37%	23.51%	<b>29.67%</b>
Coryell	23.26%	42.32%	25.05%	45.81%	25.51%	46.71%	25.39%	<b>25.51%</b>
Dallam	30.89%	60.36%	28.78%	53.51%	26.92%	49.11%	30.22%	<b>30.89%</b>
El Paso	27.72%	41.16%	28.81%	45.60%	24.16%	47.67%	23.30%	<b>28.81%</b>
Frio	23.80%	39.63%	31.47%	38.43%	20.97%	38.58%	21.01%	<b>31.47%</b>
Hidalgo	21.37%	41.30%	27.87%	42.13%	17.08%	42.83%	24.67%	<b>27.87%</b>
Maverick	23.49%	42.36%	26.52%	40.07%	15.49%	40.43%	26.40%	<b>26.52%</b>
S. Patricio	26.00%	41.58%	30.45%	44.42%	27.98%	45.65%	30.17%	<b>30.45%</b>
Starr	31.72%	32.57%	22.60%	34.60%	22.86%	35.64%	12.80%	<b>31.72%</b>
<b>State</b>	<b>32.39%</b>	<b>51.81%</b>	<b>36.24%</b>	<b>56.57%</b>	<b>33.64%</b>	<b>59.50%</b>	<b>37.52%</b>	<b>37.52%</b>

Source: Texas Secretary of State

The three lowest voting counties in the State of Texas include Coryell, Maverick and Hidalgo with median turnout rates of 25.51 percent, 26.52 percent and 27.87 percent, respectively. El Paso County Ranks fourth from the bottom, with a median turnout rate of 28.81 percent, almost ten percent lower than the state median of 37.52 percent. All counties displayed lower median turnout rates than the state median.

### Texas County Expenditures

The fact that El Paso ranked fourth to last among all Texas counties between 1998 and 2008 raises the question of what consequences result to an area that votes in low numbers. Citizens are urged to vote more because they are able to gain more leverage among politicians, and possibly more money for certain services and projects.

It has been thought that El Paso receives less money from the State of Texas for a variety of services simply because people vote at lower rates than other large metropolitan areas in the

State. In order to explore this concept further, Community Scholars gathered information on state expenditures for all Texas Counties between 1999 and 2009. In theory, changes in money allocations to counties would not be seen until the year after an official has been elected into office. The following allocations were calculated for all counties in the State of Texas

- Total Expenditures
- Texas Education Agency (TEA)
- Texas Workforce Commission (TWC)
- Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT)
- Health and Human Services Commission and the Texas Department of Human Services

These agencies are the five main areas in which the State distributes money to counties and all affect the everyday life of citizens through education, workforce, transportation infrastructure and healthcare. Assuming the previously mentioned notion of state budget allocations is true; areas that vote the highest would receive the most money, while areas with the lowest voting rates would receive the least. The following table displays the State’s total expenditures for the highest and lowest voting Texas counties. All figures have been adjusted for population and inflation. *For all expenditure data refer to Appendix C.*

**Table 10: Total per Capita Expenditures 1999 –2009**

County	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	Median
Borden	\$3,075	\$3,407	\$2,588	\$4,345	\$2,874	\$3,545	<b>\$3,809</b>
Glasscock	\$1,878	\$2,331	\$5,603	\$5,853	\$2,228	\$1,619	<b>\$1,664</b>
Loving	\$1,209	\$664	\$3,659	\$1,102	\$9,718	\$6,089	<b>\$3,434</b>
King	\$3,956	\$5,192	\$5,191	\$3,227	\$20,526	\$17,876	<b>\$5,234</b>
Motley	\$3,801	\$3,814	\$3,398	\$6,384	\$2,870	\$6,220	<b>\$3,442</b>
McMullen	\$7,194	\$7,217	\$211,927	\$267,366	\$8,488	\$6,237	<b>\$2,871</b>
Edwards	\$4,495	\$4,517	\$3,502	\$3,630	\$3,728	\$9,667	<b>\$4,810</b>
Jeff Davis	\$5,187	\$6,936	\$6,715	\$10,776	\$4,337	\$5,501	<b>\$3,144</b>
Terrell	\$4,479	\$5,199	\$5,643	\$4,468	\$3,053	\$11,091	<b>\$3,442</b>
Briscoe	\$3,501	\$4,337	\$3,481	\$4,108	\$5,953	\$3,909	<b>\$2,164</b>
<b>TX Median</b>	<b>\$2,870</b>	<b>\$3,420</b>	<b>\$3,515</b>	<b>\$3,179</b>	<b>\$3,463</b>	<b>\$3,813</b>	<b>\$3,441</b>
Starr	\$3,486	\$5,277	\$4,660	\$4,509	\$5,426	\$4,978	<b>\$4,819</b>
Frio	\$3,544	\$4,562	\$4,453	\$3,601	\$4,636	\$4,856	<b>\$4,507</b>
Dallam	\$4,511	\$5,908	\$4,065	\$4,846	\$5,726	\$4,749	<b>\$4,797</b>
San Patricio	\$2,431	\$3,309	\$3,558	\$3,427	\$3,699	\$3,278	<b>\$3,368</b>
Bell	\$2,549	\$2,819	\$3,068	\$3,114	\$3,357	\$3,667	<b>\$3,091</b>
Cameron	\$3,875	\$4,375	\$4,128	\$4,339	\$4,591	\$4,434	<b>\$4,357</b>
El Paso	\$2,721	\$3,300	\$3,561	\$3,588	\$3,766	\$3,771	<b>\$3,575</b>
Hidalgo	\$3,604	\$4,539	\$4,505	\$4,673	\$4,785	\$4,392	<b>\$4,522</b>
Maverick	\$3,027	\$3,956	\$319	\$244	\$4,519	\$4,494	<b>\$3,492</b>
Coryell	\$2,229	\$2,428	\$2,497	\$2,481	\$2,793	\$2,955	<b>\$2,489</b>

Source: Texas Department of State Health Services; Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts

The table shows total expenditures, or money allocations for the highest and lowest voting Texas counties for the ten-year period, along with individual and State medians. Borden had the highest

turnout rates of all counties, but not did receive the most money. Money distribution is sporadic. Most counties that voted the lowest consistently received more money per person from the State of Texas. El Paso, who ranked fourth to last in terms of voting, received more money than several counties that voted in the highest percentile.

**Table 11: TEA Expenditures per Capita 1999 –2009**

<b>County</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Median</b>
Borden	\$363	\$488	\$259	\$493	\$376	\$1,794	<b>\$432</b>
Glasscock	\$254	\$300	\$20	\$330	\$916	\$687	<b>\$315</b>
Loving	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	<b>\$0</b>
King	\$162	\$373	\$257	\$271	\$2,059	\$2,163	<b>\$322</b>
Motley	\$1,134	\$1,442	\$979	\$932	\$897	\$1,306	<b>\$1,057</b>
McMullen	\$176	\$202	\$82,018	\$125,711	\$775	\$1,508	<b>\$1,142</b>
Edwards	\$1,562	\$1,652	\$862	\$1,340	\$1,517	\$2,266	<b>\$1,539</b>
Jeff Davis	\$1,132	\$1,675	\$939	\$790	\$767	\$801	<b>\$870</b>
Terrell	\$211	\$,328.52	\$285	\$295	\$0	\$848	<b>\$290</b>
Briscoe	\$1,031	\$,906.89	\$188	\$301	\$359	\$1,025	<b>\$633</b>
<b>TX Median</b>	<b>\$865</b>	<b>\$973</b>	<b>\$778</b>	<b>\$635</b>	<b>\$832</b>	<b>\$1,095</b>	<b>\$849</b>
Starr	\$1,645	\$2,185	\$2,308	\$1,666	\$2,317	\$2,447	<b>\$2,246</b>
Frio	\$,997.05	\$1,495	\$1,427	\$762	\$1,588	\$1,809	<b>\$1,461</b>
Dallam	\$1,175	\$1,261	\$,949.75	\$1,013	\$1,156	\$1,466	<b>\$1,166</b>
San Patricio	\$1,049	\$1,264	\$1,118	\$1,128	\$1,175	\$1,299	<b>\$1,151</b>
Bell	\$1,028	\$1,164	\$1,112	\$1,066	\$1,130	\$1,265	<b>\$1,121</b>
Cameron	\$1,756	\$1,819	\$1,699	\$1,780	\$1,859	\$1,939	<b>\$1,800</b>
El Paso	\$1,163	\$1,418	\$1,355	\$1,364	\$1,510	\$1,620	<b>\$1,391</b>
Hidalgo	\$1,755	\$1,914	\$1,810	\$1,827	\$1,985	\$2,106	<b>\$1,871</b>
Maverick	\$1,528	\$1,710	\$103	\$75	\$1,902	\$1,998	<b>\$1,619</b>
Coryell	\$717	\$789	\$730	\$561	\$760	\$852	<b>\$745</b>

Source: Texas Department of State Health Services; Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts

The table above shows state expenditures for the TEA, the administrative unit in Texas for primary and secondary public education.<sup>38</sup> Expenditures from the past ten years shed more light onto the fact that no correlation exists between voting and State expenditures. Loving voted amongst the top ten, yet received no money to use for the TEA. Starr voted in the lowest percentile and received more money per person, a median of \$2,246 for all ten years. This figure is larger than all other counties listed above.

<sup>38</sup> (Texas Education Agency (TEA), 2007-2011)

**Table 12: TWC Expenditures per Capita 1999 –2009**

County/State	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	Median
Borden	\$1	\$17	\$1,018	\$493	\$8	\$110	\$64
Glasscock	\$1	\$9	\$20	\$5	\$1	\$11	\$7
Loving	\$1	\$146	\$57	\$1	\$0	\$4	\$2
King	\$2	\$10	\$11	\$2	\$7	\$16	\$9
Motley	\$2	\$24	\$41	\$25	\$30	\$60	\$28
McMullen	\$2	\$10	\$10,890	\$6,290	\$12	\$102	\$57
Edwards	\$1	\$28	\$40	\$22	\$26	\$147	\$27
Jeff Davis	\$53,587	\$54	\$53	\$14	\$8	\$30	\$42
Terrell	\$2	\$50	\$112	\$49	\$0	\$157	\$49
Briscoe	\$2	\$26	\$94	\$43	\$32	\$41	\$36
<b>TX Median</b>	<b>\$4</b>	<b>\$60</b>	<b>\$101</b>	<b>\$52</b>	<b>\$38</b>	<b>\$157</b>	<b>\$56</b>
Star	\$7	\$146	\$182	\$113	\$102	\$320	\$130
Frio	\$3	\$64	\$102	\$55	\$42	\$156	\$59
Dallam	\$2	\$76	\$88	\$15	\$14	\$52	\$34
San Patricio	\$5	\$89	\$133	\$98	\$48	\$174	\$93
Bell	\$52	\$144	\$190	\$123	\$113	\$208	\$133
Cameron	\$52	\$191	\$242	\$152	\$119	\$227	\$171
El Paso	\$103	\$209	\$254	\$153	\$144	\$238	\$181
Hidalgo	\$72	\$232	\$260	\$180	\$154	\$299	\$206
Maverick	\$12	\$165	\$4	\$2	\$100	\$280	\$56
Coryell	\$5	\$57	\$71	\$41	\$37	\$87	\$49

Source: Texas Department of State Health Services; Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts

The agency looked at above is the Texas Workforce Commission (TWC), the state government agency in charge of overlooking and ministering workforce services for employers and those looking for a job.<sup>39</sup> Border voted the highest of all counties. Although it received the most money per capita of the top ten counties, it received significantly less than most counties in the bottom ten. El Paso received more money than all counties in the bottom ten.

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<sup>39</sup> (Texas Workforce Commission, 2011)

**Table 13: TxDOT Expenditures per Capita 1999 –2009**

<b>County</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Median</b>
Borden	\$2,215	\$2,615	\$1,040	\$3,154	\$1,875	\$636	<b>\$2,045</b>
Glasscock	\$832	\$1,775	\$266	\$5,136	\$740	\$129	<b>\$786</b>
Loving	\$916	\$8	\$2,834	\$91	\$153	\$160	<b>\$156</b>
King	\$3,234	\$4,691	\$3,393	\$2,014	\$17,956	\$15,474	<b>\$4,042</b>
Motley	\$2,166	\$1,444	\$855	\$4,152	\$984	\$3,594	<b>\$1,805</b>
McMullen	\$6,018	\$6,209	\$18,034	\$7,378	\$5,735	\$2,303	<b>\$6,113</b>
Edwards	\$1,971	\$1,546	\$1,403	\$911	\$508	\$640	<b>\$1,157</b>
Jeff Davis	\$1,790	\$1,881	\$1,012	\$7,013	\$1,306	\$1,280	<b>\$1,548</b>
Terrell	\$3,630	\$909	\$3,191	\$2,865	\$0	\$4,539	<b>\$3,028</b>
Briscoe	\$1,207	\$1,395	\$839	\$1,300	\$3,178	\$779	<b>\$1,253</b>
<b>TX Median</b>	<b>\$373</b>	<b>\$433</b>	<b>\$421</b>	<b>\$397</b>	<b>\$485</b>	<b>\$367</b>	<b>\$409</b>
Starr	\$135	\$159	\$130	\$113	\$100	\$235	<b>\$132</b>
Frio	\$433	\$540	\$381	\$305	\$579	\$638	<b>\$486</b>
Dallam	\$1,247	\$2,612	\$592	\$1,351	\$2,066	\$1,138	<b>\$1,299</b>
San Patricio	\$250	\$260	\$241	\$262	\$679	\$432	<b>\$261</b>
Bell	\$111	\$113	\$174	\$247	\$400	\$423	<b>\$211</b>
Cameron	\$125	\$227	\$252	\$299	\$376	\$205	<b>\$239</b>
El Paso	\$172	\$150	\$176	\$214	\$156	\$156	<b>\$164</b>
Hidalgo	\$127	\$230	\$209	\$243	\$211	\$139	<b>\$210</b>
Maverick	\$139	\$193	\$44	\$24	\$332	\$348	<b>\$166</b>
Coryell	\$59	\$108	\$71	\$131	\$317	\$304	<b>\$119</b>

Source: Texas Department of State Health Services; Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts

The Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT) is responsible for providing safe and efficient infrastructure for the movement of people and goods across the State of Texas.<sup>40</sup> TxDOT was the only service provided by the state that saw a closer correlation in regards to the distribution of money to areas that vote the highest. Almost all counties in the top ten received more money per Capita than areas in the bottom, with the only exception being Dallam County, who received a median of 1,298.98 per person throughout the ten years.

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<sup>40</sup> (Texas Department of Transportation, 2011)

**Table 14: Healthcare Expenditures per Capita 1999-2009**

<b>County/State</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Median</b>
Borden	\$0	\$1	\$9	\$25	\$40	\$307	<b>\$17</b>
Glasscock	\$2	\$0	\$49	\$84	\$216	\$13	<b>\$31</b>
Loving	\$5	\$0	\$0	\$422	\$353	\$13	<b>\$6</b>
King	\$0	\$0	\$20	\$46	\$33	\$2	<b>\$11</b>
Motley	\$24	\$123	\$277	\$217	\$284	\$50	<b>\$170</b>
McMullen	\$99	\$45	\$59,634	\$55,814	\$189	\$9	<b>\$117</b>
Edwards	\$47	\$99	\$430	\$396	\$609	\$213	<b>\$304</b>
Jeff Davis	\$56	\$113	\$366	\$262	\$291	\$7	<b>\$187</b>
Terrell	\$64	\$214	\$294	\$173	\$0	\$157	<b>\$165</b>
Briscoe	\$72	\$67	\$267	\$277	\$347	\$6	<b>\$167</b>
<b>TX Median</b>	<b>\$268</b>	<b>\$332</b>	<b>\$801</b>	<b>\$448</b>	<b>\$514</b>	<b>\$313</b>	<b>\$390</b>
Starr	\$374	\$933	\$1,348	\$1,165	\$1,448	\$346	<b>\$1,049</b>
Frio	\$357	\$596	\$1,190	\$676	\$826	\$316	<b>\$636</b>
Dallam	\$271	\$107	\$455	\$477	\$500	\$139	<b>\$297</b>
San Patricio	\$181	\$298	\$820	\$564	\$740	\$283	<b>\$431</b>
Bell	\$224	\$212	\$537	\$314	\$474	\$443	<b>\$378</b>
Cameron	\$494	\$480	\$1,104	\$917	\$1,149	\$679	<b>\$798</b>
El Paso	\$185	\$264	\$917	\$825	\$1,073	\$678	<b>\$751</b>
Hidalgo	\$344	\$466	\$1,274	\$1,121	\$1,314	\$548	<b>\$834</b>
Maverick	\$143	\$397	\$94	\$55	\$1,170	\$413	<b>\$246</b>
Coryell	\$146	\$145	\$381	\$186	\$250	\$98	<b>\$165</b>

Source: Texas Department of State Health Services; Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts

Figures for the table above were calculated by adding expenditures for the Health and Human Services Commission and the Department of Human Services. The HHSC looks over the operation and the budget of the health and human services system.<sup>41</sup> The Department of Human Services was a separate working administration until 2006. In 2007, this department and its expenditures were merged into the HHSC. The table above displays that figures were not in line with the way counties in Texas voted. Loving ranked in the top four, but received the least money per Capita at \$6.40. In contrast, El Paso received a significant amount of more money per Capita in comparison to most other counties, at \$751.49.

A regression analysis of all counties in Texas showed a very weak correlation between voter turnout and total expenditures for counties in the past three elections cycles. It additionally showed that there was no significant relationship between money distributions and turnout in the initial two election cycles. Results from the regression show that there is no apparent significant correlation, despite the common convention that counties with higher votes receive the largest amount of money for services.

<sup>41</sup> (Texas Health and Human Services Commission, 2004)

## El Paso Rankings among Texas Counties

The previous section of the report shed light on the fact that there is no statistical correlation between counties that have the highest turnout and the amount of money they receive per Capita from the State of Texas for a variety of services. Although service distribution is not affected, there may be other unexplored consequences. Because of this, it is important to determine how El Paso ranks among all Texas Counties and other large metropolitan areas in the State. The following section will rank El Paso County in light of all Texas Counties for the past ten elections. The following table displays these rankings.

**Table 15: El Paso Ranks for Past Ten Elections**

Year	El Paso Turnout	State Median	El Paso Rank	Percentile
1992(P)	64.3%	71.2%	213	16.1%
1994(G)	40.0%	53.2%	238	6.3%
1996(P)	45.4%	55.7%	244	3.9%
1998(G)	27.7%	37.8%	239	5.9%
2000(P)	41.2%	55.3%	247	2.8%
2002(G)	28.8%	39.9%	248	2.4%
2004(P)	45.6%	55.8%	236	7.1%
2006(G)	24.2%	37.7%	241	5.1%
2008(P)	47.7%	58.9%	232	8.7%
2010(G)	23.3%	40.4%	248	2.4%

Source: Texas Secretary of State  
*P- Presidential Election, G- Gubernatorial Election*

El Paso ranked very low in comparison to all other Texas Counties. The 1992 election was the time El Paso ranked highest, placing itself at the 16.1 percentile. The table shows concrete evidence that despite being one of the largest metropolitan areas in Texas; it ranks among the lowest in its voter turnout.

El Paso is the sixth largest county in the State of Texas. Large counties generally vote in higher numbers than other non-major areas of the State. El Paso has been the exception. The following section will present rankings for the six largest Texas counties. The table displays rankings of major Texas counties during the 2008 Presidential Election.

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**Table 16: 2008 Presidential Election Comparisons**

County	Turnout	State Median	Rank	Percentile
Dallas	61.20%	58.94%	85	66.54%
Bexar	56.46%	58.94%	169	33.46%
Travis	65.05%	58.94%	52	79.53%
Tarrant	65.11%	58.94%	50	80.31%
Harris	59.79%	58.94%	114	55.19%
El Paso	47.67%	58.94%	232	8.67%

Source: Texas Secretary of State

Four of the six major Texas counties ranked above the fiftieth percentile, Bexar and El Paso County being the only two exceptions. El Paso ranked last of all six counties, at 232 out of 254 total counties and placing it among the 8.67 percentile. In comparison, Tarrant County ranked the highest of all Texas Counties with a turnout of 65.11 percent. Dallas County, Travis County and Harris County produced turnout rates over the state median rate.

Because election types affect voter turnout, Community Scholars drew comparisons on the same six metropolitan areas during the 2010 Gubernatorial Election. The following table displays Texas County rankings for the six major Texas counties.

**Table 17: 2010 Gubernatorial Election Comparisons**

County	Turnout	State Median	Rank	Percentile
Dallas	37.06%	40.43%	176	30.70%
Bexar	33.56%	40.43%	210	12.32%
Travis	39.40%	40.43%	146	42.52%
Tarrant	37.09%	40.43%	175	31.10%
Harris	40.67%	40.43%	121	52.36%
El Paso	23.30%	40.43%	248	2.36%

Source: Texas Secretary of State

In comparison to the 2008 Presidential election, most counties dropped in ranking, Bexar and El Paso being the exception. The fact that less people vote during gubernatorial elections affected the other Texas Counties to a greater extent than El Paso. Although all counties dropped in percentile, El Paso saw the lowest drop, but still ranked last of the six chosen counties. Harris County had the highest turnout rate, rank and percentile in comparison to the other five counties.

## Discussion

### Conclusions

Throughout the summer's research, Community Scholars has come up with the following conclusions. Early Voting Programs are crucial in a low voting city like El Paso. The City of El Paso has consistently voted in low numbers over the past thirty years. Based on data collected from 2000-2010, the three combined early voting programs consistently made up at least half of the total votes cast during elections. Cities that vote in low numbers benefit the most from these programs because without them, half of the electorate would be removed from every election.

The City spends too much money on mobile voting units. Mobile voting units cost the City of El Paso \$3000 per unit sponsored. With the 20 different locations found throughout the City, total costs rise up to \$60,000 per election cycles. On average, elections are held at least twice a year. Taking this into consideration, mobile voting only makes up about 10 percent of total votes cast during an election on average, and this money is not being spent wisely.

Growth in registered voters mimics growing trends the City is currently experiencing. The City of El Paso has been known to be growing in a sprawling manner. As parts of the Far East and West Sides have grown, citizens have moved from the core of the City to the outskirts of town. Growth in registered voters between 1980 and 2010 has copied these trends. For example, District 2 was the only area of El Paso that saw a decrease in the number of registered voters, while areas of the Far East Side saw large increases. This is consistent with the fact that people have been known to move from the core of the City to the outskirts of town.

Despite conclusions from previous research, voter turnout is decreasing in the City of El Paso. As highlighted previously in the report, two studies concluded that voter turnout has not been decreasing, but rather the voter ineligible decreasing. They suggest this is because most voting studies use the Voting Age Population instead of the Voting Eligible Population in order to calculate voter turnout. Community Scholars however, only used the number of registered voters and votes cast to shy away from any discrepancies. The research model used showed that despite previous research, voter turnout has been decreasing in El Paso.

City Elections are the least publicized elections, but have the greatest direct impact for citizens on a day-to-day basis. National elections, especially Presidential Elections, foster the greatest attention from the media because those campaigns acquire the greatest money. However, City Elections put up Educational Bonds and other types of bonds on the ballot, which affect the lives of citizens daily. Raising a tax for the purpose of a school district has a quicker, more direct effect than a national law that does not necessarily affect someone every day. Having the lowest turnout during local elections severely distorts the will of the population and policies might only be serving a small portion of the population.

Although voting is important for a variety of reasons, it has no influence on the amount of money counties receive from the State. It has long been thought that areas in Texas that vote at much lower rates than others receive less money from the State government; El Paso and other Border Counties have been said to be some of these areas. However, regression analysis from the gathered data shows that spending has been sporadic for the periods covered. Some areas that voted consistently in the bottom, received more money per person after adjustments for inflation. This should not discourage areas such as El Paso, which already vote in low numbers from attempting to increase the number of people who vote. Voting still serves an important purpose for other reasons. Local elections, for example, often hold school bonds that affect the education of citizens in these areas. Without civic participation, some crucial money might be left out to service the citizens of a certain area.

In comparison to its voter turnout, El Paso ranks high in the amount of money per capita it receives. El Paso ranked in the bottom ten counties consistently during a ten-year period, but ranked around the middle in terms of money it received from the state. In comparison to the top and bottom voting counties in the State of Texas, El Paso received more money, per capita than

all but the three top voting counties. However, El Paso consistently voted in the bottom four out of all Texas counties. These staggering numbers shed light on the fact that unlike common belief, El Paso is not receiving the “short end of the stick” from the State government.

## **Recommendations**

Voter registration laws should allow citizens to register on Election Day. Registration laws in Texas have a 30-day waiting period between sending in a registration card and being logged into the system. It is possible that citizens who are touched by certain mobilization programs become encouraged to vote in a period that is close to an election cycle. However, because the 30-day mark has passed, they are unable to register and vote for the nearest election. By the time of the next elections, these citizens will have become discouraged further from the voting process and not participate in future elections. Allowing citizens to register on Election Day would help prevent this group of people from becoming discouraged and left out of the voting process.

The City of El Paso should redirect funding for mobile voting toward creating more early voting locations. As stated before, the City of El Paso spends \$60,000 per election cycle on mobile voting trucks that rotate around different areas of the City and County. However, mobile voting constitutes only a small percentage of total votes during any given elections. Using this funding to create more permanent voting locations during early voting days would be much more beneficial simply because half or more of all votes during an election come from early voting locations. Redirecting monies to these locations would help create more locations, gather more votes while keeping administration costs to a minimum.

Local elections should receive more media attention. National election candidates obtain the most amount of money for campaigns and thus are able to buy out national advertisements on television and garner the most attention from news sources throughout the country. In contrary, local elections receive the least media attention and thus, see the lowest voting numbers. Although the campaigning process is a costly one, by attempting to put up larger signs and commercials in the news, more people would become informed on local candidates and their positions on various issues. This would help raise awareness on the importance of local elections to the everyday person, while educating citizens and encouraging them to participate in the electoral process.

More funding should be provided for voter mobilization programs. Upon speaking with various heads of several mobilization programs and reading through Internet sources, Community Scholars became aware of the fact that many programs come to a short end, often due to funding issues. Non-profit organizations run out of money to continue funding their subdivisions that encourage voting and choose to cancel out the programs altogether. Prioritizing these efforts and providing funding for them has immediate and long time benefits. Not only do such programs increase the number of potential voters in the short term, but in the end create a more educated electorate that allows all citizens to be represented more accurately.

Mobilization programs should focus their attention on a specific group of people in order to be more effective. Certain programs try to reach out to the public, but throughout research, Community Scholars found that certain groups of people are affected differently by mobilization

than others. Thus, implementing a message that appeals to a certain group of people would be more specific than a generic message that does not captivate the attention of any group. In return for their success, it would be possible for larger funding streams to continue growing.

Elected officials should be more inclusive in the people they target during campaigns. The campaign process has evolved over time and elected officials are strategic about the group of people they include during their walks and send automated calls to. Only the people who vote consistently in elections are ever reached out to. By doing this, politicians attempt to exclude all others in an attempt to save money while maximizing results. Research however, shows that even among people who do not vote in high numbers, when politicians reach out to the people with a message, voting numbers improve greatly. In a place like El Paso, where voting numbers are low consistently, targeting the people who do not vote would be very beneficial. This would ensure that the majority will of the people is going through instead of a small group of people making crucial decisions.

Elected officials should send automated text messages while campaigning for office to get their message across. Apart from walking door to door in certain neighborhoods, elected officials choose to make phone calls to areas that vote in high numbers. However, the message may not always be heard or sent to voicemail when the owner of the phone is not available. It is a common thing to delete voicemails without even hearing them, especially among the youth. Sending automated texts would appeal to the younger crowd of voters, who are avid texters, while ensuring that they receive the message.

Further research should be conducted on the relationship between voter turnout and state expenditures to include more services and programs. Through our research, Community Scholars only looked at total expenditures and four other services provided by the State of Texas. However, the State is responsible for providing a large number of other services. It could be the case that the services measured are not impacted by voter turnout, but others very well may be. Previous research found that there was correlation between national expenditures and the amount of voting at the county level. The study looked at various aspects of monies that flow down to the county level through a variety of ways. Further research should expand on all of these different monetary aspects to conclude whether any relationship does exist or does not exist.

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## Appendix A: El Paso Area Turnout Rates

The following tables will present full turnouts for the sixteen different regions throughout El Paso County. These include number of registered voters, votes cast, turnout rate and election results. Election results are only provided for Presidential and Gubernatorial elections and were calculated by who was chosen into the executive office of either the Federal or State Government. Several years are missing from given areas. This is because voting precincts did not exist for those areas previously in time.

**Table X: Town of Anthony Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,195	700	58.6%	R
1981				
1982	1,243	469	37.7%	D
1983				
1984	1,469	777	52.9%	R
1985	1,484	150	10.1%	
1986	1,407	403	28.6%	D
1987	1,512	2	0.1%	
1988	1,077	558	51.8%	D
1989	1,151	3	0.3%	
1990	1,022	330	26.9%	D
1991	1,061	355	33.5%	
1992	1,039	409	39.4%	D
1993	1,192	564	47.3%	
1994	1,072	341	31.8%	D
1995	1,149	410	35.7%	
1996	1,298	565	43.5%	D
1997	1,341	513	38.3%	
1998	1,396	394	28.2%	D
1999	1,388	515	37.1%	
2000	1,479	663	44.8%	D
2001				
2002	1,465	374	25.5%	D
2003	1,417	425	30.0%	
2004	1,531	719	47.0%	D
2005	1,469	253	17.2%	
2006	1,511	309	20.5%	D
2007	1,493	109	7.3%	
2008	1,579	754	47.8%	D
2009	1,553	321	20.7%	
2010	1,588	375	23.6%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for the 1982, 1983 and 2001 elections were not available

**Table X: Village of Vinton's Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,195	949	66.3%	R
1981	1,170			
1982	1,243	738	44.6%	TIE
1983	1,244	253	20.3%	
1984	2,205	1,249	56.6%	R
1985	2,166	161	10.1%	
1986	1,864	590	31.7%	D
1987	1,939	3	0.2%	
1988	2,031	1,129	55.6%	D
1989	2,148	72	3.4%	
1990	1,882	713	26.9%	D
1991	1,858	355	28.3%	
1992	1,039	409	41.7%	D
1993	1,192	415	19.7%	
1994	1,072	341	31.8%	D
1995	1,149	128	14.4%	
1996	1,298	565	43.5%	D
1997	1,341	290	12.7%	
1998	1,482	394	28.2%	D
1999	1,507	375	12.8%	
2000	1,764	663	38.3%	D
2001	1,507	327	17.0%	
2002	1,611	438	26.9%	D
2003	1,579	353	17.9%	
2004	2,183	719	43.5%	D
2005	1,598	249	11.3%	
2006	1,754	436	20.5%	D
2007	1,771	109	7.3%	
2008	2,412	994	47.8%	D
2009	1,184	275	24.4%	
2010	2,031	570	24.4%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District One Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,831	1,466	72.6%	R
1981	1,867	722	34.3%	
1982	1,737	960	53.8%	R
1983	1,840	528	29.1%	
1984	2,158	1,483	69.8%	R

1985	2,209	388	18.8%	
1986	1,933	908	51.2%	R
1987	2,064	567	28.5%	
1988	2,413	1,481	69.8%	R
1989	2,510	691	29.6%	
1990	2,258	974	27.5%	R
1991	2,267	659	30.2%	
1992	2,157	776	33.7%	D
1993	2,255	716	29.9%	
1994	2,145	1,031	49.4%	R
1995	2,194	522	23.4%	
1996	2,599	1,360	51.8%	D
1997	2,671	519	18.4%	
1998	3,010	949	31.9%	R
1999	2,855	601	21.1%	
2000	3,060	1,382	46.1%	R
2001	2,837	697	27.6%	
2002	2,535	798	34.6%	R
2003	2,463	504	26.6%	
2004	2,812	1,512	57.9%	R
2005	2,601	187	8.1%	
2006	2,699	812	36.6%	R
2007	2,596	324	14.8%	
2008	2,989	1,674	60.8%	R
2009	2,697	271	12.9%	
2010	2,832	886	37.3%	R

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 2 Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,967	1,036	57.8%	D
1981	2,002	436	24.1%	
1982	1,952	759	38.6%	D
1983	2,010	434	24.3%	
1984	2,288	1,377	54.8%	D
1985	2,262	248	10.4%	
1986	2,101	671	29.3%	D
1987	2,129	420	18.3%	
1988	2,161	1,250	52.7%	D
1989	2,244	482	21.6%	
1990	2,068	646	23.3%	D

1991	2,072	425	20.5%	
1992	1,960	717	35.0%	D
1993	1,973	503	28.0%	
1994	1,792	759	38.6%	D
1995	1,882	363	19.3%	
1996	2,303	1,114	47.4%	D
1997	2,381	463	19.2%	
1998	2,512	714	27.8%	D
1999	2,486	460	18.4%	
2000	2,598	1,090	41.0%	D
2001	2,486	539	20.1%	
2002	1,722	577	29.4%	D
2003	1,593	282	16.6%	
2004	1,926	810	45.1%	D
2005	1,612	114	6.0%	
2006	1,686	489	24.7%	D
2007	1,614	125	7.6%	
2008	1,661	792	44.4%	D
2009	1,537	180	10.3%	
2010	1,562	422	22.6%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 3 Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,285	743	57.9%	D
1981	1,854	440	22.2%	
1982	1,331	497	39.5%	D
1983	1,880	548	26.1%	
1984	1,799	959	55.9%	D
1985	1,877	187	10.6%	
1986	1,828	514	29.4%	D
1987	2,288	492	21.9%	
1988	1,885	1,004	52.2%	D
1989	2,295	397	17.0%	
1990	1,919	559	21.9%	D
1991	2,218	317	16.7%	
1992	1,657	553	34.2%	D
1993	1,978	399	23.7%	
1994	1,522	689	37.5%	D
1995	1,569	282	14.6%	
1996	1,672	862	44.4%	D
1997	1,867	391	17.1%	
1998	1,951	656	26.7%	R
1999	1,851	429	16.1%	

2000	1,908	954	43.9%	D
2001	1,851	494	20.1%	
2002	2,276	640	28.2%	D
2003	2,154	316	15.3%	
2004	2,205	937	42.0%	D
2005	2,101	103	4.5%	
2006	2,122	470	22.1%	D
2007	2,047	110	5.1%	
2008	2,099	939	42.2%	D
2009	1,979	196	9.4%	
2010	2,005	401	20.6%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 4 Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,375	874	63.2%	D
1981	1,391	408	28.0%	
1982	1,202	556	44.8%	D
1983	1,266	369	25.7%	
1984	1,501	900	59.2%	D
1985	1,562	201	12.7%	
1986	1,535	516	33.1%	D
1987	1,624	351	19.2%	
1988	1,476	908	57.4%	D
1989	1,549	385	25.1%	
1990	1,427	474	25.4%	D
1991	1,487	325	23.6%	
1992	1,204	487	36.2%	D
1993	1,231	351	25.2%	
1994	1,243	533	37.1%	D
1995	1,292	273	17.0%	
1996	1,510	765	43.1%	D
1997	1,542	379	20.4%	
1998	1,584	540	27.8%	D
1999	1,555	362	17.7%	
2000	1,642	774	38.3%	D
2001	1,555	409	20.0%	
2002	2,643	723	28.8%	D
2003	2,509	399	16.1%	
2004	2,698	1,372	47.2%	R
2005	2,576	163	6.5%	
2006	2,589	715	25.4%	R
2007	2,539	186	7.8%	
2008	2,639	1,361	49.3%	D

2009	2,522	287	10.6%	
2010	2,516	666	23.1%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 5 Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

Election Date	Registered Voters	Number of Voters	Voter Turnout Rate	Results (D or R)
1980	442	1,687	80.6%	R
1981	2,257	373	32.6%	
1982	1,736	944	56.4%	R
1983	1,893	538	30.3%	
1984	3,039	1,012	71.6%	R
1985	2,293	291	16.4%	
1986	2,347	422	36.3%	TIE
1987	942	295	14.8%	
1988	1,571	1,063	69.1%	R
1989	1,658	465	22.1%	
1990	1,558	688	26.6%	R
1991	1,643	407	23.7%	
1992	1,322	431	31.6%	D
1993	1,382	332	23.7%	
1994	1,601	529	32.8%	D
1995	1,873	201	11.3%	
1996	2,344	877	41.6%	D
1997	2,211	348	14.3%	
1998	2,637	580	23.5%	D
1999	2,615	360	13.8%	
2000	2,925	1,011	35.4%	D
2001	2,462	386	16.9%	
2002	2,550	767	28.8%	D
2003	2,629	383	15.4%	
2004	2,752	1,362	49.5%	D
2005	2,655	130	4.8%	
2006	2,804	669	25.1%	R
2007	2,703	174	6.5%	
2008	2,796	1,474	52.6%	D
2009	2,637	187	7.6%	
2010	2,642	653	22.5%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 6 Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

Election Date	Registered Voters	Number of Voters	Voter Turnout Rate	Results (D or R)
1980				

1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990	1,367	304	17.5%	D
1991	1,349	215	15.9%	
1992	830	374	44.8%	D
1993	956	324	33.8%	
1994	526	153	38.1%	D
1995	673	52	12.7%	
1996	880	250	44.8%	D
1997	902	69	10.8%	
1998	821	235	30.1%	D
1999	868	142	13.3%	
2000	1,012	308	40.5%	D
2001	868	91	14.1%	
2002	2,353	624	26.2%	D
2003	2,360	268	9.7%	
2004	2,112	1,038	45.2%	D
2005	2,859	110	3.9%	
2006	2,954	570	20.1%	D
2007	2,899	154	5.8%	
2008	3,016	1,350	46.7%	D
2009	2,388	147	4.6%	
2010	2,912	504	18.5%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 1989 were not available

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 7 Median Voter Turnout, 1980–2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983	1,807	207	22.7%	
1984	2,754	1,710	61.5%	R
1985	2,873	302	10.5%	
1986	2,654	844	31.6%	D

1987	2,799	535	19.4%	
1988	1,753	1,139	54.2%	R
1989	1,893	476	19.9%	
1990	1,513	655	28.7%	D
1991	1,539	375	19.7%	
1992	2,176	599	36.4%	D
1993	2,224	402	21.9%	
1994	1,088	381	32.1%	D
1995	1,268	195	13.9%	
1996	1,763	706	40.6%	D
1997	1,489	204	12.5%	
1998	1,935	421	23.5%	D
1999	1,877	251	14.2%	
2000	2,011	682	37.7%	D
2001	1,189	272	16.9%	
2002	2,344	712	26.7%	D
2003	2,270	287	13.1%	
2004	2,299	1,149	41.9%	D
2005	2,239	127	5.3%	
2006	2,234	476	20.8%	D
2007	2,170	108	4.3%	
2008	2,246	1,116	42.8%	R
2009	2,149	176	8.1%	
2010	2,130	563	20.7%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 1982 were not available

**Table X: City of El Paso: District 8 Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980	1,594	1,073	69.4%	R
1981	1,616	478	32.6%	
1982	1,612	728	49.3%	D
1983	1,654	440	29.3%	
1984	1,928	1,260	65.8%	R
1985	1,871	295	16.5%	
1986	1,775	657	38.4%	D

1987	1,808	439	25.7%	
1988	1,913	1,124	61.1%	D
1989	1,995	541	29.0%	
1990	1,639	564	28.6%	D
1991	1,634	390	27.5%	
1992	2,034	690	35.9%	D
1993	2,047	554	27.3%	
1994	1,928	1,260	65.8%	R
1995	1,871	295	16.5%	
1996	1,775	657	38.4%	D
1997	1,808	439	25.7%	
1998	1,913	1,124	60.8%	R
1999	1,995	541	29.0%	
2000	1,639	564	27.9%	R
2001	1,634	390	27.5%	
2002	2,077	597	35.3%	D
2003	2,047	549	27.1%	
2004	1,742	652	43.6%	R
2005	1,861	335	21.8%	
2006	2,133	1,048	45.8%	D
2007	2,153	394	18.2%	
2008	2,506	662	29.1%	D
2009	2,330	420	20.6%	
2010	2,434	1,020	42.8%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

**Table X: City of Socorro Median Voter Turnout, 1980 – 2010**

Election Date	Registered Voters	Number of Voters	Voter Turnout Rate	Results (D or R)
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				

1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994	654	255	39.1%	D
1995	702	99	14.1%	
1996	1,025	480	46.9%	D
1997	1,418	167	17.4%	
1998	1,324	400	26.1%	R
1999	1,402	305	20.4%	
2000	1,705	775	43.2%	D
2001	1,402	348	25.2%	
2002	2,121	500	23.8%	D
2003	2,080	119	5.5%	
2004	2,219	861	38.7%	D
2005	2,157	28	1.3%	
2006	2,218	359	17.1%	D
2007	2,188	60	2.5%	
2008	2,320	992	38.7%	D
2009	2,321	103	4.3%	
2010	2,371	365	14.1%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 1993 were not available

**Table X: Town of Clint Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

Election Date	Registered Voters	Number of Voters	Voter Turnout Rate	Results (D or R)
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995				
1996				
1997				

1998				
1999				
2000				
2001				
2002	2,120	717	33.8%	D
2003				
2004	2,274	1,081	47.5%	R
2005	2,160	120	5.6%	
2006	2,228	561	25.2%	D
2007	2,196	118	5.4%	
2008	2,286	1,162	50.8%	D
2009	688	2	0.3%	
2010	2,140	699	32.7%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 2001 were not available

**Table X: Horizon City Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994	350	171	53.5%	TIE
1995	367	71	23.7%	
1996	421	222	59.0%	TIE
1997	429	80	18.1%	
1998	470	161	36.7%	R
1999	453	98	25.2%	
2000	494	254	64.9%	TIE
2001	453	119	23.1%	
2002	1,906	420	29.5%	D
2003	1,333	76	9.2%	
2004	2,162	765	42.6%	D
2005	2,253	54	4.2%	
2006	2,572	409	19.8%	D

2007	2,620	120	6.9%	
2008	3,042	1,283	48.7%	D
2009	2,151	97	6.5%	
2010	3,205	500	17.8%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 1993 were not available

**Table X: Montana Vista Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate (%)</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995				
1996				
1997				
1998				
1999				
2000				
2001				
2002	2,542	609	24.0%	D
2003				
2004	2,595	902	34.8%	D
2005	2,575	54	2.1%	
2006	2,689	422	15.7%	D
2007	2,695	12	0.4%	
2008	2,909	1,174	40.4%	D
2009				
2010	2,989	492	16.5%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 2001, 2003 and 2009 were not available

**Table X: Fabens Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				
1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995				
1996				
1997				
1998				
1999				
2000				
2001				
2002	1,999	562	32.5%	D
2003	1,982	240	10.2%	
2004	2,052	828	41.8%	D
2005	2,039	70	1.7%	
2006	2,069	354	17.3%	D
2007	2,026	14	0.4%	
2008	2,075	909	38.9%	D
2009				
2010	2,018	416	19.3%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 2001 and 2009 were not available

**Table X: Tornillo Median Voter Turnout, 1980-2010**

<b>Election Date</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>Voter Turnout Rate</b>	<b>Results (D or R)</b>
1980				
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984				
1985				

1986				
1987				
1988				
1989				
1990				
1991				
1992				
1993				
1994				
1995				
1996				
1997				
1998				
1999				
2000				
2001				
2002	900	286	31.8%	D
2003				
2004	987	411	41.6%	D
2005	45	3	6.7%	
2006	1,044	216	20.7%	D
2007	1,030	16	1.6%	
2008	1,076	462	42.9%	D
2009				
2010	983	355	36.1%	D

Source: El Paso County Elections Department

\* Results for elections between 1980 and 2001, 2003 and 2009 were not available

## Appendix B: Texas County Turnout Rates, 1998-2008

**Table X: Texas Counties Median Turnouts, 1998-2008**

County	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	Median
Anderson	37.23%	54.23%	36.67%	55.04%	38.38%	60.28%	<b>46.31%</b>
Andrews	33.67%	50.84%	36.23%	53.86%	31.59%	54.69%	<b>43.54%</b>
Angelina	35.04%	54.42%	39.40%	58.95%	46.12%	59.66%	<b>50.27%</b>
Aransas	44.59%	57.65%	38.55%	57.74%	42.20%	59.78%	<b>51.12%</b>
Archer	44.03%	61.81%	45.36%	68.38%	45.26%	67.34%	<b>53.59%</b>
Armstrong	51.60%	64.77%	54.32%	68.02%	48.85%	67.53%	<b>59.55%</b>
Atascosa	28.82%	45.66%	33.52%	48.63%	30.96%	40.46%	<b>36.99%</b>
Austin	46.05%	61.90%	45.06%	62.59%	45.36%	64.99%	<b>53.98%</b>
Bailey	49.54%	54.89%	39.81%	59.24%	39.12%	59.87%	<b>52.22%</b>
Bandera	42.98%	62.09%	44.85%	64.88%	46.16%	62.21%	<b>54.13%</b>
Bastrop	41.09%	57.32%	43.12%	61.61%	43.84%	63.41%	<b>50.58%</b>

Baylor	40.47%	64.77%	40.87%	58.15%	35.18%	59.44%	<b>49.51%</b>
Bee	44.05%	49.77%	45.49%	57.63%	42.92%	51.59%	<b>47.63%</b>
Bell	25.36%	44.34%	30.10%	51.61%	28.46%	55.70%	<b>37.22%</b>
Bexar	27.74%	47.34%	30.94%	52.32%	30.49%	56.46%	<b>39.14%</b>
Blanco	49.17%	62.88%	48.81%	70.00%	49.91%	71.21%	<b>56.40%</b>
Borden	56.83%	71.60%	56.35%	78.90%	57.39%	82.42%	<b>64.50%</b>
Bosque	45.53%	65.23%	51.41%	65.99%	47.42%	60.55%	<b>55.98%</b>
Bowie	33.60%	55.61%	37.62%	58.75%	32.06%	58.62%	<b>46.62%</b>
Brazoria	33.75%	54.13%	34.74%	57.74%	35.73%	60.98%	<b>44.93%</b>
Brazos	34.47%	58.57%	31.11%	58.60%	34.59%	63.10%	<b>46.58%</b>
Brewster	39.75%	58.02%	41.50%	60.91%	43.26%	60.14%	<b>50.64%</b>
Briscoe	47.55%	59.06%	61.71%	61.06%	44.02%	66.13%	<b>60.06%</b>
Brooks	23.82%	34.66%	35.20%	39.50%	18.40%	35.76%	<b>34.93%</b>
Brown	39.71%	54.37%	39.53%	55.45%	35.93%	60.33%	<b>47.04%</b>
Burleson	44.55%	56.37%	44.51%	60.24%	40.05%	59.32%	<b>50.46%</b>
Burnet	46.38%	58.93%	47.19%	64.01%	42.72%	63.80%	<b>53.06%</b>
Caldwell	31.02%	46.69%	36.32%	52.68%	35.62%	54.77%	<b>41.51%</b>
Calhoun	35.53%	48.16%	38.50%	47.93%	33.59%	52.52%	<b>43.22%</b>
Callahan	39.83%	53.95%	41.84%	60.98%	36.74%	61.94%	<b>47.90%</b>
Cameron	24.18%	41.68%	29.67%	42.59%	24.48%	43.37%	<b>35.68%</b>
Camp	47.41%	59.45%	44.78%	61.25%	40.01%	61.27%	<b>53.43%</b>
Carson	52.31%	57.53%	44.88%	61.04%	43.15%	64.57%	<b>54.92%</b>
Cass	34.70%	57.29%	39.10%	63.30%	40.54%	63.81%	<b>48.92%</b>
Castro	41.72%	47.71%	42.00%	51.28%	38.58%	52.66%	<b>44.86%</b>
Chambers	33.25%	56.10%	37.76%	57.52%	35.56%	58.65%	<b>46.93%</b>
Cherokee	37.22%	52.30%	35.61%	52.60%	39.75%	57.91%	<b>46.03%</b>
Childress	35.02%	53.28%	39.95%	54.51%	33.98%	65.11%	<b>46.62%</b>
Clay	41.33%	64.04%	46.46%	70.52%	45.89%	66.51%	<b>55.25%</b>
Cochran	47.28%	51.11%	49.90%	51.70%	43.71%	54.01%	<b>50.51%</b>
Coke	47.90%	60.04%	44.43%	61.49%	44.75%	62.46%	<b>53.97%</b>
Coleman	40.83%	53.15%	39.17%	58.81%	36.79%	58.56%	<b>46.99%</b>
Collin	31.90%	59.22%	40.43%	66.36%	36.16%	69.76%	<b>49.83%</b>
Collingsworth	43.29%	59.95%	49.86%	60.62%	46.67%	60.44%	<b>54.91%</b>
Colorado	48.45%	60.20%	48.82%	59.22%	41.28%	60.93%	<b>54.02%</b>
Comal	36.40%	58.48%	40.08%	62.43%	41.95%	65.71%	<b>50.22%</b>
Comanche	46.11%	58.30%	42.78%	56.10%	38.71%	55.85%	<b>50.98%</b>
Concho	49.32%	56.79%	44.06%	64.07%	45.70%	59.70%	<b>53.06%</b>
Cooke	41.98%	56.28%	39.33%	60.56%	41.10%	60.99%	<b>49.13%</b>
Coryell	23.26%	42.32%	25.05%	45.81%	25.51%	46.71%	<b>33.92%</b>
Cottle	41.07%	49.09%	38.82%	56.67%	49.11%	56.30%	<b>49.10%</b>
Crane	40.60%	58.84%	48.77%	58.18%	41.58%	55.79%	<b>52.28%</b>

Crockett	51.35%	51.81%	36.13%	61.95%	36.28%	57.58%	<b>51.58%</b>
Crosby	35.85%	46.80%	38.15%	52.37%	33.13%	47.99%	<b>42.48%</b>
Culberson	20.90%	47.00%	29.44%	38.40%	22.33%	38.29%	<b>33.87%</b>
Dallam	30.89%	60.36%	28.78%	53.51%	26.92%	49.11%	<b>40.00%</b>
Dallas	29.81%	49.10%	36.88%	55.85%	33.90%	61.20%	<b>42.99%</b>
Dawson	32.90%	55.30%	43.04%	54.11%	37.57%	50.80%	<b>46.92%</b>
Deaf smith	33.73%	47.96%	36.03%	53.52%	28.03%	50.91%	<b>42.00%</b>
Delta	39.89%	59.22%	42.13%	63.43%	44.00%	60.98%	<b>51.61%</b>
Denton	27.62%	53.49%	34.13%	62.60%	32.55%	66.31%	<b>43.81%</b>
Dewitt	34.64%	50.18%	35.24%	54.01%	33.46%	53.76%	<b>42.71%</b>
Dickens	41.58%	55.40%	50.53%	73.10%	41.67%	65.98%	<b>52.97%</b>
Dimmit	18.84%	45.15%	32.48%	45.43%	24.08%	47.90%	<b>38.82%</b>
Donley	56.48%	65.88%	54.41%	66.81%	48.40%	66.30%	<b>61.18%</b>
Duval	35.84%	47.95%	29.93%	40.72%	32.99%	47.18%	<b>38.28%</b>
Eastland	45.95%	57.65%	47.56%	64.57%	44.47%	60.72%	<b>52.61%</b>
Ector	31.19%	47.94%	33.84%	52.37%	25.65%	50.83%	<b>40.89%</b>
Edwards	55.23%	64.04%	46.80%	61.45%	49.46%	68.09%	<b>58.34%</b>
El Paso	27.72%	41.16%	28.81%	45.60%	24.16%	47.67%	<b>34.99%</b>
Ellis	32.82%	54.84%	39.57%	59.33%	36.57%	62.95%	<b>47.21%</b>
Erath	39.86%	57.99%	42.93%	60.99%	37.69%	65.19%	<b>50.46%</b>
Falls	35.60%	56.43%	41.57%	58.86%	37.62%	58.00%	<b>49.00%</b>
Fannin	37.52%	58.73%	41.39%	63.80%	39.93%	58.95%	<b>50.06%</b>
Fayette	51.25%	69.65%	52.78%	72.03%	51.61%	68.81%	<b>60.80%</b>
Fisher	48.63%	63.58%	49.87%	65.12%	41.40%	60.27%	<b>55.07%</b>
Floyd	28.02%	52.34%	44.33%	58.19%	46.51%	55.20%	<b>49.43%</b>
Foard	36.11%	48.72%	38.50%	57.71%	36.67%	51.38%	<b>43.61%</b>
Fort bend	33.86%	60.93%	39.12%	64.14%	36.76%	67.80%	<b>50.03%</b>
Franklin	48.59%	61.51%	52.23%	68.31%	47.61%	66.56%	<b>56.87%</b>
Freestone	45.80%	62.68%	48.09%	62.23%	38.70%	62.88%	<b>55.16%</b>
Frio	23.80%	39.63%	31.47%	38.43%	20.97%	38.58%	<b>34.95%</b>
Gaines	38.82%	51.11%	35.55%	59.30%	34.32%	55.16%	<b>44.97%</b>
Galveston	32.49%	52.56%	34.38%	57.00%	34.37%	55.45%	<b>43.47%</b>
Garza	35.87%	58.35%	39.99%	60.35%	39.12%	58.80%	<b>49.17%</b>
Gillespie	49.40%	67.85%	51.02%	70.07%	49.97%	70.42%	<b>59.44%</b>
Glasscock	67.01%	72.92%	55.83%	70.31%	45.60%	75.37%	<b>68.66%</b>
Goliad	43.93%	66.99%	44.29%	63.77%	42.25%	64.19%	<b>54.03%</b>
Gonzales	39.23%	47.04%	32.95%	48.24%	34.60%	50.60%	<b>43.14%</b>
Gray	40.42%	52.40%	39.00%	56.91%	36.27%	56.82%	<b>46.41%</b>
Grayson	34.59%	54.30%	37.53%	58.53%	35.12%	60.08%	<b>45.92%</b>
Gregg	31.77%	49.33%	35.27%	55.35%	31.15%	57.92%	<b>42.30%</b>
Grimes	36.13%	54.67%	39.95%	59.14%	40.41%	55.95%	<b>47.54%</b>

Guadalupe	31.03%	56.84%	35.92%	59.03%	36.53%	64.23%	<b>46.69%</b>
Hale	35.37%	43.34%	36.09%	47.02%	30.09%	46.79%	<b>39.72%</b>
Hall	35.70%	61.79%	43.56%	55.78%	42.60%	59.12%	<b>49.67%</b>
Hamilton	52.15%	63.92%	54.99%	68.05%	50.69%	66.15%	<b>59.46%</b>
Hansford	50.83%	62.66%	44.51%	65.35%	44.28%	66.14%	<b>56.75%</b>
Hardeman	40.91%	53.19%	33.10%	56.30%	48.06%	52.62%	<b>50.34%</b>
Hardin	35.32%	53.69%	32.69%	61.00%	30.63%	58.87%	<b>44.51%</b>
Harris	30.55%	51.67%	34.06%	55.13%	30.71%	59.79%	<b>42.87%</b>
Harrison	35.36%	53.98%	37.49%	60.25%	35.14%	61.07%	<b>45.74%</b>
Hartley	46.78%	65.94%	49.75%	71.29%	43.21%	68.51%	<b>57.85%</b>
Haskell	48.48%	59.68%	43.94%	55.82%	45.18%	54.69%	<b>51.59%</b>
Hays	35.77%	51.83%	39.24%	59.14%	36.49%	60.63%	<b>45.54%</b>
Hemphill	43.52%	63.15%	47.59%	72.21%	51.97%	69.93%	<b>57.56%</b>
Henderson	36.06%	56.16%	40.54%	57.71%	36.80%	58.18%	<b>48.35%</b>
Hidalgo	21.37%	41.30%	27.87%	42.13%	17.08%	42.83%	<b>34.59%</b>
Hill	37.57%	56.51%	40.35%	57.44%	41.42%	58.55%	<b>48.97%</b>
Hockley	35.40%	47.22%	34.23%	53.31%	32.88%	54.65%	<b>41.31%</b>
Hood	42.03%	60.37%	44.21%	65.76%	42.27%	65.06%	<b>52.29%</b>
Hopkins	41.67%	59.09%	39.14%	60.23%	38.99%	58.93%	<b>50.30%</b>
Houston	40.48%	55.64%	38.82%	55.41%	39.06%	57.34%	<b>47.95%</b>
Howard	39.47%	48.93%	36.04%	54.94%	37.77%	54.47%	<b>44.20%</b>
Hudspeth	33.01%	55.24%	44.76%	53.63%	34.40%	55.05%	<b>49.20%</b>
Hunt	33.59%	51.04%	34.81%	55.40%	35.63%	58.34%	<b>43.34%</b>
Hutchinson	32.93%	52.64%	34.09%	54.51%	34.58%	57.40%	<b>43.61%</b>
Irion	40.92%	62.05%	50.76%	64.13%	40.97%	63.82%	<b>56.41%</b>
Jack	38.26%	58.58%	43.03%	62.20%	43.06%	60.66%	<b>50.82%</b>
Jackson	36.33%	51.07%	36.78%	53.24%	35.16%	55.73%	<b>43.93%</b>
Jasper	36.09%	54.08%	35.09%	59.88%	35.99%	59.31%	<b>45.09%</b>
Jeff Davis	38.30%	63.70%	57.17%	64.01%	57.33%	67.35%	<b>60.52%</b>
Jefferson	36.98%	52.27%	33.81%	55.61%	29.24%	58.22%	<b>44.63%</b>
Jim Hogg	34.53%	51.97%	37.89%	48.78%	23.92%	46.57%	<b>42.23%</b>
Jim wells	25.78%	46.29%	34.77%	47.93%	28.26%	43.79%	<b>39.28%</b>
Johnson	34.19%	54.08%	36.77%	59.40%	37.13%	60.84%	<b>45.61%</b>
Jones	43.75%	57.01%	43.16%	55.63%	36.52%	56.62%	<b>49.69%</b>
Karnes	37.20%	50.07%	39.36%	52.37%	38.36%	55.74%	<b>44.72%</b>
Kaufman	34.08%	52.25%	40.47%	59.55%	35.35%	60.17%	<b>46.36%</b>
Kendall	43.56%	62.35%	46.04%	68.50%	46.77%	70.64%	<b>54.56%</b>
Kenedy	37.57%	57.28%	30.85%	48.42%	41.26%	57.22%	<b>44.84%</b>
Kent	49.41%	65.12%	56.59%	67.26%	40.30%	66.07%	<b>60.86%</b>
Kerr	43.36%	60.23%	43.81%	64.14%	46.51%	65.64%	<b>53.37%</b>
Kimble	41.90%	57.05%	39.29%	62.29%	47.02%	62.07%	<b>52.04%</b>

King	73.68%	65.86%	54.09%	77.22%	43.36%	80.69%	<b>69.77%</b>
Kinney	36.11%	57.76%	43.48%	64.23%	45.45%	65.27%	<b>51.61%</b>
Kleberg	31.35%	48.57%	34.11%	50.15%	26.60%	52.24%	<b>41.34%</b>
Knox	42.22%	52.16%	44.90%	55.40%	35.85%	54.07%	<b>48.53%</b>
Lamar	34.94%	50.49%	34.85%	57.12%	38.77%	57.92%	<b>44.63%</b>
Lamb	40.26%	49.46%	46.94%	45.27%	29.21%	49.42%	<b>46.11%</b>
Lampasas	45.53%	59.65%	44.15%	59.82%	40.69%	58.81%	<b>52.17%</b>
Lasalle	29.38%	46.46%	36.08%	50.49%	27.37%	43.08%	<b>39.58%</b>
Lavaca	43.63%	57.69%	45.43%	58.41%	35.69%	61.04%	<b>51.56%</b>
Lee	46.93%	64.02%	52.83%	69.34%	47.69%	67.14%	<b>58.43%</b>
Leon	38.23%	59.58%	42.27%	61.25%	38.10%	61.76%	<b>50.93%</b>
Liberty	32.39%	47.49%	29.42%	45.79%	31.41%	47.50%	<b>39.09%</b>
Limestone	35.58%	52.64%	39.63%	55.17%	37.95%	53.50%	<b>46.14%</b>
Lipscomb	51.76%	63.43%	50.00%	67.97%	38.86%	64.04%	<b>57.60%</b>
Live oak	34.17%	53.99%	37.29%	56.91%	37.59%	55.68%	<b>45.79%</b>
Llano	55.71%	67.08%	53.52%	69.39%	51.19%	66.45%	<b>61.08%</b>
Loving	68.35%	73.93%	41.44%	74.07%	66.17%	66.38%	<b>67.37%</b>
Lubbock	33.73%	49.30%	36.46%	57.41%	33.81%	59.56%	<b>42.88%</b>
Lynn	36.67%	47.61%	38.84%	52.87%	34.84%	51.97%	<b>43.23%</b>
Madison	40.56%	52.34%	35.89%	56.15%	40.78%	57.68%	<b>46.56%</b>
Marion	31.53%	50.57%	34.20%	54.27%	28.20%	55.09%	<b>42.39%</b>
Martin	36.28%	64.34%	46.42%	58.99%	33.88%	58.87%	<b>52.65%</b>
Mason	50.31%	68.19%	48.88%	72.31%	45.65%	71.80%	<b>59.25%</b>
Matagorda	39.85%	53.94%	38.63%	58.51%	37.10%	57.01%	<b>46.90%</b>
Maverick	23.49%	42.36%	26.52%	40.07%	15.49%	40.43%	<b>33.30%</b>
Mcculloch	38.34%	51.61%	38.31%	57.75%	37.38%	56.82%	<b>44.98%</b>
Mclennan	32.82%	54.23%	40.68%	58.85%	39.64%	59.11%	<b>47.46%</b>
Mcmullen	41.92%	64.36%	59.06%	81.97%	62.10%	74.68%	<b>63.23%</b>
Medina	36.01%	57.00%	41.61%	60.69%	39.41%	59.13%	<b>49.31%</b>
Menard	46.48%	53.77%	50.38%	59.75%	47.06%	54.70%	<b>52.08%</b>
Midland	36.64%	55.50%	40.97%	62.65%	34.93%	62.08%	<b>48.24%</b>
Milam	38.65%	56.53%	40.85%	59.50%	38.14%	57.03%	<b>48.69%</b>
Mills	57.87%	72.81%	50.18%	66.79%	45.58%	63.89%	<b>60.88%</b>
Mitchell	34.02%	47.56%	35.35%	47.60%	27.32%	50.79%	<b>41.46%</b>
Montague	39.89%	58.10%	38.18%	61.03%	41.08%	60.53%	<b>49.59%</b>
Montgomery	32.67%	57.73%	37.87%	62.58%	35.60%	64.81%	<b>47.80%</b>
Moore	36.23%	52.56%	42.12%	55.18%	30.83%	54.99%	<b>47.34%</b>
Morris	40.29%	56.09%	40.34%	59.15%	32.13%	56.53%	<b>48.22%</b>
Motley	49.40%	66.04%	64.20%	73.70%	44.57%	65.70%	<b>64.95%</b>
Nacogdoches	34.58%	56.29%	42.76%	66.81%	40.12%	69.52%	<b>49.53%</b>
Navarro	38.66%	51.12%	38.37%	55.34%	39.05%	57.29%	<b>45.09%</b>

Newton	31.43%	51.80%	35.20%	58.72%	31.08%	56.95%	<b>43.50%</b>
Nolan	36.12%	49.68%	34.92%	53.37%	33.78%	55.26%	<b>42.90%</b>
Nueces	31.76%	48.07%	34.36%	51.83%	34.22%	50.90%	<b>41.22%</b>
Ochiltree	38.81%	58.26%	41.03%	61.64%	33.95%	61.04%	<b>49.65%</b>
Oldham	35.90%	47.89%	40.14%	55.35%	36.83%	62.79%	<b>44.02%</b>
Orange	36.61%	53.19%	33.09%	57.54%	32.69%	56.39%	<b>44.90%</b>
Palo pinto	32.33%	51.58%	36.39%	56.73%	37.56%	56.88%	<b>44.57%</b>
Panola	40.31%	59.34%	39.39%	63.75%	35.64%	61.68%	<b>49.83%</b>
Parker	38.03%	58.24%	41.72%	62.03%	39.85%	65.30%	<b>49.98%</b>
Parmer	42.70%	56.60%	39.03%	54.54%	36.31%	74.33%	<b>48.62%</b>
Pecos	37.98%	51.69%	47.96%	55.55%	40.42%	49.48%	<b>48.72%</b>
Polk	30.67%	49.90%	28.74%	49.69%	31.19%	52.48%	<b>40.44%</b>
Potter	30.04%	44.01%	32.55%	48.95%	30.42%	53.16%	<b>38.28%</b>
Presidio	35.01%	41.61%	29.60%	35.62%	17.41%	33.70%	<b>34.36%</b>
Rains	40.08%	59.12%	47.33%	64.30%	43.84%	62.90%	<b>53.23%</b>
Randall	37.43%	56.58%	42.15%	63.59%	40.82%	65.78%	<b>49.37%</b>
Reagan	30.90%	62.53%	40.26%	58.88%	32.97%	49.84%	<b>45.05%</b>
Real	53.73%	59.22%	43.45%	63.58%	44.11%	64.52%	<b>56.48%</b>
Red river	38.60%	59.27%	41.79%	64.83%	40.96%	62.23%	<b>50.53%</b>
Reeves	34.24%	40.43%	33.18%	46.44%	31.83%	47.60%	<b>37.34%</b>
Refugio	41.85%	50.59%	34.56%	59.70%	35.27%	58.86%	<b>46.22%</b>
Roberts	48.37%	66.06%	51.40%	69.93%	41.71%	71.54%	<b>58.73%</b>
Robertson	37.78%	58.12%	48.97%	57.05%	41.85%	54.16%	<b>51.57%</b>
Rockwall	36.34%	59.89%	43.43%	67.09%	38.94%	70.52%	<b>51.66%</b>
Runnels	41.15%	55.55%	41.13%	56.48%	34.50%	55.48%	<b>48.32%</b>
Rusk	31.97%	54.14%	35.28%	57.90%	38.01%	58.88%	<b>46.08%</b>
Sabine	41.23%	57.20%	37.08%	61.27%	41.19%	62.68%	<b>49.22%</b>
San Augustine	30.87%	56.37%	43.63%	55.74%	36.71%	56.83%	<b>49.69%</b>
San Jacinto	36.70%	52.29%	37.76%	50.41%	39.80%	56.48%	<b>45.11%</b>
San Patricio	26.00%	41.58%	30.45%	44.42%	27.98%	45.65%	<b>36.02%</b>
San Saba	39.16%	62.26%	48.40%	65.13%	40.57%	65.22%	<b>55.33%</b>
Schleicher	49.49%	63.92%	44.46%	69.94%	37.46%	64.23%	<b>56.71%</b>
Scurry	35.93%	46.78%	33.93%	51.67%	25.73%	54.70%	<b>41.36%</b>
Shackelford	42.32%	54.07%	39.00%	61.74%	37.84%	60.53%	<b>48.20%</b>
Shelby	37.48%	57.40%	42.37%	60.86%	39.88%	61.62%	<b>49.89%</b>
Sherman	52.38%	65.78%	51.16%	71.83%	44.43%	68.54%	<b>59.08%</b>
Smith	38.30%	59.91%	43.49%	63.20%	36.31%	61.13%	<b>51.70%</b>
Somervell	43.62%	59.74%	47.90%	61.97%	43.95%	60.05%	<b>53.82%</b>
Starr	31.72%	32.57%	22.60%	34.60%	22.86%	35.64%	<b>32.15%</b>
Stephens	36.95%	55.51%	48.93%	60.28%	36.27%	60.83%	<b>52.22%</b>
Sterling	58.42%	62.40%	43.96%	63.53%	34.77%	68.32%	<b>60.41%</b>

Stonewall	51.57%	60.03%	49.83%	63.14%	47.61%	67.12%	<b>55.80%</b>
Sutton	32.54%	59.20%	40.49%	55.86%	41.04%	58.27%	<b>48.45%</b>
Swisher	38.74%	46.67%	41.66%	45.20%	33.46%	54.85%	<b>43.43%</b>
Tarrant	31.53%	55.50%	38.44%	60.97%	35.30%	65.11%	<b>46.97%</b>
Taylor	37.06%	52.10%	36.95%	58.91%	35.38%	59.54%	<b>44.58%</b>
Terrell	35.11%	60.30%	50.62%	59.82%	63.74%	62.45%	<b>60.06%</b>
Terry	31.15%	49.90%	36.70%	50.76%	32.79%	56.53%	<b>43.30%</b>
Throckmorton	49.80%	63.54%	51.71%	70.67%	40.00%	67.74%	<b>57.63%</b>
Titus	41.65%	53.99%	37.42%	57.54%	37.88%	58.40%	<b>47.82%</b>
Tom green	36.57%	53.68%	38.59%	57.41%	33.22%	60.34%	<b>46.14%</b>
Travis	34.96%	52.62%	39.64%	60.19%	39.95%	65.05%	<b>46.29%</b>
Trinity	40.22%	46.15%	39.42%	55.59%	38.64%	53.52%	<b>43.19%</b>
Tyler	37.90%	53.11%	35.27%	57.38%	38.67%	58.67%	<b>45.89%</b>
Upshur	38.24%	54.58%	38.91%	57.43%	38.61%	57.49%	<b>46.75%</b>
Upton	29.57%	53.06%	38.76%	55.85%	30.97%	54.90%	<b>45.91%</b>
Uvalde	34.30%	50.82%	37.84%	51.75%	33.42%	53.10%	<b>44.33%</b>
Val Verde	32.55%	46.29%	30.06%	44.40%	27.42%	44.84%	<b>38.48%</b>
Van Zandt	40.65%	56.04%	41.00%	58.98%	37.78%	60.16%	<b>48.52%</b>
Victoria	37.24%	49.71%	34.92%	54.07%	34.44%	56.04%	<b>43.48%</b>
Walker	35.25%	48.63%	36.98%	59.63%	37.93%	61.76%	<b>43.28%</b>
Waller	39.04%	53.95%	34.43%	49.71%	31.07%	52.35%	<b>44.38%</b>
Ward	40.59%	54.78%	45.87%	56.61%	31.78%	56.17%	<b>50.33%</b>
Washington	43.63%	61.24%	47.69%	63.23%	44.85%	66.05%	<b>54.47%</b>
Webb	20.19%	35.86%	41.99%	42.80%	18.12%	44.40%	<b>38.93%</b>
Wharton	41.03%	59.37%	40.91%	56.09%	35.34%	57.66%	<b>48.56%</b>
Wheeler	48.42%	61.33%	40.76%	62.44%	36.06%	59.12%	<b>53.77%</b>
Wichita	35.07%	52.69%	32.93%	56.60%	35.13%	54.63%	<b>43.91%</b>
Wilbarger	36.58%	51.83%	34.59%	58.37%	39.32%	53.70%	<b>45.58%</b>
Willacy	21.83%	46.30%	33.56%	44.22%	18.61%	43.47%	<b>38.52%</b>
Williamson	39.73%	59.37%	42.20%	63.98%	40.29%	68.08%	<b>50.79%</b>
Wilson	43.78%	57.16%	40.60%	63.25%	43.93%	61.17%	<b>50.55%</b>
Winkler	31.04%	45.49%	38.36%	48.32%	38.65%	52.87%	<b>42.07%</b>
Wise	35.63%	54.74%	37.01%	59.24%	35.91%	57.40%	<b>45.88%</b>
Wood	48.42%	66.16%	51.54%	69.25%	44.55%	65.79%	<b>58.67%</b>
Yoakum	42.72%	52.20%	38.91%	56.35%	36.31%	55.91%	<b>47.46%</b>
Young	41.44%	57.21%	44.64%	62.92%	41.34%	63.07%	<b>50.93%</b>
Zapata	24.44%	39.84%	35.73%	41.74%	16.81%	39.67%	<b>37.70%</b>
Zavala	38.24%	38.86%	32.25%	38.13%	22.05%	47.71%	<b>38.19%</b>

Source: Texas Secretary of State

## Appendix C: Texas Counties' Total Expenditures

**Table X: Total Expenditures per Capita by County (Adjusted for Inflation)**

<b>County</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Median</b>
Anderson	3255.23	3739.17	3913.18	3729.86	\$3,808.59	4227.35	<b>3773.88</b>
Andrews	1201.03	1936.64	2399.45	2013.97	\$2,217.96	2164.15	<b>2089.06</b>
Angelina	3903.56	4211.24	4477.68	4400.27	\$4,810.21	6514.61	<b>4438.97</b>
Aransas	1825.37	1989.86	2179.12	2152.40	\$1,663.59	1605.86	<b>1907.61</b>
Archer	2496.83	2823.15	2923.45	3563.65	\$2,508.68	3144.32	<b>2873.30</b>
Armstrong	4718.07	4553.81	6816.54	5233.75	\$7,485.65	4574.03	<b>4975.91</b>
Atascosa	3074.48	3475.75	3219.40	3182.26	\$3,554.21	3433.56	<b>3326.48</b>
Austin	2314.31	2626.51	2652.66	2599.22	\$2,871.47	3495.50	<b>2639.59</b>
Bailey	2661.53	2999.12	3830.20	3441.78	\$3,586.83	3175.15	<b>3308.47</b>
Bandera	1397.91	1855.22	1962.85	1804.75	\$2,368.47	2966.87	<b>1909.04</b>
Bastrop	2845.87	4058.41	4321.32	3912.03	\$3,908.68	4364.69	<b>3985.22</b>
Baylor	4382.82	4827.82	4416.55	4842.69	\$11,838.69	6467.07	<b>4835.26</b>
Bee	4864.89	4821.87	5006.21	5217.01	\$5,170.41	5130.23	<b>5068.22</b>
Bell	2548.94	2819.00	3067.64	3114.48	\$3,357.05	3666.77	<b>3091.06</b>
Bexar	2616.89	2921.65	3200.89	3375.73	\$3,400.46	3787.16	<b>3288.31</b>
Blanco	2386.39	2689.17	2463.78	2600.95	\$2,859.31	3271.52	<b>2645.06</b>
Borden	3075.22	3406.64	2588.03	4345.29	\$2,873.63	3545.39	<b>3240.93</b>
Bosque	2747.15	2878.24	2979.35	2585.74	\$2,818.14	2661.93	<b>2782.64</b>
Bowie	2910.57	3672.65	3423.37	2739.68	\$3,732.09	4538.32	<b>3548.01</b>
Brazoria	1713.50	1779.30	2087.81	1999.83	\$2,075.44	2935.70	<b>2037.64</b>
Brazos	5689.91	6144.78	6940.49	6963.44	\$6,290.99	6137.80	<b>6217.88</b>
Brewster	4055.18	5378.08	5337.67	5197.65	\$5,410.27	5470.18	<b>5357.87</b>
Briscoe	3500.85	4336.80	3481.35	4107.50	\$5,952.93	3909.12	<b>4008.31</b>
Brooks	3272.50	5834.05	4425.88	4269.52	\$4,497.79	4871.75	<b>4461.83</b>
Brown	3067.23	4151.37	4485.45	4081.82	\$4,090.40	5739.25	<b>4120.88</b>
Burleson	2938.84	3745.50	3385.09	3529.75	\$3,432.68	3350.87	<b>3408.89</b>
Burnet	1907.85	2521.06	2363.70	2091.00	\$2,328.53	3102.57	<b>2346.11</b>
Caldwell	2511.89	3585.73	3444.95	3138.12	\$3,717.54	4151.35	<b>3515.34</b>
Calhoun	1670.72	1780.53	2060.49	2017.22	\$2,124.06	2318.36	<b>2038.85</b>
Callahan	2744.22	3534.74	3012.30	3127.98	\$3,613.84	3173.84	<b>3150.91</b>
Cameron	3875.38	4374.58	4128.00	4338.72	\$4,590.56	4433.99	<b>4356.65</b>
Camp	2384.80	2702.73	2159.96	2507.88	\$3,046.69	3447.30	<b>2605.31</b>
Carson	2020.60	2432.98	3901.77	2436.52	\$3,636.46	3886.25	<b>3036.49</b>

Cass	3047.95	4031.53	4051.28	3141.08	\$4,133.54	4545.59	<b>4041.40</b>
Castro	2606.75	3244.03	3781.16	3778.89	\$3,420.56	3816.21	<b>3599.72</b>
Chambers	1265.13	1398.26	1667.39	2098.80	\$4,173.26	4370.34	<b>1883.09</b>
Cherokee	4903.10	4418.71	4736.63	4395.78	\$4,630.82	4920.71	<b>4683.73</b>
Childress	4420.71	6944.60	4879.00	4456.97	\$6,662.91	4680.02	<b>4779.51</b>
Clay	2405.78	3139.38	3153.85	3121.39	\$3,051.68	3247.07	<b>3130.39</b>
Cochran	3349.89	3741.83	3787.25	3022.81	\$3,347.31	3147.22	<b>3348.60</b>
Coke	5648.06	6138.07	6194.47	4305.95	\$5,154.01	2783.99	<b>5401.03</b>
Coleman	3184.13	3747.52	3393.28	3817.60	\$4,221.14	5417.87	<b>3782.56</b>
Collin	832.72	811.66	1063.92	957.64	\$1,074.51	1518.43	<b>1010.78</b>
Collingsworth	3933.76	5174.72	7829.13	5873.40	\$3,687.56	5116.68	<b>5145.70</b>
Colorado	3172.28	2937.81	3473.18	2646.99	\$2,657.71	3365.35	<b>3055.05</b>
Comal	2032.98	2190.48	2253.36	2168.66	\$1,944.54	3243.86	<b>2179.57</b>
Comanche	2708.89	3026.73	2964.13	2446.25	\$2,442.49	2981.49	<b>2836.51</b>
Concho	2771.94	3210.00	2425.00	2454.34	\$2,743.08	5691.01	<b>2757.51</b>
Cooke	2303.85	2665.86	2790.38	2891.76	\$2,721.74	2855.30	<b>2756.06</b>
Coryell	2229.36	2428.41	2497.41	2480.59	\$2,793.10	2955.16	<b>2489.00</b>
Cottle	4209.44	6204.78	9412.54	4924.74	\$7,932.66	4599.72	<b>5564.76</b>
Crane	1566.88	2469.67	2484.46	1894.30	\$3,144.27	3648.30	<b>2477.06</b>
Crockett	1826.66	2775.48	2421.50	3997.52	\$3,888.76	3655.30	<b>3215.39</b>
Crosby	3239.52	4110.08	4720.74	4684.46	\$4,346.62	4019.18	<b>4228.35</b>
Culberson	2896.11	6301.84	3567.66	4741.68	\$6,714.27	7437.64	<b>5521.76</b>
Dallam	4510.74	5908.44	4064.54	4845.95	\$5,726.01	4748.89	<b>4797.42</b>
Dallas	2197.67	2428.37	3172.88	3160.51	\$4,124.49	4805.20	<b>3166.69</b>
Dawson	3456.97	4219.32	4142.41	3748.49	\$5,089.55	4639.91	<b>4180.87</b>
Deaf Smith	2520.99	3152.96	3434.64	2440.72	\$2,221.26	3006.92	<b>2763.96</b>
Delta	3862.87	3908.64	3820.19	3682.69	\$3,416.98	4574.06	<b>3841.53</b>
Denton	1675.55	1617.06	1654.40	1530.00	\$1,577.80	2393.08	<b>1635.73</b>
De Witt	4579.82	3997.13	4529.34	3453.08	\$3,656.18	3525.95	<b>3826.66</b>
Dickens	7363.53	7048.76	3765.68	3105.37	\$2,324.70	4592.99	<b>4179.33</b>
Dimmit	5505.00	7650.11	7241.22	6194.86	\$7,936.70	6545.59	<b>6893.40</b>
Donley	4367.64	4902.31	8585.90	6227.26	\$4,820.41	5500.99	<b>5201.65</b>
Duval	3488.79	4855.82	4865.82	4238.09	\$5,093.70	5270.44	<b>4860.82</b>
Eastland	3423.09	3544.05	4524.20	3120.58	\$4,047.80	6865.74	<b>3795.93</b>
Ector	2374.85	2783.60	2944.65	2904.67	\$3,137.07	3371.59	<b>2924.66</b>
Edwards	4495.31	4517.34	3502.04	3630.07	\$3,728.45	9667.49	<b>4111.88</b>
Ellis	1775.81	2034.87	2372.49	2214.79	\$2,165.58	2621.45	<b>2190.19</b>

El Paso	2720.56	3299.84	3561.17	3588.14	\$3,765.98	3771.39	<b>3574.65</b>
Erath	3595.94	3545.04	3760.15	3787.34	\$4,015.34	6996.94	<b>3773.75</b>
Falls	3174.64	3669.57	3940.54	3942.86	\$4,419.41	5600.26	<b>3941.70</b>
Fannin	2598.44	2836.82	3087.22	2612.29	\$2,764.55	3071.78	<b>2800.69</b>
Fayette	2253.10	2867.74	3130.52	3125.50	\$2,471.97	4326.24	<b>2996.62</b>
Fisher	3894.75	4182.38	4117.71	3925.07	\$4,189.89	6738.89	<b>4150.04</b>
Floyd	3700.88	3592.62	4313.82	4769.68	\$4,152.31	4116.02	<b>4134.17</b>
Foard	5245.89	8076.35	6848.98	6271.57	\$10,525.04	9236.73	<b>7462.67</b>
Fort Bend	1554.21	1761.11	1865.04	1863.29	\$2,179.54	2575.66	<b>1864.16</b>
Franklin	4629.19	2929.81	3445.10	3258.32	\$2,454.70	3579.98	<b>3351.71</b>
Freestone	2962.22	2992.30	3170.97	3170.98	\$3,306.71	4175.72	<b>3170.98</b>
Frio	3543.50	4562.09	4452.70	3600.77	\$4,636.36	4856.06	<b>4507.40</b>
Gaines	1506.83	2297.17	1955.56	1755.10	\$1,989.95	2394.06	<b>1972.76</b>
Galveston	3632.47	3515.08	3465.90	3468.99	\$3,577.01	4550.67	<b>3546.05</b>
Garza	3616.29	2580.66	3419.83	4009.67	\$2,617.03	3589.95	<b>3504.89</b>
Gillespie	1859.77	2040.97	2258.90	1739.03	\$2,240.53	2930.23	<b>2140.75</b>
Glasscock	1878.26	2330.51	5602.98	5852.81	\$2,227.99	1618.93	<b>2279.25</b>
Goliad	2762.56	3139.26	3399.52	2955.53	\$5,435.72	4624.86	<b>3269.39</b>
Gonzales	2830.10	2807.08	2587.70	3045.66	\$2,725.05	4044.68	<b>2818.59</b>
Gray	1955.25	2619.02	2698.66	2299.89	\$2,469.27	2801.66	<b>2544.14</b>
Grayson	2475.66	2623.46	3187.51	2578.27	\$2,733.06	3403.66	<b>2678.26</b>
Gregg	2429.44	3138.83	3619.33	3143.87	\$3,514.15	4958.87	<b>3329.01</b>
Grimes	2868.56	3352.68	3547.77	3262.42	\$3,324.55	3607.25	<b>3338.61</b>
Guadalupe	2338.55	2127.34	1982.58	2409.89	\$2,265.53	2386.84	<b>2302.04</b>
Hale	2861.33	3693.19	3787.70	3280.48	\$3,502.96	3717.96	<b>3598.08</b>
Hall	4341.56	4728.38	4854.76	4333.83	\$4,122.90	5553.56	<b>4534.97</b>
Hamilton	3321.13	3436.06	3609.73	3015.86	\$3,500.32	3487.40	<b>3461.73</b>
Hansford	2013.58	3207.31	2602.42	2031.98	\$2,108.80	2549.94	<b>2329.37</b>
Hardeman	3723.06	4736.16	5683.89	4981.47	\$4,689.29	4787.27	<b>4761.71</b>
Hardin	3897.99	2924.83	3124.80	2650.65	\$2,882.28	3462.97	<b>3024.82</b>
Harris	2237.63	2559.21	2875.40	2815.74	\$2,945.46	3384.08	<b>2845.57</b>
Harrison	1814.99	2463.17	2100.64	1882.35	\$2,334.12	4292.49	<b>2217.38</b>
Hartley	2327.95	1092.81	2057.04	1089.05	\$1,576.24	1123.52	<b>1349.88</b>
Haskell	3563.85	4144.37	4222.67	5372.30	\$5,351.52	4167.47	<b>4195.07</b>
Hays	3155.36	4126.37	4335.96	4102.72	\$3,868.50	4102.02	<b>4102.37</b>
Hemphill	2356.71	3292.60	2668.79	4708.17	\$2,659.38	4619.59	<b>2980.69</b>
Henderson	2290.04	2296.20	2518.50	2521.95	\$2,591.69	3176.40	<b>2520.22</b>

Hidalgo	3604.28	4539.15	4505.38	4672.70	\$4,784.82	4391.90	<b>4522.26</b>
Hill	3129.15	3923.46	4026.74	3433.04	\$3,702.33	5686.97	<b>3812.89</b>
Hockley	2937.94	2709.98	2774.18	2836.36	\$3,922.69	5022.43	<b>2887.15</b>
Hood	1656.49	1659.17	2121.92	1577.18	\$1,693.20	2454.68	<b>1676.19</b>
Hopkins	2786.15	2880.48	3010.07	2731.50	\$3,242.70	3928.64	<b>2945.27</b>
Houston	4160.77	5252.56	5169.48	4935.61	\$4,986.66	4875.78	<b>4961.13</b>
Howard	4572.48	4261.38	4019.97	3972.74	\$4,446.17	4598.47	<b>4353.78</b>
Hudspeth	3895.14	9741.28	14253.23	3352.42	\$4,415.66	4224.90	<b>4320.28</b>
Hunt	3042.08	3155.81	3160.29	2599.04	\$2,937.18	3793.58	<b>3098.95</b>
Hutchinson	1590.10	2256.29	2523.02	2305.85	\$2,559.63	2757.20	<b>2414.43</b>
Irion	2278.27	1920.86	2749.72	2137.12	\$1,984.28	2695.20	<b>2207.70</b>
Jack	2601.50	4093.64	4184.26	3515.70	\$3,299.46	4165.42	<b>3804.67</b>
Jackson	2677.30	2980.08	3152.53	2510.08	\$2,823.97	3196.37	<b>2902.02</b>
Jasper	3362.05	3802.67	4206.71	4378.83	\$4,731.58	5344.43	<b>4292.77</b>
Jeff Davis	5186.98	6935.78	6715.04	10776.08	\$4,337.04	5501.45	<b>6108.25</b>
Jefferson	2429.02	3036.84	3178.00	3107.26	\$3,409.59	4694.73	<b>3142.63</b>
Jim Hogg	3654.81	4181.79	3941.25	3822.46	\$3,722.09	4795.84	<b>3881.86</b>
Jim Wells	3759.36	4240.24	4059.38	3769.92	\$3,868.17	3810.34	<b>3839.25</b>
Johnson	1912.07	2312.27	2322.64	2122.81	\$2,470.89	3024.46	<b>2317.45</b>
Jones	2812.37	2960.37	3419.26	2908.70	\$3,101.10	4548.64	<b>3030.73</b>
Karnes	3745.61	4778.88	4346.63	4070.27	\$4,216.30	4228.56	<b>4222.43</b>
Kaufman	3253.99	2702.20	3094.01	2819.06	\$2,947.34	3333.05	<b>3020.68</b>
Kendall	1974.50	1845.86	1995.71	1844.26	\$1,979.45	2145.23	<b>1976.98</b>
Kenedy	5985.54	9101.61	3963.10	2646.19	\$3,445.94	7476.36	<b>4974.32</b>
Kent	9224.10	4078.55	4627.38	7209.64	\$5,737.68	5748.31	<b>5742.99</b>
Kerr	2925.30	2242.59	2496.79	2702.70	\$3,198.76	3245.77	<b>2814.00</b>
Kimble	2352.03	3917.53	3024.05	3469.71	\$5,670.52	3670.26	<b>3569.98</b>
King	3956.05	5192.45	5190.90	3226.59	\$20,525.56	17876.08	<b>5191.67</b>
Kinney	2383.05	2432.02	2333.42	3371.28	\$3,538.73	3967.76	<b>2901.65</b>
Kleberg	3468.63	4461.07	4603.77	4466.11	\$4,278.67	4485.08	<b>4463.59</b>
Knox	4338.51	5670.30	5824.57	7035.69	\$6,971.08	4655.92	<b>5747.44</b>
Lamar	3651.98	3442.84	3216.99	3042.02	\$3,163.30	3863.03	<b>3329.91</b>
Lamb	3040.09	4140.48	4630.39	3071.89	\$3,558.42	4040.07	<b>3799.25</b>
Lampasas	3216.80	3433.12	3446.27	3125.89	\$4,624.32	3576.90	<b>3439.70</b>
La Salle	3847.19	6713.64	5902.39	7206.07	\$5,174.10	5490.59	<b>5696.49</b>
Lavaca	2303.52	3209.31	3530.10	3088.83	\$4,290.82	4070.12	<b>3369.70</b>
Lee	2530.49	3525.68	3827.90	3692.60	\$2,988.35	4696.07	<b>3609.14</b>
Leon	3411.88	4054.59	4533.88	3761.51	\$3,618.48	4093.81	<b>3908.05</b>

Liberty	2157.59	2495.82	2828.32	2309.91	\$2,899.39	3390.22	<b>2662.07</b>
Limestone	6409.39	5439.22	4801.39	4951.36	\$5,374.95	7536.21	<b>5407.09</b>
Lipscomb	1786.77	1740.36	2480.12	3002.13	\$2,028.92	2688.11	<b>2254.52</b>
Live Oak	2470.96	2975.59	3141.04	2902.13	\$3,181.78	3288.80	<b>3058.32</b>
Llano	1319.49	1708.41	2053.20	1493.24	\$2,018.00	2441.32	<b>1863.20</b>
Loving	1208.60	664.11	3658.53	1102.07	\$9,717.90	6088.96	<b>2433.56</b>
Lubbock	4011.18	4375.57	4763.13	4950.87	\$4,660.85	5493.20	<b>4711.99</b>
Lynn	3185.68	4387.00	6205.31	4334.34	\$4,225.09	4737.59	<b>4360.67</b>
Madison	4786.95	4253.47	2819.19	2004.22	\$4,048.53	4092.66	<b>4070.60</b>
Marion	2090.31	2337.04	72978.02	71678.35	\$3,305.75	3219.18	<b>3262.46</b>
Martin	2780.92	3820.92	864.96	1166.53	\$3,388.30	3935.81	<b>3084.61</b>
Mason	2483.68	2798.18	19283.07	14485.88	\$2,639.69	3430.99	<b>3114.58</b>
Matagorda	2245.78	2564.64	689.14	720.34	\$3,106.54	3224.81	<b>2405.21</b>
Maverick	3027.07	3956.11	318.63	243.56	\$4,519.30	4494.45	<b>3491.59</b>
McCulloch	3279.71	4060.61	1497.88	1135.48	\$4,131.21	3687.45	<b>3483.58</b>
McLennan	2893.70	3372.74	466.48	405.84	\$3,544.47	3978.11	<b>3133.22</b>
McMullen	7194.11	7217.01	211926.70	267366.04	\$8,488.21	6236.83	<b>7852.61</b>
Medina	3188.81	3117.72	3528.47	3443.85	\$3,329.76	3576.39	<b>3386.80</b>
Menard	3845.51	4599.08	3673.71	3707.33	\$3,461.43	3786.69	<b>3747.01</b>
Midland	2253.49	2676.82	2796.80	258.00	\$2,657.30	3040.47	<b>2667.06</b>
Milam	2638.78	3477.63	3281.15	3412.98	\$3,190.21	3468.31	<b>3347.07</b>
Mills	5995.43	6734.12	8073.05	5774.48	\$4,042.75	5405.37	<b>5884.95</b>
Mitchell	3810.82	3732.92	4540.82	3799.86	\$3,877.29	3825.59	<b>3818.20</b>
Montague	2719.66	2817.07	2960.42	2521.10	\$3,011.37	2558.18	<b>2768.37</b>
Montgomery	1475.71	1743.10	1779.26	1844.64	\$1,969.52	2419.67	<b>1811.95</b>
Moore	1862.99	1808.00	2360.18	1773.86	\$1,951.04	2121.47	<b>1907.02</b>
Morris	2323.88	2800.68	2943.64	3172.41	\$2,853.54	3573.33	<b>2898.59</b>
Motley	3801.31	3814.06	3398.03	6383.79	\$2,870.26	6220.27	<b>3807.68</b>
Nacogdoches	3459.28	3928.36	4832.95	4338.14	\$3,970.00	3761.37	<b>3949.18</b>
Navarro	2967.59	3500.77	3993.89	3631.22	\$3,563.55	5926.37	<b>3597.38</b>
Newton	2818.89	3709.16	3622.75	2847.47	\$2,995.14	3168.03	<b>3081.59</b>
Nolan	3322.62	3244.19	4295.29	3477.97	\$5,143.19	5952.04	<b>3886.63</b>
Nueces	2787.37	3390.50	3634.52	3650.71	\$4,079.80	4675.73	<b>3642.61</b>
Ochiltree	1683.74	2534.81	2756.15	1925.52	\$1,934.12	3093.50	<b>2234.47</b>
Oldham	5216.51	6714.53	15969.43	6011.56	\$17,282.40	4502.28	<b>6363.05</b>
Orange	1920.80	2662.41	2801.53	2646.63	\$3,017.36	3877.53	<b>2731.97</b>
Palo Pinto	2074.09	2421.49	2939.34	3365.98	\$3,395.51	3768.09	<b>3152.66</b>
Panola	1925.15	2736.10	2819.04	2418.07	\$2,281.33	2883.18	<b>2577.09</b>
Parker	1616.47	2058.33	2272.32	2007.78	\$2,042.93	2131.07	<b>2050.63</b>

Parmer	2437.08	2565.89	3762.62	2491.51	\$2,523.66	3305.98	<b>2544.78</b>
Pecos	2979.60	3681.07	3729.38	3384.74	\$3,494.21	3553.11	<b>3523.66</b>
Polk	2599.55	3305.88	3067.69	2986.12	\$3,250.79	3958.04	<b>3159.24</b>
Potter	3713.38	4237.15	4106.95	3815.23	\$4,171.68	4506.70	<b>4139.31</b>
Presidio	2700.66	5328.19	3330.76	3004.63	\$4,062.81	5316.95	<b>3696.78</b>
Rains	2711.46	2126.90	1965.59	2127.59	\$1,857.90	2032.06	<b>2079.48</b>
Randall	1518.16	1690.32	1620.72	1729.07	\$2,359.76	2465.04	<b>1709.70</b>
Reagan	1523.26	2541.89	4288.89	2243.08	\$2,163.61	2562.88	<b>2392.49</b>
Real	6359.08	3858.37	6035.93	8074.31	\$8,589.95	6913.62	<b>6636.35</b>
Red River	3278.91	4155.81	4153.22	3465.24	\$3,509.87	4523.28	<b>3831.55</b>
Reeves	2908.80	3693.16	4524.90	4279.80	\$4,810.13	3560.21	<b>3986.48</b>
Refugio	2917.17	3087.47	3493.65	2725.99	\$4,284.34	3329.14	<b>3208.31</b>
Roberts	2871.14	7422.65	6624.82	2322.99	\$7,785.63	2650.91	<b>4747.98</b>
Robertson	3554.51	3705.13	4026.35	3396.36	\$3,780.97	4646.18	<b>3743.05</b>
Rockwall	1213.10	1796.58	1369.36	1203.09	\$1,487.96	2286.77	<b>1428.66</b>
Runnels	3374.27	3616.82	3656.67	3415.95	\$3,517.58	3766.83	<b>3567.20</b>
Rusk	2519.92	3626.74	3758.62	2968.51	\$2,832.24	3507.00	<b>3237.76</b>
Sabine	2548.55	2501.21	3065.40	2316.66	\$3,045.61	3429.09	<b>2797.08</b>
San Augustine	4092.73	3947.29	4184.50	3087.59	\$3,078.27	6057.47	<b>4020.01</b>
San Jacinto	2431.02	2887.44	2934.28	2772.98	\$3,332.80	2426.17	<b>2830.21</b>
San Patricio	2430.83	3308.57	3557.66	3426.89	\$3,699.22	3277.64	<b>3367.73</b>
San Saba	5403.77	5494.94	5732.91	5989.37	\$4,991.90	5939.01	<b>5613.93</b>
Schleicher	2372.61	3394.89	2899.31	2700.99	\$2,182.45	2741.25	<b>2721.12</b>
Scurry	2798.36	4523.66	4275.58	4170.36	\$3,464.50	4088.38	<b>4129.37</b>
Shackelford	2780.40	4627.70	5209.22	2923.22	\$4,439.05	4479.98	<b>4459.51</b>
Shelby	3514.24	4139.94	3827.99	3200.25	\$3,555.92	3414.02	<b>3535.08</b>
Sherman	2247.00	6220.49	2589.40	1914.19	\$2,337.87	2889.52	<b>2463.63</b>
Smith	2678.08	2988.51	3295.62	2957.38	\$3,195.34	3639.57	<b>3091.92</b>
Somervell	2004.81	2320.39	2941.30	2623.94	\$2,364.49	2534.73	<b>2449.61</b>
Starr	3485.92	5276.87	4659.89	4509.42	\$5,425.74	4978.42	<b>4819.15</b>
Stephens	2524.10	2766.83	3134.40	2454.63	\$2,594.41	3553.42	<b>2680.62</b>
Sterling	2588.63	4147.76	8980.52	4197.36	\$3,394.50	3370.00	<b>3771.13</b>
Stonewall	3958.29	5390.44	4637.27	6084.32	\$5,035.38	6216.66	<b>5212.91</b>
Sutton	2636.00	3294.34	2814.03	2870.33	\$2,806.28	3711.65	<b>2842.18</b>
Swisher	3060.32	4431.63	4107.33	3963.13	\$4,083.02	4122.31	<b>4095.17</b>
Tarrant	1750.67	1940.00	2380.50	2345.09	\$2,466.95	3058.18	<b>2362.79</b>
Taylor	3609.78	3523.06	3980.38	3434.72	\$4,017.23	5950.70	<b>3795.08</b>
Terrell	4479.49	5198.81	5642.66	4468.13	\$3,053.25	11090.56	<b>4839.15</b>

Terry	2713.03	3461.06	3585.82	3523.70	\$4,198.52	3976.89	<b>3554.76</b>
Throckmorton	3627.76	4656.15	4692.91	4104.52	\$5,183.22	7535.33	<b>4674.53</b>
Titus	3445.15	3365.51	3446.66	3107.17	\$3,410.73	3702.59	<b>3427.94</b>
Tom Green	2862.93	3278.62	3752.12	3176.64	\$3,618.25	5429.23	<b>3448.43</b>
Travis	9880.65	7483.57	8807.81	8240.42	\$7,279.70	7687.67	<b>7964.05</b>
Trinity	4144.83	5524.26	5343.90	4410.04	\$5,096.91	6372.70	<b>5220.41</b>
Tyler	2723.66	3350.42	3489.01	3142.99	\$4,165.96	4060.98	<b>3419.71</b>
Upshur	2348.14	2953.10	3189.35	2311.26	\$2,557.64	2725.66	<b>2641.65</b>
Upton	1866.52	2330.92	3470.34	3171.07	\$3,000.58	2775.22	<b>2887.90</b>
Uvalde	4210.71	5209.63	5054.94	4693.69	\$5,012.61	5058.18	<b>5033.77</b>
Val Verde	3043.12	3920.07	3205.01	1837.07	\$3,687.37	3462.81	<b>3333.91</b>
Van Zandt	2289.26	2253.97	2835.25	2029.66	\$2,645.40	2888.98	<b>2467.33</b>
Victoria	2735.91	3102.52	3555.80	3439.26	\$3,384.99	3732.95	<b>3412.13</b>
Walker	13561.84	6558.20	6403.38	6111.53	\$5,981.04	6449.38	<b>6426.38</b>
Waller	3875.24	3822.18	4592.25	4409.75	\$2,972.53	3231.73	<b>3848.71</b>
Ward	1780.84	3336.51	3349.60	3121.56	\$3,135.43	3435.14	<b>3235.97</b>
Washington	4129.66	3781.31	4287.72	3448.49	\$3,499.94	5641.23	<b>3955.49</b>
Webb	3117.62	3973.41	3303.97	3704.69	\$3,794.13	4285.90	<b>3749.41</b>
Wharton	3113.50	3157.78	3538.78	3348.11	\$3,885.90	5829.78	<b>3443.44</b>
Wheeler	5436.47	7665.00	3760.15	4927.24	\$6,055.09	3673.35	<b>5181.85</b>
Wichita	3455.44	3357.53	3593.62	3273.12	\$3,311.12	4267.81	<b>3406.48</b>
Wilbarger	4595.34	6622.04	6154.26	5955.61	\$6,777.55	7331.88	<b>6388.15</b>
Willacy	3469.85	5126.80	7025.64	4199.11	\$6,065.89	4804.41	<b>4965.60</b>
Williamson	2370.36	3449.33	3580.50	3717.92	\$3,423.37	3696.77	<b>3514.92</b>
Wilson	2636.99	2900.99	3047.89	2882.15	\$2,732.97	3073.02	<b>2891.57</b>
Winkler	1778.03	2902.84	3137.07	2583.75	\$2,377.66	3110.27	<b>2743.29</b>
Wise	1656.54	1902.13	2254.99	2663.56	\$2,032.94	2205.98	<b>2119.46</b>
Wood	2061.44	2240.35	2584.29	2328.00	\$2,624.93	2593.29	<b>2456.15</b>
Yoakum	1685.20	2039.90	2081.87	1823.55	\$2,712.31	2486.50	<b>2060.89</b>
Young	3107.32	3248.80	3670.80	3498.92	\$3,387.67	3539.05	<b>3443.29</b>
Zapata	2005.32	2336.19	2359.83	2376.57	\$2,922.35	3789.22	<b>2368.20</b>
Zavala	4483.84	5536.27	5416.70	5477.76	\$5,039.37	5296.52	<b>5356.61</b>

Source: Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, Texas Department of Health and Human Services