



2023

TRANSGENDER LEGISLATION AND POLICIES



A joint polling project among researchers at Arizona State University, Stanford University and the University of Houston

Public Opinion on Transgender Related Legislation & Policies in Blue California, Red Texas & Purple Arizona

This report examines the attitudes and opinions of Arizona, California and Texas residents regarding restrictive legislation and policies related to the transgender population.

The report finds an absolute majority of the public in Arizona and Texas, and a simple majority of the public in California, to be in opposed to transgender people being allowed to:

- Choose which bathroom to use.
 - Arizona (54% oppose, 27% support, & 19% are unsure).
 - California (45% oppose, 35% support, & 20% are unsure).
 - Texas (61% oppose, 25% support, & 14% are unsure).
- Participate in women's sports.
 - Arizona (63% oppose, 20% support, & 17% are unsure).
 - California (53% oppose, 26% support, & 21% are unsure).
 - Texas (68% oppose, 16% support, & 16% are unsure).
- Receive gender-affirming medical treatment while under the age of 18.
 - Arizona (51% oppose, 30% support, & 19% are unsure)
 - California (41% oppose, 35% support, & 24% are unsure)
 - Texas (53% oppose, 32% support, & 15% are unsure).

Across the three states opposition is highest to transgender people participating in women's sports and lowest to transgender children receiving gender-affirming medical treatment.

Variance in support for and opposition to these three policies among the residents in these three states is best explained by an individual's partisan identification and their level of religiosity. These two factors are examined first in this report in Sections 1 and 2.

Following the discussion focused on partisanship and religiosity is a detailed review of the relationship between gender, ethnicity/race, age, and educational attainment, in addition to partisanship and religiosity, and a person's opinions vis-à-vis these transgender related policies in blue California, red Texas and purple Arizona:

- Section 3. Choosing Which Bathroom to Use.
- Section 4. Participating in Women's Sports.
- Section 5. Receiving Gender-Affirming Medical Treatment While Under the Age of 18.

The survey upon which this report is based was conducted between May 31 and June 6, 2023 among a representative sample of Arizona, California and Texas residents age 18 and older. In all, 3163 respondents were surveyed across the three states: Arizona (1,051), California (1,045), and Texas (1,067), with the margin of error for each state +/- 3.0%. Socio-demographic data on the survey population is contained in Section 6.

1. Explaining Republican Elite Zeal for Restrictive Transgender Legislation

Republicans across the United States, especially in red and purple states, have during recent legislative sessions advocated for a wide range of restrictive legislation and policies related to their state's transgender population. The Republican focus on this specific topic is driven by three principal factors. First, the proposals enjoy majority, or at least plurality, support among the state's general population. Second, the proposals enjoy overwhelming support among the state's residents who identify as Republicans. Third, the proposals divide the state's residents who identify as Democrats, a significant proportion of whom both support and oppose these policy initiatives.

These patterns are present in the politically diverse states of Texas (red), Arizona (purple) and California (blue). They thus provide strong incentives for Republicans to author and advocate for transgender related policies, even in purple Arizona and blue California, where their eventual prospects for being passed into law are generally modest to nonexistent, unlike the case in Texas, where this legislation has more often than not been passed into law. In 2021 and 2023 Texas passed bans on the participation of transgender girls and women participating in public school and in public college and university sporting events, and in 2023 Texas also passed a ban on the provision of gender affirming medical treatment to transgender children.

A survey of adults in Arizona, California and Texas queried residents about their position regarding three distinct policies related to the state's transgender population. First, should transgender people be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. Second, should transgender girls or women be allowed to play in women's sport events. Third, should legislation be passed by the state legislature that bans the provision of gender-affirming medical treatment to transgender children with the purpose of altering the child's biological characteristics to align with their gender identity.

1.1. The General Population

By a more than two to one margin, an absolute majority of Texans (61% to 25%) and Arizonans (54% to 27%) believe transgender people should not, rather than should, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. The California population is more evenly divided (45% to 35%), but a significant plurality believes transgender people should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use.

Four times as many Texans (68% to 16%), three times as many Arizonans (63% to 20%) and two times as many Californians (53% to 26%) believe that transgender girls and women should not, rather than should, be allowed to play in women's sporting events. That is, in red Texas more than two-thirds, in purple Arizona more than three-fifths, and, even in blue California, more than one-half of residents oppose transgender girls or women participating in women's sporting events.

An absolute majority of Texans (53% to 32%) and Arizonans (51% to 30%) support, rather than oppose, legislation that would ban the provision of gender-affirming medical care to transgender children. A narrow plurality of Californians (41% to 35%) also support legislation which would ban gender-affirming care for transgender children.

1.2. Republicans

Republicans constitute the largest partisan group in both Texas and Arizona, where 40% and 38% of the respondents indicated that they identify as Republican, compared to 28% of California respondents.

Republicans across all three states overwhelmingly believe that transgender people should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. In Texas (88%) and Arizona (86%) close to nine out of ten Republicans believe transgender people should not be able to choose which bathroom to use, compared to fewer than one in ten (7% and 4% respectively) who believe they should. In California, three out of four Republicans (76%) also believe transgender people should not be able to choose which bathroom to use, compared to 20% who believe they should. Also noteworthy is the considerable certainty among Republicans regarding this issue, with only 4% (in California), 5% (in Texas) and 10% (in Arizona) responding that they were unsure of their position on this issue.

Republicans across all three states also overwhelmingly believe that transgender girls and women should not be allowed to participate in women's sporting events. In Texas (93%) and Arizona (89%) nine out of ten Republicans believe transgender girls and women should not be allowed to play in women's sporting events, compared to fewer than one in ten (6% and 8% respectively) who believe they should be able to. More than three out of four (76%) California Republicans also oppose transgender participation in women's sports events, compared to 14% who support this participation. Once again, only a very small proportion of Republicans are unsure of their position regarding this issue, with the proportion of not sure respondents being 1% in Texas, 3% in Arizona and 9% in California.

By substantial margins, although not as substantial as for the previous two issues, Republicans in all three states support, rather than oppose, legislation that would ban the provision of gender-affirming medical treatment to transgender children. More than two-thirds of Republicans support the legislation compared to one-quarter or less who oppose it. The margin of support versus opposition is greatest among Arizona Republicans (76% to 16%), followed by Texas Republicans (71% to 24%) and California Republicans (69% to 25%). As was the case for the previous two issues, fewer than one in ten Republicans (ranging from 5% to 8%) in these three states are unsure about their position on this issue.

1.3. Democrats

Democrats constitute the largest partisan group in California, accounting for 45% of the respondents, compared to 33% in Arizona and 32% in Texas.

Significantly more Democrats in all three states (55% in Arizona, 51% in California, and 49% in Texas) believe that transgender people should be allowed to choose which bathroom to use than believe they should not be able to choose (25%, 25% and 29% respectively). However, between six and four times as many Democrats as Republicans in Arizona (25% vs. 4%) and Texas (29% vs. 7%) hold the minority opinion within their party. Also, a significantly larger proportion of Democrats than Republicans in Arizona and Texas are uncertain about their position on this issue (20% to 10% in Arizona and 22% to 5% in Texas). In California the proportion of Democrats holding the intra-party minority position (against) is only modestly greater than the proportion of Republicans holding the intra-party minority position (for), 25% to 20%, although the proportion of unsure California Democrats (24%) is significantly greater than the proportion of unsure California Republicans (4%).

Democrats in all three states are relatively evenly divided among those who believe transgender girls or women should be able to participate in women's sporting events, who believe they should not be able to participate, and who are unsure. A narrow plurality of Arizona (38%) and California (38%) Democrats believe transgender girls and women should be able to participate in women's sporting events, followed by 33% and 36% who believe they should not be able to participate, with 29% and 26% unsure. In Texas, a narrow plurality of Democrats (39%) believes transgender girls and women should not be allowed to participate in women's sporting events compared to 30% who believe they should be able to participate and 31% who are unsure.

A plurality, but not a majority, of Democrats in all three states opposes, rather than supports, legislation that would ban the provision of gender-affirming care by medical professionals to transgender children. In Texas, 48% of Democrats oppose this legislation and 33% support it, with the proportions for Arizona (47% vs. 27%) and California (41% vs. 25%) relatively similar. As was previously the case, significantly more Democrats than Republicans are unsure about their position on this issue in Arizona (26% vs. 8%), California (34% vs. 6%), and Texas (19% vs. 5%).

2. Religiosity and Support for Restrictive Transgender Policies

There exists a profound religion-related cleavage regarding support for and opposition to restrictive transgender related public policies. Across the red, purple and blue states of Texas, Arizona and California, residents who regularly attend religious services are significantly more likely than those residents who never attend religious services to support policies that restrict the ability of transgender people to choose which bathroom to use, participate in women's sporting events, and (for children) receive gender-affirming medical treatment.

2.1. The Key Sub-Populations Broken Down by Religiosity, Religion and Partisanship.

Survey respondents from Arizona, California and Texas were divided into three groups based on the frequency of their attendance at religious services (other than weddings and funerals). The first is a high frequency group composed of those who reported on average attending religious services on average more than once a week, once a week or one or two times a month. The second is a low frequency group that consists of those who report attending religious services seldom or a few times a year. Finally, the third group consists of those individuals who report that they never attend religious services.

One-third of Texans (33%), 29% of Californians and 25% of Arizonans fall into high frequency religious service attendance group. Conversely, 30% of Texans, 36% of Californians and 39% of Arizonans report that they never attend religious services. In between these two extremes are 34% of Texans, 33% of Californians and 32% of Arizonans who infrequently attend religious services.

Among Texans who frequently attend religious services, 30% identify as Protestant, 28% as Catholic, 5% as Muslim, 3% as Eastern Orthodox, 7% as nothing in particular and 22% as something else. Among Californians who frequently attend religious services, 31% identify as Protestant, 40% as Catholic, 4% as Mormon, 3% as Jewish, 4% as nothing in particular and 13% as something else. Among Arizonans who frequently attend religious services, 30% identify as Protestant, 26% as Catholic, 5% as Mormon, 3% as Jewish, 7% as nothing in particular and 23% as something else.

Arizonans, Californians and Texans who frequently attend religious services are significantly more likely to identify as Republicans and significantly less likely to identify as Democrats than are their neighbors who never attend religious services. In Texas, Republicans enjoy a 49% to 30% advantage over Democrats among Texans who regularly attend religious services, just as Democrats enjoy a 38% to 24% advantage over Republicans among Texans who never attend religious services. In Arizona, Republicans enjoy a 49% to 30% advantage over Democrats among Arizonans who regularly attend religious services, just as Democrats enjoy a 38% to 24% advantage over Republicans among Arizonans who never attend religious services. In California, Democrats enjoy an advantage over Republicans among both groups, 43% to 37% and 52% to 17% respectively, although the Democratic advantage among those who never attend services is

more than five times greater than the Democratic advantage among those who frequently attend religious services (35% to 6%).

2.2. Religiosity and Support for Restrictive Transgender Policies

In Arizona, Texas and California significantly higher proportions of frequent attenders of religious services believe that transgender people should not, rather than should, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use, 79% to 10% (Arizona), 70% to 20% (California), and 60% to 22% (Texas). Conversely, comparatively narrow pluralities of residents who never attend religious services in Arizona and California believe transgender people should, rather than should not, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use, 42% to 36% and 44% to 32% respectively. In Texas, an equally narrow plurality of those who never attend religious services, 46% to 38%, is of the position that transgender people should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use.

There also exists a substantial, albeit less so than in regard to transgender bathroom use, gap between residents of the three states who frequently attend and who never attend religious services in regard to their opposition to transgender girls or women being allowed to play in women's sports events. Those Arizonans, Californians and Texans who frequently attend religious services are significantly more likely to oppose than support transgender female sports participation, as are those Arizonans, Californians and Texans who never attend religious services. The main distinction is the scope of the difference is greater among the former, rather than the latter, group.

In Arizona, 73% of frequent attenders of religious services oppose (and 17% support) transgender participation in women's sports, compared to 54% and 24% of those who never attend religious services. In California, 61% of frequent attenders of religious services oppose (and 21% support) transgender participation in women's sports, compared to 45% and 28% of those who never attend religious services. In Texas, 70% of frequent attenders of religious services oppose (and 13% support) transgender participation in women's sports, compared to 59% and 26% of those who never attend religious services.

Significantly more frequent attenders of religious services than those who never attend religious services support legislation that would ban the provision of gender-affirming treatment by medical professionals to transgender children in all three states. In Arizona, 65% of frequent attenders of religious services support (and 29% oppose) a legislative ban on the provision of gender-affirming treatment to transgender children, compared to 45% and 34% of those who never attend religious services. In California, 53% of frequent attenders of religious services support (and 30% oppose) a legislative ban on the provision of gender-affirming treatment to transgender children, compared to 31% and 38% of those who never attend religious services. In Texas, 60% of frequent attenders of religious services support (and 30% oppose) a legislative ban on the provision of gender-affirming treatment to transgender children, compared to 45% and 40% of those who never attend religious services.

3. Transgender Bathroom Access

The respondents were asked if transgender people should be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. The response options were yes, no, and not sure.

In all three states more people believe transgender people should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use than believe transgender people should be allowed to choose which bathroom to use (see Table 1). However, the gap dividing the proportion of opponents and proponents of open-access bathroom use for transgender people is much greater in Texas, and to a slightly lesser extent in Arizona, than in California. More than twice as many Texans (61% to 25%) and Arizonans (54% to 27%) believe that transgender people should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use as believe transgender people should be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. This compares to a narrower plurality of Californians (45% to 35%) who believe transgender people should not and should be able to choose which bathroom to use.

Table 1. Should Transgender People Be Allowed to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)

State	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	27	54	19
California	35	45	20
Texas	25	61	14

3.1. Gender and Transgender Bathroom Access

Across all three states women are more likely than men to be positively pre-disposed to transgender people choosing which bathroom to use, and men more likely than women to be negatively pre-disposed to transgender people choosing which bathroom to use (see Table 2). The differences are however only statistically significant in California (39% vs. 30%) and Arizona (31% vs. 22%).

Table 2. Gender & Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)

State	Gender	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	Women	31	51	18
	Men	22	58	20
California	Women	39	41	20
	Men	30	49	21
Texas	Women	27	60	13
	Men	22	63	15

3.2. Ethnicity/Race and Transgender Bathroom Access

White and Latino residents of Arizona and Texas do not differ notably in regard to the proportion who believe transgender people should and should not be allowed to choose which bathroom to use (see Table 3). However, in California, white residents are significantly more likely than Latino residents (41% to 24%) to believe transgender people should be allowed to choose which bathroom to use.

Table 3. Ethnicity/Race & Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)

State	Ethnicity/Race	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	White	28	55	17
	Latino	24	57	19
California	White	41	44	15
	Latino	24	52	24
	Asian	49	30	21
Texas	White	26	64	10
	Latino	23	60	17
	Black	31	54	15

3.3. Age and Transgender Bathroom Access

In Arizona and Texas, both older and younger residents believe, by an approximately two/three to one margin, that transgender people should not, rather than should, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use; with two exceptions in Texas (see Table 4). The margin among those ages 18 to 29 is notably narrower (49% to 35%) than two/three to one, while that among those age 65 and older is notably broader than two/three to one (71% to 17%).

Table 4. Age & Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)

State	Age Cohort	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	18-29	22	55	23
	30-44	23	53	24
	45-64	30	56	14
	65+	32	53	15
California	18-29	34	35	31
	30-44	41	38	21
	45-64	28	56	16
	65+	37	50	13
Texas	18-29	35	49	16
	30-44	26	60	14
	45-64	20	67	13
	65+	17	71	12

In California, those ages 45 to 64 (56% to 28%) and 65 plus (50% to 37%) are notably more likely to believe transgender people should not, rather than should, be able to choose which bathroom to use, those under the age of 45, who are evenly split between an affirmative and negative answer to this question.

3.4. Education and Transgender Bathroom Access

In Arizona, while members of all three educational attainment groupings are significantly more likely to believe transgender people should not, rather than should, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use, the ratio for those with a high school education or less is notably greater than that for their peers with higher levels of educational attainment (see Table 5). In Texas and California the same general pattern holds true, with two exceptions. First, the salient education related split in these latter two states is between those whose highest level of education is either a high school degree or less (66% vs. 20%; 51% vs. 28%) or some college or a two-year degree (61% vs. 22%; 50% vs. 30%) and those whose highest level of educational attainment is a four-year college degree or postgraduate degree (56% vs. 34%; 36% vs. 44%). Second, a narrow plurality (44% vs. 36%) of Californians with a four-year college degree or postgraduate degree believe that transgender people should, rather than should not, be able to choose which bathroom to use.

Table 5. Education & Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)

State	Educational Attainment	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	High School or Less	20	57	23
	Some College/2 Year	32	53	15
	4-Year/Post-Grad	31	52	17
California	High School or Less	28	51	21
	Some College/2 Year	30	50	20
	4-Year/Post-Grad	44	36	20
Texas	High School or Less	20	66	14
	Some College/2 Year	22	61	17
	4-Year/Post-Grad	34	56	10

3.5. Religiosity and Transgender Bathroom Access

Across all three states there is profound divide among residents in their position vis-à-vis transgender bathroom use based on their level of religiosity (see Table 6). Those residents who attend religious services (other than funerals or weddings) on average between at least two times a month to multiple times during a week overwhelmingly believe that transgender people should not, rather than should, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use: Arizona (79% vs. 10%), Texas (70% vs. 20%), and California (60% vs. 22%). In contrast, individuals who never attend

religious services are split relatively evenly between those who believe that transgender people should be able to choose which bathroom to use and those who believe transgender people should not be able to choose which bathroom to use, with modest pluralities supporting the former position in California (44% vs. 32%) and Arizona (42% vs. 36%) and supporting the latter position in Texas (39% vs. 46%).

**Table 6. Religiosity &
Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)**

State	Frequency of Church Attendance	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	High/Medium	10	79	11
	Low	24	59	17
	Never	42	36	22
California	High/Medium	22	60	18
	Low	35	50	15
	Never	44	32	24
Texas	High/Medium	20	70	10
	Low	17	68	15
	Never	39	46	15

3.6. Partisanship and Transgender Bathroom Access

Republicans in Arizona (86% to 4%) and Texas (88% to 7%) overwhelmingly believe that transgender people should not, rather than should, be able to choose which bathroom to use (see Table 7). A super-majority of California Republicans (76% vs. 20%) share this opinion of their co-partisans in Arizona and Texas, albeit with a gap that is not as large. Also noteworthy is the relatively small proportion of Republicans answering “not sure” to this question (between 4% and 10%), a response which in some cases reflects a true lack of opinion or certainty on an issue and in others a reluctance to voice an opinion that is considered socially undesirable within their social and professional network.

**Table 7. Partisanship &
Should Transgender People Be Able to Choose Which Bathroom to Use? (%)**

State	Partisan ID	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	Democrat	55	25	20
	Independent	27	48	25
	Republican	4	86	10
California	Democrat	51	25	24
	Independent	19	59	22
	Republican	20	76	4
Texas	Democrat	49	29	22
	Independent	23	62	15
	Republican	7	88	5

Significant majorities of Democrats in all three states believe that transgender people should, rather than should not, be allowed to choose which bathroom to use. The margins of these majorities are however notably smaller than those among Republicans in all three states: Arizona (55% vs. 25%), Texas (49% vs. 29%), and California (51% vs. 25%). Also, significantly more Democrats than Republicans indicated that they were not sure about their opinion on this issue in California (24% vs. 4%), Texas (22% vs. 5%), and Arizona (20% vs. 10%).

In all three states Independents are significantly more likely to believe transgender people should not, rather than should, be able to choose which bathroom to use, by margins of 48% to 27% in Arizona, 59% to 19% in California, and 62% to 23% in Texas.

4. Transgender Girl or Woman Participation in Women’s Sports Events

The respondents were asked if they thought a transgender girl or woman (someone whose sex was classified as male at birth, but who now identifies as a woman) should be allowed to play in women’s sports events. The response options were yes, no, and not sure.

By a margin of two to one in California (53% to 26%), three to one in Arizona (63% to 20%) and four to one in Texas (68% to 16%), significantly more residents do not believe a transgender girl or woman should be allowed to play in women’s sports events (see Table 8). This opposition is not as great in California as in Arizona and Texas, but is nonetheless the opinion of an absolute majority of the population, compared to three-fifths of the population in Arizona and two-thirds in Texas.

Table 8. Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women’s Sports Events?

State	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	20	63	17
California	26	53	21
Texas	16	68	16

4.1. Gender and Transgender Sports

While majorities of both women and men in Arizona and California do not believe that a transgender girl or woman should be allowed to play in women’s sports events, significantly more men (70% and 59% respectively) than women (56% and 49%) hold this position, just as significantly more women (24% and 32%) than men (19% and 15%) believe that transgender girls or women should be able to participate in women’s sporting events (see Table 9). In sharp contrast, there do not exist any salient differences in Texas between women and men, with 67% and 69% opposing the participation of transgender girls and women in women’s sporting events and 17% and 15% in support of this participation.

**Table 9. Gender &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women’s Sports Events? (%)**

State	Gender	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	Women	24	56	20
	Men	16	70	14
California	Women	32	49	19
	Men	19	59	22
Texas	Women	17	67	16
	Men	15	69	16

4.2. Ethnicity/Race and Transgender Sports

Absolute majorities of white and Latino residents of Arizona (66% and 58% respectively), California (53% and 51%), and Texas (69% and 62%) oppose transgender girls or women participating in women’s sporting events (see Table 10). The greatest opposition among any ethnic/racial group is found among Black Texans (77%) and the lowest level of opposition is found among Asian American Californians (42%), with nearly half of California Asian Americans responding “not sure” to this question.

**Table 10. Ethnicity/Race &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women’s Sports Events? (%)**

State	Ethnicity/Race	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	White	17	66	17
	Latino	28	58	14
California	White	24	53	23
	Latino	33	51	16
	Asian	22	32	46
Texas	White	15	69	16
	Latino	19	62	19
	Black	15	77	9

4.3. Age and Transgender Sports

In Arizona and Texas absolute majorities of all age groups are opposed to a transgender girl or woman being allowed to play in women’s sports events, with though older Arizonans and Texans registering higher proportions of opposition than younger Arizonans and Texans (see Table 11). The same pattern of greater opposition among older residents is also present in California, although only a plurality, rather than an absolute majority, of Californians under the age of 45 oppose transgender girls or women playing in women’s sporting events.

**Table 11. Age &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women's Sports Events? (%)**

State	Age Cohort	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	18-29	28	60	12
	30-44	26	52	22
	45-64	15	69	16
	65+	15	69	16
California	18-29	29	46	25
	30-44	34	42	24
	45-64	16	66	18
	65+	25	58	17
Texas	18-29	21	59	20
	30-44	20	63	17
	45-64	13	73	14
	65+	11	77	12

4.4. Education and Transgender Sports

There do not exist any noteworthy education-related differences in support for or opposition to transgender girls or women participating in women's sports events across the three states, with one partial exception (see Table 12). Californians whose highest level of educational attainment is some college or a two-year degree are significantly more likely than Californians with either higher and lower levels of educational attainment to be against transgender girls or women participation in women's sports.

**Table 12. Education &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women's Sports Events? (%)**

State	Educational Attainment	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	High School or Less	19	65	16
	Some College/2 Year	23	61	16
	4-Year/Post-Grad	17	63	20
California	High School or Less	26	51	23
	Some College/2 Year	22	62	16
	4-Year/Post-Grad	28	49	22
Texas	High School or Less	17	63	20
	Some College/2 Year	15	73	12
	4-Year/Post-Grad	18	69	13

4.5. Religiosity and Transgender Sports

Arizonans, Californians and Texans who frequently attend religious services are significantly more likely to believe that transgender girls or women should not be allowed to play in women's

sporting events than are their fellow residents who never attend religious services, by a 73% to 54%, 61% to 45% and 70% to 59% margin respectively (see Table 13). The same finding is true for those Arizonans (67% vs. 54%), Californians (58% vs. 45%) and Texans (75% vs. 59%) who infrequently attend religious services compared to those who never attend religious services.

**Table 13. Religiosity &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women's Sports Events? (%)**

State	Frequency of Church Attendance	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	High/Medium	17	73	10
	Low	19	67	14
	Never	24	54	22
California	High/Medium	21	61	18
	Low	27	58	15
	Never	28	45	27
Texas	High/Medium	13	70	17
	Low	10	75	15
	Never	26	59	15

4.6. Partisanship and Transgender Sports

Republicans in all three states overwhelmingly believe that transgender girls and woman should not be allowed to participate in women's sporting events (see Table 14). Nine out of ten Texas (93%) and Arizona (89%) Republicans oppose transgender participation in women's sports, compared to only 7% and 8% who are supportive. In California, eight out of ten Republicans (77%) are in opposition, compared to 14% who are supportive. A mere 3% of Arizona Republicans, 9% of California Republicans and 1% of Texas Republicans indicated they were not sure about what their position was on this issue.

**Table 14. Partisanship &
Should a Transgender Girl/Woman Participate in Women's Sports Events? (%)**

State	Partisan ID	Yes	No	Not Sure
Arizona	Democrat	38	33	29
	Independent	16	65	19
	Republican	8	89	3
California	Democrat	38	36	26
	Independent	18	62	20
	Republican	14	77	9
Texas	Democrat	30	39	31
	Independent	17	69	14
	Republican	6	93	1

In sharp contrast to Republicans, Democrats in Arizona, California and Texas are relatively evenly divided among those who supportive of transgender women and girls participating in women's sports (38%, 38%, 30%), those who oppose this participation (33%, 36%, 39%), and those who responded they were not sure (29%, 26%, 31%).

Independents in Arizona, California and Texas oppose rather than support transgender participation in women's sporting events by similar margins, 65% vs. 16%, 62% vs. 18%, and 69% vs. 17%.

5. Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children

The respondents were asked if they support or oppose legislation that oppose medical professionals from providing puberty-inhibiting drugs, cross-sex hormones and surgical interventions to children under 18 for the purpose of altering the child's biological characteristics to align with their perceived gender identity. The response options were support, oppose, and not sure.

Slightly more than one-half of Texas (53%) and Arizona (51%) residents support legislation that would ban the provision of puberty-enhancing drugs, cross-sex hormones and surgical interventions to transgender children, compared to the slightly less than a third of the state residents that oppose this legislation (32% and 30%) (see Table 15). In California, this legislative ban is supported (41%) and opposed (35%) by relatively equal shares of the population.

Table 15. Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	51	30	19
California	41	35	24
Texas	53	32	15

5.1. Gender and a Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

In California, men (47%) are significantly more likely than women (35%) to support legislation banning gender-affirming care for transgender children (see Table 16). In Arizona (54% vs. 47%) and Texas (51% vs. 55%) the gender differences are not significant, with men slightly more likely to be in favor of a ban in Arizona and women slightly more likely to be in favor of a ban in Texas.

Table 16. Gender & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Gender	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	Women	47	31	22
	Men	54	30	16
California	Women	35	36	29
	Men	47	34	19
Texas	Women	55	30	15
	Men	51	35	14

5.2. Ethnicity/Race and a Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

In Arizona and California white (55% and 46%) and Latino (52% and 39%) residents do not differ significantly in their support for a ban on gender-affirming treatment for transgender children (see Table 17). In Texas however, white (64%) residents are significantly more likely than Latino (43%) residents to support a ban. The two ethnic/racial groups registering the lowest support for a legislative ban on gender-affirming care for transgender children are Asian Americans (26% in California and African Americans (35%) in Texas.

Table 17. Ethnicity/Race & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Ethnicity/Race	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	White	55	28	17
	Latino	52	24	24
California	White	46	33	21
	Latino	39	33	28
	Asian	26	49	25
Texas	White	64	26	10
	Latino	43	36	21
	Black	35	48	17

5.3. Age and a Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

With two exceptions, there do not exist any significant age-related differences in support for a legislative ban on gender-affirming care for transgender children across these three states (see Table 18). One exception is in Texas, where Texans 30 years of age and older are significantly more likely to support a legislative ban than Texans under the age of 30. The other exception is in California, where Californians 45 and older are significantly more likely to support a ban than Californians under the age of 30.

Table 18. Age & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Age Cohort	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	18-29	59	33	8
	30-44	50	18	32
	45-64	48	36	16
	65+	51	32	17
California	18-29	32	39	29
	30-44	38	38	24
	45-64	47	27	26
	65+	43	39	18
Texas	18-29	42	36	22
	30-44	56	33	11
	45-64	57	29	14
	65+	56	33	11

5.4. Education and a Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

There do not exist any significant differences in support for a legislative ban on gender-affirming care for transgender children in any of the three states (see Table 19).

Table 19. Education & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Educational Attainment	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	High School or Less	47	34	25
	Some College/2 Year	50	32	18
	4-Year/Post-Grad	56	25	19
California	High School or Less	37	38	25
	Some College/2 Year	43	29	28
	4-Year/Post-Grad	43	37	20
Texas	High School or Less	50	32	18
	Some College/2 Year	54	34	12
	4-Year/Post-Grad	55	33	12

5.5. Religiosity and a Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

In Arizona, California and Texas, residents who frequently attend religious services are significantly more likely than residents who never attend religious services to support a ban on the provision of puberty-inhibiting drugs, cross-sex hormones, and surgical interventions to transgender children with the goal of altering their biological characteristics to make them more in line with their gender identity (see Table 20). In Arizona, 65% of frequent church attenders support the ban compared to 45% of those who never attend religious services. In Texas, 60% of

frequent church attenders support the ban compared to 45% of those who never attend religious services. In California, 53% of frequent church attenders support the ban compared to 31% of those who never attend religious services. Furthermore, whereas very few frequent church attenders are unsure about their position on this proposed ban (6% in Arizona, 7% in California, 10% in Texas), substantially more of those who never attend religious services are not sure about their position in Arizona (21%) and California (31%); but not in Texas (15%).

Table 20. Religiosity & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Frequency of Church Attendance	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	High/Medium	65	29	6
	Low	49	29	22
	Never	45	34	21
California	High/Medium	53	30	7
	Low	42	36	22
	Never	31	38	31
Texas	High/Medium	60	30	10
	Low	53	30	17
	Never	45	40	15

5.6. Partisanship and Legislative Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment

Republicans in Arizona (76%), Texas (71%) and California (69%) overwhelmingly favor a legislative ban on gender-affirming treatment for transgender children (see Table 21). Only 16%, 24% and 25% of Republicans in these three respective states oppose a legislative ban, with fewer than one in ten unsure of their position vis-à-vis a ban (8%, 5%, and 6% respectively).

Table 21. Partisanship & Support For Ban on Gender-Affirming Treatment for Transgender Children (%)

State	Partisan ID	Support	Oppose	Not Sure
Arizona	Democrat	27	47	26
	Independent	46	36	18
	Republican	76	16	8
California	Democrat	25	41	34
	Independent	43	36	21
	Republican	69	25	6
Texas	Democrat	33	48	19
	Independent	54	28	18
	Republican	71	24	5

In contrast, while a plurality of Democrats oppose a ban in all three states, in no instance does this proportion rise above 50%. The opposition ranges from highs of 48% among Texas

Democrats and 47% among Arizona Democrats, to a low of 41% among California Democrats. Furthermore, 34% of California Democrats, 26% of Arizona Democrats and 19% of Texas Democrats are unsure if they support or oppose a legislative ban on gender-affirming care for transgender children, between six and three times the proportion of Republicans in the respective states who are unsure.

Furthermore, in all three states the gap separating Democrats who oppose a ban and Democrats who support a ban is substantially smaller than the gap separating Republicans who support a ban and Republicans who oppose a ban. The gap for Arizona Democrats is 20% (47% vs. 27%) while the gap for Arizona Republicans is 60% (76% vs. 16%). The gap for Texas Democrats is 15% (48% vs. 33%) while the gap for Texas Republicans is 47% (71% vs. 24%). The gap for California Democrats is 16% (41% vs. 25%) while the gap for California Republicans is 44% (69% vs. 25%).

6. Socio-Demographic Groups Represented in the Survey Population

Table 22 provides the distribution of the survey population in Arizona, California and Texas by gender, ethnicity/race, and age.

Table 22. Survey Population Demographics: Gender, Ethnicity/Race & Age

State	Category	Sub-Group	Proportion (%)
Arizona	Gender	Women	51
		Men	49
California	Gender	Women	52
		Men	48
Texas	Gender	Women	51.5
		Men	48.5
Arizona	Ethnicity/Race	White	58
		Latino	28
		Black	5
		Asian	3
California	Ethnicity/Race	White	40
		Latino	36
		Black	6
		Asian	12
Texas	Ethnicity/Race	White	45
		Latino	37
		Black	12
		Asian	3
Arizona	Age	Under 30	19
		30 to 44	24
		45 to 64	33
		65+	24
California	Age	Under 30	22
		30 to 44	27
		45 to 64	31
		65+	20
Texas	Age	Under 30	22
		30 to 44	29
		45 to 64	32
		65+	17

All three state populations have a relatively equal proportion of women and men, with women representing a narrow majority ranging from 51% in Arizona to 52% in California.

Whites account for the largest share of the survey population in all three states, ranging from a low of 40% in California to a high of 58% in Arizona, with Texas in between at 45%. Latinos account for the second largest share of the survey population in all three states, ranging from a low of 28% in Arizona to highs of 36% in California and 37% in Texas. In only two other instances does the proportion of a third ethnic/racial group surpass 10% in these three states. Asian Americans account for 12% of the California survey population and Blacks account for 12% of the Texas survey population.

The states have relatively similar shares of the survey population under 30 (19% to 22%), between the ages of 30 and 44 (24% to 29%), between the ages of 45 and 64 (31% to 33%), and 65 and older (17% to 24%).

Table 23 provides information on the distribution of each state's survey population by church attendance, partisan identification and educational attainment.

Table 23. Survey Population Demographics: Education, Church Attendance & Partisanship

State	Category	Sub-Group	Proportion (%)
Arizona	Church Attendance	Frequent	25
		Infrequent	32
		Never	39
California	Church Attendance	Frequent	29
		Infrequent	33
		Never	36
Texas	Church Attendance	Frequent	33
		Infrequent	34
		Never	30
Arizona	Partisanship	Democrat	33
		Republican	38
		Independent	21
California	Partisanship	Democrat	45
		Republican	28
		Independent	17
Texas	Partisanship	Democrat	32
		Republican	40
		Independent	19
Arizona	Education	High School/Less	37
		Some College/2 Yr	32
		4 Yr/Post-Grad	31
California	Education	High School/Less	36
		Some College/2 Yr	29
		4 Yr/Post-Grad	35

Texas	Education	High School/Less	40
		Some College/2 Yr	29
		4 Yr/Post-Grad	31

The population is divided into three categories based on the degree of attendance at religious services (other than weddings and funerals): more than once a week, once a week and once or twice a month (or frequent); a few times a year and seldom (infrequent); and never (never). The proportion of the survey population that frequently attends religious services ranges from a high of 33% in Texas to a low of 25% in Arizona, with California in between at 29%. The proportion of the survey population that infrequently attends religious services ranges from a high of 34% in Texas to a low of 32% in Arizona, with California in between at 33%. Finally, the proportion of the survey population that never attends religious services ranges from a high of 39% in Arizona to a low of 30% in Texas, with California in between at 36%.

The proportion of state residents who identify as Republican ranges from highs of 40% in Texas and 38% in Arizona to a low of 28% in California. The proportion of state residents who identify as Democrat ranges from a high of 45% in California to lows of 33% in Arizona and 32% in Texas. The proportion of independents ranges narrowly across the three states from a low of 17 in California to a high of 21% in Arizona, with Texas in between at 19%.

The population is divided into three educational attainment categories based on the highest level of educational attainment: high school or less, some college or a two-year degree, a four-year degree or a postgraduate degree. The proportion of the survey population whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school degree or less ranges from lows of 36% in California and 37% in Arizona to a high of 40% in Texas. The proportion of the survey population whose highest level of educational attainment is some college or a two-year degree ranges from a low of 29% in California and Texas to a high of 32% in Arizona. The proportion of the survey population whose highest level of educational attainment is a four-year degree or a postgraduate degree ranges from a low of 31% in Arizona and Texas to a high of 35% in California.

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