

20 25 TEXAS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 18 SPECIAL ELECTION



Hobby School of Public Affairs
UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON





Texas Congressional District 18 Special Election

October 2025

The Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston conducted a survey of voters who are likely to participate in the November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election. The survey was fielded between October 7 and October 11, 2025 by contacting registered voters who live in Texas's 18th Congressional District via SMS text messages through which they were directed to an online survey platform with the option to answer the survey in English or Spanish. Representative of voters who are likely to participate in the November 2025 special election, the analysis population of 1,200 has a margin of error of +/- 2.83%.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The vote intention among likely voters in the November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election is as follows: 27% for Christian Menefee (D), 23% for Amanda Edwards (D), 15% for Jolanda Jones (D), 6% for Carmen Maria Montiel (R), 4% for George Foreman IV (I), 4% for Isaiah Martin (D), 3% for Carter Page (R), 2% for Ronald Whitfield (R) and 1% for Theodis Daniel (R), with 2% divided among the seven other candidates and 13% undecided.

Significantly more White voters intend to cast a ballot for Menefee (27%) and Edwards (23%) than for Jones (7%), while relatively comparable proportions of Black voters intend to cast a ballot for Menefee (30%), Edwards (25%) and Jones (24%).

The current vote intention strongly suggests that no candidate will win more than 50% of the vote on November 4, resulting in a second-round runoff. In hypothetical 2026 runoffs between different pairs of the top three projected finishers in November, the vote intention is as follows:

- Menefee (36%) leads Edwards (34%), with 20% unsure and 10% not voting.
- Menefee (43%) leads Jones (26%), with 19% unsure and 12% not voting.
- Edwards (44%) leads Jones (26%), with 19% unsure and 11% not voting.

62% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Edwards and 13% an unfavorable opinion, with 25% not knowing enough about Edwards to have an opinion of her.

59% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Menefee and 11% an unfavorable opinion, with 30% not knowing enough about Menefee to have an opinion of him.

51% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Jones and 29% an unfavorable opinion, with 20% not knowing enough about Jones to have an opinion of her.

17% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Martin and 14% an unfavorable opinion, with 69% not knowing enough about Martin to have an opinion of him.

16% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Montiel and 14% an unfavorable opinion, with 70% not knowing enough about Montiel to have an opinion of her.

14% of these likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of Foreman and 14% an unfavorable opinion, with 72% not knowing enough about Foreman to have an opinion of him.

44% of these likely special election voters believe that civil rights and civil liberties is the most important issue facing the country today, followed by jobs and the economy (13%), health care (12%), inflation/prices (11%), taxes and government spending (7%), immigration (7%), national security and foreign policy (3%) and climate change and the environment (3%).

65% of Martin voters, 59% of Menefee voters, 52% of Jones voters and 49% of Edwards voters believe that civil rights and civil liberties is the most important issue facing the country today.

72% of these TX-18 likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of TX-9 Congressman Al Green, with 89% of Democrats having a favorable opinion of Green, 5% an unfavorable opinion and 6% not knowing enough about the congressman to have an opinion.

61% of these TX-18 likely special election voters have a favorable opinion of TX-29 Congresswoman Sylvia Garcia, with 72% of Democrats having a favorable opinion of Garcia, 6% an unfavorable opinion and 22% not knowing enough about the congresswoman to have an opinion.

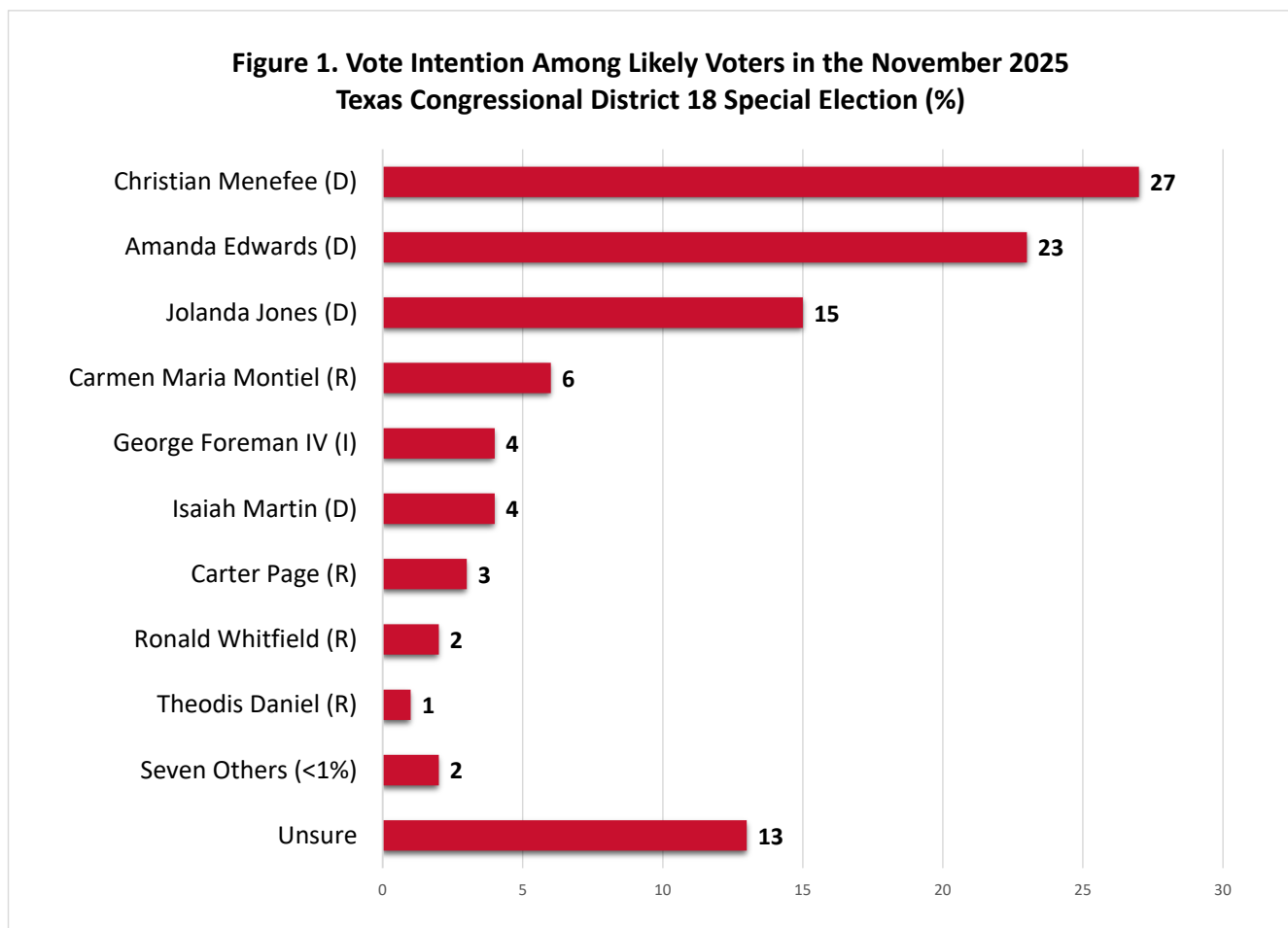
TX-18 SPECIAL ELECTION LIKELY VOTER SURVEY POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS

Black voters account for 43% of this survey population, White voters for 39%, Latino voters for 14% and others for 4%. Women represent 56% of this population, men 43% and those who identify as something else 1%. Two-thirds (66%) of the population is age 55 or older, 26% is between the ages of 35 and 54, and 8% is between the ages of 18 and 34. More than three-fifths of the respondents (63%) have a four-year college degree while 37% do not. Democrats account for 72% of this population, Republicans for 21% and Independents for 6%, with 1% either unsure of their partisan identification or identifying with another party or group. The likely voters were identified based on a combination of their past voting history and their self-reported prospective likelihood of turning out to vote in the November 2025 election.

VOTE INTENTION IN THE NOVEMBER 2025 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 18 SPECIAL ELECTION

The survey respondents were presented with a complete list (randomly ordered) of the sixteen candidates on the November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 ballot and asked, if the election were held today, for whom would they vote? The list of candidates included: Reyna Anderson (Independent), Feldon Bonner II (Democrat), Theodis Daniel (Republican), Vince Duncan (Independent), Amanda Edwards (Democrat), George Foreman IV (Independent), Stephen Huey (Democrat), Jolanda Jones (Democrat), Ollie Knox (Republican), Isaiah Martin (Democrat), Christian Menefee (Democrat), Carmen Maria Montiel (Republican), Carter Page (Republican), Tammie Jean Rochester (Green), Ronald Whitfield (Republican), and Valencia Williams (Democrat). The respondents also had the option of saying they were unsure how they would vote in this contest. Overall, there are seven Democrats, five Republicans, three Independents, and one Green Party candidate on the ballot.

Figure 1 provides the distribution of the vote intention of these TX-18 likely voters in the upcoming November 2025 special election. The candidate with the highest vote intention is Christian Menefee at 27%, followed by Amanda Edwards at 23%. One tier below these two front-runners is Jolanda Jones whose vote intention is 15%, followed at some distance by Carmen Maria Montiel (6%), George Foreman IV (4%), Isaiah Martin (4%), Carter Page (3%), Ronald Whitfield (2%) and Theodis Daniel (1%), with the vote intention of 2% of these likely voters spread across the remaining seven candidates and 13% still unsure how they would vote in this contest.



The combined vote intention of the seven Democratic candidates is 70%, while that of the five Republican candidates is 12% and that of the three Independents and one Green Party candidate is 5% (recall that 13% of likely voters remain unsure).

Table 1 provides the distribution of the vote intention of likely voters for the four candidates with the highest vote intention in the November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, and partisanship. Also included is the combined vote intention of the other 12 candidates as well as of the 13% of likely voters who are unsure how they would vote in the November election.

Table 1. Vote Intention in the November 2025 TX-18 Special Election Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Menefee	Edwards	Jones	Montiel	12 Others	Unsure
Overall		27	23	15	6	16	13
Gender	Women	29	24	17	4	13	13
	Men	25	21	12	9	19	14
Ethnicity/Race	White	27	23	7	9	18	16
	Latino	22	20	12	10	21	15
	Black	30	25	24	2	9	10
Generation	18-34	25	23	15	3	16	18
	34-54	35	22	12	7	13	11
	55+	24	24	16	6	16	14
Education	4 Year College Degree	31	25	12	6	13	13
	No 4 Year College Degree	20	19	21	7	18	15
Partisanship	Democratic	35	28	18	1	7	11
	Independent	11	8	12	15	40	14
	Republican	7	10	5	23	34	21

The three most noteworthy sub-group differences in Table 1 revolve around ethnicity/race, education and partisanship.

First, while the vote intention of White registered voters for Menefee (27%) and Edwards (23%) is comparable, Jones's vote intention among White voters (7%) is significantly lower than that of the two front-runners. In contrast, the vote intention among these three leading candidates among Black voters is very comparable, with 30% for Menefee, 25% for Edwards and 24% for Jones.

Second, while the vote intention for Menefee (31%) and Edwards (25%) among voters with a four-year college degree is comparable, Jones's vote intention among college educated voters (12%) is significantly lower. In contrast, the vote intention among these three leading candidates among voters who do not have a four-year college degree is very comparable, with 21% for Jones, 20% for Menefee and 19% for Edwards.

Third, the vote intention among Democrats for Menefee (35%) and Edwards (28%) is significantly higher than that for Jones (18%). While these three candidates account for 81% of the vote among Democratic likely voters, the vote intention of Republicans is much more fragmented, with Montiel at the head of the pack with 23%, followed by Page (10%) and Edwards (10%) in the double digits and Foreman (9%), Whitfield (8%) and Menefee (7%) in the high single digits. More than one in five (21%) Republicans

remain unsure about for whom they would vote in this contest, nearly double the proportion of unsure Democrats (11%).

Table 2 provides a more detailed breakdown of the vote intention among the leading candidates among the four largest ethnic/racial-gender sub-groups: Black women, White women, Black men, White men. The data reveal that there are not any noteworthy gender differences in support for these four candidates among either White or Black voters. The largest gender gaps (which are not significant) are for Menefee among White voters, 31% (women) to 24% (men), and for Jones among Black voters, 26% (women) to 19% (men).

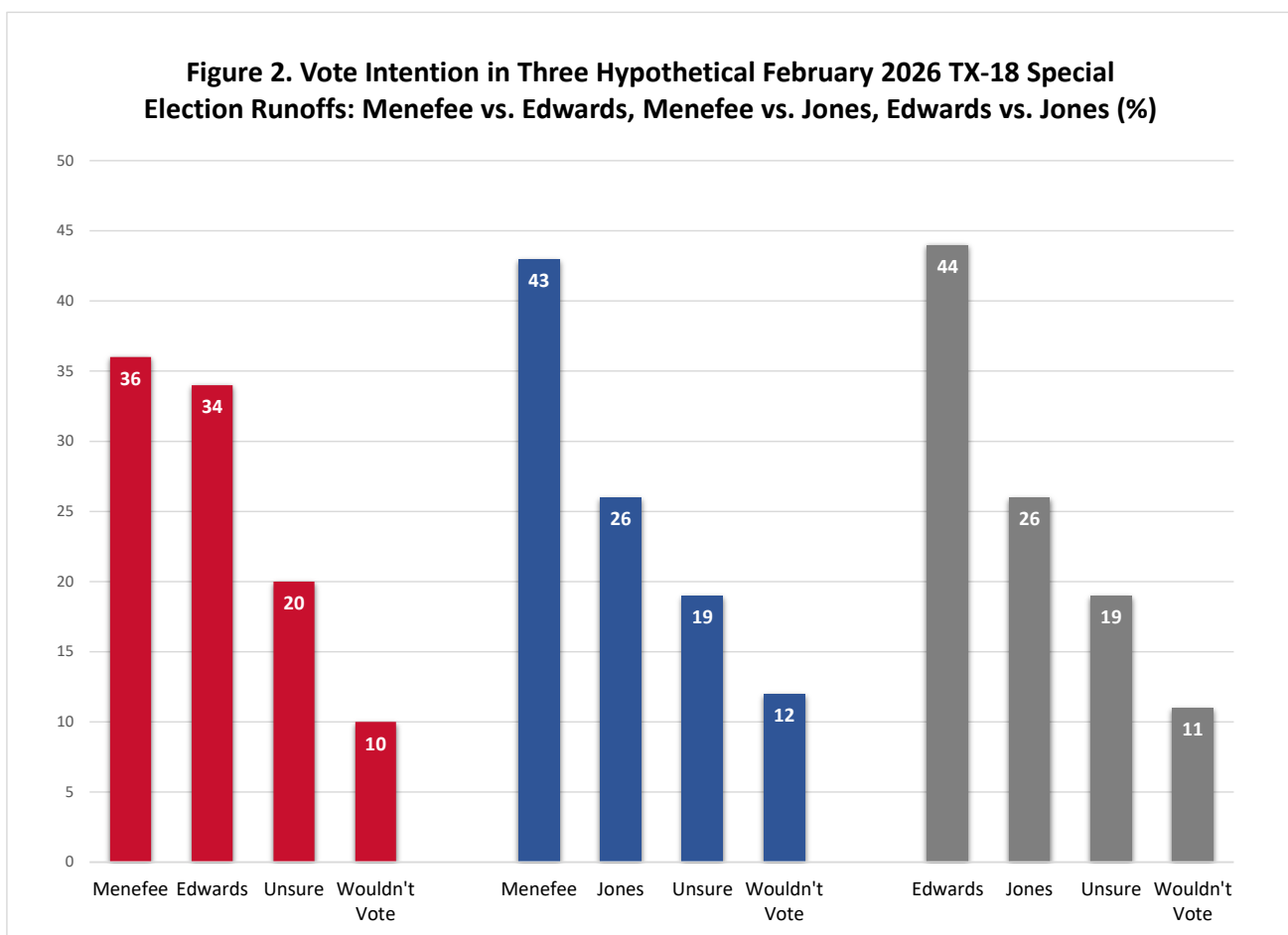
Table 2. Vote Intention in the Nov. 2025 TX-18 Special Election, Broken Down by Race and Gender (%)

Race-Gender	Menefee	Edwards	Jones	Montiel	10 Others	Unsure
White Women	31	25	6	8	13	17
White Men	24	21	8	10	22	16
Black Women	29	25	26	1	8	11
Black Men	32	25	19	3	10	10

VOTE INTENTION IN THREE HYPOTHETICAL 2026 TX-18 SPECIAL ELECTION RUNOFFS

If a candidate does not receive more than half (50%) of the vote in the November 4 special election (which the data in the prior section suggest is very likely), then a runoff will be held between the top two candidates. Because the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act requires ballots be mailed to military and overseas citizens at least 45 days before a federal election, the TX-18 special election runoff will likely take place in February of 2026. For example, in the most recent Texas congressional special election to go to a runoff (TX-6 in 2021), nearly three months separated the first-round election (May 1) from the second-round runoff (July 27).

Figure 2 provides the vote intention for the three most likely hypothetical two-candidate runoff matchups, with the proportion who would (today) vote for each candidate, as well as the proportion who are unsure and the proportion who would not vote in a runoff between the two candidates.



In a two-way faceoff between Menefee and Edwards, 36% of voters would cast a ballot for Menefee and 34% for Edwards, with 20% unsure and another 10% who would not vote. If the November voters who would not vote in the runoff are excluded, Menefee's vote intention would be 40% and Edwards' vote intention would be 38%, with 22% unsure.

In a two-way faceoff between Menefee and Jones, 43% of voters would cast a ballot for Menefee and 26% for Jones, with 19% unsure and another 12% who would not vote. If the November voters who

would not vote in the runoff are excluded, Menefee's vote intention would be 49% and Jones's vote intention would 30%, with 21% unsure.

In a two-way faceoff between Edwards and Jones, 44% of voters would cast a ballot for Edwards and 26% for Jones, with 19% unsure and another 11% who would not vote. If the November voters who would not vote in the runoff are excluded, Edward's vote intention would be 49% and Jones's vote intention would 30%, with 21% unsure.

Table 3 provides the vote intention in the hypothetical Menefee-Edwards runoff, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, and partisanship. There are not any significant sub-group differences in vote intention for Menefee and Edwards based on gender, ethnicity/race or partisanship. The most noteworthy differences revolve around education and generation. Menefee's vote intention is significantly greater among those with a four-year college degree than among those without a four-year college degree (40% vs. 29%), while Edwards' vote intention is virtually identical among the two groups (34% vs. 35%, respectively). And, while Menefee and Edwards enjoy relatively comparable levels of vote intention among those 18 to 34 (38% vs. 30%) and 55 and older (31% vs. 37%), Menefee holds a significant lead over Edwards among those 34 to 54 (47% vs. 29%).

Table 3. Vote Intention in Hypothetical Feb. 2026 TX-18 Special Election Runoff (Menefee vs. Edwards) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Menefee	Edwards	Unsure	Wouldn't Vote
Overall		36	34	20	10
Gender	Women	38	36	19	7
	Men	34	31	21	14
Ethnicity/Race	White	31	27	29	13
	Latino	32	34	13	21
	Black	43	41	13	3
Generation	18-34	38	30	27	5
	34-54	47	29	14	10
	55+	31	37	21	11
Education	4 Year College Degree	40	34	18	8
	No 4 Year College Degree	29	35	22	14
Partisanship	Democratic	45	39	16	0
	Independent	14	29	23	34
	Republican	12	24	30	35
First Round Vote	Jones	34	46	17	2
	Montiel	10	15	26	49

Table 4 provides the vote intention in the hypothetical Menefee-Jones runoff, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, and partisanship. The most noteworthy sub-group differences in this race revolve around ethnicity/race and education. Menefee leads Jones in vote intention among White voters by 32 percentage points (45% to 13%) and among Latino voters by 17 percentage points (41% vs. 24%), but holds only a narrow 5 percentage point lead in vote intention among Black voters (45% to 40%). Menefee also bests Jones 50% to 21% among voters with a four-year college degree, while Jones holds a narrow 35% to 30% lead among voters who do not have a four-year college degree.

Table 4. Vote Intention in Hypothetical Feb. 2026 TX-18 Special Election Runoff (Menefee vs. Jones) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

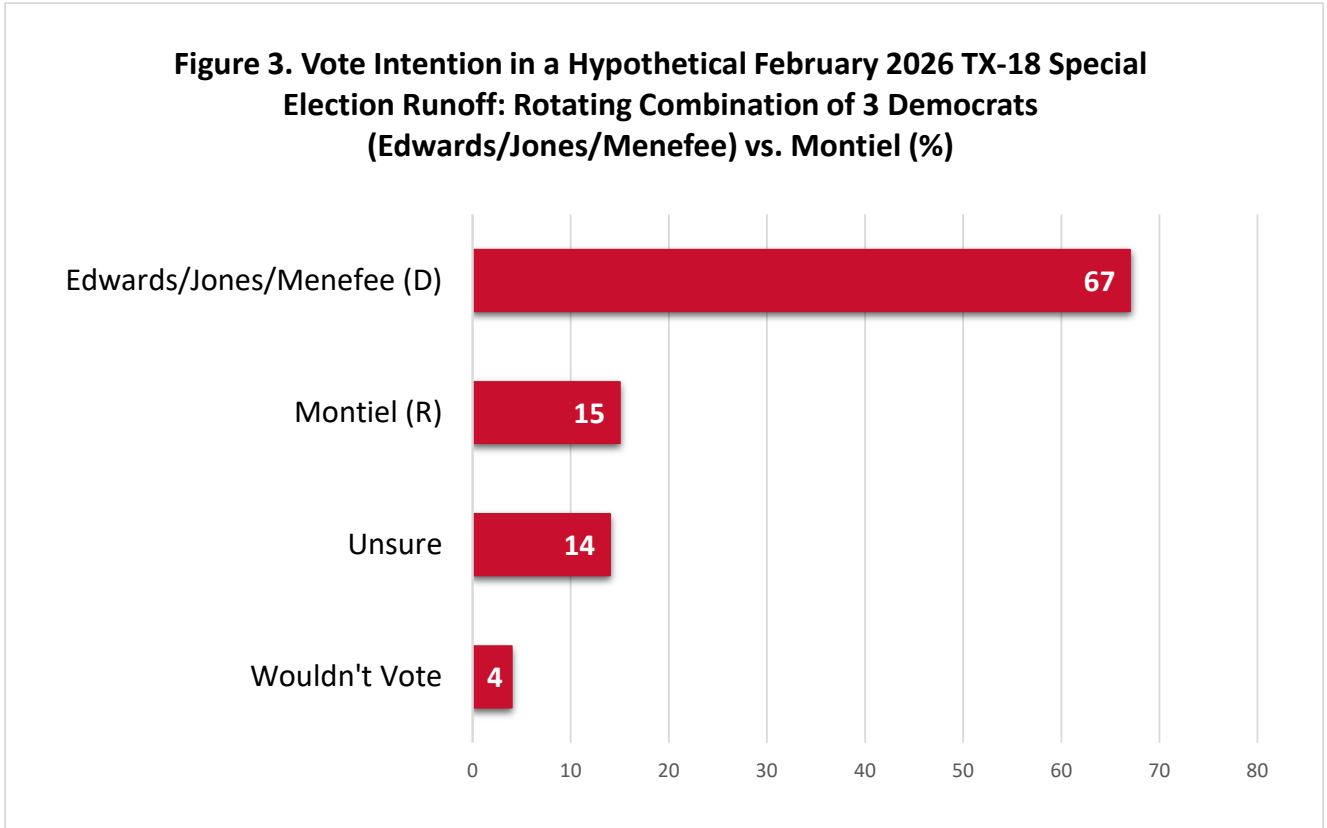
Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Menefee	Jones	Unsure	Wouldn't Vote
Overall		43	26	19	12
Gender	Women	46	29	18	7
	Men	41	22	20	17
Ethnicity/Race	White	45	13	27	15
	Latino	41	24	15	20
	Black	45	40	10	5
Generation	18-34	33	30	32	5
	34-54	50	22	17	11
	55+	42	27	18	12
Education	4 Year College Degree	50	21	18	11
	No 4 Year College Degree	30	35	22	13
Partisanship	Democratic	52	31	16	1
	Independent	22	16	19	43
	Republican	22	12	27	39
First Round Vote	Edwards	45	37	15	3
	Montiel	18	5	23	54

Table 5 provides the vote intention in the hypothetical Edwards-Jones runoff, broken down by gender, ethnicity/race, generation, level of educational attainment, and partisanship. The most noteworthy sub-group differences in this race revolve around ethnicity/race and education. Edwards leads Jones in vote intention among White voters by 34 percentage points (47% to 13%) and among Latino voters by 22 percentage points (42% vs. 20%), but holds only a narrow 3 percentage point lead in vote intention among Black voters (44% to 41%). Edwards also leads Jones 50% to 24% among voters with a four-year college degree, but only holds a narrow 34% to 31% lead over Jones among voters who do not have a four-year college degree.

Table 5. Vote Intention in Hypothetical Feb. 2026 TX-18 Special Election Runoff (Edwards vs. Jones) Among Key Sub-Groups (%)

Socio-Demographic	Sub-Group	Edwards	Jones	Unsure	Wouldn't Vote
Overall		44	26	19	11
Gender	Women	44	30	18	7
	Men	44	22	20	15
Ethnicity/Race	White	47	13	26	14
	Latino	42	20	18	20
	Black	44	41	11	4
Generation	18-34	45	22	30	3
	34-54	44	27	17	12
	55+	44	27	18	11
Education	4 Year College Degree	50	24	17	9
	No 4 Year College Degree	34	31	22	13
Partisanship	Democratic	50	33	16	1
	Independent	35	13	21	31
	Republican	29	8	27	36
First Round Vote	Menefee	48	32	17	3
	Montiel	21	8	20	51

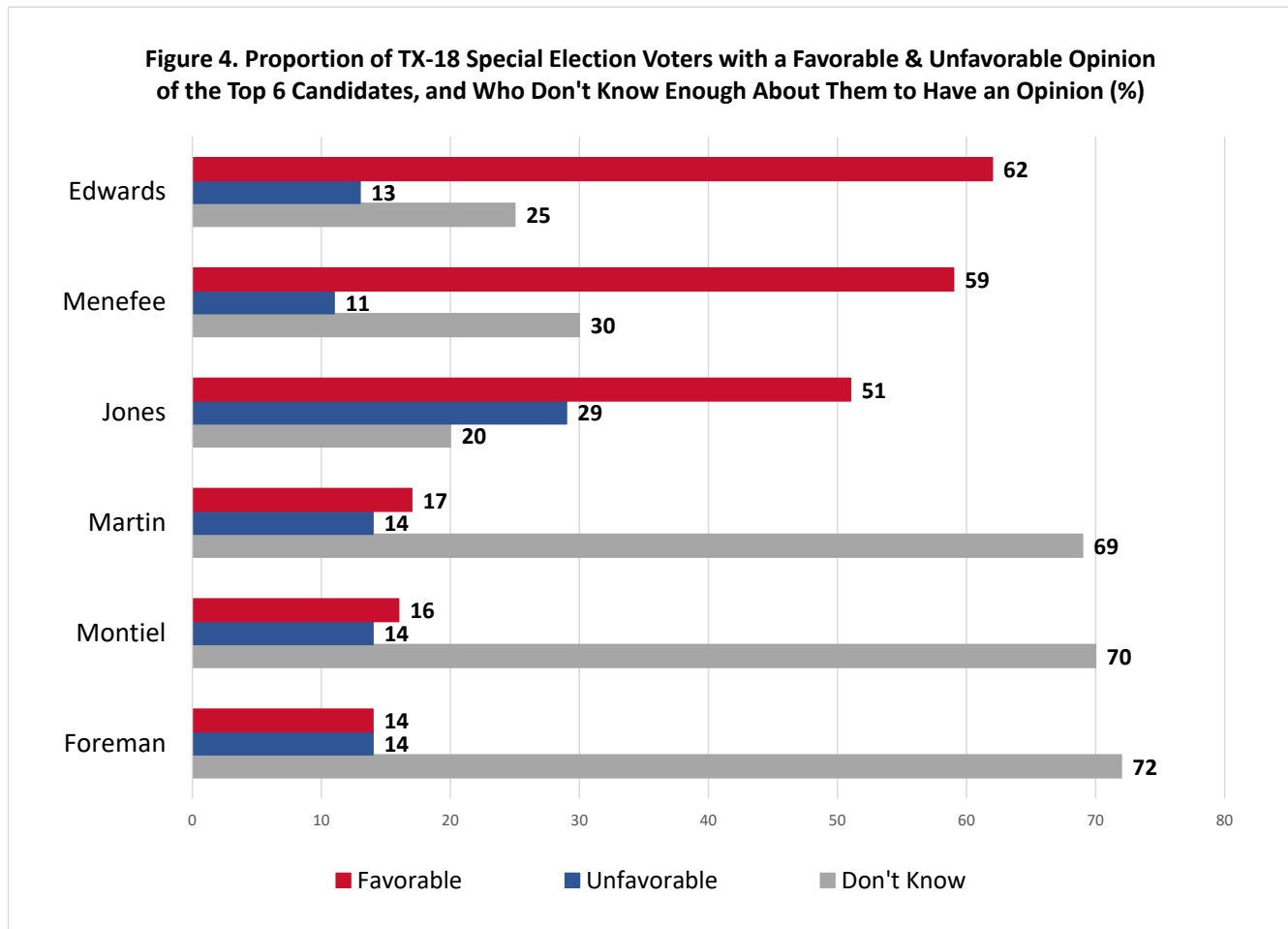
Figure 3 provides the result of a hypothetical match-up where respondents were asked to vote in a runoff between Republican Carmen Maria Montiel and a randomly selected Democrat (Edwards, Jones, or Menefee). Two-thirds (67%) of the voters said they would vote for the Democratic candidate while 15% said they would vote for Montiel, with 14% unsure and 4% who would not vote in a runoff between Montiel and a Democrat.



FAVORABLE & UNFAVORABLE EVALUATIONS OF THE SIX LEADING 2025 TX-18 CANDIDATES

The likely voters were asked whether they had a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the six leading candidates in the November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election, with the option of also saying that they don't know enough about the candidate to have an opinion of them either way.

Figure 4 reveals a tale of two trios, with one-half of the six candidates relatively well-known among these likely voters and one-half of the six candidates not at all well-known. While 80%, 75% and 70% of likely voters know enough about Jones, Edwards and Menefee, respectively, to have an opinion of them, only 31%, 30% and 28% know enough about Martin, Montiel and Foreman to have an opinion of them.



Edwards and Menefee have comparable proportions of voters with favorable (62% and 59%) and unfavorable (13% and 11%) evaluations of them and possess nearly identical net-favorability ratings (proportion favorable minus proportion unfavorable) of 49% and 48%, respectively. In contrast, the proportion of likely voters with a favorable opinion of Jones is significantly lower (51%) while the proportion of likely voters with an unfavorable opinion of Jones is significantly higher (29%) than is the case for both Edwards and Menefee. Jones's net-favorability rating is 22%, which is considerably lower than those for Edwards and Menefee.

The roughly one-third of likely voters who know enough about Martin, Montiel and Foreman to have an opinion of them are relatively equally divided between those with a favorable and unfavorable opinion of the candidates. Martin's net-favorability rating is 3% (17% favorable minus 14% unfavorable), Montiel's net-favorability rating is 2% (16% - 14%) and Foreman's net-favorability rating is 0% (14% - 14%). Montiel's net-favorability rating is notably higher among Republicans (33%), with 42% having a favorable opinion and 9% an unfavorable opinion of Montiel, with 49% of Republicans still not knowing enough about her to have an opinion.

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY

The November 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election likely voters were presented with a list of eight issues and asked which one of the issues they believe is the most important issue facing the country today. The rotated issue options were as follows: civil rights and civil liberties, climate change and the environment, health care, immigration, inflation/prices, jobs and the economy, national security and foreign policy, and taxes and government spending.

Figure 5 provides the distribution of the proportion of likely voters who cited each of the eight issues as being the most important issue facing the country today. A substantial plurality of 44% of these likely voters believe that civil rights and civil liberties is the most important issue facing the country today, with no other issue coming within 30 percentage points, underscoring the notable salience to these special election voters of the issue of civil rights and civil liberties. A second tier of issues identified by between 13% and 11% of these voters as the most important issue facing the country are jobs and the economy (13%), health care (12%) and inflation/prices (11%). A third tier is occupied by taxes and government spending (7%) and immigration (7%), with a bottom rung of national security and foreign policy (3%) and climate change and the environment (3%) barely registering as the most important issue in the eyes of these voters. Of note, even if all three economic related issues (jobs and the economy, inflation/prices, taxes and government spending) are included together, their combined percentage (31%) is still significantly lower than the proportion for civil rights and civil liberties (44%).

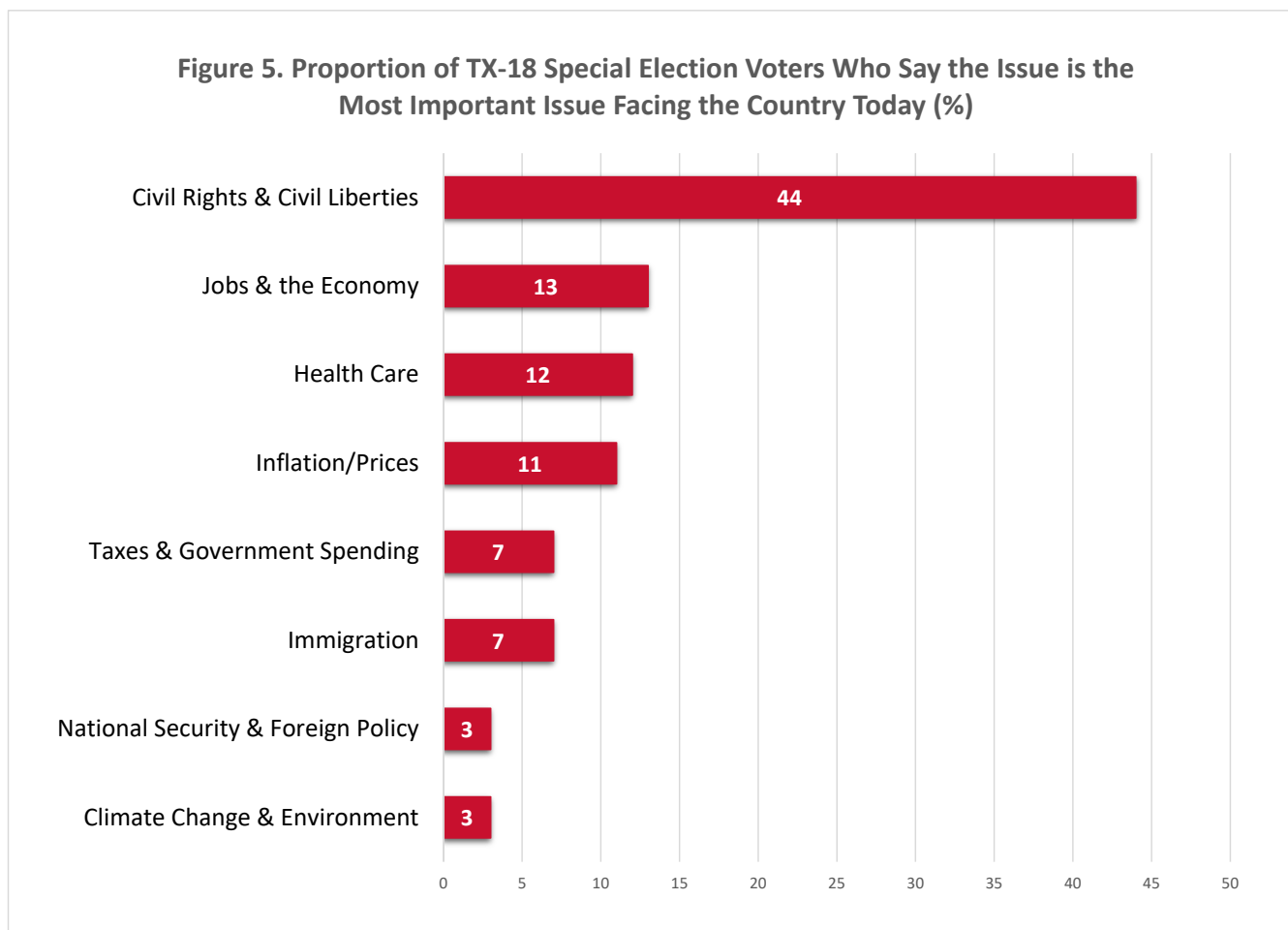
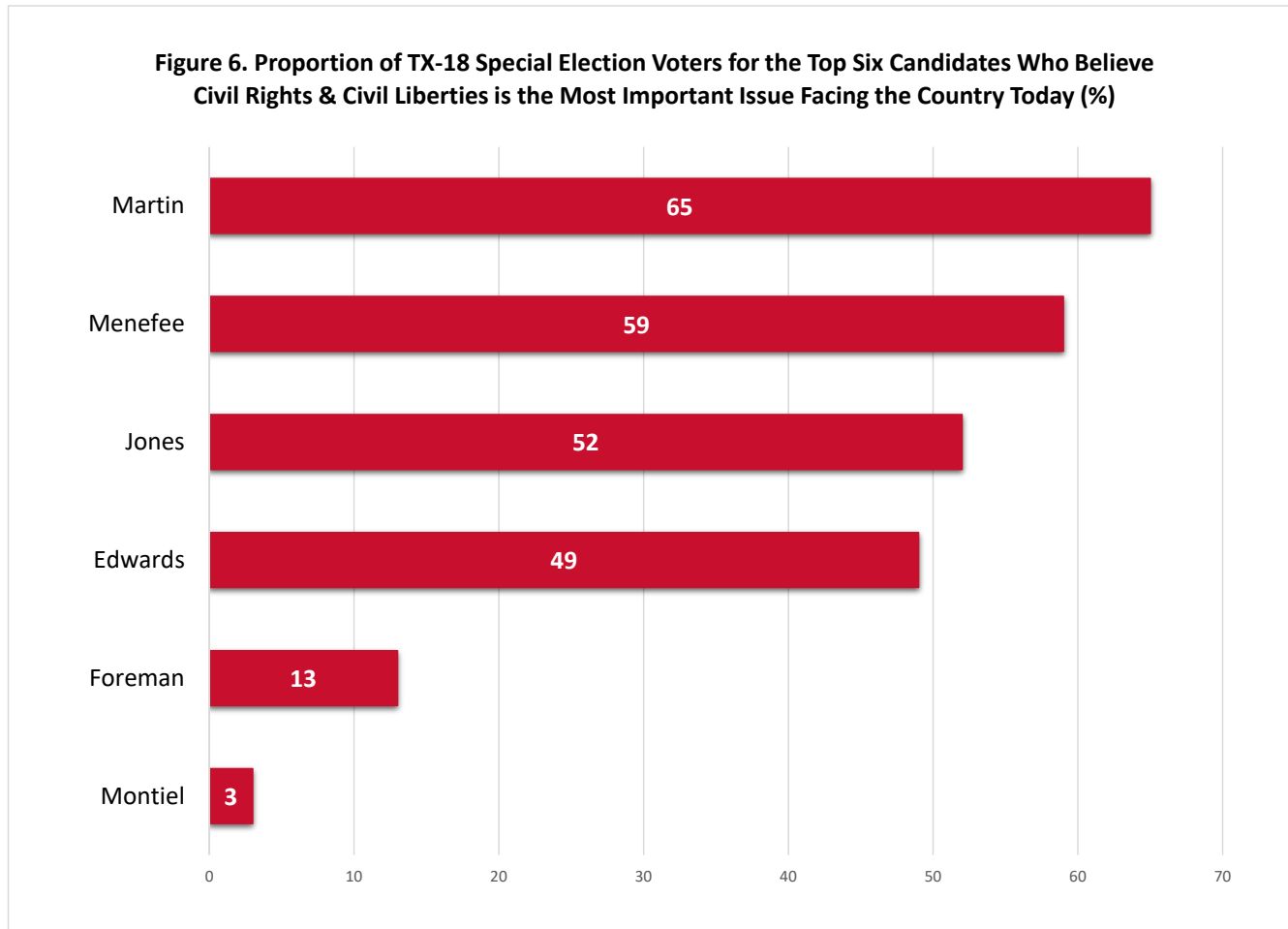


Figure 6 provides the proportion of voters of the six leading 2025 Texas Congressional District 18 special election candidates who believe that civil rights and civil liberties is the most important issue facing the country today. The proportions range from highs of 65% for Martin voters, 59% for Menefee voters, 52% for Jones voters and 49% for Edwards voters to lows of 13% for Foreman voters and 3% for Montiel voters. Civil rights and civil liberties was far and away the issue listed as the most important one facing the country by Martin, Menefee, Jones and Edwards voters.



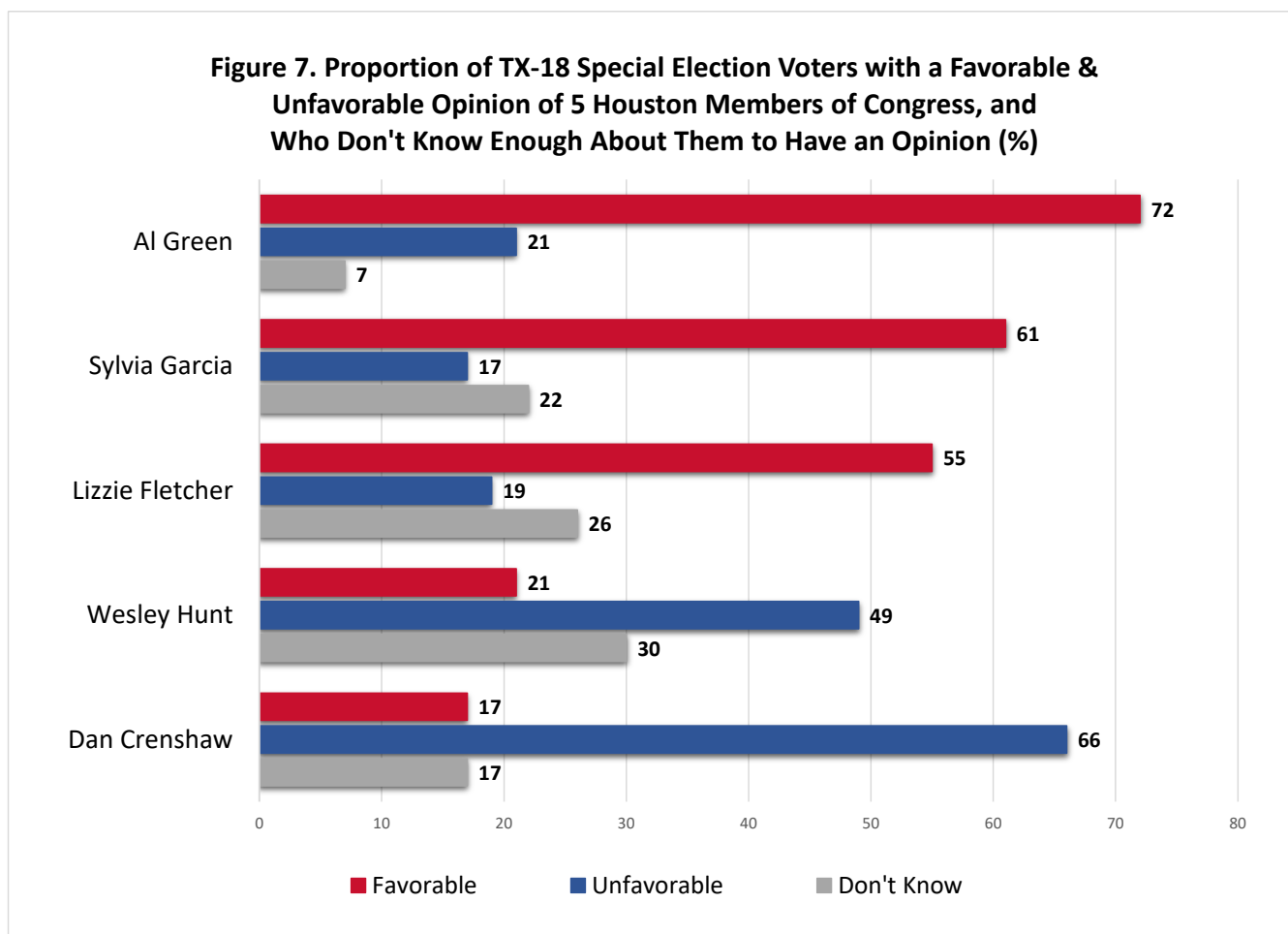
The second and third most cited issues by Menefee voters are jobs and the economy (14%) and health care (11%). The second and third most cited issues by Edwards voters are jobs and the economy (16%) and health care (14%). The second and third most cited issues by Jones voters are jobs and the economy (14%) and health care (13%). The second and third most cited issues by Martin voters are jobs and the economy (16%) and health care (7%). In sum, the issue priorities among supporters of Menefee, Edwards, Jones and Martin are very similar, with civil rights and civil liberties the clear leading issue, followed by jobs and the economy and health care.

The top three issues for Montiel voters are immigration (28%), inflation/prices (20%) and jobs and the economy (16%). The top three issues for Foreman voters are taxes and government spending (22%), inflation/prices (19%) and civil rights and civil liberties (13%).

FAVORABLE & UNFAVORABLE EVALUATIONS OF 5 HOUSTON-AREA MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Under the new congressional map passed during the Texas Legislature's second special session during the summer of 2025, 26% of the registered voters in the current TX-18 will remain in the new TX-18, while 53% will be located in the new TX-29, 8% in the new TX-2, 5% in the new TX-7, and 3% in the new TX-38. These 2025 TX-18 special election likely voters were asked if they had a favorable or unfavorable opinion of five Houston area members of Congress, or if they did not know enough about the representative to have an opinion of them. The five U.S. House representatives evaluated were Republican Congressman Dan Crenshaw (TX-2), Democratic Congresswoman Lizzie Fletcher (TX-7), Democratic Congresswoman Sylvia Garcia (TX-29), Democratic Congressman Al Green (TX-9), and Republican Congressman Wesley Hunt (TX-38).

Figure 7 reveals that in the dark blue 18th Congressional District, 72% of these special election voters have a favorable opinion of Green, 61% a favorable opinion of Garcia and 55% a favorable opinion of Fletcher. Conversely, 21%, 17% and 19% have an unfavorable opinion of these three Democratic representatives, respectively. The overall net-favorability ratings among these special election voters are 51% for Green, 44% for Garcia, and 36% for Fletcher. Among these three Democrats, Green is the best known, with only 7% not knowing enough about him to have an opinion, compared to 22% for Garcia and 26% for Fletcher. Conversely, 21%, 17% and 19% have an unfavorable opinion of these three Democratic representatives, respectively. The overall net-favorability ratings among these special election voters are 51% for Green, 44% for Garcia, and 36% for Fletcher. Among these three Democrats, Green is the best known, with only 7% not knowing enough about him to have an opinion, compared to 22% for Garcia and 26% for Fletcher.



Among the subset of these special election voters who are Democrats, Green is viewed favorably by 89% and unfavorably by 5%, with 6% not knowing enough about him to have an opinion. Garcia is viewed favorably by 72% and unfavorably by 6% of these Democrats, with 22% not knowing enough about her to have an opinion. Fletcher is viewed favorably by 65% of these Democrats and unfavorably by 10%, with 25% not knowing enough about her to have an opinion.

Conversely, in this dark blue district, both Crenshaw and Hunt have significantly more TX-18 special election voters who evaluate them unfavorably than those who evaluate them favorably, 66% vs. 17% and 49% vs. 21%, respectively, with Crenshaw (-49%) having a notably worse net-favorability rating than Hunt (-28%).

Among the subset of these special election voters who are Republicans, Crenshaw is viewed favorably by 49% of these Republicans and unfavorably by 39%, with 12% not knowing enough about him to have an opinion. Hunt is viewed favorably by 58% of these Republicans and unfavorably by 23%, with 19% not knowing enough about him to have an opinion.

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RECOMMENDED CITATION

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