

TEXAS 2024

PRIMARY ELECTION

Influences in State House Republican Primary Races



Hobby School of Public Affairs
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON





Texas Primary Election 2024 Influences in State House Republican Primary Races

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The Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston conducted an online survey of Texas registered voters to assess their preferences and opinions regarding the 2024 election cycle. The survey was fielded between January 11 and January 24, 2024, in English and Spanish, with 1,500 YouGov respondents, resulting in a confidence interval of +/-2.5%. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education and are representative of the population of Texas registered voters.

This is the third of four reports. The first report examined vote intention in the March 2024 Texas Republican and Democratic presidential primaries, vote intention in the November 2024 presidential election in Texas, Texan opinions regarding the major candidates' fitness to serve due to their advanced age, and favorability evaluations of leading national political figures among Texans. The second report examined vote intention in the March 2024 Texas Democratic U.S. Senate primary election and vote intention in the November 2024 Texas U.S. Senate election. This third report explores factors influencing Texas House Republican primaries, ranging from the voting record of incumbent legislators to the endorsements of high-profile Republicans, with additional examination of the GOP Texas Court of Criminal Appeals primary elections. The fourth report analyzes public opinion regarding school choice/school vouchers and the 2023 impeachment trial of Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton.

Executive Summary

60% of Republican primary voters would be less likely to vote for an incumbent Texas House representative who cast a legislative vote against school choice/vouchers in 2023.

The negative impact on the vote intention for a House incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers does not vary by region, with 63% of GOP primary voters in urban and suburban counties less likely to vote for the incumbent compared to 58% in rural and semi-rural counties.

16% of Republican primary voters would be more likely to vote for an incumbent Texas House representative who cast a legislative vote against school choice/vouchers in 2023.

46% of Republican primary voters would be less likely to vote for an incumbent House representative who cast a legislative vote in favor of the articles of impeachment against Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton in 2023.

23% of Republican primary voters would be more likely to vote for an incumbent House representative who cast a legislative vote in favor of the articles of impeachment against Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton in 2023.

70% of Republican primary voters would, all other things equal, be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by Donald Trump, compared to 12% who would be less likely.

64% of Republican primary voters would, all other things equal, be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by Greg Abbott, compared to 14% who would be less likely.

61% of Republican primary voters would, all other things equal, be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by Ted Cruz, compared to 16% who would be less likely.

40% of Republican primary voters would, all other things equal, be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by Ken Paxton, compared to 19% who would be less likely.

34% of Republican primary voters would, all other things equal, be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by Rick Perry, compared to 15% who would be less likely.

60% of Republican primary voters would be less likely to vote for an incumbent Court of Criminal Appeals judge who ruled in 2021 that the Texas Attorney General cannot unilaterally prosecute voter fraud, while 20% would be more likely to vote for them.

64% of Republican primary voters support the current Texas ban on abortions unless the mother's life is at risk, while 32% oppose this policy.

75% of Republican primary voters oppose the pre-*Dobbs* policy of permitting abortion for any reason through 23-24 weeks of pregnancy, while 22% support this policy.

68% of Republican primary voters support legislation which would require Texans to be at least 21 to purchase an AR-15 style assault rifle, while 30% oppose this legislation.

54% of Republican primary voters support legislation which would allow judges to confiscate the firearms of Texans deemed a threat to themselves or others, while 40% oppose this policy.

87% of Republican primary voters support (68% strongly) the current Texas policy of spending \$3 billion in Texas tax dollars annually on border security, while 11% oppose (5% strongly) this policy.

89% of Republican primary voters support (80% strongly) legislation which empowers Texas law enforcement to arrest undocumented immigrants, while 9% oppose (6% strongly) this policy.

64% of Republican primary voters support legislation which would provide tax-funded school vouchers to all parents, while 29% oppose this legislation.

55% of Republican primary voters support legislation which would provide tax-funded school vouchers to low-income parents, while 37% oppose this legislation.

More than three out of four Texas Republican primary voters have a favorable opinion of Donald Trump (79%), Greg Abbott (77%) and Ted Cruz (76%).

More than three out of ten Texas Republican primary voters have an unfavorable opinion of Nikki Haley (40%), John Cornyn (34%), Ken Paxton (32%) and Dade Phelan (32%).

More than three out of four Texas Republican primary voters don't know enough about Farris Wilks (82%), Tim Dunn (81%) or Matt Rinaldi (78%) to have an opinion about them.

Survey Population Demographics

In the full survey of Texas registered voters, whites account for 55% of the survey population, Latinos 26%, Blacks 13%, and others 6% (3% of whom are Asian American). Women account for 53% of the population and men for 47%. Regarding generations, 36% of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928-1945) and Baby Boomer (1946-1964) cohort, 26% to Generation X (Gen-X, 1965-1980), 26% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation, and 12% to Generation Z (Gen-Z, 1997-2014). The highest educational attainment of 29% of the population is a high school degree or less, while 32% have either a two-year degree or have attended some college, and 39% have a four-year college degree or post-graduate degree as their highest level of educational attainment. Republicans account for 46% of the population, Democrats for 40% and Independents for 14%.

Republican primary likely voter preferences and opinions in this third report were analyzed using two distinct populations, one of 608 cases (confidence interval of +/- 3.8%) and another of 508 cases (confidence interval of +/- 4.4%), which moving forward will be referred to, respectively, as the higher and lower turnout scenario populations. Unless otherwise mentioned, all analysis in this report will focus on the lower turnout population.

In the Republican primary survey (using the lower turnout scenario), whites account for 73% of the population, Latinos 19%, Blacks 3%, and others 5% (2% of whom are Asian American). Women account for 50% of the population and men for 50%. Regarding generations, 45% of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928-1945) and Baby Boomer (1946-1964) cohort, 26% to Generation X (Gen-X, 1965-1980), 22% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation, and 7% to Generation Z (Gen-Z, 1997-2014). The highest educational attainment of 27% of the population is a high school degree or less, while 31% have either a two-year degree or have attended some college, and 42% have a four-year college degree or post-graduate degree as their highest level of educational attainment. Republicans account for 86% of the population, Independents for 9% and Democrats for 5%.

Three other socio-demographic categories examined in this report are related to religion, region and ideology. One-half (51%) of the likely Republican primary voters are born-again Christians and 49% are not. Nearly two-fifths (38%) live in the state's large urban counties (Bexar, Dallas, El Paso, Harris, Tarrant, Travis), 25% live in the state's larger suburban counties adjacent to the large urban counties (e.g., Collin, Denton, Fort Bend, Hays, Montgomery, Williamson), 13% live in regional hub counties (e.g., Cameron, Jefferson, Lubbock, McClennan, Nueces, Smith), and 24% live in rural and semi-rural counties. Finally, 37% identify as being very conservative, 34% as conservative, 25% as moderate, 2% as liberal, 1% as very liberal and 1% as unsure.

The Impact of Legislative Votes on Primary Vote Intention for GOP House Incumbents

The survey respondents were asked:

If you were voting in a Republican Texas House of Representatives primary election in March of 2024, all other things being equal, would knowing the following about the Republican incumbent representative make you more likely to vote for them, less likely to vote for them, or would it have no effect on the likelihood of you voting for them?

- They voted in May of 2023 FOR the articles of impeachment which put Attorney General Ken Paxton on trial in the Texas Senate.
- They voted in May of 2023 AGAINST the articles of impeachment which put Attorney General Ken Paxton on trial in the Texas Senate.
- They recently voted FOR school choice/voucher (educational savings accounts) legislation.
- They recently voted AGAINST school choice/voucher (educational savings accounts) legislation.
- They recently voted FOR legislation which makes it a state crime to illegally cross the border from Mexico into Texas and empowers Texas law enforcement officers to arrest immigrants who cross the border illegally.
- They recently voted AGAINST legislation which makes it a state crime to illegally cross the border from Mexico into Texas and empowers Texas law enforcement officers to arrest immigrants who cross the border illegally.
- They recently voted FOR legislation that bans transgender girls from playing on girls' sports teams in Texas high schools and middle schools.
- They recently voted AGAINST legislation that bans transgender girls from playing on girls' sports teams in Texas high schools and middle schools.
- They have publicly stated they intend to vote FOR Dade Phelan when representatives cast their votes for the Speaker of the Texas House in January of 2025.
- They have publicly stated they intend to vote AGAINST Dade Phelan when representatives cast their votes for the Speaker of the Texas House in January of 2025.

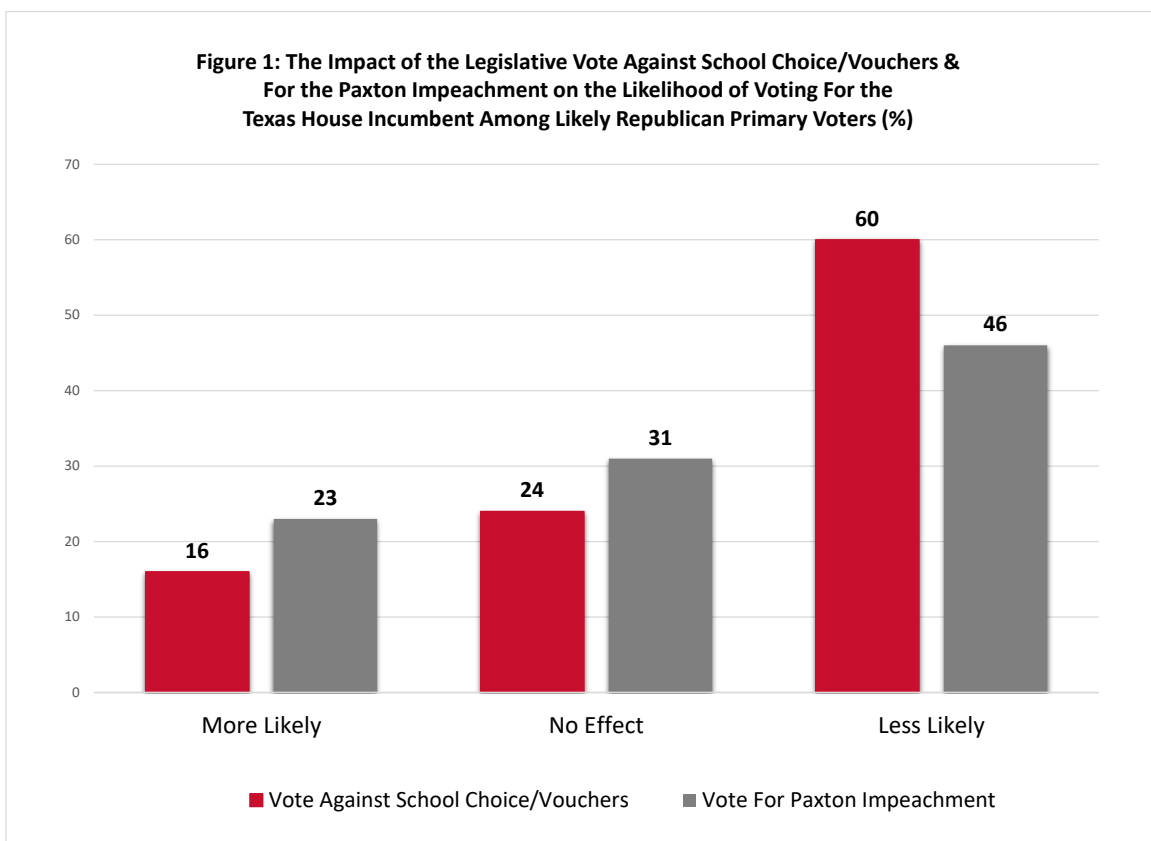
Table 1 provides the distribution for one item from each of these five legislative vote-related pairs. It displays the proportion of likely Republican primary voters who would be more likely or less likely to vote for an incumbent running for re-election, all other things being equal, based on the knowledge of how the incumbent voted on four pieces of legislation and, as publicly stated, how they intend to vote on another. It also includes the proportion of likely Republican primary voters who report that the legislative vote would have no effect on their Texas House vote.

Table 1: Impact of Legislative Votes on Likelihood of Voting for the Incumbent Texas House Member in Republican Primary (%)

Legislative Vote	More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Voted Against School Choice/Voucher Legislation	16	24	60
Voted for Paxton Articles of Impeachment	23	31	46
Plans to Vote Against Dade Phelan for Speaker in 2025	26	62	12
Voted for Legislation to Make Illegal Immigration a Crime	86	7	7
Voted for Legislation Banning Transgender Girls from Playing on Girls' Teams	85	8	7

Nearly nine out of 10 likely Republican primary voters would be more likely to cast a ballot for a House incumbent who voted for legislation to make illegal immigration a state crime (86%) and to ban transgender girls from playing on girls’ sports teams in Texas high schools and middle schools (85%), with only 7% and 8%, respectively, indicating that they would be less likely to vote for an incumbent who cast these votes. Slightly more than one quarter (26%) of primary voters report that knowing that an incumbent planned to vote against Texas House Speaker Dade Phelan in a 2025 speaker election would make them more likely to vote for the incumbent, while 12% would be less likely to vote for an incumbent who made this statement, with the vote decision of a substantial majority of GOP primary voters (62%) unaffected by the incumbent’s position vis-à-vis Phelan’s re-election as Speaker of the Texas House. In data not included in the table, 14% of primary voters indicated that they would be more likely to vote for an incumbent who declared they intended to vote to re-elect Phelan as Speaker in 2025 while 26% would be less likely to vote for them, with the vote of 60% unaffected.

The two highest profile 2023 legislative session Texas House votes, in regard to the attention paid to them in the 2024 GOP primary, are linked to the legislative vote cast against school choice/voucher legislation and the legislative vote cast in favor of the articles of impeachment of Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton. The results for these two items are highlighted in Figure 1.



Three-fifths (60%) of likely Republican primary voters reported that, all other things being equal, they would be less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers, while 16% would be more likely to vote for a representative who voted against school choice/vouchers. The Texas House vote of one in four (24%) likely Republican primary voters is unaffected by the incumbent’s school choice/voucher vote on the House floor.

Slightly fewer than one-half (46%) of likely Republican primary voters reported that they would be less likely to vote for an incumbent representative who voted for the articles of impeachment against Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton, which when passed resulted in the case being sent the Texas Senate for trial (where Paxton was acquitted in September 2023). Conversely, nearly one-in-four (23%) primary voters would be more likely to vote for an incumbent who voted to impeach Paxton, while nearly one-third (31%) indicated that the incumbent representative’s vote on the Paxton impeachment would have no effect on their 2024 Texas House GOP primary vote.

Table 2 provides the impact of the school choice/voucher legislative vote (a vote against) on the likelihood of voting against the incumbent broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, religion, region, ideology, and partisan identification. By and large, there are not many noteworthy salient socio-demographic sub-group differences in the proportion of likely voters that would be less likely to vote for the incumbent, with three principal exceptions.

Table 2: Socio-Demographics & Effect of Incumbent Vote Against School Choice on Texas House Vote for Incumbent (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Gender	Women	16	30	54
	Men	15	19	66
Ethnicity/Race	White	15	23	62
	Latino	15	25	60
Generation	Silent/Boomer	12	16	72
	Gen-X	17	30	53
	Millennial/Gen-Z	20	31	49
Education	High School or Less	11	31	58
	2-Yr Degree/Some College	13	33	64
	4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad	20	21	59
Religion	Born-Again Christian	13	23	64
	Non Born-Again Christian	18	25	57
Region	Urban	13	24	63
	Suburban	18	19	63
	Regional Hub	19	28	53
	Rural	13	29	58
Ideology	Moderate	25	33	42
	Conservative	9	27	64
	Very Conservative	16	21	63
Partisan ID	Republican	12	27	61
	Independent	16	14	70
Overall		16	24	60

First, 66% of men, compared to 54% of women, are less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers. Second, 72% of the Silent/Baby Boomer generational cohort are less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers compared to 53% of Gen-X and 49% of the combined Millennial/Gen-Z cohort. Finally, 64% and 63% of likely GOP voters who identify as conservative and very conservative, respectively, are less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers compared to 42% of those who identify as moderate. Also of note, there are not any noteworthy differences based on the region in which a person resides, with

63% of those living in populous urban and suburban counties less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted against school choice/vouchers, not significantly more than the proportions in regional hub (53%) and rural and semi-rural (58%) counties.

Table 3 provides the impact of the Paxton impeachment legislative vote (a vote for) on the likelihood of voting against the incumbent broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, religion, region, ideology, and partisan identification. By and large, there are not many noteworthy salient sub-group differences in the proportion of likely voters that would be less likely to vote for the incumbent, with three principal exceptions.

Table 3: Socio-Demographics & Effect of Incumbent Vote for Paxton Impeachment on Texas House Vote for Incumbent (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Gender	Women	24	36	40
	Men	22	27	51
Ethnicity/Race	White	20	31	49
	Latino	33	32	35
Generation	Silent/Boomer	16	30	54
	Gen-X	27	37	36
	Millennial/Gen-Z	31	28	41
Education	High School or Less	20	37	43
	2-Yr Degree/Some College	18	31	51
	4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad	30	27	43
Religion	Born-Again Christian	20	32	48
	Non Born-Again Christian	26	31	43
Region	Urban	25	30	45
	Suburban	23	25	52
	Regional Hub	22	44	34
	Rural	21	31	47
Ideology	Moderate	39	33	28
	Conservative	24	35	41
	Very Conservative	9	27	64
Partisan ID	Republican	19	33	48
	Independent	37	23	40
Overall		23	31	46

First, men (51%) are less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted for the articles of impeachment than are women (40%). Second, 54% of the Silent/Baby Boomer generational cohort are less likely to vote for an incumbent who voted for impeachment compared to 36% of Gen-X. Finally, 64% of likely GOP primary voters who identify as very conservative are less likely to vote for an incumbent who supported Paxton’s impeachment compared to 41% who identify as conservative and 28% who identify as moderate.

The Impact of Elite Endorsements on Texas GOP House Primary Vote Intention

The survey respondents were asked:

In many Texas Republican House primary races, the candidates have been endorsed by current and former elected officials. All other things being equal, in the March 2024 Republican primary election would an endorsement of a candidate by each of the following current or former elected officials make you more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely to vote for that candidate, or have no effect on the likelihood of you voting for that candidate?

The eight current and former elected officials whose endorsements are evaluated include Texas Governor Greg Abbott, Texas U.S. Senator Ted Cruz, Texas Agriculture Commissioner Sid Miller, Texas Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton, former Texas Governor Rick Perry, Texas House Speaker Dade Phelan, and former U.S. President Donald Trump.

There are 56 Republican held Texas House seats where two or more candidates are participating in the 2024 GOP primary. In addition, in November 2024, Republicans have a reasonably strong prospect of flipping two Texas House seats currently held by Democrats where two or more Republicans are competing in the primary, for a total of 58 salient contested Republican primaries on March 5. Overall (as of February 2, 2024), Governor Greg Abbott has formally endorsed candidates in the largest number of these races (47), followed closely by Attorney General Ken Paxton (44), and then, at a considerable distance, by Agriculture Commissioner Sid Miller (24), U.S. Senator Ted Cruz (14), former governor Rick Perry (8), Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick (1), and former President Donald Trump (1).

A majority of Abbott's endorsements are of Republican incumbents (30), followed by endorsements of challengers in their bid to unseat a GOP incumbent (9) and endorsements of candidates in districts where either the Republican incumbent is not running for re-election or which is presently represented by a Democrat (8). All nine of the Republican incumbents who are facing an Abbott-endorsed challenger voted against the school choice/voucher legislation.

A majority of Paxton's endorsements are of challengers in their bid to unseat a GOP incumbent (34), followed by endorsements of candidates in districts where either the Republican incumbent is not running for re-election or which is held by a Democrat (7) and of a Republican incumbent (3). All 34 of the Republican incumbents who are facing a Paxton-endorsed challenger voted for the articles of impeachment.

A majority of Miller's endorsements are of challengers in their bid to unseat a GOP incumbent (16), followed by endorsements of candidates in districts where either the Republican incumbent is not running for re-election or which is held by a Democrat (6) and of a Republican incumbent (2).

A majority of Cruz's endorsements are of challengers in their bid to unseat a GOP incumbent (9), followed by endorsements of candidates in districts where either the Republican incumbent is not running for re-election or which is held by a Democrat (4) and of a Republican incumbent (1). All nine of the Republican incumbents who are facing a Cruz-endorsed challenger voted against the school choice/voucher legislation.

A majority of Perry’s endorsements are of Republican incumbents (6), followed by endorsements of candidates in districts where either the Republican incumbent is not running for re-election or which is held by a Democrat (2). Perry is not endorsing any challenger to a GOP House incumbent.

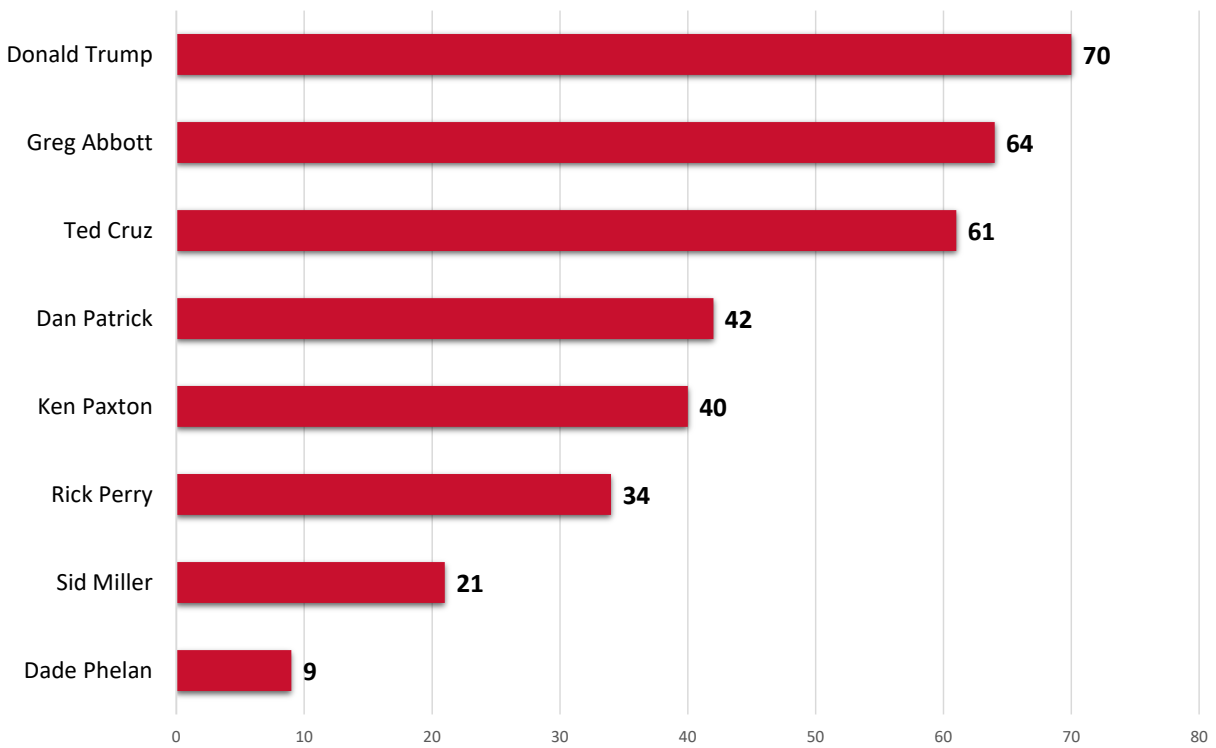
Table 4 provides the distribution of likely Texas Republican primary voters who, all other things being equal, would be more likely or less likely to vote for a Texas House candidate endorsed by these eight political figures, or for whom the endorsement would have no effect on their vote decision.

Table 4: Impact of the Endorsement of Political Figures on Primary Voter Likelihood of Voting for House Candidate in Republican Primary (%)

Endorsement	More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Donald Trump	70	18	12
Greg Abbott	64	22	14
Ted Cruz	61	23	16
Dan Patrick	42	43	15
Ken Paxton	40	41	19
Rick Perry	34	51	15
Sid Miller	21	70	9
Dade Phelan	9	68	23

Figure 2 on the next page displays the proportion of GOP primary voters who would be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate if they were endorsed by each one of eight Republican current and former officeholders. All other things being equal, 70% of likely Republican primary voters would be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate if they were endorsed by Trump, followed closely by the endorsements of Abbott (64%) and Cruz (61%). Two-fifths of likely Republican primary voters would be more likely to vote for a Texas House candidate if they were endorsed by Patrick (42%) and Paxton (40%), with the same being true for 34% in the case of a Perry endorsement, 21% in the case of Miller endorsement, and 9% in the case of a Phelan endorsement.

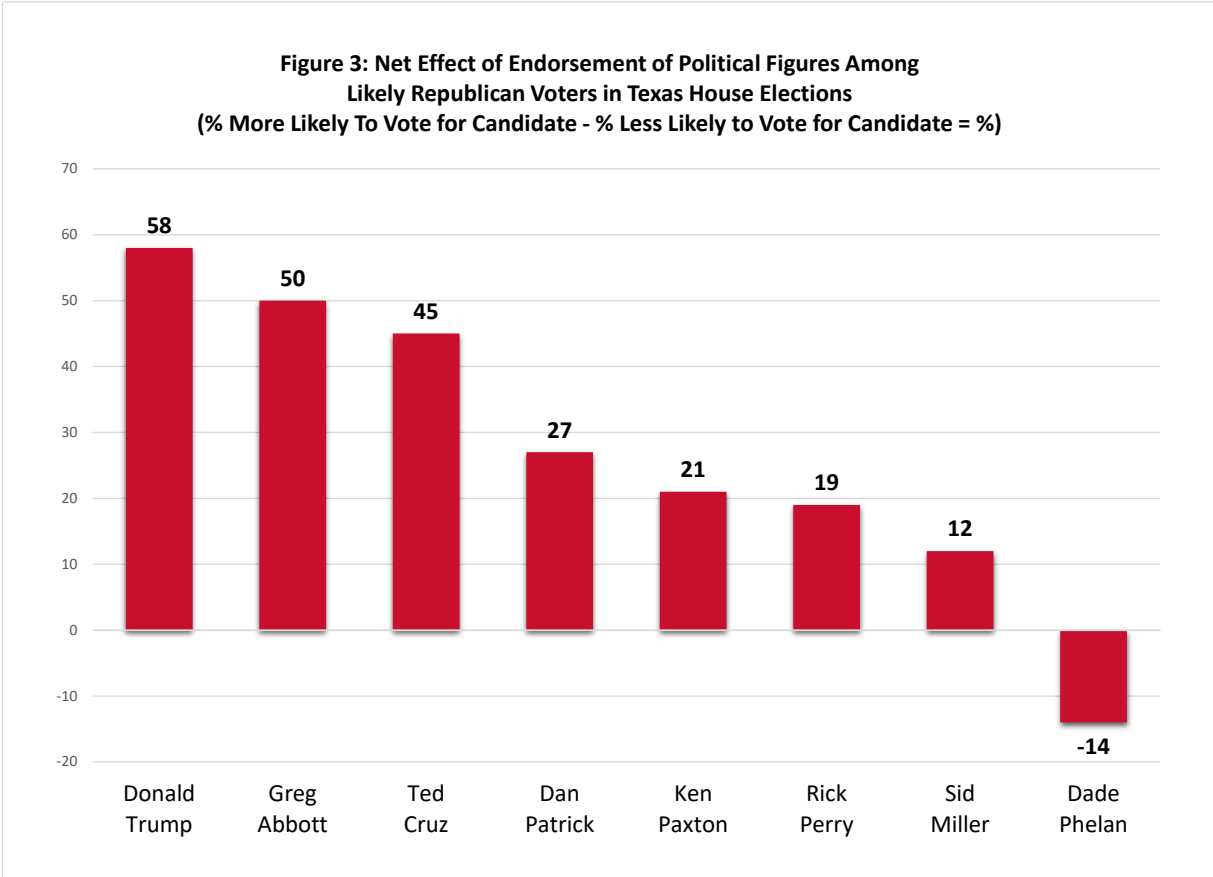
Figure 2: Proportion of Likely Republican Primary Voters Who Say That They Would Be More Likely to Vote for a Texas House Candidate Endorsed by the Political Figure (%)



An endorsement by one of these political figures would, all other things being equal, cause between 9% (Miller) and 23% (Phelan) Republican primary voters to be less likely to vote for the endorsed candidate, with the proportion who would be less likely to vote for a candidate if endorsed by one of the other six political figures distributed as follows: Trump (12%), Abbott (14%), Patrick (15%), Perry (15%), Cruz (16%) and Paxton (19%).

An endorsement by three of these political figures would fail to affect the vote choice of more than half of likely Republican primary voters, ranging from a low of 51% (Perry) to a high of 70% (Miller), with Phelan in between at 68%. The vote intention of two-fifths of these voters would not be affected by the endorsements of Paxton (41%) and Patrick (43%) while the vote intention of one-fifth would not be affected by the endorsements of Trump (18%), Abbott (22%) and Cruz (23%).

Figure 3 provides the net effect of the endorsement (percentage more likely to vote for a candidate minus percentage less likely to vote for a candidate) for these eight current and former Republican elected officials. A Trump endorsement has the largest positive net effect (58%), followed by the endorsements of Abbott (50%) and of Cruz (45%). A second tier of political figures range in regard to the net effect of their endorsement from highs of 27% for Patrick, 21% for Paxton and 19% for Perry to lows of 12% for Miller and -14% for Phelan.



Tables 5 and 6 examine the impact of the candidate endorsement by each of the eight political figures broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, religion, region, ideology, and partisan identification. Table 5 focuses on the three (Trump, Abbott, Cruz) politicians who occupy the winners' podium in terms of the positive effect of their endorsement on GOP primary voter vote intention in Texas House primaries, while Table 6 focuses on the five other politicians (Patrick, Paxton, Perry, Miller, Phelan). The tables contain the proportion of likely voters who would be more likely and less likely (in parentheses) to vote for a Texas House candidate as a result of the endorsement of the Republican political figure.

Table 5 reveals that a Trump endorsement is significantly more valuable (in regard to making someone more likely to vote for the endorsed candidate) among those GOP primary voters whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less than among those whose is a four-year or postgraduate degree (82% vs. 59%). A Trump endorsement is also significantly more valuable among those who are very conservative or conservative than among those who are moderate (81% and 75% vs. 48%) and among those who are Republicans rather than Independents (76% vs. 37%).

Table 5: Socio-Demographic Groups and Proportion of Republican Primary Voters Who Would be More Likely & Less Likely to Vote for a Candidate Endorsed By Political Figure (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Trump	Abbott	Cruz
Gender	Women	71 (12)	60 (17)	55 (19)
	Men	68 (11)	68 (10)	67 (14)
Ethnicity/Race	White	69 (11)	67 (11)	65 (13)
	Latino	77 (13)	58 (19)	51 (24)
Generation	Silent/Boomer	75 (10)	74 (10)	75 (11)
	Gen-X	65 (12)	57 (13)	57 (11)
	Millennial/Gen-Z	67 (14)	55 (20)	42 (30)
Education	High School or Less	82 (3)	68 (12)	68 (12)
	2-Yr Degree/Some College	74 (11)	66 (12)	67 (12)
	4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad	59 (18)	60 (16)	52 (22)
Religion	Born-Again Christian	74 (8)	66 (12)	67 (13)
	Non-Born Again Christian	65 (16)	63 (16)	55 (20)
Region	Urban	70 (13)	66 (11)	60 (18)
	Suburban	64 (13)	59 (18)	56 (17)
	Regional Hub	71 (12)	67 (15)	65 (15)
	Rural	75 (9)	64 (12)	65 (14)
Ideology	Moderate	48 (29)	42 (33)	41 (33)
	Conservative	75 (6)	72 (9)	63 (16)
	Very Conservative	81 (3)	74 (4)	74 (6)
Partisan ID	Republican	76 (6)	71 (9)	66 (12)
	Independent	37 (30)	30 (25)	40 (30)
Overall		70 (12)	64 (14)	61 (16)

Proportion less likely to vote for the endorsed candidate in parentheses.

An Abbott endorsement is significantly more valuable among members of the Silent/Boomer generational cohort than among the Millennial/Gen-Z cohort (74% vs. 55%). An Abbott endorsement is also significantly more valuable among those who are very conservative or conservative than among those who are moderate (74% and 72% vs. 42%) and among those who are Republicans rather than Independents (71% vs. 30%).

A Cruz endorsement is significantly more valuable among men than women (67% vs. 55%), among members of the Silent/Boomer generational cohort than among the Millennial/Gen-Z cohort (75% vs. 42%) and among born-again Christians than among non born-again Christians (67% vs. 55%). A Cruz endorsement is also significantly more valuable among those who are very conservative or conservative than among those who are moderate (74% and 63% vs. 41%) and among those primary voters who are Republicans rather than Independents (66% vs. 40%).

In Table 6, the most significant differences in endorsement value across socio-demographic sub-groups revolve around generation and ideology. The most salient examples of the former are found in the cases of Patrick and Paxton, where 58% and 50% of members of the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer generational cohort would respectively be more likely to vote for a Patrick or Paxton endorsed candidate than would members of the Millennial/Gen-Z generational cohort (22% and 27%). The two most salient examples of the latter are also found in the case of Patrick and Paxton, where 58% and 54% of those who are very conservative would be more likely to vote for the endorsed candidate compared to 20% and 24% of those who identify as moderate.

Table 6: Socio-Demographic Groups and Proportion of Republican Primary Voters Who Would be More Likely & Less Likely to Vote for a Candidate Endorsed By Political Figure (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Patrick	Paxton	Perry	Miller	Phelan
Gender	Women	35 (15)	34 (21)	31 (11)	16 (10)	9 (26)
	Men	49 (15)	46 (18)	37 (19)	26 (8)	9 (20)
Ethnicity/Race	White	47 (13)	44 (17)	40 (13)	24 (7)	10 (23)
	Latino	30 (18)	34 (22)	22 (21)	7 (16)	8 (27)
Generation	Silent/Boomer	58 (13)	50 (18)	46 (11)	28 (7)	7 (27)
	Gen-X	36 (17)	37 (19)	27 (17)	17 (10)	12 (23)
	Millennial/Gen-Z	22 (17)	27 (21)	23 (20)	13 (12)	10 (16)
Education	High School or Less	42 (9)	41 (16)	33 (12)	23 (13)	10 (24)
	2-Yr Degree/Some College	45 (13)	44 (12)	38 (16)	21 (7)	6 (24)
	4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad	39 (20)	36 (27)	32 (16)	19 (8)	11 (21)
Religion	Born-Again Christian	47 (12)	42 (16)	36 (13)	24 (9)	10 (25)
	Non Born-Again Christian	37 (18)	38 (23)	32 (17)	18 (9)	8 (21)
Region	Urban	42 (15)	40 (18)	33 (18)	19 (9)	10 (21)
	Suburban	44 (16)	38 (22)	41 (10)	22 (10)	5 (26)
	Regional Hub	34 (17)	39 (19)	26 (18)	12 (9)	8 (21)
	Rural	44 (12)	42 (18)	35 (14)	27 (9)	12 (24)
Ideology	Moderate	20 (32)	24 (34)	24 (17)	9 (9)	12 (13)
	Conservative	43 (13)	41 (22)	31 (19)	20 (11)	7 (42)
	Very Conservative	58 (2)	54 (5)	48 (7)	29 (7)	8 (28)
Partisan ID	Republican	45 (10)	43 (16)	38 (14)	22 (9)	9 (24)
	Independent	29 (27)	31 (29)	11 (21)	17 (4)	0 (21)
Overall		42 (15)	40 (19)	34 (15)	21 (9)	9 (23)

Proportion less likely to vote for the endorsed candidate in parentheses.

Impact of Court of Criminal Appeals Decision on Texas GOP CCA Primary Vote Intention

The survey respondents were asked:

In 2021 the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals struck down the Texas attorney general's ability to unilaterally prosecute voter fraud, saying the attorney general must get permission from local county prosecutors to take on such cases. All other things being equal, would knowing that a Texas Court of Criminal Appeals judge voted to prevent the attorney general from unilaterally prosecuting voter fraud make you more or less likely to vote for them in the March 2024 Republican primary election, or would it have no effect on the likelihood of you voting for them?

Figure 4 reveals that 60% of likely Republican primary voters would be less likely to vote for an incumbent Texas Court of Criminal Appeals (CCA) judge who voted in 2021 to strike down the Texas Attorney General's ability to unilaterally prosecute voter fraud, while 20% would be more likely to vote for a judge who voted in favor of this decision. The remaining 20% report that an incumbent judge's vote on this decision would have no effect on their vote choice in the CCA elections. All three Republican CCA incumbent judges up for re-election this year voted in favor (in an 8-1 decision) of striking down the Texas Attorney General's ability to unilaterally prosecute voter fraud.

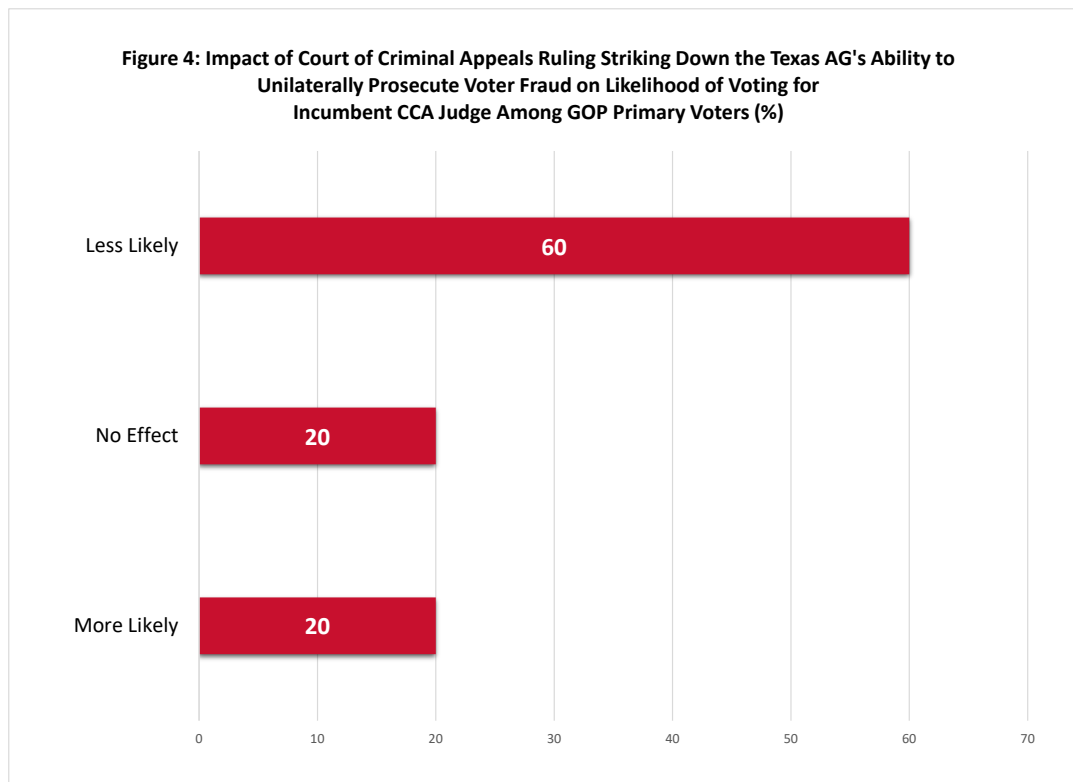


Table 7 provides the impact on vote intention of an incumbent CCA judge voting in favor of striking down the Texas Attorney General’s ability to unilaterally prosecute voter fraud broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, religion, region, ideology and partisan identification.

Table 7. Proportion More and Less Likely to Vote for Court of Criminal Appeals Incumbents Who Ruled Against the AG on Election Fraud Prosecution (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Gender	Women	19	24	57
	Men	20	16	64
Ethnicity/Race	White	14	19	67
	Latino	37	19	44
Generation	Silent/Boomer	10	17	73
	Gen-X	18	27	55
	Millennial/Gen-Z	36	19	45
Education	High School or Less	24	18	58
	2-Yr Degree/Some College	15	21	64
	4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad	20	21	59
Religion	Born Again Christian	22	16	62
	Non Born Again Christian	17	25	58
Region	Urban	25	16	59
	Suburban	15	27	58
	Regional Hub	24	24	52
	Rural	14	17	69
Ideology	Moderate	29	23	48
	Conservative	15	21	64
	Very Conservative	13	18	69
Partisan ID	Republican	17	20	63
	Independent	17	20	63
Overall		20	20	60

While by and large there are not many noteworthy differences, this judicial decision is notably more costly to the incumbent CCA judges (in terms of the proportion of likely voters less likely to vote for a judge who supported this ruling) among some sub-groups than others in three socio-demographic categories. First, white primary voters are notably less likely to vote for a judge who made this decision than are Latino primary voters (67% vs. 44%). Second, primary voters who belong to the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (73%) are significantly less likely to vote for a judge who ruled against the attorney general than are primary voters who belong to the Millennial/Gen-Z cohort (45%). Third, very conservative GOP primary voters are notably less likely to vote for a judge who made this ruling than are moderates (69% vs. 48%).

Support For & Opposition To Eight Public Policies in Texas Among GOP Primary Voters

The respondents were asked to what extent they support (strongly or somewhat) or oppose (strongly or somewhat) eight policies being implemented in Texas in the areas of abortion, gun control, immigration, and school vouchers.

- Banning all abortions unless the mother’s life is at risk.
- Permitting all abortions for any reason through 23-24 weeks of pregnancy.
- Requiring a person to be 21 to purchase an AR-15 style assault rifle.
- Allowing a judge to confiscate the firearms of a person deemed to be a potential threat to themselves or others.
- Spending \$3 billion in Texas tax dollars annually in support of state border security efforts.
- Empowering Texas law enforcement officers to arrest undocumented immigrants for a state crime of illegal immigration.
- Providing tax-funded school vouchers to low-income parents that can be used to send their children to a private school.
- Providing tax-funded school vouchers to all parents that can be used to send their children to a private school.

Table 8 provides the proportion of Republican primary voters who support and oppose each one of these eight policies.

Table 8: Support For & Opposition To Eight Policies in Texas Among Republican Primary Voters (%)

Policy	Support	Oppose	Don't Know
Ban All Abortions Unless Mother's Life At Risk	64 (42)	32 (19)	4
Permit All Abortions for Any Reason Through 23-24 Weeks	22 (12)	75 (65)	3
Must Be 21 to Purchase an AR-15 Style Assault Rifle	68 (45)	30 (19)	2
Allow Judge to Confiscate Firearms if Person a Threat to Self/Others	54 (31)	40 (22)	6
Spend \$3 Billion in TX Tax Dollars Annually on Border Security	87 (68)	11 (5)	2
Empower TX Law Enforcement to Arrest Undocumented Immigrants	89 (80)	9 (6)	2
Provide Tax-Funded School Vouchers to Low-Income Parents	55 (29)	37 (22)	8
Provide Tax-Funded School Vouchers to All Parents	64 (37)	29 (19)	7

Proportion Strongly in Support and in Opposition in parentheses.

Regarding abortion, 64% of Texas likely Republican primary voters support the state’s current policy of banning all abortions unless the mother’s life is at risk, a policy that is opposed by 32% of GOP primary voters. Three out of four (75%) GOP primary voters oppose the abortion policy which was the law of the land nationally under *Roe/Casey* (1992) prior to the 2022 *Dobbs* decision, while 22% support abortion for any reason through 23-24 weeks of pregnancy.

In the area of common-sense gun control reforms, 68% of Republican primary voters support legislation that would require a person to be at least 21 years old to purchase an AR-15 style assault rifle, a policy that is opposed by 30% of Republican primary voters. GOP primary voters are more evenly split in

regard to “red flag” legislation which would allow a judge to confiscate the guns of anyone considered to be a risk to themselves or others, with 54% in support and 40% opposed.

When considering immigration and border security, nearly nine out of 10 Texan Republican primary voters support the current Abbott administration policies of spending \$3 billion Texas tax dollars annually on border security (87%) and empowering Texas law enforcement to arrest undocumented immigrants for a state crime of illegal immigration (89%). Only one out of 10 GOP primary voters oppose these two policies (11% and 9%, respectively).

In the area of school choice/vouchers, 64% of Republican primary voters support a policy that would provide tax-funded vouchers for all parents while 55% support a policy that would provide tax-funded vouchers only for low-income parents. These two policies are opposed by 29% and 37% of likely Republican primary voters respectively.

Favorable & Unfavorable Evaluations of GOP Political Figures Among Primary Voters

Table 9 provides the proportion of likely Texas Republican primary voters with a favorable (very or somewhat) and unfavorable (very or somewhat) opinion of 19 Republican political figures. Also included is the proportion of primary voters who do not know enough about the political figure to have an opinion.

Table 9. Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Political Figures Among Republican Primary Voters (%)

Political Figure	Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know Enough
Donald Trump	79 (58)	20 (14)	1
Greg Abbott	77 (48)	21 (11)	2
Ted Cruz	76 (47)	22 (13)	2
Ron DeSantis	69 (28)	24 (13)	7
Dan Patrick	56 (25)	21 (13)	23
Ken Paxton	51 (26)	32 (17)	17
Nikki Haley	50 (14)	40 (20)	10
John Cornyn	45 (13)	34 (16)	21
Dan Crenshaw	39 (15)	27 (11)	34
Sid Miller	33 (12)	13 (6)	54
Glenn Hegar	24 (6)	12 (5)	64
Michael McCaul	21 (5)	13 (6)	66
Will Hurd	21 (5)	18 (1)	61
Dawn Buckingham	19 (5)	9 (3)	72
Christi Craddick	16 (4)	10 (3)	74
Dade Phelan	15 (3)	32 (18)	53
Matt Rinaldi	13 (3)	9 (3)	78
Tim Dunn	9 (2)	10 (3)	81
Farris Wilks	8 (2)	10 (5)	82

Proportion Strongly Favorable and Strongly Unfavorable in parentheses.

The 19 political figures evaluated include Texas Governor Greg Abbott, Texas General Land Commissioner Dawn Buckingham, Texas U.S. Senator John Cornyn, Texas Railroad Commissioner Christi Craddick, Texas U.S. Congressman Dan Crenshaw (Houston), Texas U.S. Senator Ted Cruz, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, billionaire Texas Republican donor Tim Dunn, former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley, Texas Comptroller Glenn Hegar, former Texas U.S. Congressman Will Hurd (San Antonio), Texas U.S. Congressman Michael McCaul (Austin), Texas Agriculture Commissioner Sid Miller, Texas Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton, Texas House Speaker Dade Phelan, Republican Party of Texas Chair Matt Rinaldi, former president Donald Trump, and billionaire Texas Republican donor Farris Wilks.

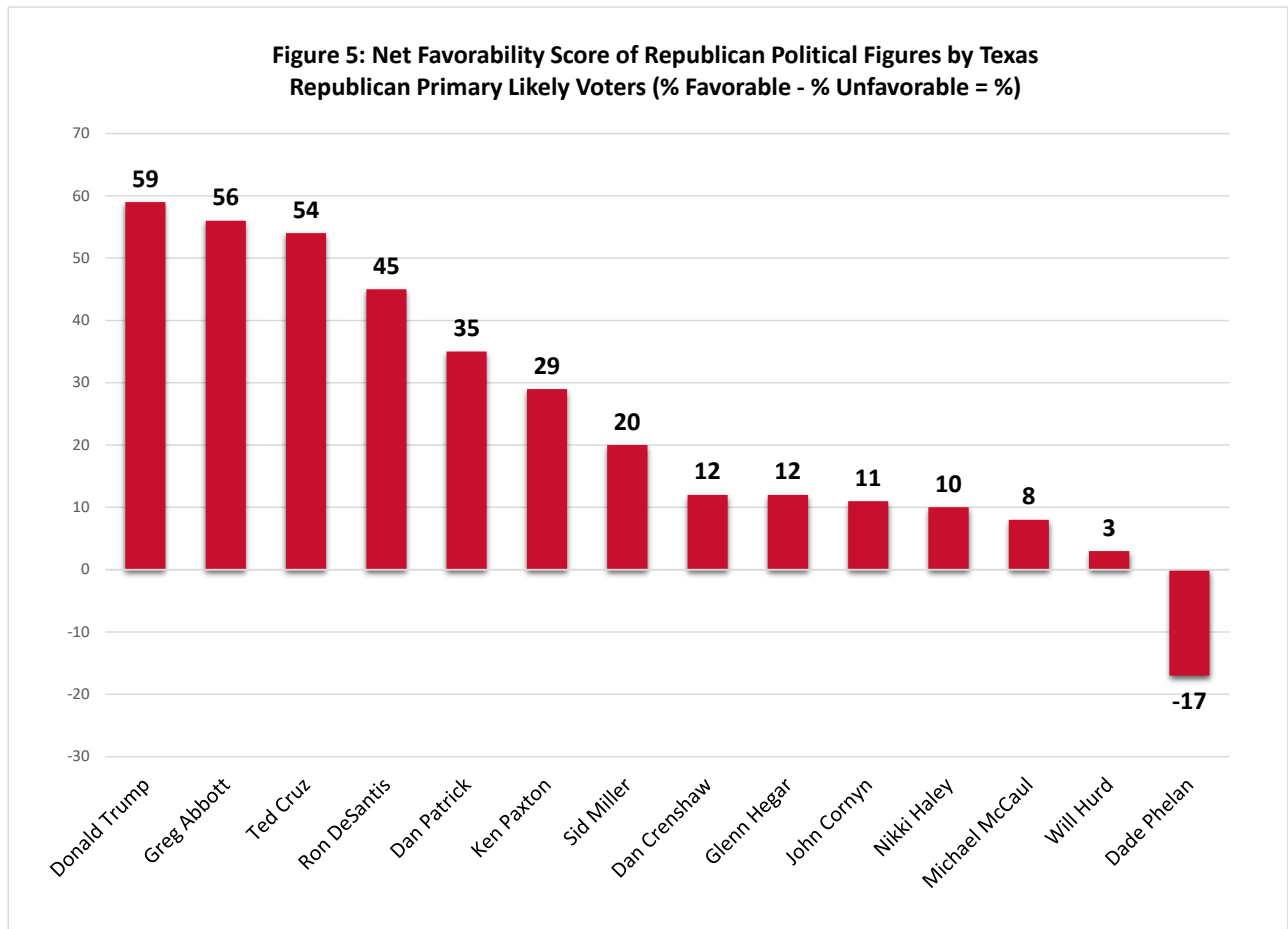
More than two-thirds of likely Texas Republican primary voters do not know enough about five of these individuals to have an opinion of them. The proportions range from highs of 82% (Wilks) and 81% (Dunn) to lows of 72% (Buckingham) and 74% (Craddick), with Rinaldi (78%) in between. Between one-half and two-thirds of likely Republican primary voters don't know enough about another five political figures to have an opinion about them. These proportions range from highs of 66% (McCaul) and 64% (Hegar) to lows of 53% (Phelan) and 54% (Miller), with Hurd (61%) in between.

Between 99% and 90% of likely Republican primary voters know enough about Trump, Abbott, Cruz, DeSantis and Haley to have an opinion about them. Finally, between one-in-five and one-in-three Republican primary voters don't know enough about Paxton (17%), Cornyn (21%), Patrick (23%) and Crenshaw (34%) to have an opinion about them.

Trump (79%), Abbott (77%) and Cruz (76%) are the three political figures viewed most favorably by GOP primary voters, with 58% having a very favorable opinion of Trump (compared to 48% and 47% who have a very favorable opinion of Abbott and Cruz). These three are followed by a trio of other political figures who are viewed favorably by more than half of Texas Republican primary voters: DeSantis (69%), Patrick (56%) and Paxton (51%).

The six political figures with the highest proportion of likely GOP primary voters who have an unfavorable opinion of them are Haley (40%), Cornyn (34%), Paxton (32%), Phelan (32%), Crenshaw (27%) and DeSantis (24%).

Figure 5 brings together information on the favorable and unfavorable evaluations of the 14 Republican figures about whom at least one-third of Republican primary voters know enough to have an opinion. The net favorability score referenced in Figure 5 is calculated by subtracting the proportion of likely GOP primary voters with an unfavorable evaluation of the political figure from the proportion of likely GOP primary voters with a favorable evaluation of the political figure. The seven highest net favorability scores belong to Trump (59%), Abbott (56%), Cruz (54%), DeSantis (45%), Patrick (35%), Paxton (29%) and Miller (20%) while the seven lowest net favorability scores belong to Phelan (-17%), Hurd (3%), McCaul (8%), Haley (10%), Cornyn (11%), Hegar (12%) and Crenshaw (12%).



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