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# UNIVERSITY of HOUSTON HOBBY SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS 

Texas Policy \& Politics 2022<br>Abortion Policy

The Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston conducted an online survey of Texas registered voters to identify their preferences and opinions regarding the 2022 general election candidates and abortion policy. The survey was fielded between June 27 and July 7, 2022, in English and Spanish, with 1,169 YouGov respondents who are registered to vote in Texas, resulting in a confidence interval of $+/-2.9 \%$. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, presidential vote history, and education and are representative of the population of Texas registered voters. The survey went into the field three days after the U.S. Supreme Court released its decision in Dobbs v. Jackson overruling Roe v. Wade (1973) and Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992), the two U.S. Supreme Court decisions that had governed abortion policy in the United States over the last half century.

The results of the survey are presented in a series of three reports. The first report examines the vote intention of Texans for the 2022 Texas gubernatorial, lieutenant governor and attorney general elections as well as analyzes the influence of a wide range of issues on Texas voters' gubernatorial vote decision along with the favorability ratings of all statewide non-judicial candidates. The second report examines the vote intention of Harris County residents for the 2022 county judge election as well as analyzes the influence of a wide range of issues on Harris County voters' county judge vote decision. It also assesses name recognition and favorability ratings of Harris County candidates and elected officials. This final report, examines the opinions and attitudes of Texans regarding a wide range of public policies centered around the issue of abortion in the aftermath of the Dobbs decision.

Using similar methodology to that employed for this survey, in late October of 2020 the Hobby School projected that Donald Trump would defeat Joe Biden by $5.3 \%$ in Texas. This was one of only two public polls out of 21 conducted between October 1 and November 2, 2022 to project a Trump margin of victory of $5 \%$ or greater (the other public poll projected a $5 \%$ margin of victory). In the actual November 2, 2020 election, Trump's margin of victory over Biden in Texas was 5.6\%.

## Executive Summary

The Dobbs decision triggers House Bill 1280, a Texas law, passed in 2021, resulting in abortion being banned in Texas (except if the mother's life is in danger or to prevent substantial impairment) 30 days after the Supreme Court issues its formal judgement, which is expected before the end of the summer.

- $50 \%$ of Texans oppose this new ban on abortion in Texas, with $42 \%$ in strong opposition.
- $46 \%$ of Texans support this new ban on abortion in Texas, with $26 \%$ strongly supporting it.
- $80 \%$ of Texas Democrats oppose this new ban ( $76 \%$ strongly).
- $76 \%$ of Texas Republicans support this new ban ( $44 \%$ strongly).

The Dobbs decision allows each of the 50 states to determine their own abortion policy. Survey respondents were presented with eight distinct policies and asked which is closest to their own preference for what abortion policy in Texas should be.

- $10 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion is never permitted.
- $13 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion only be permitted if the woman's life is in danger.
- $25 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion only be permitted if the woman's life is in danger or in the case of rape or incest.
- $7 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks
- 7\% of Texans prefer that abortion be permitted for any reason through 12 weeks.
- $5 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion be permitted for any reason through 15 weeks.
- $5 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion be permitted for any reason through 20 weeks.
- $28 \%$ of Texans prefer that abortion be permitted for any reason through 24 weeks.

The preferred abortion policy position of $77 \%$ of Texans is more permissive than House Bill 1280, the rule which will now be the law of the land in Texas following the Dobbs decision, which bans abortion except if the woman's life is at risk.

The preferred abortion policy position of $72 \%$ of Texans is more restrictive than what was previously permitted nationwide under the prior doctrines established by Roe v. Wade (1973) and Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992).
$73 \%$ of Texas Republicans prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies. Only $19 \%$ of Republicans prefer one of the four most permissive policies, including $9 \%$ whose preferred policy would allow abortions for any reason through 20 or 24 weeks.

75\% of Texas Democrats prefer one of the four most permissive abortion policies. Only 20\% of Democrats prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies, including $6 \%$ whose preferred policy would either never permit abortion, or only permit it if the woman's life is at risk.
$56 \%$ of Texans believe that most Texas women who want an abortion will still be able to obtain one by travelling out of state, compared to $31 \%$ who do not believe that this will be the case.
$76 \%$ of Texans support ( $56 \%$ strongly) continuing to allow the Morning After Pill (Plan B) as an emergency contraceptive in Texas, while 16\% oppose.

51\% of Texans support allowing organizations in Texas to seek and receive contributions to fund trips by pregnant women out of state to obtain an abortion, while 37\% oppose.
$59 \%$ of Texans oppose legislation that would classify abortion as homicide and allow prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends her pregnancy, while $30 \%$ support.
$60 \%$ of Texans oppose legislation that would make it a felony for woman in Texas to take an "abortion pill" obtained out of state to end an abortion (through 10 weeks), while $29 \%$ support.

An overwhelming majority of a broad cross-section of Texans supports a set of eight policies to be considered by the Texas Legislature in 2023 to help pregnant women, babies, and young children.

- $89 \%$ support and $6 \%$ oppose expanding and improving foster care, including support by $90 \%$ of Democrats and $90 \%$ of Republicans.
- $89 \%$ support and $6 \%$ oppose providing newborn care classes, including support by $93 \%$ of Democrats and 88\% of Republicans.
- $87 \%$ support and $7 \%$ oppose increasing adoption services, including support by $87 \%$ of Democrats and 90\% of Republicans.
- $87 \%$ support and $8 \%$ oppose offering prenatal care, including support by $96 \%$ of Democrats and 84\% of Republicans.
- $86 \%$ support and $8 \%$ oppose providing pregnancy counseling, including support by $85 \%$ of Democrats and $89 \%$ of Republicans.
- $80 \%$ support and $11 \%$ oppose increasing the social safety net for pregnant women and young children, including support by $91 \%$ of Democrats and $73 \%$ of Republicans.
- 74\% support and 18\% oppose expanding Medicaid coverage for pregnant women, including support by $90 \%$ Democrats and $62 \%$ Republicans.
- $74 \%$ support and $20 \%$ oppose providing diapers, formula, and baby food to low-income families free of charge, including support by $89 \%$ Democrats and 62\% Republicans.


## Survey Population Demographics

Whites account for $54 \%$ of the survey population of registered voters, Latinos $29 \%$, Blacks $13 \%$, and others $4 \%$. Women account for $53 \%$ of the population and men for $47 \%$. Regarding generations, $37 \%$ of the population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928-1945) and Baby Boomers (1946-1964) cohort, 28\% to Generation X (Gen-X) (1965-1980), and 35\% to the combined Millennial (1981-1996) generation and Generation Z (1997-2014) cohort. The highest level of educational attainment of the respondents ranges from high school or less (30\%), to some college or a two-year degree (31\%) to a four-year degree or postgraduate degree (39\%). More than two-fifths of the population identifies as Republican (46\%) or as Democrat (41\%), with $11 \%$ identifying as Independent, and 2\% unsure of their identification. In the 2020 presidential election, $47 \%$ of the respondents voted for Donald Trump, 39\% voted for Joe Biden, $2 \%$ voted for other candidates, and $12 \%$ did not vote. Among those who cast a ballot in 2020, $53 \%$ voted for Trump, $45 \%$ for Biden, and $2 \%$ for other candidates.

## Texan Preference for Eight Distinct Abortion Policies for Texas

The survey respondents were asked, in the aftermath of the Dobbs decision that allows each state to set its own abortion policy, which of eight possible policies comes closest to their own personal preference regarding what abortion policy should be in Texas. The response options included the following: abortion should never be permitted; abortion should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger; abortion should only be permitted in the case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger; abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 6 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger; abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 12 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger; abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 15 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger; abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 20 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger; and abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 24 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger.

Table 1 provides the distribution of the preferences of Texas registered voters for these eight different abortion policy options.

Table 1. The Preferred Texas Abortion Policy of Texas Registered Voters - Respondent Position on Abortion

| Abortion should | Percentage Distribution (\%) |
| :--- | :---: |
| Never be permitted | 10 |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger | 13 |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 5 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20 weeks, or women's life in danger | 5 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 28 |

Moving from the more restrictive to the more permissive abortion policies, the preferred policy of $10 \%$ of the population is that abortion never be permitted, of $13 \%$ that abortion only be permitted if the woman's life is in danger (this will be the law in Texas later this summer), and of $25 \%$ that abortion only be permitted if the woman's life is in danger or in the case or rape or incest. In sum, almost one-half (48\%) of Texas registered voters support either an outright ban on abortion or abortion only under a very limited set of circumstances related to the pregnant woman's life or if the pregnancy was the result or rape or incest. However, the preferred abortion policy position of more than three-quarters ( $77 \%$ ) of Texans is more permissive than that which will now be the law of the land in Texas following the Dobbs decision and the 2021 legislation banning abortion except if the woman's life is at risk that was triggered by the Dobbs decision (i.e., the "trigger law").

Moving from the more permissive to the more restrictive abortion policies, the preferred policy of 28\% of the population is that abortion be permitted for any reason through 24 weeks, and after only if the woman's life is in danger (the standard established by Roe v. Wade and Planned Parenthood v. Casey); of $5 \%$ that abortion be permitted for any reason through 20 weeks, and after only if the woman's life is in danger; of $5 \%$ that abortion be permitted for any reason through 15 weeks, and after only if the woman's life is in danger (the Mississippi law which was the subject of the Dobbs case); and $7 \%$ that
abortion be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, and after only if the woman's life is in danger (the de facto, at least temporary, standard in Texas following the adoption of the 2021 "heartbeat" legislation). In sum, the median or average Texan supports abortion for any reason through six weeks, but this accounts for less than one in ten Texans. However, the preferred abortion policy position of almost three-quarters ( $72 \%$ ) of Texans is more restrictive than that which was permitted nationwide under the U.S. Supreme Court doctrine established by Roe and Casey.

In Tables 2 through 7, the original eight options listed in Table 1 are recoded into five distinct categories to allow for more accurate sub-group analysis. The first category merges the response options of abortion should never be permitted and of abortion should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger. The second category contains the response option of abortion should only be permitted in the case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger. The third category contains the response option of abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 6 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger. The fourth category merges the response options of abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 12 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger and of abortion should be permitted for any reason, and up through 15 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger. The fifth category merges the response options of abortion should be permitted for any reason, up through 20 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger and of abortion should be permitted for any reason, and up through 24 weeks of pregnancy, and after that point only if the woman's life is in danger.

Table 2 provides the distribution of the preferences of women and men for these five abortion policy options. More than two-fifths of women (43\%) and more than one-half of men (52\%) prefer one of the more restrictive policies under which abortion is prohibited all together or only if the woman's life is in danger ( $22 \%$ and $23 \%$, respectively), or except if the woman's life is in danger or in the event of rape or incest ( $21 \%$ and $29 \%$, respectfully). While there are no noteworthy gender differences for the most restrictive set of policies, men are notably more likely than women to prefer the policy under which abortion is banned except if the woman's life is at risk or if the pregnancy was the result of rape or incest. More than one-half of women ( $57 \%$ ) and almost one-half of men (48\%) prefer an abortion policy that allows for abortion for reasons other than rape, incest or the woman's life being at risk. The modal preference of both women (36\%) and men (30\%) is that abortion be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, with relatively equal proportions of both women and men preferring the policies under which abortion would be allowed for any reason through either 6 weeks ( $7 \%$ each) or 12/15 weeks ( $14 \%$ and $11 \%$, respectively).

Table 2: Gender and Abortion - Percentage Distribution (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | 22 |  |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | 21 | 29 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12/15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | 14 | 11 |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | 36 | 30 |

Overall, the median Texas man's preferred abortion policy is that abortion only be permitted if the woman's life is in danger or in the event of rape/incest while the median Texas woman's preferred abortion policy is that abortion be permitted for any reason through six weeks.

Table 3 provides the distribution of the preferences of white, Latino and Black Texans for these five abortion options, both overall, and broken down by gender (in parentheses in the table). On average, white Texans have more restrictive preferences in abortion policies, with half ( $52 \%$ ) preferring policies under which abortion is banned outright or permitted only if the woman's life is at risk or if the pregnancy was the result of rape or incest, more than either Latino (44\%), or, especially, Black (36\%) Texans. On average, Latino, and, especially Black, Texans prefer more permissive abortion policies than white Texans, with $37 \%$ of Latino Texans and $43 \%$ of Black Texans preferring policies under which abortion is permitted for any reason up through 20/24 weeks (or anytime if the woman's life is in danger), compared to only $28 \%$ of white Texans.

Table 3: Ethnicity/Race and Abortion - Percentage Distribution of Women/Men (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | $27(26 / 27)$ | $19(19 / 20)$ | $12(13 / 11)$ |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | $25(21 / 29)$ | $25(18 / 33)$ | $24(25 / 24)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | $6(6 / 6)$ | $6(8 / 3)$ | $14(8 / 20)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through $12 / 15$ weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | $14(14 / 14)$ | $13(15 / 10)$ | $7(11 / 3)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through $20 / 24$ weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | $28(33 / 24)$ | $37(40 / 34)$ | $43(43 / 43)$ |

Regarding intra-ethnic/racial group gender differences, three findings are most salient. First, there exist no noteworthy gender differences in abortion policy preference among Black Texans. Second, Latino men (53\%) are notably more likely than Latino women (37\%) to prefer the more restrictive abortion policies that would only allow abortions to be performed (if at all) in the event of rape/incest or the woman's life being at risk. Third, white women (33\%) are more likely than white men (24\%) to prefer abortion policies that allow abortions to performed for any reason through 20 or 24 weeks.

Table 4 provides the distribution of the preferences of Baby Boomer/Silent Generation, Generation X, and Millennial/Generation Z Texans for these five abortion options, both overall, and broken down by gender (in parentheses in the table). Members of the Silent Generation/Baby Boomers cohort are significantly more likely than members of the Millennial/Generation Z cohort to prefer more restrictive abortion policies, with $51 \%$ preferring the policies in the two most restrictive categories compared to $42 \%$ of Millennial/Generation Z cohort.

Table 4: Generation and Abortion - Percentage Distribution of Women/Men (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | 25 (25/25) | 21 (19/23) | 21 (21/21) |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | 26 (24/27) | $28(23 / 33)$ | 21 (15/28) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | 5 (4/6) | 6 (7/5) | 7 (7/8) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12/15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | 12 (11/14) | 12 (10/14) | 14 (21/7) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | 32 (36/28) | 33 (40/26) | $34(33 / 35)$ |

Intra-generational cohort gender differences are few and far between, with two partial exceptions. Male Millennials/Gen-Zers are more likely to favor the three most restrictive abortion policies (first two categories) than are female members of this generational cohort ( $49 \%$ to $36 \%$ ), while female Gen-Xers are more likely to favor the two most permissive abortion policies (last category) than are the male members of this generational cohort ( $40 \%$ to $26 \%$ ).

Table 5 provides the distribution of the preferences of Texans based on their level of educational attainment. While $55 \%$ of Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies, this position is shared by only $45 \%$ and $44 \%$ of those whose highest level of educational attainment is either a two-year degree or some college or a four-year degree or advanced degree, respectively. Conversely, the members of the latter educational cohort (38\%) are notably more likely to prefer the most permissive abortion policies (for any reason through 20/24 weeks) than are those Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less (25\%).

Table 5: Educational Attainment and Abortion - Percentage Distribution of Women/Men (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | High School or Less | 2-yr/Some College | 4-yr/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | $25(26 / 24)$ | $24(22 / 27)$ | $20(20 / 20)$ |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | $30(29 / 30)$ | $21(17 / 26)$ | $24(17 / 29)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | $8(7 / 9)$ | $7(10 / 3)$ | $6(5 / 7)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12/15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | $12(12 / 13)$ | $13(17 / 8)$ | $12(12 / 13)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | $25(25 / 24)$ | $35(34 / 36)$ | $38(47 / 30)$ |

The only truly striking gender related educational attainment difference is that women (47\%) with either a four-year or advanced degree are significantly more likely than men (30\%) with a similar level of educational attainment to prefer the two most permissive abortion policies under which abortion is permitted for any reason through 20 or 24 weeks.

Table 6 provides the distribution of the preference of Texans based on their partisan identification. An overwhelming majority (73\%) of Texas Republicans prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies. Only 19\% of Republicans prefer one of the four most permissive policies, including a mere $9 \%$ whose preferred policy would allow abortions for any reason through 20 or 24 weeks. An overwhelming majority ( $75 \%$ ) of Texas Democrats prefer one of the four most permissive policies under which abortion is allowed for any reason through $12,15,20$ or 24 weeks ( $62 \%$ favor through 20 or 24 weeks). Only 20\% of Democrats prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies, including a mere $6 \%$ whose preferred policy would either never permit abortion, or only permit abortion if the woman's life is at risk.

Table 6: Partisan ID and Abortion - Percentage Distribution of Women/Men (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | 6 (6/6) | 17 (15/18) | 39 (41/37) |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | $14(12 / 16)$ | 28 (31/25) | 34 (27/41) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | 5 (6/5) | 6 (5/7) | 8 (9/7) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12/15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | 13 (14/12) | 23 (22/24) | 10 (11/8) |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | 62 (62/61) | 26 (26/26) | 9 (12/6) |

There do not exist any noteworthy intra-party gender differences regarding preferred abortion policy among Democrats, Republicans, or Independents.

Table 7 provides the distribution of the preference of Texans based on their 2022 gubernatorial vote intention. Three-quarters (75\%) of those Texans who intend to vote for Republican Greg Abbott prefer one of the three most restrictive abortion policies, including $41 \%$ who favor either not permitting abortion at all or permitting abortion only if the woman's health is at risk. Three-quarters (78\%) of those Texans who intend to vote for Democrat Beto O'Rourke prefer one of the four most permissive abortion policies, including $65 \%$ who favor permitting abortion for any reason through 20 or 24 weeks.

Table 7: 2022 Gubernatorial Vote Intention and Abortion - Percentage Distribution of Women/Men (\%)

| Abortion should | Registered Voters | Abbott Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Never be permitted or only if woman's life in danger | 23 | $41(45 / 38)$ |
| Only be permitted if woman's life in danger or rape/incest | 25 | $5(5 / 5)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 6 weeks, or women's life in danger | 7 | $7(30 / 38)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 12/15 weeks, or women's life in danger | 12 | $7(6 / 7)$ |
| Be permitted for any reason through 20/24 weeks, or women's life in danger | 33 | $11(10 / 12)$ |

There do not exist any significant intra-candidate gender differences regarding preferred abortion policy among Abbott and O'Rourke voters.

## Support For and Opposition to the Trigger Law Banning Abortion in Texas

During the 2021 legislative session, the Texas Legislature passed House Bill 1280, which, in the event Roe v. Wade was overturned (as occurred in June 2022), would ban abortion in Texas except when the woman's life was in danger.

The respondents were asked: "In Texas, following the recent Supreme Court decision, under a law passed in 2021 by the Texas Legislature, abortion will now be banned except if the woman's life is in danger. To what extent do you support or oppose this 2021 Texas law?" The response options were strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose, and don't know.

Table 8 provides the distribution of support (strongly support and somewhat support) for and opposition (strongly oppose and somewhat oppose) to this legislation among Texas registered voters. Two-fifths (42\%) of Texas registered voters strongly oppose the legislation that will now govern abortion in Texas, with another 8\% somewhat opposing the legislation, for $50 \%$ in opposition. On the opposite side, $26 \%$ strongly support and $20 \%$ somewhat support the legislation, for $46 \%$ in support.

## Table 8: Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban

| Position | Percentage Distribution (\%) |
| :--- | :---: |
| Strongly Support | 26 |
| Somewhat Support | 20 |
| Somewhat Oppose | 8 |
| Strongly Oppose | 42 |
| Don't Know | 4 |

Table 9 provides the distribution of support for and opposition to the Texas trigger law among women and men (the proportion strongly supporting and opposing the legislation is in parentheses). There exists a significant gender gap in Texan support for and opposition to this law, with $39 \%$ of women vs. $54 \%$ of men supporting the law and $58 \%$ of women vs. $42 \%$ of men opposing the law.

Table 9: Gender and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $39(23)$ | $54(30)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $58(49)$ | $42(34)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 3 | 4 |

Table 10 provides the distribution of support for and opposition to the Texas trigger law among white, Latino and Black Texans. A majority of white Texans ( $53 \%$ vs. $45 \%$ ) support the legislation while a majority of Latino Texans ( $55 \%$ vs. $40 \%$ ) and an even larger majority of Black Texans ( $64 \%$ vs. $28 \%$ ) oppose the legislation.

Table 10: Ethnicity/Race and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $53(33)$ | $40(22)$ | $28(11)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $45(36)$ | $55(49)$ | $64(56)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 2 | 5 | 8 |

Table 11 provides the distribution of support for and opposition to the Texas trigger law among Baby Boomer/Silent Generation, Generation X, and Millennial/Generation Z Texans. By and large, there is not much in the way of strong generational differences, with the members of the former oldest generational cohort evenly split on the legislation ( $49 \%$ vs. $49 \%$ ) and the members of the two younger generational cohorts opposing the legislation by $9 \%$ ( $53 \%$ vs. $42 \%$ ) and $5 \% ~(50 \% ~ v s . ~ 45 \%) ~ m a r g i n s, ~$ respectively.

Table 11: Generation and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $49(30)$ | $42(27)$ | $45(22)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $49(41)$ | $53(42)$ | $50(42)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 2 | 5 | 5 |

Table 12 provides the distribution of the support for and opposition to this legislation among Texans based on their level of educational attainment. As was the case regarding the generations, there do not exist any salient differences in support and opposition based on educational attainment.

Table 12: Education and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | High School or Less | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $47(25)$ | $44(28)$ | $46(25)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $47(36)$ | $53(45)$ | $52(45)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 6 | 3 | 2 |

Table 13 provides the distribution of the support for and opposition to this legislation among Texans based on their partisan identification. Democrats overwhelmingly oppose the legislation by a $65 \%$ margin, $80 \%$ vs. $15 \%$, while Republicans overwhelmingly support the legislation by a $54 \%$ margin, $76 \%$ vs. $22 \%$. However, while $76 \%$ of Democrats strongly oppose the legislation, only $44 \%$ of Republicans strongly support the legislation, highlighting a significant difference in intensity vis-à-vis this legislation between Democrats and Republicans. In between the two extremes represented by Democrats and Republicans, more Texas Independents oppose (56\%) than support (38\%) the legislation.

Table 13: Partisan Identification and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $15(7)$ | $38(24)$ | $76(44)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $80(76)$ | $56(37)$ | $22(13)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 5 | 6 | 2 |

Table 14 provides the distribution of the support for and opposition to this legislation among Texans based on their 2022 gubernatorial vote intention. An overwhelming majority (77\%) of those Texans who intend to vote for Republican Greg Abbott support the legislation, compared to 20\% who oppose it. An overwhelming majority ( $83 \%$ ) of those Texans who intend to vote for Democrat Beto O’Rourke oppose the legislation, compared to $14 \%$ who support it.

Table 14: 2022 Gubernatorial Vote Intention and Support For/Opposition To the Texas Abortion Ban Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Position | Registered Voters | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $46(26)$ | $77(48)$ | $14(7)$ |
| Oppose | $50(42)$ | $20(10)$ | $83(77)$ |
| Don't Know | 4 | 3 | 3 |

## Texan Ability to Still Obtain an Abortion in the Post-Dobbs Era

The survey respondents were presented with the following question: "By the end of the year, abortion will be banned in approximately half of the 50 states (except if the mother's life is in danger), while abortion will still be legal through between 20 and 24 weeks of pregnancy in the other half of the states. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that most Texas women who want an abortion will still be able to obtain one by travelling to one of the approximately 25 states where abortion remains legal?" The response options were strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree, and don't know.

Table 15 provides the distribution of agreement among Texas registered voters with the statement that most Texas women who want an abortion will still be able to obtain one in another state. Overall, more than half ( $56 \%$ ) of Texas registered voters agree with this statement ( $29 \%$ strongly), while a third (31\%) disagree ( $17 \%$ strongly), and $13 \%$ responded that they did not know.

## Table 15: Most Texas Women Will Still Be Able to Get An Abortion Out of State

| Agreement/Disagreement | Percentage Distribution (\%) |
| :--- | :---: |
| Strongly Agree | 29 |
| Somewhat Agree | 27 |
| Somewhat Disagree | 14 |
| Strongly Disagree | 17 |
| Don't Know | 13 |

Table 16 provides the distribution of the proportion of women and men who agree (strongly and somewhat) and disagree (strongly and somewhat) with this statement. A majority of both women ( $53 \%$ vs. $34 \%$ ) and men ( $60 \%$ vs. $28 \%$ ) agree with the statement, with no salient gender differences in support.

Table 16: Gender and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $53(27)$ | $60(31)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $34(21)$ | $28(14)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 13 | 12 |

Table 17 provides the distribution of the proportion of white, Latino and Black Texans who agree and disagree with this statement. Large majorities of white ( $57 \%$ vs. $34 \%$ ), Latino ( $55 \%$ vs. $29 \%$ ), and Black ( $55 \%$ vs. $26 \%$ ) Texans agree with the statement, with no significant ethnic/racial differences in support.

Table 17: Ethnicity/Race and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $57(27)$ | $55(31)$ | $55(30)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $34(18)$ | $29(18)$ | $26(18)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 9 | 16 | 19 |

Table 18 provides the distribution of the proportion of the members of the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation, Generation X, and Millennial/Generation Z generational cohorts who agree and disagree with the statement. Large majorities of all three generations ( $62 \%$ vs. $29 \%, 48 \%$ vs. $32 \%$, and $56 \%$ vs. $33 \%$, respectively) agree with the statement, with the level of agreement especially robust among the members of the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort.

Table 18: Generation and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $62(36)$ | $48(25)$ | $56(24)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $29(18)$ | $32(18)$ | $33(18)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 9 | 20 | 11 |

Table 19 provides the distribution of the proportion of Texans who agree and disagree with the statement based on their level of educational attainment. Large majorities of all three educational attainment groups ( $57 \%$ vs. $26 \%, 56 \%$ vs. $33 \%$, and $55 \%$ vs. $34 \%$, respectively) agree with the statement, with the level of agreement especially robust among those Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less.

Table 19: Education and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | High School or Less | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $57(24)$ | $56(31)$ | $55(30)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $26(13)$ | $33(18)$ | $34(21)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 17 | 11 | 11 |

Table 20 provides the distribution of the proportion of Texans by their partisan identification who agree and disagree with the statement. A narrow plurality of Democrats disagrees with the statement (45\% vs. $44 \%$ ), while a majority of Independents ( $57 \%$ vs. $31 \%$ ), and an even larger majority of Republicans ( $68 \%$ vs. $19 \%$ ) agree with the statement.

Table 20: Partisan Identification and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $44(23)$ | $57(28)$ | $68(39)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $45(28)$ | $31(14)$ | $19(9)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 11 | 12 | 13 |

Table 21 provides the distribution of the proportion of Texans who intend to vote for Republican Greg Abbott and for Democrat Beto O'Rourke in the 2022 gubernatorial race who agree and disagree with the statement. While an overwhelming majority of Abbott voters agree with the statement ( $67 \% \mathrm{vs}$. $19 \%$ ), a narrow plurality of O'Rourke voters disagree with the statement ( $46 \%$ vs. $43 \%$ ).

Table 21: Gubernatorial Vote Intention and Agreement That Most Texas Women Will Be Able to Obtain an Abortion Out of State Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Agree/Disagree in Parentheses

| Agreement/Disagreement | Registered Voters | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree | $56(29)$ | $67(36)$ | $43(22)$ |
| Disagree | $31(18)$ | $19(8)$ | $46(29)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 14 | 11 |

## Support for and Opposition to Four Potential Future Abortion-Related Policies

The survey respondents were asked about their support for (strongly or somewhat) or opposition to (strongly or somewhat) four potential policies that have been discussed by members of the Texas Legislature and/or the U.S. Congress in the aftermath of the Dobbs decision. The four survey questions are below. The response options included the following: strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose, don't know.

1. Plan B, or The Morning After Pill, is an emergency contraceptive that can be taken up to 72 hours after unprotected sex. To what extent do you support or oppose the legality of its use in Texas?
2. To what extent do you support or oppose making it a felony for a woman in Texas to take an "abortion pill" (mifepristone, then misoprostol) obtained out of state in order to end a pregnancy up through the recommended period (10 weeks) for medication abortions?
3. Legislation has been proposed in some states that would classify abortion as homicide and allow prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends a pregnancy. To what extent do you support or oppose legislation that would classify abortion as homicide in Texas?
4. Some organizations currently seek contributions from donors to help defray the cost of out-ofstate trips for pregnant women to receive an abortion. To what extent do you support or oppose the legality of this practice in Texas?

Table 22 shows the overall support for (strongly and somewhat, with strongly alone in parentheses) and opposition to (strongly and somewhat, with strongly alone in parentheses) for these four proposals.

Table 22. Support For and Opposition To Four Abortion Related Policy Proposals - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Support | Oppose | Don't Know |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Allow access to Plan B/Morning After Pill as emergency contraceptive | $76(56)$ | $16(10)$ | 8 |
| Allow organizations to seek contributions to fund out of state abortions | $51(35)$ | $37(27)$ | 12 |
| Allow prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends a <br> pregnancy | $30(15)$ | $59(48)$ | 11 |
| Felony to take an abortion pill obtained out of state to end a pregnancy <br> (within first 10 weeks) | $29(15)$ | $60(48)$ | 11 |

Slightly more than three-fourths (76\%) of Texas registered voters support ( $56 \%$ strongly) continuing to allow the Morning After Pill (Plan B) as an emergency contraceptive in Texas, while less than one in five (16\%) oppose the continued legality of the Morning After Pill in the state.

A narrow majority (51\%) of Texas registered voters support allowing organizations in Texas to seek and receive contributions to fund trips by pregnant women out of state to obtain an abortion, while 37\% oppose allowing these efforts to finance out of state abortions for Texas women.

Very similar proportions ( $59 \%$ and $60 \%$ ) of Texas registered voters oppose legislation that would classify abortion as homicide, allowing prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends her pregnancy and oppose legislation that would it make a felony for woman in Texas to obtain an "abortion pill" obtained out of state to end an abortion (through 10 weeks). Very similar proportions ( $30 \%$ and $29 \%$ ) of Texas registered voters also support these two policy proposals.

Table 23 provides the support for and opposition to these four policies among women and men (the proportion strongly supporting and strongly opposing the policy is in parentheses). Overall, there do not exist any noteworthy gender differences regarding support for an opposition to these four policies, with one exception. Compared to men, women are significantly more likely to oppose ( $65 \%$ vs. $53 \%$ ) and significantly less likely to support ( $23 \%$ vs. $38 \%$ ) legislation that would allow prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends a pregnancy.

Table 23: Gender \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $77(58)$ | $74(53)$ |
| Oppose | $14(9)$ | $18(11)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 8 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $25(13)$ | $33(18)$ |
| Oppose | $63(53)$ | $56(43)$ |
| Don't Know | 12 | 11 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $23(12)$ | $38(18)$ |
| Oppose | $65(55)$ | $53(40)$ |
| Don't Know | 12 | 9 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $52(38)$ | $49(32)$ |
| Oppose | $35(26)$ | $41(29)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 10 |

Table 24 provides the support for and opposition to these four policies among white, Latino, and Black Texans. Overall, there are not any noteworthy ethnic/racial differences regarding support for and opposition to these four policies, with one exception. Black Texans are significantly less likely than white Texans to support allowing prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends a pregnancy, with $15 \%$ of Black Texans supporting this measure compared to $35 \%$ of white Texans.

Table 24: Ethnicity/Race \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $75(54)$ | $79(60)$ | $71(56)$ |
| Oppose | $18(11)$ | $13(8)$ | $13(8)$ |
| Don't Know | 7 | 8 | 16 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $31(16)$ | $28(16)$ | $20(11)$ |
| Oppose | $59(46)$ | $59(50)$ | $62(54)$ |
| Don't Know | 10 | 13 | 18 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $35(16)$ | $25(13)$ | $15(8)$ |
| Oppose | $56(45)$ | $64(52)$ | $64(55)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 11 | 21 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | Whites | Latinos | Blacks |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $49(33)$ | $53(37)$ | $56(39)$ |
| Oppose | $42(31)$ | $34(26)$ | $25(13)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 13 | 19 |

Table 25 provides the support for and opposition to these four policies among members of the three generational cohorts: Silent Generation/Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Millennials/Generation Z. Overall, no noteworthy generational differences exist regarding support for and opposition to these four policies, with one exception. Members of the Millennial/Generation Z cohort are significantly more likely than members of the Boomers/Silent Generation cohort ( $59 \%$ vs. $45 \%$ ) to support allowing organizations to seek funds to pay for Texas women to travel out of state to obtain an abortion.

Table 25: Generation \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $77(54)$ | $77(56)$ | $74(58)$ |
| Oppose | $16(11)$ | $14(9)$ | $17(10)$ |
| Don't Know | 7 | 9 | 9 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $29(17)$ | $22(10)$ | $34(18)$ |
| Oppose | $62(50)$ | $61(51)$ | $56(44)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 17 | 10 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $28(14)$ | $28(11)$ | $34(18)$ |
| Oppose | $64(51)$ | $61(49)$ | $52(48)$ |
| Don't Know | 8 | 11 | 14 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | Boomers/Silent | Gen-X | Millennials/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $45(33)$ | $47(34)$ | $59(37)$ |
| Oppose | $47(36)$ | $39(29)$ | $27(16)$ |
| Don't Know | 8 | 14 | 14 |

Table 26 provides the support for and opposition to these four policies among Texas registered voters based on their highest level of educational attainment: high school or less, a two-year degree or some college, a four-year degree or an advanced degree. There are several salient differences in support for and opposition to these policies depending on the respondent's educational attainment, with most involving significant differences between those Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less and those Texans whose highest level of educational attainment is a four-year degree or an advanced degree. Members of the former group are less likely than those of the latter group to oppose making the use of the abortion pill by pregnant women in Texas a felony ( $47 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ) and to support allowing organizations to raise funds to pay for out of state travel for Texas women to obtain an abortion ( $41 \%$ vs. $57 \%$ ).

Table 26: Education \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced | BA/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $70(48)$ | $76(60)$ | $80(58)$ |
| Oppose | $19(10)$ | $16(12)$ | $14(8)$ |
| Don't Know | 11 | 8 | 6 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced | BA/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $35(17)$ | $29(15)$ | $24(14)$ |
| Oppose | $47(37)$ | $60(51)$ | $69(54)$ |
| Don't Know | 18 | 11 | 7 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced | BA/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $28(14)$ | $31(15)$ | $31(15)$ |
| Oppose | $56(42)$ | $58(50)$ | $63(51)$ |
| Don't Know | 16 | 11 | 6 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | 2yr/Some College | 4yr/Advanced | BA/Advanced |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $41(28)$ | $52(34)$ | $57(40)$ |
| Oppose | $44(32)$ | $37(31)$ | $33(20)$ |
| Don't Know | 15 | 11 | 10 |

Table 27 provides the support or opposition to these four policies among Texas registered voters based on their partisan identification: Democrat, Independent, and Republican.

Table 27: Partisan Identification \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $85(74)$ | $74(53)$ | $68(41)$ |
| Oppose | $8(4)$ | $18(10)$ | $23(16)$ |
| Don't Know | 7 | 8 | 9 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $17(8)$ | $16(5)$ | $44(25)$ |
| Oppose | $75(69)$ | $71(60)$ | $43(26)$ |
| Don't Know | 8 | 13 | 13 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $12(6)$ | $21(5)$ | $49(26)$ |
| Oppose | $79(74)$ | $69(51)$ | $39(16)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 10 | 12 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | Democrats | Independents | Republicans |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $80(63)$ | $47(28)$ | $25(11)$ |
| Oppose | $11(5)$ | $35(22)$ | $63(49)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 18 | 12 |

Substantial majorities of Democrats (85\% vs. 8\%), Independents (74\% vs. 18\%), and Republicans (68\% vs. $23 \%$ ) support allowing access to the Morning After Pill (Plan B) form of contraception in Texas.

Sizeable majorities of Democrats ( $75 \%$ vs. $17 \%$ ) and Independents ( $71 \%$ vs. $16 \%$ ) oppose making it a felony for a woman in Texas to end her pregnancy in Texas using an abortion pill obtained out of state. Republicans in contrast are split evenly on this issue, with $44 \%$ in support of making the use of the abortion pill a felony and $43 \%$ in opposition.

Large majorities of Democrats ( $79 \%$ vs. 12\%) and Independents ( $69 \%$ vs. $21 \%$ ) oppose allowing prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends her pregnancy with an abortion. In contrast, $49 \%$ of Republicans support, and $39 \%$ oppose, allowing for women who have an abortion to be prosecuted for homicide.

A substantial majority of Democrats supports ( $80 \%$ vs. $11 \%$ ) and a substantial majority of Republicans opposes ( $63 \%$ vs. $25 \%$ ) allowing organizations to seek funds to pay for Texas women to travel out of state to obtain an abortion. Independents are more evenly split, with $47 \%$ in support and $35 \%$ in opposition.

Table 28 provides the support for and opposition to these four policies among Texas registered voters based on their 2022 gubernatorial vote intention for Republican Greg Abbott and Democrat Beto O'Rourke.

Table 28: 2022 Gubernatorial Vote Intention \& Support For/Opposition To the Four Policies Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage Strongly Support/Oppose in Parentheses

| Allow Access to Morning After Pill | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $67(38)$ | $86(75)$ |
| Oppose | $24(16)$ | $7(4)$ |
| Don't Know | 9 | 7 |


| Make Abortion Pill Use a Felony | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $43(24)$ | $15(7)$ |
| Oppose | $43(25)$ | $78(73)$ |
| Don't Know | 14 | 7 |


| Allow Prosecutors to Bring Homicide Charges | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $51(26)$ | $12(5)$ |
| Oppose | $38(21)$ | $81(76)$ |
| Don't Know | 11 | 7 |


| Allow Fundraising to Support Out-of-State Trips | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Support | $22(9)$ | $81(64)$ |
| Oppose | $65(51)$ | $10(5)$ |
| Don't Know | 13 | 9 |

Substantial majorities of Abbott (67\% vs. 24\%) and O’Rourke (86\% vs. 7\%) voters support allowing access to the Morning After Pill (Plan B) form of contraception in Texas.

A large majority ( $78 \%$ vs. $15 \%$ ) of O'Rourke voters oppose making it a felony for a woman in Texas to end her pregnancy in Texas using an abortion pill obtained out of state. Abbott voters are evenly divided, with $43 \%$ in opposition and $43 \%$ in support.

A sizeable majority of O'Rourke voters ( $81 \%$ vs. $12 \%$ ) oppose allowing prosecutors to bring homicide charges against a woman who ends her pregnancy with an abortion. In contrast, a modest majority of Abbott voters ( $51 \%$ vs. $38 \%$ ) supports allowing prosecutors to pursue these charges.

A substantial majority of Abbott voters oppose (65\% vs. 22\%) and a substantial majority of O'Rourke voters supports ( $81 \%$ vs. $10 \%$ ) allowing organizations to seek funds to pay for Texas women to travel out of state to obtain an abortion.

## Support for and Opposition to Eight Proposed Pregnancy \& Child Related Policies

The survey respondents were also asked about their support for (strongly or somewhat) or opposition to (strongly or somewhat) eight distinct public policies (including the provision of public funding for their implementation) that will be considered by the Texas Legislature when it convenes in January 2023 for the 88th regular legislative session. The eight policies include the following:

1. Increase the social safety net for pregnant women and young children
2. Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women
3. Offer prenatal care
4. Provide pregnancy counseling
5. Expand and improve foster care
6. Increase adoption services
7. provide newborn care classes
8. provide diapers, formula, and baby food to low-income families free of charge

As Table 29 makes abundantly clear, an overwhelming majority of Texas registered voters support all eight of these policies. The level of support ranges from highs of $89 \%$ for expanding and improving foster care and for providing newborn care classes, $87 \%$ for increasing adoption services and for offering prenatal care, and $86 \%$ for pregnancy counseling to lows of $74 \%$ for expanding Medicaid coverage for pregnant women and for providing diapers, formula, and baby food to low-income families free of charge, and $80 \%$ for increasing the social safety net for pregnant women and young children.

Table 29: Support For And Opposition To Eight Pregnancy/Child-Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percent Strongly Support and Strongly Oppose in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Support | Oppose | Don't Know |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Expand and improve foster care | $89(63)$ | $6(3)$ | 5 |
| Provide newborn care classes | $89(61)$ | $6(3)$ | 5 |
| Increase adoption services | $87(61)$ | $7(3)$ | 6 |
| Offer prenatal care | $87(60)$ | $8(4)$ | 5 |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $86(58)$ | $8(4)$ | 6 |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $80(56)$ | $11(4)$ | 9 |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $74(51)$ | $18(8)$ | 8 |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $74(49)$ | $20(8)$ | 6 |

Table 30 provides the level of support for the eight policies (the proportion strongly supporting is in parentheses) among female and male Texas registered voters. Support for all eight of these policies among women and men does not fall below $69 \%$. There only exists one salient gender difference in support for these policies, with women (78\%) being more supportive than men (69\%) of providing diapers, formula, and baby food for low-income families free of charge.

Table 30. Gender and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Women | Men |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Expand and improve foster care | $90(66)$ | $88(58)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $91(66)$ | $87(56)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $85(63)$ | $90(59)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $90(66)$ | $84(53)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $87(61)$ | $86(56)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $83(63)$ | $76(48)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $77(56)$ | $71(45)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $78(56)$ | $69(40)$ |

Table 31 provides the level of support for the eight potential policies among white, Latino, and Black Texas registered voters. Support for all eight of these policies among all ethnic/racial groups does not fall below $71 \%$. And with one principal exception, there are no salient ethnic/racial differences in support for these eight policies. The one exception involves Black Texans, who are notably more supportive than white Texans of expanding Medicaid coverage for pregnant women ( $87 \%$ vs. $71 \%$, respectively), although it is important to keep in mind that the policy still enjoys widespread support among white Texans.

Table 31. Ethnicity/Race and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | White | Latino |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Expand and improve foster care | $90(63)$ | $88(65)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $89(59)$ | $93(62)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $90(63)$ | $86(64)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $86(54)$ | $87(66)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $86(55)$ | $80(48)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $76(52)$ | $87(63)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $71(46)$ | $83(62)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $71(41)$ | $78(56)$ |

Table 32 provides the level of support for these eight policies among the members of three generational cohorts: Silent Generation/Baby Boomers, Generation X, Millennials/Generation Z. Support for all eight of these policies among these three generational cohorts does not fall below 69\%, without any salient differences among them.

Table 32. Generation and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Silent/Boomer | Gen-X | Millennial/Gen-Z |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Expand and improve foster care | $90(64)$ | $91(59)$ | $86(63)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $92(65)$ | $86(59)$ | $89(59)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $88(66)$ | $91(59)$ | $84(58)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $89(60)$ | $86(56)$ | $87(62)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $87(60)$ | $87(56)$ | $85(58)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $77(54)$ | $77(51)$ | $85(63)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $69(46)$ | $74(49)$ | $80(58)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $70(42)$ | $72(46)$ | $79(57)$ |

Table 33 provides the level of support for these eight policies among Texans based on their highest level of educational attainment: high school degree or less, two-year degree or some college, four-year degree or an advanced degree. Support for all eight of these policies among these three educational groups does not fall below 70\%, without any salient differences among them.

Table 33. Education and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | High School or Less | AA/Some College |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| BA/Advanced |  |  |
| Expand and improve foster care | $85(59)$ | $91(66)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $88(56)$ | $90(64)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $82(55)$ | $89(63)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $82(56)$ | $90(63)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $85(57)$ | $89(62)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $76(56)$ | $90(65)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $70(50)$ | $83(57)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $71(52)$ | $76(51)$ |

Table 34 provides the level of support for these eight policies among Texans based on their partisan identification: Democrat, Independent, Republican. Support for all eight of these policies among these three partisan groups does not fall below $62 \%$.

Table 34. Partisan Identification and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies - Percentage Distribution (\%) Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Democrats | Independents |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Expand and improve foster care | $90(67)$ | $82(55)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $93(71)$ | $81(45)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $87(61)$ | $76(43)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $96(80)$ | $76(44)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $85(61)$ | $90(67)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $91(74)$ | $84(48)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $90(75)$ | $68(43)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $89(71)$ | $69(44)$ |

Unlike the case when considering the aforementioned variables, there are substantially more intergroup significant differences, particularly between Democrats and Republicans. That said, there is strong majority support for these policies among both Democrats and Republicans, and there are several policies where very similar proportions of Democrats and Republicans support the policies.

The consensus policies among Democrats and Republicans include the following: expanding and improving foster care (which is supported by $90 \%$ of Democrats and $90 \%$ of Republicans), providing newborn care classes (which is supported by $93 \%$ of Democrats and $88 \%$ of Republicans), increasing adoption services (which is supported by $87 \%$ of Democrats and $90 \%$ of Republicans), providing pregnancy counseling (which is supported by $85 \%$ of Democrats and $89 \%$ of Republicans), and offering prenatal care (which is supported by $96 \%$ of Democrats and $84 \%$ of Republicans).

The members of the two parties differ significantly in their level of support of three policies, with however, a large majority of even the partisans who are least supportive still very supportive of the policies. The sharpest differences among Democrats and Republicans are found in expanding Medicaid coverage for pregnant women ( $90 \%$ and $62 \%$, respectively), followed by providing diapers, formula, and baby food to low-income families free of charge ( $89 \%$ vs. $62 \%$ ), and increasing the social safety net for pregnant women and young children ( $91 \%$ vs. $73 \%$ ).

Table 35 provides the level of support for these eight policies among Texans based on their 2022 Texas gubernatorial vote intention: Republican Greg Abbott or Democrat Beto O'Rourke. Support for all eight of these policies among these two sets of voters does not fall below $58 \%$.

Table 35. 2022 Gubernatorial Vote Intention and Support for the Eight Potential Pregnancy/Child Related Policies Percentage Distribution (\%)
Percentage that Strongly Supports in Parentheses

| Policy Proposal | Abbott Voters | O'Rourke Voters |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Expand and improve foster care | $89(58)$ | $91(70)$ |
| Provide newborn care classes | $87(54)$ | $94(74)$ |
| Increase adoption services | $90(64)$ | $86(62)$ |
| Offer prenatal care | $82(46)$ | $97(79)$ |
| Provide pregnancy counseling | $88(56)$ | $86(63)$ |
| Increase social safety net for pregnant women and young children | $69(39)$ | $92(77)$ |
| Expand Medicaid coverage for pregnant women | $60(29)$ | $93(78)$ |
| Provide diapers/formula/baby food to low income families free of charge | $58(29)$ | $92(72)$ |

There exists a strong consensus, with no salient differences in support, between Abbott and O'Rourke voters regarding their support for four policies. These consensus policies are expanding and improving foster care (which is supported by $89 \%$ of Abbott voters and $91 \%$ of $O^{\prime}$ Rourke voters), providing newborn care classes (which is supported by $87 \%$ of Abbott voters and $94 \%$ of O'Rourke voters), increasing adoption services (which is supported by $90 \%$ of Abbott voters and $86 \%$ of O'Rourke voters), and providing pregnancy counseling (which is supported by $88 \%$ of Abbott voters and $86 \%$ of $\mathrm{O}^{\prime}$ Rourke voters).

Abbott and O'Rourke voters differ significantly in their support of four policies, with however, a large majority of both sets of voters still very supportive of the policy. The sharpest difference is in regard
to the policy of providing diapers, formula, and baby food to low-income families free of charge (which is supported by $92 \%$ of O'Rourke voters and $58 \%$ of Abbott voters), followed by expanding Medicaid coverage for pregnant women (which is supported by $93 \%$ of O'Rourke voters and $60 \%$ of Abbott voters), increasing the social safety net for pregnant women and young children (which is supported by $92 \%$ of O'Rourke voters and $^{2} 9 \%$ of Abbott voters), and offering prenatal care (which is supported by $97 \%$ of $O^{\prime}$ Rourke voters and $82 \%$ of Abbott voters).

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