



THE 2022 TEXAS STATEWIDE ELECTION
CONTESTS - PRIMARY RUNOFF & GENERAL:
A STUDY OF TEXAS VOTERS
AND TEXAS HISPANIC VOTERS

APRIL 5, 2022



TEXAS HISPANIC
POLICY FOUNDATION

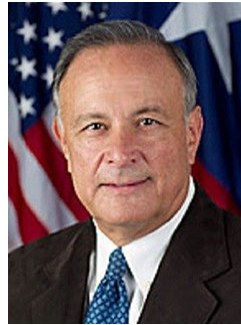
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ABOUT THE TEXAS HISPANIC POLICY FOUNDATION

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

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report draws on a March (18-28) 2022 survey of 1,435 Texas registered voters and examines the vote intention for the November 2022 races for Texas governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general and for the May 2022 Democratic lieutenant governor and attorney general primary runoffs and for the Republican attorney general primary runoff.

In the November 2022 gubernatorial election, Greg Abbott leads Beto O'Rourke by 8% (50% to 42%) among likely voters and by 12% (53% to 41%) among the most likely (almost certain) voters. Among both groups, Libertarian Mark Tippetts registers 2% and the Green Party's Delilah Barrios 1%, with 5% and 3% undecided.

Abbott enjoys a two to one advantage over O'Rourke among white voters (65% to 29%) and O'Rourke an 88% to 11% advantage among Black voters. Support is more equal among Hispanic voters, 53% intend to vote for O'Rourke and 39% for Abbott.

Abbott bests O'Rourke among men by a substantial 61% to 34% margin, while O'Rourke narrowly edges out Abbott among women by a 47% to 45% margin.

Abbott (96%) and O'Rourke (93%) are the preferred candidates among their fellow Republicans and Democrats, while 4% of Democrats intend to vote for Abbott and 1% of Republicans for O'Rourke. Independents favor Abbott 51% to 19%.

In the May Democratic lieutenant governor primary runoff, Mike Collier leads Michelle Beckley by 12% (43% to 31%, 26% undecided) among likely voters and by 16% (47% to 31%, 22% undecided) among the most likely voters.

Collier possesses a more than two to one advantage over Beckley among white Democratic primary voters (60% to 27%), a more narrow advantage among Hispanic voters (40% to 31%) and is tied among Black voters (38% to 37%).

Collier's advantage over Beckley among women (46% to 31%) is comparable to his advantage over her among men (48% to 32%).

Collier holds a significant lead over Beckley in three of the state's four major metro regions, with especially robust leads in the Austin (55% to 26%) and Houston (51% to 26%) regions. The two are tied in the combined San Antonio-South Texas region.

In the November lieutenant governor election, Dan Patrick leads Collier by 6% (49% to 43%) and Beckley by 8% (50% to 42%) among likely voters and leads Collier by 10% (52% to 42%) and Beckley by 13% (53% to 40%) among the most likely voters.

In the May Republican attorney general primary runoff, Ken Paxton leads George P. Bush by 42% (65% to 23%, 12% undecided) among likely voters and by 51% (71% to 20%, 9% undecided) among the most likely voters.

Among white GOP primary voters, Paxton leads Bush by a 75% to 18% margin, while among Hispanic GOP primary voters Paxton leads Bush 55% to 25%.

Paxton and Bush retain the support of 92% and 90% of those voters who cast a ballot for them in March and plan to vote in the runoff. An overwhelming majority (88%) of those who voted for Louie Gohmert in March plan to vote for Paxton in May, compared to only 9% for Bush. Eva Guzman's March voters are divided, with 35% intending to vote for Bush, 28% for Paxton and 37% still undecided.

Two-fifths of Republican primary voters say that they never would vote for George P. Bush. Two-thirds (66%) of these Republicans say a reason they never would vote for Bush is that he is a member of the Bush family. The next most common reasons are his oversight of The Alamo (42%) and that he is not conservative enough (41%).

In the May Democratic attorney general primary runoff, Rochelle Mercedes Garza leads Joe Jaworski by 15% (46% to 31%, 23% undecided) among likely voters and by 21% (51% to 30%, 19% undecided) among the most likely voters.

While Garza and Jaworski enjoy equal support (41% each) among white Democratic primary voters, Garza's vote intention among Hispanic (59% to 22%) and Black (53% to 23%) Democratic primary voters is twice that of Jaworski.

Garza holds a significant advantage over Jaworski in three of the state's four major population centers, with an especially robust lead in the combined San Antonio-South Texas region (52% to 25%). The two are tied in the Houston metro region.

In the November attorney general election, Paxton leads Garza and Jaworski by 6% (48% to 42%) and 7% (48% to 41%) respectively among likely voters and by 10% (50% to 40%) and 12% (51% to 39%) among the most likely voters.

In the November attorney general election, Bush is in statistical dead heat with both Garza and Jaworski both among likely voters (39% to 39% against Garza and 38% to 39% against Jaworski) and among the most likely voters (39% to 38% against Garza and 38% to 38% against Jaworski).

In a general election against Garza and Jaworski, Paxton's vote intention among Texans whose partisan ID is Republican is 91% and 92%. In a general election against these same two Democrats, Bush's GOP vote intention is 68% in both cases. The vote intention for Libertarian candidate Mark Ash is 3% when Paxton is the GOP attorney general candidate, but rises to 7% and 8% when Bush is the nominee.

In a November generic U.S. House ballot, the Republican candidate leads the Democratic candidate by a 7% margin (49% to 42%) among likely voters and by a 12% margin (52% to 40%) among the most likely voters.

The 2022 Texas Statewide Election Contests: Primary Runoff & General: A Study of Texas Voters and Texas Hispanic Voters

This is the first report of three drawing on data from a representative survey of 1,435 Texas registered voters that took place between March 18 and March 28 of 2022 (confidence interval of +/- 2.6%). The survey includes an oversample of 435 Hispanic registered voters to allow for a more fine-grained analysis of this important demographic. The responses are weighted to provide a population that is representative of Texas registered voters (for more information on the methodology, see the methodological appendix in Section 8).

This report reviews the vote intention for the November 2022 Texas gubernatorial, lieutenant governor and attorney general races under multiple candidate scenarios as well as the May Democratic lieutenant governor primary runoff election and the May Democratic and Republican attorney general primary runoff elections. Also examined, briefly, are generic U.S. House and Texas Senate ballots for the November election. A second report will examine vote intention in the May Republican primary runoffs for Land Commissioner and Railroad Commissioner and in the May Democratic primary runoffs for Land Commissioner and Comptroller. Also examined in the second report will be the favorability ratings of 22 national and Texas political figures among registered voters in general and then according to the ethnicity/race and partisan identification of the registered voters.

1. SURVEY POPULATION

The distribution of the 1,435 registered voters surveyed based on their ethnic/racial self-identification is 55% white/Anglo, 28% Hispanic/Latino, 13% Black/African American and 4% other. The gender distribution of the population is 52.5% women and 47.5% men. In regard to generations, 38% of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928 and 1945) and Baby Boomers (1946-1964) cohort, 26% to Generation X (1965-1980), 27% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation and 9% to Generation Z (1997-2003). The partisan identification of this population is 43% Republican, 41% Democrat, 13% Independent and 3% Unsure. For more details on the demographics of the seven different analysis populations utilized in this report, see the four tables in Section 7.

In the analysis below, the two general election populations examined are voters who have indicated they are either very likely or almost certain to vote in the general election (referred to as “likely voters”) and those voters who state that they are almost certain to vote (referred to as “almost certain voters”) in the November general election. The “almost certain voters” are a subset of the “likely voters” and are those Texans considered the most likely to turn out to vote in the election. In a similar vein, two populations of potential primary runoff voters are examined for both the Democratic and Republican primaries respectively, those who indicated

they are “likely” to vote in the primary runoff and those who indicated that they are “almost certain” to vote in the runoff (this latter population, as is the case with the general election population, is a subset of the “likely voters”).

2. THE 2022 TEXAS GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

The Texas Democratic Party and the Texas Republican Party each selected their respective gubernatorial nominees in the March 1, 2022 primary, with Democrat Beto O’Rourke capturing 91% of the vote against four other candidates and Republican Greg Abbott winning 66% of the vote against seven other candidates. The Texas Libertarian Party and the Texas Green Party are expected to nominate Mark Jay Tippetts and Delilah Barrios as their respective gubernatorial candidates at their state party conventions in early April. Due to the lack of any gubernatorial primary runoffs, this section focuses exclusively on the November 8 general election.

Table 1 contains the vote intention of voters who indicated they are likely to vote in the November 8, 2022 gubernatorial election as well as the vote intention of the more limited subset of voters who say that they are almost certain to vote in the gubernatorial election this fall. Also included is the projection of the vote intention of the almost certain voters after excluding the small percentage who are still unsure about how they will vote. Republican Greg Abbott enjoys a lead over his Democratic rival Beto O’Rourke that ranges from 8% (50% to 42%) among likely voters to 12% (53% to 41%) among almost certain voters to 13% (55% to 42%) in the projected vote of the almost certain voters (i.e., excluding the unsure or undecided voters).

Table 1: November 2022 Gubernatorial Vote Intention

Candidates	Likely Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%) (Projecting DK)
Greg Abbott (R)	50%	53%	55%
Beto O’Rourke (D)	42%	41%	42%
Mark Tippetts (L)	2%	2%	2%
Delilah Barrios (G)	1%	1%	1%
DK/Unsure	5%	3%	-

Table 2 displays the distribution of the vote intention of the almost certain voters by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and partisan ID.

Abbott’s vote intention among white voters (65%) is more than twice that of O’Rourke (29%) while O’Rourke’s vote intention among Black voters (88%) is more than 10 times that of Abbott (8%). The vote intention of Texas Hispanics is more evenly divided between O’Rourke and Abbott, with 53% intending to vote for

O'Rourke and 39% for Abbott, and with 3% supporting either Barrios (2%) or Tippetts (1%) and 5% still unsure about their gubernatorial vote.

Significantly more men intend to vote for Abbott (61%) than O'Rourke (34%), while the vote intention of women is equally divided between the two candidates, at 45% and 47% respectively.

Abbott enjoys more support among members of the combined Baby Boomer/Silent Generation (57%) and Generation X (59%) cohorts than O'Rourke (39% and 35% respectively), while O'Rourke's vote intention is higher than Abbott's among Millennials (49% vs. 41%) and Generation Z (51% vs. 28%).

Finally, an overwhelming majority of Texas Republicans (96%) intend to vote for Abbott while an overwhelming majority of Texas Democrats (93%) intend to vote for O'Rourke. The vote intention of Independents for Abbott (51%) is more than twice that of that enjoyed by O'Rourke (19%). While only 1% of Democrats and 2% of Republicans intend to vote for either Libertarian Mark Jay Tippetts or the Green Party's Delilah Barrios, 11% of Independents indicate they intend to cast a ballot for one of these two minor party candidates (9% for Tippetts and 2% for Barrios).

Table 2: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Partisan ID & the 2022 Gubernatorial Vote (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Abbott %	O'Rourke %	Unsure %
Ethnicity/Race				
	White	65%	29%	3%
	Hispanic	39%	53%	5%
	Black	8%	88%	4%
Gender				
	Women	45%	47%	5%
	Men	61%	34%	2%
Generation				
	Boomer/Silent	57%	39%	3%
	Generation X	59%	35%	5%
	Millennial	41%	49%	3%
	Generation Z	28%	51%	14%
Partisan ID				
	Democrat	4%	93%	2%
	Independent	51%	19%	19%
	Republican	96%	1%	1%

Among the Republican primary voters surveyed, of those who voted in the March 1 primary, 67% cast a ballot for Greg Abbott, 14% for Allen West, 13% for Don Huffines, 3% for Chad Prather and 3% for one of the other four candidates. The

actual gubernatorial results were: Abbott (67%), West (12%), Huffines (12%), Prather (4%), and the four other candidates (3%).

Among the likely voters in the November gubernatorial election who cast a ballot in the March GOP primary, 88% of West and Huffines voters intend to vote for Abbott, while 6% intend to vote for O'Rourke, 2% intend to vote for Tippetts and 4% are unsure how they will vote.

3. THE 2022 TEXAS LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR ELECTION

The Texas Republican Party selected its 2022 lieutenant governor nominee in the March 1 primary, when Dan Patrick received 77% of the vote against five other candidates. In the Texas Democratic primary, no candidate received more than 50% of the vote, with Mike Collier winning 42% of the vote, Michelle Beckley 30% and Carla Brailey 28%. Collier and Beckley will face off in a May 24 Democratic primary runoff to determine the party's 2022 nominee for lieutenant governor. This section therefore first examines the May 24 Democratic primary runoff, and then focuses on the November 8 general election under two distinct candidate scenarios.

3.1. The 2022 Texas Democratic Lt. Governor Primary Runoff Election

Table 3 contains the vote intention of likely voters and almost certain voters in the May 24 Democratic lieutenant governor primary runoff election. Among likely voters, Mike Collier enjoys a 12% lead over Michelle Beckley (43% vs. 31%) while among almost certain voters Collier's margin expands to 16% (47% to 31%), only 3% shy of the 50% mark, with 22% of these almost certain voters still undecided (compared to 26% of the likely voters).

Table 3. Vote Intention in the Texas Democratic Lt. Governor Primary Runoff

Candidates	Likely Voters %	Almost Certain Voters (%)
Mike Collier	43%	47%
Michelle Beckley	31%	31%
DK/Unsure	26%	22%

The likely and almost certain Democratic primary voters who responded that they were unsure how they would vote in the May 24 Democratic primary runoff were asked if they would consider voting for, never would consider voting for, or don't know enough about each of the Democratic lieutenant governor runoff candidates to have an opinion either way (see Table 4). The data reveal little in the way of differences in the proportion of likely and almost certain voters who would consider voting for or never would consider voting for Collier and Beckley, with the proportion who would consider voting for the two candidates ranging from a low of

36% (Collier: likely voters) to a high of 47% (Beckley: almost certain voters), with virtually none, 1% in regard to Beckley and 3% in regard to Collier, of these unsure voters responding that they never would consider voting for either candidate. The most common response was that the uncertain voter didn't know enough about the candidate to have an opinion one way or another, ranging from a low of 52% (Beckley: almost certain voters) to a high of 61% (Collier: likely voters).

Table 4. Attitudes Toward Voting in Democratic Lt. Governor Primary Runoff Among Unsure Voters: Likely and Almost Certain Voters (%)

Candidate: Voters	Would Consider Voting For	Never Would Consider Voting For	Don't Know Enough About Candidate
Collier: Likely Voters	36%	3%	61%
Collier: Almost Certain Voters	37%	3%	60%
Beckley: Likely Voters	40%	1%	59%
Beckley: Almost Certain Voters	47%	1%	52%

In the March 1 primary Collier won 42% of the popular vote, followed by Beckley with 32% and Carla Brailey with 28%. Table 5 provides the May 24 distribution of the vote intention of likely voters who cast a ballot in the March 1 primary based on who they voted for in the first round. Three-quarters (76%) of those Texas Democrats who voted for Collier in March intend to vote for him in May, while 10% intend to vote for Beckley and 14% are unsure how they are going to vote. Almost three-quarters (72%) of Texas Democrats who voted for Beckley in March intend to vote for her in May, while 21% intend to vote for Collier and 7% are unsure about how they are going to vote. A majority of Democratic primary voters who backed Carla Brailey in March, and are likely to vote in May, intend to cast a ballot for Beckley (54%), compared to a quarter (25%) who intend to vote for Collier and a fifth (21%) who remain undecided.

Table 5. Runoff Vote Intention Among Likely Democratic Lt. Governor Primary Runoff Voters Who Cast a Ballot in the March 1 Primary

March 1 Primary Vote	Collier (%)	Beckley (%)	Unsure (%)
Mike Collier	76%	10%	14%
Michelle Beckley	21%	72%	7%
Carla Brailey	25%	54%	21%

Table 6 displays the distribution of the vote intention of the almost certain voters by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and geographic region (of residence). Collier enjoys a more than two to one advantage over Beckley among white primary voters (60% vs. 27%) while the two candidates' respective support among Hispanic primary voters (40% vs. 31%) and, especially, Black primary voters (38% vs. 37%) is more equal, albeit with Collier enjoying an advantage in both instances.

The vote intention among men (48% vs. 32%) for Collier and Beckley respectively is nearly identical to that among women (46% vs. 31%). The same pattern of similarity is present across the three generational groups, with Collier's advantage over Beckley ranging from a high of 18% (48% vs. 30%) among the combined Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort to a low of 13% (47% vs. 34%) among the combined Millennial/Generation Z cohort.

Collier holds a notable lead over Beckley among likely Democratic primary voters in the Houston (HOU) (51% to 26%), Dallas-Fort Worth (DFW) (50% to 31%) and Austin (ATX) (55% to 26%) metro areas, while Beckley and Collier are dead even at 38% in the combined San Antonio and South Texas (SATX + South TX) region.

Table 6: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Region & the 2022 Democratic Lt. Governor Primary Runoff (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Collier %	Beckley %	Unsure %
Ethnicity/Race				
	White	60%	27%	13%
	Hispanic	40%	31%	29%
	Black	38%	37%	25%
Gender				
	Women	46%	31%	23%
	Men	48%	32%	20%
Generation				
	Boomer/Silent	48%	30%	22%
	Generation X	44%	29%	27%
	Millennial/Gen Z	47%	34%	19%
Region				
	HOU Metro	51%	26%	23%
	DFW Metro	50%	31%	19%
	ATX Metro	55%	26%	19%
	SATX + South TX	38%	38%	24%

3.2. The 2022 Texas Lt. Governor November Election

Table 7 provides the vote intention of likely and of almost certain voters in the November 2022 Texas lieutenant governor election under two different candidate scenarios: one where Mike Collier is the Democratic nominee and one where Michelle Beckley is the Democratic nominee.

Patrick enjoys an advantage in vote intention over both Collier (10%) and Beckley (13%) that is higher among the subset of almost certain voters (52% vs. 42% and 53% vs. 40% respectively) than among the larger population of likely voters (49% vs. 43% and 50% vs. 42% respectively), with the former margin expanding to 12% and 14% when the uncertain voters are excluded and the vote projected (56% vs. 44% and 57% vs. 43% respectively).

Table 7: November 2022 Lt. Governor Vote Intention: Patrick vs. Collier and Patrick vs. Beckley

Candidates	Likely Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%) (Projecting DK)
Dan Patrick (R)	49%	52%	56%
Mike Collier (D)	43%	42%	44%
DK/Unsure	8%	6%	-
Dan Patrick (R)	50%	53%	57%
Michelle Beckley (D)	42%	40%	43%
DK/Unsure	8%	7%	-

Table 8 displays the distribution of the vote intention of the almost certain voters, for both the Patrick vs. Collier and Patrick vs. Beckley match ups, by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and partisan ID.

Among white voters Patrick's vote intention (63% and 66%) is more than double that of Collier (31%) and Beckley (29%), while both Collier (80%) and Beckley (78%) are supported by significantly more almost certain Black voters than Patrick (13% and 7% respectively). Collier (55%) and Beckley (53%) also possess a significant advantage over Patrick (36% and 36%) in vote intention among Hispanic voters.

Significantly more men (60% and 59%) intend to vote for Patrick than for either Collier (34%) or Beckley (34%). The vote intention of women is much more equal between Patrick (44% and 46%) and Collier (49%) and Beckley (46%).

While members of both the Boomer/Silent Generation (55%, 55%) and Generation X (60%, 59%) cohorts are more inclined to vote for Patrick than for either Collier

(41%, 34%) or Beckley (40%, 32%) respectively, the obverse is true for Millennials and Generation Z, where Patrick's vote intention (40% and 42% for Millennials and 17% and 30% for Generation Z) is exceeded by that of Collier (49% and 60%) and of Beckley (49% and 49%).

Finally, an overwhelming majority of Republicans (93% and 94%) intend to vote for Patrick while an overwhelming majority of Democrats intend to vote for Collier (94%) and Beckley (92%). Patrick enjoys a substantial advantage among Independents, 54% to 29% in a race against Collier and 57% to 23% in a race against Beckley.

Table 8: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Partisan ID & the 2022 Lt. Governor Vote: Patrick vs. Collier & Patrick vs. Beckley (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Patrick % Patrick %	Collier % Beckley %	Unsure % Unsure %
Ethnicity/Race				
	White	63% 66%	31% 29%	6% 5%
	Hispanic	36% 36%	55% 53%	9% 11%
	Black	13% 7%	80% 78%	7% 15%
Gender				
	Women	44% 46%	49% 46%	7% 8%
	Men	60% 59%	34% 34%	6% 7%
Generation				
	Boomer/Silent	55% 55%	41% 40%	4% 5%
	Generation X	60% 59%	34% 32%	6% 9%
	Millennial	40% 42%	49% 49%	11% 9%
	Generation Z	17% 30%	60% 49%	23% 21%
Partisan ID				
	Democrat	2% 3%	94% 92%	4% 5%
	Independent	54% 57%	29% 23%	17% 20%
	Republican	93% 94%	2% 1%	5% 5%

4. THE 2022 TEXAS ATTORNEY GENERAL ELECTION

In the March 1 Texas Democratic Party and Texas Republican Party attorney general primaries no candidate surpassed the 50% threshold needed to avoid a runoff. As a result, Ken Paxton and George P. Bush will face off in the May 24 Republican primary runoff and Rochelle Mercedes Garza and Joe Jaworski will face off in the May 24 Democratic primary runoff. This section first examines the Republican primary runoff, and then the Democratic primary runoff, before concluding with an analysis of the November 8 general election under four distinct candidate scenarios.

4.1. The 2022 Texas Republican Attorney General Primary Runoff

Table 9 contains the vote intention of likely voters and of almost certain voters in the Republican attorney general primary runoff. A substantial majority of these Republican primary voters intend to vote for Ken Paxton (65% and 71% respectively), while less than a quarter indicate that they intend to vote for George P. Bush (23% and 20% respectively), with approximately one in ten (12% and 9%) of these GOP primary voters still unsure about how they will vote in May.

Table 9: Republican Attorney General Primary Runoff Vote Intention

Candidates	Likely Voters %	Almost Certain Voters (%)
Ken Paxton	65%	71%
George P. Bush	23%	20%
DK/Unsure	12%	9%

Table 10 contains the response to a question posed to the unsure voters, that is would they consider voting for, never would consider voting for, or don't know enough about Paxton or Bush to be able to say one way or another if they would vote for them. Roughly equal proportions of likely and almost certain voters indicate they would consider voting for both Paxton (57% and 61% respectively) and Bush (58% and 60%), while the proportion who indicate they never would vote for either candidate is below 20% for both Paxton (12% and 15%) and Bush (13% and 17%).

Table 10. Attitudes Toward Voting in Republican Attorney General Primary Runoff Among Unsure Voters: Likely and Almost Certain Voters (%)

Candidate: Voters	Would Consider Voting For	Never Would Consider Voting For	Don't Know Enough About Candidate
Paxton: Likely Voters	57%	12%	31%
Paxton: Almost Certain Voters	61%	15%	24%
Bush: Likely Voters	58%	13%	29%
Bush: Almost Certain Voters	60%	17%	23%

In the March 1 primary, the distribution of the popular vote was: Paxton (43%), Bush (23%), Eva Guzman (18%) and Louie Gohmert (17%). Table 11 examines the May 24 vote intention of Republican primary voters likely to vote in May who cast a ballot in the March 1 GOP attorney general primary. Paxton retains most of his March voters (92%) with 3% of Paxton's March voters now intending to vote for Bush and 5% unsure about how they will vote in May. Bush also retains most of his March voters (90%) with 7% now intending to vote for Paxton and 3% unsure. An overwhelming majority of the likely primary voters who voted for Gohmert on March 1 intend to vote for Paxton (88%) rather than Bush (9%), with a mere 3% undecided. Voters who cast a ballot for Guzman in March are relatively evenly split between those who intend to vote for Bush (35%) in the runoff, those who intend to vote for Paxton (28%) in the runoff and those who are still unsure about how they will vote in May (37%).

Table 11. Runoff Vote Intention Among Likely Republican Attorney General Primary Runoff Voters Who Cast a Ballot in the March 1 Primary

March 1 Primary Vote	Paxton (%)	Bush (%)	Unsure (%)
Ken Paxton	92%	3%	5%
George P. Bush	7%	90%	3%
Eva Guzman	28%	35%	37%
Louie Gohmert	88%	9%	3%

Two out of five (40%) likely Republican primary voters reported that they would never vote for George P. Bush. These GOP primary voters were then presented with a list of eight possible reasons for why they say they would never vote for George P.

Bush, and asked to select all of the reasons (if any) that applied to them (see Table 12).

The most common reason mentioned, by 66% of the respondents, for why these Republicans would never vote for George P. Bush is that he is a member of the Bush family. The next most common reasons why these Republicans would never vote for George P. Bush is his oversight of The Alamo while Land Commissioner (42%), his not being conservative enough (41%), his overall performance while serving as Land Commissioner (33%), and the fact that he was not endorsed by Donald Trump (21%). Fewer than one in five of these Republicans listed as the reason for their negative affinity for George P. Bush the fact that he kept several coastal counties from receiving their fair share of federal Hurricane Harvey relief funds (18%, and only 16% in the Houston metro area which, along with the sparsely populated Coastal Bend counties, was hardest hit by Harvey), that Paxton is his opponent (11%) or that Bush is too conservative (2%).

Table 12. Reasons Why Republican Primary Voters Say They Would Never Vote for George P. Bush

Reason GOP Primary Voter Never Would Vote for George P. Bush	Proportion of Likely GOP Primary Voters Who Selected The Reason (%)
He is a Member of the Bush Family	66%
His Oversight of The Alamo while Land Commissioner	42%
He is Not Conservative Enough	41%
His Overall Performance as Land Commissioner	33%
He Wasn't Endorsed by Donald Trump	21%
He Kept Several Coastal Counties From Getting Their Fair Share of Hurricane Harvey Relief Funds	18%
Paxton is His Opponent, If Paxton Wasn't I Would Consider Voting for Him	11%
He is Too Conservative	2%

Table 13 displays the distribution of the vote intention of almost certain GOP primary voters by their ethnicity/race, gender and generation.

Paxton holds a more than four to one advantage (75% to 18%) over Bush among white GOP primary voters and a more than two to one advantage (55% to 25%) among Hispanic GOP primary voters. Paxton holds an almost three to one advantage

(66% to 23%) over Bush among women and an almost five to one advantage (77% to 16%) among men.

Paxton is supported by a majority of all three generational cohorts, with his advantage over Bush in vote intention highest among the Boomer/Silent (75% to 15%) and Generation X (75% to 19%) cohorts and lowest among the Millennial/Generation Z cohort (54% to 34%).

Table 13: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation & the 2022 Republican Attorney General Runoff (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Paxton%	Bush %	Unsure %
Ethnicity/Race				
	White	75%	18%	7%
	Hispanic	55%	25%	20%
Gender				
	Women	66%	23%	11%
	Men	77%	16%	7%
Generation				
	Boomer/Silent	75%	15%	10%
	Generation X	75%	19%	6%
	Millennial/Gen Z	54%	34%	12%

4.2. The 2022 Texas Democratic Attorney General Primary Runoff

Table 14 contains the vote intention of likely voters and of almost certain voters in the Texas Democratic attorney general primary runoff. Rochelle Mercedes Garza holds a lead in vote intention over Joe Jaworski of 15% (46% to 31%) among likely voters and an even larger 21% (51% to 30%) among the subset of almost certain voters, with 23% and 19% of these respective primary voters still unsure about their May 24 vote intention in this race.

Table 14: Democratic Attorney General Primary Runoff Vote Intention

Candidates	Likely Voters %	Almost Certain Voters (%)
Rochelle Garza	46%	51%
Joe Jaworski	31%	30%
DK/Unsure	23%	19%

Table 15 contains the response to a question posed to the unsure voters, that is would they consider voting for, never would consider voting for, or don't know enough about Garza or Jaworski to be able to say one way or another if they would vote for them or not. Slightly higher proportions of likely and almost certain voters

indicate they would consider voting for Garza (31% and 36% respectively) than for Jaworski (23% and 29%), while the proportion who indicate they never would vote for either candidate is miniscule (1% for Garza and 4% for Jaworski among both sets of primary voters). Between three-fifths and three-quarters of these unsure voters don't know enough about Garza and Jaworski to have an opinion.

Table 15. Attitudes Toward Voting in Democratic Attorney General Primary Runoff Among Unsure Voters: Likely and Almost Certain Voters (%)

Candidate: Voters	Would Consider Voting For	Never Would Consider Voting For	Don't Know Enough About Candidate
Garza: Likely Voters	31%	1%	68%
Garza: Almost Certain Voters	36%	1%	63%
Jaworski: Likely Voters	23%	4%	73%
Jaworski: Almost Certain Voters	29%	4%	67%

In the March 1 primary, the distribution of the vote was: Garza (43%), Jaworski (20%), Lee Merritt (19%), Mike Fields (12%) and S. "T-Bone" Raynor (6%). Table 16 examines the May 24 vote intention of likely Democratic primary voters who cast a ballot in the March 1 attorney general race. Garza retains four-fifths (83%) of her March voters with 6% now intending to vote for Jaworski and 11% undecided. Jaworski retains three-quarters (74%) of his March voters with 18% now intending to vote for Garza and 8% unsure. A large majority of the likely primary voters who voted for Merritt on March 1 intend to vote for Garza (50%) over Jaworski (21%), while 29% remain undecided. Jaworski is the recipient of the support of a plurality of likely primary voters who cast a ballot for Fields (44%) and Raynor (43%) on March 1. Garza is supported by 38% of Fields voters and by 25% of Raynor voters.

Table 16. Runoff Vote Intention Among Likely Democratic Attorney General Primary Runoff Voters Who Cast a Ballot in the March 1 Primary

March 1 Primary Vote	Garza (%)	Jaworski (%)	Unsure (%)
Rochelle Garza	83%	6%	11%
Joe Jaworski	18%	74%	8%
Lee Merritt	50%	21%	29%
Mike Fields	38%	44%	18%
S. "T-Bone" Raynor	25%	43%	32%

Table 17 displays the distribution of the vote intention of almost certain Democratic primary voters by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and geographic region (of residence).

Table 17: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Region & the 2022 Democratic Attorney General Primary Runoff (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Garza %	Jaworski %	Unsure %
Ethnicity/Race				
	White	41%	41%	18%
	Hispanic	59%	22%	19%
	Black	53%	23%	24%
Gender				
	Women	50%	28%	22%
	Men	53%	32%	15%
Generation				
	Boomer/Silent	46%	36%	18%
	Generation X	61%	17%	22%
	Millennial/Gen Z	51%	29%	20%
Region				
	HOU Metro	41%	39%	20%
	DFW Metro	53%	36%	11%
	ATX Metro	49%	33%	18%
	SATX + South TX	52%	25%	22%

While Garza and Jaworski are tied (at 41%) among white Democratic primary voters, Garza enjoys a more than two to one advantage over Jaworski among Hispanic (59% to 22%) and Black (53% to 23%) Democratic primary voters.

Garza's lead in vote intention over Jaworski is similar among women (50% to 28%) and men (53% to 32%).

Jaworski's vote intention, compared to Garza's, is strongest among members of the Boomer/Silent Generation (36% vs. 46%) and weakest among the members of Generation X (17% vs. 61%), with the combined Millennial and Generation Z cohort occupying an intermediate position between these two extremes (29% vs. 51%).

Finally, Jaworski is effectively tied with Garza in his Houston metro area bailiwick with Garza, 39% to 41%, while Garza enjoys a substantial advantage in her "pago chico" of South Texas/San Antonio with a vote intention of 52% compared to 25% for Jaworski. Garza also enjoys a notable advantage in vote intention over Jaworski in both the Dallas-Fort Worth metro area (53% to 36%) and the Austin metro area (49% to 33%).

5.3. The 2022 Texas Attorney General November Election

There are four possible candidate scenarios for the November 8, 2022 Texas attorney general election. The most likely scenario is a faceoff between Republican Ken Paxton and Democrat Rochelle Mercedes Garza, followed in likelihood by a contest between Paxton and Democrat Joe Jaworski. Less likely are Republican George P. Bush engagements with either Garza or Jaworski.

Table 18 provides the vote intention for likely voters and for almost certain voters under these four scenarios, as well as a projection of the almost certain vote excluding the unsure/don't know responses. Included in all four scenarios is the Libertarian Party candidate, Mark Ash, who is expected to be nominated at the Libertarian Party's April state convention in Irving, Texas.

Table 18: November 2022 Attorney General Vote Intention, Four Scenarios: Paxton vs. Garza, Paxton vs. Jaworski, Bush vs. Garza & Bush vs. Jaworski

Candidates	Likely Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%) (Projecting DK)
Ken Paxton (R)	48%	50%	54%
Rochelle Garza (D)	42%	40%	43%
Mark Ash (L)	3%	3%	3%
DK/Unsure	7%	7%	-
Ken Paxton (R)	48%	51%	55%
Joe Jaworski (D)	41%	49%	42%
Mark Ash (L)	3%	3%	3%
DK/Unsure	8%	7%	
George P. Bush (R)	39%	39%	46%
Rochelle Garza (D)	39%	38%	45%
Mark Ash (L)	7%	8%	9%
DK/Unsure	15%	15%	-
George P. Bush (R)	38%	38%	45%
Joe Jaworski (D)	39%	38%	45%
Mark Ash (L)	8%	8%	10%
DK/Unsure	15%	16%	-

Paxton's vote intention is superior to that of both Garza and Jaworski across all three columns, 6% and 7% ahead of Garza and Jaworski respectively among likely voters, 10% and 12% ahead of Garza and Jaworski among almost certain voters, and 11% and 13% ahead of Garza and Jaworski among almost certain voters after the unsure votes are projected.

In sharp contrast, Garza is tied and Jaworski possesses a 1% advantage in vote intention over Bush among likely voters while among almost certain voters Bush possesses a 1% advantage over Garza and is tied with Jaworski. That is, in both election scenarios where Bush is the GOP nominee, he and his Democratic rival are locked in a statistical dead heat. Under the scenarios of Bush competing as the GOP's nominee, Libertarian Mark Ash sees his vote intention more than double from 3% when Paxton is the GOP nominee to 7% or 8% when Bush is the nominee (when uncertain votes are not projected).

Table 19: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Partisan ID & the 2022 Attorney General Vote: Paxton vs. Garza and Bush vs. Garza (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Paxton % Bush %	Garza % Garza %	Ash % Ash %	DK % DK %
Ethnicity/Race					
	White	63% 48%	28% 27%	4% 11%	5% 14%
	Hispanic	35% 29%	57% 54%	1% 3%	7% 14%
	Black	4% 16%	77% 71%	1% 0%	18% 13%
Gender					
	Women	45% 36%	45% 44%	3% 5%	7% 15%
	Men	56% 43%	35% 33%	3% 10%	6% 14%
Generation					
	Boomer/Silent	55% 36%	40% 38%	1% 8%	4% 18%
	Generation X	58% 47%	32% 32%	2% 9%	8% 12%
	Millennial	35% 37%	47% 46%	6% 6%	12% 11%
	Generation Z	29% 35%	60% 51%	0% 3%	11% 11%
Partisan ID					
	Democrat	3% 5%	92% 89%	0% 1%	5% 5%
	Independent	51% 37%	18% 16%	17% 27%	14% 20%
	Republican	91% 68%	3% 2%	1% 10%	5% 20%

Table 19 displays the distribution of the vote intention, for both the Paxton vs. Garza and Bush vs. Garza match ups, of the almost certain voters by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and partisan ID.

In a contest against Garza, Bush (48%) substantially underperforms among white voters compared to Paxton (63%), and slightly underperforms among Hispanic voters (29% vs. 35%). Bush does however substantially outperform Paxton among Black voters, 16% to 4%.

While Paxton is in statistical tie (45% each) with Garza among women, Garza possesses a 8% advantage (44% to 36%) over Bush among women. Paxton is the choice of 56% of men compared to 35% who intend to vote for Garza, a 21% margin of advantage that is twice that of Bush (43%) over Garza (33%) among men. More than twice as many women (15% vs. 7%) and men (14% vs. 6%) are undecided in a race between Bush and Garza than in a race between Paxton and Garza.

Paxton's vote intention is substantially greater than that of Garza among voters belonging to the Boomer/Silent Generation (55% vs. 40%) and Generation X (58% vs. 32%). In contrast, Garza's vote intention is 12% and 31% higher than Paxton's among Millennials (47% vs. 35%) and Generation Z (60% vs. 29%).

Bush's vote intention is substantially greater than that of Garza within Generation X (47% vs. 32%), but essentially equal (36% vs. 38%) among the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation. Garza enjoys a 9% lead over Bush among Millennials (46% to 37%) and a 16% lead among Generation Z.

An overwhelming majority of Democrats intend to vote for Garza, regardless of if Paxton (92%) or Bush (89%) is her opponent, while 3% intend to vote for Paxton and 5% for Bush. An overwhelming majority of Republicans intend to vote for Paxton (91%), with only 3% indicating they'll vote for Garza, 1% for Ash and 5% undecided. In sharp contrast, only two-thirds (68%) of Republicans indicate they would vote for Bush if he were the 2022 GOP nominee, with 2% preferring Garza, 10% intending to vote for Ash, and a substantial one in five (20%) still undecided.

Among Independents, Paxton holds a much larger lead over Garza (51% to 18%) than does Bush (37% vs. 16%).

Table 20 displays the distribution of the vote intention of almost certain voters, for both the Paxton vs. Jaworski and Bush vs. Jaworski match ups, by their ethnicity/race, gender, generation and partisan ID.

In a contest against Jaworski, Bush (46%) substantially underperforms among white voters compared to Paxton (63%), and slightly underperforms among Hispanic voters (31% vs. 35%). And, in contrast to the case when competing against Garza, Bush's (6%) vote intention among Black voters when competing against Jaworski is similar to Paxton's (7%).

Table 20: Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Generation, Partisan ID & the 2022 Attorney General Vote: Paxton vs. Jaworski and Bush vs. Jaworski (Almost Certain Voters)

Demographic	Sub-Groups	Paxton % Bush %	Jaworski % Jaworski %	Ash % Ash %	DK% DK%
Ethnicity/Race					
	White	63% 46%	28% 27%	3% 11%	6% 16%
	Hispanic	35% 31%	54% 51%	2% 4%	9% 14%
	Black	7% 6%	79% 78%	0% 0%	14% 16%
Gender					
	Women	45% 35%	44% 43%	2% 5%	9% 17%
	Men	56% 41%	35% 33%	4% 11%	5% 15%
Generation					
	Boomer/Silent	55% 36%	39% 39%	2% 8%	4% 17%
	Generation X	56% 45%	34% 30%	3% 10%	7% 15%
	Millennial	37% 35%	45% 44%	5% 7%	13% 14%
	Generation Z	24% 30%	55% 47%	5% 7%	16% 16%
Partisan ID					
	Democrat	2% 3%	90% 89%	2% 2%	6% 6%
	Independent	49% 36%	20% 16%	15% 27%	16% 21%
	Republican	92% 68%	2% 1%	1% 9%	5% 22%

While Paxton is in statistical tie (45% vs. 44%) with Jaworski among women, Jaworski possesses an 8% advantage (43% to 35%) over Bush among women. Paxton is the choice of 56% of men compared to 35% who intend to vote for Jaworski, a 21% margin that is twice that of Bush (41%) over Jaworski (33%) among men. Notably more women (17% vs. 9%) and men (15% vs. 5%) are undecided in a race between Bush and Jaworski than in a race between Paxton and Jaworski.

Paxton's vote intention is substantially greater than that of Jaworski among voters belonging to the Boomer/Silent Generation (55% vs. 39%) and Generation X (56% vs. 34%). In contrast, Jaworski's vote intention is higher than Paxton's among Millennials (45% vs. 37%) and Generation Z (55% vs. 24%).

Bush's vote intention is substantially greater than that of Jaworski within Generation X (45% vs. 30%), but nearly equal (36% vs. 39%) among the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation. Jaworski holds a 9% lead over Bush among Millennials (44% to 35%) and a 17% lead among Generation Z.

An overwhelming majority of Democrats intend to vote for Jaworski, regardless of if Paxton (90%) or Bush (89%) is his opponent, while 2% intend to vote for Paxton and 3% for Bush. An overwhelming majority of Republicans intend to vote for Paxton (92%), with only 2% indicating they'll vote for Jaworski, 1% for Ash and 5% undecided. In sharp contrast, only two-thirds (68%) of Republicans indicate they would vote for Bush if he were the 2022 GOP nominee, with 1% preferring Jaworski, 9% intending to vote for Ash, and more than one in five (22%) undecided.

Among Independents, Paxton holds a larger lead over Jaworski (49% to 20%) than does Bush (36% vs. 16%).

6. GENERIC U.S. HOUSE AND TEXAS SENATE BALLOTS

In the survey the respondents were asked about their vote intention for the races for U.S. House and for Texas Senate in their respective U.S. House (38) and Texas Senate (31) districts. The response options were: the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, neither the Democratic nor the Republican candidate, or don't know/unsure. Table 21 provides the result for the U.S. House and Table 22 for the Texas Senate.

Among the likely voters, in both the U.S. House and Texas Senate races the Republican candidate holds a 7% lead over the Democratic candidate, 49% to 42% for Congress and 50% to 43% for the Texas Senate. Among the almost certain voters the GOP margin of victory extends to 12% for both the U.S. House (52% to 40%) and for the Texas Senate (53% to 41%), proportions that increase to 13% in each race when the unsure votes are excluded and the results projected based on the voters who are not unsure of their November 2022 legislative vote intention.

Table 21: November 2022 Vote Intention on a Generic U.S. House Ballot

US House Candidate Partisanship	Likely Voters %	Almost Certain Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%) (Projecting DK)
Republican	49%	52%	56%
Democrat	42%	40%	43%
Neither R nor D	2%	1%	1%
DK/Unsure	7%	7%	-

Table 22: November 2022 Vote Intention on a Generic Texas Senate Ballot

Candidates	Likely Voters %	Almost Certain Voters (%)	Almost Certain Voters (%) (Projecting DK)
Republican	50%	53%	56%
Democrat	43%	41%	43%
Neither R nor D	1%	1%	1%
DK/Unsure	6%	5%	-

7. DEMOGRAPHICS FOR THE SEVEN ANALYSIS POPULATIONS

The four tables below provide the demographic distribution of the seven distinct analysis populations utilized in this report according to gender (Table 37) ethnic/racial self-identification (Table 38), generation (Table 39), and partisan ID (Table 40).

Table 23. Gender and the Seven Analysis Populations

Population	Women	Men
Registered Voters (1,435)	52.5%	47.5%
Likely General Election Voters (1,139)	51.5%	48.5%
Almost Certain General Election Voters (931)	50.4%	49.6%
Likely Republican Primary Voters (438)	47.5%	52.5%
Almost Certain Republican Primary Voters (328)	47.7%	52.3%
Likely Democratic Primary Voters (435)	56.3%	43.7%
Almost Certain Democratic Primary Voters (338)	60.5%	39.5%

Note: Population size in parentheses.

Table 24. Ethnicity/Race and the Seven Analysis Populations

Population	White	Hispanic	Black	Other
Registered Voters (1,435)	55%	28%	13%	4%
Likely General Election Voters (1,139)	60%	25%	11%	4%
Almost Certain General Election Voters (931)	63%	23%	10%	4%
Likely Republican Primary Voters (438)	76%	18%	2%	4%
Almost Certain Republican Primary Voters (328)	77%	17%	2%	4%
Likely Democratic Primary Voters (435)	39%	37%	21%	3%
Almost Certain Democratic Primary Voters (338)	36%	37%	24%	3%

Note: Population size in parentheses.

Table 25. Generation and the Seven Analysis Populations

Population	Silent/Boomer	Gen X	Millennial	Gen Z
Registered Voters (1,435)	38%	26%	27%	9%
Likely General Election Voters (1,139)	44%	26%	23%	7%
Almost Certain General Election Voters (931)	48%	27%	21%	4%
Likely Republican Primary Voters (438)	50%	28%	19%	3%
Almost Certain Republican Primary Voters (328)	54%	30%	15%	1%
Likely Democratic Primary Voters (435)	41%	21%	27%	11%
Almost Certain Democratic Primary Voters (338)	47%	21%	25%	7%

Note: Population size in parentheses.

Table 26. Partisan ID and the Seven Analysis Populations

Population	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Unsure
Registered Voters (1,435)	43%	41%	13%	3%
Likely General Election Voters (1,139)	45%	42%	11%	2%
Almost Certain General Election Voters (931)	48%	40%	11%	1%
Likely Republican Primary Voters (438)	88%	2%	10%	0%
Almost Certain Republican Primary Voters (328)	89%	2%	9%	0%
Likely Democratic Primary Voters (435)	4%	92%	4%	0%
Almost Certain Democratic Primary Voters (338)	3%	93%	4%	0%

Note: Population size in parentheses.

8. METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

The Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation conducted an online survey sample of 1,435 Texas registered voters in English and Spanish between March 18 and March 28, 2022, utilizing YouGov data collection systems and processes. Sample instruments, oversight research and survey analysis was conducted by the Texas Hispanic Policy Foundation. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. In addition to the standard sample of 1,000, an oversample of a total of 435 Hispanic respondents was included. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file). The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles. The weights were then post-stratified on 2016 and 2020 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight.