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

TEXAS TRENDS 2025

REDISTRICTING & LEGISLATION FROM THE
TEXAS LEGISLATURE'S
2025 SECOND SPECIAL SESSION





Texas Trends 2025

Redistricting & Legislation from the Texas Legislature's 2025 Second Special Session

October 2025

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 fifth survey in the series was fielded between September 19 and October 1, 2025 and focused on opinions about the 2026 elections, public policies, and energy use. The survey was conducted in English and Spanish, with 1,650 YouGov respondents 18 years of age and older, resulting in a confidence interval of +/-2.41% for the overall survey population. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education and are representative of the Texas registered voter population.

The results of this 2025 statewide survey will be presented in four separate reports. The first report examined vote intention in the 2026 Republican and Democratic Texas U.S. Senate primaries, vote intention in the November 2026 U.S. Senate election, changes in the level of support among Texas voters for President Donald Trump, and vote intention in the 2026 Republican Texas Attorney General primary. This second report examines Texans' opinions on redistricting as well as on legislation passed during the 2025 Texas Legislature's second special session related to the provision of abortion medication, transgender bathroom/locker room access, and the Texas Attorney General's power to prosecute election-related crimes. The final two reports will study Texans' attitudes related to immigration and border security and their household energy use and concerns.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

68% of Texas registered voters believe it is a major problem when states draw legislative districts that intentionally favor one party (i.e., engage in partisan gerrymandering) while 21% believe it is a minor problem and 11% believe it is not a problem.

91% of Democrats and 41% of Republicans believe that it is a major problem when states engage in partisan gerrymandering, while 7% and 36% believe it is a minor problem.

23% of Republicans and 2% of Democrats believe that it is not a problem when states engage in partisan gerrymandering.

46% of Texas registered voters think that legislative districts in Texas should be drawn by an Independent Redistricting Commission while 29% believe that the Texas Legislature should continue to draw the legislative districts and 25% are unsure.

60% of Texas registered voters oppose (46% strongly) House Bill 7 from the Texas Legislature's second special session that allows private citizens to sue anyone who manufactures, distributes or provides abortion medication to people in Texas, with exceptions for women who take the medication and those who prescribe it for legitimate reasons such as following a miscarriage.

68% of Texas registered voters support (52% strongly) Senate Bill 8 from the Texas Legislature's second special session that restricts the use of restrooms and locker rooms in government-owned and operated buildings, public schools and universities to those individuals whose biological sex matches that of the restroom or locker room. SB-8 requires transgender people to use the restroom or locker room which matches their biological sex rather than that which matches their gender identity.

52% of Texas registered voters oppose and 48% support Senate Bill 12 from the Texas Legislature's second special session that gives the Texas Attorney General the power to prosecute election law violations in a county without first obtaining the consent of the local district attorney.

REGISTERED VOTER DEMOGRAPHICS

White registered voters account for 55% of this population of Texas registered voters, Latino registered voters for 26%, Black registered voters for 13%, and others for 6%. Women represent 54% of this population and men 46%. Regarding generations, 32% 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), 26% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation, and 16% to Generation Z (Gen-Z) (1997-2012). The highest level of educational attainment of 39% of the population is a four-year college degree or a post-graduate degree, of 32% of the population is a two-year college degree or some college, and of 29% of the population is a high school degree or less. Republicans account for 44% of this population, Democrats for 41% and Independents for 13%, with 2% unsure of their partisan identification. In the 2024 presidential election, among those who cast a ballot last year, 56% voted for Republican Donald Trump and 43% for Democrat Kamala Harris, with 1% supporting a third-party candidate.

HOW MUCH OF A PROBLEM IS PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING?

The survey respondents were asked,

“How big a problem do you think it is when states draw legislative districts that intentionally favor one party?”

The response options were a major problem, a minor problem, not a problem, and unsure.

Figure 1 provides the proportion of respondents who did not answer unsure (13% total) who believe that this type of partisan gerrymandering is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem. More than two-thirds (68%) of Texas registered voters believe it is a major problem when states draw legislative districts that intentionally favor one party, while more than one-fifth (21%) believe it is a minor problem, with only a little more than one in ten (11%) of the opinion that it is not a problem when a state engages in partisan gerrymandering.

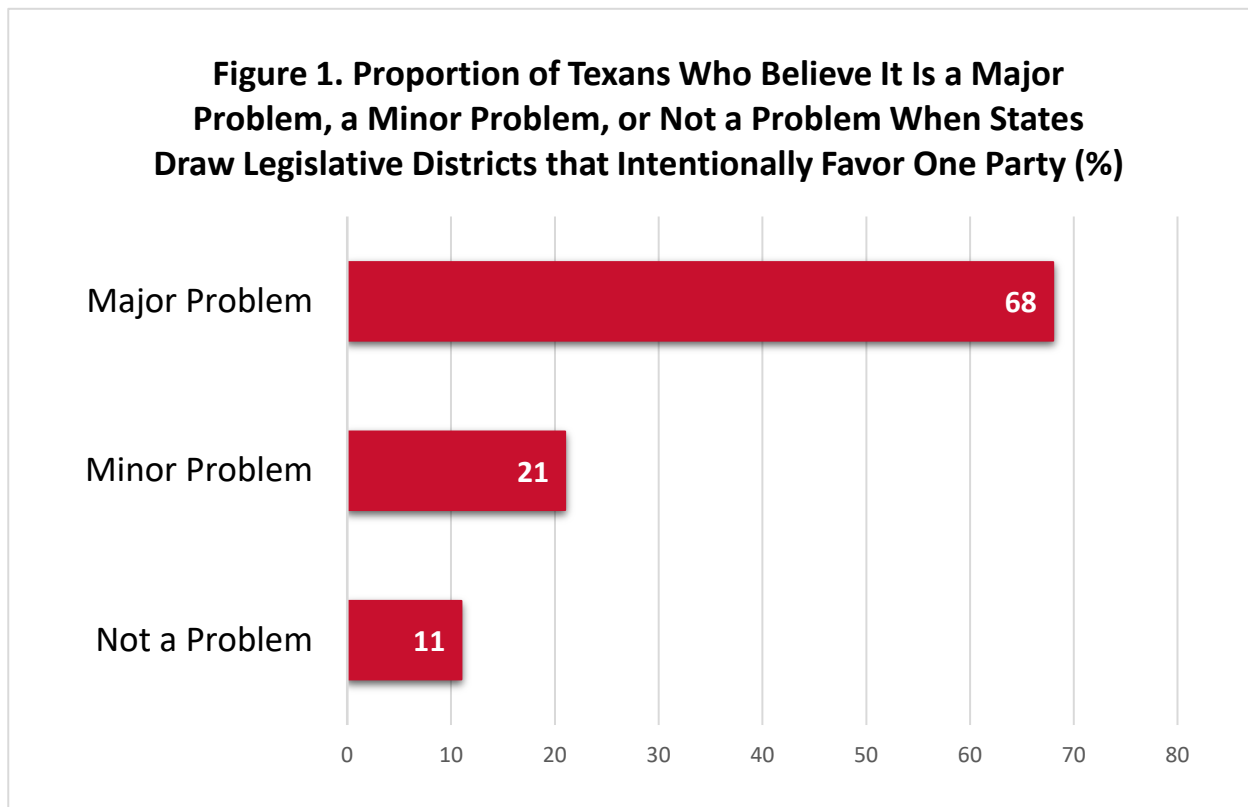


Table 1 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who believe partisan gerrymandering is a major problem, a minor problem and not a problem, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, partisanship, and 2024 presidential vote.

Table 1. Distribution of Texans' Views of Drawing Legislative Districts to Favor One Party Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio Demographic	Sub-Group	Major Problem	Minor Problem	Not a Problem
Overall		68	21	11
Gender	Women	75	16	9
	Men	61	25	14
Ethnicity/Race	White	61	24	15
	Latino	72	20	8
	Black	85	10	5
Generation	Silent/Boomer	67	15	18
	Gen-X	69	19	12
	Millennial	67	25	8
	Gen-Z	69	25	4
Education	High School	66	22	14
	2-Yr/Some College	67	22	11
	4-Yr/Advanced	71	18	11
Partisanship	Democratic	91	7	2
	Independent	77	18	5
	Republican	41	36	23
2024 Presidential Vote	Trump	45	33	22
	Harris	93	6	1

There are no noteworthy sub-group differences to the extent to which Texans believe partisan gerrymandering is problematic that are related either to generation or educational attainment. There are however significant differences related to respondent gender, ethnicity/race, and, especially, partisanship.

Women (75%) are significantly more likely than men (61%) to believe that partisan gerrymandering is a major problem, just as Black registered voters (85%) are significantly more likely than White registered voters (61%) to hold that same opinion. It is important to note however that substantial majorities of women (75%) and men (61%) and Black (85%), Latino (72%) and White (61%) registered voters believe that partisan gerrymandering is a major problem.

The most dramatic sub-group differences related to the evaluation of the extent to which partisan gerrymandering is a problem revolve around partisanship, with Democrats (91%) more than twice as likely as Republicans (41%) to consider partisan gerrymandering to be a major problem, and Republicans (23%) ten times more likely than Democrats (2%) to consider partisan gerrymandering to not be a problem. However, in spite of these stark partisan differences, it is worthy of note that a plurality of Republicans considers partisan gerrymandering to be a major problem and that more than three out of four Republicans (77%) consider it to be a problem, either major (41%) or minor (36%). More than three out of four Independents (77%) consider partisan gerrymandering to be a major problem and only 5% think it is not a problem (the remaining 18% think it is a minor problem).

WHO SHOULD DRAW TEXAS'S LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS?

The survey respondents were presented with the following question:

“In Texas, the Texas Legislature draws the single-member districts used to elect the members of the Texas Legislature and U.S. House. Some states, however, give an Independent Redistricting Commission this power. Which of these two options best describes who you think should draw legislative districts in Texas?”

The rotated response options were the Texas Legislature, an Independent Redistricting Commission, and unsure.

Figure 2 reveals that a plurality of Texas registered voters think Texas's legislative districts should be drawn by an Independent Redistricting Commission (46%) while 29% prefer the status quo of the Texas Legislature drawing the districts and 25% are unsure.

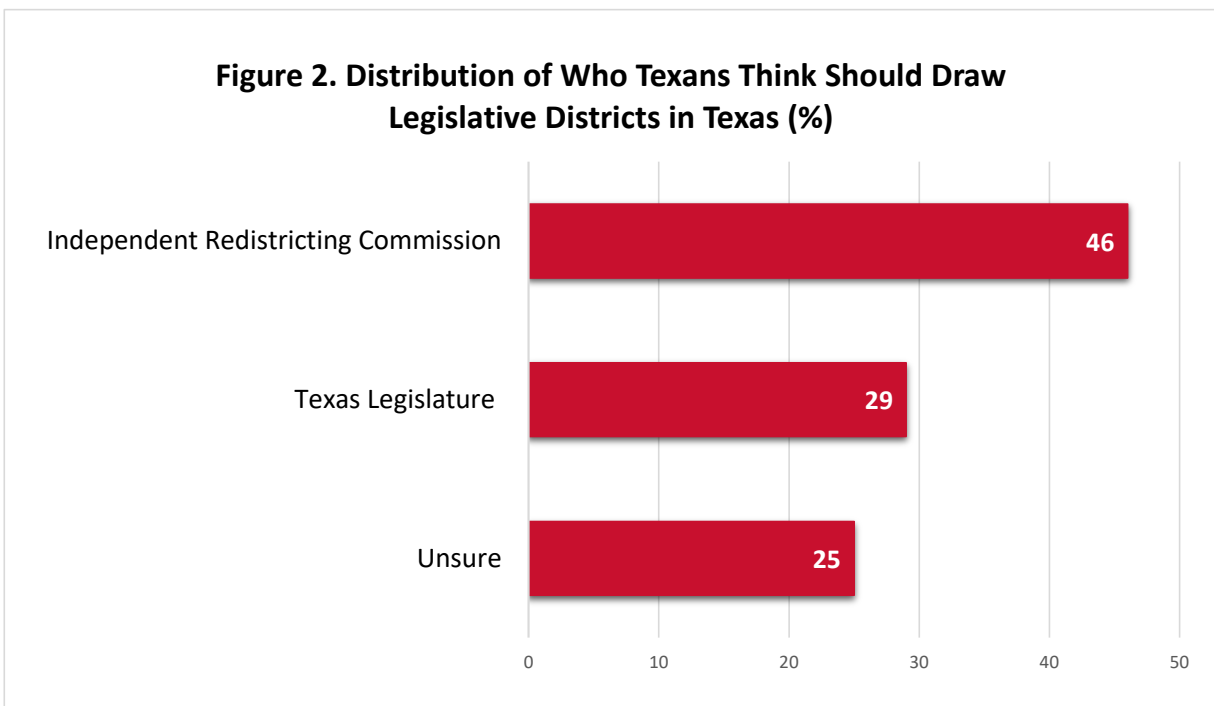


Table 2 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who think an Independent Redistricting Commission or the Texas Legislature should draw Texas’s legislative districts, along with the proportion who are unsure, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, partisanship and 2024 presidential vote.

Table 2. Distribution of Texans' Preferences For Who Should Draw Legislative Districts in Texas Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio Demographic	Sub-Group	Independent Redistricting Commission	Texas Legislature	Unsure
Overall		46	29	25
Gender	Women	46	23	31
	Men	46	35	19
Ethnicity/Race	White	48	31	21
	Latino	41	31	28
	Black	50	19	31
Generation	Silent/Boomer	45	32	23
	Gen-X	48	24	28
	Millennial	46	29	25
	Gen-Z	44	29	27
Education	High School	35	32	33
	2-Yr/Some College	44	30	26
	4-Yr/Advanced	57	25	18
Partisanship	Democratic	68	13	19
	Independent	51	15	34
	Republican	26	48	26
2024 Presidential Vote	Trump	29	46	25
	Harris	71	11	18

There are not any noteworthy sub-group differences in preferences for who draws Texas’s legislative districts based on gender, ethnicity/race or generation. In contrast, there is a significant partisan split along with a modest difference related to education.

More than two-thirds of Democrats (68%) think that an Independent Redistricting Commission should be responsible for drawing Texas’s legislative districts, with only 13% preferring that the Texas Legislature draw the districts, and 19% unsure which body should be responsible.

Nearly one-half (48%) of Texas Republicans think that the Texas Legislature should draw the state’s legislative districts, with slightly more than one-fourth (26%) favoring the use of an Independent Redistricting Commission while 26% are unsure who should draw the Lone Star State’s legislative districts. A little more than one-half of Independents (51%) favor the Independent Redistricting Commission option compared to 15% who think the Texas Legislature should draw the districts.

Finally, Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a four-year college degree or an advanced degree (57%) are significantly more likely than Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less (35%) to think that Texas’s legislative districts should be created by an Independent Redistricting Commission.

SUPPORT FOR & OPPOSITION TO HB-7: ABILITY TO SUE ABORTION MEDICATION SUPPLIERS

The survey respondents were presented with the following description of legislation passed during the Texas Legislature’s 2025 second special session related to abortion medication and asked to what extent they support or oppose the legislation:

“House Bill 7 allows private citizens to sue (for up to \$100,000) anyone who manufactures, distributes or provides abortion medication to people in Texas. Women who take the medication cannot be sued nor can hospitals or physicians who prescribe the medication for legitimate reasons such as following a miscarriage.”

Figure 3 highlights that 60% of Texas registered voters oppose this legislation while 40% support it.

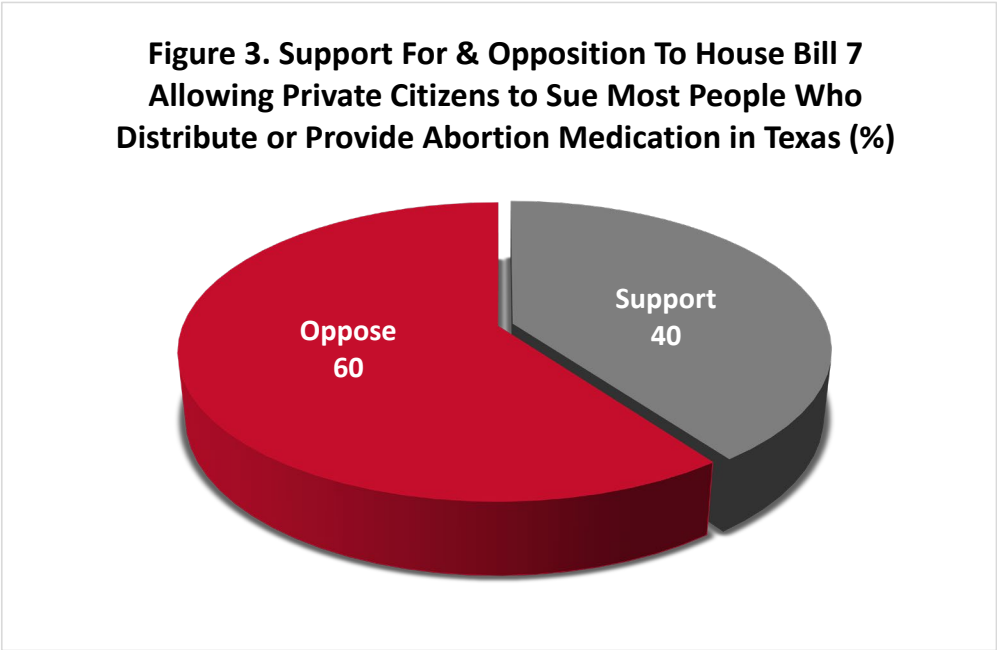


Table 3 breaks down this support and opposition among those who strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose and strongly oppose House Bill 7 (HB-7). Close to one-half of Texas registered voters strongly oppose HB-7 (46%), more than twice the proportion that strongly support the legislation (22%).

Second Special Session Legislation	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
House Bill 7: Allow Lawsuits for Provision of Abortion Medication	22	18	14	46
Senate Bill 8: Restricts Transgender Restroom/Locker Room Use	52	16	10	22
Senate Bill 12: Empowers Texas AG to Prosecute Election Violations	26	22	16	36

Table 4 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who support and oppose HB-7, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment and partisanship.

Table 4. Support For & Opposition To HB-7 (Abortion Medication) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio Demographic	Sub-Group	Support	Oppose
Overall		40	60
Gender	Women	35	65
	Men	47	53
Ethnicity/Race	White	43	57
	Latino	40	60
	Black	32	68
Generation	Silent/Boomer	46	54
	Gen-X	34	66
	Millennial	40	60
	Gen-Z	42	58
Education	High School	43	57
	2-Yr/Some College	45	55
	4-Yr/Advanced	35	65
Partisanship	Democratic	17	83
	Independent	28	72
	Republican	68	32

There are not any noteworthy sub-group differences in support for or opposition to HB-7 related to ethnicity/race, generation or education. In contrast, there are stark partisan differences as well as salient gender differences.

More than two-thirds of Republicans (68%), but less than one-fifth of Democrats (17%), support HB-7, while, conversely, more than four-fifths of Democrats (83%), but less than one-third of Republicans (32%) oppose HB-7. The proportion of Republicans who oppose HB-7 (32%) is notably higher than the proportion of Democrats who support HB-7 (17%). Independents are significantly more likely to oppose (72%) than support (28%) this legislation.

Finally, women are significantly more likely than men to oppose HB-7 (65% vs. 53%), although an absolute majority of men does, narrowly, oppose HB-7.

SUPPORT FOR & OPPOSITION TO SB-8: TRANSGENDER BATHROOM/LOCKER ROOM ACCESS

The survey respondents were presented with the following description of legislation passed during the Texas Legislature's 2025 second special session related to transgender bathroom and locker room access and asked to what extent they support or oppose the legislation:

"Senate Bill 8 restricts the use of restrooms and locker rooms in government-owned and operated buildings, public schools and universities to those individuals whose biological sex matches that of the restroom or locker room. It requires transgender people to use the restroom or locker room which matches their biological sex rather than that which matches their gender identity."

Figure 4 reveals that 68% of Texas registered voters support this legislation while 32% oppose it.

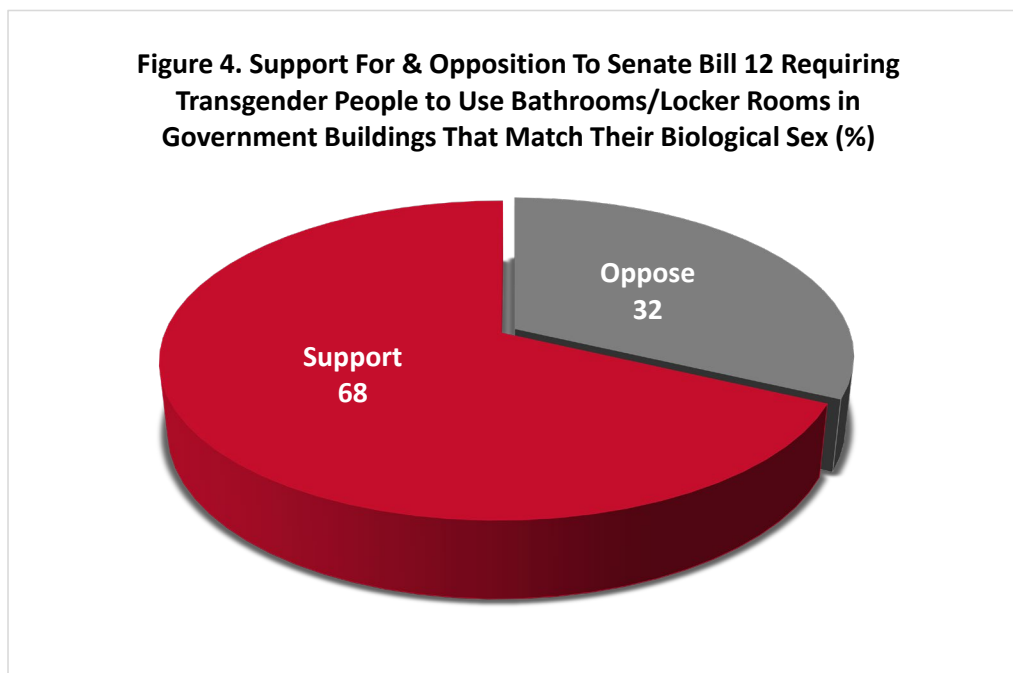


Table 3 on page 7 breaks down this support and opposition among those who strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose and strongly oppose Senate Bill 8 (SB-8). More than one-half of Texas registered voters strongly support SB-8 (52%), more than twice the proportion that strongly oppose the legislation (22%).

Table 5 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who support and oppose SB-8, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment and partisanship.

Table 5. Support For & Opposition To SB-8 (Transgender Bathroom Restrictions) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio Demographic	Sub-Group	Support	Oppose
Overall		68	32
Gender	Women	61	39
	Men	85	15
Ethnicity/Race	White	71	29
	Latino	66	34
	Black	62	38
Generation	Silent/Boomer	73	27
	Gen-X	70	30
	Millennial	66	34
	Gen-Z	56	44
Education	High School	73	27
	2-Yr/Some College	72	28
	4-Yr/Advanced	61	39
Partisanship	Democratic	36	64
	Independent	69	31
	Republican	94	6

There are not any noteworthy sub-group differences in support for or opposition to SB-8 related to ethnicity/race. In contrast, there are notable sub-group differences revolving around partisanship and gender, and, to a lesser extent, generation and education.

More than nine out of ten Republicans (94%) support SB-8, compared to only 36% of Democrats. It is noteworthy however that the proportion of Democrats who support SB-8 is six times greater than the proportion of Republicans who oppose SB-8 (36% vs. 6%). More than two-thirds of Independents (69%) also support this legislation.

While large majorities of both men (85%) and women (61%) support SB-8's restrictions on transgender bathroom and locker room access, men are significantly more likely than women to support the legislation.

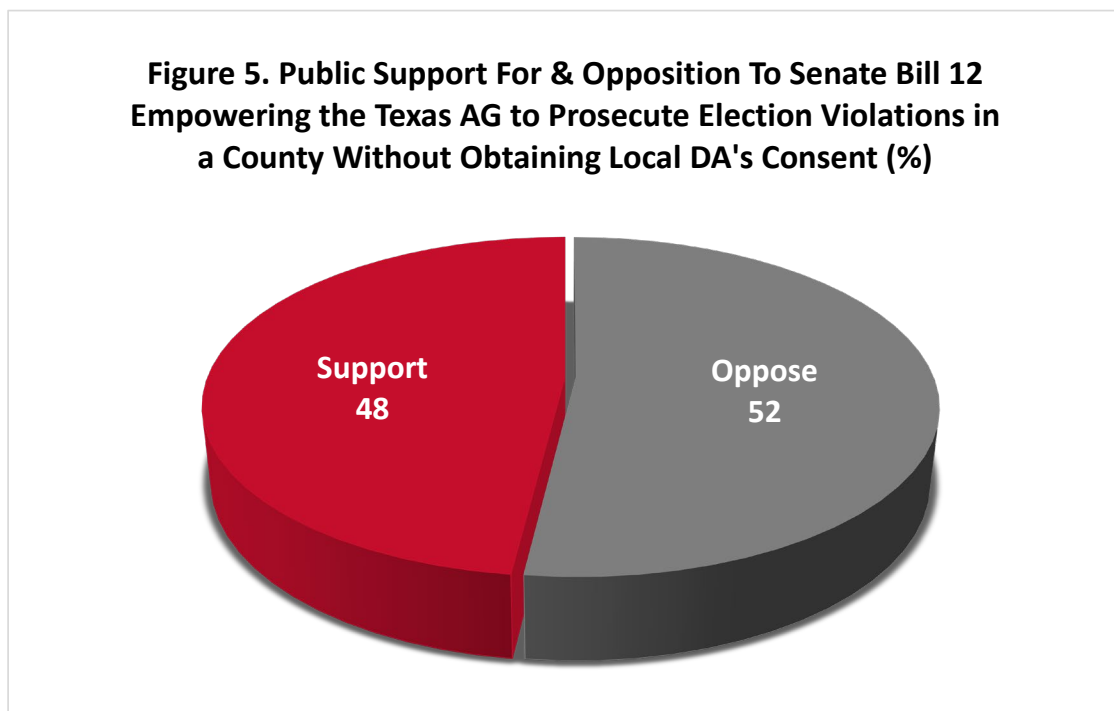
While a majority of Gen-Z registered voters support SB-8 (56%), these younger Texans are significantly less likely than those in the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer (73%) and Gen-X (70%) cohorts to support the legislation. And while a majority of Texas registered voters whose highest level of educational achievement is a four-year degree or an advanced degree support SB-8 (61%), this proportion is notably lower than that among registered voters whose highest level of educational attainment is either some college or a two-year degree (72%) or a high school degree or less (73%).

SUPPORT FOR & OPPOSITION TO SB-12: TEXAS AG's POWER TO PROSECUTE ELECTION CRIMES

The survey respondents were presented with the following description of legislation passed during the Texas Legislature's 2025 second special session related to empowering the Texas Attorney General to prosecute election related violations without obtaining the local prosecutor's consent and asked to what extent they support or oppose the legislation:

"Texas Senate Bill 12 gives the Texas Attorney General the power to prosecute election law violations in a county without having to first obtain the consent of the local prosecutor (district attorney)."

Figure 5 reveals that Texas registered voters are evenly divided between those who oppose (52%) and support (48%) this legislation.



Compared to HB-7 and SB-8, Table 3 on page 7 reveals smaller, and relatively comparable, proportions who strongly oppose or support the legislation, with 36% strongly opposing SB-12 and 26% strongly supporting SB-12.

Table 5 provides the proportion of Texas registered voters who support and oppose SB-12, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment and partisanship.

Table 6. Support For & Opposition to SB-12 (Empower AG to Prosecute Election Cases) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio Demographic	Sub-Group	Support	Oppose
Overall		48	52
Gender	Women	41	59
	Men	56	44
Ethnicity/Race	White	57	43
	Latino	43	57
	Black	20	80
Generation	Silent/Boomer	55	45
	Gen-X	48	52
	Millennial	44	56
	Gen-Z	37	63
Education	High School	52	48
	2-Yr/Some College	51	49
	4-Yr/Advanced	43	57
Partisanship	Democratic	15	85
	Independent	40	60
	Republican	82	18

While there are not any noteworthy sub-group differences based on education, there are notable differences related to partisanship, gender and ethnicity/race, and, to a lesser extent, generation.

Republicans (82%) overwhelming support this legislation while Democrats overwhelmingly oppose it (85%), with comparable proportions of Republicans who oppose and Democrats who support SB-12 (18% and 15%, respectively).

Men (56%) are significantly more likely to support SB-12 than are women (41%), just as women are significantly more likely to oppose the legislation than are men (59% vs. 44%). White (57%) and Latino (43%) registered voters are significantly more likely to support SB-12 than are Black registered voters (20%), with Black registered voters significantly more likely to oppose the legislation than Latino and White registered voters (80% vs. 57% and 43%, respectively). Finally, members of the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (55%) are significantly more likely to support SB-12 than are Gen-Zs (37%), with the younger registered voters significantly more likely to oppose the legislation than their elders (63% vs. 45%).

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