



TEXAS DECIDES PART II

THE TXHPF | TEGNA TEXAS 2022 MIDTERM REPORT

A STUDY OF TEXAS LIKELY VOTERS

SEPTEMBER 29, 2022



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ABOUT THE TEXAS HISPANIC POLICY FOUNDATION

The Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation operates as a nonpartisan, nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, dedicated and committed to analyzing and exploring the political, economic, social, demographic, and familial attitudes and behaviors of Texas Hispanics. The Foundation conducts surveys, polls, research, data collection and analysis concerning the Hispanic population in Texas. You can find more information about the Foundation at www.TxHPF.org.

Executive Summary

This report draws on a survey of 1,172 Texas likely voters (for the November 8, 2022 election) carried out between September 6 and September 15, 2022 (confidence interval +/- 2.9%).

27% of Texas likely voters believe that the United States is headed in the right direction, with 73% believing that the country is headed in the wrong direction.

47% of Texas likely voters believe that Texas is headed in the right direction, with 53% believing that the state is headed in the wrong direction.

23% of white, 32% of Hispanic and 45% of Black Texas likely voters believe the United States is headed in the right direction.

77% of white, 68% of Hispanic and 55% of Black Texas likely voters believe the United States is headed in the wrong direction.

54% of white, 39% of Hispanic and 36% of Black Texas likely voters believe Texas is headed in the right direction.

46% of white, 61% of Hispanic and 64% of Black Texas likely voters believe Texas is headed in the wrong direction.

53% of Democratic and 8% of Republican Texas likely voters believe the United States is headed in the right direction.

47% of Democratic and 92% of Republican Texas likely voters believe the United States is headed in the wrong direction.

78% of Republican and 23% of Democratic likely voters believe Texas is headed in the right direction.

22% of Republican and 77% of Democratic likely voters believe Texas is headed in the wrong direction.

An absolute majority of Texas likely voters support six border security policies implemented by Governor Greg Abbott, while between one-fifth and one-third oppose these policies.

66% of Texas likely voters support Texas state and local law enforcement arresting people who cross the border with Mexico illegally, while 22% oppose.

60% of Texas likely voters support Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, while 28% oppose.

60% of Texas likely voters support Texas sending the Texas DPS to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, while 27% oppose.

57% of Texas likely voters support Texas building a border wall, while 34% oppose.

54% of Texas likely voters support Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, New York City and Washington, D.C., while 31% oppose.

54% of Texas likely voters support Texas spending \$1.5 billion every year on border security, while 32% oppose.

An absolute majority of white Texas likely voters support all six policies, of Hispanic likely voters three policies and of Black likely voters one policy.

Between one-fifth and one-third of Democratic Texas likely voters support these six border security policies.

Virtually all Texas Republican likely voters support these six border policies, ranging from support of 85% (Texas spending \$1.5bn annually on border security) to 92% (police arresting illegal border crossers).

34% of Texas likely voters approve and 66% disapprove of the way President Joe Biden is handling the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border.

56% of Texas likely voters approve and 44% disapprove of the way Governor Greg Abbott is handling the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border.

27% of white, 38% of Hispanic and 67% of Black Texas likely voters approve of Biden's handling of the situation on the U.S.-Mexico border.

66% of white, 45% of Hispanic and 34% of Black Texas likely voters approve of Abbott's handling of the situation on the U.S.-Mexico border.

75% of Democratic, 10% of Independent and 8% of Republican Texas likely voters approve of Biden's handling of the situation on the U.S.-Mexico border.

17% of Democratic, 54% of Independent and 93% of Republican Texas likely voters approve of Abbott's handling of the situation on the U.S.-Mexico border.

55% of Texas likely voters believe the federal government should make it more difficult for Central American immigrants to request and obtain asylum in the U.S. while 45% believe the federal government should make it less difficult.

52% of Texas likely voters believe current Texas law (abortion only if the woman's life or well-being is at risk) should be modified to make it easier to obtain an

abortion, 11% believe the law should be modified to make it harder to obtain an abortion, and 37% believe Texas abortion legislation should be left as it is now.

The median Texas likely voter 's preference is that abortion be illegal in Texas, except if the woman's life or well-being is at risk or in the case of rape or incest.

29% of Texas likely voters would prefer legislation in Texas similar to that in force under *Roe v. Wade* prior to the June 2022 Dobbs decision, with 22% and 7% favoring abortion through 24 or 20 weeks respectively.

71% of Texas likely voters believe the law of the land under *Roe v. Wade* prior to the June 2022 Dobbs decision was too permissive in terms of the length and conditions under which abortion was permitted.

Among Texas likely voters, 57% of women and 47% of men would make it easier to obtain an abortion in Texas while 43% of women and 53% of men would make it harder to obtain an abortion or leave Texas law as it is now.

Among Texas likely voters, 79% of Black women, 58% of Hispanic women and 51% of white women would make it easier to obtain an abortion in Texas while 21% of Black women, 42% of Hispanic women and 49% of white women would make it harder to obtain an abortion or leave Texas law as it is now.

54% of white, 44% of Hispanic and 28% of Black Texas likely voters would leave abortion law in Texas as it is now or make it harder to obtain an abortion, while 46%, 56%, and 72% would make it easier to obtain an abortion.

76% of Republicans, 53% of Independents and 17% of Democrats would leave Texas abortion law as it is now or make it harder to obtain an abortion, while 24%, 47% and 83% would make it easier to obtain an abortion.

In the aftermath of the May 2022 Uvalde tragedy, 22% and 31% of Texas likely voters have a more favorable opinion of Greg Abbott and Beto O'Rourke, while 37% and 38% have a less favorable opinion of Abbott and O'Rourke respectively.

In the aftermath of the May 2022 Uvalde tragedy, 48% of Hispanic Texas likely voters have a less favorable opinion of Abbott than they had before the tragedy while 19% have a more favorable opinion of Abbott.

In the aftermath of the May 2022 Uvalde tragedy, 32% of Hispanic Texas likely voters have a less favorable opinion of O'Rourke than they had before the tragedy while 37% have a more favorable opinion of O'Rourke.

In the aftermath of the May 2022 Uvalde tragedy, 33% of Texas likely voters have a less favorable opinion of the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS) than they had before the tragedy while 14% have a more favorable opinion of DPS.

TEXAS DECIDES: PART II

This is the second report of three drawing on a survey of 1,172 Texas likely voters carried out between September 6 and September 15 of 2022 (confidence interval of +/- 2.9%). The responses are weighted to provide a population that is representative of Texas likely voters (for more information on the methodology, see the methodological appendix).

In this report we analyze the attitudes and opinions of Texans related to the direction in which the United States and Texas are headed, to a set of border security policies adopted by the state of Texas, the current handling of the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border by President Joe Biden and Texas Governor Greg Abbott, federal asylum policy, the legislation currently governing abortion in Texas, and the impact of the Uvalde massacre on the public's opinion of politicians, parties and institutions.

1. SURVEY POPULATION

The distribution of the likely voters surveyed based on their ethnic/racial self-identification is 57% white/Anglo, 27% Hispanic/Latino, 12% Black/African American and 4% with a mixed or other ethnic/racial identity. The gender distribution of the population is 55% women and 45% men. In regard to generations, 40% of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928 and 1945) and Baby Boomers (1946-1964) cohort, 26% to Generation X (1965-1980), 26% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation and 8% to Generation Z (1997-2004). The partisan identification of this population is 43% Republican, 41% Democrat, 14% Independent and 2% Unsure. Finally, in the gubernatorial election 51% of these likely voters intend to vote for Republican Greg Abbott while 44% intend to vote for Democrat Beto O'Rourke, with 2% supporting minor party candidates and 3% undecided.

The analysis below focuses on the general population of likely voters as well as the likely voters broken down by ethnicity/race, gender, generation, partisanship, and gubernatorial vote intention.

2. DIRECTION IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES & TEXAS ARE HEADED

In the survey these Texas likely voters were asked two separate questions, each with two response options (right direction, wrong direction):

Now, generally speaking, would you say that things in the United States are headed in the right direction or the wrong direction.

Now, generally speaking, would you say that things in Texas are headed in the right direction or the wrong direction.

Table 1 reveals that 73% of Texans believe that the United States is headed in the wrong direction while 27% believe the country is headed in the right direction. The table also shows that 53% of Texans believe Texas is headed in the wrong direction while 47% believe it is headed in the right direction. Significantly more Texans believe Texas is headed in the right direction (47%) than believe the United States is headed in the right direction (27%), just as significantly more Texans believe the United States is headed in the wrong direction (73%) than believe Texas (53%) is headed in the wrong direction.

Table 1. The United States & Texas: Headed in Right or Wrong Direction?

Direction	United States	Texas
Right Direction	27%	47%
Wrong Direction	73%	53%

Table 2 provides the proportion of Texans who believe the United States and Texas are headed in the right or wrong direction, broken down by ethnicity/race.

An absolute majority of white, Hispanic and Black Texans all believe the United States is headed in the wrong direction. The proportions vary from over three-quarters (77%) of white Texans, to over two-thirds (68%) of Hispanic Texans, to over just half (55%) of Black Texans. Conversely, 23% of white Texans, 32% of Hispanic Texans and 45% of Black Texans believe the United States is headed in the right direction.

A narrow absolute majority (54%) of white Texans believe Texas is headed in the right direction, compared to between one-third and two-fifths of Hispanic (39%) and Black (36%) Texans. Conversely, 46% of white Texans, 61% of Hispanic Texans and 64% of Black Texans believe Texas is headed in the wrong direction.

Table 2. Ethnicity/Race & the Direction of the United States and Texas

Direction	White	Hispanic	Black
United States Right Direction	23%	32%	45%
United States Wrong Direction	77%	68%	55%
Texas Right Direction	54%	39%	36%
Texas Wrong Direction	46%	61%	64%

Table 3 provides the proportion of Texans who believe the United States and Texas are headed in the right or wrong direction, broken down by gender.

Table 3. Gender & the Direction of the United States and Texas

Direction	Women	Men
United States Right Direction	25%	30%
United States Wrong Direction	75%	70%
Texas Right Direction	41%	55%
Texas Wrong Direction	59%	45%

Similar proportions of women (25% and 75%) and men (30% and 70%) believe that the United States is headed in the right and wrong direction respectively.

Notably more men (55%) than women (41%) believe Texas is headed in the right direction, while notably more women (59%) than men (45%) believe that Texas is headed in the wrong direction.

Significantly more women (41% vs. 25%) and men (55% vs. 30%) believe Texas is headed in the right direction than believe the United States is headed in the right direction.

Table 4 provides the proportion of Texans who believe the United States and Texas are headed in the right or wrong direction, broken down by generation.

Table 4. Generation & the Direction of the United States and Texas

Direction	Silent/Boomers	Gen-X	Millennials	Gen-Z
United States Right Direction	27%	21%	31%	40%
United States Wrong Direction	73%	79%	69%	60%
Texas Right Direction	53%	42%	49%	35%
Texas Wrong Direction	47%	58%	51%	65%

The only noteworthy generational difference regarding the direction of the United States is that which exists between the members of Generation Z and Generation X, with the former notably more likely than the latter to believe the United States is

headed in the right direction (40% vs. 21%) and notably less likely to believe the country is headed in the wrong direction (60% vs. 79%).

The only noteworthy generational difference regarding the direction of the Texas is that which exists between the members of Generation Z and the Silent/Baby Boomer cohort, with the latter notably more likely than the former to believe Texas is headed in the right direction (53% vs. 35%) and notably less likely to believe Texas is headed in the wrong direction (47% vs. 65%).

Table 5 provides the proportion of Texans who believe the United States and Texas are headed in the right or wrong direction, broken down by partisan identification.

Table 5. Partisan ID & the Direction of the United States and Texas

Direction	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
United States Right Direction	53%	10%	8%
United States Wrong Direction	47%	90%	92%
Texas Right Direction	22%	39%	77%
Texas Wrong Direction	78%	61%	23%

A narrow majority (53%) of Texas Democrats believe the United States is headed in the right direction (compared to 47% who believe the country is headed in the wrong direction). In sharp contrast, only one in ten Independents (10%) and Republicans (8%) believe the United States is headed in the right direction, with 90% and 92% respectively of the opinion that the country is headed in the wrong direction.

More than three out of four (77%) Texas Republicans believe Texas is headed in the right direction (compared to 23% who believe the state is headed in the wrong direction). In contrast, only 39% of Independents and 22% of Democrats believe Texas is headed in the right direction, with 61% and 78% respectively of the opinion the state is headed in the wrong direction.

The proportion of Texas Democrats (22%) which believe Texas is headed in the right direction is more than twice the proportion of Republicans (8%) who believe the United States is headed in the right direction.

Table 6 provides the proportion of Texans who believe the United States and Texas are headed in the right or wrong direction, broken down by 2022 Texas gubernatorial vote intention (Abbott, O'Rourke, others and undecided).

Table 6. Gubernatorial Vote & the Direction of the United States and Texas

Direction	Abbott Voters	O'Rourke Voters	Others/DK
United States Right Direction	8%	50%	8%
United States Wrong Direction	92%	50%	92%
Texas Right Direction	79%	16%	28%
Texas Wrong Direction	21%	84%	72%

While O'Rourke voters are evenly between those who believe the United States is headed in the right (50%) and wrong (50%) directions, Abbott voters overwhelmingly (92% to 8%) believe the country is headed in the wrong direction.

While more than three out of four (79%) Abbott voters believe Texas is headed in the right direction, the same is only true for 16% of O'Rourke voters, 84% of whom believe the state is headed in the wrong direction (with 21% of Abbott voters sharing this same opinion).

3. SUPPORT FOR & OPPOSITION TO SIX TEXAS BORDER SECURITY POLICIES

The survey asked these Texas likely voters about how much they support or oppose six border security policies that the State of Texas has implemented under the direction of Governor Greg Abbott. The response options were strongly support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose, and strongly oppose. The six border security policies evaluated are:

1. Texas building a wall on the state's border with Mexico.
2. Texas state and local law enforcement arresting people who cross the Mexican border illegally.
3. Texas deploying National Guard soldiers to patrol along the border with Mexico.
4. Texas sending Department of Public Safety (DPS) officers to patrol along the border with Mexico.
5. Texas spending \$1.5 billion dollars every year on border security.
6. Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C.

Table 7 provides the level of support (strongly and somewhat) for and opposition (strongly and somewhat) to each one of the six border security policies adopted by

the State of Texas. The proportion strongly in support and strongly opposed are in parentheses.

Table 7. Support For & Opposition To Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Support	Neither Support nor Oppose	Oppose
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	66% (50%)	12%	22% (13%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	60% (44%)	12%	28% (19%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	60% (41%)	13%	27% (18%)
TX Building a Border Wall	57% (44%)	9%	34% (26%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	54% (39%)	15%	31% (23%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	54% (34%)	14%	32% (19%)

Note: Proportion strongly supporting and strongly opposing in parentheses.

A majority of Texas likely voters support all six policies. The levels of support are 66% in support of Texas state and local law enforcement arresting people who cross the border illegally, 60% in support of Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to the border, 60% in support of Texas sending DPS to patrol along the Border, 57% in support of Texas building a border wall, 54% in support of Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, D.C. and New York City and 54% in support of Texas spending \$1.5 billion every year on border security.

Between one-fifth (22%) and one-third (34%) of Texas oppose these six policies. The levels of opposition are 34% opposed to Texas building a border wall, 32% opposed to Texas spending \$1.5 billion every year on border security, 31% opposed to Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, D.C. and New York City, 28% opposed to Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to the border, 27% opposed to Texas sending DPS to patrol along the Border, and 22% opposed to Texas state and local law enforcement arresting people who cross the border illegally.

Tables 8 and 9 respectively examine the support for (strongly and somewhat) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat) these six policies among the state's three

principal ethnic/racial groups. The proportion strongly supporting (Table 8) and strongly opposing (Table 9) is in parentheses.

Table 8. Ethnicity/Race & Support For Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	White	Hispanic	Black
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	74% (61%)	50% (35%)	60% (31%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	67% (52%)	52% (37%)	45% (21%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	68% (48%)	53% (36%)	45% (41%)
TX Building a Border Wall	67% (55%)	46% (35%)	33% (14%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	65% (49%)	43% (27%)	29% (17%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	63% (42%)	45% (26%)	37% (19%)

Between three-fifths and three-fourths of white Texans support all six policies, with 74% in support of Texas law enforcement arresting those who cross the border illegally, 68% in support of sending the DPS to patrol the border, 67% in support of Texas deploying the national guard to the border, 66% in support of Texas building a border wall, 65% in support of Texas paying to bus asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C., and 63% in favor of spending \$1.5 billion of state funds annually on border security.

An absolute majority of Hispanic Texans support three policies, with 53% in support of Texas sending DPS to patrol along the border, 52% in support of deploying Texas National Guard troops to patrol along the border, and 50% in support of Texas state and local police arresting people who cross the border illegally. A plurality of Hispanics supports two other policies, with 45% in support (vs. 40% opposed) of Texas spending \$1.5 billion on border security every year and 42% in support (and 39% opposed) of Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, New York City, and Washington D.C. A narrow minority of Hispanic Texans opposes (47% vs. 46%) Texas building a border wall.

An absolute majority of Black Texans supports one policy, with 60% in support of Texas law enforcement arresting those who cross the border illegally. A plurality of Black Texans supports two policies, with 45% in support (vs. 37% opposed) of deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the border and 45% in support (vs.

32% opposed) of sending DPS to patrol the border. A minority of Black Texans are in support of Texas spending \$1.5 billion a year on border security (37% in support vs. 41% opposed), of Texas building a border wall (33% in support vs. 42% opposed), and of Texas paying to bus asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. (29% in support vs. 41% opposed).

Table 9. Ethnicity/Race & Opposition To Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	White (%)	Hispanic (%)	Black (%)
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	17% (10%)	30% (18%)	24% (15%)
TX Deploying National Guard to the Border	24% (15%)	37% (26%)	29% (19%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol Along the Border	23% (15%)	32% (21%)	31% (21%)
TX Building a Border Wall	27% (21%)	47% (35%)	42% (32%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	26% (20%)	39% (27%)	41% (29%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	26% (15%)	40% (24%)	41% (25%)

Between one in five and one in four white Texans is opposed to these six policies, ranging from a high of 27% opposed to building a border wall to a low of 17% opposed to Texas law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers.

Between one in three and one half of Hispanics oppose these six policies, ranging from a high of 47% who oppose Texas building a border wall to a low of 30% opposing the policy of Texas state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers.

Tables 10 and 11 respectively examine the support for (strongly and somewhat) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat) these six policies by gender. The proportion strongly supporting (Table 10) and strongly opposing (Table 11) is in parentheses.

Table 10. Gender & Support For Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Women	Men
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	61% (44%)	71% (57%)
TX Deploying National Guard to the Border	55% (38%)	66% (52%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol Along the Border	55% (35%)	66% (49%)
TX Building a Border Wall	52% (40%)	62% (49%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	48% (32%)	61% (47%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	49% (34%)	61% (40%)

Table 11. Gender & Opposition To Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Women	Men
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	25% (16%)	18% (9%)
TX Deploying National Guard to the Border	32% (23%)	24% (15%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol Along the Border	30% (20%)	23% (15%)
TX Building a Border Wall	37% (29%)	31% (23%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	33% (24%)	29% (22%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	37% (22%)	26% (16%)

An absolute majority of men support all six policies, of Texas law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers (71%), Texas deploying the Texas National Guard (66%) and DPS (66%) to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, Texas building a border wall (62%), Texas paying to send asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. (61%) and Texas spending \$1.5 billion annually on border security.

An absolute majority of women support four of the six policies, of Texas law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers (61%), Texas deploying the Texas National Guard (55%) and DPS (55%) to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border, and Texas building a border wall (52%). A plurality support the remaining two policies of Texas spending \$1.5 billion annually on border security (49%), and Texas paying to send asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. (48%).

Tables 12 and 13 respectively examine the support for (strongly and somewhat) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat) these six policies by generation. The proportion strongly supporting (Table 12) and strongly opposing (Table 13) is in parentheses.

Table 12. Generation & Support For Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Silent/Boomer	Gen X	Millennials	Gen Z
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	69% (58%)	74% (55%)	60% (40%)	35% (17%)
TX Deploying National Guard to the Border	62% (52%)	69% (52%)	56% (33%)	40% (15%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol Along the Border	61% (48%)	68% (48%)	57% (32%)	39% (11%)
TX Building a Border Wall	70% (55%)	60% (48%)	53% (34%)	39% (16%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	58% (49%)	54% (41%)	50% (29%)	44% (14%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	58% (42%)	59% (38%)	50% (26%)	33% (10%)

With a couple of minor exceptions, there do not exist noteworthy generational differences among the three oldest and largest generational groups in regard to their support for or opposition to these six Texas border security policies. In contrast, nearly across the board, the members of the youngest and smallest generational cohort, Generation Z, are notably less likely to support these six policies than some or all of the other generational cohorts.

Differences between Generation Z and their elders are more muted in terms of opposition to these six policies, with salient differences only in regard to their

greater opposition to Texas building a border wall (50%) and to Texas spending \$1.5 billion annually on border security (48%).

Table 13. Generation & Opposition To Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Silent/Boomer	Gen X	Millennials	Gen Z
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	20% (12%)	15% (9%)	28% (17%)	34% (21%)
TX Deploying National Guard to the Border	28% (20%)	22% (15%)	33% (20%)	39% (28%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol Along the Border	29% (20%)	22% (15%)	26% (18%)	33% (16%)
TX Building a Border Wall	33% (26%)	31% (22%)	36% (27%)	50% (39%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	33% (27%)	33% (24%)	29% (20%)	22% (12%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	31% (19%)	24% (13%)	37% (22%)	48% (27%)

Tables 14 and 15 respectively examine the support for (strongly and somewhat) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat) these six policies among the Democrats, Independents and Republicans. The proportion strongly supporting (Table 14) and strongly opposing (Table 15) is in parentheses.

However, while Republican opposition to these policies ranges in the single digits from 3% to 7%, Democratic support for these policies is notably more robust than Republican opposition, ranging from 18% (building a wall) to 35% (law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers) at rates as high as 9/10 to 1: sending DPS to patrol the border (29% Democratic support to 3% Republican opposition) and law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers (35% vs. 4%).

The level of support for the six border policies among Texas Republicans ranges between 85% and 92%: 92% in support of Texas state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers, 91% in support of Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the border, 91% in support of Texas building a border wall, 90% in support of sending DPS to patrol the border, 86% in favor of Texas paying to

send asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. and 85% in favor of Texas spending 1.5% a year on border security.

Table 14. Partisan ID & Support for Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Democrat	Independent	Republican
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	35% (16%)	73% (58%)	92% (79%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	27% (10%)	63% (50%)	91% (75%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	29% (9%)	61% (48%)	90% (70%)
TX Building a Border Wall	18% (7%)	63% (48%)	91% (79%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	21% (7%)	55% (41%)	86% (69%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	24% (7%)	52% (39%)	85% (60%)

Table 15. Partisan ID & Opposition to Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Democrat	Independent	Republican
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	44% (28%)	14% (8%)	4% (1%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	57% (41%)	19% (12%)	4% (1%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	54% (16%)	19% (12%)	3% (1%)
TX Building a Border Wall	70% (56%)	29% (18%)	3% (1%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	59% (48%)	27% (18%)	7% (2%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	59% (38%)	33% (20%)	6% (1%)

The level of support for the six border policies among Texas Independents ranges from 52% to 73%: 73% in support of Texas state and local law enforcement

arresting illegal border crossers, 63% in support of Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the border, 63% in support of Texas building a border wall, 61% in support of sending DPS to patrol the border, 55% in favor of Texas paying to send asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. and 52% in favor of Texas spending 1.5% a year on border security.

The level of support for the six border policies among Texas Democrats ranges from 18% to 35%: 35% in support of Texas state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers, 29% in support of sending DPS to patrol the border, 27% in support of Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the border, 24% in favor of Texas spending 1.5% a year on border security, 21% in favor of Texas paying to send asylum seekers to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. and 18% in support of Texas building a border wall.

The partisan divide is substantial in regard to support for all six policies, with percentage differences ranging from 73% (support for Texas building a border wall) to 57% (Texas law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers)

Tables 16 and 17 respectively examine the support for (strongly and somewhat) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat) these six policies among Abbott voters, O'Rourke voters, and those who are undecided or support third party candidates. The proportion strongly supporting (Table 16) and strongly opposing (Table 17) is in parentheses.

Table 16. Governor Vote & Support for Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Abbott	O'Rourke	Others/DK
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	94% (84%)	34% (16%)	60% (43%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	94% (75%)	23% (10%)	51% (32%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	93% (75%)	25% (8%)	49% (30%)
TX Building a Border Wall	95% (83%)	16% (8%)	45% (25%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	89% (73%)	18% (7%)	52% (34%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	88% (66%)	21% (7%)	42% (15%)

Table 17. Governor Vote & Opposition To Six Texas Border Security Policies

Policy	Abbott	O'Rourke	Others/DK
TX Law Enforcement Arresting Illegal Border Crossers	2% (1%)	46% (29%)	21% (12%)
TX Deploying National Guard to Patrol the Border	2% (1%)	61% (45%)	31% (7%)
TX Sending DPS to Patrol the Border	2% (0%)	58% (42%)	25% (9%)
TX Building a Border Wall	2% (1%)	73% (60%)	40% (17%)
TX Paying to Send Asylum Seekers by Bus to NYC, DC, CHI	3% (2%)	65% (52%)	29% (10%)
TX Spending \$1.5 Billion on Border Security Every Year	4% (1%)	63% (42%)	39% (12%)

More than eight in ten Abbott likely voters supports each one of these six policies, while fewer than one in twenty opposes all of the policies. The highest level of support is for Texas building a border wall (95%), followed by state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers (94%), Texas deploying the Texas National Guard to patrol the border (94%), and Texas sending DPS to patrol the border (93%), Texas paying to send asylum seekers to northern cities (89%) and Texas spending \$1.5 billion annually on border security (88%).

In sharp contrast, among O'Rourke an absolute majority opposes five of the six policies, with opposition most fervent in regard to Texas building a border wall (73%), Texas paying to send asylum seekers by bus to Chicago, New York City and Washington D.C. (65%), Texas spending \$1.5 billion annually on border security (63%), and Texas deploying the Texas National Guard (61%) and DPS (58%) to patrol the border. A plurality of 46% of O'Rourke voters oppose Texas state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers.

However, while Abbott voter opposition to these policies ranges in the single digits from 2% to 4%, O'Rourke voter support policies is notably more robust than is this Abbott voter opposition, ranging from 16% (building a wall) to 34% (law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers) with O'Rourke to Abbott voter support ratios greater than 10 to 1 for several policies: Texas state and local law enforcement arresting illegal border crossers (34% O'Rourke voter support vs. 2% Abbott voter opposition), Texas sending the DPS to patrol the border (25% O'Rourke voter support vs. 2% Abbott voter opposition), and Texas deploying the

Texas National Guard to patrol the border (23% O'Rourke voter support vs. 2% Abbott voter opposition).

4. APPROVAL/DISSAPPROVAL OF BIDEN & ABBOTT BORDER SECURITY POLICY

In two separate questions the survey respondents were also asked if they approve or disapprove of the way the President Joe Biden and Texas Governor Greg Abbott are handling the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border. The response options were strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, strongly disapprove and don't know. The proportion that approves (strongly and somewhat) and disapproves (strongly and somewhat) are provided in Tables 18 (Biden) and 19 (Abbott) with the don't know responses (9% for Biden and 7% for Abbott) not included in the calculations and the proportion strongly approving and strongly disapproving in parentheses.

Table 18. Approval and Disapproval of Biden's Handling of the Border

Population	Approve	Disapprove
All Texans	34% (11%)	66% (52%)
White Texans	27% (7%)	73% (62%)
Hispanic Texans	38% (16%)	62% (42%)
Black Texans	67% (18%)	33% (16%)
Women	34% (11%)	66% (50%)
Men	34% (10%)	66% (54%)
Silent/Baby Boomers	29% (9%)	71% (61%)
Generation X	30% (11%)	70% (57%)
Millennials	42% (14%)	58% (39%)
Generation Z	52% (7%)	48% (23%)
Texas Democrats	75% (23%)	25% (4%)
Texas Independents	10% (4%)	90% (71%)
Texas Republicans	8% (2%)	92% (85%)
Abbott Voters	7% (2%)	93% (88%)
O'Rourke Voters	72% (23%)	28% (7%)
Others/Don't Know	13% (5%)	87% (51%)

Significantly more (56%) Texans approve of Abbott's handling of the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border than they do of Biden's (34%), and, conversely, significantly

more disapprove (66%) of Biden’s handling of the situation at the border than disapprove of Abbott’s (44%).

Table 19. Approval and Disapproval of Abbott’s Handling of the Border

Population	Approve	Disapprove
All Texans	56% (37%)	44% (34%)
White Texans	66% (44%)	34% (25%)
Hispanic Texans	45% (31%)	55% (45%)
Black Texans	34% (13%)	66% (50%)
Women	49% (33%)	51% (39%)
Men	64% (40%)	36% (28%)
Silent/Baby Boomers	58% (46%)	42% (35%)
Generation X	60% (38%)	40% (30%)
Millennials	54% (27%)	46% (33%)
Generation Z	44% (12%)	56% (40%)
Texas Democrats	17% (6%)	83% (70%)
Texas Independents	54% (34%)	46% (26%)
Texas Republicans	93% (66%)	7% (3%)
Abbott Voters	95% (67%)	5% (2%)
O’Rourke Voters	13% (5%)	87% (75%)
Others/Don’t Know	44% (24%)	56% (15%)

White Texans (27%) and Hispanic Texans (38%) are significantly less likely to approve of Biden’s handling of the situation at the border than are Black Texans (67%). White Texans (66%) are significantly more likely to approve of Abbott’s handling of the situation at the border than are Hispanic (45%) and Black (34%) Texans. While a majority of White Texans approves (66%) of Abbott’s handling and disapproves (73%) of Biden’s handling of the border situation, a majority of Black Texans approves (67%) of Biden’s handling and disapproves (66%) of Abbott’s handling of the border situation. A majority of Hispanic Texans disapproves of both Abbott (55%) and Biden’s (62%) handling of the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border.

Identical proportions of Texas women (66% and 34%) and Texas men (66% and 34%) respectively disapprove and approve of Biden’s handling of the situation at the U.S.-Mexico border. In contrast, significantly more men (64%) than women (49%) approve of Abbott’s handling of the border situation, with the obverse true in regard to disapproval (36% vs. 51%).

A substantial majority of the members of the Silent/Baby Boomer generational cohort (71%) and of Generation X (70%) disapprove of Biden's handling of the situation at the border, while Millennials and Generation Z are more evenly divided between those who disapprove (58% and 48%) and those who approve (42% and 52%).

A modest majority of the three elder generational groups approve of Abbott's handling of the border situation: Silent/Baby Boomer (58%), Generation X (60%), and Millennials (54%). A modest majority of Generation Z disapproves (56%) of Abbott's handling of the border, compared to 44% who approve of it.

More than nine out ten Independents (90%), Republicans (92%) and Abbott voters (93%) disapprove of the way that Biden is handling the situation at the border. In contrast, 75% of Democrats and 72% of O'Rourke voters approve of the way that Biden is handling the border situation.

More than nine out of ten Republicans (93%) and Abbott voters (95%) approve of the way that Abbott is handling the situation at the border. In contrast, 83% of Democrats and 87% of O'Rourke voters disapprove of the way Abbott is handling the border situation. Independents narrowly approve of Abbott's handling of the border, 54% to 46%.

5. FUTURE ASYLUM POLICIES FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN ASYLUM SEEKERS

A large proportion of immigrants who have requested asylum in the United States in recent years have come from Central America, in particular the Northern Triangle countries of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. In the survey, the respondents were asked which of the following two statements came closest to matching their position on what U.S. policy should be regarding Central Americans who are currently immigrating to the United States.

The federal government should make it less difficult for these immigrants to request and obtain asylum in the United States.

Or

The federal government should make it more difficult for these immigrants to request and obtain asylum in the United States.

Table 20 provides the overall distribution of the responses to this question among Texas likely voters, as well as provides the responses broken down by ethnic/racial group, gender, generation, partisan ID and 2022 Texas gubernatorial vote intention. Overall, a majority of 55% of these Texans believe the U.S. federal government should make it more difficult for Central American immigrants to request and obtain asylum in the United States while 45% believe the U.S. federal government should make it less difficult for Central American immigrants to request and obtain asylum.

Table 20. More Difficult or Less Difficult for Immigrants to Obtain Asylum?

Population	More Difficult	Less Difficult
All Texans	55%	45%
White Texans	39%	61%
Hispanic Texans	57%	43%
Black Texans	47%	53%
Women	53%	47%
Men	58%	42%
Silent/Baby Boomers	66%	34%
Generation X	57%	43%
Millennials	44%	56%
Generation Z	27%	73%
Texas Democrats	73%	27%
Texas Independents	42%	58%
Texas Republicans	19%	81%
Abbott Voters	83%	17%
O'Rourke Voters	24%	76%
Others/Don't Know	54%	46%

Slightly more than three-fifths (61%) of white Texans believe the federal government should make it more difficult for these immigrants to request and obtain asylum, compared to 39% who believe the federal government should make it less difficult. Black Texans are more evenly split with 53% in favor of making it more difficult and 47% in favor of making it less difficult. Finally, 58% of Hispanic Texans believe the U.S. federal government should make it less difficult for Central Americans to request and obtain asylum, with 42% believing the government should make it more difficult.

Four-fifths (81%) of Republicans, three-fifths (58%) of Independents and one-quarter (27%) of Democrats believe the federal government should make it more difficult for Central Americans to request and obtain asylum. In contrast, three-quarters of Democrats (73%), two-fifths (42%) of Independents and one-fifth of Republicans (19%) believe the federal government should make it less difficult for Central Americans to request and obtain asylum. Four-fifths of Abbott voters (83%) believe the federal government should make it less difficult for Central Americans to request and obtain asylum vs. 17% who believe the federal government should make it easier, with the comparable proportions for O'Rourke voters 24% and 76%.

6. ABORTION POLICY IN TEXAS IN THE POST-DOBBS ERA

In the survey the likely voters were asked the following question: Abortion is now illegal in Texas, except if the life or well-being of the mother is at risk. If you were able, would you modify Texas law to make it easier or make it harder for a woman to obtain an abortion, or would you leave the law as it is now.

One in ten (11%) likely Texas voters said they would modify the law to make it harder for a woman to obtain an abortion in Texas, 37% said they would leave the law as it is now, and 52% they would modify the law to make it easier for a woman to obtain an abortion in Texas.

The 52% who said they would modify the law to make it easier to obtain an abortion in Texas were then asked which of the following laws was closest to their own view on what abortion law in Texas should be:

Illegal unless the mother's life or well-being is at risk or in the case of rape or Incest.

Legal through 6 weeks for any reason, and after only if the mother's life or well-being is at risk or in the case of rape or incest.

Legal through 15 weeks for any reason, and after only if the mother's life or well-being is at risk.

Legal through 20 weeks for any reason, and after only if the mother's life or well-being is at risk.

Legal through 24 weeks for any reason, and after only if the mother's life or well-being is at risk.

Table 21 provides the distribution of the total population in regard to their preferred abortion law for the state of Texas. The three-way distribution refers to the first question asking if the respondent would make it easier or harder to obtain an abortion, or if they would leave the law as it is now. Also provided is the distribution with the 52% who would modify Texas law to make abortion easier among the five liberalization options.

As mentioned previously, overall, 52% of Texas likely voters believe that Texas should make it easier for women to obtain an abortion, 37% believe that Texas should leave the law where as it is now under which only a woman whose life or well-being are at risk can legally obtain an abortion, while 11% of Texas likely voters believe that Texas should make it harder for women to obtain an abortion.

In a similar vein, when asked if the Texas Legislature has gone too far, not far enough, or been about right when it comes to restricting abortion, 51% responded that the Texas Legislature has gone too far in restricting abortion rights, 8% responded that the legislature has not gone far enough in restricting abortion rights,

while 41% responded that they believe that what the Texas Legislature has done in regard to placing restrictions on abortion has been about right.

Table 21. Making it Easier or Harder to Obtain an Abortion in Texas (%)

Harder/As Is/Easier	Three-Way Distribution	Complete Distribution
Make it Harder	11%	11%
Leave Law As Is Now	37%	37%
Make it Easier	52%	
Illegal Except Rape/Incest		4%
Legal Through 6 Weeks		8%
Legal Through 15 Weeks		11%
Legal Through 20 Weeks		7%
Legal Through 24 Weeks		22%

Among the 52% who would like Texas law changed to make it easier to obtain an abortion, 4% would only amend the current law to allow abortions to take place if the result or rape or incest, 8% would allow abortions to take place for any reason through 6 weeks of pregnancy, 11% would allow abortions to take place for any reason through 15 weeks of pregnancy, 7% would allow abortions to take place for any reason through 20 weeks of pregnancy, and 22% would allow abortions to take place for any reason through 24 weeks of pregnancy. Under all scenarios here abortion would be allowed at any time if the mother's life or well-being were at risk.

The data reveal that nearly half (48%) of Texans do not consider the current Texas legislation governing abortion to be unacceptably restrictive, and that the median likely Texas voter would prefer a situation where abortion was banned except if the mother's life or well-being were at risk or in the case of rape or incest. Furthermore, more than two-thirds (71%) of likely voters prefer a set of rules governing abortion that are notably more restrictive than those which existed under *Roe v. Wade* prior to the June 2022 Dobbs decision.

Table 22 provides the portion of the population that if they could change the law, would do so to make it easier for a woman to obtain an abortion in one column and the proportion who if they could would leave the law as is or modify the law to make it more difficult to obtain an abortion combined in another column, with the proportion wanting to make it more difficult in parentheses. The proportional distribution is provided overall and by ethnicity/race, gender, generation partisan ID, and 2022 Texas gubernatorial vote intention.

The white and Hispanic populations are, like the Texas likely voter population at large, relatively evenly split between those who would make it easier for women to

obtain an abortion in Texas (56% of Hispanic and 46% of white Texans) and those would make it harder or have no change (44% of Hispanic and 54% of white Texans). In contrast, a super-majority of Black Texans (72%) would like Texas law changed to make it easier for women to obtain an abortion, compared to 28% who prefer the status quo or making it more difficult to obtain an abortion.

Table 22. Abortion Law: Leave As Is/Make More Difficult vs. Make Easier (%)

Population	As Is/More Difficult	Easier
All Texans	48% (11%)	52%
White Texans	54% (12%)	46%
Hispanic Texans	44% (11%)	56%
Black Texans	28% (5%)	72%
Women	43% (11%)	57%
Men	53% (11%)	47%
Silent/Baby Boomers	60% (10%)	40%
Generation X	51% (10%)	49%
Millennials	45% (12%)	55%
Generation Z	24% (14%)	76%
Texas Democrats	17% (5%)	83%
Texas Independents	53% (13%)	47%
Texas Republicans	76% (16%)	24%
Abbott Voters	79% (16%)	21%
O'Rourke Voters	13% (4%)	87%
Others/Don't Know	39% (11%)	61%

The population of women and men is, like the Texas likely voter population at large, relatively evenly split between those who would want to make it easier for women to obtain an abortion in Texas (57% of women and 47% of men) and those who would want to make it either harder or to leave the state's restrictive abortion legislation as is (43% of women and 53% of men).

Overall, 79% of Black women, 58% of Hispanic women, and 51% of white women would modify Texas law to make it easier for Texan women to obtain abortion, compared to 62% of Black men, 55% of Hispanic men, and 40% of white men. Conversely, 49% of white women, 42% of Hispanic women, and 21% of Black women would either modify the Texas law to make it harder to obtain an abortion or would leave the current legislation unchanged.

Significantly more members of the Silent/Baby Boomers cohort would make it more difficult or leave the law as is than would modify Texas legislation to make it easier to obtain an abortion, by a 60% to 40% margin. Significantly more members of Generation Z would modify Texas legislation to make it easier to obtain an abortion, by a 76% to 24% margin. In between, Generation X (51% vs. 29%) and Millennials (45% vs. 55%) are relatively evenly split between those who would leave the law as is or make it more difficult and those who would make it easier to obtain an abortion.

An overwhelming majority of Republicans (76%) and Abbott voters (79%) would leave the law as is or make it harder to obtain an abortion in Texas, compared to 24% and 21% who would make it easier. Among those likely voters who identify as Republican, 80% of men and 73% of women would either leave the law as is (65% and 56%) or would make it harder to obtain an abortion (15% and 17%).

An overwhelming majority of Democrats (83%) and O'Rourke voters (87%) would modify the law to make it easier to obtain an abortion in Texas, compared to 17% and 13% who would leave the law as is or make it harder. Among those likely voters who identify as Democratic, 79% of men and 87% of women would modify the law in Texas to make it easier for a woman to obtain an abortion.

Independents are split right down the middle, with 53% favoring the status quo or making it more difficult to obtain an abortion and 47% wishing to make it easier.

Among the 24% of Republicans who would like to see Texas law changed to make it easier for a woman to obtain an abortion in the state, 11% favor a modification that would also include an exception for rape and incest, 26% favor a modification that would allow abortions for any reason through six weeks as well as include an exception for rape and incest, and 41% favor a modification that would allow abortions for any reason through 15 weeks of pregnancy. In contrast, only one in five favor a modification that would return the status quo in Texas to abortions being allowed for any reason through either 20 (9%) or 24 (13%) weeks.

7. IMPACT OF UVALDE TRAGEDY ON PUBLIC POLITICAL EVALUATIONS

In the survey the likely voters were asked:

In the aftermath of the May 2022 Uvalde Mass Shooting, would you say that your opinion of the following individuals and organizations is now more favorable, less favorable, or has it remained the same.

Three political figures and three organizations were evaluated: Greg Abbott, Beto O'Rourke, John Cornyn, the Texas Democratic Party, the Texas Republican Party, and the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS). The response options were more favorable, remained the same, less favorable and don't know

Table 23 reveals that the proportion of Texans whose view of these six political figures and organizations became more favorable in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy ranges from 8% (John Cornyn), 14% (Texas DPS), and 15% (Texas Republican Party) to the 21% (Texas Democratic Party), 22% (Greg Abbott) and 31% (Beto O'Rourke).

Table 23. Opinion of Political Figures and Organizations Post-Uvalde (%)

Political Figure/ Organization	More Favorable	Remained the Same	Less Favorable	Don't Know
Greg Abbott	22%	36%	37%	5%
Beto O'Rourke	31%	25%	38%	6%
John Cornyn	8%	42%	34%	16%
TX Dem. Party	21%	37%	36%	6%
TX Rep. Party	15%	44%	36%	5%
TX DPS	14%	43%	33%	10%

The proportion of Texans whose view of these six political figures and organizations became less favorable in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy lies in a narrow band ranging from 33% (DPS), 34% (John Cornyn), and 36% (Texas Democratic Party) to 36% (Texas Republican Party), 36% (Greg Abbott) and 37% (Beto O'Rourke).

In every instance the proportion of Texas likely voters who hold a less favorable view of the political figure or organization in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy is greater than the proportion with a more favorable opinion, with the deficits largest for John Cornyn (26%), the Texas Republican Party (21%), and the DPS (19%), and smallest for Beto O'Rourke (-7%).

Tables 24 and 25 provide the proportional distribution for the impact of the Uvalde tragedy on the evaluation of Greg Abbott and Beto O'Rourke respectively in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy overall and by ethnicity/race, gender, generation, and partisan ID. The focus in this table is on the proportion who view Abbott and O'Rourke more favorably in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy and the proportion who view Abbott and O'Rourke less favorably post-Uvalde.

Slightly more white Texans (28% vs. 26%) and substantially more Hispanic (48% vs. 19%) and Black (51% vs. 9%) Texans view Abbott less favorably than more favorably after Uvalde.

A modest majority of Hispanic Texans (37% vs. 32%) and an overwhelming majority of Black Texans (56% vs. 8%) view O'Rourke more favorably than less favorably in the aftermath of Uvalde. Twice as many white Texans however view O'Rourke less favorably than more favorably after Uvalde (47% vs. 22%).

Table 24. Public Opinion of Greg Abbott Post-Uvalde

Population	More Favorable	Less Favorable
All Texans	22%	37%
White Texans	26%	28%
Hispanic Texans	19%	48%
Black Texans	9%	51%
Women	20%	40%
Men	24%	32%
Silent/Baby Boomers	25%	36%
Generation X	18%	32%
Millennials	24%	38%
Generation Z	15%	54%
Texas Democrats	6%	72%
Texas Independents	11%	31%
Texas Republicans	42%	4%

Table 25. Public Opinion of Beto O'Rourke Post-Uvalde

Population	More Favorable	Less Favorable
All Texans	31%	38%
White Texans	22%	47%
Hispanic Texans	37%	32%
Black Texans	56%	8%
Women	32%	34%
Men	29%	43%
Silent/Baby Boomers	29%	50%
Generation X	28%	39%
Millennials	36%	26%
Generation Z	33%	18%
Texas Democrats	66%	2%
Texas Independents	14%	40%
Texas Republicans	3%	72%

A larger proportion of the two older generations views O'Rourke less favorably than more favorably, with the gap especially noteworthy for the Silent/Baby Boomers cohort (50% vs. 29%). In contrast, a larger proportion of the two younger generations views O'Rourke more favorably than less favorably, with the gap most noteworthy for Generation Z (33% vs. 18%).

The proportion of Texas Democrats who view Abbott less favorably after Uvalde is 12 times the proportion who view him more favorably (72% vs. 6%). By comparison, the proportion of Republicans who view Abbott more favorably after Uvalde is 10 times the proportion who view him less favorably (42% vs. 4%). Almost three times as many Independents view Abbott less favorably after Uvalde than more favorably (31% vs. 11%).

The proportion of Texas Democrats who view O'Rourke more favorably is 33 times the proportion who view him less favorably in the aftermath of Uvalde (66% vs. 2%). By comparison, the proportion of Republicans who view him less favorably is 24 times the proportion who view O'Rourke more favorably after Uvalde (72% vs. 3%). Almost three times as many Independents view O'Rourke less favorably after Uvalde than more favorably (40% vs. 14%).

Tables 26 provide the proportional distribution for impact of the Uvalde tragedy on the evaluation of the Texas Department of Public Safety in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy overall and by ethnicity/race, gender, generation, and partisan ID.

Table 26. Public Opinion of DPS Post-Uvalde

Population	More Favorable	Less Favorable
All Texans	14%	33%
White Texans	12%	31%
Hispanic Texans	14%	37%
Black Texans	22%	26%
Women	13%	34%
Men	15%	31%
Silent/Baby Boomers	12%	35%
Generation X	11%	29%
Millennials	19%	32%
Generation Z	18%	34%
Texas Democrats	13%	44%
Texas Independents	5%	37%
Texas Republicans	18%	20%

Across the board, for every single ethnic/racial, gender, generation, and partisan group, more people view the DPS less favorably in the aftermath of the Uvalde tragedy than more favorably. The distances range from a low of 2% among Texas Republicans (20% view DPS less favorably compared to 18% who view DPS more favorably), with Independents (37% vs. 5%) and Democrats (44% vs. 13%) exhibiting the largest gaps between less favorable and more favorable proportions.

8. METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

The Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation conducted an online survey sample of 1,172 Texas likely voters between September 6 and September 15, 2002, utilizing YouGov data collection systems and processes, and including a Hispanic oversample. Sample instruments, oversight research and survey analysis was conducted by the Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file). The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles. The weights were then post-stratified on 2016 and 2020 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight.