

Polling shows being supportive of transgender self-expression is not the same as supporting self-declaration for legal gender recognition

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December 2021

In September 2021 the Scottish Government set out a commitment to reform the Gender Recognition Act (GRA) to allow for a person to change their sex in law based on self-declaration, without medical gatekeeping, in its [Programme for Government](#). (Self-declaration is often referred to as 'self-identification' or 'self-ID'.)

We were interested in how public opinion on GRA reform related to wider public attitudes towards transgender self-expression, and whether disagreement with a self-declaration model, such as that proposed by the Scottish Government, is indicative of 'anti-trans' attitudes, as some supporters of reform have claimed. To explore this, we commissioned Survation to undertake polling. This blog discusses the results.

The analysis is based on a representative population sample of 1,028 Scottish residents, aged 18 years or over, between 18 and 25 November 2021. The polling was carried out as part of a Survation omnibus poll, using a standard sample size and methodology to produce results that can be generalised to the wider population (within a margin of error). The analysis is based on standard data tables provided by Survation. Additional analysis, including significance testing, was undertaken in SPSS 25, using weighted data. The original Survation Excel data tables can be accessed [here](#) and the Survation summary charts [here](#). All results presented in the main body of the blog are statistically significant unless stated (for further details on the methodology see Annex 1). The polling was funded from general individual donations made to MBM.

Summary of key findings

The analysis shows that nearly two-thirds (64%) of Scottish adults agree that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity; only 13% disagree. For every demographic break included in the survey other than voting (sex, age-group, income, region, education) a clear absolute majority agree that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity. Some groups based on voting patterns are at or just below 50% support, but this is still always well ahead of the percentage disagreeing. The full results are shown in Annex 3.

A high percentage of respondents agreeing that people should be free to express their transgender identity does not however translate into support for reforming the Gender Recognition Act based on self-declaration.

The majority of people believe that a doctor's approval should be needed for a person to change their sex in law. This includes a majority of those who agree the people should be freely able to express their transgender identity.

Support for retaining an element of medical approval is found across virtually every demographic break in the survey, including sex, education, income, geography and voting behaviour. The only exceptions to this are those aged between 18- and 24-years, and those who voted for 'other parties', including the Green Party, in the 2019 General Election. However, the difference within the two youngest age-groups (18-24 years and 25-34 years) is not statistically significant, nor is the difference within the smaller parties in the 2019 General Election.

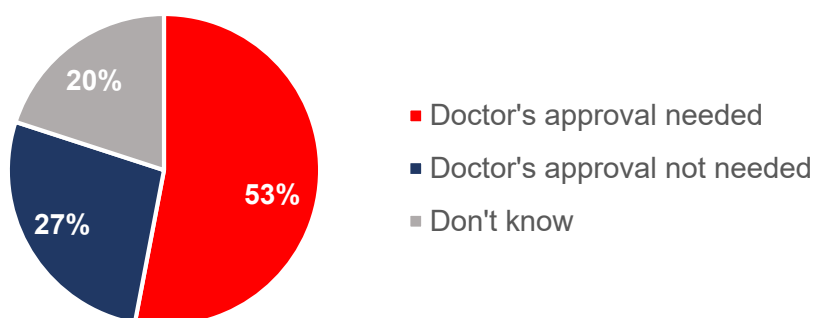
The polling results are analysed in more detail below. In a separate blog we set out a range of possible options for reform. Reflecting the commitment set out in the 2021 SNP manifesto, the package of options aim to 'improve and simplify the process by which a trans person can obtain legal recognition', whilst retaining some element of medical approval. Our polling suggests that that approach would build on, rather than work against, potential public support.

The focus of this blog is reform of the GRA. We did not use this poll to explore the relationship between public attitudes towards the expression of transgender identity, and what that should mean for access to single sex spaces: other polling however suggests people also make a distinction there (see [here](#) and [here](#)).

Gender recognition reform

Respondents were asked whether or not people should need to obtain a doctor's approval before having their gender legally recognised as different to their biological sex. The full text of the question is shown in Annex 2.

Overall, over half (53%) think that people should have to obtain a doctor's approval to have their gender legally recognised as different to their biological sex. Just over a quarter of respondents (27%) think that a doctor's approval should not be needed (i.e., self-declaration) and a fifth (20%) did not know. These results are shown in Figure 1.

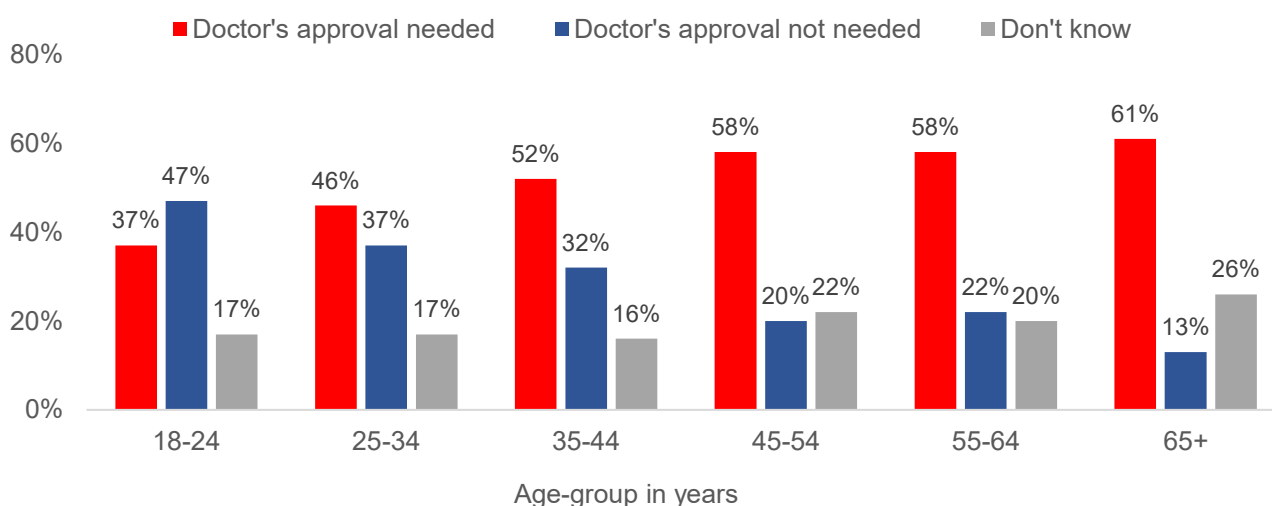


Unweighted base: 1,028

Figure 1. Whether a doctor's approval should be needed to change sex in law (%)

Age, sex and gender recognition reform

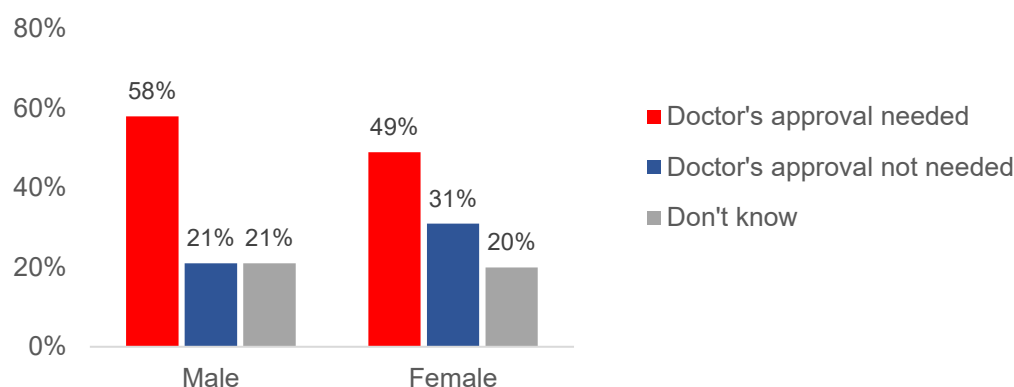
Looking at other factors associated with support for the respective models of legal gender recognition, support for a medical model, compared to self-declaration, was higher among all age-groups, with the single exception of 18- to 24-year-olds.



Unweighted base: 1,028

Figure 2. Whether a doctor's approval should be needed to change sex in law, by age group (%)

A higher proportion of men than women supported a medical model, at 58% and 49% respectively (this is broadly consistent with other polling data). For men, support for a medical model, compared to a self-declaration model, was 2.7 times higher, and for women, 1.6 times higher (see Annex 2, Table A2-1: ratios are calculated using numbers of responses in each category, as shown in the annex table).



Unweighted base: 1,028

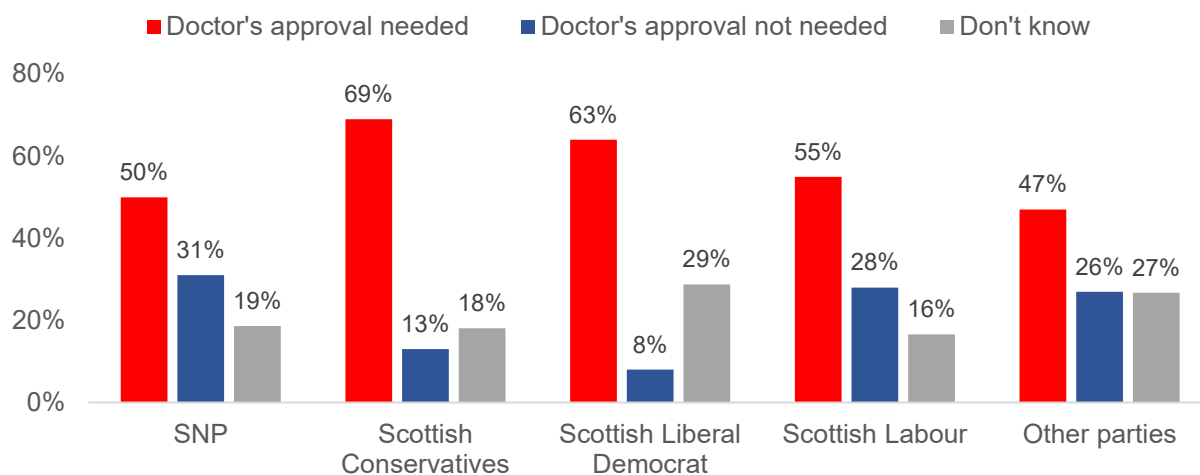
Figure 3. Whether a doctor's approval should be needed to change sex in law, by sex (%)

Higher support for a medical model, compared to a model based on self-declaration, was found in all groups when the results were separated by income, level of education or geographic region. The lowest income group will include those in full-time education as well as those on lower incomes more generally. These results are shown in Annex 2 (see Tables A2-2 and A2-3).

Voting behaviour and attitudes to gender recognition reform

Looking at voting behaviour in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election, support for a medical model was stronger than for self-declaration among voters for every party (although we do not have separate data on the Scottish Green Party, which is included within 'other parties').

Among SNP voters, support for a medical model was 1.6 times higher, compared to a self-declaration model. The respective figures for the other parties (i.e., medical model versus self-declaration) are 5.5 times higher for Scottish Conservative voters, over eight times higher for Scottish Liberal Democrat voters, twice as high for Scottish Labour voters, and 1.8 times higher among those who voted for 'another party' (see Annex 2 Table A2-4).



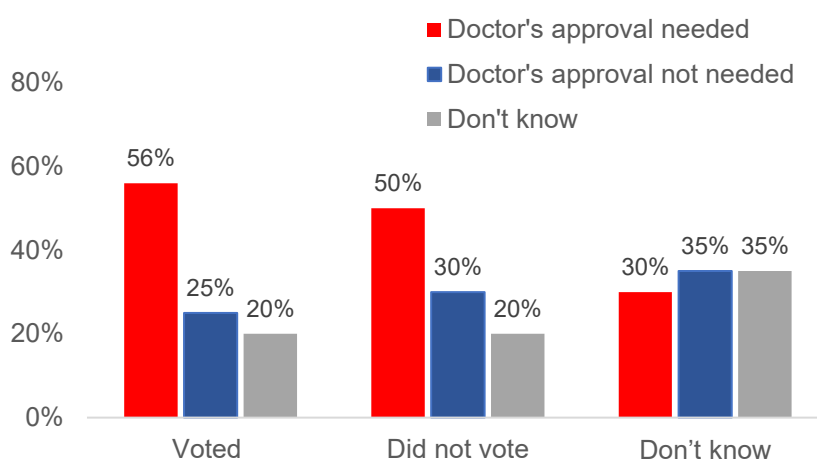
Unweighted base: those who voted in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election (754)
Results exclude those who can't remember which party and refused

Figure 2. Whether a doctor's approval should be needed to change sex in law, by voting behaviour in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election (%)

The Scottish Liberal Democrats have taken a strong line on self-declaration as the basis of GRA reform. It is striking therefore that of all the demographic breaks included in our polling data, voting Scottish Liberal Democrat in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election is the strongest predictor of support for a medical model. Support for self-declaration is lowest and the ratio of support for a medical model most pronounced among Scottish Liberal Democrat voters. While these ratios are modelled on small numbers and should be treated cautiously, the results here are consistent with other recent polling, which has also shown Liberal Democrat voters least likely to support moving to a self-declaration model. The party's policy, and the often animated position taken by party activists on this topic on-line and elsewhere, therefore appears to be unusually out of kilter with the views of its voter base. These results are shown in full in Annex 2, Table A2-4.

Support for a medical approval model was stronger among those who had voted in 2021 (56%) than those who had not (50%). Voters were 2.3 times more likely to favour a medical model than self-declaration, compared to 1.6 times for non-voters.

Annex 2 shows results by 2019 Westminster vote, but we use the Holyrood vote here as it is more recent, GRA reform will be discussed in the Scottish Parliament, and Westminster voting appears more likely to be affected by tactical voting.



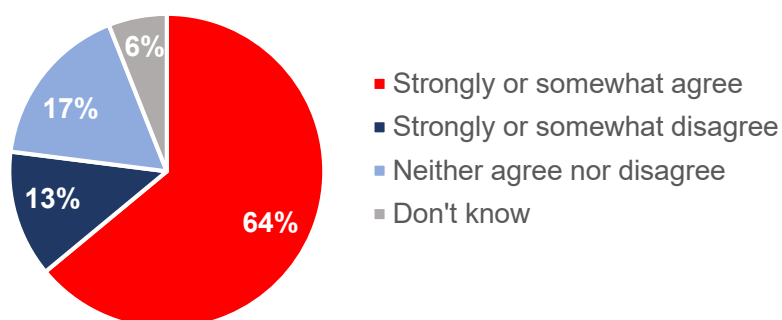
Unweighted base: All those who voted in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election (995)
Note: All those interviewed were old enough to vote in this year's Holyrood election

Figure 3. Whether a doctor's approval is needed to change sex in law, by whether a person voted in the 2021 Scottish Parliament election (%)

Public attitudes towards expression of transgender identity

Our Survation poll also asked respondents whether people should be able to freely express their transgender identity, for example, to dress and to present themselves how they choose. The full question text explained that the term 'transgender identity' covered a wide range of people, from those who had undertaken physical changes, to people who had made few, if any, physical or lifestyle changes (Annex 3 shows the full text).

The responses indicate that people in Scotland tend strongly towards being open-minded and accepting, with nearly two-thirds (64%) of people agreeing (strongly or somewhat) that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity. Only 13% actively disagreed (again, strongly or somewhat), meaning almost five times as many agreed as disagreed. Nearly a quarter of people didn't take a position: 17% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 6% didn't know. That is unsurprising for a policy area that has a reputation for being complex, contested, and is relatively new in terms of mainstream political and public awareness. Figure 4 shows these results.



Unweighted base: 1,028

Figure 4. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity, for example, to dress and to present themselves how they choose?

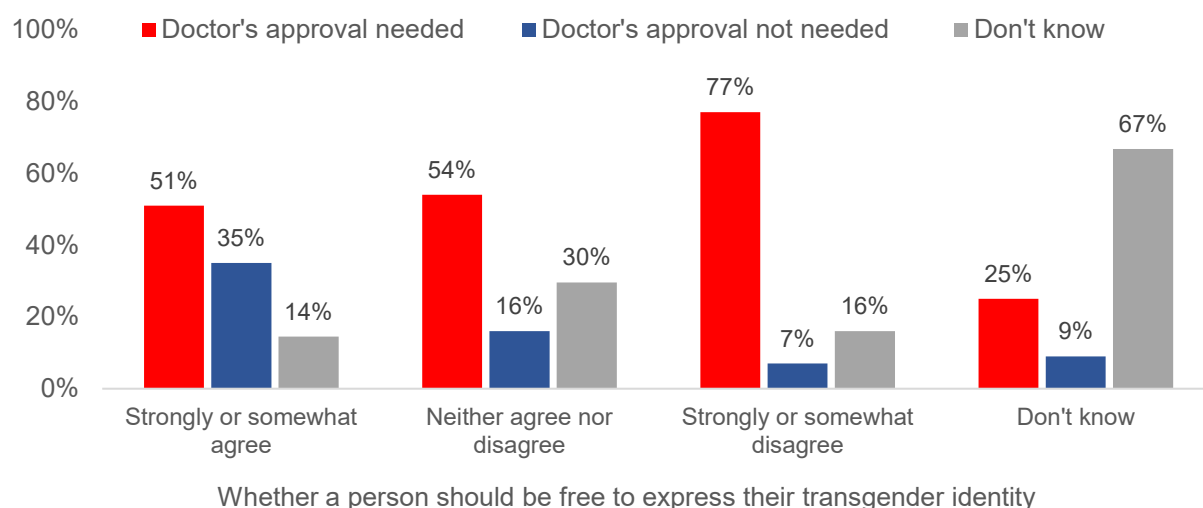
For almost every demographic break included in the survey (for example, sex, age-group, income) half or more agreed that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity (the full results are shown in Annex 3). Conservative voters in 2019 and Leave voters in 2016 had the lowest results (both on 49%), although this was still around double the number who disagreed.

The ratio of agreement to disagreement that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity was particularly high in the following categories: women, people aged between 18 and 44 years; people living in the Highland and Islands, SNP voters (2019 General Election and 2021 Scottish Parliament election), those who voted Remain in the EU referendum, those who voted for Scottish Independence in the 2014 referendum, and those with a higher education qualification. For each of these groups the ratio of agreement to disagreement that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity was at least seven to one.

How do views on legal gender recognition compare with views on freedom to express identity

Among the 64% of respondents who agree that people should be free to express their transgender identity just over half (51%) support retaining medical approval for a change of legal status, while just over a third (35%) support a self-declaration model, without medical approval. These differences are statistically significant.

This means that *even among those who agreed that people should be free to express their transgender identity*, support for a medical model was still 1.5 times higher than for a model without medical approval (i.e., self-declaration). This finding contradicts the depiction of those arguing against self-declaration as ‘anti-trans’ and suggests that public opinion in this area is much more nuanced than painted by some campaigners. These results are shown in Figure 7 and provided in full in Annex 3, Table A3-6.



Unweighted base: 1,028

Figure 5. Whether a person should be free to express their transgender identity (4 categories) by whether a doctor's approval is needed to change sex in law (%)

As Table 1 shows, even breaking down the ‘agree’ vote further, among those *strongly* agreeing that a person should be free to express their transgender identity (38% of respondents), support for a non-medical approach failed to reach 50% and was only marginally higher than for retaining medical approval (46% compared to 41%; this is not a statistically significant difference here).

Table 1. Whether a person should be free to express their transgender identity (6 categories) by whether a doctor's approval is needed to change sex in law (%)

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Doctor's approval needed	41%	64%	54%	77%	78%	25%
Doctor's approval not needed	46%	19%	16%	10%	4%	9%
Don't know	13%	17%	30%	13%	18%	67%
Total	392 100%	268 100%	179 100%	60 100%	72 100%	57 100%

Conclusion

In reading our results, it is worth bearing in mind that our polling produced a higher level of support for dispensing with medical involvement than [other polls](#), including other [very recent ones](#). Whereas our polling found 27% in favour of a self-declaration model, polling has usually produced results closer to 20%, sometimes less, for removing all medical involvement from the process for obtaining for a GRC. Our higher result may be due to our question wording or some feature of the sample.

Even then, we still found much stronger support for retaining an element of medical approval than for self-declaration, population-wide and in almost all sub-groups, including among those who agree that people should be freely able to express their transgender identity.

An unhelpful and polarising aspect of the discussion of GRA reform has been the positioning of support for retaining medical approval for a GRC as 'anti-trans'. For example, a campaigning [fundraiser](#) by the wholly Scottish Government-funded Scottish Trans Alliance paints those raising concerns about self-declaration and the implications for women's rights as 'opponents of trans rights'.

The polling here shows that this characterisation is not borne out by the evidence. A majority of people in Scotland, across a broad range of characteristics, and often by a large majority, positively agree that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity. Relatively few actively disagree. This generally supportive attitude just doesn't equate to support for removing all medical involvement for a change of legal status.

Consistent with our findings on wider public attitudes, other polling has found opposition to reform of the GRA is more likely to be outweighed by support, when reform is not explicitly linked to removing medical involvement.

A poll for The Scotsman in February 2021 (results shown at Annex 4) asked if people would support the process for a GRC being 'streamlined to make the process less expensive and bureaucratic, and less intrusive to trans people than the current

process', without asking about specific elements. This gave a finding of 37% in support and 26% opposed, with the remainder neither supporting nor opposed, or don't know. This was still short of an absolute majority support for reform - even with a question that was relatively leading. Even so, combined with our results above, we think this suggests that there is scope to reform the Act in ways which would be uncontroversial, if some medical involvement is retained.

The 2021 SNP Manifesto appeared alert to this possibility, promising a deliberative process, involving input from different stakeholders, without specifying a fixed outcome:

In the next parliament we will work with trans people, women, equality groups, legal and human rights experts to identify the best and most effective way to improve and simplify the process by which a trans person can obtain legal recognition – so that the trauma associated with that process is reduced. We remain committed to making necessary changes to the Gender Recognition Act **that arise from this work** at the earliest opportunity.
[SNP Manifesto 2021: 31](#) (emphasis added)

However this position shifted in autumn 2021, with the publication of the Programme for Government, which committed to reform the GRA based on self-declaration alone, without medical gatekeeping:

Within the next year we will bring forward the Gender Recognition Reform (Scotland) Bill, removing the current medical requirements and reducing the time that applicants for gender recognition need to have lived in their acquired gender from two years to three months. The changes will improve the lives of trans people, while ensuring the legislation doesn't affect the rights and protections that women currently have under the Equality Act.
[Scottish Government Programme for Government 2021-2022: 50](#)

This shift in position from manifesto to Programme for Government, from an open approach underpinned by consensus-building principles to a closed process, is surprising, when the issue is so sensitive and given what was already known about levels of public support.

As we demonstrate here, it also takes the likely content of the legislation out of the space where GRA reform might be used to build on supportive public attitudes, and moves it into one more likely to stimulate opposition. More generally, our results should give pause for thought to any political party which might be minded to whip its members in support of a Bill based on self-declaration.

In a separate briefing note, we offer ideas for simplifying the GRC process while retaining an element of medical involvement, which we hope could form the basis for achieving a more constructive process, as any legislation moves through the Scottish Parliament.

Annex 1. Methodology

Fieldwork Dates: 18 to 21 November 2021

Data Collection Method: The survey was conducted by Survation via an online panel, with invitations to take part sent out to panel members. Differential response rates from different demographic groups are taken into account.

Population Sampled: All residents aged 18 years or over living in Scotland

Sample Size: 1,028

Data Weighting: Survation weighted the data to the profile of all adults in Scotland aged 18 years or over. Data were weighted by age, sex, region, 2019 General Election Vote, 2016 EU Referendum Vote, 2021 Scottish Parliament Vote, and 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum Vote. Targets for the weighted data were derived from Office for National Statistics Data and the results of the 2019 UK General Election, the 2016 EU Referendum, the 2021 Scottish Parliament Election, and the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum.

Margin of Error: Because only a sample of the full population was interviewed, all results are subject to margin of error. For example, in a question where 50% gave a particular answer, in a sample of 1,028 it is 95% certain that the 'true' value will fall within the range of 3.06% from the sample result. Subsamples from the cross-breaks will be subject to higher margin of error, and conclusions drawn from cross-breaks with very small sub-samples should be treated with caution.

Statistical significance: All results presented in the main body of text are statistically significant, except those noted in the text, those relating to 'other parties' in 2021, and those who did not know whether they voted in 2021, using a two-tailed z-test with significance set at $p < .05$. However we have not tested the Annex tables.

Ratios: All ratios presented in the report are based on weighted count data. These may differ very slightly from the respective ratios that can be calculated using percentages, due to rounding of this data.

Annex 2. Should people need to obtain a doctor's approval before having their gender legally recognised as different to their biological sex.

'A person who has their gender legally recognised as different from their biological sex is entitled to a replacement birth certificate which displays their new 'legal' sex, and to be treated as that sex for most purposes. They are covered by strict legal protections which mean employers and other organisations cannot disclose their biological sex in most circumstances. Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

- People should need to obtain a doctor's approval before having their gender legally recognised as different to their biological sex.
- People should not need to obtain a doctor's approval before having their gender legally recognised as different to their biological sex.
- Don't know'

Table A2-1 Sex, age, and the legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed		Sex		Age group					
	All	Male	Female	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Yes	546	285	262	42	81	89	105	94	136
	53%	58%	49%	37%	46%	52%	58%	58%	61%
No	274	106	168	54	64	55	37	36	28
	27%	21%	31%	47%	37%	32%	20%	22%	13%
Don't know	208	103	105	19	30	27	40	32	59
	20%	21%	20%	17%	17%	16%	22%	20%	26%
Total	1028	493	535	115	175	171	182	162	223
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of yes to no	2.0	2.7	1.6	0.8	1.3	1.6	2.8	2.6	4.9

Table A2-2 Income, education level, and the legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	Income			Education level			
	Under £20K	£20K-£39K	Over 40K	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Yes	149	204	173	99	209	77	209
	46%	56%	61%	45%	58%	55%	54%
No	103	83	73	66	85	34	105
	32%	23%	26%	30%	23%	24%	27%
Don't know	74	75	38	53	66	30	75
	23%	21%	13%	24%	18%	21%	19%
Total	326	362	283	218	360	140	390
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of yes to no	1.4	2.5	2.4	1.5	2.5	2.3	2.0

Table A2-3 Geographic region and legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	Region							
	Highlands & Islands	Mid-Scotland and Fife	North- East Scotland	Lothian	South Scotland	Glasgow	West Scotland	Central Scotland
Yes	36	75	83	89	51	52	76	84
	47%	59%	58%	53%	54%	43%	53%	55%
No	24	26	31	54	18	41	40	40
	31%	21%	22%	32%	19%	34%	27%	26%
Don't know	17	25	29	26	26	26	29	29
	22%	20%	20%	15%	27%	22%	20%	19%
Total	76	127	143	169	95	119	145	153
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of yes to no	1.5	2.9	2.7	1.6	2.8	1.3	1.9	2.1

Table A2-4 2019 General Election vote, 2021 Holyrood Vote and legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	2019 General Election vote					2021 Holyrood Vote				
	Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrat	SNP	Other	SNP	Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrat	Other
Yes	142	69	52	179	3	181	115	90	33	7
	70%	46%	67%	49%	29%	50%	69%	55%	63%	47%
No	27	54	13	113	5	112	21	46	4	4
	13%	36%	17%	31%	39%	31%	13%	28%	8%	26%
Don't know	34	27	12	74	4	67	30	27	15	4
	17%	18%	15%	20%	33%	19%	18%	16%	29%	27%
Total	203	150	77	366	12	360	165	163	52	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of yes to no	5.3	1.3	4.0	1.6	0.6	1.6	5.5	2.0	8.3	1.8

Note: 2021 Holyrood results rounded consistently with Survation summary report

Table A2-5 2014 Scottish Independence referendum, 2016 EU referendum and legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	2014 Scottish Independence referendum		2016 EU referendum	
	Yes	No	Leave	Remain
Yes	180	282	180	282
	50%	64%	50%	64%
No	116	79	116	79
	32%	18%	32%	18%
Don't know	63	83	63	83
	18%	19%	18%	19%
Total	359	443	359	443
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of yes to no	1.6	3.6	5.8	1.7

Table A2-6 Voters and non-voters (all age 18+) in Holyrood elections 2021 and legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	2021 Holyrood vote		
	Did vote	Did not vote	Don't know
Yes	430	92	10
	56%	50%	29%
No	189	56	12
	25%	30%	35%
Don't know	152	37	12
	20%	20%	35%
Total	771	185	34
	100%	100%	100%
<i>Ratio of yes to no</i>	2.3	1.6	2.1

Annex 3. Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity

'Transgender, or trans, is a broad term that refers to anyone who identifies as a different gender to their biological sex, whether or not they have gone through any process to change their legal status. Some transgender people may wear clothing or adopt a name not typically associated with their sex. Some may have genital surgery ('sex change' surgery), make physical changes such as breast enhancement, or take hormones to change their voice and body shape. Some transgender people may make very few, if any, changes to their appearance and lifestyle.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree that people should be able to freely express their transgender identity, for example, to dress and to present themselves how they choose?'

Table A3-1 Sex, age, and expression of transgender identity

Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity		Sex		Age group					
	All	Male	Female	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Strongly or somewhat agree	660	280	380	76	134	122	116	93	119
	64%	57%	71%	67%	77%	72%	64%	57%	53%
Strongly or somewhat disagree	132	91	40	10	15	15	28	28	36
	13%	19%	8%	9%	9%	9%	15%	17%	16%
Neither agree nor disagree	179	95	84	18	22	24	33	30	52
	17%	19%	16%	16%	13%	14%	18%	18%	23%
Don't know	56	27	30	10	4	9	5	12	16
	6%	6%	6%	9%	2%	5%	3%	7%	7%
Total	1027	493	534	114	175	170	182	163	223
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of agreement to disagreement	5.0	3.1	9.5	8.4	8.1	4.1	3.3	3.3	8.4

Table A3-2. Income, education level, and the expression of transgender identity

Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity	Household income			Education level			
	Under £20K	£20K-£39K	Over 40K	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Strongly or somewhat agree	207	224	201	117	223	94	283
	63%	62%	71%	54%	62%	67%	73%
Strongly or somewhat disagree	46	49	31	31	49	22	39
	14%	14%	11%	14%	14%	16%	10%
Neither agree nor disagree	56	72	41	55	67	17	52
	17%	20%	14%	25%	19%	12%	13%
Don't know	18	17	10	14	22	7	16
	6%	5%	4%	7%	6%	5%	4%
Total	327	362	283	217	361	140	390
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<i>Ratio of agreement to disagreement</i>	4.5	4.6	6.5	3.8	4.6	4.3	7.3

Table A3-3 Geographic region and the expression of transgender identity

Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity	Region							
	Highlands & Islands	Mid-Scot & Fife	North-East Scotland	Lothian	South Scotland	Glasgow	West Scotland	Central Scotland
Strongly or somewhat agree	49	86	87	115	59	70	97	98
	64%	68%	61%	68%	61%	59%	67%	64%
Strongly or somewhat disagree	6	17	25	21	16	13	14	19
	8%	13%	17%	13%	17%	11%	10%	13%
Neither agree nor disagree	15	20	20	23	18	26	31	27
	20%	16%	14%	14%	19%	22%	21%	18%
Don't know	6	5	12	10	2	10	4	8
	8%	4%	8%	6%	3%	8%	3%	5%
Total	76	128	144	169	95	119	146	152
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<i>Ratio of agreement to disagreement</i>	8.2	5.1	3.5	5.5	3.7	5.4	6.9	5.2

Table A3-4 2019 General Election vote, 2021 Holyrood Vote and the expression of transgender identity

Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity	2019 General Election vote					2021 Holyrood Vote				
	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	SNP	Other parties	SNP	Scottish Conservative	Scottish Labour	Scottish Lib Dem	Other parties
Strongly or somewhat agree	100	93	52	275	9	272	83	99	33	9
	49%	62%	68%	75%	72%	76%	50%	61%	64%	61%
Strongly or somewhat disagree	53	14	9	26	2	31	34	19	9	4
	26%	9%	12%	7%	18%	9%	20%	12%	18%	25%
Neither agree nor disagree	36	36	16	48	1	41	36	38	9	1
	18%	24%	20%	13%	5%	11%	22%	23%	17%	4%
Don't know	14	7	0	18	1	15	12	7	1	1
	7%	5%	0	5%	5%	4%	7%	4%	2%	9%
Total	203	150	77	367	13	359	165	163	52	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<i>Ratio of agreement to disagreement</i>	1.9	6.6	5.8	10.6	4.5	8.8	2.4	5.2	3.7	2.3

Table A3-5 2014 Scottish Independence referendum, 2016 EU referendum, and the expression of transgender identity

Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity	2014 Scottish independence referendum		2016 EU referendum	
	Yes	No	Leave	Remain
Strongly or somewhat agree	259	260	142	346
	72%	59%	49%	73%
Strongly or somewhat disagree	31	78	64	40
	9%	18%	22%	8%
Neither agree nor disagree	51	84	61	71
	14%	19%	21%	15%
Don't know	17	21	23	16
	5%	5%	8%	3%
Total	358	443	290	473
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<i>Ratio of agreement to disagreement</i>	8.4	3.3	2.2	8.7

Table A3-6 Expression of transgender identity and the legal recognition of gender

Doctor's approval needed	Should people be able to freely express their transgender identity			
	Strongly or somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Strongly or somewhat disagree	Don't know
Yes	334	97	101	14
	51%	54%	77%	25%
No	230	29	9	5
	35%	16%	7%	9%
Don't know	96	53	21	38
	15%	30%	16%	67%
Total	660	179	131	57
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ratio of agreement to disagreement	1.5	3.3	11.2	2.8

Annex 4. Savanta ComRes polling for The Scotsman 4-9/2/21: General support for principle of reform of GRA

'The Scottish Parliament is currently considering changes to gender recognition laws in Scotland. Under the proposed changes, the way trans people apply for a gender recognition certificate, the mechanism by which they can change their legal gender on their birth certificates, would be streamlined to make the process less expensive and bureaucratic, and less intrusive to trans people than the current process. However some opposition to the changes focus largely on the potential impact of allowing people to self-identify their gender in single-sex spaces such as changing rooms, and women-only shortlists.

To what extent do you support or oppose changes to the gender recognition laws in Scotland?'

Accessed from <https://comresglobal.com/polls/scottish-elections-tracker-11-february/> 6 December 2021

Table A4-1 Savanta ComRes polling on support in principle for GRA reform February 2021, sex and age

	All	Sex		Age Group					
		Male	Female	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Strongly or somewhat support	375	122	252	123	95	59	47	27	25
	37%	29%	44%	62%	54%	38%	32%	19%	13%
Strongly or somewhat oppose	256	148	106	20	20	29	45	58	84
	26%	35%	18%	10%	11%	19%	30%	42%	45%
Neither support nor oppose	269	118	150	32	48	52	50	34	53
	27%	28%	26%	16%	27%	34%	34%	24%	29%
Don't know	102	32	69	24	12	15	7	20	24
	10%	8%	12%	12%	7%	10%	5%	15%	13%

This poll was reported in [The Scotsman](#) (11 February 2021) as: '*Almost 40 per cent (37 per cent) of Scots backed the general principle of GRA reform, the poll found, with just over one in four (26 per cent) opposing the moves by the SNP to bring in rules allowing transgender people to self-identify as the gender of their choice.*' Although the report refers to self-identification, as shown above, the polling question itself did not specify this.

Table A4-2 Savanta ComRes polling on support in principle for GRA reform February 2021 Region

	Region							
	Central	Glasgow	Highlands and Islands	Lothian	Mid Scotland and Fife	North-East Scotland	South Scotland	West Scotland
Strongly or somewhat support	56	79	24	66	32	40	26	50
	41%	53%	31%	42%	29%	29%	25%	41%
Strongly or somewhat oppose	21	21	23	36	38	49	34	34
	15%	14%	30%	23%	34%	35%	33%	27%
Neither support nor oppose	43	35	22	40	32	35	36	27
	31%	23%	28%	26%	28%	25%	34%	22%
Don't know	18	16	9	14	10	15	8	12
	13%	11%	11%	9%	9%	11%	8%	10%

Table A4-3 Savanta ComRes polling on support in principle for GRA reform February 2021 Past Westminster and Holyrood vote

	Total	2019 Westminster Past Vote						2016 Holyrood Past Vote					
		Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrat	SNP	Other	Did not vote	Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrat	SNP	Other	Did not vote
Strongly or somewhat support	375	27	75	22	199	8	30	19	80	28	147	10	64
	37%	13%	47%	29%	52%	44%	28%	11%	46%	42%	47%	44%	40%
Strongly or somewhat oppose	256	107	26	26	54	8	23	108	26	18	60	8	25
	26%	54%	16%	34%	14%	41%	21%	59%	15%	28%	19%	33%	16%
Neither support nor oppose	269	53	45	18	101	2	34	42	45	18	86	4	50
	27%	26%	28%	23%	26%	13%	32%	23%	26%	28%	27%	17%	31%
Don't know	102	14	14	10	29	1	20	12	22	2	23	1	22
	10%	7%	9%	13%	8%	3%	19%	7%	13%	2%	7%	6%	14%