



# TEXAS DECIDES Part II

## The TxHPF | TEGNA 2023 Texas Legislative Session Issues Report

MAY 2023



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POLICY FOUNDATION



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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](http://www.TxHPF.org).

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This survey was carried out between May 8 and May 17 among 1,000 Texas registered voters. It has a margin of error of +/- 2.9% for the analysis of all registered voters and a margin of error of +/-4.8% and +/-5.1% for the analysis of Republican and Democratic primary voters respectively.

In a Texas Republican presidential primary restricted to Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, 57% of Texas GOP primary voters would vote for Trump and 36% for DeSantis, with 5% undecided and 2% responding that they would not vote if Trump and DeSantis were their only two options.

Four Nov. 2024 presidential election scenarios were presented to Texas registered voters: Trump vs. Joe Biden, DeSantis vs. Biden, Trump vs. Kamala Harris, DeSantis vs. Harris. Surveys of Texas registered voters tend to be more favorable for Democratic candidates and less favorable for Republican candidates than surveys of likely voters conducted in the months before an election.

- Trump's vote intention (44%) surpasses that of Biden (42%) by 2 percentage points. 6% intend to vote for minor party candidates and 8% remain undecided.
- DeSantis's vote intention (44%) surpasses that of Biden (42%) by 2 percentage points. 5% intend to vote for minor party candidates and 9% remain undecided.
- Trump's vote intention (46%) surpasses that of Harris (39%) by 7 percentage points. 6% intend to vote for minor party candidates and 9% remain undecided.
- DeSantis's vote intention (45%) surpasses that of Harris (40%) by 5 percentage points. 5% intend to vote for minor party candidates and 10% remain undecided.

In a March 2024 Democratic Texas U.S. Senate primary featuring U.S. Congressman Colin Allred, Texas State Senator Roland Gutierrez and John Love, 33% of Democratic primary voters would vote for Allred, 22% for Gutierrez and 4% for Love. 41% of these voters remain undecided.

In a Nov. 2024 U.S. Senate race between Democrat Colin Allred and Republican Ted Cruz, Cruz leads Allred 47% to 40%, with 9% undecided and 4% voting for minor party candidates. 49% of registered voters do not know enough about Allred to have either a favorable or unfavorable opinion about him, while only 6% do not know enough about Cruz to have an opinion about the senator.

Republican primary voters were randomly presented with eight potential Republican presidential candidates and asked if they were someone the voter would definitely vote for, might consider voting for, never would vote for, or did not know enough about to have an opinion.

- 57% of Texas GOP primary voters would definitely vote for Donald Trump, another 30% might consider voting for Trump, and 11% would never vote for Trump.

- 42% of Texas GOP primary voters would definitely vote for Ron DeSantis, another 41% might consider voting for DeSantis, and 11% would never vote for DeSantis.
- 41% of Texas GOP primary voters would definitely vote for Greg Abbott, another 40% might consider voting for Abbott, and 15% would never vote for Abbott.
- 13% of Texas GOP primary voters would definitely vote for Mike Pence, another 35% might consider voting for Pence, and nearly half (45%) would never vote for Pence.
- Between one-quarter and one-half of Texas GOP primary voters don't know enough about Nikki Haley (23%), Tim Scott (36%), Kristi Noem (39%) and Glenn Youngkin (45%) to have an opinion about them.

Trump's indictment by a New York grand jury in the "Stormy Daniels" case has caused 47% of Texas Republicans to now be more likely to vote for him in the 2024 primary and 12% to now be less likely to vote for him, with the remainder now neither more nor less likely to vote for Trump.

53% of Texas Democratic primary voters hold a favorable view of Colin Allred. 36% of Democratic primary voters do not know enough about Allred to have an opinion of him.

45% of Texas Democratic primary voters hold a favorable view of Roland Gutierrez. 44% of Democratic primary voters do not know enough about Gutierrez to have an opinion of him.

Texas registered voters were asked to provide favorable and unfavorable evaluations of 10 Texas political figures, with an additional option that they didn't know enough about them to have an opinion: U.S. Senators Cornyn & Cruz, U.S. Congressmen Allred, Castro & Crenshaw, Gov. Abbott, Lt. Gov. Patrick, AG Paxton, State Senator Gutierrez and former U.S. Congressman O'Rourke.

The five Texas political figures with the highest favorable ratings among Texas registered voters are Abbott (53%), Cruz (49%), O'Rourke (46%), Patrick (45%) and Paxton (42%).

The five Texas political figures with the highest unfavorable ratings among Texas registered voters are O'Rourke (45%), Cruz (45%), Abbott (43%), Cornyn (43%) and Paxton (40%).

The three Republican political figures with the highest favorable ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Abbott (86%), Cruz (83%) and Patrick (72%).

The three Republican political figures with the highest unfavorable ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Cornyn (30%), Crenshaw (24%) and Paxton (17%).

The favorable ratings of the four Democrats among Democratic primary voters are: O'Rourke (86%), Castro (64%), Allred (52%) and Gutierrez (45%). The unfavorable ratings are in a narrow range of between 10% (O'Rourke and Castro) and 12% (Allred), with Gutierrez at 11%. The remaining primary voters don't know enough about these four Democrats to have an opinion.

## TEXAS DECIDES: PART II

This is the second report of three drawing on a survey of 1,000 Texas registered voters carried out between May 8 and May 17 of 2023 (margin of error of +/- 2.9%). The responses are weighted to provide a population that is representative of Texas registered voters (for more information on the methodology, see the methodological appendix).

In this report we examine the opinions and vote intention of 2024 Texas Republican primary voters and of 2024 Texas Democratic primary voters regarding the 2024 Republican presidential primary and the 2024 Texas Democratic U.S. Senate primary respectively. We also take an early look at the vote intention of Texas registered voters for the November 2024 presidential election and November 2024 U.S. Senate election in Texas. Finally, we analyze the favorable/unfavorable ratings of 10 Texas political figures, both among all Texas registered voters as well as among the Texas voters who make up each political figure's respective partisan primary electorate.

### 1. SURVEY POPULATION

The distribution of the Texas registered voters surveyed based on their ethnic/racial self-identification is 58% white/Anglo, 23% Hispanic/Latino, 13% Black/African American and 6% with a mixed or other ethnic/racial identity. The gender distribution of the population is 53% women and 47% men. In regard to generations, 37% of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928 and 1945) and Baby Boomers (1946-1964) cohort, 25% to Generation X (1965-1980), 27% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation and 11% to Generation Z (1997-2005). The partisan identification of this population is 43% Republican, 42% Democrat, 12% Independent and 3% Unsure. Among the respondents who voted in the 2020 presidential election, 51.3% voted for Donald Trump, 46.9% for Joe Biden and 1.8% for minor party candidates.

The analysis below focuses on this general population of registered voters and sub-populations of Republican and Democratic primary voters as well as these registered voters and primary voters broken down by ethnicity/race, gender, generation, partisanship, and region. Four regional categories are employed: core urban counties (Bexar, Dallas, Harris, Tarrant, Travis), populous suburban counties adjacent to these core urban counties (Brazoria, Fort Bend, Galveston, Montgomery, Hays, Williamson, Collin, Denton, Rockwall), border counties (Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr, Zapata, Webb, Maverick, Kinney, Val Verde, Terrell, Brewster, Presidio, Jeff Davis, Hudspeth, El Paso), and exurb, rural and regional urban hub counties (226 counties). Close to half (45%) of these registered voters reside in the major urban counties, 18% in the populous suburban counties, 7% in the border counties, and 30% elsewhere in the state's exurb, regional hub and rural counties.

### 2. THE 2024 REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY IN TEXAS

In the survey individuals who indicated that they planned to vote in the March 2024 Republican presidential primary election were asked a series of questions related to the leading GOP

presidential candidates. The margin of error for this sub-population of Republican primary voters is +/- 4.8%.

First, the respondents were randomly presented with eight potential 2024 Republican presidential candidates and asked if the person was someone that they definitely would vote for, might consider voting for, never would vote for, or about whom they did not know enough to have an opinion.

Table 1 provides the distribution of the responses to this question regarding these eight leading Republican presidential candidates (some of whom have formally announced and others of whom are still contemplating a presidential bid): former president Donald Trump, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, Texas Governor Greg Abbott, former vice-president Mike Pence, former South Carolina governor and former UN Ambassador Nikki Haley, South Carolina U.S. Senator Tim Scott, South Dakota Governor Kristi Noem, and Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin.

**Table 1: Distribution of Texas Republican Primary Voters For Eight Potential Candidates (%)**

Potential Candidates	Definitely Would Vote For	Might Consider Voting For	Never Would Vote For	Don't Know Enough About
Donald Trump	57	30	11	2
Ron DeSantis	42	41	11	6
Greg Abbott	41	40	15	4
Mike Pence	13	35	45	7
Tim Scott	11	40	13	36
Nikki Haley	12	38	27	23
Kristi Noem	12	32	17	39
Glenn Youngkin	8	28	19	45

Four of these potential Republican presidential candidates are very well known to Texas Republican primary voters, with fewer than one in ten of these GOP primary voters not knowing enough about the candidate to have an opinion. The “don’t know enough” proportions range from lows of 2% for Trump and 4% for Abbott to highs of 6% for DeSantis and 7% for Pence.

Among this first group of candidates, 57% of Republican primary voters say they would definitely vote for Trump, 42% for DeSantis, 41% for Abbott and only 13% for Pence. Another 30% indicate they might consider voting for Trump, 41% for DeSantis, 40% for Abbott, and 35% for Pence. Overall, the candidates’ respective floors (definitely vote for) and ceilings (definitely vote for plus might consider voting for) are: Trump (floor of 57% and ceiling of 87%), DeSantis (floor of 42% and ceiling of 83%), Abbott (floor of 41% and ceiling of 81%) and Pence (floor of 13% and ceiling of 48%). While only between 11% (DeSantis and Trump) and 15% (Abbott) Texas Republican primary voters responded that they would never for these three candidates, nearly half (45%) said that they would never vote for Pence.

Four of the potential 2024 presidential candidates are much less well known to Texas Republican primary voters, with between one-fourth and one-half not knowing enough about the candidate to have an opinion. The “don’t know enough” proportions range from lows of 23% for Haley and 36% for Scott to highs of 39% for Noem and 45% for Youngkin.

Among this second group of candidates, 12% of Republican primary voters say they would definitely vote for Haley and Noem, 11% for Scott and 8% for Youngkin. Another 38% say they might consider voting for Haley, 32% for Noem, 40% for Scott and 28% for Youngkin. Overall, the candidates’ respective floors and ceilings are: Scott (11% floor and 51% ceiling), Haley (12% floor and 50% ceiling), Noem (12% floor and 44% ceiling) and Youngkin (8% floor and 36% ceiling).

These same Texas Republican primary voters were also presented with a hypothetical 2024 Texas Republican presidential primary matchup restricted to the two leading candidates today: Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis. Table 2 provides the vote intention for this hypothetical matchup. At the present time, less than 10 months before the March 5, 2024 primary, Trump (57%) enjoys a 21 percentage point lead over DeSantis (36%), with 2% of GOP primary voters responding that if their only two choices were Trump and DeSantis they would not vote and 5% still undecided (don’t know). If these latter 7% of voters are excluded and the remaining proportion projected, Trump’s lead over DeSantis would be 61% to 39%.

**Table 2: Texas Republican Presidential Primary Voter Vote Intention: Trump vs. DeSantis (%)**

Scenario	Trump	DeSantis	Would Not Vote	Don’t Know
All Voters	57	36	2	5
Valid Voters	61	39	.	.

Table 3 provides the breakdown of the Republican primary voters’ vote intention in the hypothetical Trump-DeSantis faceoff by ethnicity/race, gender, generation, partisan identification and region. The share of the Republican primary voters across these different socio-demographic sub-groups is provided in the table next to the sub-group in parentheses. For example, 74% of these GOP primary voters are white and 17% are Hispanic.



**Table 3: Distribution of the Republican Primary Vote Among Sub-Groups (%)**

Group	Sub-Group	Trump	DeSantis	DK/WNV
Total Population		57	36	7
Ethnicity/Race	White (74%)	55	36	9
	Hispanic (17%)	74	21	5
Gender	Women (50%)	56	37	7
	Men (50%)	57	34	9
Generation	Boomer/Silent (47%)	59	34	7
	Generation X (24%)	51	41	8
	Millennial/Gen Z (29%)	59	33	8
Partisan ID	Republican (90%)	57	37	6
	All Others (10%)	57	28	15
Region	Core Urban (37%)	52	38	10
	Suburban (19%)	62	32	6
	Rural/Exurb/Hub (37%)	54	41	5
	Border (7%)	81	11	8

Trump bests DeSantis among all 13 socio-demographic sub-groups in Table 3. Among the most prominent demographic sub-groups, Trump leads DeSantis 55% to 36% among white primary voters, 56% to 37% among women primary voters, 57% to 34% among men primary voters, 59% to 34% among members of the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort, 57% to 37% among Republican partisan identifiers, 52% to 38% among voters in the state’s core urban counties, and 54% to 41% among voters in the state’s rural, exurb and regional hub counties. Trump’s lead in vote intention over DeSantis is smallest among Generation X (10%), and among Republican primary voters in the core urban counties (14%) and in the suburban counties (13%).

Finally, these Republican primary voters were asked if following Trump’s indictment by a New York grand jury, would they be more likely to vote for Trump in the 2024 Republican presidential primary, less likely to vote for Trump, or neither more nor less likely to vote for Trump. Nearly half (47%) said they were now more likely to vote for Trump while only 12% said they now were less likely, with 40% indicating they were now neither more nor less likely to vote for Trump.

## **2. THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TEXAS**

The Texas registered voters were presented with four distinct November 2024 presidential election scenarios in which Joe Biden, Kamala Harris, Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis compete. Under each scenario the registered voters also were given the option for voting for a generic

Libertarian Party presidential candidate, a generic Green Party presidential candidate, or indicating that they are still undecided. Table 4 contains the results of these four November 2024 presidential election scenarios. It should be underscored that this vote intention is for all registered voters, and historically in Texas the actual voters who turn out in November tend to lean somewhat more Republican than do the state's registered voters. It is therefore quite possible that this exercise modestly underestimates the vote intention for Republican candidates and modestly overestimates the vote intention for Democratic candidates.

**Table 4: Texas Registered Voter Vote Intention in the 2024 Presidential Election: 4 Scenarios**

Candidate Scenario	Candidates	Vote Intention (%)
Trump vs. Biden	Donald Trump	44
	Joe Biden	42
	Libertarian Candidate	4
	Green Party Candidate	2
	Don't Know	8
DeSantis vs. Biden	Ron DeSantis	44
	Joe Biden	42
	Libertarian Candidate	3
	Green Party Candidate	2
	Don't Know	9
Trump vs. Harris	Donald Trump	46
	Kamala Harris	39
	Libertarian Candidate	4
	Green Party Candidate	2
	Don't Know	9
DeSantis vs. Harris	Ron DeSantis	45
	Kamala Harris	40
	Libertarian Candidate	3
	Green Party Candidate	2
	Don't Know	10

In the Trump-Biden election scenario, Trump's vote intention (44%) narrowly surpasses that of Biden (42%) by 2 percentage points, with 6% intending to vote for the Libertarian or Green Party candidate and 8% undecided.

In the DeSantis-Biden election scenario, DeSantis's vote intention (44%) narrowly surpasses that of Biden (42%) by 2 percentage points, with 5% intending to vote for the Libertarian or Green Party candidate and 9% undecided.

In the Trump-Harris election scenario, Trump’s vote intention (46%) surpasses that of Harris (39%) by 7 percentage points, with 6% intending to vote for the Libertarian or Green Party candidate and 9% undecided.

In the DeSantis-Harris election scenario, DeSantis’s vote intention (45%) surpasses that of Harris (40%) by 5 percentage points, with 5% intending to vote for the Libertarian or Green Party candidate and 10% undecided.

Table 5 provides the breakdown (from the first 2024 presidential election scenario) of the support for Trump and Biden across ethnic/racial, gender, generational, partisan and regional socio-demographic sub-groups.

**Table 5: 2024 Presidential Vote Intention Among Sub-Groups**

Group	Sub-Group	Trump	Biden	Other/DK
Total Population		44	42	14
Ethnicity/Race	White	54	35	11
	Hispanic	34	47	19
	Black	20	68	12
Gender	Women	42	43	15
	Men	46	40	14
Generation	Boomer/Silent	55	34	11
	Generation X	43	45	12
	Millennial	35	44	21
	Generation Z	33	54	13
Partisan ID	Republican	87	3	10
	Independent	34	28	38
	Democrat	5	86	9
Region	Core Urban	36	50	14
	Suburban	47	40	13
	Rural/Exurb/Hub	54	32	14
	Border	49	34	17

Trump holds a significant advantage over Biden among white Texans (54% vs. 35%) while Biden holds an even greater advantage over Trump among Black Texans (68% vs. 20%) as well as a notable advantage among Hispanic Texans (47% vs. 34%).

There is a strong generational split in the 2024 presidential vote intention, with members of the Boomer/Silent Generation supporting Trump over Biden 55% to 34%, and members of Generation Z supporting Biden over Trump 54% to 33%.

Republicans overwhelmingly intend to vote for Trump rather than Biden (87% vs. 3%), while Democrats overwhelmingly intend to vote for Biden rather than Trump (86% vs. 5%). Independents are split relatively evenly among those who intend to vote for Trump (34%), those who intend to vote for Biden (28%), and those who intend to vote for a minor party candidate or remain undecided (38%).

Biden's strongest region is constituted by the five core urban counties where he enjoys a 14 percentage point advantage over Trump (50% to 36%). Trump's strongest region is constituted by the combined rural, exurb and regional hub counties where he enjoys a 22 percentage point advantage over Biden (54% to 32%).

### 3. THE 2024 DEMOCRATIC TEXAS U.S. SENATE PRIMARY

In the survey individuals who indicated that they planned to vote in the March 2024 Democratic U.S. Senate primary election were asked a series of questions related to the leading Democratic U.S. Senate candidates. The margin of error for this sub-population of Democratic primary voters is +/- 5.1%.

When the survey was conducted during the first fortnight of May, U.S. Congressman Colin Allred of Dallas and former Midland city council member John Love had announced that they intended to compete for the Texas Democratic Party's 2024 U.S. Senate nomination. At the same time, Texas State Senator Roland Gutierrez had begun to signal that he too was contemplating a similar U.S. Senate bid.

Table 6 provides the evaluation of Allred and Gutierrez among Texas Democratic primary voters. The response options were very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable and very unfavorable, along with a response that the Democratic primary voter did not know enough about them to have an opinion one way or another.

**Table 6: Evaluation of Colin Allred & Roland Gutierrez Among Democratic Primary Voters**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Very Favorable</b>	<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	<b>Don't Know Enough</b>
Colin Allred	31	22	7	4	36
Roland Gutierrez	17	28	5	6	44

Slightly more than one-half (53%) of Democratic primary voters hold a favorable view of Allred, 31% very favorable and 22% somewhat favorable. Only one in ten (11%) hold an unfavorable view of Allred, 7% somewhat unfavorable and 4% very unfavorable. More than one in three (36%) Texas Democratic primary voters however do not know enough about Allred to have an opinion of him.

Slightly less than one-half (45%) of Democratic primary voters hold a favorable view of Gutierrez, 17% very favorable and 28% somewhat favorable. Only one in ten (11%) hold an unfavorable view of Gutierrez, 5% somewhat unfavorable and 6% very unfavorable. Just under one-half (44%) of Democratic primary voters do not know enough about Gutierrez to have an opinion of him.

Table 7 provides the vote intention of Texas Democratic primary voters in a hypothetical Democratic U.S. Senate primary where the candidates are Allred, Gutierrez and Love. With less than 10 months to go until the March 5, 2024 primary, two-fifths (41%) of Texas Democratic primary voters remain undecided in what is likely to be the Texas Democratic Party's marquee statewide primary contest next year. The remaining 59% tilt modestly in Allred's favor, with Allred's vote intention 33% compared to 22% for Gutierrez, with Love at 4%. Projecting the vote based solely on those who were not undecided as of May 2023, Allred's vote intention is 56%, while Gutierrez's is 37% and Love's 7%.

**Table 7: Vote Intention in 2024 Texas U.S. Senate Democratic Primary**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Intention (%)</b>	<b>Vote Intention (valid %)</b>
Colin Allred	33	56
Roland Gutierrez	22	37
John Love	4	7
Don't Know	41	.

Table 8 provides the distribution of the vote intention for Allred, Gutierrez and Love among key ethnic/racial, gender, generational, partisan and regional socio-demographic sub-groups. The proportion of these Democratic primary voters accounted for by each sub-group is in parentheses in Table 8.



**Table 8: 2024 Democratic Texas U.S. Senate Primary Vote Intention Among Sub-Groups**

Group	Sub-Group	Allred	Gutierrez	Love	Don't Know
Total Population		33	22	4	41
Ethnicity/Race	White (46%)	46	15	5	34
	Hispanic (30%)	17	32	2	49
	Black (22%)	25	25	5	45
Gender	Women (56%)	40	15	3	42
	Men (44%)	24	30	6	40
Generation	Boomer/Silent (33%)	44	11	2	43
	Generation X (26%)	37	19	2	42
	Millennial/Gen Z (41%)	21	32	6	41
Partisan ID	Democratic (93%)	34	22	3	41
	All Others (7%)	16	26	9	49
Region	Core Urban (54%)	30	27	2	41
	Suburban (17%)	41	21	0	38
	Rural/Exurb/Hub (23%)	32	10	11	47
	Border (7%)	31	28	3	38

Allred enjoys a significant advantage over Gutierrez among white Democratic primary voters (46% vs. 15%) while Gutierrez enjoys a significant advantage over Allred among Hispanic Democratic primary voters (32% vs. 17%). The two candidates are deadlocked among Black Democratic primary voters at 25%, 34% of whom indicated that they did not know anything about Allred. Among Black Democratic primary voters who know who Allred is, Allred leads Gutierrez 36% to 23%.

Allred holds a significant advantage over Gutierrez among women Democratic primary voters (40% to 15%), with the two having relatively even support among men (24% and 30%).

Allred is heavily preferred over Gutierrez by the members of the combined Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort (44% vs. 11%) as well as enjoys a notable advantage among Generation X (37% vs. 19%). Gutierrez however possess a narrower, albeit still noteworthy, advantage over Allred among the combined Millennial/Generation Z cohort (32% vs. 21%).

The vote intention for Allred and Gutierrez is effectively equal in the core urban counties (30% vs. 27%) as well as in the border counties (31% vs. 28%). In contrast, Allred holds a nearly two-to-one (41% to 21%) advantage in vote intention over Gutierrez in the populous suburban

counties and a three-to-one (32% to 10%) advantage in the rural, exurb and regional hub counties.

#### 4. THE 2024 TEXAS U.S. SENATE ELECTION

Table 9 provides the vote intention of Texas registered voters in a hypothetical November 2024 U.S. Senate race between Republican Ted Cruz and Democrat Colin Allred, along with generic Libertarian and Green Party candidates. It should be underscored that this vote intention is for all registered voters, and historically in Texas the actual voters who turn out in November tend to lean somewhat more Republican than do the state's registered voters. It is therefore quite possible that this exercise modestly underestimates the vote intention for Republican candidate and modestly overestimates the vote intention for Democratic candidate.

Table 9 reveals that Cruz holds a 7 percentage point lead over Allred (47% to 40%) among all registered voters, and an 8 percentage point lead (52% to 44%) when the 9% of registered voters who indicated they did not know who they would vote for are excluded. As will be discussed more fully in the next section, while only 6% of Texas registered voters do not know enough about Cruz to have either a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the senator, 49% of Texas registered voters do not enough about Allred to have either a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the congressman.

**Table 9: Texas Registered Voter Vote Intention in the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate Election**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Vote Intention (%)</b>	<b>Vote Intention (valid %)</b>
Ted Cruz (R)	47	52
Colin Allred (D)	40	44
Libertarian Candidate	2	2
Green Party Candidate	2	2
Don't Know	9	

Table 10 provides the breakdown of the support for Cruz and Allred across ethnic/racial, gender, generational, partisan and regional socio-demographic sub-groups.

**Table 10: 2024 Texas U.S. Senate Vote Intention Among Sub-Groups**

Group	Sub-Group	Cruz	Allred	Other/DK
Total Population		47	40	13
Ethnicity/Race	White	58	33	9
	Hispanic	32	47	21
	Black	19	65	16
Gender	Women	44	43	13
	Men	51	37	12
Generation	Boomer/Silent	58	36	6
	Generation X	47	42	11
	Millennial	36	42	22
	Generation Z	36	50	14
Partisan ID	Republican	91	3	6
	Independent	45	31	24
	Democrat	5	83	12
Region	Core Urban	39	46	15
	Suburban	50	42	8
	Rural/Exurb/Hub	59	30	11
	Border	46	39	15

Cruz holds a significant advantage over Allred among white Texans (58% vs. 33%) while Allred holds an even greater advantage over Cruz among Black Texans (65% vs. 19%) as well as a notable advantage among Hispanic Texans (47% vs. 32%).

Cruz and Allred are effectively tied in vote intention among women (44% vs. 43%), while Cruz holds a substantial lead over Allred among men (51% vs. 37%).

There is a strong generational split in vote intention, with members of the Boomer/Silent Generation supporting Cruz over Allred 58% to 36%, and members of Generation Z supporting Allred over Cruz 50% to 36%.

Republicans overwhelmingly intend to vote for Cruz rather than Allred (91% vs. 3%), while Democrats overwhelmingly intend to vote for Allred rather than Cruz (83% vs. 5%). Close to half (45%) of Independents intend to vote for Cruz, with close to a third (31%) intending to vote for

Allred, and 24% intending to vote for a minor party candidate or still undecided at this point in time.

Allred's strongest region is constituted by the five core urban counties where he enjoys a 7 percentage point advantage over Cruz (46% to 39%). Cruz's strongest region is constituted by the combined rural, exurb and regional hub counties where he enjoys a 29 percentage point advantage over Allred (59% to 30%).

## 5. FAVORABLE & UNFAVORABLE EVALUATIONS OF 10 TEXAS POLITICAL FIGURES

In the survey, these Texas registered voters were asked to indicate if they had a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of 10 Texas political figures, with it also possible to respond that they did not know enough about the political figure to have an opinion about them, one way or the other.

The 10 Texas political figures evaluated are: U.S. Senator John Cornyn, U.S. Senator Ted Cruz, U.S. Congressman Colin Allred, U.S. Congressman Joaquín Castro, U.S. Congressman Dan Crenshaw, Texas Governor Greg Abbott, Texas Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton, Texas State Senator Roland Gutierrez, and former U.S. Congressman and 2018 U.S. Senate and 2022 Texas Governor nominee Beto O'Rourke.

Table 11 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who hold a favorable (very or somewhat) and unfavorable (very or somewhat) opinion of each one of the 10 Texas political figures along with the proportion of registered voters who did not know enough about the political figure to have either a favorable or unfavorable opinion of them. The proportion of registered voters holding a very favorable and very unfavorable opinion of the political figure is in parentheses in each respective column.

**Table 11: Evaluation of 10 Texas Political Figures Among Texas Registered Voters**

Political Figure	Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know Enough
Greg Abbott	53 (28)	43 (36)	4
Ted Cruz	49 (26)	45 (37)	6
Beto O'Rourke	46 (25)	45 (38)	9
Dan Patrick	45 (17)	38 (29)	17
Ken Paxton	42 (17)	40 (29)	18
Joaquín Castro	38 (16)	24 (15)	38
John Cornyn	37 (10)	43 (25)	20
Dan Crenshaw	35 (14)	34 (19)	31
Colin Allred	34 (15)	17 (9)	49
Roland Gutierrez	32 (10)	12 (6)	56

Note: the proportion that is very favorable and very unfavorable is in parentheses.

The five political figures with the highest favorable ratings among Texas registered voters are Abbott (53%), Cruz (49%), O'Rourke (46%), Patrick (45%), and Paxton (42%). The five political figures with the highest unfavorable ratings among Texas registered voters are O'Rourke (45%), Cruz (45%), Abbott (43%), Cornyn (43%), and Paxton (40%).

Fewer than one in ten Texas registered voters do not know enough about Abbott (4%), Cruz (6%) and O'Rourke (9%) to have an opinion of them. In sharp contrast, more than one in three Texas registered voters do not know enough about Gutierrez (56%), Allred (49%), Castro (38%), and Crenshaw (31%) to have an opinion of them. In between are three political figures about whom approximately one in five Texas registered voters do not know enough to have an opinion: Cornyn (20%), Paxton (18%) and Patrick (17%).

One final metric with which to examine the evaluation of these political figures is their net favorability rating (proportion of registered voters with a favorable evaluation minus the proportion of registered voters with an unfavorable evaluation). The five political figures with the highest net favorability ratings are Gutierrez (+20%), Allred (+17%), Castro (+14%), Abbott (+10%) and Patrick (+7%). The five political figures with the lowest net favorability ratings are Cornyn (-6%), O'Rourke (+1%), Crenshaw (+1%), Paxton (+2%), and Cruz (+4%).

Table 12 provides data similar to those in Table 11, but restricted to Republican primary voters evaluating the six Republican political figures. All six Republican political figures are relatively familiar to Republican primary voters with only between 1% (Abbott) and 3% (Cruz) on one hand, and 14% (Cornyn, Patrick, Paxton) and 22% (Crenshaw) on the other, not knowing enough about them to have an opinion.

**Table 12: Evaluation of Texas Republican Political Figures  
Among Texas Republican Primary Voters**

<b>Political Figure</b>	<b>Favorable</b>	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>Don't Know Enough</b>
Greg Abbott	86 (53)	13 (5)	1
Ted Cruz	83 (49)	14 (5)	3
Dan Patrick	72 (32)	14 (5)	14
Ken Paxton	69 (31)	17 (5)	14
John Cornyn	56 (15)	30 (13)	14
Dan Crenshaw	54 (26)	24 (9)	22

Note: the proportion that is very favorable and very unfavorable is in parentheses.

The three Republican political figures with the highest favorable ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Abbott (86%), Cruz (83%), and Patrick (72%). The three Republican political figures with the highest unfavorable ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Cornyn (30%), Crenshaw (24%), and Paxton (17%).



The three Republican political figures with the highest net favorability ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Abbott (+73%), Cruz (+69%) and Patrick (+58%). The three Republican political figures with the lowest net favorability ratings among Texas Republican primary voters are Cornyn (+26%), Crenshaw (+30%) and Paxton (+52%).

Table 13 provides data similar to those in Tables 11 and 12, but restricted to Democratic primary voters evaluating the four Democratic political figures. Democratic primary voter familiarity with these four political figures ranges from near universal familiarity with O'Rourke (all but 4% know enough about him to have an opinion) to between one-quarter (Castro, 26%) and two-fifths (Allred, 36% and Gutierrez, 44%) of Democratic primary voters not knowing enough about the political figure to have an opinion.

**Table 13: Evaluation of Texas Democratic Political Figures  
Among Texas Democratic Primary Voters**

<b>Political Figure</b>	<b>Favorable</b>	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>Don't Know Enough</b>
Beto O'Rourke	86 (58)	10 (5)	4
Joaquín Castro	64 (34)	10 (6)	26
Colin Allred	52 (31)	12 (4)	36
Roland Gutierrez	45 (17)	11 (6)	44

Note: the proportion that is very favorable and very unfavorable is in parentheses.

The favorable ratings of these four Democrats among Democratic primary voters are: O'Rourke (86%), Castro (64%), Allred (52%) and Gutierrez (45%). The unfavorable ratings of these four Democrats are all in a narrow range of between 10% (O'Rourke and Castro) and 12% (Allred), with Gutierrez at 11%. O'Rourke holds the highest net favorability rating among these Democratic primary voters at 76%, followed by Castro (54%), Allred (40%) and Gutierrez (34%).

## 6. METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

The Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation conducted an online survey sample of 1,000 Texas registered voters carried out between May 8 and May 17 of 2023, utilizing YouGov data collection systems and processes, and including a Hispanic oversample. Instrument design, research oversight and survey analysis were all carried out by the Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation. The sampling frame is a politically representative "modeled frame" of adults, based upon the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 CES surveys, including demographics and 2020 presidential vote. 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, and years of education. 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 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.