



TEXAS TRENDS 2024

General Election



Hobby School of Public Affairs
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON



TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
Barbara Jordan – Mickey Leland
School of Public Affairs



Texas Trends 2024 General Election

In 2021, the Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston and the Executive Master of Public Administration Program in the Barbara Jordan – Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at Texas Southern University launched a five-year survey project to study Texas's changing population. The fourth survey in the series was fielded between June 20 and July 1, 2024 and focused on opinions about elections and public policies. The survey was conducted in English and Spanish, with 2,257 YouGov respondents 18 years of age and older (including an oversample of Black Texans), resulting in a confidence interval of +/-2.1 for the overall survey population and +/- 2.5 for the sub-population of 1,484 likely voters.

The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education and are representative of the Texas adult population. The results of this 2024 statewide survey will be presented in five separate reports: the November 2024 election, school choice/vouchers, housing, immigration, and climate challenges. This report examines the vote intention of Texas likely voters in the November 2024 presidential, U.S. Senate and Texas railroad commissioner elections as well as explores the impact of different issues and events on the presidential vote decision of Texas likely voters.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the 2024 presidential election, 49% of Texas likely voters intend to vote for Donald Trump, 40% for Joe Biden, 5% for Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. and 2% for other candidates, with 4% undecided.

94% of Biden voters and 92% of Trump voters say they are certain to vote for their candidate in November, with only 6% and 8% saying they might change their mind.

50% of Texas likely voters hold a favorable opinion of Trump (34% very favorable) and 49% hold an unfavorable opinion of Trump (43% very unfavorable).

44% of Texas likely voters hold a favorable opinion of Biden (24% very favorable) and 55% hold an unfavorable opinion of Biden (47% very unfavorable).

42% of Texas likely voters hold a favorable opinion of Kamala Harris (19% very favorable) and 56% hold an unfavorable opinion of Harris (47% very unfavorable).

Trump leads Biden in vote intention among men by 13% (52% to 39%) and women by 4% (46% to 42%).

56% of white likely voters intend to vote for Trump, compared to 35% for Biden.

73% of Black likely voters intend to vote for Biden, compared to 16% for Trump.

45% of Latino likely voters intend to vote for Trump, compared to 41% for Biden.

91% of likely voters who cast a ballot for Trump in 2020 intend to vote for him in 2024, with 3% intending to vote for Kennedy, 2% for Biden and 3% undecided.

84% of likely voters who cast a ballot for Biden in 2020 intend to vote for him in 2024, with 7% intending to vote for Kennedy, 4% for Trump and 3% undecided.

72% of Trump voters say their vote is primarily a vote for Trump, while 28% say it is primarily a vote against Biden.

57% of Biden voters say their vote is primarily a vote for Biden, while 43% say it is primarily a vote against Trump.

70% of Black Biden voters say their vote is primarily a vote for Biden, compared to 53% of white Biden voters.

23% of Texas likely voters identified immigration and border security as the most important issue influencing their presidential vote decision, followed by inflation (15%), the economy (15%) and the future of U.S. democracy (13%).

40% of Trump voters say immigration and border security is the most important issue influencing their vote decision, followed by the economy (17%) and inflation (17%).

27% of Biden voters say the future of U.S. democracy is the most important issue influencing their vote decision, followed by the economy (12%), abortion (11%) and inflation (10%).

47% of likely voters list immigration and border security as among the top three issues influencing their presidential vote decision, followed by the economy (42%), inflation (40%), the future of U.S. democracy (26%) and abortion (23%).

72% of Trump voters list immigration and border security as one of the top three issues influencing their presidential vote decision, followed by 55% who list the economy and 52% inflation, with no other issue mentioned by more than one-fifth of Trump voters.

43% of Biden voters list the future of U.S. democracy as one of the top three issues influencing their presidential vote decision, followed by abortion (38%), climate change (32%), the economy (30%), gun control (28%), health care (27%) and inflation (23%).

51% of likely voters believe Trump is guilty of the charges for which he was recently convicted in a Manhattan court, including 93% of Biden voters, but only 10% of Trump voters.

In the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate election, 47% of likely voters intend to vote for Republican Ted Cruz, 44% for Democrat Colin Allred and 3% for Libertarian Ted Brown, with 6% undecided.

93% of Cruz voters and 92% of Allred voters say they are certain to vote for their candidate in November, with only 7% and 8% saying they might change their mind.

Cruz leads Allred among men, 50% to 42%, while Allred leads Cruz among women, 46% to 44%.

Cruz leads Allred among white likely voters (55% to 38%), while Allred leads Cruz among Black likely voters (76% to 15%) and Latino likely voters (47% to 39%).

88% of Trump voters intend to vote for Cruz and 4% for Allred, with 6% undecided.

94% of Biden voters intend to vote for Allred and 3% for Cruz, with 3% undecided.

50% of Kennedy voters intend to vote for Allred and 15% for Cruz, with 19% undecided.

23% of Texas likely voters don't know enough about Allred to have an opinion about him, compared to only 3% who don't know enough about Cruz to have an opinion about him.

49% of likely voters have a favorable opinion of Cruz (27% very favorable), while 48% have an unfavorable opinion of Cruz (38% very unfavorable).

46% of likely voters have a favorable opinion of Allred (21% very favorable), while 31% have an unfavorable opinion of Allred (17% very unfavorable).

In the 2024 Texas Railroad Commissioner election, 41% of likely voters intend to vote for Republican Christi Craddick, 35% for Democrat Katherine Culbert, 3% for Libertarian Hawk Dunlap and 3% for the Green Party's Eddie Espinoza, with 18% still undecided.

LIKELY VOTER POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS

Based on their responses to a series of questions, 1,484 of the respondents were classified as likely to vote in the 2024 election. The confidence interval for this population of likely voters is +/- 2.5. White likely voters account for 59% of this population of likely Texas voters, Latino likely voters for 25%, Black likely voters for 11%, and others for 5% (2% Asian American, 2% Mixed/Other, 1% Native American). Women represent 53% of this population, and men 47%. Regarding generations, 38% of this 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), 24% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation, and 12% to Generation Z (1997-2012). The highest level of educational attainment of 41% of the population is a four-year college degree or a post-graduate degree, of 31% of the population is a two-year college degree or some college, and of 28% of the population is a high school degree or less. Republicans account for 48% of this population, Democrats for 43% and Independents for 9%. Among those likely voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential election, 52% report having voted for Trump, 46% for Biden, and 2% for other candidates.

2024 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE INTENTION AMONG TEXAS LIKELY VOTERS

The likely voters were asked about their 2024 presidential vote intention for the five presidential candidates currently projected to be on the Texas ballot in November: Republican Donald Trump, Democrat Joe Biden, Libertarian Chase Oliver, the Green Party's Jill Stein, and Independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. Approximately two-thirds of the fieldwork was completed prior to the June 27 presidential debate between Biden and Trump, with the remaining one-third completed after the debate. Figure 1 highlights that 49% of these likely voters intend to vote for Trump, 40% for Biden, 5% for Kennedy, 2% for Stein and 0% for Oliver (technically 0.34%, which rounds to 0%), with 4% unsure of their presidential vote intention at the present time.

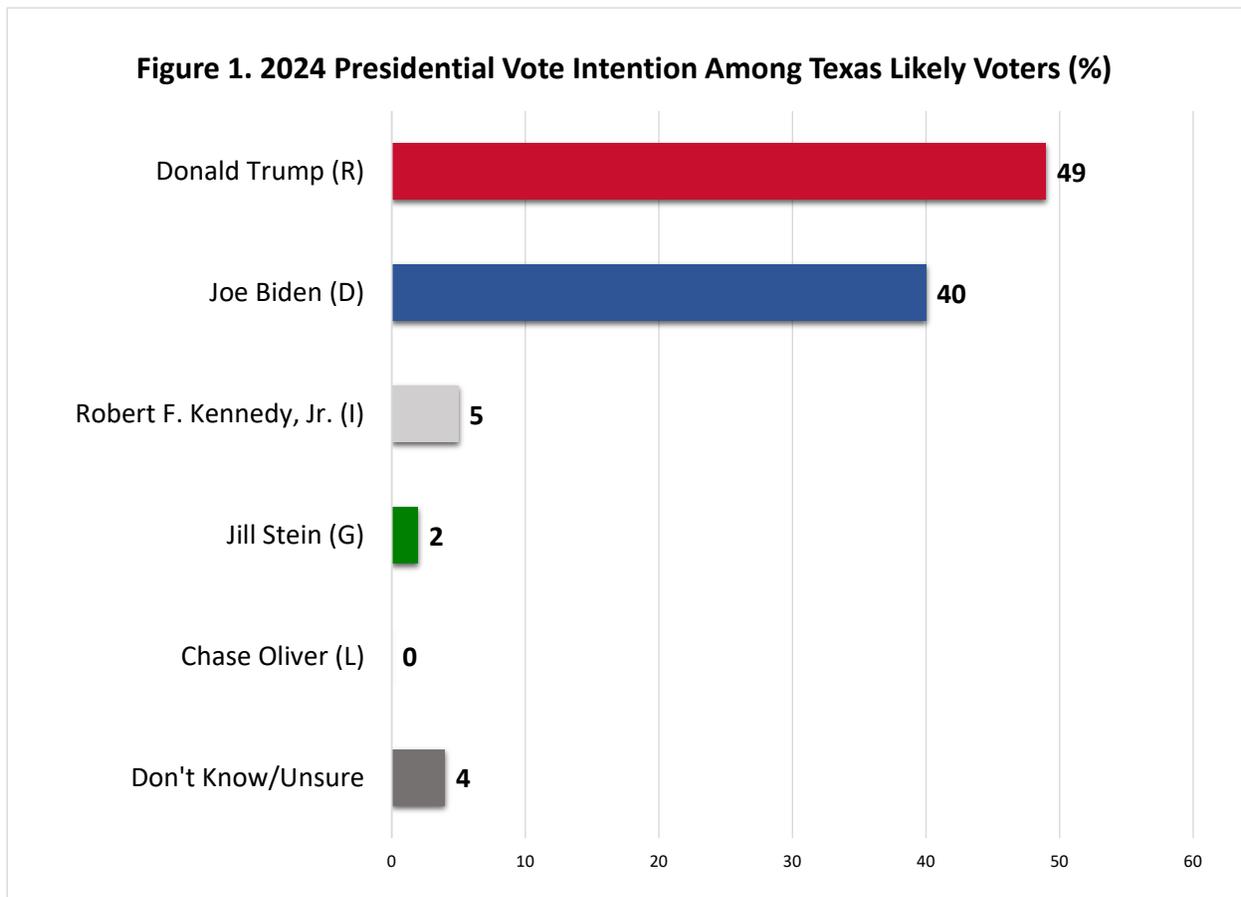


Figure 2 underscores that an overwhelming majority of Biden (94%) and Trump (92%) voters are certain about their vote choice, with conversely only 6% of Biden voters and 8% of Trump voters indicating they might change their mind between now and November. In contrast, a majority of Kennedy (55%) and Stein/Oliver (55%) voters indicate they might change their mind about voting for these third-party candidates before actually casting a ballot in the fall.

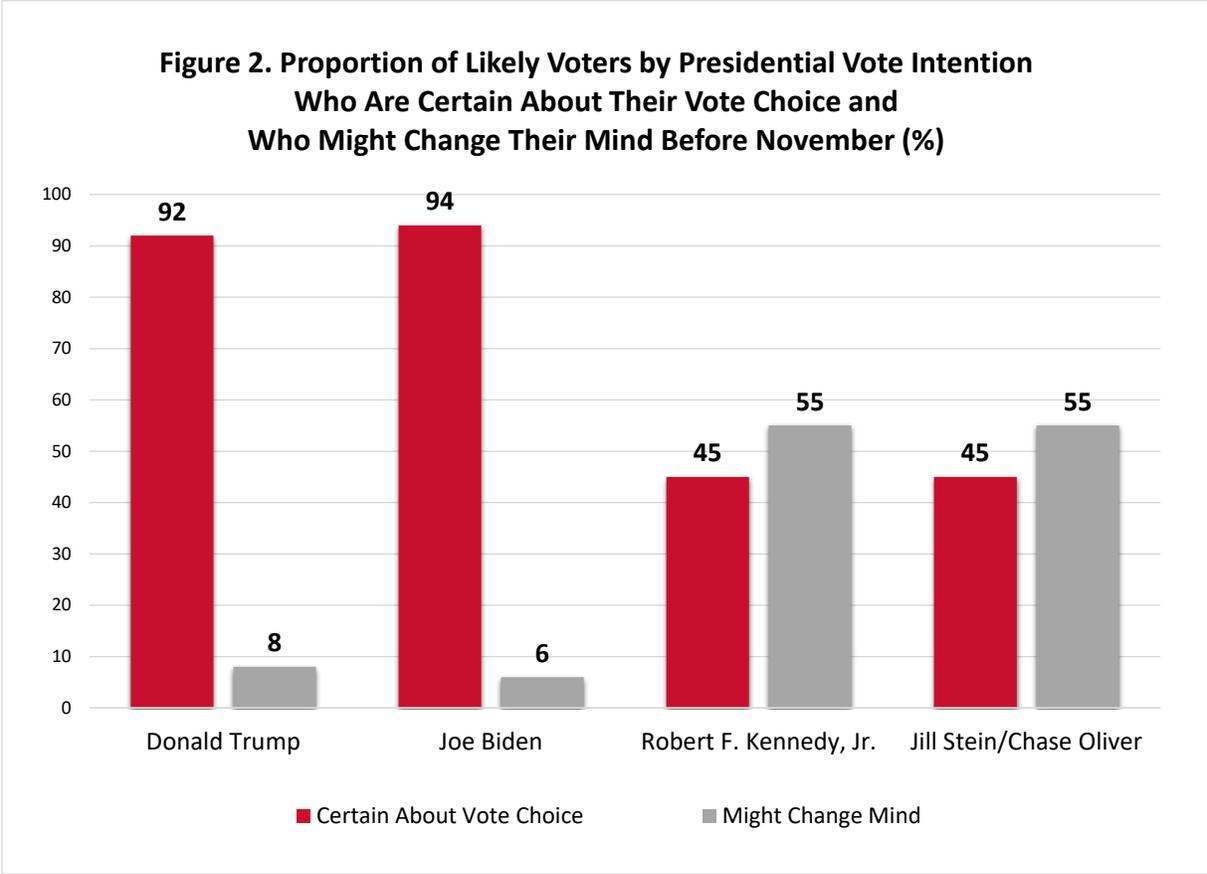


Table 1 provides the distribution of the 2024 presidential vote intention of likely voters broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2020 presidential vote.

Table 1. Likely Voter Presidential Vote Intention Among Key Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Trump	Biden	Kennedy	Don't Know
Overall		49	40	5	4
Gender	Women	46	42	5	6
	Men	52	39	4	3
Ethnicity/Race	White	56	35	4	4
	Latino	45	41	7	4
	Black	16	73	6	3
Generation	Silent/Boomer	56	36	4	4
	Generation X	50	42	6	1
	Millennial	40	46	3	6
	Generation Z	42	39	6	10
Education	High School	54	35	7	3
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	45	41	5	6
	4 Yr Degree/Postgrad	48	44	3	4
Partisanship	Democratic	4	86	6	3
	Independent	42	18	14	16
	Republican	92	3	2	3
2020 Presidential Vote	Trump	91	2	3	3
	Biden	4	84	7	3
	Did Not Vote	39	38	5	15

Trump holds a 13 percentage point lead over Biden among men (52% to 39%), but only a four percentage point lead among women (46% to 42%).

Trump’s vote intention (56%) among white voters is more than one and a half times greater than that of Biden (35%), while Biden’s vote intention among Black voters (73%) is more than four times that of Trump (16%). Trump holds a narrow four percentage point lead over Biden among Latino voters, 45% to 41%.

Trump leads Biden by a 20 percentage point margin (56% to 36%) among members of the combined Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort, and by a much narrower eight percentage point margin among Generation X (50% to 42%). Conversely, the two candidates are effectively tied among Generation Z, with vote intentions of 42% and 39% respectively, with Biden holding a six percentage point lead among Millennials (46% to 40%). One in ten members of Generation Z remains undecided.

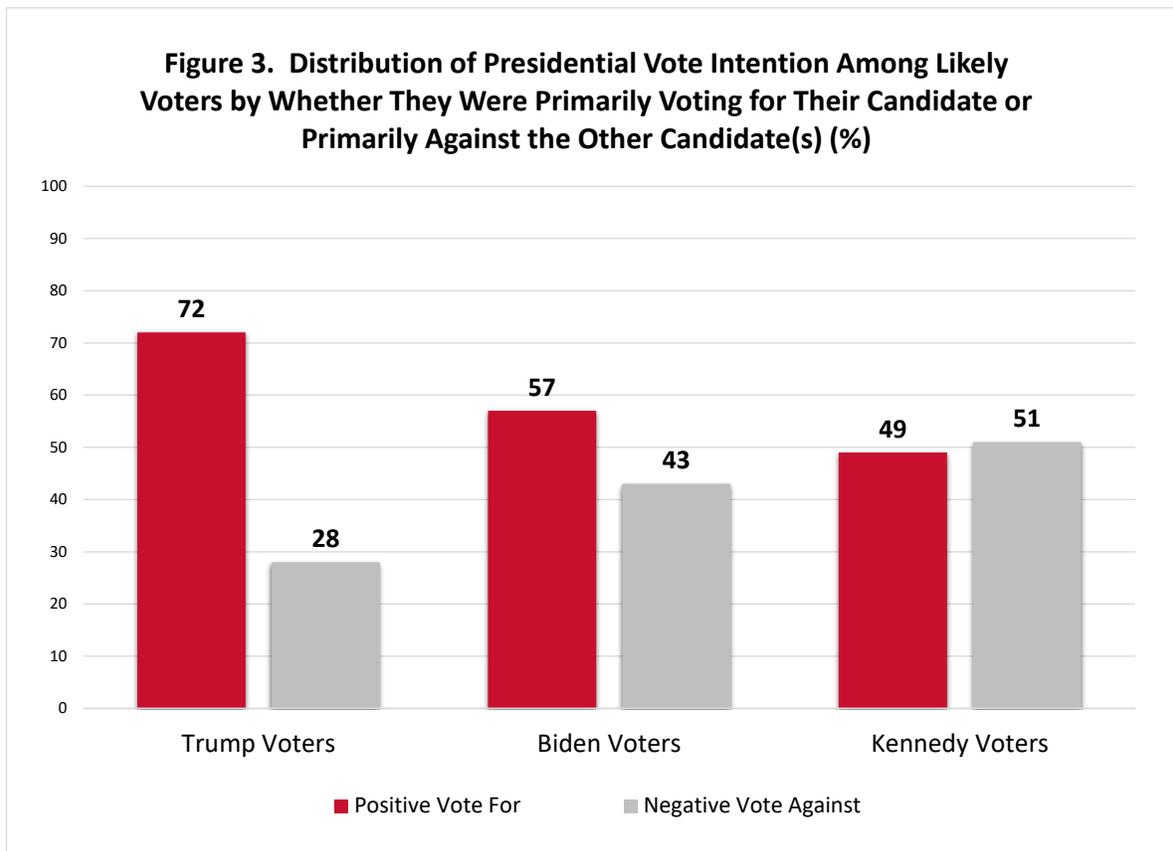
Trump holds a 19 percentage point lead over Biden (54% to 35%) among voters whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less. Trump also leads among the other two educational groups, but by smaller margins, with a four percentage point advantage (45% to 41%) among voters whose highest level of educational attainment is some college or a two-year degree and

a four percentage point advantage (48% to 44%) among voters with a four-year or post-graduate degree.

More than nine out of ten Republicans (92%) intend to vote for Trump while almost nine out of ten Democrats (86%) intend to vote for Biden. Only 3% of Republicans and 4% of Democrats intend to vote for Biden and Trump, respectively, while 6% of Democrats and 2% of Republicans intend to vote for Kennedy. Trump (42%) holds a two to one lead over Biden (18%) among Independents, 14% of whom intend to vote for Kennedy and 16% of whom remain undecided.

Among those likely voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential race for Trump, 91% intend to vote for the former president again in 2024, while 3% intend to vote for Kennedy and 2% for Biden, with 3% remaining undecided. Among those likely voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential race for Biden, 84% intend to vote for the president again in 2024, while 7% intend to vote for Kennedy, 4% for Trump and 2% for Stein, with 3% remaining undecided. Among those 2024 likely voters who did not cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential election, 39% intend to vote for Trump, 38% for Biden, 5% for Kennedy, 2% for Stein and 1% for Oliver, with the remaining 15% undecided.

In a follow up question to their presidential vote choice (see Figure 3), Trump likely voters were asked if their vote was primarily a vote for Donald Trump or a vote against Joe Biden, Biden likely voters were asked if their vote was primarily a vote for Joe Biden or a vote against Donald Trump, and Kennedy voters were asked if their vote was primarily a vote for Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. or a vote against Joe Biden and Donald Trump.



While 72% of Trump voters indicated their vote was primarily a vote in favor of Donald Trump (versus 28% who said it was primarily a vote against Joe Biden), only 57% of Biden voters said the same thing about their vote for the president (versus 43% who said it was primarily a vote against Trump). Kennedy voters were roughly split down the middle between those who were casting a vote for Kennedy (49%) and those who were casting a vote against Biden and Trump (51%).

Table 2 provides the distribution of the motivation of Trump voters (voting for Trump or against Biden) broken down by gender, ethnicity/race (white and Latino only), generation, education and partisanship. Among Trump voters, there are not any notable intra-group differences in the motivation to vote for Trump, with the exception of a modest generational difference between Millennials and their elders, with a larger proportion of the former casting a vote for Trump rather than against Biden.

Table 2. Distribution of Primary Purpose of Trump Voter Vote Intention Among Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	For Trump	Against Biden
Gender	Women	71	29
	Men	72	28
Ethnicity/Race	White	70	30
	Latino	76	24
Generation	Silent/Boomer	71	29
	Generation X	63	37
	Millennial	84	16
	Generation Z	74	26
Education	High School	78	22
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	73	27
	4 Yr Degree/Postgrad	66	34
Partisanship	Republican	73	27
	Independent/Democratic	63	37

Table 3 provides the distribution of the motivation of Biden voters (voting for Biden or against Trump) broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education and partisanship. Among Biden voters, there are not any notable intra-group differences in the motivation to vote for Biden based on gender, education and partisanship. However, Black (70%) Biden voters are significantly more likely than white (53%) Biden voters to say their vote is a vote for Biden, rather than a vote against Trump.

Table 3. Distribution of Primary Purpose of Biden Voter Vote Intention Among Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	For Biden	Against Trump
Gender	Women	59	41
	Men	56	44
Ethnicity/Race	White	53	47
	Latino	60	40
	Black	70	30
Generation	Silent/Boomer	56	44
	Generation X	60	40
	Millennial	60	40
	Generation Z	47	53
Education	High School	69	31
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	48	52
	4 Yr Degree/Postgrad	57	43
Partisanship	Democratic	59	41
	Independent/Republican	42	58

ISSUES AND EVENTS AND THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The likely voters were asked to identify which of 16 different issues are the most important, second most important and third most important to their 2024 presidential vote decision. The rotated issues presented to the voters were as follows: abortion, climate change, economy, education, energy policy, federal deficit, foreign policy, future of U.S. democracy, gun control, health care, housing, immigration and border security, inflation, race and ethnic inequality, taxes, and violent crime.

Figure 4 provides the distribution of the proportion of likely voters who listed the issue as being the most important in determining for whom to vote in the 2024 presidential election. Immigration and border security was listed as the most important issue by 23% of likely voters, followed by inflation (15%), the economy (15%) and the future of U.S. democracy (13%). All of the other issues are in the single digits, ranging from highs of 7% (abortion), 5% (climate change, health care) and 4% (gun control) to lows of 1% (energy policy, federal deficit, housing, race and ethnic inequality), 2% (taxes, violent crime, education), and 3% (foreign policy).

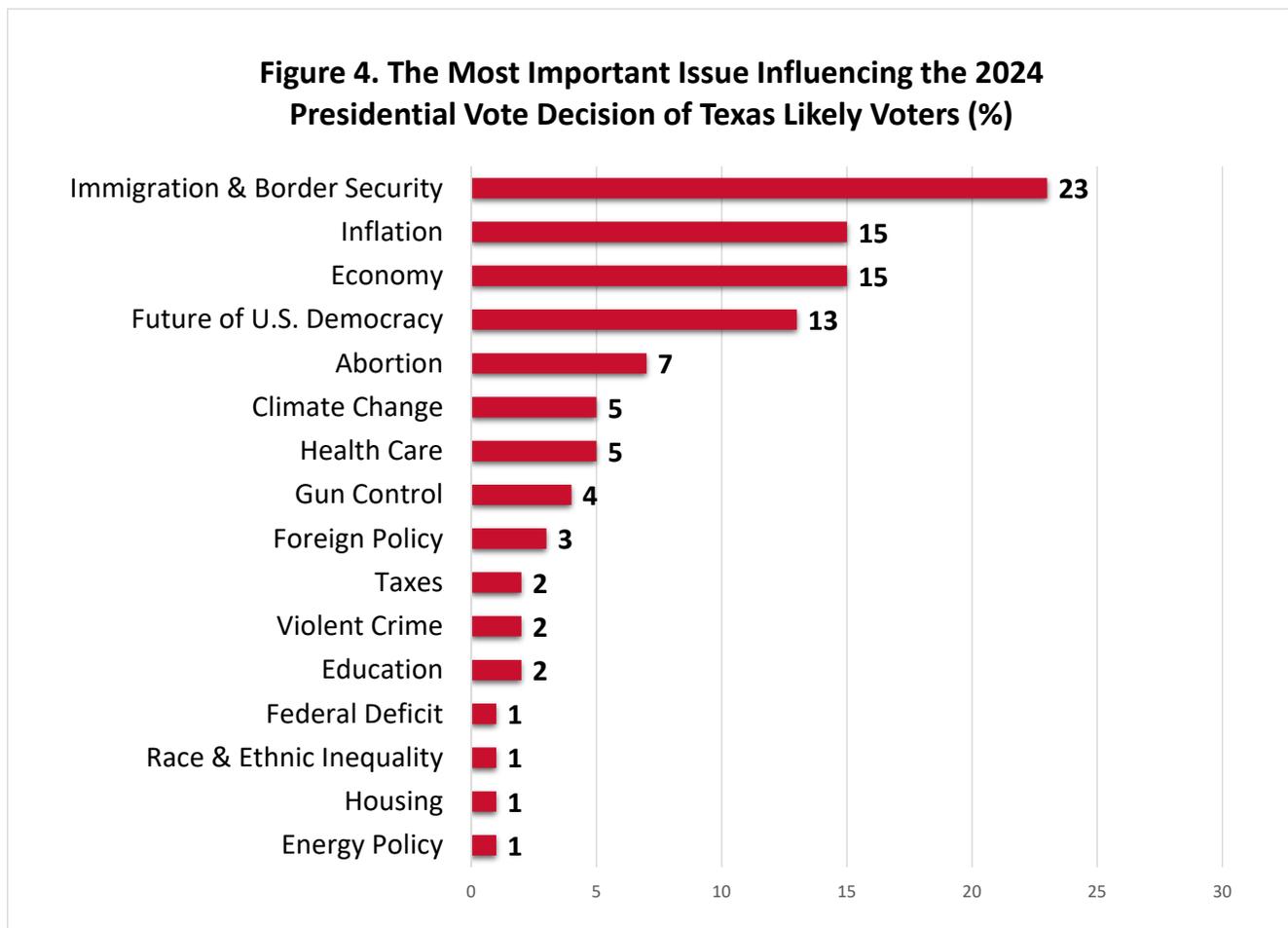


Table 4 provides the proportion of Trump voters and of Biden voters who identify the issue as the most important one for their 2024 presidential vote choice.

Table 4. The Most Important Issue Influencing the Presidential Vote Decision Among Trump & Biden Voters (%)

Issue	Overall	Trump Voters	Biden Voters
Immigration & Border Security	23	40	4
Economy	15	17	12
Inflation	15	17	10
Future of U.S. Democracy	13	4	27
Abortion	7	4	11
Health Care	5	3	7
Climate Change	5	3	8
Gun Control	4	3	7
Foreign Policy	3	1	3
Education	2	1	4
Violent Crime	2	1	2
Taxes	2	2	2
Housing	1	2	1
Race & Ethnic Inequality	1	0	2
Federal Deficit	1	2	0
Energy Policy	1	0	0

Two out of five Trump voters (40%) say that immigration and border security is the most important issue influencing their presidential vote choice, followed by the economy (17%) and inflation (17%). No other issue is mentioned as the most important by more than 4% of Trump voters.

A little more than one in four Biden voters (27%) say that the future of U.S. democracy is the most important issue influencing their presidential vote choice, followed by the economy (12%), abortion (11%) and inflation (10%). A second tranche of issues is listed by a proportion of Biden voters in the high single digits as being the most important to their presidential vote choice, ranging from climate change (8%) to gun control (7%) and health care (7%).

The two issues listed as most important to their presidential vote decision by Kennedy voters are inflation (29%) and immigration and border security (14%). The two issues listed as most important to the likely voters who remain undecided also are inflation (23%) and immigration and border security (19%).

Figure 5 provides the distribution of the proportion of likely voters who listed the issue as being among the three most important in determining for whom to vote in the 2024 presidential election. The top three issues among likely voters are immigration and border security (47%), the economy (42%) and inflation (40%). Two other issues are identified by more than one-fifth of likely voters as being among their top three most important issues for the 2024 presidential race, with 26% listing the future of U.S. democracy and 23% listing abortion. Other issues are identified by between one in ten and one in five likely voters as among the three most important to their vote include climate change (18%), health care (18%), gun control (17%), taxes (14%), violent crime (12%), and foreign policy (10%). Fewer than one in ten likely voters list five issues as being among their three most important: education (9%), the federal deficit (8%), race and ethnic inequality (7%), housing (5%), and energy policy (4%).

Figure 5. Proportion of Texas Likely Voters Who Rank the Issue Among the Three Most Important Issues Influencing Their 2024 Presidential Vote Decision (%)

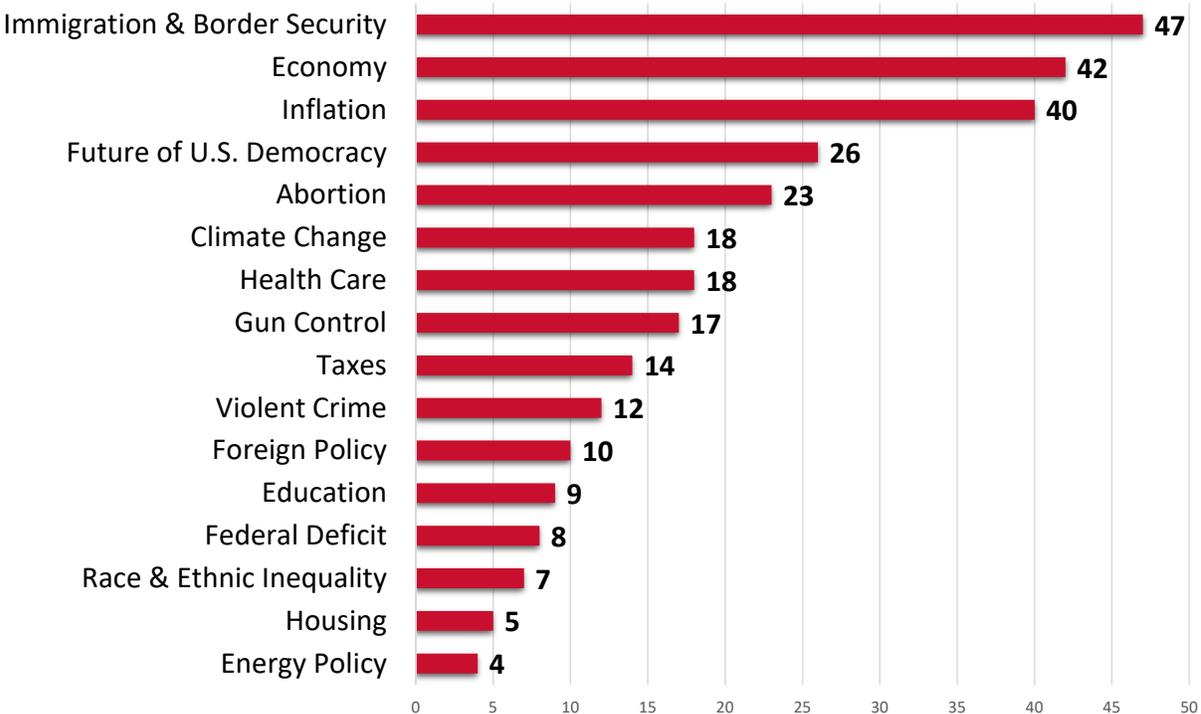


Table 5 provides the proportion of Trump voters and of Biden voters who identify the issue as one of the three most important issues influencing their presidential vote choice.

Table 5. The Three Most Important Issues Influencing the Vote Decision of Trump & Biden Voters (%)

Issue	Overall	Trump	Biden
Immigration & Border Security	47	72	18
Economy	42	55	30
Inflation	40	52	23
Future of U.S. Democracy	26	14	43
Abortion	23	12	38
Health Care	18	10	27
Climate Change	18	6	32
Gun Control	17	7	28
Taxes	14	18	9
Violent Crime	12	14	7
Foreign Policy	10	10	8
Education	9	6	12
Federal Deficit	8	13	3
Race & Ethnic Inequality	7	2	12
Housing	5	4	6
Energy Policy	4	5	4

Almost three-fourths of Trump voters identify immigration & and border security (72%) as one of the top three issues influencing their 2024 presidential vote, followed by more than half who list the economy (55%) and inflation (52%) as being among their top three. No other issue is mentioned by one-fifth or more of Trump voters, with the next most mentioned issues in the teens: taxes (18%), the future of U.S. democracy (14%), violent crime (14%) and the federal deficit (13%).

In contrast to Trump voters, where three issues dominate the presidential vote calculus, Biden voters are much more spread out in terms of the top three issues affecting their 2024 presidential vote decision. The most mentioned issue among Biden voters is the future of U.S. democracy (43%), followed by abortion (38%), climate change (32%), the economy (30%), gun control (28%), health care (27%) and inflation (23%). Only three other issues are mentioned by more than one out of ten Biden voters: immigration and border security (18%), race and ethnic inequality (12%) and education (12%). While only 8% and 7% of white and Latino Biden voters have race & ethnic inequality as a top three issue, 25% of Black Biden voters mention it as one of the three most important issues to their presidential vote choice.

The four issues listed as among the three most important to the presidential vote decision of more than one-fourth of Kennedy voters are the economy (49%), inflation (46%), health care (30%) and immigration & and border security (33%). The three issues listed as among the three most important to the presidential vote decision of more than one-fourth of undecided voters are inflation (51%), immigration and border security (47%) and the economy (32%).

Figure 6 provides the proportion of likely voters and of registered voters who believe Donald Trump is guilty and not guilty of the felony crimes for which he was recently convicted by a Manhattan jury. One-half of likely voters (51%) and registered voters (50%) believe Trump is guilty, while 35% and 33% respectively believe he is not guilty, with 14% and 17% unsure.

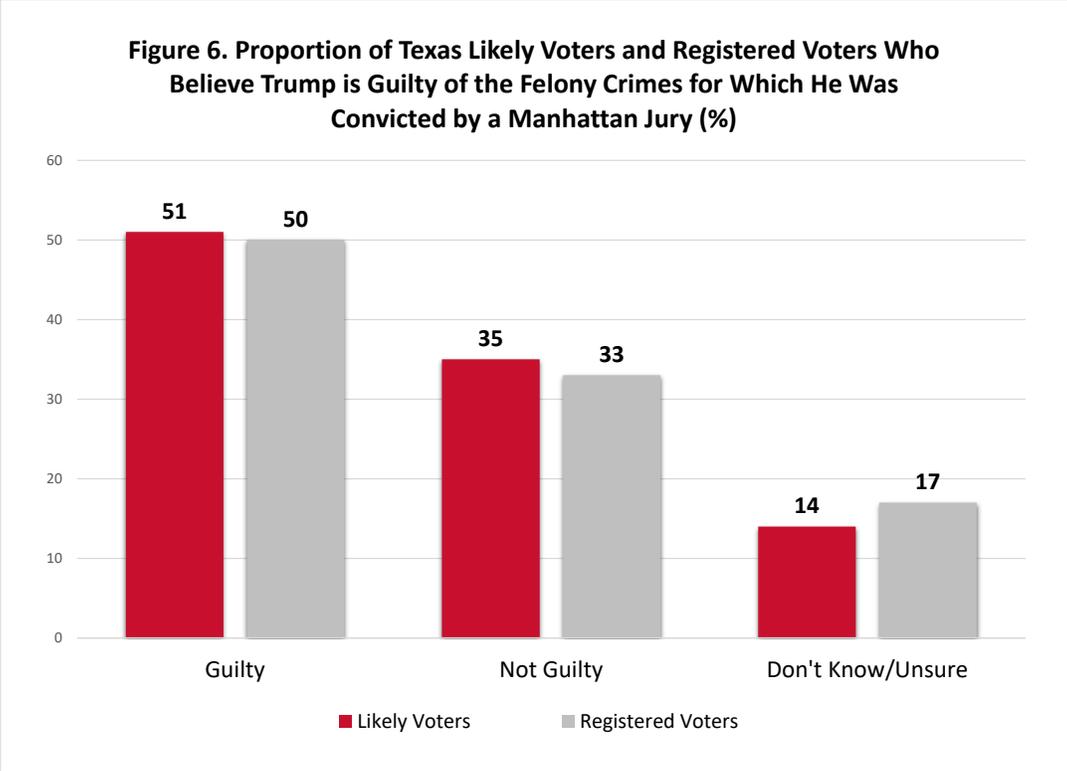


Table 6 provides the distribution of the position of likely voters vis-à-vis Trump’s guilty verdict broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2024 presidential vote intention.

Table 6. Proportion of Likely Voters Who Believe Trump Is Guilty and Not Guilty Among Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Guilty	Not Guilty	Don't Know
Gender	Women	54	31	15
	Men	47	39	14
Ethnicity/Race	White	41	43	16
	Latino	58	27	15
	Black	84	8	8
Generation	Silent/Boomer	43	48	9
	Generation X	52	32	16
	Millennial	60	27	13
	Generation Z	53	18	29
Education	High School	47	37	16
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	54	31	15
	4 Yr Degree/Postgrad	50	37	13
Partisanship	Democratic	91	3	6
	Independent	49	39	12
	Republican	13	64	23
2024 Presidential Vote	Trump	10	68	22
	Biden	93	1	6
	Kennedy	82	8	10
	Don't Know	61	19	20

Women (54%) are significantly more likely than men (47%) to believe Trump is guilty. Similarly, Black likely voters (84%) are significantly more likely than Latino (58%) and white (41%) likely voters to believe Trump is guilty, with Latinos also notably more likely than whites to concur with the Manhattan jury’s guilty verdict. Millennials (60%) are significantly more likely than members of the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (43%) to believe the former president is guilty.

While 91% of Democrats believe Trump is guilty, the same is true for only 13% of Republicans, 64% of whom believe Trump is not guilty and 23% of whom are unsure if Trump is guilty or not. Independents are more evenly divided, with 49% thinking Trump is guilty and 39% thinking he is not guilty.

Among likely 2024 Trump voters, 10% believe he is guilty, 22% are unsure if he is guilty (or not guilty) and 68% think Trump is not guilty. Conversely, virtually all Biden voters (93%) consider Trump to be guilty, with only 1% thinking he is not guilty and 6% unsure. Kennedy voters also overwhelmingly believe Trump is guilty (82%), with 8% thinking he is not guilty and 10% unsure.

The likely voters were also asked what impact, if any, Trump’s conviction has had on their presidential vote intention (see Figure 7). Overall, the impact of the conviction is relatively modest, with 4% of likely voters who previously had intended to vote for Trump now planning not to vote for him, and with 3% of likely voters who previously had not intended to vote for Trump now planning to vote for him. The overwhelming majority of likely voters who intended to vote for Trump prior to the conviction still intend to vote for him (47%), just as the overwhelming majority of likely voters who did not intend to vote for Trump prior to the conviction still do not intend to vote for him (43%).

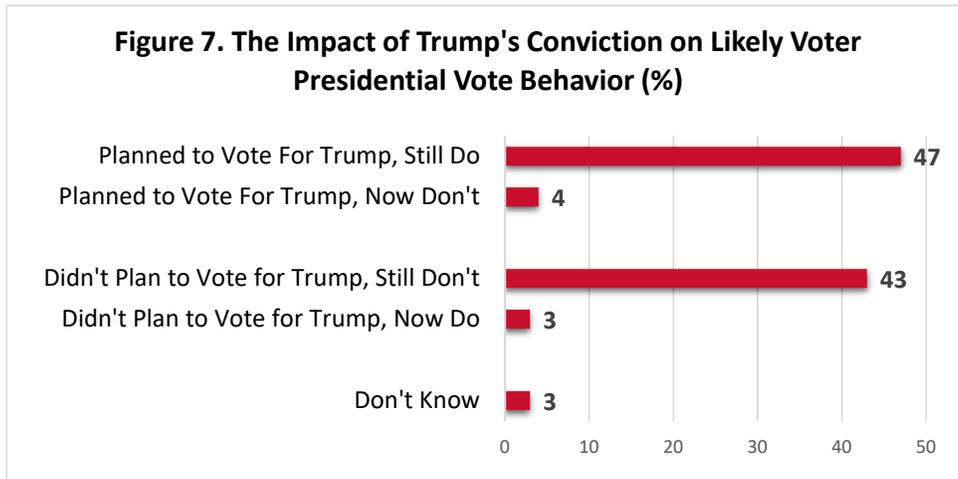
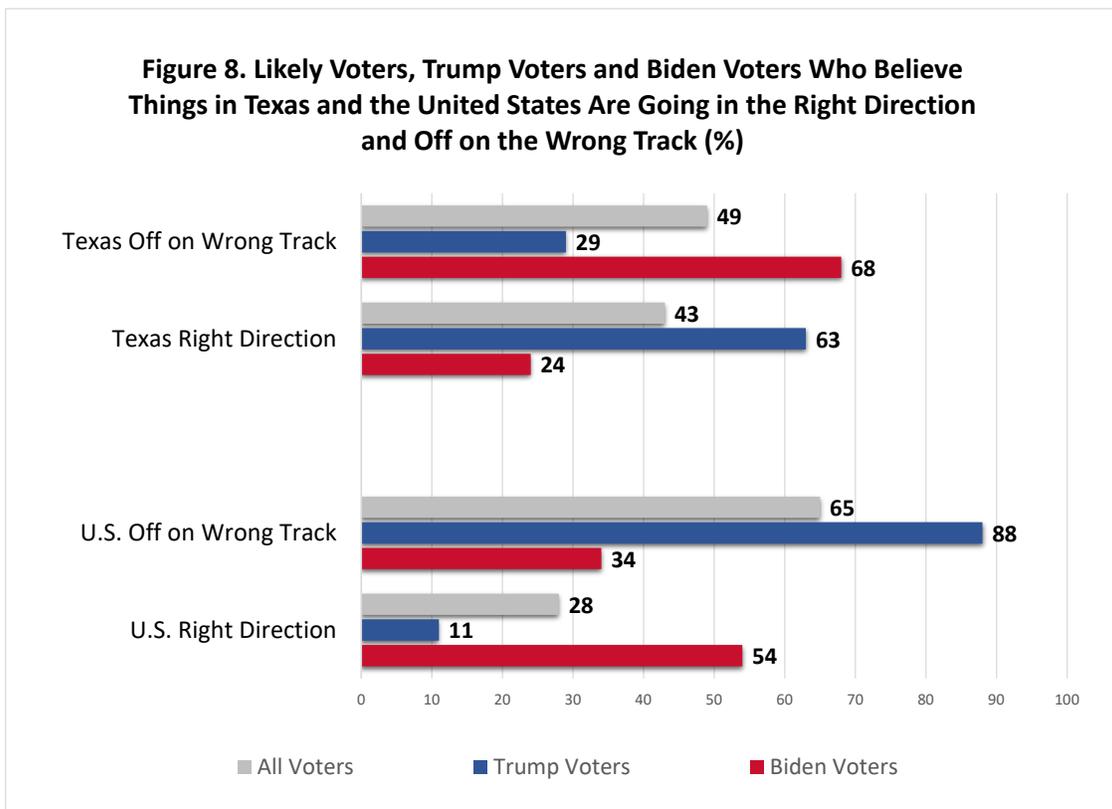


Figure 8 displays the proportion of all likely voters, Trump voters and Biden voters who believe that things in Texas are going in the right direction or are off on the wrong track, and who believe that things in the United States are going in the right direction or are off on the wrong track.



Almost one-half (49%) of Texas likely voters believe things in Texas are off on the wrong track, while 43% believe they are going in the right direction. Almost two-thirds (65%) of Texas likely voters believe things in the United States are off on the wrong track, with 28% of the opinion that things in the United States are going in the right direction.

Over three-fifths (63%) of Trump voters believe things in Texas are headed in the right direction, compared to 24% of Biden voters. More than two-thirds (68%) of Biden voters believe things in Texas are off on the wrong track, compared to 29% of Trump voters.

Almost nine out of ten (88%) Trump voters believe things in the United States are off on the wrong track, compared to 34% of Biden voters. A little more than one-half (54%) of Biden voters believe things in the United States are headed in the right direction, compared to only 11% of Trump voters.

Table 7 provides the position of likely voters regarding the direction of things in Texas and the United States broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education and partisanship.

Table 7. Distribution of Likely Voters Who Believe Things in Texas and the United States Are Going in the Right Direction or Off on the Wrong Track (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	TX Right Direction	TX Wrong Track	US Right Direction	US Wrong Track
Gender	Women	34	55	23	69
	Men	53	42	33	62
Ethnicity/Race	White	49	43	25	69
	Latino	35	56	28	64
	Black	33	59	49	42
Generation	Silent/Boomer	48	47	21	75
	Generation X	36	54	26	66
	Millennial	43	47	35	56
	Generation Z	41	47	40	52
Education	High School	47	43	30	65
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	33	58	23	68
	4 Yr Degree/PostGrad	48	46	31	63
Partisanship	Democratic	25	67	49	39
	Independent	30	58	13	82
	Republican	62	30	12	87

Men (53%) are significantly more likely than women (34%) to hold the opinion that things in Texas are going in the right direction. Similarly, white likely voters (49%) are notably more likely than Latino (35%) and Black (32%) likely voters to believe things in Texas are going in the right direction. Finally, while a substantial majority of Republicans (62%) believe things in Texas are going in the right direction, a substantial majority of Democrats (67%) and Independents (58%) believe things in Texas are off on the wrong track.

With two exceptions, there are not any noteworthy socio-demographic sub-group differences in the proportion of likely voters who believe things in the United States are going in the right direction or are off on the wrong track. The first exception is related to ethnicity/race, with Black likely voters (49%) significantly more likely than Latino (28%) and white (25%) likely voters to believe things in the United States are headed in the right direction. The second exception relates to partisanship, with 87% of Republicans and 82% of Independents believing things in the United States are off on the wrong track, compared to 39% of Democrats.

2024 U.S. SENATE VOTE INTENTION AMONG TEXAS LIKELY VOTERS

Figure 9 provides the distribution of the vote intention of likely voters in the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate election for Republican Ted Cruz, Democrat Colin Allred and Libertarian Ted Brown. Cruz holds a three-percentage point lead over Allred, 47% to 44%, with 3% of likely voters intending to vote for Brown and 6% undecided.

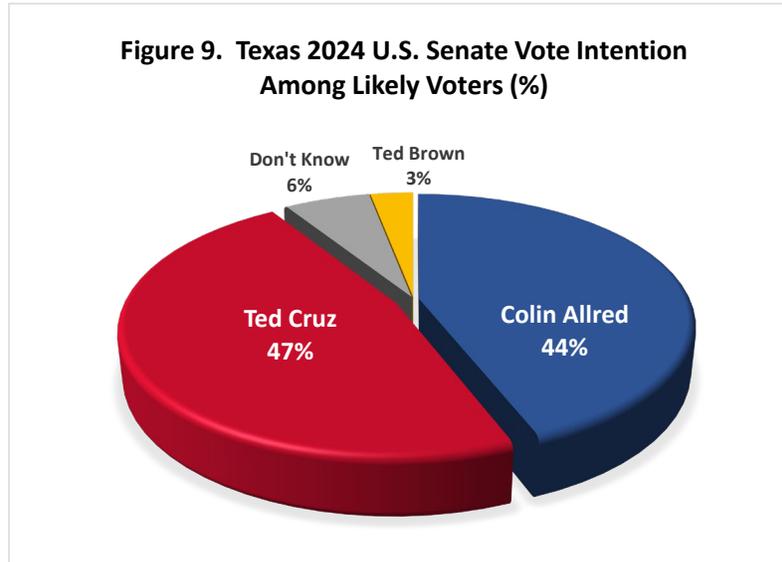


Figure 10 underscores the certainty of these vote intentions, with more than nine out of ten Cruz (93%) and Allred (92%) voters indicating they are certain about their vote choice in November, while 7% and 8% report they still might change their mind between now and November. Two-thirds (68%) of Brown voters indicate they are certain about their November vote, while one-third (32%) report that they might change their mind.

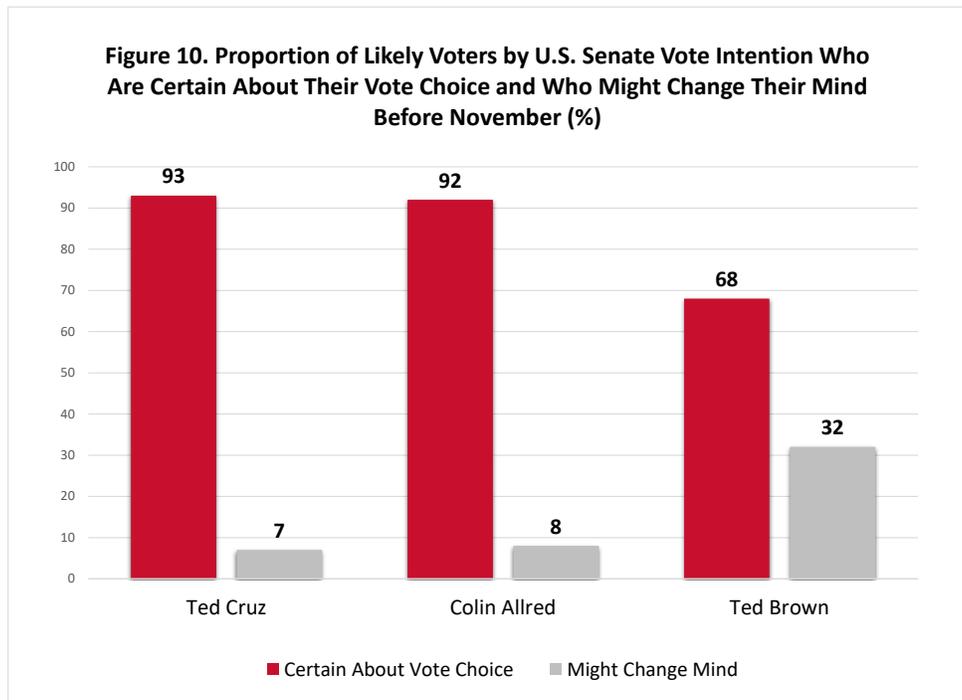


Table 8 provides the distribution of the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate vote intention of likely voters broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2024 presidential vote intention.

Table 8. Likely Voter Texas U.S. Senate Vote Intention Among Key Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Cruz	Allred	Don't Know
Overall		47	44	6
Gender	Women	44	46	8
	Men	50	42	5
Ethnciity/Race	White	55	38	5
	Latino	39	47	10
	Black	15	76	6
Generation	Silent/Boomer	56	41	2
	Generation X	47	44	7
	Millennial	37	47	12
	Generation Z	34	51	10
Education	High School	51	39	8
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	41	48	9
	4 Yr Degree/PostGrad	48	45	4
Partisanship	Democratic	3	92	4
	Independent	39	25	24
	Republican	88	4	6
2024 Presidential Vote	Trump	88	4	6
	Biden	3	94	3
	Kennedy	15	50	19

Allred (46%) holds a narrow two percentage point lead in vote intention over Cruz (44%) among women, while Cruz holds a larger eight percentage point lead over Allred among men (50% to 42%).

More than half of white voters intend to vote for Cruz (56%), compared to 41% who intend to vote for Allred. Allred enjoys an eight percentage point advantage over Cruz in vote intention among Latino voters (47% to 39%), and a more than five to one advantage among Black voters (76% to 15%).

Cruz holds a substantial 15 percentage point lead over Allred among members of the combined Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (56% to 41%), while Allred holds a substantial 17 percentage point lead over Cruz among Generation Z (51% to 34%). The two candidates have roughly similar vote intentions among Generation X (47% to 44%) and, to a lesser extent, among Millennials (37% to 47%).

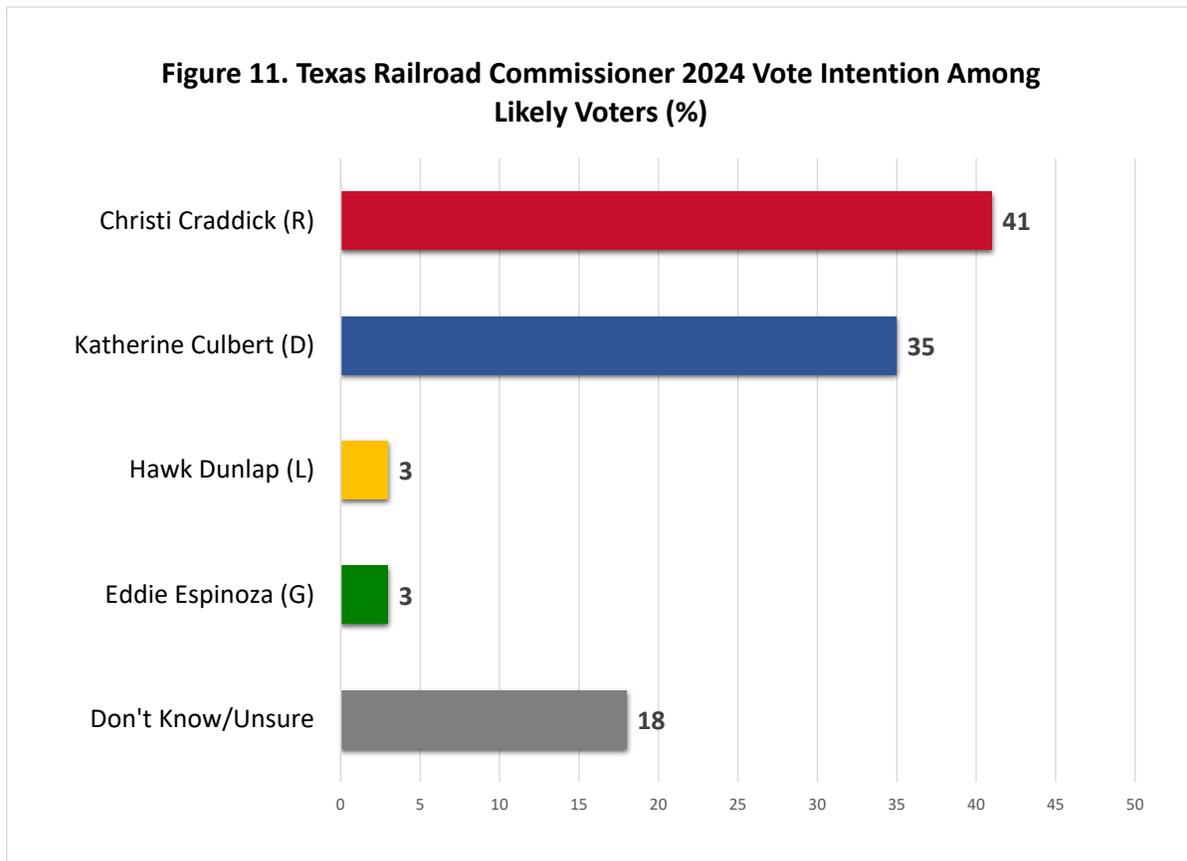
More than nine out of ten Democrats (92%) intend to vote for Allred, while almost nine out of ten (88%) Republicans intend to vote for Cruz. Cruz enjoys a moderate advantage over Allred among Independents, 39% to 25%, with 24% of Independents still undecided.

Almost nine out of ten (88%) 2024 Trump voters plan to vote for Cruz, just as 94% of 2024 Biden voters intend to vote for Allred, with 4% of Trump voters and 3% of Biden voters planning to vote for Allred and Cruz, respectively. Half (50%) of 2024 Kennedy voters intend to vote for Allred, compared to 15% who intend to vote for Cruz, with 19% unsure how they are going to vote in the Texas U.S. Senate election at the present time.

Cruz, like Trump and Biden, is well-known to Texas likely voters, with only 3% not knowing enough to have an opinion about him, one way or another (see Table 10 on page 22 in this report). In sharp contrast, one in four (23%) likely November 2024 likely voters don't know enough about Allred to have an opinion about him. Among those with an opinion of Allred, 46% have a favorable opinion (21% very favorable), compared to 31% who have an unfavorable opinion (17% very unfavorable). By comparison, 49% of likely voters have a favorable opinion of Cruz (27% very favorable), slightly more than the 48% who have an unfavorable opinion of Texas's junior senator (38% very unfavorable).

2024 TEXAS RAILROAD COMMISSIONER VOTE INTENTION AMONG TEXAS LIKELY VOTERS

Figure 11 provides the vote intention for the 2024 Texas Railroad Commissioner election. The state's three railroad commissioners are elected on a staggered schedule every two years for six-year terms. The four railroad commissioner candidates on the ballot this fall are Republican Christi Craddick (the incumbent), Democrat Katherine Culbert, Libertarian Hawk Dunlap, and the Green Party's Eddie Espinoza.



Craddick holds a six percentage point lead over Culbert, 41% to 35%, with 3% of likely voters intending to vote for Dunlap and 3% for Espinoza. Unlike the case for the presidential and U.S. Senate elections (where only 4% and 6% are undecided), almost one in five (18%) likely voters remain undecided in the railroad commissioner race.

Table 9 provides the distribution of the 2024 Texas railroad commissioner vote intention of likely voters broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2024 presidential vote intention.

Table 9. Likely Voter Texas Railroad Commissioner Vote Intention Among Key Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Craddick	Culbert	Dunlap/Espinoza	Don't Know
Overall		41	35	6	18
Gender	Women	39	37	4	20
	Men	43	34	7	16
Ethnicity/Race	White	49	30	5	16
	Latino	35	36	8	21
	Black	11	66	4	19
Generation	Silent/Boomer	51	30	3	16
	Generation X	41	35	8	16
	Millennial	32	41	5	22
	Generation Z	28	42	7	23
Education	High School	45	32	7	16
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	34	38	4	24
	4 Yr Degree/Postgrad	43	35	6	16
Partisanship	Democratic	1	79	4	16
	Independent	27	15	16	42
	Republican	80	1	3	16
2024 Presidential Vote	Trump	78	3	4	15
	Biden	2	78	4	16
	Kennedy	16	30	24	30

Craddick holds a two percentage point lead over Culbert among women (39% to 37%) and a nine percentage point lead among men (43% to 34%).

Craddick’s vote intention among white voters is more than one and a half times that of Culbert (49% to 30%), while Culbert’s vote intention among Black voters is six times that of Craddick (66% to 11%). The two major party candidates are effectively deadlocked among Latino voters, with 36% intending to vote for Culbert and 35% for Craddick. One-fifth (21%) of Latino likely voters remain undecided while 6% intend to vote for Espinoza and 2% for Dunlap.

Craddick enjoys a commanding 51% to 30% lead in vote intention over Culbert among members of the combined Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort, while Culbert enjoys a substantial 42% to 28% lead over Craddick among Generation Z.

Four-fifths of Republicans (80%) and Democrats (79%) intend to vote for Craddick and Culbert respectively, while 16% of each partisan group remain undecided, as do more than two-fifths (42%) of Independents.

Almost eight out of ten Trump (78%) and Biden (78%) voters intend to vote for Craddick and Cuthbert respectively, while 15% and 16% of each presidential candidate’s voters remain undecided. Almost one-third (30%) of Kennedy voters intend to vote for Cuthbert while almost one-sixth (16%) intend to vote for Craddick, with 30% still undecided in this race.

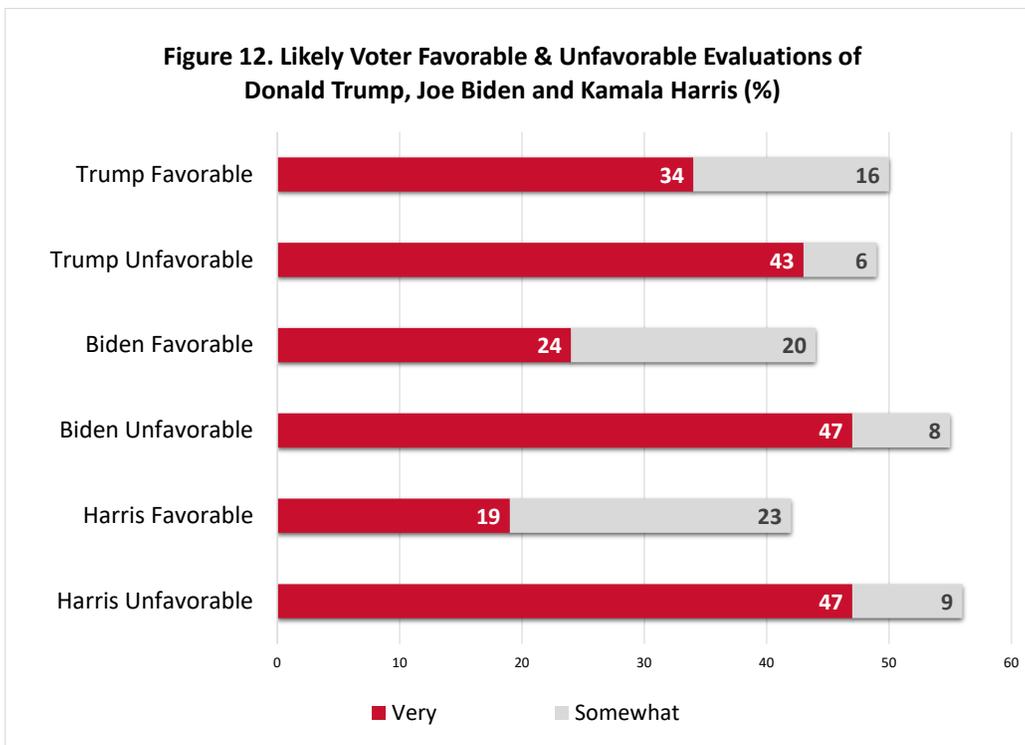
FAVORABILITY EVALUATIONS OF SEVEN LEADING CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS

Table 10 provides the proportion of Texas likely voters with favorable (very, somewhat) and unfavorable (very, somewhat) evaluations of seven candidates and officeholders (along with the proportion who didn’t know enough to have an opinion): President Joe Biden, former president Donald Trump, 2024 presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., Vice President Kamala Harris, U.S. Senator Ted Cruz, 2024 U.S. Senate candidate and Congressman Colin Allred, and Texas Governor Greg Abbott.

Table 10. Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Seven Leading Political Figures (%)

Politician	Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know Enough About
Donald Trump	34	16	6	43	1
Ted Cruz	27	22	10	38	3
Greg Abbott	27	24	10	36	3
Joe Biden	24	20	8	47	1
Colin Allred	21	25	14	17	23
Kamala Harris	19	23	9	47	2
Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.	7	30	26	24	13

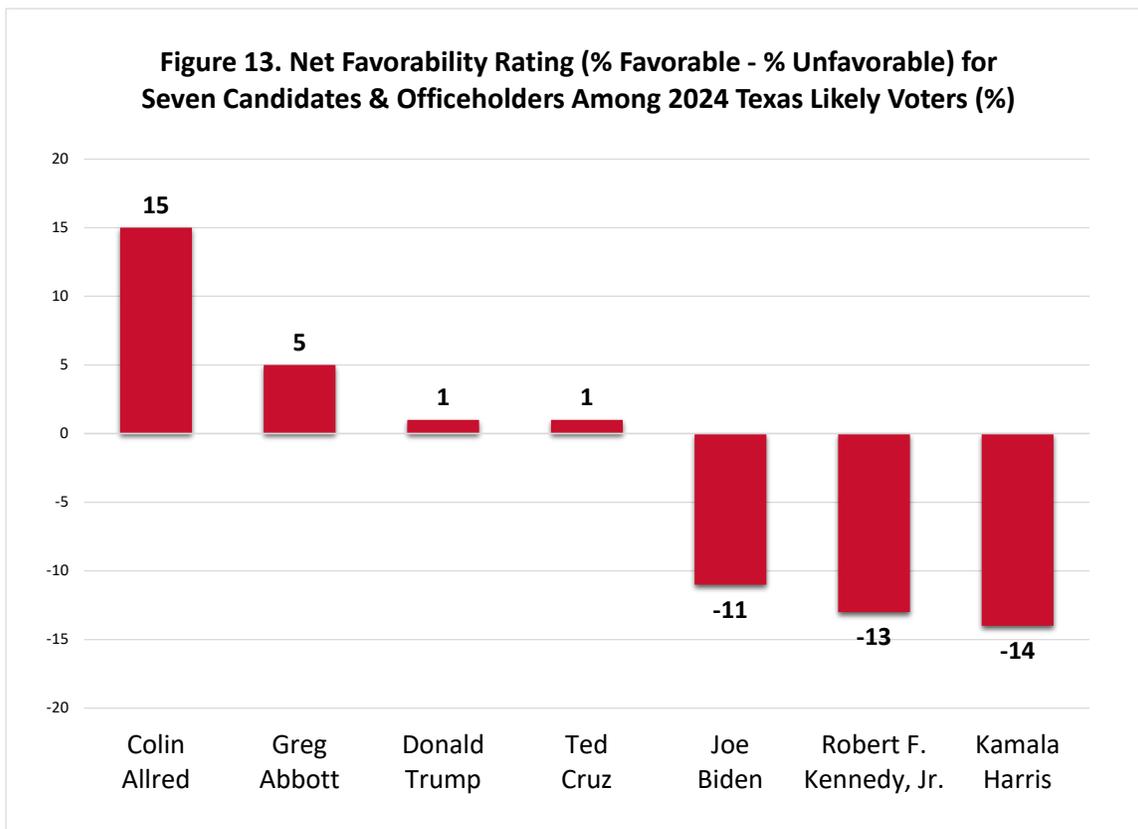
Figure 12 displays the proportion of Texas likely voters with favorable (very and somewhat) and unfavorable (very and somewhat) evaluations of President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris and former president Donald Trump.



Relatively equal proportions of Texas likely voters have favorable (50%) and unfavorable (49%) evaluations of Trump, with 34% having a very favorable opinion of the former president and 43% a very unfavorable opinion.

More than one-half of Texas likely voters have unfavorable opinions of Biden (55%) and Harris (56%), with 47% having a very unfavorable opinion of each. Conversely, 44% of likely voters have a favorable opinion of Biden (24% very favorable) and 42% have a favorable opinion of Harris (19% very favorable).

Figure 13 provides the net favorability rating (percentage favorable minus percentage unfavorable) for the seven political figures. The net favorability rating ranges from highs of 15% for Allred, 5% for Abbott, 1% for Trump and 1% Cruz to lows of -14% for Harris, -13% for Kennedy, and -11% for Biden.



REPORT AUTHORS

Michael O. Adams, Professor of Political Science and Founding Director of the Executive Master of Public Administration Program, Texas Southern University

Renée Cross, Senior Executive Director; Researcher, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Mark P. Jones, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy's Fellow in Political Science, Rice University; Senior Research Fellow, Hobby School of Public Affairs

RESEARCH TEAM

Maria Perez Arguelles, Research Associate, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Gail Buttorff, Associate Director, Center for Public Policy; Instructional Assistant Professor, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Jim Granato, Dean, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Pablo M. Pinto, Director, Center for Public Policy; Professor, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Savannah Sipole, Research Associate, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Agustín Vallejo, Instructional Assistant Professor, Hobby School of Public Affairs

Sunny Wong, Associate Dean; Professor, Hobby School of Public Affairs