

# TEXAS TRENDS 2024

General Election: August



UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON







# Texas Trends 2024 General Election: August

In 2021, the Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston and the Executive Master of Public Administration Program in the Barbara Jordan – Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs at Texas Southern University launched a five-year survey project to study Texas's changing population. The fourth survey was fielded between June 20 and July 1, 2024 and focused on opinions about elections and public policies. Due to extraordinary circumstances including Joe Biden's decision to drop out of the 2024 presidential race and the Democratic Party's subsequent nomination of Kamala Harris as well as the impact of Hurricane Beryl on Texas, a second wave of the survey was fielded between August 5 and August 16, 2024. This survey reinterviewed a substantial portion of the respondents from the June-July survey along with additional respondents to ensure a representative statewide sample population.

The August survey was conducted in English and Spanish, with this election report focused on the subset of respondents (1,365 total, with a margin of error of 2.65%) who indicated that they were likely to vote in the November 2024 election. These respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education and are representative of the Texas likely voter population.

# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

In the 2024 presidential election, 49.5% of these Texas likely voters intend to vote for Republican Donald Trump, 44.6% for Democrat Kamala Harris, 2.0% for Independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., 0.7% for the Green Party's Jill Stein and 0.5% for Libertarian Chase Oliver, with 2.7% undecided.

Harris's vote intention is 4.3 percentage points higher than Biden's was in the June survey (44.6% vs. 40.3%).

Trump's vote intention is 0.6 percentage points higher than in the June survey (49.5% vs. 48.9%).

Kennedy's vote intention is 2.7 percentage points lower than in the June survey (2.0% vs. 4.7%).

96% of Harris voters and 92% of Trump voters indicate they are certain about their vote choice, with only 4% and 8% of their respective supporters saying they might change their mind.

Trump holds an 18 percentage point lead over Harris among men (56% to 38%).

Harris holds a 6 percentage point lead over Trump among women (50% to 44%). In June, Trump held a 4 percentage point lead over Biden among women (46% to 42%).

57% of white Texans intend to vote for Trump compared to 38% who intend to vote for Harris.

47% of Latino Texans intend to vote for Trump compared to 46% who intend to vote for Harris.

17% of Black Texans intend to vote for Trump compared to 77% who intend to vote for Harris.

58% of members of the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort intend to vote for Trump compared to 38% who intend to vote for Harris.

55% of Generation Z intends to vote for Harris while 38% intends to support Trump. In June, Biden's vote intention among Generation Z was 39%, while Trump's was 42%.

92% of Republicans intend to vote for Trump and 91% of Democrats intend to vote for Harris.

41% of Independents intend to vote for Trump, 39% for Harris, 8% for Kennedy and 5% for Stein or Oliver, with 7% undecided. Comparatively, the June survey found that 42% of Independents intended to vote for Trump, 18% for Biden, 14% for Kennedy and 10% for Stein or Oliver, with 16% undecided.

A sub-sample of 878 respondents from June were resurveyed in August, allowing for a direct assessment of change and continuity in individual voting patterns among these panel members.

- Trump retained 97% of his June vote and Harris retained 96% of Biden's June vote.
- Kennedy only retained 31% of his June vote, with 44% of June Kennedy voters shifting their vote to Harris and 21% shifting their vote to Trump.
- 89% of the August Harris voters were June Biden voters, 4% were June Kennedy voters, 2% were June Trump voters, 1% were June Stein/Oliver voters, and 4% were undecided in June.
- 93% of the August Trump voters were June Trump voters, 2% were June Kennedy voters, 2% were June Biden voters, and 3% were undecided in June.

In the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate election, 46.6% of Texas likely voters intend to vote for Republican Ted Cruz, 44.5% for Democrat Colin Allred and 2.5% for Libertarian Ted Brown, with 6.4% undecided. These proportions are essentially unchanged from those in the June survey.

93% of both Cruz and Allred voters indicate they are certain about their vote choice, with only 7% saying they might change their mind between now and November.

Allred holds a seven percentage point lead over Cruz among women (49% to 42%) while Cruz holds a 13 percentage point lead over Allred among men (52% to 39%).

57% of white Texans intend to vote for Cruz compared to 40% who intend to vote for Allred.

46% of Latino Texans intend to vote for Allred while 40% intend to vote for Cruz.

72% of Black Texans intend to vote for Allred while 20% intend to support Cruz.

57% of members of the Baby Boomer/Silent Generation cohort intend to vote for Cruz compared to 40% who intend to vote for Allred.

58% of Generation Z intends to vote for Allred while 31% intend to vote for Cruz.

92% of Democrats intend to vote for Allred and 88% of Republicans intend to vote for Cruz.

39% of Independents intend to vote for Cruz, 35% for Allred and 12% for Brown, with 14% undecided.

49% of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Donald Trump (35% very favorable), while 50% have an unfavorable opinion of the former president (44% very unfavorable).

48% of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Kamala Harris (31% very favorable), while 51% have an unfavorable opinion of the Vice President (43% very unfavorable).

In June, Harris's net favorability rating (percentage favorable minus percentage unfavorable) was -14%, while it was -3% in August.

44% of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Republican vice-presidential nominee J.D. Vance (21% very favorable) and 44% an unfavorable opinion (34% very unfavorable). 12% of don't know enough about Vance to have an opinion of him.

40% of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Democratic vice-presidential nominee Tim Walz (23% very favorable) and 39% an unfavorable opinion (29% very unfavorable). 21% don't know enough about Walz to have an opinion of him.

The net favorability ratings (percentage favorable minus percentage unfavorable) ranged from highs of 11% (Allred), 9% (Governor Greg Abbott) and 8% (Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick) to lows of -13% (Biden) and -3% (Harris), with Cruz (1%), Walz (1%), Vance (0%) and Trump (-1%) in between.

### LIKELY VOTER POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS

White likely voters account for 60% of this population of likely Texas voters, Latino likely voters for 22%, Black likely voters for 13%, and others for 5% (2% Asian American, 2% Mixed/Other, 1% Native American). Women represent 52% of this population, men 47%, and those who identify as non-binary or other 1%. Regarding generations, 39% of this population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928-1945) and Baby Boomer (1946-1964) cohort, 25% to Generation X (Gen-X) (1965-1980), 23% to the Millennial (1981-1996) generation, and 13% to Generation Z (1997-2012). The highest level of educational attainment of 40% of the population is a four-year college degree or a post-graduate degree, of 33% of the population is a two-year college degree or some college, and of 27% of the population is a high school degree or less. Republicans account for 47% of this population, Democrats for 42% and Independents for 10%, with 1% unsure of their partisan identification.

## **2024 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE INTENTION AMONG TEXAS LIKELY VOTERS**

Figure 1 provides the vote intention among likely Texas voters in the 2024 presidential election. Republican Donald Trump leads Democrat Kamala Harris by 4.9 percentage points, 49.5% to 44.6%, followed by Independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. with 2.0%, the Green Party's Jill Stein with 0.7%, Libertarian Chase Oliver with 0.5%, and 2.7% undecided.

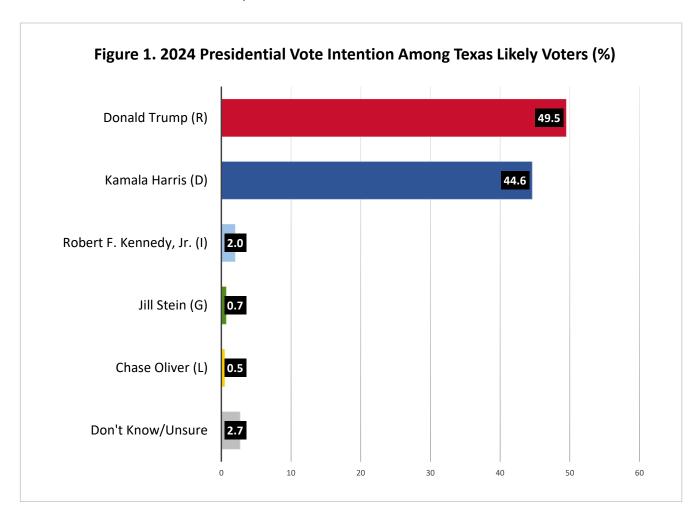


Figure 2 highlights that while Trump's vote intention rose only slightly (0.6 percentage points) from the poll in June (48.9% to 49.5%), Harris' vote intention is 4.3 percentage points greater than Biden's June vote intention (44.6% vs. 40.3%). Between June and August, Kennedy's support dropped by 2.7 percentage points (4.7% to 2.0%), with the proportion of unsure voters declining from 4.2% to 2.7%.

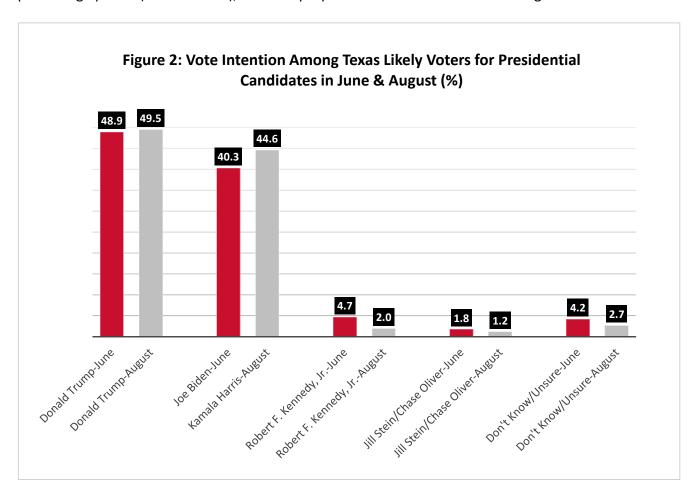


Figure 3 underscores that an overwhelming majority of Harris (96%) and Trump (92%) voters are certain about their vote choice, with conversely only 4% of Harris voters and 8% of Trump voters indicating they might change their mind between now and November. In contrast, only 61% of Kennedy voters and 34% of Stein/Oliver voters say they are certain about their vote choice, with 39% and 66% indicating they might change their mind about voting for these third-party candidates before actually casting a ballot in the fall. Among the Kennedy voters, 75% have an unfavorable opinion of Trump and 60% an unfavorable opinion of Harris.

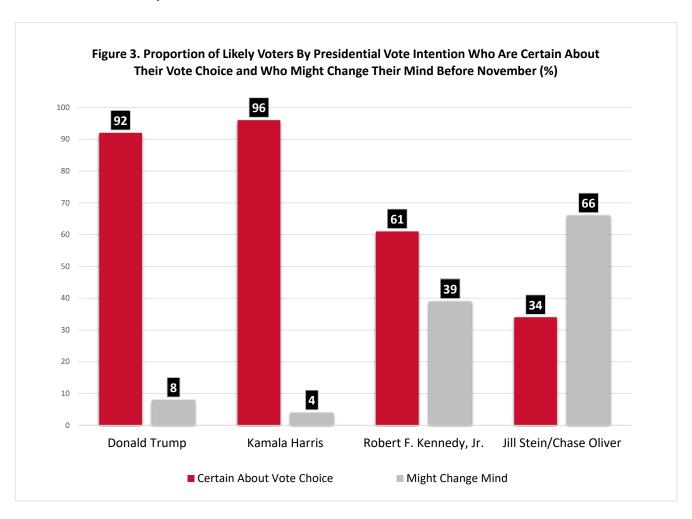


Table 1 provides the distribution of the 2024 presidential vote intention of likely voters broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2020 presidential vote.

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

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Trump	Harris	Kennedy	Unsure
Overall		49.5	45.6	2.0	2.7
	Women	44	50	2	2
Gender	Men	56	38	2	3
	White	57	38	1	2
Ethnicity/Race	Latino	47	46	3	3
,	Black	17	77	2	3
	Silent/Boomer	58	38	2	2
Committee	Generation X	50	43	1	4
Generation	Millennial	43	51	3	2
	Generation Z	38	55	2	3
Education	High School	56	39	2	2
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	44	50	2	2
	4 Yr Degree/PostGrad	50	44	2	3
Partisanship	Democratic	5	91	1	2
	Independent	41	39	8	7
	Republican	92	4	1	2
2020 Presidential Vote	Trump	94	3	1	2
	Biden	5	91	1	2
	Did Not Vote	36	51	4	6

Trump holds an 18 percentage point lead over Harris among men (56% to 38%), while Harris holds a 6 percentage point lead over Trump among women (50% to 44%).

Trump's vote intention (57%) among white voters is one and a half times greater than that of Harris (38%), while Harris's vote intention among Black voters (77%) is more than four times that of Trump (17%). Trump holds a narrow one percentage point lead over Harris among Latino voters, 47% to 46%.

Trump leads Harris by a 20 percentage point margin (58% to 38%) among members of the combined Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort, and by a much narrower seven percentage point margin among Generation X (50% to 43%). Conversely, Harris leads Trump by a 17 percentage point margin among Generation Z (55% to 38%), and by a narrower eight percentage point margin among Millennials (51% to 43%). While 10% of Generation Z was unsure of their presidential vote intention in June, only 3% were unsure in August.

Trump holds a 17 percentage point lead over Harris (56% to 39%) among voters whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less. Harris holds a six percentage point lead (50% to 44%) among voters whose highest level of educational attainment is some college or a two-year degree Hobby School of Public Affairs

7 Barbara Jordan - Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs

while Trump holds a similar six percentage point advantage (50% to 44%) among voters with a four-year or post-graduate degree.

More than nine out of ten Republicans (92%) intend to vote for Trump and more than nine out of ten Democrats (91%) intend to vote for Harris. Only 4% of Republicans and 5% of Democrats intend to vote for Harris and Trump, respectively, while 1% of Democrats and 1% of Republicans intend to vote for Kennedy. Trump (41%) holds a narrow two percentage point lead over Harris (39%) among Independents, 8% of whom intend to vote for Kennedy (down from 14% in June) and 7% of whom remain undecided (down from 16% in June).

Among those likely voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential race for Trump, 94% intend to vote for the former president again in 2024, while 3% intend to vote for Harris and 1% for Kennedy, with 2% remaining undecided. Among those likely voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential race for Biden, 91% intend to vote for Harris in 2024, while 5% intend to vote for Trump, and 1% for Kennedy, with 2% remaining undecided. Among those 2024 likely voters who did not cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential election, 51% intend to vote for Harris, 36% for Trump, and 4% for Kennedy, with 6% undecided.

Table 2 provides information on the socio-demographic distribution of the vote intention for Biden in June compared to Harris in August and for Trump in June compared to Trump in August.

Table 2. Likely Voter Presidential Vote Intention Among Key Socio-Demographic Groups in June vs. August (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Biden June	Harris August	Difference	Trump June	Trump August	Difference
Overall		40.3	44.6	4	48.9	49.5	1
Gender	Women	42	50	8	46	44	-2
	Men	39	38	-1	52	56	4
	White	35	38	3	56	57	1
Ethnicity/Race	Latino	41	46	5	45	47	2
· ·	Black	73	77	4	16	17	1
0 "	Silent/Boomer	36	38	2	56	58	2
	Generation X	42	43	1	50	50	0
Generation	Millennial	46	51	5	40	43	3
	Generation Z	39	55	16	42	38	-4
Education	High School	35	39	4	54	56	2
	Some College/2 Yr Degree	41	50	9	45	44	-1
	4 Yr Degree/PostGrad	44	44	0	48	50	2
Partisanship	Democratic	86	91	5	4	5	1
	Independent	18	39	21	42	41	-1
	Republican	3	4	1	92	92	0
2020 Presidential Vote	Trump	2	3	1	91	94	3
	Biden	84	91	7	4	5	1
	Did Not Vote	38	51	13	39	36	-3

There were not any noteworthy shifts in vote intention for Trump greater than 5 percentage points across these 18 socio-demographic sub-groups. The largest shifts (four percentage points each) were Trump's vote intention among men increasing from 52% to 56% and his vote intention among Generation Z decreasing from 42% to 38%.

In sharp contrast, the August survey saw noteworthy increases in vote intention for Harris (compared to Biden's June vote intention) related to gender, generation, education, partisanship, and 2020 presidential vote.

Harris's vote intention among women increased by eight percentage points (42% to 50%) compared to Biden's in June.

Harris's vote intention increased by 16 percentage points compared to Biden's June vote intention among Generation Z (55% to 39%, respectively).

Harris's vote intention increased by nine percentage points compared to Biden's June vote intention among those likely voters whose highest level of educational attainment is a two-year degree or some college (50% to 41%, respectively).

Finally, Harris's vote intention compared to Biden's in June increased by 21 percentage points among Independents (18% to 39%), by seven percentage points among those who voted for Biden in 2020 (84% to 91%) and by 13 percentage points among those 2024 likely voters who did not cast a ballot in the 2020 presidential election (38% to 51%).

### CHANGE & CONTINUITY IN 2024 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE INTENTION AMONG LIKELY VOTERS: A PANEL

A subset of 878 of the 1,365 likely voters included in this survey were also surveyed in June. For these individuals, we can directly measure any change in their presidential vote intention between the June survey when their ballot options were Trump, Biden, Oliver, Stein and Kennedy, and the August survey when their ballot options were Trump, Harris, Oliver, Stein, and Kennedy. The June and August vote intentions among the members of this panel do not differ dramatically from those of the broader sample population utilized in the other portions of this report. Among the members of this panel, Trump held a 4.0 percentage point lead over Harris in the August vote intention and a 5.5 percentage point lead over Biden in the June vote intention, compared to the overall survey population values of 4.9 percentage points and 8.6 percentage points, respectively.

Table 3 displays the vote intention of June voters in August, highlighting the ability of the distinct candidates/parties to retain their June vote. Among the panel members, Trump retained 97% of his June vote, with 2% of his June voters opting for Harris in August and 1% moving into the undecided category. Harris retained 96% of Biden's June vote, with 3% of Biden voters opting for Trump in August and 1% moving into the undecided category. Kennedy only retained 31% of his June voters, with 44% shifting their support to Harris and 21% to Trump in August, and 4% moving into the undecided category. Finally, among the voters who were undecided in June, 41% shifted their vote intention to Harris in August, 30% shifted to Trump and 3% to Stein or Oliver, with 26% continuing to remain unsure about for whom to vote in August.

Table 3: Distribution of August Presidential Vote Intention by June Vote Intention Among Texas Likely Voters (%)

August Vote Intention (%)

June Vote Intention	Trump	Harris	Kennedy	Stein/Oliver	Don't Know/Unsure
Trump	97	2	0	0	1
Biden	3	96	0	0	1
Kennedy	21	44	31	0	4
Stein/Oliver	0	20	0	60	20
Don't Know/Unsure	30	41	0	3	26

Figure 4 contains a distribution of the June vote intention of those panel members who stated in August that they intended to vote for Harris. Nearly nine out of ten (89%) of the August Harris voters were June Biden voters, while 4% were June Kennedy voters, 4% were undecided in June, 2% were June Trump voters, and 1% were June Stein/Oliver voters.

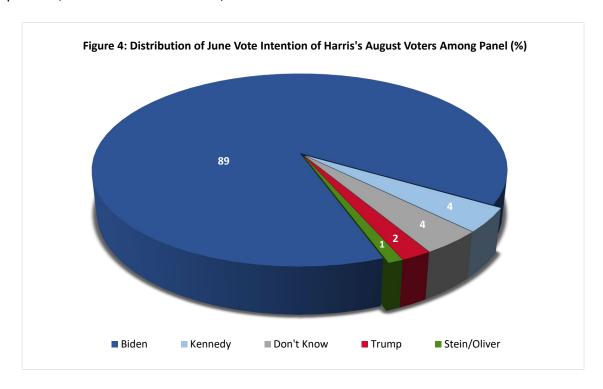
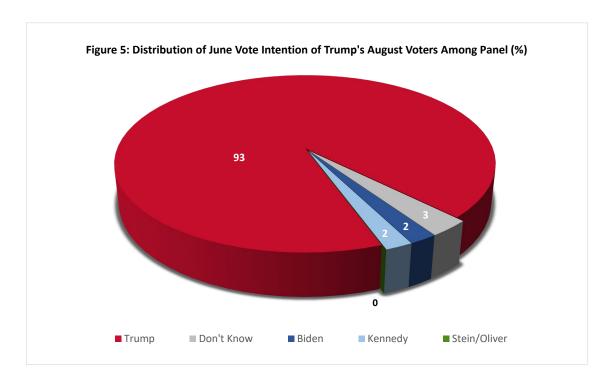


Figure 5 contains a distribution of the June vote intention of those panel members who stated in August that they intended to vote for Trump. More than nine out of ten (93%) of the August Trump voters were June Trump voters, while 3% were undecided in June, 2% were June Kennedy voters, and 2% were June Biden voters.



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

Figure 6 provides the distribution of the vote intention of likely voters in the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate election for Republican Ted Cruz, Democrat Colin Allred and Libertarian Ted Brown. Cruz holds a 2.1 percentage point lead over Allred, 46.6% to 44.5%, with 2.5% of likely voters intending to vote for Brown and 6.4% undecided. These numbers are virtually unchanged from the June survey, where Cruz's vote intention was 46.6%, Allred's 44.2% and Brown's 2.6%, with 6.6% unsure.

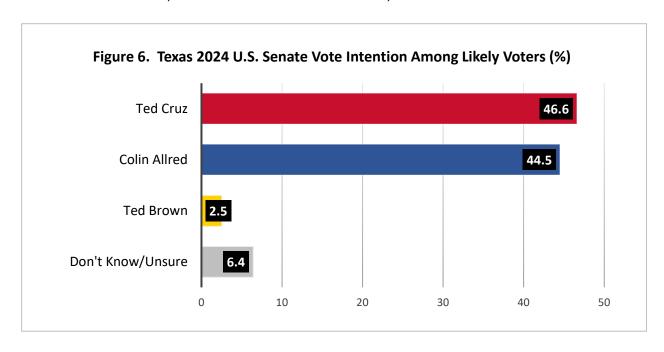


Figure 7 underscores the certainty of these Texas U.S. Senate vote intentions, with more than nine out of ten Cruz (93%) and Allred (93%) voters indicating they are certain about their vote choice in November, with 7% and 7% reporting they still might change their mind between now and November. Slightly less than one-half (46%) of Brown voters indicate they are certain about their November vote, while slightly more than one-half (54%) report that they might change their mind.

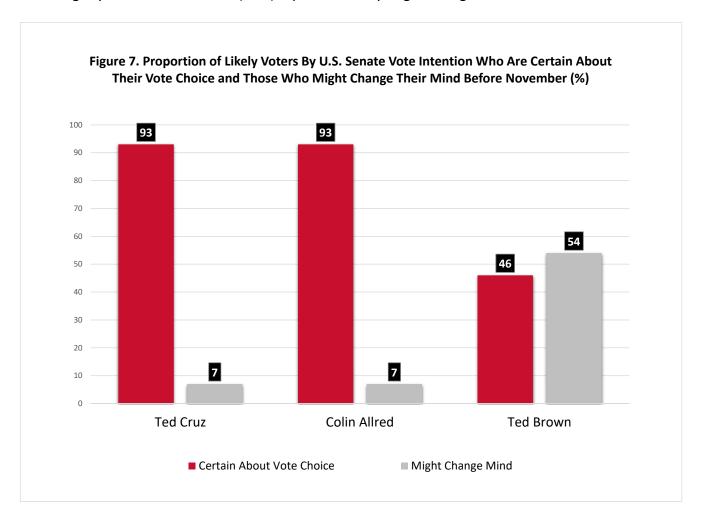


Table 4 provides the distribution of the 2024 Texas U.S. Senate vote intention of likely voters broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, education, partisanship and 2024 presidential vote intention.

Table 4. Likely Voter Texas U.S. Senate Vote Intention Among Key Socio-Demographic Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Cruz	Allred	Don't Know
Overall		46.6	44.5	6.4
Candan	Women	42	49	8
Gender	Men	52	39	5
	White	54	39	5
Ethnicity/Race	Latino	40	46	11
	Black	20	72	6
	Silent/Boomer	57	40	2
Companation	Generation X	47	42	9
Generation	Millennial	38	48	9
	Generation Z	31	58	10
	High School	53	39	7
Education	Some College/2 Yr Degree	41	48	9
	4 Yr Degree/PostGrad	48	45	4
	Democratic	3	92	5
Partisanship	Independent	39	35	14
	Republican	88	5	5
	Trump	88	4	5
	Harris	3	90	6
2024 Presidential Vote	Kennedy	22	50	12
	Stein/Oliver	14	60	0
	Don't Know/Unsure	41	15	43

Allred (49%) holds a seven percentage point lead in vote intention over Cruz (42%) among women, while Cruz holds a 13 percentage point lead over Allred among men (52% to 39%).

More than half of white voters intend to vote for Cruz (57%), compared to 40% who intend to vote for Allred. Allred enjoys a six percentage point advantage over Cruz in vote intention among Latino voters (46% to 40%), and a more than three to one advantage among Black voters (72% to 20%).

Cruz holds a substantial 17 percentage point lead over Allred among members of the combined Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (57% to 40%), while Allred holds an even more substantial 27 percentage point lead over Cruz among Generation Z (58% to 31%). The two candidates have roughly similar vote intentions among Generation X (47% to 42%) and, to a somewhat lesser extent, among Millennials (38% to 48%).

More than nine out of ten Democrats (92%) intend to vote for Allred, while almost nine out of ten (88%) Republicans intend to vote for Cruz. Cross-party support for the two candidates is low, with 5% of Republicans intending to vote for Allred and 3% of Democrats intending to vote for Cruz. Cruz enjoys a slight advantage over Allred among Independents, 39% to 35%, with 14% of Independents still undecided and 12% intending to vote for Brown.

Almost nine out of ten (88%) 2024 Trump voters plan to vote for Cruz, just as 90% of 2024 Harris voters intend to vote for Allred, with 4% of Trump voters and 3% of Harris voters planning to vote for Allred and Cruz, respectively. Half (50%) of 2024 Kennedy voters intend to vote for Allred, compared to 22% who intend to vote for Cruz.

Cruz, like Trump and Harris, is well-known to Texas likely voters, with only 3% not knowing enough to have an opinion about him, one way or another (see Table 5 below). In contrast, 15% of likely November 2024 likely voters don't know enough about Allred to have an opinion about him. Among those with an opinion of Allred, 48% have a favorable opinion (24% very favorable), compared to 37% who have an unfavorable opinion (25% very unfavorable). By comparison, 49% of likely voters have a favorable opinion of Cruz (28% very favorable), slightly more than the 48% who have an unfavorable opinion of Texas's junior senator (39% very unfavorable).

### FAVORABILITY EVALUATIONS OF NINE LEADING CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS

Table 5 provides the proportion of Texas likely voters with favorable (very, somewhat) and unfavorable (very, somewhat) evaluations of nine candidates and officeholders (along with the proportion who didn't know enough about the person to have an opinion): President Joe Biden, former president and 2024 Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, Vice President and 2024 Democratic presidential nominee Kamala Harris, Minnesota Governor and 2024 Democratic vice-presidential nominee Tim Walz, Ohio U.S. Senator and 2024 Republican vice-presidential nominee J.D. Vance, Republican Texas U.S. Senator Ted Cruz, 2024 Democratic U.S. Senate candidate and Congressman Colin Allred, Republican Texas Governor Greg Abbott, and Republican Texas Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick.

Table 5. Favorable and Unfavorable Evaluations of Nine Leading Candidates & Officeholders (%)

Politician	Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know Enough About
Donald Trump	35	14	6	44	1
Greg Abbott	32	22	8	37	1
Kamala Harris	31	17	8	43	1
Ted Cruz	28	21	9	39	3
Colin Allred	24	24	12	25	15
Tim Walz	23	17	10	29	21
J.D. Vance	21	23	10	34	12
Joe Biden	21	22	10	46	1
Dan Patrick	19	28	10	29	14

Almost one-half (49%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Donald Trump (35% very favorable), while 50% have an unfavorable opinion of the former president (44% very unfavorable).

Almost one-half (48%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Kamala Harris (31% very favorable), while 51% have an unfavorable opinion of the Vice President (43% very unfavorable).

More than two-fifths (43%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Joe Biden (21% very favorable), while 56% have an unfavorable opinion of the President (46% very unfavorable).

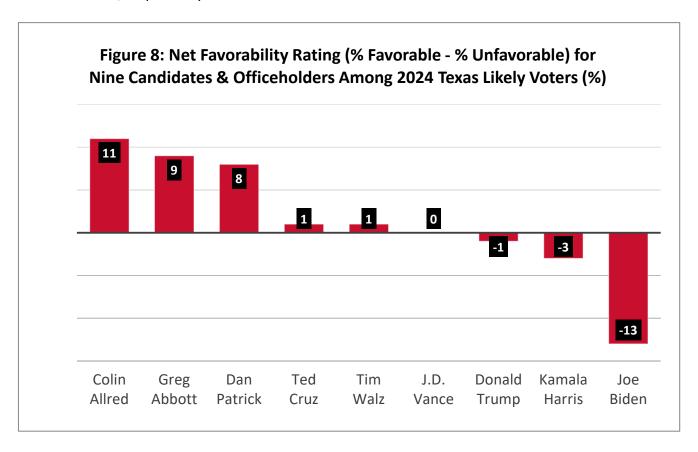
More than two-fifths (44%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of J.D. Vance (21% very favorable), while an identical 44% have an unfavorable opinion of the Republican vice-presidential nominee (34% very unfavorable). A little more than one-tenth (12%) of Texas likely voters don't know enough about Vance to have an opinion of him.

Two-fifths (40%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Tim Walz (23% very favorable), while 39% have an unfavorable opinion of the Democratic vice-presidential nominee (29% very unfavorable). A little more than one-fifth (21%) of Texas likely voters don't know enough about Walz to have an opinion of him.

More than one-half (54%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Greg Abbott (32% very favorable), while 45% have an unfavorable opinion of the governor (37% very unfavorable).

Almost one-half (47%) of Texas likely voters have a favorable opinion of Dan Patrick (19% very favorable), while 39% have an unfavorable opinion of the lieutenant governor and 14% don't know enough about him to have an opinion.

Figure 8 provides the net favorability rating (percentage favorable minus percentage unfavorable) for the nine candidates and officeholders. The net favorability rating ranges from highs of 11% (Allred), 9% (Abbott) and Patrick (8%) to lows of -13% (Biden) and -3% (Harris), with Cruz (1%), Walz (1%), Vance (0%) and Trump (-1%) in between. Of particular note, Harris's net favorability rating improved 11 percentage points compared to June (when it was -14%), while both Biden and Trump saw their net favorability rating decline by two percentage points between June and August from -11% to -13% and from 1% to -1%, respectively.



# **REPORT AUTHORS**

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

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

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

## **RESEARCH TEAM**

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

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

Jim Granato, Dean, Hobby School of Public Affairs

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

Savannah Sipole, Research Associate, Hobby School of Public Affairs

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

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