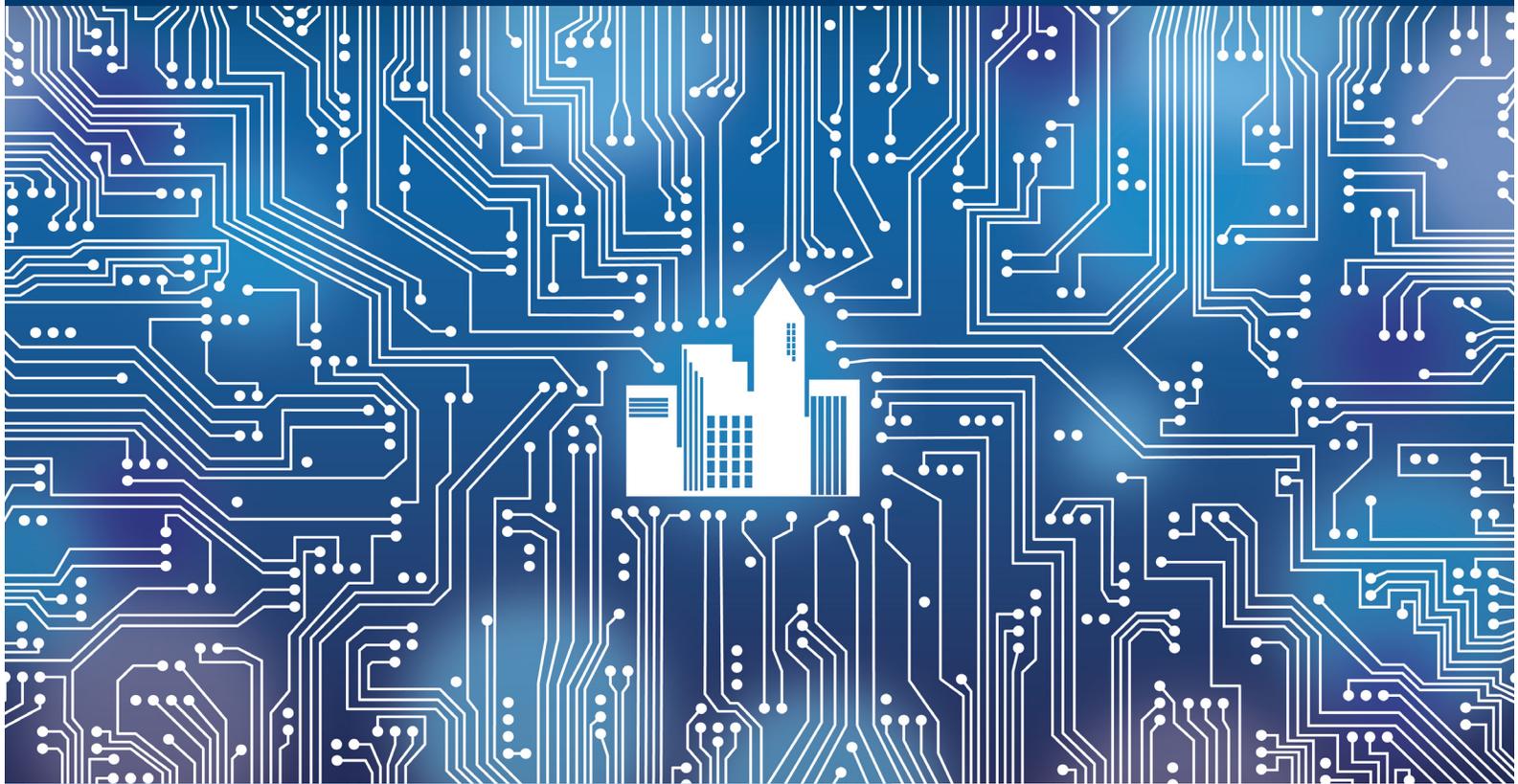


LET MY PEOPLE GO: EMPOWERING TEXANS THROUGH DISANNEXATION REFORM



by James Quintero, Parker Stathatos, and John Bonura

March 2023



Texas Public Policy
Foundation

March 2023

By James Quintero, Parker Stathatos, and John Bonura
Texas Public Policy Foundation

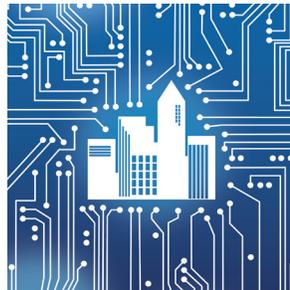


Table of Contents

Executive Summary 3

Introduction 3

Through the Right Lens. 4

Self-Determination 4

A Republican Form of Government. 4

Consent of the Governed. 5

Exercising Municipal Authority. 5

General-Law and Home-Rule Municipalities. 5

Municipal Authority in the ETJ 5

Disannexation vs. Release from the ETJ. 6

Current State of Disannexation 6

Disannexation Processes Among Municipalities 6

Different Systems of Escape 6

Failure to Provide Services 6

Disannexation From Defunding Municipality 7

Disannexation and Its Effect on Taxes and Fees. 7

Policy Solutions 7

Abolish the ETJ. 7

Allow Release from the ETJ. 8

Limited Referendums 8

A Universal Disannexation Process. 8

Conclusion 9

References 10

Let My People Go: Empowering Texans Through Disannexation Reform

James Quintero, Parker Stathatos, and John Bonura

Executive Summary

Disannexation is the process by which the residents of a particular area disassociate themselves from a municipal government's control and jurisdiction. In its present form, the disannexation process is slanted against property owners and benefits municipal governments more so than residents. This posture confounds Texas' deep appreciation for self-determination, consensual governance, and political representation. Changes to state law should be made to better balance individual rights with municipal powers.

The Texas Legislature currently allows disannexation only for select reasons, the most prominent of which has to do with an annexed area receiving inadequate city services. For example, Texas law permits residents to disannex when a municipality defunds its police department ([Local Government Code, Section 43.165](#)) or fails to provide a certain level of services to an annexed area ([Section 43.141](#)). Although such remedies provide a pathway to self-determination, they are oftentimes tedious and difficult to accomplish. Worse still, residents are only ever able to extricate themselves when circumstances become severe. Texans should be afforded better options.

Empowering residents with the right to engage the disannexation process in a more robust fashion is necessary to bring balance to the system. This process serves as an important check against city governments that have become unaccountable, unresponsive, or unconcerned with the people they serve. It's a tool to ensure consensual governance and prevent extreme overreach by municipalities. A government that operates without the consent of the governed is illegitimate, and those governed by such entities have the right to seek redress. It is incumbent upon the Texas Legislature to establish such a system.

Introduction

Over the years, municipalities have gathered immense power and control over property. This trend began in earnest in the late 1800s when the state of Texas experienced "rapid industrialization and urbanization" ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 8](#)). In response, the Texas Legislature gradually expanded the ability of municipalities to enforce municipal ordinances and regulations, both within their corporate boundaries as well as beyond their city limits. The latter grant of authority was intended to minimize territorial disputes between cities and serve as a way to mitigate public health threats. Hence, as time progressed and municipalities' desire for greater autonomy grew, state legislators passed laws giving cities the authority to condemn private property, annex neighboring land, issue local debt, and more ([pp. 9–10](#)).

Key Points

- A fairer disannexation process should be established for qualified voters to disassociate themselves from a municipality whenever they are no longer well-served by their city government.
- Current law permits property owners to disannex only under limited circumstances, such as when a municipality fails to provide services or defunds its police department.
- Texans have a right to self-determination, consensual governance, and political representation. Those rights are not fully honored under the current system.
- The disannexation system needs reform to better balance Texans' rights with municipal powers.

Such reforms, including the creation of the extraterritorial jurisdiction (ETJ), were intended to facilitate orderly growth and allow for the provision of essential services (Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 9). However, such broad grants of authority also brought with it the potential for abuse. For instance, by the 1990s, municipalities were commonly engaged in an abusive practice known as involuntary annexation in which “cities annexed land without the consent of the annexed residents” (p. 15). For the most part, the land annexed by cities was located in the ETJ. The primary motivation for these selective land-grabs was revenue-related. As previously admitted by Rice University urban planning expert Stephen Klineberg to the *Wall Street Journal*: “When rich people go out into the suburbs that is where the money is. You can use that tax revenue to develop the urban core” (Mathew, 2017, para. 5).

As this type of abuse grew, so too did the public outcry and the calls for substantive legislative reform. Hence, in the special session of 2017, the Texas Legislature took meaningful action to curb this practice (SB 6, 2017) and, for certain areas of the state, “effectively ended the brand of taxation without representation that was allowed by involuntary annexation” (Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 15). Then in 2019, policymakers passed another law (HB 347, 2019) that stopped the practice entirely. In the aftermath of those reforms, Texas municipalities must now receive the consent of ETJ residents—either through a petition or by holding an election—to annex property. By ending involuntary annexation, policymakers secured a truly consequential property rights victory for ETJ residents and Texans as a whole. Yet while this landmark win should be celebrated, the Texas Legislature should also recognize that there is more work to be done.

This research paper examines the philosophy and practice of disannexation, which is a process that Texans may presently engage to disentangle themselves from municipal control, as it relates to both within and without the city limits. Further, this paper proposes reforms to the current system to better bring it more in line with Texas’ founding values.

Through the Right Lens

Self-Determination

Every American has a right to self-determination. Yet, despite its importance to the American experience, no consensus exists among political philosophers regarding its exact definition nor its application, as its meaning has evolved since the term’s inception. During the

Enlightenment, self-determination was generally understood as “one’s ability to freely enjoy the values of life, prosperity and status, and hence to define his or her own destiny” (Danspeckgruber & Abulof, 2015, p. 555). According to Danspeckgruber and Gardner (n.d.), “At its most basic, the principle of self-determination can be defined as a community’s right to choose its political destiny” (Introduction). Self-determination, however, is far more complex than this definition.

Hannum (n.d.) mentions two dimensions of self-determination: internal and external self-determination. According to Hannum (1990), internal self-determination means that “states and their peoples have the right to independence from foreign domination” (p. 48), whereas external self-determination refers to “the right to freedom from a former colonial power” (p. 49). Senese offers another interpretation of internal self-determination that is different from that coined by Hannum. According to Senese (1989), internal self-determination refers to “the right of people to freely choose their own political, economic, and social system” (p. 19). This interpretation of self-determination is reminiscent of the Lockean notion of each individual’s inalienable right to life, liberty, and property (Stathatos & Quintero, p. 4), as the right to life, liberty, and property is achieved through self-determination.

The conflict between this core value and Texas’ disannexation policy resides in the fact that once a resident becomes subject to municipal governance, either by moving into the corporate boundaries or ETJ of a municipality or by being absorbed into the ETJ, that resident has virtually no recourse to extricate themselves from the city’s control.

A Republican Form of Government

An extension of the right to self-determination is reflected in the republican form of government doctrine stated in Article IV, Section 4, of the U.S. Constitution and Article I, Section 2, of the Texas Constitution. The latter clause specifically states:

All political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit. The faith of the people of Texas stands pledged to the preservation of a republican form of government, and, subject to this limitation only, they have at all times the inalienable right to alter, reform or abolish their government in such manner as they may think expedient.

In *Federalist* No. 39 ([Library of Congress, n.d.](#)), James Madison described the criteria for a republican form of government. Madison defined a republic as “a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people,” which ensures the people are governed through majority rule ([Stathatos & Quintero, p. 5](#)). Madison also held, “the persons administering [the government must] be appointed, either directly or indirectly, by the people” ([Library of Congress, n.d., Federalist No. 39](#)).

The ETJ represents an example of the violation of the principle of the republican form of government. Within this zone, Texans reside and are governed by municipal rules and regulations, but they have no ability to exercise political influence since they cannot vote in city elections.

Consent of the Governed

When a constituency cannot consent to its government, as is the case in ETJs that are governed by the city council whose elections are determined only by citizens living within the city limits, a government lacks legitimate authority. Madison claimed that an “inconsiderable proportion” of a society cannot consent to a government’s exercise of authority over an entire society ([Library of Congress, n.d., Federalist No. 39](#)). However, certain public policies in Texas have transgressed the principle of a republican form of government—namely, residents of a municipality or of a municipality’s ETJ who wish to escape municipal authority have a limited ability to do so ([Sterling, 2020, pp. 1–2](#)). One of the options for individuals who do not consent to their city government is to simply move to an area beyond the jurisdiction of the municipality. Another option for municipal residents is to elect new council members who better reflect all the municipality’s constituency. However, many of these residents are not eligible to vote in city council elections, depriving them of this fundamental right to consent to their government. According to Texas Election Code, Section 11.001(a)(2), a person must “be a resident of the territory covered by the election for the office or measure on which the person desires to vote.” This means residents who live within the ETJ of a municipality are stuck with the burden and responsibility of living within these municipalities, but deprived from finding their way out since they are unable to vote in municipal elections, despite being subject to certain municipal regulations.

Exercising Municipal Authority

The degree to which a resident may practice self-autonomy depends on where an individual lives in relation to a municipality’s corporate limits, whether that’s within a

municipality’s corporate boundaries, in the ETJ of a municipality, or in unincorporated land beyond the ETJ. Although public policies have historically focused on the ability of municipalities to expand their size through annexation, lawmakers should be focusing on how to strengthen the private property rights of individual Texans through disannexation.

General-Law and Home-Rule Municipalities

The power of a city to exercise self-governance depends on the size of its population and whether it is a general-law or home-rule municipality. Prior to 1913, most Texas municipalities were governed by “general law charters, which derive their authority exclusively from state law” ([Hogen-Esch, 2011, p. 5](#)). As a result, the Texas Legislature passed House Bill 13 ([1913](#)), which granted the state’s larger municipalities greater autonomy over municipal affairs by allowing them to adopt and amend their own charters ([p. 307](#)). A city that adopts and amends its own charter is commonly referred to as a home-rule municipality, whereas a city governed by a general law charter is called a general-law municipality. Home-rule municipalities can generally exercise any powers that are not prohibited by existing state law, whereas general-law municipalities are only allowed to exercise powers expressly granted to the municipality by the Texas Legislature. Texas law requires that a municipality have a population of at least 5,000 before becoming a home-rule municipality ([Texas Constitution, Art. 11, § 5](#)). If a municipality has a population of less than 5,000, the municipality is considered a general-law municipality and must adhere to a general law charter ([Art. 11, § 4](#)).

Municipal Authority in the ETJ

Municipal authority is the ability of a political subdivision to adopt, publish, amend, or repeal ordinances or rules as described in [Local Government Code Section 51.001](#). While cities largely impose this authority within their city limits, municipalities are also permitted to impose certain regulatory authority within their extraterritorial jurisdiction (ETJ). Local Government Code, [Section 42.021](#), defines a municipality’s ETJ as “the unincorporated area that is contiguous to the corporate boundaries of the municipality.” The extent of a municipality’s ETJ is determined based on the municipality’s population ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 11](#)). The ETJ of general-law municipalities—cities with less than 5,000 inhabitants—extends a half mile beyond the city’s corporate boundaries ([Section 42.021\(a\)\(1\)](#)). The ETJ of home-rule municipalities—cities with at least 5,000 inhabitants—extends between one and five miles beyond the city’s corporate boundaries ([Section 42.021\(a\)\(2\)–\(5\)](#)).

The Texas Local Government Code expressly permits municipalities to regulate certain activities within their ETJ, such as regulations relating to land and development plats, the subdivision of land, building permits, signage, and public nuisances ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 11](#)). However, the authority of the municipality is not without its limits in an ETJ. For example, Texas law prohibits municipalities from imposing certain regulations within their ETJ, such as “the bulk, height, or number of buildings constructed on a particular tract of land” and “the number of residential units that can be built per acre of land” ([Local Government Code, Section 212.003](#)). State law also prohibits cities from enforcing certain municipal regulations beyond their city limits into the ETJ in certain cases restricting fines or fees imposed by the municipality ([Local Government Code, Section 42.9025](#)).

Disannexation vs. Release from the ETJ

There are currently two mechanisms through which individuals can remove themselves from the confines of municipal governance: (1) disannexation and (2) the release of land from a municipality’s ETJ. Disannexation refers to the process by which a property owner whose land resides within the corporate boundaries of a municipality may extricate themselves out from city control. The release of land from a municipality’s ETJ refers to the process by which a property owner whose land resides immediately outside of a city’s corporate boundaries may free themselves from limited municipal control. By removing their land from the city’s ETJ, an individual would no longer be subject to a municipality’s authority. Similar to the release of land from an ETJ, disannexation from city limits offers a remedy for Texans to leave a municipality that is not serving them justly.

Current State of Disannexation

Provisions of the Texas Local Government Code relating to disannexation have been enacted in response to a government’s failure to honor private property rights or to address other public grievances. The following section will examine the limited ability Texans have under state laws to exercise disannexation power.

Disannexation Processes Among Municipalities

Whereas annexation practices empower municipalities, disannexation policy empowers individuals, at least when properly crafted. The ability of a landowner to remove themselves from municipal authority depends on several factors, including where a landowner lives in relation to the municipality’s corporate boundaries and the circumstances leading the landowner to seek disannexation. The

procedures for a landowner to disannex themselves from municipal authority vary depending on whether the municipality is a general-law or home-rule municipality.

According to [Local Government Code, Section 43.143\(a\)](#), at least 50 qualified voters of a general-law municipality must petition the city government when seeking disannexation. The voters can then provide the mayor of the municipality with the completed petition, at which time the mayor must order an election to be held to discuss the disannexation on the first uniform election date. If voters decide in favor of disannexation, the mayor must enter an order stating the land’s effective date of disannexation. The exception to this rule is if the disannexation would result in the municipality having less than one square mile or one mile in diameter around the center of the original municipal boundaries, in which case it would not be allowed.

Although [Local Government Code, Section 43.143\(a\)](#), requires the petitioners who seek disannexation to live within the territory that is proposed for disannexation, the code does not prohibit registered voters in the municipality from voting regardless of whether they live in the territory proposed for disannexation. As a result, even if a majority of residents within a territory wish to disannex from a municipality, a majority of voters within a general-law municipality can prevent those residents from disannexing. This provision is a major impediment to disannexation and could be remedied by allowing only the registered voters who live within a territory proposed for disannexation to vote in an election on the question of disannexation.

If the citizens wishing to disannex live in a home-rule municipality, however, [Local Government Code, Section 43.142](#), authorizes registered voters of a home-rule municipality to disannex an area from the city’s corporate boundaries according to the procedures prescribed by the city’s charter, provided that the charter’s procedures are consistent with state laws.

Different Systems of Escape

Failure to Provide Services

A municipality must fulfill many requirements before it is permitted to annex an area located within its ETJ. [Local Government Code, Section 43.141\(a\)](#) requires that a service plan, written agreement, or resolution passed by the city council list the requirements for the municipal annexation. The service plan states which services a municipality is required to provide to a territory it plans to annex, which may include police and fire protection, emergency medical services, and solid waste collection ([Section 43.056](#)).

According to [Local Government Code, Section 43.141\(a\)](#), “if the municipality fails or refuses to provide services to” a territory that has been annexed, inhabitants of the annexed territory can petition the municipality for disannexation.

Starting in the 1980s, the Texas Legislature enacted reforms related to the development, enforcement, and provision of service plans ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, pp. 13–14](#)). The purpose of a service plan is to ensure a municipality does not simply annex territory to expand municipal boundaries without providing city services to annexed residents. If a municipality does not provide services to an annexed area within a certain time, which is determined before annexation occurs, [Local Government Code Section 43.141\(a\)](#) allows inhabitants of the annexed land to petition the municipality and request disannexation. If the municipality denies the petition for disannexation, the petitioners may sue the municipality ([Section 43.141\(b\)](#)).

A municipality may prepare a service plan that does not require the implementation of certain services within the annexed area for up to two and a half years—even four and a half years in some cases ([Section 43.056\(b\)](#)). However, if a city already provides its residents with certain services before the effective date of annexation, the municipality must provide annexed areas with those services upon the effective date of an area’s annexation. Such services include police and fire protection, emergency medical services, and the operation and maintenance of public buildings, parks, and roads ([Section 43.056\(b\)](#)).

In addition to the provision of services described in an annexing municipality’s service plan, a municipality must also provide annexed residents with “services, infrastructure, and infrastructure maintenance” ([Local Government Code, Section 43.056\(g\)](#)) that are comparable to the services the residents of the municipality were already receiving before the annexation.

Disannexation From Defunding Municipality

The 87th Texas Legislature passed House Bill 1900 ([2021](#)), which generally prohibits municipalities from reducing appropriations to their police departments. This is one way a municipality could be categorized as defunding the services it provides to citizens, therefore providing an opportunity for disannexation. If a municipality is determined to be a “defunding municipality,” as described by [Local Government Code, Section 109.003](#), the municipality must “hold a separate election in each area annexed in the preceding 30 years by the defunding municipality on the question of disannexing the area” ([Section 43.1465\(b\)](#)).

If the voters of a previously annexed area opt for disannexation, the defunding municipality must immediately disannex that land ([Section 43.1465\(d\)](#)). Although this was a worthwhile reform, state and local leaders must view the practice of disannexation, or at least its threat, as more than a punishment for poor public policy.

Disannexation and Its Effect on Taxes and Fees

[Local Government Code, Section 41.148](#), requires municipalities that disannex a territory to refund certain taxes and fees to landowners within the disannexed territory:

If an area is disannexed, the municipality disannexing the area shall refund to the landowners of the area the amount of money collected by the municipality in property taxes and fees from those landowners during the period that the area was a part of the municipality less the amount of money that the municipality spent for the direct benefit of the area during that period.

The amount of money a municipality must refund is calculated “by the municipality that identifies each landowner’s approximate pro rata payment” ([Section 41.148\(b\)](#)). If a municipality does not return the amount to be refunded to the territory’s current landowners within 180 days, the refunded amount accrues interest ([Section 41.148\(c\)](#)).

Policy Solutions

State policymakers can and should enact many reforms to honor individuals’ right to self-determination and ensure all Texans enjoy a republican form of government. These reforms include abolishing the ETJ, requiring a municipality to release an area of land from its ETJ under certain circumstances, and establishing a clear and feasible disannexation process.

Abolish the ETJ

At the local level—municipalities, counties, and unincorporated areas—individuals lack the ability to enforce their right to self-determination. As explained by Danspeckgruber and Abulof ([2015](#)), “peoples do not have an enforceable recourse to ensure this right, which, in the reality of the international system, makes self-determination subject to many influences, interpretations, and limitations” ([p. 555](#)). The lack of self-determination is partially caused by the existence of the ETJ, which allows municipalities to enforce regulatory authority over Texans to whom a municipality is not always accountable ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 12](#)). Furthermore, when a municipality annexes land for limited purposes, inhabitants of the annexed land only possess limited voting eligibility

in contrast to residents who live within the corporate boundaries of a municipality. Abolishing the ETJ would safeguard the property rights of unincorporated residents, and ensure Texans can truly enforce their right to self-determination.

Allow Release From the ETJ

Although current law allows for the expansion of a municipality's ETJ, it fails to allow the release of an area within the ETJ of a municipality from the ETJ. For example, two municipalities can enter into a written agreement to redistribute part of one municipality's ETJ to the other municipality's ETJ through annexation and a written agreement among the municipalities ([Local Government Code, Section 42.022\(d\)](#)). However, municipalities are not required to reduce the size of their ETJ unless they are forced to do so by a court order, which happens in extremely limited circumstances ([Section 42.901\(b\)](#)).

In the 87th Texas Legislature, House Bill 3519 ([2021](#)) and Senate Bill 1992 ([2021](#)) sought to permit the release of certain territory from the ETJ of a municipality. Although both bills failed to become law, the identical legislation would have created distinct processes for the release of an area from a municipality's ETJ—depending on the amount of inhabitants of the area—provided that the area was part of the municipality's ETJ for at least one year:

- **If the area proposed for release had less than 200 inhabitants**, more than 50% of the area's registered voters were required to petition the municipality for release from the ETJ ([SB 1992, 2021, p. 1](#)). If the petition received the required number of signatures, the municipality would have been required to immediately release the area from its ETJ.
- **If the area proposed for release had 200 inhabitants or more**, at least 5% of the area's registered voters were required to petition the municipality for release from the ETJ ([SB 1992, 2021, p. 3](#)). If the petition received the required number of signatures, the municipality would have been required to hold an election on the question of the area's release from the ETJ "in the same manner as general elections of the municipality" ([p. 3](#)). The municipality would also have been required to immediately disannex the area if a majority of voters favored the proposed release from the ETJ.

SB 1992 ([2021](#)) provided a step in the right direction to ensure the property rights and self-determination of all Texans were honored. However, if an area of 200

inhabitants or more seeks release from the municipality's ETJ, the decision on whether to allow that release of territory was decided by municipal residents ([p. 3](#)). Instead, the Texas Legislature should ensure that only registered voters of the area proposed for release are permitted to vote in the election.

Limited Referendums

Another way to ensure that Texans retain their right to self-governance is to allow a certain segment of the population to hold an election on the question of disannexation. Those who would be allowed the referendum option: Persons captured by cities using involuntary annexation just prior to the state banning the practice.

As involuntary annexation came to an end statewide, municipalities quickly pushed through ordinances to annex tracts in their ETJ before they were required to hold elections for annexation. As a result several tracts of residential land had been annexed involuntarily by cities in a last ditch effort to expand their borders and increase their revenue before the statute requiring cities in counties with a population over 500,000 to hold a city wide vote, including those in the ETJ, for annexation went into effect.

There is currently legislation being proposed that would allow those cities to have such a referendum. The proposed bill would allow for those annexed by cities in counties with 500,000 population or higher between March 3, 2015, and December 1, 2017, to hold the vote they were denied. This legislation could easily apply to other political subdivisions of different sizes and/or could also widen its timeframe to include years before 2015. It is important that those who did not have a voice before be given a chance to decide whether they wish to remain part of a municipality.

A Universal Disannexation Process

The establishment of a universal disannexation process for all municipal residents of Texas would honor Texans' property and self-determination rights and ensure a republican form of government. The right to disannexation should be universal, meaning residents should be permitted to request and consent to disannexation at any time, and for various reasons. Currently, municipal residents can only request and consent to disannexation under limited and specific circumstances, such as when a city fails or refuses to provide services. The purpose of such a process is to allow individuals to remove themselves from municipal governance if individuals no longer consent to their municipal government.

A universal disannexation process for municipal residents can include similar methods enacted by the Texas Legislature in recent years as it relates to annexation processes ([SB 6, 2017](#); [HB 347, 2019](#)). “Because the annexation of an ETJ now requires voter approval” ([Stathatos & Quintero, 2021, p. 16](#)), voter approval should also be allowed when municipal residents desire disannexation. Municipalities should be required to allow municipal residents to detach their land from a city’s corporate boundaries upon receiving the request for disannexation. Municipal residents who desire disannexation can request the disannexation by signing a petition, and voters can consent to the disannexation through an election.

Policymakers must consider the circumstances under which disannexation is allowed, and how many people must consent to the disannexation. For example, annexed residents may disannex their land from a municipality if a city fails to provide services ([Local Government Code, Section 43.141](#)) or when a municipality reduces funding to its law enforcement department ([Section 43.1465](#)). However, these mechanisms only accommodate municipal residents who were previously part of a city’s ETJ. All Texans, regardless

of whether they are living inside city limits or under a city’s control, should possess the right to disannex from municipalities. The right to self-determination through disannexation should be universal and permitted regardless of whether a group of individuals were previously part of the municipality’s ETJ.

Conclusion

The right to self-determination for all residents and the establishment of a universal disannexation process gives the power back to the people, allowing Texans to decide their own political destiny. The right to disannexation ensures Texans enjoy a republican form of government. The Texas Legislature must hold local governments accountable and ensure all local governments receive the consent of those it governs by declaring the right to disannexation. The state of Texas must honor its founding principles by allowing all individuals to determine their own political destiny. After all, as stated in the Texas Constitution, political authority is derived from the people, who have at all times the inalienable right to alter, reform or abolish their government in such manner as they may think expedient. ★

References

- Carley, P. (1996). *Self-determination: Sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right to secession*. United States Institute of Peace. <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/pwks7.pdf>
- Danspeckgruber, W. & Gardner, A. (n.d.). Self-determination. In *Encyclopedia Princetoniensis*. Retrieved January 31, 2022, from <https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/656>
- Hannum, H. (n.d.). Legal aspects of self-determination. In *Encyclopedia Princetoniensis*. Retrieved January 31, 2022, from <https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/511>
- Hannum, H. (1990). *Autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination: The accommodation of conflicting rights*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- HB 13. Enrolled. 33rd Texas Legislature. Regular. (1913). https://lrl.texas.gov/scanned/sessionLaws/33-0/HB_13_CH_147.pdf
- HB 13. Enrolled. 58th Texas Legislature. Regular. (1963). https://lrl.texas.gov/LASDOCS/58R/HB13/HB13_58R.pdf
- HB 347. Enrolled. 86th Texas Legislature. Regular. (2019). <https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/86R/billtext/pdf/HB00347F.pdf>
- HB 1900. Enrolled. 87th Texas Legislature. Regular. (2021). <https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/87R/billtext/pdf/HB01900F.pdf>
- HB 3519. Introduced. 87th Texas Legislature. Regular. (2021). <https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/87R/billtext/pdf/HB03519I.pdf>
- Kampelman, M. M. (1993). Secession and the right of self-determination: An urgent need to harmonize principle with pragmatism. *The Washington Quarterly*, 16(3), 5–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01636609309477732>
- Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Federalist nos. 31-40 – Federalist papers: Primary documents in American history*. Retrieved March 21, 2022, from <https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/text-31-40>
- SB 6. Enrolled. 85th Texas Legislature. First Called Session. (2017). <https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/851/billtext/pdf/SB00006F.pdf>
- SB 1992. Introduced. 87th Texas Legislature. Regular. (2021). <https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/87R/billtext/pdf/SB01992I.pdf>
- Senese, S. (1989). External and internal self-determination. *Social Justice*, 1(35), 19–25. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29766439>
- Stathatos, P., & Quintero, J. (2021). *The pursuit of property in Texas: Municipal annexation and extraterritorial jurisdiction*. Texas Public Policy Foundation. <https://www.texaspolicy.com/the-pursuit-of-property-in-texas-municipal-annexation-and-extraterritorial-jurisdiction/>
- Sterling, S. (2020). *Testimony to the House Committee on Land & Resource Management*. Texas Public Policy Foundation. <https://www.texaspolicy.com/testimony-to-the-house-committee-on-land-resource-management/>

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



James Quintero is the policy director for the Texas Public Policy Foundation's Government for the People initiative. Having joined the Foundation in 2008, Quintero's research covers a wide range of issues, mostly related to local government matters, including: taxes, spending, debt, transparency, annexation, and pension reform. His work has been featured in the New York Times, Forbes, Fox News, Breitbart, and more.

Quintero received an M.P.A. from Texas State University and a B.A. from the University of Texas at Austin. He is currently seeking a Ph.D. in public policy from Liberty University. Quintero and his wife, Tricia, are blessed with five beautiful children, a Great Dane, a Boston Terrier, and an exceptionally large grocery bill.



Parker Stathatos was a legislative fellow at the Foundation. Stathatos was a legislative director for a state representative in Texas' 87th Legislature. He managed a diverse bill package and helped pass 12 bills into law, including policies related to human trafficking, critical infrastructure, blockchain technology, virtual currency, civics education, criminal justice reform, and family welfare.

Prior to his time at the Texas Capitol, Stathatos participated in the fall 2020 White House Internship Program in the Office of the Senior Advisor for Policy. He was also previously an intern at the Foundation.

Stathatos has a B.A. in government and history from the University of Texas at Austin. In his spare time, he enjoys traveling, exploring new places, and spending time with his family and friends.



John Bonura is a research associate with Government for the People at the Texas Public Policy Foundation.

About Texas Public Policy Foundation

The Texas Public Policy Foundation is a 501(c)3 non-profit, non-partisan research institute. The Foundation promotes and defends liberty, personal responsibility, and free enterprise in Texas and the nation by educating and affecting policymakers and the Texas public policy debate with academically sound research and outreach.

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

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

