

## TEXAS TRENDS 2023

## STATE PROPOSITIONS

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Hobby School of Public Affairs UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

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## Texas Trends 2023 <br> State Propositions

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. In addition to a representative sample of all Texans, the 2023 survey includes an oversample of Black Texans to allow for an objective and statistically valid report of their diverse opinions and experiences. The third survey was fielded between October 6 and October 18, 2023 and focused on opinions about elections and public policies. The survey was conducted in English and Spanish, with 1,914 YouGov respondents 18 years of age and older, resulting in a confidence interval of $+/-2.2$. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education and are representative of the Texas adult population. The results of this 2023 statewide survey will be presented in six separate reports: state propositions, vouchers/school choice, the 2024 primary elections, electric vehicles, extreme weather, and climate change.

This first report examines the vote intention of likely Texas voters on six statewide propositions, which if passed will amend the Texas Constitution to either increase state funding for specific activities or reduce the property taxes paid by most Texans. This survey's sub-population includes 873 respondents who self-identified as likely voters, with a confidence interval of $+/-3.3$. Additional information on the ballot propositions is provided by the Texas Legislative Council, the League of Women Voters of Texas, and Ballotpedia.

## Executive Summary

At the present time, all six 2023 Texas constitutional amendment propositions examined in this survey are on track to be approved by a majority of Texas voters in the November 7 election, although some propositions enjoy considerably more support than others.

56\% of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 4 (Property Tax Relief), which if passed will, among other things, increase the residential homestead exemption for school property taxes from $\$ 40,000$ to $\$ 100,000$. $15 \%$ intend to vote against it while $29 \%$ remain undecided.

61\% of home owners intend to vote for Proposition 4 compared to $47 \%$ of renters.

50\% of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 5 (Texas University Fund), which if passed will provide additional funding for the state's leading research universities other than the University of Texas and Texas A\&M, which already receive substantial support via the Permanent University Fund (PUF). 23\% intend to vote against it while $27 \%$ remain undecided.

58\% of Democrats intend to vote for Proposition 5 compared to $45 \%$ of Republicans.
$70 \%$ of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 6 (Texas Water Fund), which if passed will provide funding to finance water projects statewide. 11\% intend to vote against it while 19\% remain undecided.

68\% of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 7 (Texas Energy Fund), which if passed will provide funding for the construction, maintenance and modernization of electric generating facilities that can provide dispatchable power at any time. $15 \%$ intend to vote against it while $17 \%$ remain undecided.

62\% of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 8 (Broadband Infrastructure Fund), which if passed will provide funding to expand high-speed broadband internet access. $16 \%$ intend to vote against it while $22 \%$ remain undecided.
$78 \%$ of Democrats intend to vote for Proposition 8, compared to $52 \%$ of Republicans.

67\% of likely voters intend to vote for Proposition 14 (Centennial Parks Conservation Fund), which if passed will provide funding for the creation and improvement of Texas state parks. $15 \%$ intend to vote against it while $18 \%$ remain undecided.

The vote intention in favor of the six propositions ranges from a high of $70 \%$ (Proposition 6) to a low of $50 \%$ (Proposition 5), with a mean "For" vote intention of $62 \%$.

The vote intention against the six propositions ranges from a high of $23 \%$ (Proposition 5) to a low of $11 \%$ (Proposition 6), with a mean "Against" vote intention of $16 \%$.

The proportion of likely voters which remains undecided on the propositions ranges from a high of 29\% (Proposition 4) to a low of 17\% (Proposition 7), with a mean undecided proportion of 24\%.

## Survey Population Demographics

In this report, the analysis population consists of those Texas registered voters who indicated that they planned to vote in the November 2023 statewide election, with this sub-population of 873 likely voters having a confidence interval of $+/-3.3$. White Texans account for $58 \%$ of this sub-population, Latino Texans $25 \%$, Black Texans $11 \%$, and others $6 \%$. Women account for $53 \%$ of this population and men for $47 \%$. Regarding generations, $49 \%$ of this population belongs to the combined Silent Generation (born between 1928-1945) and Baby Boomer (1946-1964) cohort, 27\% to Generation X (Gen-X) (1965-1980), and $24 \%$ to the combined Millennial (1981-1996) generation and Generation Z (1997-2012) cohort. Republicans account for $50 \%$ of this population and Democrats $41 \%$, with $9 \%$ of these likely voters identifying as Independent.

## Constitutional Amendments and Survey Instrument Design

The survey respondents were asked whether they would vote for or against six of the 14 constitutional amendment propositions that are on the statewide ballot in Texas this November. The Texas Constitution can only be amended through a two-step process. First, both the Texas House and Texas Senate must each pass a House or Senate Joint Resolution containing the constitutional amendment by at least a two-thirds vote. Second, a majority of Texas voters must vote for a proposition containing the amendment, normally in November of odd-numbered years.

Five of the propositions evaluated in the survey are related to the creation of dedicated funds to provide financial support for different activities while the sixth is the property tax relief constitutional amendment, which was arguably one of the Texas Legislature's highest priority pieces of legislation during the 2023 legislative sessions.

The respondents were presented with the same proposition language contained on the actual ballot and asked if they would vote for or against the proposition, or if they were still unsure about how they would vote.

Proposition 4. Property Tax Relief
Proposition 4 reads as follows on the ballot:

The constitutional amendment to authorize the legislature to establish a temporary limit on the maximum appraised value of real property other than a residence homestead for ad valorem tax purposes; to increase the amount of the exemption from ad valorem taxation by a school district applicable to residence homesteads from $\$ 40,000$ to $\$ 100,000$; to adjust the amount of the limitation on school district ad valorem taxes imposed on the residence homesteads of the elderly or disabled to reflect increases in certain exemption amounts; to except certain appropriations to pay for ad valorem tax relief from the constitutional limitation on the rate of growth of appropriations; and to authorize the legislature to provide for a four-year term of office for a member of the board of directors of certain appraisal districts.

Proposition 4 is by far the longest of any of the six constitutional amendment propositions, more than three times longer than the next-longest proposition and more than four times longer than the median proposition.

Figure 1 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (56\%) and against (15\%) Proposition 4, along with the proportion who remain undecided (29\%). The length and complexity of Proposition 4 likely explain in part the higher than the average proportion of likely voters who are undecided on this proposition.


Table 1 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 4 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, partisanship and residential status (homeowner or renter).

Table 1. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 4: Property Tax Relief (\%)

| Demographic | Sub-Group | For | Against | Unsure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Women | 48 | 17 | 35 |
|  | Men | 66 | 12 | 22 |
| Ethnicity/Race | White | 62 | 15 | 23 |
|  | Latino | 50 | 14 | 36 |
|  | Black | 47 | 20 | 33 |
| Generation | Silent/Boomer | 60 | 12 | 28 |
|  | Gen-X | 48 | 18 | 34 |
|  | Millennial/Gen-Z | 58 | 19 | 23 |
| Partisan | Democrat | 50 | 20 | 30 |
|  | Independent | 50 | 15 | 35 |
|  | Republican | 62 | 12 | 26 |
| Home Ownership | Own | 61 | 12 | 27 |
|  | Rent | 47 | 19 | 34 |
| Overall |  | 56 | 15 | 29 |

Men are significantly more likely than women to intend to vote in favor of Proposition 4 ( $66 \%$ vs. 48\%), while women are significantly more likely than men to be undecided on Proposition 4 ( $35 \% \mathrm{vs}$. 22\%). There do not exist any noteworthy ethnic/racial or generational differences in Proposition 4 vote intention.

Republicans are significantly more likely to intend to vote in favor of Proposition 4 than are Democrats ( $62 \%$ vs. $50 \%$ ) and home owners are significantly more likely than renters to intend to vote in favor of Proposition 4, 61\% vs. 47\%. More than two-thirds (71\%) of these likely voters own their home, 26\% rent, and $3 \%$ are in other types of living arrangements.

Proposition 5. Texas University Fund
Proposition 5 reads as follows on the ballot:

The constitutional amendment relating to the Texas University Fund, which provides funding to certain institutions of higher education to achieve national prominence as major research universities and drive the state economy.

Figure 2 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (50\%) and against (23\%) Proposition 5, along with the proportion who remain undecided (27\%).


Table 2 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 5 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, partisanship and educational attainment.

Table 2. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 5: TX University Fund (\%)

| Demographic | Sub-Group | For | Against | Unsure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Women | 47 | 19 | 34 |
|  | Men | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| Ethnicity/Race | White | 50 | 24 | 26 |
|  | Latino | 50 | 21 | 29 |
|  | Black | 58 | 18 | 24 |
| Generation | Silent/Boomer | 46 | 25 | 29 |
|  | Gen-X | 43 | 23 | 34 |
|  | Millennial/Gen-Z | 64 | 19 | 17 |
| Partisan | Democrat | 58 | 16 | 26 |
|  | Independent | 36 | 30 | 34 |
|  | Republican | 45 | 28 | 27 |
| Education | High School | 43 | 26 | 31 |
|  | 2-Yr Degree/Some College | 45 | 23 | 32 |
|  | 4-Yr Degree/Post-Grad | 56 | 21 | 23 |
| Overall |  | 50 | 23 | 27 |

There are not any significant gender or ethic/racial differences in vote intention for Proposition 5, with the partial exception of women (34\%) significantly more likely than men (20\%) to remain undecided.

Members of the Millennial/Generation Z cohort (64\%) are significantly more likely to favor Proposition 5 than are likely voters who belong to Generation X (43\%) or the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort (46\%).

Democrats are significantly more likely than Republicans to favor Proposition 5 ( $58 \%$ vs. $45 \%$ ), while Republicans are significantly more likely than Democrats to be against Proposition 5 ( $28 \% \mathrm{vs} .16 \%$ ).

Likely voters whose highest level of educational attainment is a four-year college degree or a postgraduate degree are significantly more likely than those whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less to intend to vote for Proposition 5, 56\% vs. $43 \%$. These two educational cohorts account for $45 \%$ and $28 \%$ of these likely voters, respectively, with those whose highest level of educational attainment is a two-year degree or some college accounting for $27 \%$ of this population of likely voters.

While Proposition 5 is likely to be approved, it is arguably the most at risk of not being approved among the six propositions examined in this report.

## Proposition 6. Texas Water Fund

Proposition 6 reads as follows on the ballot:

The constitutional amendment creating the Texas water fund to assist in financing water projects in this state.

Figure 3 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (70\%) and against (11\%) Proposition 6, along with the proportion who remain undecided (19\%).


Table 3 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 6 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation and partisanship.

Table 3. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 6: Texas Water Fund (\%)

| Demographic | Sub-Group | For | Against | Unsure |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Women | 69 | 9 | 22 |
|  | Men | 72 | 12 | 16 |
| Ethnicity/Race | White | 72 | 10 | 18 |
|  | Latino | 67 | 13 | 20 |
|  | Black | 76 | 9 | 15 |
| Generation | Silent/Boomer | 72 | 10 | 18 |
|  | Gen-X | 65 | 11 | 24 |
|  | Millennial/Gen-Z | 73 | 12 | 15 |
| Partisan | Democrat | 76 | 7 | 17 |
|  | Independent | 61 | 13 | 26 |
|  | Republican | 66 | 14 | 20 |
| Overall |  |  | 70 | 11 |

There are no significant gender, ethnic/racial or generational differences in vote intention for Proposition 6, and only one modest partisan difference. Democrats ( $76 \%$ ) are notably more likely than Republicans (66\%) to vote in favor of Proposition 6, although two out of three Republicans intend to vote for Proposition 6.

## Proposition 7. Texas Energy Fund

Proposition 7 reads as follows on the ballot:
The constitutional amendment providing for the creation of the Texas energy fund to support the construction, maintenance, modernization, and operation of electric generating facilities.

Figure 4 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (68\%) and against (15\%) Proposition 7, along with the proportion who remain undecided (17\%).


Table 4 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 7 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation and partisanship.

Table 4. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 7: Texas Energy Fund (\%)

| Demographic | Sub-Group | For | Against | Unsure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Women | 64 | 15 | 21 |
|  | Men | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| Ethnicity/Race | White | 72 | 12 | 16 |
|  | Latino | 60 | 21 | 19 |
|  | Black | 68 | 16 | 16 |
| Generation | Silent/Boomer | 68 | 15 | 17 |
|  | Gen-X | 62 | 17 | 21 |
|  | Millennial/Gen-Z | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| Partisan | Democrat | 67 | 14 | 19 |
|  | Independent | 67 | 13 | 20 |
|  | Republican | 69 | 17 | 14 |
| Overall |  | 68 | 15 | 17 |

There do not exist any significant gender, ethnic/racial, generational or partisan differences in vote intention for Proposition 6, with one modest exception. White likely voters are significantly more likely than Latino likely voters to intend to vote for Proposition 7, $72 \%$ vs. $60 \%$, respectively, although threefifths of Latinos favor Proposition 7.

## Proposition 8. Broadband Infrastructure Fund

Proposition 8 reads as follows on the ballot:
The constitutional amendment creating the broadband infrastructure fund to expand highspeed broadband access and assist in the financing of connectivity projects.

Figure 5 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (62\%) and against (16\%) Proposition 6, along with the proportion who remain undecided (22\%).


Table 5 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 8 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation and partisanship.

Table 5. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 8: Broadband Infrastructure Fund (\%)

| Demographic | Sub-Group | For | Against | Unsure |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | Women | 61 | 13 | 26 |
|  | Men | 62 | 20 | 18 |
| Ethnicity/Race | White | 61 | 19 | 20 |
|  | Latino | 64 | 11 | 25 |
|  | Black | 75 | 10 | 15 |
| Generation | Silent/Boomer | 58 | 17 | 25 |
|  | Gen-X | 59 | 14 | 27 |
|  | Millennial/Gen-Z | 71 | 17 | 12 |
| Partisan | Democrat | 78 | 7 | 15 |
|  | Independent | 46 | 24 | 30 |
|  | Republican | 52 | 22 | 26 |
| Overall |  |  | 62 | 16 |

There are noteworthy ethnic/racial, generational and partisan differences in the vote intention for Proposition 8. First, Black likely voters are significantly more likely than white likely voters to intend to vote for Proposition 8, $75 \%$ vs. $61 \%$. Second, members of the Millennial/Generation Z cohort are significantly less likely to be undecided in regard to their Proposition 8 vote than are the members of Generation X and the Silent Generation/Baby Boomer cohort, $12 \%$ vs. $27 \%$ and $25 \%$, respectively. Third, Democrats are significantly more likely than Republicans and Independents to intend to vote for Proposition 8 ( $78 \%$ vs. $52 \%$ and $46 \%$, respectively) and significantly less likely to intend to vote against Proposition 8 ( $7 \%$ vs. $22 \%$ and $24 \%$, respectively).

## Proposition 14. Centennial Parks Conservation Fund

Proposition 14 reads as follows on the ballot:
The constitutional amendment providing for the creation of the centennial parks conservation fund to be used for the creation and improvement of state parks.

Figure 6 provides the distribution of likely voters who intend to vote for (67\%) and against (15\%) Proposition 6, along with the proportion who remain undecided (18\%)


Table 6 provides the distribution of vote intention for Proposition 14 broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation and partisanship. The only noteworthy differences in vote intention are that Democrats are notably more likely than Republicans and Independents to intend to vote for Proposition 14, $74 \%$ vs. $63 \%$ and $55 \%$, respectively, and notably less likely than Republicans and Independents to intend to vote against Proposition $14,8 \%$ vs. $19 \%$ and $22 \%$. It is important to note however that more than three-fifths of Republicans intend to vote in favor of Proposition 14 and only one-fifth of Republicans intend to vote against the proposition.

Table 6. Socio-Demographic Groups \& Distribution of Vote Intention for Proposition 14: Texas Centennial Parks Conservation Fund (\%)


## Variation in Vote Intention for the Six Propositions

Figure 7 provides the proportion of likely voters who intend to vote for or against each one of the six propositions evaluated in the survey (the remaining proportion of the likely voters not included in the figure are unsure about their vote on the proposition). Recall that the six propositions evaluated in the survey are Proposition 4 (Property Tax Relief), Proposition 5 (Texas University Fund), Proposition 6 (Texas Water Fund), Proposition 7 (Texas Energy Fund), Proposition 8 (Broadband Infrastructure Fund), and Proposition 14 (Centennial Parks Conservation Fund).


Proposition 6 (Texas Water Fund) ranks first among the six propositions in regard to the proportion of likely voters who intend to vote for the proposition, with $70 \%$ intending to vote for it. It is followed by Proposition 7 (Texas Energy Fund) at 68\%, Proposition 14 (Centennial Parks Conservation Fund) at 67\%, Proposition 8 (Broadband Infrastructure fund) at 62\%, Proposition 4 (Property Tax Relief) at 56\%, and Proposition 5 (Texas University Fund) at 50\%.

Proposition 5 (Texas University Fund) ranks first among the six propositions in regard to the proportion of likely voters who intend to vote against this proposition, with $23 \%$ against. It is followed by Proposition 8 (Broadband Infrastructure Fund) at 16\%, Proposition 4 (Property Tax Relief) at 15\%, Proposition 7 (Texas Energy Fund) at 15\%, Proposition 14 (Centennial Parks Conservation Fund) at 15\%, and Proposition 6 (Texas Water Fund) at 11\%.

Proposition 4 (Property Tax Relief) ranks first among the six propositions in regard to the proportion of likely voters who remain undecided in regard to their November vote choice, with $29 \%$ remaining undecided less than a month before Election Day on November 7. It is followed in regard to undecided voters by Proposition 5 (Texas University Fund) at 27\%, Proposition 8 (Broadband Infrastructure Fund) at 22\%, Proposition 6 (Texas Water Fund) at 19\%, Proposition 14 (Centennial Parks Conservation Fund) at 18\%, and Proposition 7 (Texas Energy Fund) at 17\%.

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