

**How Institutions and Social Identity Affect Policy Change:
The Case of College Sports**

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ABSTRACT

A defining feature of American democracy is its pluralism that purportedly protects against a tyranny of the majority. That pluralism can prove deleterious, however, when it inhibits the formation of coalitions needed for policy innovation. What institutions inhibit or facilitate the formation of policy coalitions? Druckman and Sharrow address this question by focusing on a novel domain: American college sports. Using data from two large-scale surveys, they show that policy debates in college sports revolve around questions of gender and race. They further demonstrate how the segregated nature of college sports—both in terms of sex and race—as well as institutions of governance subvert policy change. The former vitiates inter-personal contact that could catalyze policy coalitions, while the latter induces policy-makers to become less representative of their groups. The researchers' findings highlight novel ways that institutions shape preferences that determine policy, and accentuate how college sports offer a laboratory for studying politics.

Many people are fascinated by college sports. The massive fan base generates more than \$14 billion in annual revenue (Department of Education 2019). Others are frustrated by college sports. They point to inequities in opportunities and a system that exploits under-compensated student-athletes (e.g., Clotfelter 2019; Rhoden 2006). This group of passionate, critical, and dedicated observers has *not*, by and large, included the field of political science. We find this silence puzzling. After all, college sports involves a large-scale governance system that makes substantial policy decisions. It also exemplifies the potential power of federal law, vis-à-vis Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments that transformed the gendered composition of athletics. The governance and policy decisions within athletics impacts the lives of nearly a half-million student-athletes, employees of the massive college athletics industry, and the enthusiastic fan-base. These individuals are more than just jocks and tailgaters – they hold preferences that may or may not be taken into account in college sports policy-making. Relegating sports to the domain of leisure instead of the serious study of politics obscures a significant opportunity. At the core of college sports are questions fundamental to the field of political science – how do people form preferences?, how do coalitions form between groups?, and how do institutions affect policy-making? We argue that these questions *can* be studied in the context of college sports, and the answers provide central insights about social identity and group politics, coalition formation, and the consequences for these resulting from institutional design.

We study these issues by surveying a large sample of constituents within college athletics. Our data represent the most significant effort to date to investigate the opinions of college athletes and athletic administrators on a host of issues related to sex equity and student-athletes' benefits. We place these issues in the institutional context of college athletics

governance and derive expectations from literatures on gender, race, policy feedback, inter-personal contact, and organizational identity.

We begin, in the next section, with an overview of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the main governance institution that oversees college sports. We then discuss the historic and ongoing journeys toward inclusion within college sports of two key, but nonexclusive, groups of student-athletes: women and African-Americans. Women have long battled for equality in sports (Brake 2010; Sharrow 2017). African-Americans, a group that has endured a struggle for inclusion within higher education (Bowen and Bok 1998), have often been admitted to college via athletic opportunities. We argue that, as a result of their experiences, members of these identity groups hold distinct policy preferences on widely debated sports-related issues. This includes laws meant to expand opportunities for women and rules regarding payment for student-athletes.

The centrality of gendered and racialized concerns in college sports have three additional implications. First, we argue that particular identities (e.g., women and African-Americans) matter for policy opinions; however, perhaps even more importantly, attitudes about race (e.g., racial conservatism) and gender (e.g., hostile sexism) also shape policy preferences for all individuals. Second, in order for these student-athlete identity groups to affect policy change, they need to build coalitions. We argue that this occurs via inter-personal contact/conversation such that the more out-group student-athletes (e.g., men and white athletes) interact with women and/or African-Americans, the more they come to share their perspectives on policy concerns. However, two structural features define college athletics: an overwhelmingly sex segregated system (where men and women almost never directly compete and rarely train together), and a high concentration of African-Americans in select sports among an otherwise disproportionately

white athlete populous. These structures limit interaction between women and men, and between the majority of white and African-American athletes.

Third, preferences of policy constituents – i.e., student-athletes – are impactful only to the extent of institutional response. As we discuss below, the NCAA (and its member institutions) is not designed to be a responsive democratic structure, instead resembling an economic entity answerable to athletic administrators and its fan base. This institutional design creates a disconnect between the preferences of student-athletes and the policies that govern college sport. We develop theoretical expectations which suggest that those who work in the governance structure have preferences that evolve away from those held by others in their identity groups (e.g., women administrators become less supportive of gender equity policies).

The context of college sports thus allows us to test novel propositions about (1) when identity shapes policy preferences, (2) how identity-based coalitions can be both forged – via interpersonal contact – and also undermined by institutionalized segregation, and (3) how governing institutions can alter the preferences of individuals who inhabit them (i.e., athletic administrators). Our findings speak to central political questions and accentuate the opportunities for studying the politics of sports.¹

College Sports and the NCAA

We situate our study of college sports' stakeholders in the context of the NCAA. Although leadership is multi-focal in college athletics, the NCAA authors the rules for

¹ There are exceptions to the general absence of sport-related research within political science; however, it would be inaccurate to characterize the discipline as having a subfield of sports politics, which differentiates it from economics, psychology, and sociology.

competition and eligibility at all member institutions. As a private, non-profit membership association, the NCAA oversees almost half a million college student-athletes at nearly 1,300 institutions, who compete in twenty-four sports across three “Divisions.”² In its current formulation, the NCAA stages ninety national championships and legislates policies that govern athletics. Their governance structure operates through a system of more than 150 committees, populated by more than 1,500 elected individuals from member institutions (NCAA 2019a). The pre-eminent committee is the NCAA Board of Directors; the NCAA also has a president who reports to the Board and often operates as the public face of the association. Otherwise, there exist twelve association-wide committees as well as many Division-specific and sport-specific governing committees. As intimated, all individuals on committees must be employed by a member institution, with the vast majority coming from athletic administration personnel at NCAA schools.

The NCAA committees create and revise governing policies for college sports, most notably policies concerning *women’s opportunities* and *amateurism* (Sack and Staurowsky 1998). Examples of the former include the creation of leadership positions such as the “Senior Woman Administrator,” and the publication of reports on the status of gender equity in college sports (e.g., NCAA 2017). The NCAA, from an implementation perspective, supports schools in meeting the basic requirements of Title IX (20 U.S.C. §1681), which require institutions host sex

² There are three Divisions within the NCAA. Divisions I and II can grant scholarships while Division III cannot. There exist other college sports governance bodies (e.g., the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics), but they are dwarfed by the NCAA.

equitable opportunities, scholarships, and institutional support. On amateurism, the NCAA takes a clear stance against most types of direct compensation to student-athletes.

Notably, any meaningful policy change occurs via the NCAA's committees, and thus, the policymakers of interest are the athletic administrators who populate the committees. These individuals direct policy as well as Title IX and NCAA rule implementation at their home institutions. The NCAA does not claim to be a democratic structure answerable to the student-athletes whose policies it most directly affects (Nixon 2014). Student-athletes have limited access points through seats on some of the committees but they are not directly involved in choosing committee membership.

Sports For All?: Women and College Sports

Sports historically excluded women (Boiché et al. 2014; Cahn 1995).³ One of the most significant interventions to the gendered order of sports came from the passage of the aforementioned Title IX – a U.S. federal law that, in its implementation, dramatically altered the landscape of college sports (Sharrow 2017; Brake 2010). The law expanded athletic opportunities; women's participation was twelve times greater in 2014 than prior to Title IX's passage (Acosta and Carpenter 2014). Even so, inequalities in college sports persist (Cooky and LaVoi 2012), leading to public debate in three domains: (1) equitable resource and opportunity allocation, (2) sex integrated athletic competition, and (3) increasing representation of women in coaching and administrative positions.

³ In 2018-19, women account for 44% of all college athletes (NCAA 2018b), a disproportionately small percent compared to their enrollment among undergraduates which is 56% (NCES 2019).

Although federal law dictates that resource allocation must not be unreasonably disproportionate (see Office for Civil Rights 1996), the NCAA has a great deal of latitude in guiding institutions. For example, there remain vast inequities in spending; one study reports that men receive 43% more spending among Big 10 schools (one of the major athletic conferences in the NCAA) (Druckman, Rothschild, and Sharrow 2018, appendix). Sex segregation is stark – incentivized by Title IX, and implemented by NCAA with sex-segregated championships (e.g., distinct women’s basketball and men’s basketball championships) – such that men and women almost never directly compete and rarely train together. Finally, underrepresentation of women in college coaching and administration has been marginally addressed with the aforementioned creation and tracking of women’s leadership positions; nevertheless, inequalities remain significant with 79% of athletic directors, the pre-eminent administrative position at schools, being men, and 59% of head coaches of *women* teams being men (NCAA 2009, 2017).

We investigate how stakeholders form preferences and make advocacy decisions when it comes to these areas of gender equity (i.e., resources, segregation, leadership). Our expectations emerge from the policy feedback literature that suggests that the experiences of individuals affected by policies shape their preferences (e.g., Jacobs and Mettler 2018; Lerman and McCabe 2017; Mettler and Soss 2004). In this case, women will be more likely to be impacted by inequalities (e.g., lower quality facilities and events, fewer leadership opportunities), and to observe them due to the salience of gender as an identity that often shapes reasoning (e.g., Burns and Kinder 2012; Strolovitch 1998).

Hypothesis 1. Relative to men student-athletes, women student-athletes will be more likely to support gender equity policies and take political action on such policies, all else constant.

Sports as a Means for Incorporation: African Americans and College Sports

American sports have forever been entangled with race (Rhoden 2006). In the U.S., one manifestation concerns the connection between college sports and for civil rights (e.g., Bass 2002), as evidenced by more than a century of race-related political protests (e.g., Epstein and Kisska-Schulze 2016). Relatedly, athletic scholarships have served as a point of comparison to extant controversies over the use of race in college admission decisions (i.e., admission based on athletic talent as opposed to race-based admission decisions). Unlike race, few question the use of athletic talent as a criterion for admissions (see, e.g., Sotomayor 2014). That African-Americans compose a greater share of scholarship student-athletes than their proportion of the undergraduate population (Fobanjong 2001; Harper 2018) coupled with a history of barriers to higher education means that “college sports are often heralded as vehicles for racial integration and social mobility” (Van Rheenen 2013, 551). College sports have served as a means of access to higher education.

However, athletic scholarships alone do not ensure academic success. There is increasing attention to insufficient student support that weighs heavily on the abilities of student-athletes to graduate, and to the economic hardship stemming from amateurism and scholarship rules (e.g., Hawkins 2010; Nance-Nash 2011). This inadequacy becomes accentuated when compared with the vast revenues generated by college sports, particularly by men’s basketball and football of which African-Americans constitute a large percentage – African-Americans makeup 50% of student-athletes who play men’s basketball or football (in the data described below), and only 10% in all other sports. Some claim that this amounts to exploitation with African Americans being valued more as athletes than as students – reflecting the long history of racial dehumanization (Hawkins 2010; McCants 2018). This speaks directly to the aforementioned

debates about amateurism in college athletics. More specifically, there exist a set of potential, hotly debated policies that would expand benefits for college-athletes thereby facilitating their educational success and/or vitiating ostensible exploitation. Yet, these also intersect with concerns about professionalization. These “benefits policies” – discussed in a recent major report on college sports (Commission on College Basketball 2018) – include (1) financial compensation, (2) guaranteed scholarships, and 3) enhanced medical coverage. The latter two issues have direct relevance to African-Americans insofar as the graduation rate of African-American student-athletes continues to be substantially lower than all other groups of student-athletes and students in general (Harper 2018). Further, African-Americans tend to participate in sports – particularly football and basketball – where the injury rates far exceed those in other sports (Kerr et al. 2015).

When it comes to preferences and advocacy on these issues, then, we expect racial identity to matter both due to their experiences in terms of lower graduation rates and higher medical risks, but also to feelings of exploitation. It is the case that exploitation may be *most* apparent only for a small number of disproportionately African-American student-athletes who compete in the revenue generating sports (men’s basketball and football). Even so, we expect that the intertwined history of race, sports and athletic scholarships will lead African-American student-athletes, regardless of economic circumstance or sport played, to be more supportive of benefits policies.⁴ This stems from a feeling of “linked fate” among African-Americans: an

⁴ In a study of 581 NCAA Division 1 athletes, Van Rheenen (2011) finds the subjective feeling of being exploited to be far more common and pronounced among African Americans.

“acute sense of awareness (or recognition) that what happens to the group will also affect the individual member” (Simien 2005, 529).

Hypothesis 2. Relative to non-African-American student-athletes, African-American student-athletes will be more likely to support benefits policies and take political action on such policies, all else constant

Sources of Separation and Coalition

Our hypotheses thus far focus on the experiential differences of social groups in college athletics. We further argue that attitudes *towards* these groups – that is, women and African-Americans – influence opinions about gender equity and benefits policies. Consider that gender equity initiatives directly benefit women, and contradict conservative stereotype beliefs that sport should be the domain of men (Boiché, Chalabaev, and Sarrazin 2014; Chalabaev et al. 2013, 138). This is a belief likely held by those with higher levels of sexism (i.e., concerning traditional gender roles).

Hypothesis 3. Compared to those who exhibit low levels of sexism, individuals who exhibit high levels of sexism will be less likely to support gender equity policies and take political action on such policies, all else constant.

We theorize an analogous dynamic involving racial attitudes in the context of benefits policies. While African-Americans constitute a minority of student-athletes, many view this group as primary beneficiaries of expanded compensation policies. Relative to their proportion in colleges, African Americans receive a disproportionate number of athletic scholarships (e.g., Kantrowitz 2011) – for instance, we find (in the data described below) that African-Americans constitute 18% of those with athletic scholarships, while they make-up 14% of the national post-secondary study body (de Brey et al. 2019, 127). Further, much of the public discourse

concerning benefits focuses on men's basketball and football in which, as mentioned, African-Americans account for a near majority of student-athletes (also see Harper 2018, 3). This leads to an ostensible perception that the main beneficiaries of athletic scholarships are African-Americans (Fobanjong 2001, 128). It follows then that those with negative attitudes towards the primary perceived beneficiary group – that is, those with racially conservative attitudes – will be opposed to benefits policies (e.g., Nelson and Kinder 1996, Wallsten et al. 2017).

Hypothesis 4. Relative to those who exhibit low levels of racial conservatism, individuals who exhibit high levels of racial conservatism will be less likely to support benefits policies and take action on such policies.

Our discussion thus far suggests that there may be countervailing forces when it comes to reform in college sports. Two groups have reason to seek policy change but they differ on what to prioritize, and the reality of finite budgets generate conflict (e.g., resources allocated to ensure sex equity cannot be used to enhance benefits). Moreover, those with negative attitudes towards particular groups may oppose any reforms proposed by the groups. This is an age-old pluralist question regarding how groups – in our case those with particular identities – build coalitions (e.g., Schattschneider 1960; Strolowitch 2007; Weldon 2011). Specifically, how do women student-athletes induce men student-athletes to support gender equity policy, and how do African-American student-athletes sway those from other racial groups to support benefits policies?

The answer partially rests in the social context in which student-athletes live. One of the most noted social science theories suggests that contact with different groups affects attitudes (e.g., Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, 2011). The focus of much of this work is on how increased contact leads to diminished prejudice (e.g., as contact with African-Americans increases, white

racial prejudice decreases). That said, related work reveals how heterogeneous interactions also affect an understanding of other's views (Mutz 2006, 74–87) and can even lead people to change their policy views (Druckman, Levendusky, and McLain 2018; Ugarriza and Caluwaerts 2014). This suggests that the more men/non-African-Americans student-athletes interact with women/African-American student-athletes, the more they understand the perspectives relevant to these groups and support equality/benefits policies.

Of course, such contact dynamics likely involve individuals putting aside their self-interest; yet, we expect this might occur. In the case of gender, Druckman et al. (2018) show the vast majority of male student-athletes endorse a norm of equality in college sports, but vary in their perceptions about the extent of inequality. Contact with female student-athletes can allow men to learn of unequal conditions and experiences – which, as mentioned, objectively exist – and to update their policy views to comport with the norms they endorse. For benefits policies, contact with African-Americans can facilitate learning about the aforementioned historical perspective, or, perhaps more importantly, give a picture of the resource challenges faced by African-American student athletes who are disproportionately more likely to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (see, e.g., online Appendix 7 discussion of parental education) and may be in greater need of expanded benefits (Harper 2018).⁵

⁵ The inter-personal contact literature has provided mixed results (e.g., Paluck, Green, and Green 2018); however, we later discuss why the conditions for effective contact seem to exist in the domain of college sports.

Hypothesis 5. As contact with women student-athletes increases, men student athletes will become more supportive of equity policies and more likely to take political action on such policies, all else constant.

Hypothesis 6. As contact with African-American student-athletes increases, non-African-American student athletes will become more supportive of benefits policies and more likely to political actions on such policies, all else constant.

Institutionally Induced Preferences

Student-athletes can express their preferences but policy change only occurs if those higher in the athletic hierarchy make it so. To assess how student-athletes views may be received by those empowered within athletic institutions, we turn to opinions of “athletic department administrators.” We focus on individuals who: (1) have the potential to directly affect policy via the aforementioned NCAA rule-making committees, (2) work to implement policy at individual schools (e.g., hiring of coaches, resource allocation, program initiatives), and (3) have regular contact with student-athletes. This group comprises potential “representatives” of student-athletes in the policy-making process (e.g., they interact with student-athletes); they also shape the culture in which student-athletes live and compete. Examples of members of this group include those in the athletic director’s office, medical personnel, athletic performance staff, and academic services staff (see online Appendix 1). We researched the composition of NCAA committees and found that the individual positions from which we sampled populate the vast majority of committee members.

We expect that those who *descriptively* represent our focal groups – women and African-Americans – will be more supportive (relative to administrators not from those groups) of the relevant policy changes. In the case of women administrators, they are direct beneficiaries since

they often work in the domain of women's sports and they are also affected by reforms such as efforts to increase women coaches and administrators. For African-American administrators, we expect that the aforementioned "linked fate" dynamic should be at work. More generally, research on public opinion shows that women and African-Americans exhibit more support for equity policies and benefits policies, respectively (Sigelman and Wilcox 2001; Mondello et al. 2013). We thus expect that descriptively representative policy-makers have an independent interest in pursuing the substantive policy changes in line with their constituent groups' desires. This type of descriptive-substantive representation – where descriptively representative administrators work to enact policies in their group's interests – is even more crucial since the NCAA is not a democratic organization where policymakers (i.e., administrators) are held directly accountable to those affected (i.e., student-athletes) (Nixon 2014). Consequently, identity group members offer the best opportunity for student-athlete representation, in light of shared interest and linked fate.

Simultaneously, we suspect that women/African-American administrators will be less supportive of policy change than their student-athlete group members and will differ in ways that move them away from directly representing women/African-American student-athlete group preferences. This expectation follows from research on organizational identity that shows how the workplace stimulates identity and preference change: "People spend a considerable portion of their lives at work or otherwise engaged in work-related activities. Correspondingly, organizations are often crucial in shaping a person's identity... occupational environments can also motivate change in personal traits and identity" (Miscenko and Day 2016, 216; also see Wille and De Fruyt 2014). When a work identity conflicts with a social identity (e.g., gender, race), individuals engage in coping strategies that often involve altering their personal

perspectives so as to assimilate. This is particularly the case for subordinated social status groups including minorities and women (e.g., Chattopadhyay, Tluchowska, and George 2004; Derks, Van Laar, and Ellemers 2006).

For our purposes, this literature suggests that once individuals enter an organizational structure – in our case the NCAA – their perspectives, identities, and behaviors can be altered to align with majoritarian perspectives of the institution.⁶ While the administrators on which we focus are best situated to understand and potentially channel student-athletes’ preferences, the policy changes which we expect women and African-American athletes will support (see Hypotheses 1 and 2) are in contrast with the NCAA’s “official” positions. Indeed, despite increased discussion about scholarships and medical care (e.g., Commission on College Basketball 2018), the NCAA leadership maintains a firm stance against any financial compensation for student-athletes and against the unionization of student-athletes (see discussion in online Appendix 5). The universities and conferences that comprise the membership of the NCAA (i.e., the organizational structure of college sports) share this official stance and are charged with monitoring adherence to NCAA policies – thus, these organizational pressures come from both the NCAA and the individual institutions in which administrators work.⁷ It follows then that African-Americans who are in administrative (leadership) roles may face a

⁶ This idea echoes parts of Michels’ (1911) iron law of oligarchy that posits the emergence of an elite ruling class in organizations where the leaders become “detached from the mass... [and develop] their own way of thinking” (66-67).

⁷ This likely occurs, in part, because administrators internalize NCAA policies because they are charged with enforcing them and/or reporting violations when they occur.

situation of identity conflict wherein their racial identity leads them to advocate strongly for benefits policies, but their professional identity pushes in the opposite direction. To adapt, African-American administrators are likely to temper their perspectives, and, relative to African-American student-athletes, be less supportive of benefits policies (although for the aforementioned reasons, we continue to expect relatively strong support when compared to non-African-American administrators).⁸

Hypothesis 7. The effect of being an African-American will have a smaller impact on support for benefits policies among administrators relative to its effect among student-athletes, all else constant.

We expect a similar dynamic to emerge among women administrators. The NCAA and member institutions have not strongly opposed moving toward policies such as equal spending for men's and women's sports, rules to increase the number of women coaches/athletic directors, or sex integrated teams; however, nor have they been particularly supportive of such measures (and such measures are not directly required by Title IX). Put another way, moving beyond the requisites of Title IX would involve policy innovation. Women administrators, then, face an identity conflict when it comes to these equity policies between their gender identity (that may inspire advocating for policy innovation) and professional identities (that may lead them to

⁸ Some work suggests that adaptation might lead to a reversal (e.g., African-American administrators become even less supportive of benefits than non-African-American administrators) so as strongly prove loyalty to the organization (e.g., Brown and Frank 2006).

We do not think the organizational pressures here (on these issues) are sufficiently strong for this to happen.

support the status quo). As with African-Americans, we suspect women will adjust by moderating their opinions on gender equality policies to conform to the organizational perspective.⁹

Hypothesis 8. The effect of being a woman will have a smaller impact on support for equity policies among administrators relative to its effect among student-athletes, all else constant.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 suggest that institutions can alter the impact of identity on public policy opinions. While this possibility follows from extant theory, it is not a proposition that has received much, if any, direct testing. We also expect that hypotheses 1-6 to hold for the administrator population. As intimated, we expect a direct effect of gender and race on equality and benefits policies, respectively, although we theorize that the effects will be smaller among administrators. This population, like any other, will further base their opinions partially on their gender and racial attitudes given the nature of the policies. Finally, we expect contact with *student-athletes* who are experiencing the effects of the policies will alter administrators' views in the same ways as posited by hypotheses 5-6. Such contact, we argue, can engender important insights which will lead administrators to understand and work in the best interests of the student-athletes to the extent possible.¹⁰

⁹ This is consistent with the “queen bee” response where women in organizations traditionally dominated by men use individual adaptive strategies by distancing themselves from the disadvantaged (female) group (Derks, Van Laar, and Ellemers 2016, 459).

¹⁰ We pre-registered our hypotheses at aspredicted.org, #11833.

Data

To test our hypotheses, we drew a random sample, stratified by NCAA Division, of 257 schools. For all of the sampled schools, we obtained e-mail contact information for all administrators and for 63 of the schools, we obtained student-athlete contact information.¹¹ During the summer of 2018, we invited individuals to participate in a 13 minute survey with the goal of learning “what stakeholders think about various issues involving college sports.” Details on sampling and implementation appear in online Appendices 1 and 2.

We obtained a final sample of 2,539 student-athletes and 862 administrators. We weighted our samples by race, sex, Division, and, in the case of student-athletes, sport. Details on weighting appear in online Appendix 3 and the demographic breakdowns of the samples appear in online Appendix 4. For the administrator survey, we asked how many hours in a typical week they spend working directly with student-athletes. This matters because we partially justified our administrator sampling approach based on them regularly interacting with student-athletes. This proved to be accurate with administrators report interacting with student-athletes, on average, 31.24 (std. dev. = 21.28) hours a week with a median score of 29.5.

The survey contained items for our main policy outcomes: *gender equity policy*, *benefits policy*, and *budget allocation*. For *gender equity policy*, we created a scale that captures three areas of innovation: (1) enforcement of equity rules / resource allocation, (2) possibilities for mixed/sex-integrated sports, and (3) rules to increase numbers of women coaches and athletic directors. As detailed in online Appendix 5, these three dimensions define contemporary gender

¹¹ There are substantially more student-athletes than administrators at a given school and hence we did not need to use as many schools to draw a suitable student-athlete sample.

equity debates (see, e.g., Brake 2010; Sharrow 2019; Cooky and LaVoi 2012); for each of the three dimensions, we included multiple measures as described the first row of Table 1. We scaled all of the total of 10 items into a single average scale, the respective alphas for student-athletes and administrators are .86 and .82. To assess opinion on *benefits policy*, we also focus on three components: (1) financial compensation, (2) guaranteed scholarships, and (3) medical coverage. Again, we explain our focus in online Appendix 5 and display the specifics in Table 1. We created another single average scale for student-athletes and administrators based on the 8 items, with the alphas being .79 and .77. The survey also included a *budget allocation* item that forced respondents to grapple with the reality of finite resources to support college sports. It asked them to allocate percentages of a budget across six items, three of which involved gender equity initiatives, and three aimed at expanding benefits; Table 1 displays the details. We created a scale that summed the benefits allocation – that is, it totaled the percentage allocated to benefits programs instead of equality initiatives.

Finally, we included a set of measures of *political action items for the student-athletes*, and *responsiveness items for the administrators*. The political action items asked student-athletes how likely (or unlikely) they would be to take a set of 9 different actions, as described in Table 1, to advocate for greater gender equity in college sports, or more rights or benefits ($\alpha = .92$, $\alpha = .91$, respectively). The response items asked the administrators the likelihood they would respond to inquiries from student-athletes to discuss gender equity, or benefits inquiries. Taken together, the action and responsiveness items allow us to explore something akin to democratic responsiveness within college athletics, exploring who takes political action aimed at policy

Table 1: Outcome Measures

Measure	Components	Specific Items By Component
Gender equity policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enforcement / resource allocation for gender equity • Mixed/sex-integrated gender sports • Increasing women coaches and athletic directors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition/Support for Title IX, more equal opportunities, equal spending, more enforcement of sexual harassment laws. • Opposition/Support for allowing qualified women to participate on individual, team non-contact, team contact, and football men’s teams. • Opposition/Support for requiring schools to interview women for head coaching and athletic director jobs.
Benefits policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial compensation, • Guaranteed scholarships • Medical coverage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition/Support for paying student-athletes, allowing marketing of names/images, allowing compensation for sponsorships, allowing unionization. • Opposition/Support for scholarships for former student-athletes to complete degrees, guaranteed scholarships regardless of if the student remained an athlete. • Opposition/Support for requiring schools to provide basic medical coverage, to provide lifetime coverage for injuries occurring during one’s college career.
Budget allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent allocate to compensation policies as opposed to gender equity policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of budget would allocate to each of six initiatives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Paying student-athletes, guaranteed scholarships, guaranteed medical coverage (compensation initiatives). ○ Ensure equal opportunities, enforcement of sexual harassment laws, supports for women coaches (gender equity initiatives).
Student-athlete political action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocating for gender equity • Advocating for more rights/benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For each policy area (gender equity/benefits): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Likelihood of talking to a coach, athletic director, student-athletes. ○ Likelihood of writing a college president, media outlet, politician. ○ Likelihood of protesting during a competition, outside of a competition, or signing a petition.
Administrator responsiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Likelihood of responding to student-athlete inquiry regarding gender equity • Likelihood of responding to student-athlete inquiry regarding rights/ benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Likelihood of responding to inquiry to discuss gender equity among student-athletes. • Likelihood of responding to inquiry to discuss benefits and compensation for student-athletes.

change and who is most likely to respond.¹² We do not offer explicit hypotheses when it comes to responsiveness, although we expect gender and race to matter as in the other hypotheses.

The survey also included independent measures that allow us to test our hypotheses. It asked individuals to report their gender (male, female, other), and we created a dummy variable to indicate “female.” For race, we asked respondents to choose which of seven racial or ethnic groups best describe them, and created a variable for “African-American” respondents. To measure racial conservatism, we used three items: opposition to affirmative action, perceptions that racial discrimination is no longer a problem in the U.S., and opposition to giving those with disadvantaged social backgrounds preferential treatment in college admissions. These items capture issues of race in higher education settings with two focusing on issues which undergird the theoretical framework offered above ($\alpha = .67$ in the student-athlete data and $\alpha = .70$ in the administrator data). We used a four item hostile sexism scale (Glick and Fiske 1996) to test our hypotheses that sexist attitudes decrease support for gender equity policies ($\alpha = .90$ in the student athlete data and $\alpha = .87$ in the administrator data). For contact, we asked individuals to report – of the total amount of time they spend with student-athletes, how much of that, percentage-wise is with one of four demographic groups: White men, African-American men, White women, and African-American women (see Druckman et al. 2018; Paluck, Shepherd, and Aronow 2016, 567). We then compute variables for percent contact for men with women student-athletes, and

¹² We recognize that our “response” does not involve policy-making directly but rather what might be thought of as constituent engagement. On the importance of this type of representation, see, Fenno (1978), Neblo et al. (2010), Druckman and Valdes (2019).

percent contact for non-African-Americans with African-American student-athletes.¹³ More details on and justification for our independent measures, including why we operationally equate demographic status/categorization with gender and racial identity rather than using identity strength items, and why we are confident in our causal inferences (e.g., not concerned about reverse causation problems), appear in online Appendix 6.

Table 2: Independent Variables

Variables to Test Hypotheses	Controls for Both Groups	Controls for Student-Athletes	Controls for Administrators
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female • African-American • Hostile Sexism • Racial Conservatism • % Contact with women student-athletes • % Contact with African-American student-athletes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other minority (excluded group = White) • Religion (excluded group = Protestant): Catholic, Non-Christian religion, No religion • Family income • NCAA Division (excluded group = Division 1): Division 2, Division 3 • Conservative ideology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year in school • Parent College Educated • Full or partial athletic scholarship • Full or partial academic scholarship • Membership on a co-ed team • Football player. • Men’s Basketball player • For the political action outcomes, school and political external and internal efficacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Administrative area (excluded group = other): administration, medical, academic, performance strength • Years in field • Head of department • Played varsity sport in college • Works directly with a co-ed team • Works directly with a woman’s team

We also included a host of control variables for student-athletes and administrators. In Table 2, we provide a list of our aforementioned main independent variables, our control variables for both samples, and those used for each sample only. In online Appendix 7, we

¹³ Our measure of contact frequency coheres with a large scale meta-analysis that concludes what matters most in driving discussion effects is the amount of discussion (Amsalem and Nir 2019).

explain the rationale for each control variable. The wording for the outcome measures and all independent variables appear in online Appendix 8.

Student-Athlete Results

We test hypotheses 1-6 by regressing the relevant outcome variables on the main independent variables and the control variables (see Table 2). In Table 3, we present a subset of the results – specifically, the coefficients needed to test our hypotheses – that allow for statistical tests of our predictions. We present the full regressions with controls in online Appendix 9.¹⁴ Then, in Figure 1, we display the predicted mean values for key subgroups (among women and among African-Americans), setting all other variables at their mean values. We also include, in Figure 1, predicted values (with 95% confidence intervals) to isolate at the effect of contact. We do this by looking at the results when contact for potential coalitional allies increases to 25% which is an increase of roughly one to one and a half standard deviations over the mean contact (the average contact over the entire samples ranges from 9% to 15% – see online Appendix 4).¹⁵

¹⁴ We present the results broken down by gender equity and compensation dimension, as well as those for Division 1 student-athletes only in online Appendix 11.

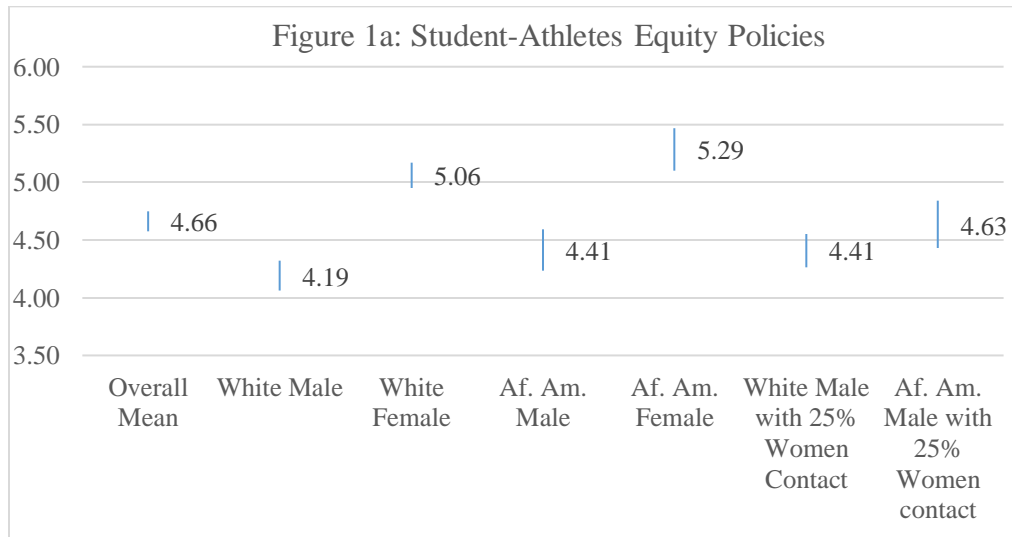
¹⁵ To generate the predictions, we use *Clarify* (Tomz, Wittenberg, and King 2003). We take the “average person” on all variables and shift the relevant demographic features (e.g., gender/race).

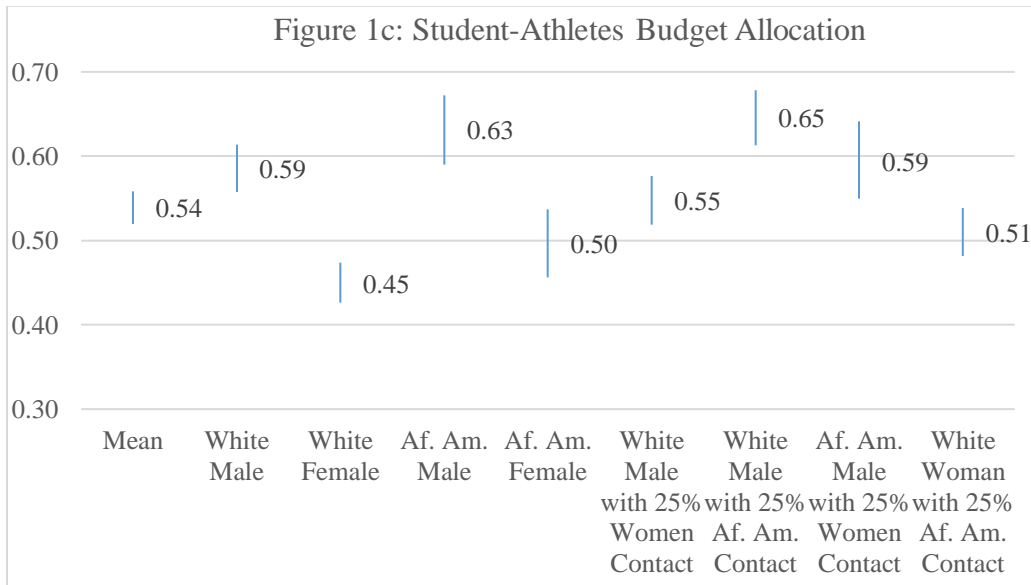
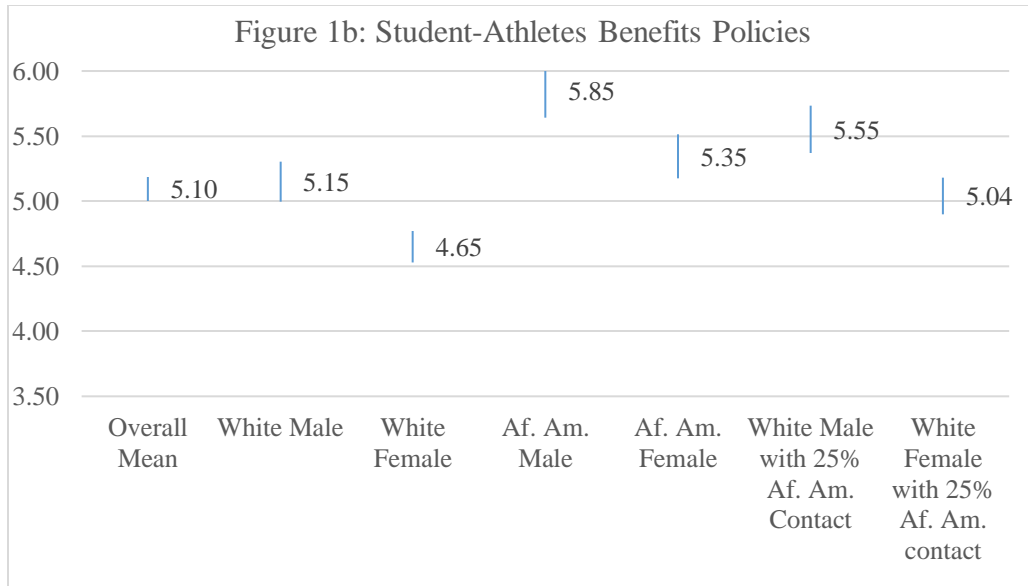
Table 3: Student-Athlete Policy Support and Budget Allocation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	1.009*** (0.104)	-0.547*** (0.123)	-0.157*** (0.022)
African-American	0.146 (0.100)	0.981*** (0.109)	0.089*** (0.024)
Racial Conservatism	-1.396*** (0.154)	-1.081*** (0.167)	0.095*** (0.034)
Hostile Sexism	-1.201*** (0.126)	0.162 (0.145)	0.098*** (0.027)
% Male-Female Contact	1.433*** (0.522)	-0.480 (0.618)	-0.235** (0.114)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.723** (0.354)	2.722*** (0.404)	0.414*** (0.078)
...(see control results in appendix)			
Observations	2,408	2,408	2,408
R-squared	0.519	0.215	0.207

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1: Student-Athlete Predicted Values for Policies and Budget Allocation





The first model in Table 3 involves gender equity policies. We see strong support for hypotheses 1, 3 and 5. Women are dramatically more supportive of gender equity policies, by more than a full point on the 7-point scale – about 17% more supportive than men (hypothesis 1). Clearly, women demand policy innovation that would prompt increased equity. We also see a strong, significant impact of sexist attitudes. Consistent with hypothesis 3, as individuals become more sexist, they become more opposed to equity policies. Perhaps most interesting, we see a clear contact effect as predicted by hypothesis 5. As men student-athletes interact more with

women student-athletes, they become more supportive of equity policy (i.e., the significant positive coefficient on male-women contact). The effect of gender is large – Figure 1a, for example, shows that the predicted average score for a white student-athlete women is 5.06 compared to 4.19 for white men; the difference by gender among African-Americans is even larger moving by .88 on the scale, and African-American women have the highest predicted score of all groups.

The magnitude of the direct gender effect differs from the size of the contact effect. We see, for example, that a white man with average contact (which is 9%) scores at 4.19 and moves up to 4.41 (.22 points) when he spends 25% of his time with women student-athletes. The movement is similar among African-American men – from 4.41 to 4.63. On the one hand, these movements are meaningful as they suggest a path to a policy coalition via inter-personal contact. This novel finding accentuates the role of networks in policy opinions (e.g., Sinclair 2012).¹⁶ On the other hand, the impact is not large, particularly given that we focus on men with 25% contact which at present is not the norm. In our sample, approximately 80% of male student athletes report having *less* than this much contact (or about 20% report having that much or more). In short, opinions about gender equity policy are rooted in gender identity; this creates a challenge for policy reform since women make up a minority of student-athletes. The contact result reveals a possible way to sway men but, as currently structured, large amounts of cross-gender contact in sports is minimal. Sports are largely organized through a sex segregated system where men's and

¹⁶ We also find a significant negative effect of white – African-American contact, suggesting that those individuals may become more supportive of benefits policies (as we next show) and recognize the conflict with gender equity policies.

women's teams nearly always practice and compete separately, and otherwise seem to rarely intermingle. Our results highlight an understudied political consequence of segregated sports and, more generally, institutions to segregate different groups that may require mutual support to form policy coalitions (see also McDonagh and Pappano 2007; Sharrow 2019).¹⁷

The results for benefits policy – shown in model 2 in Table 3 – reveal similar dynamics on the basis of racial identity. African-Americans are nearly a full point more likely to support benefits policy, as predicted by hypothesis 2 (nearly a 17% increase relative to non-African Americans). Figure 1b reveals the race-based differences, with African-American males registering a very high score of 5.85 – near the top of the scale – compared to white males who still are quite supportive but not as much so at 5.15. Analogously, African-American women scores a 5.35 compared to 4.65 for white women. That the scores among women are lower within race, follows from the interesting finding that women student-athletes exhibit significantly more opposition to benefits expansion. This presumably reflects their recognition that such policies would likely come at a budgetary cost to gender equity. This differs from African-American attitudes on gender equity policies where opposition was low perhaps because potential tradeoffs are less apparent in that direction.

¹⁷ Consider that only 9% of the total sample report participating on co-ed teams. For those men, the average contact with women score is nearly 19% (std. dev.: 9%) compared to about 16% (8%) for other ($t_{953} = 1.89, p < .06$). In terms of teams, the ones for which men reported the most contact with women were track and field, and swimming (which is sensible given those teams often share training facilities across sex).

As suggested by hypothesis 4, model 2 in Table 3 shows that racially conservative student-athletes significantly oppose expanded benefits – even though some of them would be the beneficiaries. We also again find clear evidence of a contact effect: as white student-athletes interact more with African-American student-athletes, they become more supportive of compensation policies. Figure 1b shows, for instance, that a white male who interacts with African-American student-athletes an average amount (i.e., 10%) supports compensation policies at about 5.15, while the comparable white female is at 4.65. When the interactions with African-Americans rises to 25% of the time, the scores move respectively to 5.55 and 5.04 – about a 6.5% increase.

This suggests pathways for benefits coalition formation but, as is this case with gender equity policy, the current organization of college athletics does not support high levels of such contact. Fewer than 5% of white student-athletes spend 25% of their time interacting with African-Americans. These low levels of contact partially reflect the disproportionate distribution of African-Americans among sports, unlike low levels of contact between women and men which is institutionalized through segregated teams. For instance, of all African-American student-athletes in our sample, nearly 81% of them are concentrated in the three sports of football, basketball, and track and field (among non-African-Americans, these sports constitute about 39%). Alternatively, African-Americans account for nearly 28% of student-athletes in those three sports compared to just 6% in all other sports. The consequence is skewed interpersonal, cross-race interactions. Non-African-Americans who participate in the aforementioned three sports report an average interaction with African-Americans 15% (standard deviation = 9%) of the time, compared to just 10.5% (standard deviation = 8%) for those in other sports ($t_{2313} = 8.07; p < .01$). This illustrates that the possibility for coalition building is partially impeded due

to the disproportionate racial composition and distribution of college sports. The concentration of African-Americans in those three sports also reflect historic cultural forces that prioritize those sports, partially for socio-economic reasons (Hawkins 2010).

Notably, a comparison of the average means in Figures 1a and 1b illustrates that student-athletes support compensation policies (5.10) at a higher level than equity policies (4.66), on average. We put this to a stricter test with our budget allocation item, asking student-athletes to allocate percentages of a budget to either equity programs or benefits programs. We display the results in model 3 of Table 3 and Figure 1c. First, Figure 1c makes clear that, on average, student-athletes somewhat favor benefits over equity with a budget allocation of 54% to benefits programs. We also see clear support for all but one of our hypotheses: (1) women allocate nearly 16% more of the budget to gender equity program, than men, (2) African-Americans allocate nearly 9% more to benefits policies than non-African-Americans, (3) increased levels of sexist beliefs leads to less allocation to gender equity programs (and more to benefits), and (4) interpersonal interactions with women and African-Americans have the same predicted effect as seen with the prior results. The one exception is that more racially conservative individuals actually place more of the budget into benefits rather than equity policies, likely reflecting that these individuals generally oppose any equality measure. As with the above results, the size of the contact effects are not large but they are still significant and meaningful. The bottom line is when faced with the realities of a finite budget, identity politics within constituent groups drive policy decisions – and racially conservative and sexist attitudes limit support for the impacted identity groups while inter-personal contact increases support, but in a fairly constrained fashion (for the aforementioned segregation reasons).

Finally, in Table 4, models 1-2, and Figure 2a-b, we present the results for the political action items.¹⁸ We will not offer a detailed discussion here as the findings largely mimic the dynamics found in the attitudinal and budget allocation items –the identity, attitudinal, and contact effects carryover to not just policy support but also to taking action on those policies.¹⁹ In sum, our results reveal how politics around group identity create a challenge to policy reform. Group identity politics generate distinct coalitions with contrasting goals when there are finite resources and opponents possessing racially conservative or sexist attitudes. Contact between groups creates a potential pathway to coalition formation but such contact is limited by the institutional arrangements of college sports. Segregation by sex (on men’s versus women’s teams) and disproportionate racial composition across sports prevent needed contact. Even so, the potential for women and/or African-Americans to achieve policy reform within athletic governance could come to fruition if their like-identified leaders (i.e., descriptive representatives) within athletic administration and/or the NCAA push for policy reform. We next turn to administrators.

¹⁸ We provide broken out analyses, by particular participatory actions, in online Appendix 11.

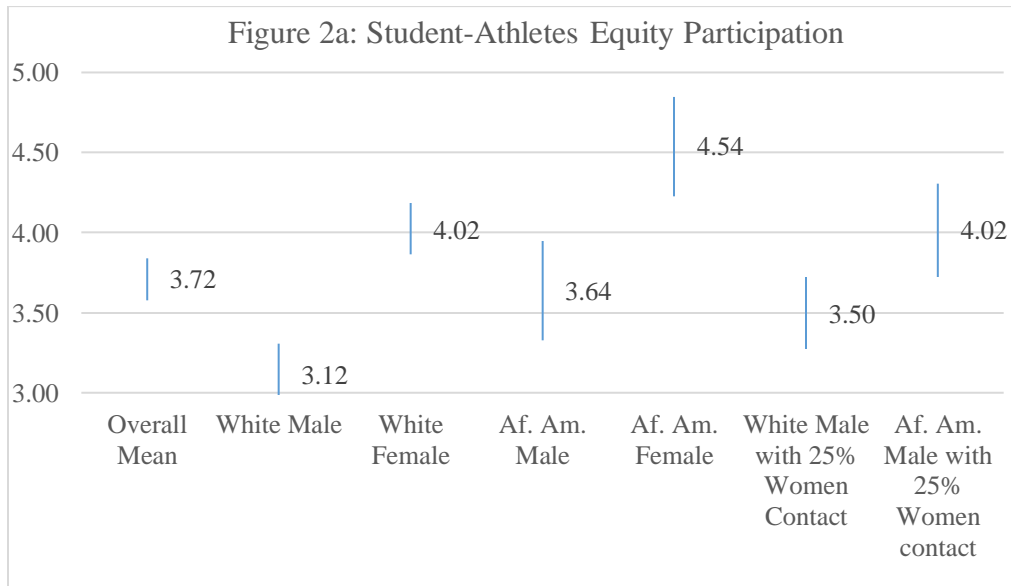
¹⁹ There are a few exceptions, but none contradict our hypotheses (rather they concern secondary patterns).

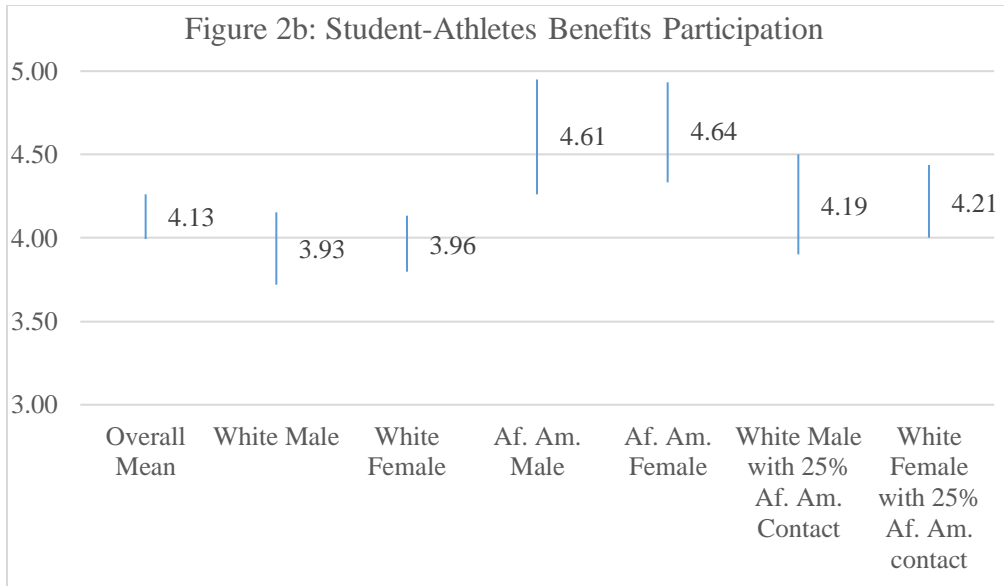
Table 4: Student-Athlete Policy Participation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity Participation	(2) Benefits Participation
Female	1.130*** (0.155)	0.092 (0.189)
African-American	0.557*** (0.166)	0.860*** (0.169)
Racial Conservatism	-1.535*** (0.229)	-1.465*** (0.249)
Hostile Sexism	-1.018*** (0.208)	-0.172 (0.238)
% Male-Female Contact	2.432*** (0.768)	0.701 (0.908)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.329 (0.510)	1.733*** (0.566)
...(see control results in appendix)		
Observations	2,401	2,395
R-squared	0.330	0.123

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2: Student-Athlete Predicted Values for Participation





Administrator Results

We expected hypotheses 1-6 to operate similarly for administrators as they do for student-athletes. We present the analogous analyses in Tables 5-6 and Figures 3-4. The first notable result appears in Figure 3. Compared to the overall gender equity and benefits policies means among student athletes (4.66 and 5.10, respectively), the overall means for administrators – 4.46 and 4.10, respectively – are markedly lower. These differences are not surprising since these policies would entail movement against the status quo policy regime.

Otherwise, the results are consistent with the hypotheses (see online Appendix 10 for full regression results). Table 5 and Figure 3 show that, for gender equity policies, women exhibit significantly greater support (hypothesis 1) as do men who interact more with women-student-athletes (hypothesis 5).²⁰ Moreover, as hostile sexist attitudes increase, support for gender equity policy decreases (hypothesis 3). Figure 3 shows that these changes are meaningful although it

²⁰ We present the results broken for results broken down by gender equity and compensation dimensions, as well as those for Division 1 administrators only in online Appendix 12.

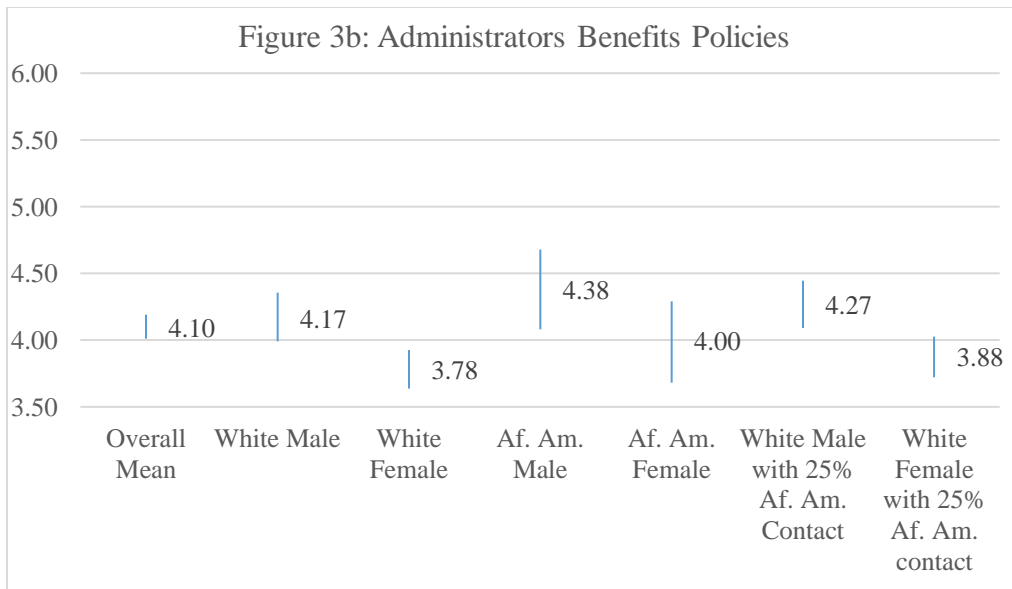
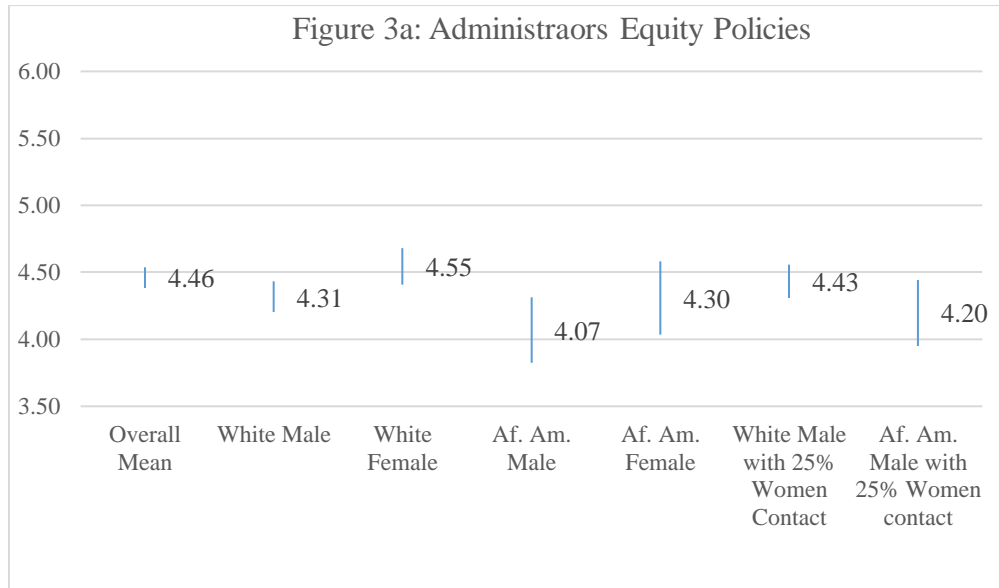
also makes clear that: (1) the effect of gender is notably smaller than it was in the student-athlete sample (as we will discuss further below), and (2) contact matters and this time in a more meaningful way. It is more meaningful because the amount contact of between male administrators and women student-athletes is higher than between male/female student-athletes with the 40% of the male administrator sample interacting with women student-athletes 25% of the time or more.

Table 5: Administrator Policy Support and Budget Allocation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	0.336*** (0.117)	-0.333** (0.160)	-0.071** (0.030)
African-American	-0.226 (0.148)	0.360** (0.173)	0.004 (0.034)
Racial Conservatism	-1.138*** (0.251)	-1.112*** (0.297)	0.057 (0.063)
Hostile Sexism	-0.608*** (0.210)	-0.163 (0.224)	0.090* (0.047)
% Male-Female Contact	0.896* (0.469)	0.500 (0.571)	-0.209* (0.112)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.105 (0.347)	0.986** (0.448)	0.180* (0.092)
...(see control results in appendix)			
Observations	815	815	815
R-squared	0.290	0.288	0.098

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3: Administrators Predicted Values for Policies and Budget Allocation



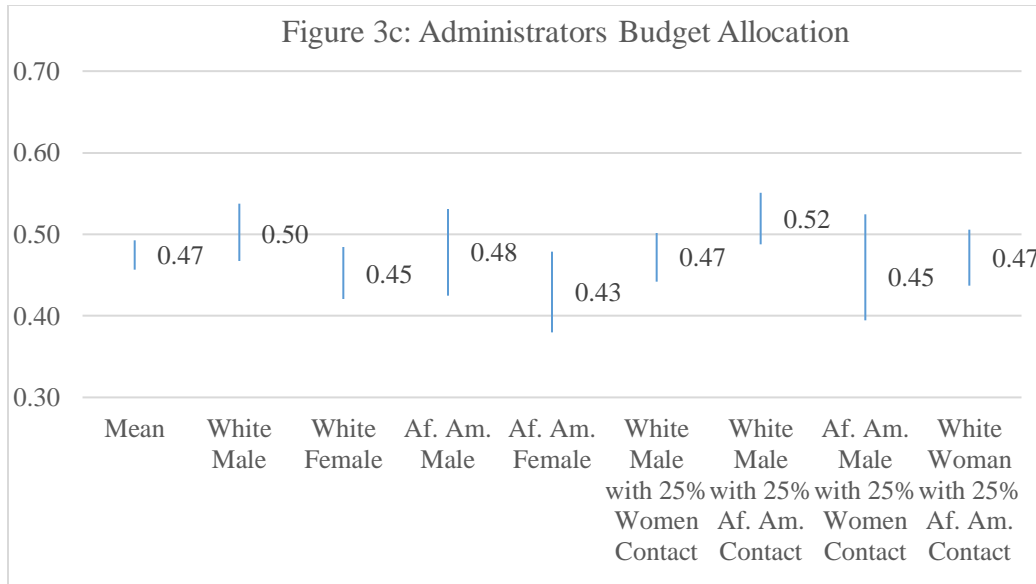


Table 5 and Figure 4 also show that African-American administrators, and whites with increasing African-American student-athlete interaction exhibit significantly greater support for benefits policies (hypotheses 2, 6). The contact result again is substantial: about 35% of white administrators spend 25% or more of their time interacting with African-American student-athletes. Clearly, there are more heterogeneous interactions among administrators than among student-athletes. We again find evidence of the racialization of policy as racially conservative administrators significantly oppose benefits policies (hypothesis 4). We also find that, as with student-athletes, women administrators display significantly greater opposition to benefits policies, likely anticipating the consequences of such policies for equity measures.

The final model in Table 5 for budget allocation extends the pattern of results with one exception; specifically, race – neither that of the administrator nor racial attitudes – is not significant in allocation decisions. The former result may reflect an administrator effect we will discuss below (hypothesis 8) while the attitudinal result is explicable given that racially conservative individuals are also likely to oppose gender equity (recall that racial conservatism was positive and significant for student-athletes, meaning they support more compensation).

Contact with African-American student-athletes remains significant, as expected. Overall, we further see that whereas student-athletes allocated more of their (given) budget towards compensation (54%), administrators allocate more towards gender equity (47%).

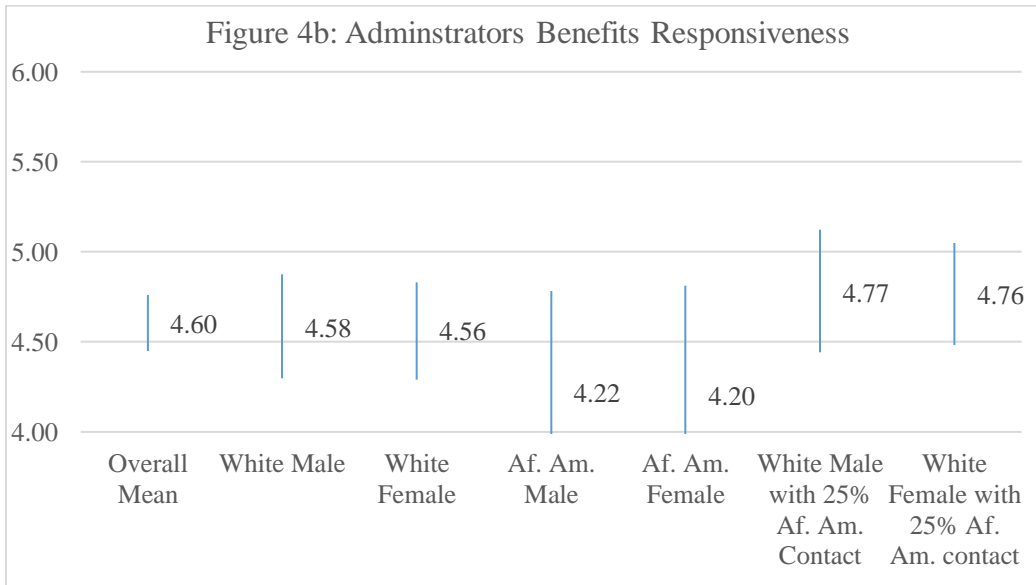
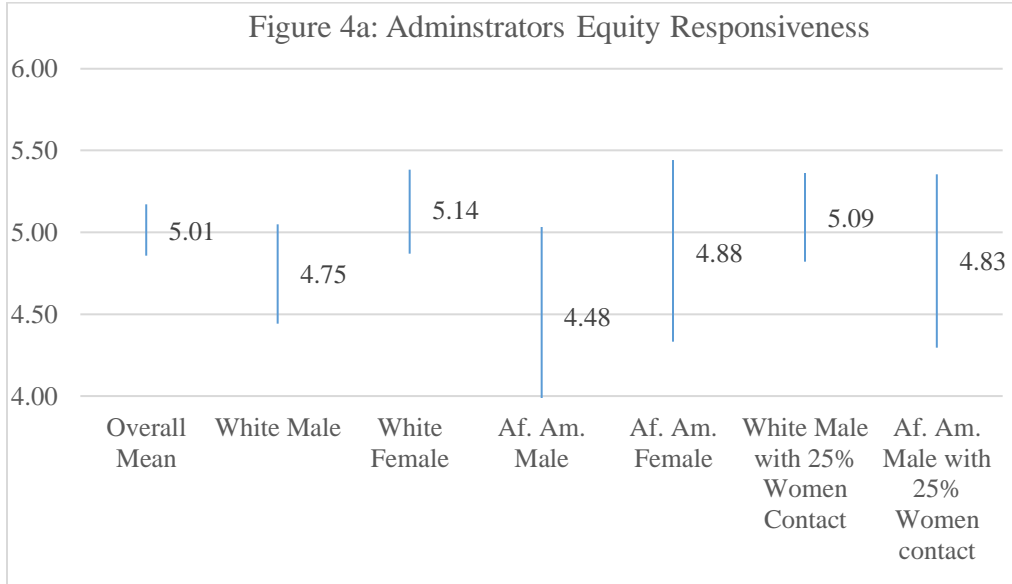
For administrators, instead of investigating political actions, recall that we focus on whether they respond to student-athletes requests to meet to discuss issues of gender equity or benefits. This allows us to test a potential dynamic of political representation and specifically what issues engender responsiveness from administrators (e.g., does descriptive representation of like-identified group concerns facilitate engagement on these identity-based issues?). We present the results in Table 6 and Figure 4.

Table 6: Administrator Policy Responsiveness (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity Response	(2) Benefits Response
Female	0.652** (0.268)	0.050 (0.282)
African-American	-0.124 (0.317)	-0.083 (0.334)
Racial Conservatism	-0.783 (0.579)	-1.035* (0.594)
Hostile Sexism	-1.217*** (0.436)	-0.795* (0.444)
%Male-Female Contact	2.432** (1.019)	0.655 (1.062)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.850 (0.816)	1.905** (0.810)
...(see control results in appendix)		
Observations	815	815
R-squared	0.167	0.130

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 4: Administrators Predicted Values for Responsiveness



Two dynamics emerge (aside from the larger standard errors that reflect the use of a single survey item in this case, rather than a composite). First, we see increased responsiveness on gender equity issues from female administrators. For example, an average white, female administrator reports a likelihood of responding on gender equity at about 5.14 (on a 7-point scale with higher scores indicating increased likelihood to respond). The average white male

reports 4.75; the respective scores for African-American administrators are 4.88 and 4.48. We do not, however, see the same dynamics among African-Americans on benefits responsiveness. In fact, African-Americans exhibit lower responsiveness, although not significantly so. Thus gender diversity among administrators matters for increased responsiveness whereas racial diversity matters does not. However, this is just one measure of representation. As shown above, African-American administrators more strongly support compensation policy measures which align with the preferences of African-American student-athletes. We also see in both cases, sexist and racially conservative attitudes affect the likelihood of responsiveness in expected directions. Second, contact with the relevant student-athlete populations increases the likelihood of responsiveness, highlighting the importance of interactions in generating willingness among men and non-African-Americans respectively to engage athlete perspectives on these issues.²¹

Administrators versus Student-Athletes

One of our central arguments suggests that advocates for policies relevant to their social group's interests become less supportive for their groups' concerns when they face opposing institutional pressures at the governance level. We expect that the impact of being African-American and/or female should have a smaller effect on support for policies among administrators than it does among student-athletes (hypotheses 7 and 8, respectively). The relevant regression coefficients and figures presented above suggest this is the case, but we

²¹ In online Appendix 10, we show that those in the athletic director areas are more responsive on both issues which is interesting given they are significantly (or near significantly) opposed to both policy innovations. It speaks to them fulfilling the job obligations of engaging student-athletes on the issues and presumably explaining their perspectives.

subject this expectation to a formal test. We do so by merging our student-athlete and administrator data – our key question is whether the coefficients for African-Americans (on benefits policies) and women (on equity policies) are significantly smaller in the administrator sample. We test this by running regressions where variables relevant only to a given sample (e.g., year in school for student-athletes, years in the field for administrators) are set to 0 for the other sample, and variables relevant to both samples (e.g., female, African-American, sexism, racial conservatism, income, ideology) are interacted with a dummy variable for administrators. We do the latter so as to not impose identical control effects across samples; administrators are older and thus variables like ideology and family income likely introduce distinct dynamics.

We present the results for the key variables in Table 7. (Full results with all variables appear in online Appendix 13.) We see very strong support for hypotheses 7 and 8. For example, in model 2, the main effect among African-Americans is significant and positive, as expected, *and* the interaction with being an administrator is significant and negative. This indicates that the impact of race is significantly smaller in the administrator sample (although still significant – see Table 5). The analogous finding appears for gender in model 1 with the gender variable (“female”) emerging as a significant main effect but the interaction with “administrator” is significant and negative. Finally, in model 3 on the budget allocation, both the African-American and female interactions are significant in the expected directions. The results provide strong evidence that the identity basis of ones’ preferences continue to matter but significantly shrink when individuals enter an administrator structure with official policy stances at odds with reform.

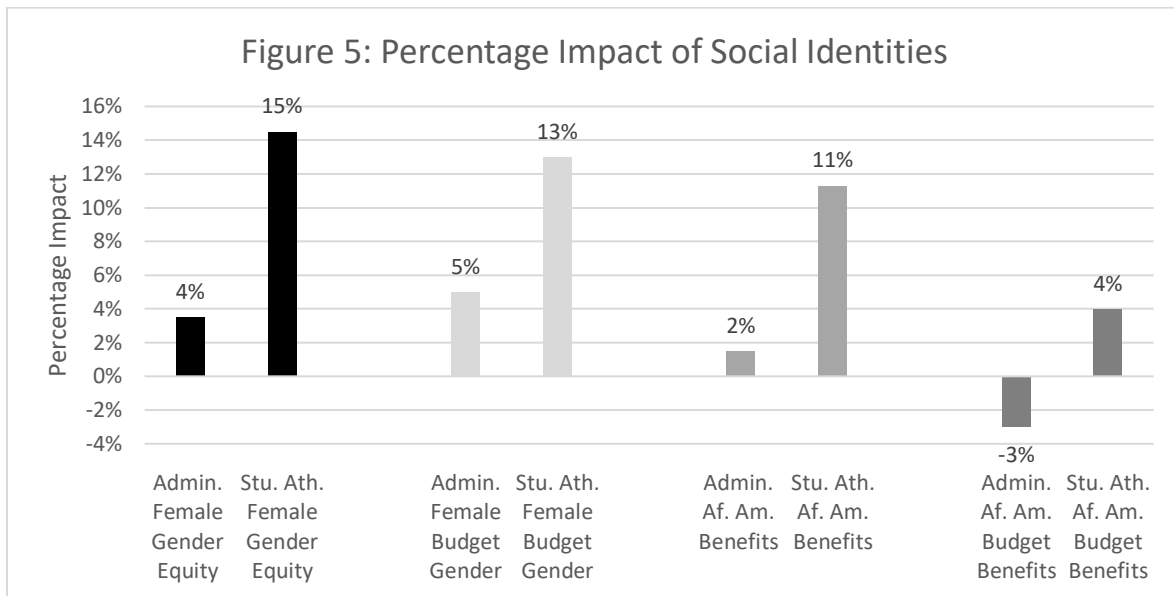
Table 7: Student-Athlete and Administrator Policy Support and Budget Allocation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Admin.	-0.583 (0.369)	-0.342 (0.430)	0.066 (0.087)
Female	1.009*** (0.104)	-0.547*** (0.123)	-0.157*** (0.022)
African-American	0.146 (0.100)	0.981*** (0.109)	0.089*** (0.024)
Admin.*Female	-0.672*** (0.156)	0.214 (0.201)	0.086** (0.037)
Admin.*Af. Am.	-0.372** (0.178)	-0.621*** (0.204)	-0.084** (0.041)
Racial Conservatism	-1.396*** (0.154)	-1.081*** (0.167)	0.095*** (0.034)
Hostile Sexism	-1.201*** (0.126)	0.162 (0.145)	0.098*** (0.027)
%Male-Female Contact	1.433*** (0.522)	-0.480 (0.618)	-0.235** (0.114)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.723** (0.354)	2.722*** (0.404)	0.414*** (0.079)
Area Admin.	-0.169 (0.112)	-0.583*** (0.124)	-0.052* (0.030)
Area Medical	0.077 (0.103)	-0.522*** (0.125)	-0.005 (0.029)
Area Academic	0.084 (0.118)	0.368** (0.151)	0.005 (0.031)
Area Performance	-0.353** (0.138)	-0.362** (0.162)	0.047 (0.041)
Admin.*Rac. Cons.	0.259 (0.296)	-0.031 (0.340)	-0.037 (0.072)
Admin.*Hos. Sex.	0.593** (0.244)	-0.325 (0.266)	-0.007 (0.054)
Admin.*%Male-Fem. Cont.	-0.537 (0.701)	0.981 (0.840)	0.026 (0.159)
Admin.*%White-Af. Am. Cont.	0.828* (0.498)	-1.737*** (0.602)	-0.234* (0.120)
Constant	5.463*** (0.163)	5.048*** (0.201)	0.446*** (0.036)
...(see control results in appendix)			
Observations	3,223	3,223	3,223
R-squared	0.476	0.318	0.192

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 5 displays the percentage impact of sex and race on the relevant policies, all else constant. For example, the effect of being a women student-athlete, rather than a man, on gender equity policies is a 15% increase in support. The analogous impact among administrators is

merely 4%. There are similar respective impacts on the equity budget allocation items – 13% (among athletes) and 5% (among administrators). For benefits policy, we observe that being an African-American increases support by 11% among student-athletes but just 2% among administrators and, in fact, that being an African-American administrator even has a negative effect when it comes to the benefit budget allocation.²² Clearly, the identity effect among administrators is substantially diminished.



We recognize there are two alternative explanations to institutions driving preferences change: age and sport experience. First, the smaller effects among administrators may arise from an “aging” process since administrators by definition are older and may therefore evaluate potential policy changes through a different lens. This seems unlikely, however, given the centrality of these issues in the world in which administrators work and live (e.g., the issues are

²² The negative percentage change stems from the fact average inter-personal interaction for a non-African American with African-Americans has a larger effect than being an African-American

on their radar given their prominence in college sports).²³ Second, some administrators differ from student-athletes in that they did not specifically experience playing a varsity college sport. To test this possibility, we re-ran our analyses including only administrators who reported having played a varsity sport in college. We find that the central interactions between gender and being an administrator and race being administrator mimic the patterns reported in Table 7 – thereby confirming the same dynamic. We thus argue that our findings illustrate that institutions can vitiate the impact of identity-based preferences, in line with our theoretical argument. The finding accentuates the need for future work, however, to more carefully isolate the mechanisms through which political and social institutions have this “de-identifying” effect – a topic that has received very little attention to date (although see, e.g., Brown and Frank 2006).

In terms of other findings from our joint analyses, the contact effects remain robust, although the key coefficients on white-African-American interactions are markedly smaller (but still meaningful and significant) for administrators. The sexist and racially conservative attitudes also remain strong predictors although they are slightly smaller for administrators in the case of equity policies.

A somewhat surprising finding from these regressions is that the main effect on the administrator variable is negative – as expected – but not significant for either gender equity policies or benefits policies. This ostensibly belies the substantially lower average scores reported above for administrators. What is behind the lower administrators’ support, relative to

²³ Also, studies that show large gender and race effects on these issues among the mass public (e.g., Sigelman and Wilcox 2001; Mondello et al. 2013). In our data, we find no effect of respondent age.

the student-athletes' support? There are two dynamics in play. First, the decreased support is concentrated among subsets of administrative positions, each of which has a dummy variable in the regressions. For gender equity, it is those employed in the athletic performance (e.g., strength, conditioning) area that display significant opposition which is sensible since increased support for gender equity measures could conceivably threaten investment in such positions and resources for conditioning, where some of the main men's sports – particularly football – likely are a key focus.²⁴ For benefits policies, those employed in general administration, athletic medicine, and athletic performance oppose benefits while those in academic services support it. This is sensible too since those employed in the latter area may most thoroughly understand the rigors of student-athletes' lives outside of sports.

The second dynamic is that these specific areas have a disproportionately negative impact on our outcome measures (larger than they might otherwise) because the very groups apt to support the given policy innovations are underrepresented in the areas that are opposed. Consider that administrators in athletic performance are most opposed to gender equity policies and the extent of that opposition may be because women make up only 21% of those employed in that area (as opposed to 44% in the other areas).²⁵ The lack of women in this area then drives down support even further among this group (as we otherwise are controlling for gender). For benefits,

²⁴ For example, in our sample, football is the only sport that has athletic performance staff that reported working only for football (and not multiple sports).

²⁵ This 21% in our sample, if anything, seems to exceed the percentage in the population; for example, according to the NCAA demographic data base, women make up just 15.1% of strength coaches (one of the positions in our “athletic performance” group).

African-Americans make up only 7% of those in the three areas other than academic services (thus making for a larger negative effect) as opposed to 32% in academic services (who largely support benefits policies).²⁶ Again, the areas that depress support for benefits policies, all else constant, are underrepresented by potential supporters. Thus, the level of opposition to policy reform stems in part from demographic malapportionment of minority groups in certain positions.

In the student-athlete data, we find that a major obstacle to policy coalitions is the low levels of heterogeneous interactions, reflecting a sex-divided and racially asymmetric system. Here we find that relatively low administrator support (compared to student-athletes) for policy innovation come partially from low numbers of the potential advocates in the positions that are most likely to house individuals who are opposed to change. Therefore, among the barriers to policy reform is the lack of potential advocates for policy change among certain classes of administrators. In that sense, the malapportionment of minority groups in athletic administration also undercuts the potential for policy innovation. Segregation at any level undermines policy reform.

Conclusion

We set out to explore the political dynamics of policy reform in a setting often ignored by political scientists – college sports. We demonstrated that the major policy reform initiatives in

²⁶ This percentage in our sample is consistent with NCAA population data that show African-Americans are by far most represented in the role of academic advisor, nearly 21%, which is at least twice as much as those in athletic director roles (9.7%), medial/trainer roles (4.2%), or performance/strength (11.3%).

college sports are tied to identity politics. This aligns with recent arguments in political science about the primary place of identity in preference formation (e.g., Achen and Bartels 2016). However, a notable lesson from our work is that in order to understand how identity politics play out, one must consider the evolution of policy context – indeed, on its face it may not be entirely evident, for example, that racial attitudes play such a large role on topics like compensation for college athletes. The history of college sports elucidates why identity issues have come to the fore. College sports emerged to serve an all-white, androcentric constituency. The incorporation of African-Americans and women introduced unique and counter-veiling agendas that led race and gender to define the contours of policy debate. These circumstances and our findings accentuate the extant literature on the importance of considering how the *historic* legacies of group inclusion drive contemporary policy preferences (e.g., Strolovitch 2007).

Given the prominence of race and sex-based social groups in college sports, it is sensible that a mechanism for coalition formation is *inter-personal contact*. Contact has long been seen as a route to increased tolerance and understanding, although the empirical literature has produced inconsistent results – as Paluck et al. (2018, 5) state, “the jury is still out regarding the contact hypothesis and its efficacy as a policy tool.” Our finding of efficacious contact speaks to the conditions under which it likely works. In his foundational work, Allport (1954) suggests four conditions for productive contact: equal status in the contact situation, common goals, cooperation, and support of authorities or customs. These conditions seem to be approached when student-athletes interact insofar as they are all in the same status position as one another, have a shared goal of improving student-athlete life, have no reason to conflict per se, and are a highly supported group by the institution (e.g., we measured institutional trust and it was quite high). When it comes to administer/student-athlete contact, the equal status condition does not

hold but presumably these groups nevertheless share of goals (of academic and athletic success), cooperate (to reach those goals), and benefit from broader institutional support (from the college president, alumni). Our results are sensible given the conditions for a positive environment that generates influential contact (Christ et al. 2014; Southwell 2013, 47–62). We encourage future research to further explore the situations that allow for such contact effects, and in so doing, consider two relatively novel aspects of our contact findings. First, much work on contact focuses on attitudes towards the other group such as tolerance, yet, we have shown how interactions can also inform policy preferences. Second, our operationalization of contact involved its prevalence with increased frequency leading to more impact – that is, it is not just the *presence* of contact that matters but also the *amount* of contact. This coheres with MacInnis and Page-Gould’s (2015, 311) argument that more positive contact occurs when it is frequent (also see Amsalem and Nir 2019). Future research should work to unravel the nature of contact in this context and to analyze whether the impact stems simply from sharing experiences or from explicit policy discussion.

Moreover, the frequency of contact depends on the *institutional structures* in place. Historical legacies not only connect policy initiatives to identity groups but they also condition the interactions between those groups. College sports is an overwhelmingly sex-segregated institution such that women and men student-athletes independently practice and compete. Rather than integrating women into historically “men’s” athletic programs, women have been incorporated into American college sports under an ethos of “separate, but equal” (see also Sharrow 2017, 2019). The nature of sports themselves, resulting from economic costs and cultural forces, have produced a circumstance that is also largely segregated by race due to malapportionment across sports. We see analogous malapportionment, both in terms of gender

and race, in certain administrative roles too. The results is less contact across racialized and gendered identity groups which, in turn, undercuts potential policy coalitions and ultimately policy reform. In our case, the relevant institutions involve college sports but the point generalizes to local political structures, educational institutions, neighborhood settings, social media systems, and more – any set of formal or informal rules condition political interactions that shape public policy.²⁷ For example, Trounstine's (2018) shows how institutionally derived segregation in cities by neighborhood, cities/suburbs have led to vast inequalities in services such as schools, clean water, garbage collection, parks, etc. Our results suggest that this segregation also undermines inter-personal contact between groups and thus subverts the formation of policy coalitions that could push for change. An understanding of policy preferences requires consideration of the institutional setting in which those preferences are formed. This is a point often lost on political behavior and public policy research that rarely considers the structuring capacities of institutions.

This idea is highlighted in our argument about how the identity basis of sports administrators' preferences become diluted. We find that the influence of being a woman or an African-American on policy preferences decreased once these individuals enter the institutional structure of administration. This impedes the potential for policy reform in college sports which will likely require a dedicated and sizable coalition to push for change to the status quo, or descriptively representative policy-makers who take a stronger stand. While we drew on

²⁷ Along these lines, Nir (2012) shows that electoral institutions shape the amount and nature of interpersonal discussion (e.g., electoral systems that breed greater competitiveness lead to more discussion).

organizational psychology work to theorize this, it also aligns with ideas advanced by Michels (1911) more than a century ago and echoes the results of Enemark's et al. (2016) finding that leaders act differently than their non-leader counter-parts. We suspect the dynamic therefore generalizes to other organizations and institutions. The implication is that even as institutions diversify there may well exist a path dependent legacy of the status quo that pressures individuals to move away from the groups which they descriptively represent.

Our findings offer lessons for a host of literatures including those on identity politics, public opinion (i.e., regarding the interaction of identity, communication and institutions that shape contact and the relevance of identity), contact (i.e., institutions shape opportunities), and policy feedback/responsiveness (leaders' preferences move away from their identity groups). They also accentuate the power of studying behavior and institutions in tandem rather than as distinct areas as is often the case in political science. Finally, other social science disciplines, including psychology, sociology, and economics, have defined sub-fields focused on sports. Political science has, at best, had a passing interest in sports, despite evidence from many sectors – from the racialization of mascots, the local economic politics of stadium building, the international politics of the Olympics, and the legal issues around drug testing – about the inherent politics at the core of sports. This is a lost opportunity and we hope our study makes the value of studying decision-making in this domain clear.

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Online Appendix 1: Sample Construction

Our populations include student-athletes and athletic department administrators (who directly interact with student-athletes) for varsity sports at NCAA schools.¹ We began by taking a random sample of NCAA schools, stratified by Division (I, II, and III). At the time of our sampling, in the winter/spring of 2018, according to the Department of Education's Equity in Athletics Data Analysis (EADA), there were a total of 1,089 schools in the NCAA, including 347 in Division I, 315 in Division II, and 427 in Division III.² We then took a random sample of schools with the caveat that we over-sampled Division I schools for two reasons. First, Division I schools typically employ more personnel and so over-sampling would ensure a sufficient sample size for administrators. Second, many of the issues we explore are discussed most vigorously at the Division I level.

Of the schools selected into our sample, we then checked for the availability of publicly-accessible e-mail addresses for student-athletes and administrators. If no such e-mails were available, the school was dropped from our sample and randomly replaced with another school. If all such e-mails were available, the school was included in our sample. If student-athletes' e-mails were not available but administrators' e-mails were available, we included the school in the administrator sample. (We did not find cases of student-athlete e-mail availability without administrator availability.) Finally, to ensure sufficient sample sizes for administrators, we included additional schools for administrators (i.e., we drew a larger number of schools for the administrator sample since there are substantially more student-athletes than administrators at a given school.) We ended up with 63 schools for student-athletes and 257 schools for administrators.

In terms of identifying which individuals to solicit, we included all student-athletes listed on the sports' online rosters. For administrators, we included athletic directors (e.g., Head Athletic Director, Deputy Directors, Senior Associates, Associates, Assistants, etc.), medical personnel (e.g. physicians, athletic trainers, nutritionists, etc.), athletic performance/strength and conditioning staff, academic services staff, and the Title IX coordinator (where available).³

¹ We thus exclude non-NCAA (e.g., NAIA schools). We also excluded sports, notably cheerleading and dance, which do not count in terms of compliance with Title IX or under the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act (EADA).

² There also are four schools not in a Division that we do not include.

³ The NCAA includes a chart of individuals who comprise the organization (NCAA 2019b). From that list, we exclude presidents, faculty athletic representatives, compliance officers, conference staff, sports information directors, and coaches. The former five positions either do not clearly serve as representatives of student-athletes *per se* as they represent the broader interests of the school (i.e., they do not directly come from the athletic department), and/or do not regularly interact with student-athletes. We exclude coaches (although we did collect distinct data on them, not reported here) as they less frequently serve on NCAA committees and also do not typically make policy at individual schools. We do not limit our sample of administrators to current sitting members of NCAA committees as that would have confined the size of our sample, and, more importantly, any college athletic administrator plays a role, even if not currently serving on an NCAA committee, in policy implementation and voicing views to their colleagues who do sit on committees (and they play a role in their own institutional-level

Overall, we ended up with a sample frame of 23,032 individuals for our student-athletes, 6,150 individuals for administrators (although see below on bounce-backed e-mails). We acquired e-mails for each of these individuals by accessing the given school's athletic department website, and searching for publicly available emails for athletes through the institutions' email search engines.

A fair number of e-mails bounced back to us, presumably due either to the individual no longer being enrolled/working at the given school (or the athletic websites from which we obtained contact information not being updated), or an incorrectly recorded address. (We ignored auto-responses with the presumption that the e-mail still reached the potential respondent.) Overall, we received 1,790 bounce backs for student-athletes, and 446 bounce backs for administrators. This means that our actual sampling frames were respectively 21,242 and 5,704. Our final samples – that is, respondents who completed the entire survey – are respectively 2,539 and 862, leading to basic response rates of 12% and 15%. Relative to other targeted samples and other work in this domain, these are on the high side for response rates.

policies). Also, we excluded administrative staff (e.g., business office, human resources, ticket sales, equipment, facilities, video, etc.) unless they also held a title as Athletic Director (AD), or Association/Assistant AD. These individuals rarely directly interact with student-athletes (in ways that could directly impact them) and presumably do not make policy-decisions.

Online Appendix 2: Survey Administration

We administered the survey from June 21, 2018, until September 11, 2018. To each individual for whom we had an e-mail, we sent a personalized invitation inviting him/her to participate in an *anonymous* survey aimed at learning what “stakeholders think about various issues involving college sports” (on personalization, see Druckman and Green 2013). We sent a reminder e-mail roughly one week after the initial invitation and then a second reminder approximately two weeks after the first reminder.

We did not ask individuals to identify their school so as to ensure their anonymity. However, we were interested in knowing whether their school had an open Title IX investigation during the prior year. We identified the set of schools that had an open Title IX sports and/or sexual assault investigation as of June 1, 2018, by using the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Education database of open Title IX investigations (<https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/investigations/open-investigations/index.html>). We used this database to search for all schools in our sample. We cross-checked these results with the *Chronicle of Higher Education* data base of Title IX investigations (<https://projects.chronicle.com/titleix/>) and the long-standing, academically-run Title IX blog (<http://title-ix.blogspot.com/>). Finally, we performed Google searches to identify any high-profile Title IX lawsuits that had not been pursued through OCR but which may have permeated the local media environment during the months preceding our survey. We then grouped the schools into our sample into one of four categories:

1. Schools under no investigations.
2. Schools under an assault investigation only.
3. Schools under both an assault and a sports investigation.
4. Schools under a sports investigations only.

We used distinct survey links for each type of school so that we could then know the Title IX context the respondent had experienced, while still maintaining anonymity. For the student-athlete sample, 49% of respondents were from schools with no Title IX investigation, while 51% had some kind of investigation. Of those 51%, 92% had an assault investigation ongoing, 19% had a sports investigation ongoing, and 11% had both. For the administrator sample, 48% of respondents were from schools with no Title IX investigation, while 52% had some kind of investigation. Of those 52%, 91% had an assault investigation ongoing, 28% had a sports investigation ongoing, and 19% had both. (The percentages are not “only” – that is, they exceed 100% because, for example in the case of administrators, 19% of the schools had both types of investigations ongoing and those are included in the percentage for assault and sports.) In our analyses, we did check for a direct impact of Title IX investigations but found no clear effects.

Online Appendix 3: Sample Weighting

As explained, we took a random sample based on schools and then sampled all individuals within those schools, oversampling on Division I. Of course, response rates led to under/overrepresentation. We thus need to apply post-stratification sample weights to ensure we can generalize to the population (e.g., Callegaro et al. 2014). Our population is defined by all NCAA student-athletes, and administrators. That leads to the question of how to construct our sample weights. The NCAA provides a population database at <http://www.ncaa.org/about/resources/research/ncaa-demographics-database>. We use this database to obtain population figures for the year 2018 (i.e., the data are reported each fall and reflect the prior academic year which was our time of data collection – 2017-18).

For student-athletes, we obtain the population percentages based on race, gender, sport, and Division. Race and gender are our two primary independent variables and thus are critical to include for weighting. For weighting purposes, we also classified each student-athlete as being White, African-American, or Other Minority. We did this since our focus is on African-Americans, and, the other groups constitute small individual percentages (e.g., Latinx consist of 5.7% in the student-athlete population data, Asians are just 2.1%).⁴ Weighting on very small groups in the population can create outlier, extreme weights that skew the analyses (e.g., Elliott 2018). For gender, we relied on the respondents' self-reported genders and not the gender of the team on which they played (i.e., there are a small percentage of women student-athletes who play on men's teams). This is sensible since our interest is in individual gender and not the team's gender.⁵

For the student-athlete data, we weighted on sport since it is plausible that some sports may generate distinct attitudes, particularly football and men's basketball which are the main revenue generating sports.⁶ For sample respondents who reported participating in more than one sport, we assigned them to a single sport for weighting purpose, always choosing the sport with the smaller population percentage. We did this since these individuals can speak for participating in the given sport and it increases representation of the smaller sport in our sample (by far the most notable case here are runners who are members of both the cross country and track and field teams). In terms of particular sports, for the aforementioned reasons, we did not weight on every sport since some have very small percentages. We thus included all sports with at least

⁴ For other minorities, we included those classified as “non-resident aliens” (i.e., international students) in the NCAA population data. We did this because in the population data we have no way to know their particular race; this is not problematic since our predictions focus on African-American's historic cultural experience in the US, relative to all others. We also classified those in population data who stated membership in two or more races as other since we have no way to know which two races are primary in these cases. Recall, in our sample data, we used a question that asked respondents to choose a singular race that best describes them.

⁵ That said, in the few cases where a respondent did not report a gender, we relied on the team gender to impute the individual's gender.

⁶ We made some coding decisions on sport; for example, the NCAA population data provides distinct numbers for indoor and outdoor track. We presume that these are virtually all the same student-athletes and we did not want to double count them. We thus only used outdoor track (as that number always exceeded the number for indoor track). The NCAA population data also merged some sports that we broke apart (e.g., swimming and diving). Our specific coding decisions are available upon request.

4.5% in the population which includes: baseball, basketball, cross country, football, lacrosse, soccer, softball, swimming, and track and field. All other sports were grouped into an “other” category.⁷

As noted, we over-sampled Division I in the survey as we wanted to ensure *a priori* (before knowing the response rates) we had enough Division I respondents. We do not have clear predictions based on Division but given our over-sampling, the distinct experiences by Division (e.g. Division III student-athletes do not receive athletic scholarships), and our intent to generalize across Divisions, we weighted by Division.

For the administrative data, we weighted on Division, race, and gender. We do not weight based on sport since most are not directly connected with a sport by definition. We also do not weight on positions as we do not have relevant predictions and our survey questions about positions do not match those provided in the NCAA population data. (Further, we take the same approach regarding race for weighting, using three groups due to the small sizes of the other groups in the population.)

We created weights using the “anesrake” package for R (<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/anesrake/index.html>) (see DeBell 2018). For the student-athletes, we raked the data by gender, division, race, and sport, in that order, using the population figures for each of those variables (as just described). The weights were capped at five times the mean weight (1.0) at each raking iteration (see DeBell 2018: 524). For the student-athlete sample, this process converged in 33 iterations. It led to a mean of 1.0, a standard deviation of .96, and a maximum value of 5.0. The design effects due to weighting are 1.93, leading to an effective sample size, for student-athletes, of 1315.74. For the administrators, we raked by gender division, race in that order, using the population figures for each of those variables. For the administrator sample, this process converged in 21 iterations. It led to a mean of 1.0, a standard deviation of .70, and a maximum value of 5.0. The design effects due to weighting are 1.49, leading to an effective sample size, for administrators, of 577.39. In weighting the data, we also stratified based on Division since our random samples were drawn within each Division.

⁷ We did not differentiate sports by sport’s gender with the weights we used (e.g., we grouped women and men soccer players into “soccer”). However, we computed weights where we did differentiate teams by gender and those weights correlate with the ones we use at .98.

Online Appendix 4: Sample Demographics

It is not surprising, given our post-stratification weights, that our student-athlete sample matches the population on gender, race, and Division. In fact, the sample percentages for each are exactly the same as the population percentages. The same is true for our administrator sample – the weighted sample perfectly matches the population on gender, race, and Division. Notably, the student-athlete and administrator samples have very similar gender compositions; however, they are distinctive on race and Division. African-Americans constitute 16% of student-athletes compared to 11% of administrators. Even more striking is 36% of student-athletes come from Division I, compared to 67% of administrators, reflecting the vast resource differentials between Divisions.

Weighted Student-Athlete Sample Description

Gender	Male: 57%; Female: 43%
Race (that best describes the respondent)	White: 65%; African-American: 16%; Hispanic/Latino: 8%; Asian/Pacific Islander: 6%; Other: 5% ¹
Religion	Protestant: 42%; Catholic: 23%; Jewish: 2%; Other Religion: 5% ² ; Not Religious: 28%
No Parent With College Degree	22%
Familial Income ³	< \$30,000: 7%; \$30,000-\$69,999: 16%; \$70,000-\$99,999: 22%; \$100,000-\$200,000: 35%; >\$200,000: 21%
Year in School	First Year: 32%; Sophomore: 25%; Junior: 26%; Senior: 17%; Post-Graduate: 1% ⁴
Athletic Scholarship (full or partial)	41%
Academic Scholarship (full or partial)	51%
Coed Team (self-reported)	9%
Athletic Division	Division 1: 36%; Division 2: 24%; Division 3: 40%
Mean Political Ideology (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more conservative)	3.76 (std. dev.: 1.49)
Mean Racial Conservatism (0 to 7 scale)	2.95 (std. dev.: 1.27)
Mean Hostile Sexism (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more sexism)	3.17 (std. dev.: 1.60)
Average Percentage Time of Women Student-Athlete Contacts ⁵	9% (std. dev.: 10%).
Average Percentage Time of African-American Student-Athlete Contacts ⁶	10% (std. dev.: 9%).

¹Less than 1% classified themselves as Middle Eastern/North African; less than 1% classified themselves as Native American; 4% classified themselves as “other.” The race ethnicity question reported here asked respondents to choose the single “best” describes them; another question allowed multiple responses to which 13.5% checked more than one category.

²Less than 1% classified themselves as Muslim; less than 1% classified themselves as Hindu; 4% classified themselves as “other.”

³This sums to 101% because we rounded up for four of the five categories.

⁴This sums to 101% because we rounded up for three of the five categories.

⁵This average includes female respondents for whom the variable is equal to 0%. If we took the average for only non-female respondents, it is: 16% (std. dev: 8%).

⁶This average includes African-American respondents for whom the variable is equal to 0%. If we took the average for only non-African-American respondents, it is 12% (std. dev.: 9%).

Weighted Student-Athlete Sports Participation

Sport	Weighted Sample Percentage	Population Percentage
Baseball	7.59%	7.91%
Basketball	7.39%	7.91%
Beach Volleyball	0.05%	0.26%
Bowling	0.02%	0.17%
Cross Country	6.14%	6.69%
Equestrian	0.32%	0.32%
Fencing	0.22%	0.31%
Field Hockey	1.41%	1.38%
Football	15.59%	16.49%
Golf	1.96%	3.13%
Gymnastics	0.69%	0.43%
Ice Hockey	1.58%	1.50%
Lacrosse	5.52%	5.90%
Rifle	0.23%	0.08%
Rowing	3.65%	2.15%
Rugby	0.09%	0.14%
Sailing	0.15%	0.13%
Skiing	0.19%	0.14%
Soccer	11.09%	11.79%
Softball	4.25%	4.55%
Squash	0.60%	0.21%
Swimming	5.05%	5.07%
Tennis	3.10%	3.68%
Track and Field	18.20%	13.16%
Volleyball	3.26%	4.38%
Water Polo	0.25%	0.51%
Wrestling	1.19%	1.61%
Other	0.22%	0.02%

*Our survey separated diving and swimming, lightweight rowing and rowing, and acrobatics and gymnastics but we merge them here to compare to the population figures. Our sample percentages also are normalized to 100% (i.e., otherwise they sum to more than 100% since about 9% of our weighted sample participated in multiple sports).

**We also could classify sports in terms of whether it is a “team” or “individual” sport with the latter being sports for which there are individual championships (i.e., cross country, equestrian, fencing, golf, gymnastics, rifle, skiing, squash, swimming, tennis, track and field, wrestling, and rodeo – which was grouped into “other” since the NCAA data did not separate it). With this characterization, 67% of our weighted sample participates in a team sport and 35% participates in an individual sport. This exceeds 100% due to dual sport student-athletes (e.g., basketball and track and field).

Weighted Administrator Sample Description

Gender	Male: 58%; Female: 42%
Race (that best describes the respondent)	White: 79%; African-American: 11%; Hispanic/Latino: 6%; Asian/Pacific Islander: 3%; Other: 1% ¹
Religion	Protestant: 53%; Catholic: 24%; Jewish: 1%; Other Religion: 3% ² ; Not Religious: 19%
Highest Level of Education ³	Less than high school: 0% ; High school: <1%; Some college: 1%; 4 year college degree: 16%; Master's: 74%; PhD: 7%; MD: 3% ; PhD and MD: <1%
Income	< \$30,000: 2%; \$30,000-\$69,999: 28%; \$70,000-\$99,999: 24%; \$100,000-\$200,000: 34%; >\$200,000: 12%
Age ⁴	Under 18: 0%; 18-24: 8%; 25-34: 36%; 35-50: 35%; 51-65: 19%; Over 65: 3%
Area of Athletics ⁵	Athletic Administration: 37%; Athletic Medicine: 37%; Academic Services: 16%; Athletic Performance/Strength and Conditioning: 9%; Other: 19%
Years in the Field	13.93 (std. dev.: 10.58)
Director/Head of Department	38%
Played Varsity Sport in College	41%
Gender of Teams With Which Work (self-reported) ⁶	Men's: 69% ; Women's: 66%; Co-ed: 18%; None directly: 14%
Athletic Division	Division 1: 67%; Division 2: 16%; Division 3: 17%
Mean Political Ideology (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more conservative)	3.81 (std. dev.: 1.39)
Mean Racial Conservatism (0 to 7 scale)	2.76 (std. dev.: 1.14)
Mean Hostile Sexism (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more sexism)	2.66 (std. dev.: 1.35)
Average Percentage Time of Women Student-Athlete Contact ⁷	11% (std. dev.: 13%).
Average Percentage Time of African-American Student-Athlete Contacts	15% (std. dev.: 12%).

¹Less than 1% classified themselves as Middle Eastern/North African; less than 1% classified themselves as Native American; less than 1% classified themselves as "other." The race ethnicity question reported here asked respondents to choose the single "best" describes them; another question allowed multiple responses to which 5% checked more than one category.

²Less than 1% classified themselves as Muslim; 0% classified themselves as Hindu; 3% classified themselves as "other."

³This sums to 101% because we rounded up for four of the seven categories for which there are respondents. The <1% categories each have one respondent total.

⁴This sums to 101% because we rounded up for all five categories (that had any respondents).

5This does not sum to 100% because 15% of the sample worked in more than one area. The “other” area includes compliance, finance, Title IX coordinator, and “other” (those that did not choose an option offered). A total of 8% of the sample did not identify themselves as one of the areas presented in the table (and thus are classified fully as “other”). The distribution of more specific job descriptions within each area are available from the authors.

6This does not sum to 100% because individuals worked with multiple types of teams.

7This average includes female respondents for whom the variable is equal to 0%. If we took the average for only non-female respondents, it is: 19% (std. dev: 11%)

8This average includes African-American respondents for whom the variable is equal to 0%. If we took the average for only non-African-American respondents, it is 16% (std. dev.: 11%).

Online Appendix 5: Details on Selected Policy Items and NCAA Positions on Benefits Policies

As noted in the text and Table 1, we included three dimensions to measure gender equity policy: (1) enforcement / resource allocation, (2) possibilities for mixed/sex-integrated sports, and (3) rules to increase numbers of women coaches and athletic directors. Here we elaborate on the specific measures. Enforcement and allocation refer to the process of women's incorporation into college athletics so as to close the notable gender gaps in opportunities, scholarships, and spending (e.g., Druckman, Rothschild, and Sharrow 2018, appendix). To tap relevant attitudes, we ask about (a) support for Title IX [a majority of schools continue to be Title IX non-compliant and the U.S. federal government remains lax in enforcement (Yanus and O'Connor 2016)], (b) whether less or more should be done to ensure equal opportunities, (c) opposition or support for equal spending on women's and men's sport (which is not explicitly required by Title IX), and (d) whether less or more should be done to enforce sexual harassment laws in college athletics. We included the question about undertaking less or more enforcement of sexual harassment laws in college athletics because it was highly relevant due to high-profile events at the time of the survey. In addition to ongoing #metoo activism throughout 2017-18, issues of harassment and abuse were salient. More than 150 athletes, many of them former college athletes, testified in the January 2018 trial against USA Gymnastics athletic trainer, Larry Nassar, a former trainer at Michigan State University. The university notably lost a lawsuit regarding its lack of action to protect athletes from abuse in May 2018. Unlike other sexual abuse scandals (e.g., at Pennsylvania State University), the NCAA did not sanction Michigan State.

For mixed/sex-integrated gender sports, we included four items measuring opposition or support for allowing qualified women to participate on various types of men's teams (e.g., individual, non-contact sport teams, etc.). We selected these measures because of increasing debate about sex segregated competition (e.g., Leong 2018; McDonagh and Pappano 2007; Sharrow 2017, 2019). The final group of gender items tap opposition or support for requiring schools to interview at least one woman for women's head coaching jobs or athletic director. No such rules exist and, as noted in the text, there remain substantial under-representation of women in these roles, with women filling less than a quarter of head coach and athletic director positions, a much smaller percentage than before the passage of Title IX (Lapchick et al. 2017; Lavoie and Baeth 2018; Sabo, Veliz, and Staurowsky 2016). Moreover, the items were of contemporary relevance as there had been a high profile case concerning the termination of employment for the most successful women's college hockey coach in history. It concluded, in March 2018, with a \$3.74 million dollar employment sex discrimination settlement from the University of Minnesota Duluth (Zamora 2018).

When it comes to benefits we included three components: (1) financial compensation, (2) guaranteed scholarships, and (3) medical coverage. We arrived at these components by partially drawing on the on the agenda of the College Athletics Players Association (<https://collegeathletespa.org/>), which is a prominent advocacy group for student-athletes. More specifically, for financial compensation, the most widely discussed policies involve either paying student-athletes ("pay-for-play") or allowing them to form a union that could collectively negotiate with the NCAA and/or their own schools. We included questions about (a) opposition

or support for directly paying student-athletes, (b) allowing them to market their names or images, (c) allowing them to receive compensation for sponsorships/endorsements, and (d) allowing them to unionize (e.g., Druckman et al. 2014; Ohr 2014). The item on compensation for marketing names or images became hotly debated in September, 2019, when the state of California passed a law allowing for such marketing (e.g., Jenkins 2019; Witz 2019). This occurred, however, after our data collection was complete. On questions of guaranteed scholarships, we queried opposition or support for scholarships for former student-athletes who did not graduate to complete their degrees, and guaranteeing scholarships regardless of whether the student remains an athlete until they complete their degree requirements. These items reflect substantial discussion about guaranteeing scholarships regardless of athletic participation/success. Some schools do fully guarantee four-year scholarships; however, at the time of the survey, the NCAA allowed Division I to offer multi-year scholarships but it did not require it. (<http://www.ncaa.org/student-athletes/future/eligibility-center/what-typical-length-athletics-scholarship>). Finally, on questions of medical coverage, we asked about opposition or support for requiring schools to provide basic medical coverage to all student-athletes and to provide lifetime coverage for injuries that occur during collegiate careers. At the time of the survey, the NCAA required student-athletes have some type of coverage but they did not *require* that it be from the school (e.g., it could be from a parent, or the student athletes him/herself). In 2018, the so-called Power 5 conferences (consisting of 65 schools) passed a rule that requires schools provide medical care for injuries incurred via sports (for at least two years after the student leaves school), but this does not apply to schools not in one of those conferences.

It is worth mentioning that, as noted in the text, the NCAA largely opposes all of these benefits policies (see, e.g., <http://www.ncaa.org/student-athletes/future/amateurism>). For example, in 2014, NCAA President Mark Emmert stated, “To convert college sports into professional sports would [lead to a product that is not] successful either for fan support or for the fan experience” (Dahlberg 2014, 1). He further states that “No, it will not happen – not while I’m president of the NCAA” (cited in Mondello et al. 2013, 109). Similarly, in reaction to the 2019 California law that would allow student-athletes to earn money from their names and images, the NCAA reacted that the law would “make unattainable the goal of providing a fair and level playing field” (Jenkins 2019). The same largely applies to receiving compensation from sponsors or endorsements which is highly relevant for many Olympic-sport student-athletes who cannot independently receive funds/gear from sponsors (see <http://www.ncaa.org/about/frequently-asked-questions-about-ncaa>).⁸

Echoing these sentiments, a 2018 independent, NCAA-commissioned report on tempering corruption in college basketball makes clear: “Paying modest salaries to Division I basketball players will not address the particular corruption...nor will providing student-athletes a modest post-graduation trust fund based on licensing of names, images, and likenesses” (Commission on College Basketball 2018: 37). That said, that report recommends consideration of expanded scholarships. It (2018: 6) states: “The Commission recommends that the NCAA

⁸ Individual schools typically echo the NCAA positions. For example, in the widely-watched but failed effort by the Northwestern University football players to unionize, the University took a very clear legal position against unionization (Ohr 2014).

immediately establish a substantial fund and commit to paying for the degree completion of student-athletes with athletic scholarships who leave member institutions after progress of at least two years towards a degree. Colleges and universities must fulfill their commitments to student-athletes to provide not just a venue for athletic competition, but also an education. They must promise student-athletes that the option to receive an education will be there, even after the athlete is finished with his athletic career. This will be expensive, but it is necessary to restore credibility to the phrase student-athlete. Many NCAA member institutions already provide Degree Completion Programs. NCAA rules should standardize this offering. The NCAA must also define a category of relatively disadvantaged schools for which this requirement would impose a substantial burden, and create a fund to provide the benefit for students at those institutions, using the revenues of the NCAA Basketball tournament.” This is a particularly salient issue because although graduation rates among student-athletes are high, they are still lower for minorities (e.g., http://www.ncaa.org/sites/default/files/2017D1RES_Grad_Rate_Trends_FINAL_20171108.pdf). All of that said, again this is a report stance and not the official stance of the NCAA.

Online Appendix 6: Details on Independent Measures and Causation

Race

As mentioned in the text, we measured race with an item that asked respondents to choose just one racial or ethnic category. The survey included a distinct race/ethnicity question that allowed individuals to choose multiple groups. We use the one that required a single response for three reasons. First, the single response items captures the cultural experiences presumably of African-Americans that inform our theory – that is, clear identifiers. Second, the item we did use offers an “other” option, and thus, if someone first and foremost identifies as bi-racial, he/she could choose other and report that (and some respondents did this). Third, the single response item better matched the population data that we use for weighting purposes. Thirteen percent of our student-athlete sample checked multiple races on the other question, while only 5% of the administrator sample did so.

Identity Strength Measures

Our main explanatory variables – race and gender – are clearly exogenous to the policies we study. We do, though, recognize our implicit assumption that these demographic labels capture identification with a given group, and there is most certainly variation in identification. We included gender and racial identity strength scales in the survey, but there is little variance. For example, in the student-athlete data, on a 1-6 scale, 90% of African-Americans opted for a score of 5 or 6 (where higher scores means a stronger identity) while 94% of women did so on a gender identity strength scale. The respective scores for the administrator data are 94% and 91%. These extremely high scores combined with little variance mean that the variables have no explanatory power. It could be that other identification measures, such as those employed by Spry (2018) would have provided additional insight into how variations in identification matter (also see Huddy et al. 2015 on gender identification measures). This a question for future work.

Contact

The nature of how we measure contacts means that we could include “same group” contact – such as the percentage of time women student-athletes spend interacting with other women student-athletes. The idea here would be to look for a conformity dynamic. When we added such variables to our models, the main results do not change and there are no consistent conformity effects. Adding these variables also introduces considerably more collinearity. Also, our measure is total amount of contact with the different group, rather than percentage of contact with the different groups within the groups listed; however, total amount correlates with percentages at above .95 in every case for both samples.

Perhaps surprisingly, the correlations between contact and the group attitudes are low. For racial conservatism and African-American contact, among non-African-Americans, it's oddly .0876 ($p < .01$) (the student athlete data) and so more contact leads to more conservative attitudes. This perhaps reflects contact with successful African-Americans and the perception they do not need basic affirmative action programs (even though the contact may lead to an understanding of the compensation policy more as a matter of deservingness). In the administrator sample, there is no correlation ($r = .01$). For sexism and women contact among men, the correlation is -.0661 ($p < .05$) in the student athlete data and -.01 in the administer data.

Causation

One concern with our main independent variables is that they may be caused, in part, by our outcome variables – for example, those who hold particular policy views (e.g., support for gender equity policies, benefits policies) may seek out specific discussion partners (e.g., more interactions with women student-athletes, African-American student-athletes, respectively). If this were the case, it would be the policy preferences driving discussion and not vice versa. This is extremely unlikely, however, for two reasons. First, our inter-personal relations measures are disconnected from the politics and policy – they are purely demographic measures.⁹ It seems highly implausible that the stakeholders we study seek out particular student-athletes with the specific purpose to discuss policies, which while certainly crucial to their lives, do not directly affect their daily experiences. Indeed, in the case of student-athletes, their lives are highly structured with notable time commitments (e.g., NCAA 2016). Their social networks are surely being driven mostly by sport, school, and other social forces (e.g., living situations, social preferences; e.g., Sinclair 2012: 6). For administrators, their jobs too are quite structured based on their given areas of responsibility and their interactions with student-athletes come largely in official capacities and not by choice *per se*. Second, if policy concerns drive discussion partner choices, we would likely see strong negative correlations between racial conservatism and the frequency of White-African-American contact, and sexism and the frequency of male-women interactions. These individuals evade interactions with groups they tend to dislike and with whom they likely disagree on policy (i.e., those attitudes also strongly explain the policies we study). Yet in our student-athlete data, we in fact see a positive correlation in the former case (.09) and a very small correlation in the latter (-.07).¹⁰ In our administrator data, we see respective correlations of .01 and -.01.

⁹ This differs from the measures typically used in political science to study discussion networks – those focus on the partisan nature of one’s network with the question of whether the nature of the networks moderate issues positions. There is good reason to be concerned in that case that political considerations affect choices about with whom to interact (Mutz 2006: 46-48). In short, an appreciation of the other side’s political views may drive discussion networks rather than vice versa (e.g., moderates choose heterogeneous partisan networks rather than those networks leading to moderation).

¹⁰ These correlations focus only on Whites and men, respectively. Also, when we run regressions with our weighted data, the racial conservative and sexism variables are insignificant in respectively explaining White-African-American contact and male-female contact (for both the student-athletes and administrators).

Online Appendix 7: Control Variables

Here we offer some details on the control variables included for both and each sample.

Control Variables for Student-Athletes and Administrators

There are five control variables for both samples. First, we include an “other minority” measure since athletic scholarships may offer a route to an education in a similar way as they do for African-Americans, in which case, they would support increased compensation. Second, we include religion indicators to capture variation in values that may affect gender equity beliefs. Third, we include family income because those with lower incomes may be more supportive of compensation provisions given needs. Fourth, Division dummies control for the reality that compensation debates center on Division I (and Division III student-athletes may not benefit given there are no athletic scholarships in Division III). Fifth, conservatives may generally oppose policy innovation in the domain of sports (Zorn and Gill 2007).

Control Variables for Student-Athletes Only

There are eight control variables for student-athletes. First, we include year in school since Druckman et al. (2014) show those later in school are more supportive of compensation benefits. Second, parental college education (i.e., if any parent has a college degree) is an additional indicator of socio-economic status. College is a distinct experience for those without the cultural background (e.g., Jury et al. 2017) and this is true in the domain of sports (Druckman and Rothschild 2019). This variable is skewed by race: 36% of African-American student athlete data respondents do not have a parent with a college education compared to just 20% of non-African-American respondents. Third, we include a dummy for whether the respondent has a full or partial athletic scholarship since these individuals would be more likely to benefit from compensation. Fourth, we include a dummy for whether the respondent has a full or partial academic scholarship because those on academic scholarship may focus less on compensation given that sport achievement may be less salient. Fifth, we include a variable indicating co-ed team membership since that likely increases gender equality support. The sixth and seventh variables are membership on the football and men’s basketball team given these are the main revenue sports invoked in popular discourse about compensation (and often seen as the most “deserving” of compensation. Eight, we include additional variables for the participation models – measures of school and political external and internal efficacy since those variables have been shown to influence participation (Rosenstone and Hanson 1993). (We include a “school” version since the questions asking about advocating to the school or to political entities.)

Control Variables for Administrators Only

There are eight control variables for the administrators. First, we include age since older individuals will have experienced an era in college sports prior to that in which money became core to the enterprise (and with that shift, an intensification of benefits debates). Much older individuals may have been working during the early years of Title IX. Thus age may negatively correlate with both types of policies. Second, more educated individuals may view sports as an academic pathway, endorsing the collegiate model of college sports (Nixon 2014) which might lead to opposition to any compensation. Third, we include indicators for each of the areas in

which the administrators work: administration, medical, academic, performance/strength. The excluded category is “other” (reserved for administrators who are employed to work in multiple areas.) One might assume that those who work directly in administration could be most opposed to compensation as they are most directly tied to the school’s sports policy. Fourth, we include years working in the field as there may be a similar impact as that of age. Fifth, there is a dummy variable for head of a particular department since heads may be more opposed to any change given that they are more embedded in the institutional culture. Sixth, we measure whether the individual played a varsity sport in college since those who played may be more supportive of the policies given their own experiences. Our seventh and eighth controls are indicators for whether the individual directly works with a women’s team or a co-ed team since that likely increases gender equality preferences.

Online Appendix 8: Question Wording

STUDENT-ATHLETES

Which sport(s) did you play at a *varsity* level this past academic year? If you played on multiple varsity sports teams, select all teams on which you played. If you did not “play” due to injury or another reason, select the team(s) with which you affiliate.

- | | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acrobatics and Tumbling | <input type="checkbox"/> Equestrian | <input type="checkbox"/> Pistol | <input type="checkbox"/> Squash |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baseball | <input type="checkbox"/> Fencing | <input type="checkbox"/> Rifle | <input type="checkbox"/> Swimming |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Basketball | <input type="checkbox"/> Field Hockey | <input type="checkbox"/> Rodeo | <input type="checkbox"/> Tennis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Beach Volleyball | <input type="checkbox"/> Football | <input type="checkbox"/> Rowing | <input type="checkbox"/> Track and Field |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bowling | <input type="checkbox"/> Golf | <input type="checkbox"/> Rugby | <input type="checkbox"/> Volleyball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cross country | <input type="checkbox"/> Gymnastics | <input type="checkbox"/> Sailing | <input type="checkbox"/> Water Polo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Diving | <input type="checkbox"/> Ice Hockey | <input type="checkbox"/> Skiing | <input type="checkbox"/> Wheelchair Basketball |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Lacrosse | <input type="checkbox"/> Soccer | <input type="checkbox"/> Wrestling |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Lightweight Rowing | <input type="checkbox"/> Softball | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> None |

Do you play on a men’s team, a women’s team, or a co-ed team? Check all that apply.

Men’s

Women’s

Co-ed

In which NCAA division does your team(s) compete?

Division 1

Division 2

Division 3

What was your year in school this past academic year?

First year

Sophomore

Junior

Senior

Graduate student *N/A*

This past academic year – were you on an **athletic** scholarship, and if so, was it partial or full?

No athletic scholarship

Partial athletic scholarship

Full athletic scholarship

This past academic year – were you on an **academic** scholarship, and if so, was it partial or full?

No academic scholarship

Partial academic scholarship

Full academic scholarship

ADMINISTRATORS

In which NCAA division does your school compete (for all or most sports)?

Division 1 Division 2 Division 3

Which of the following describes the area of athletics in which you work? Check all that apply.

- Athletic Administration (e.g., Athletic Director, Assistant Athletic Director)
- Athletic Medicine (e.g., Athletic Trainer)
- Academic Services (e.g., Academic Counselor)
- Athletic Performance/Strength & Conditioning
- Compliance
- Finance
- Title IX Coordinator
- Other

Are you the director/head of your department?

Yes No

If you work with *particular* sport teams, are they men's teams, women's teams, or co-ed teams? Check all that apply, or if you do not work directly with sports teams, check "None directly."

Men's Women's Co-ed None directly

How many years have you worked in your current field (generally speaking)? (This includes your time in your current position.) **ANSWERS ON SCALE FROM 0 TO >50**

In a typical *week during this past academic year*, how many hours did you spend working directly with current or future student-athletes (on average)? **ANSWERS ON SCALE FROM 0 TO >80**

If you attended any college, did you play a varsity sport (for at least one season)?

Did not attend any college No Yes

What is your age?

Under 18 18-24 25-34 35-50 51-65 Over 65

What is your highest level of education?

Less than high school High school Some college 4 year college degree Master's degree PhD MD PhD and MD

EVERYONE

Which of the following best describes your religion?

Protestant *Catholic* *Jewish* *Muslim* *Hindu* *Other* *Not religious*

What is the highest level of education completed by one of your parents? (Think about the parent who has received the highest level of education.)

Less than high school *High school* *Some college* *4 year college degree* *Advanced degree*

What is your estimate of your family's annual household income (before taxes)?

< \$30,000 *\$30,000 - \$69,999* *\$70,000-\$99,999* *\$100,000-\$200,000* *>\$200,000*

What is your gender? **IF THE ANSWER IS "OTHER," ASK FOLLOW-UP OPEN-ENDED "How would you describe your gender identification?_____"**

Male *Female* *Other*

Which of the following do you consider to be your primary racial or ethnic group (*you may check more than one on this question*)?

White *Black/African American* *Hispanic/Latino* *Asian/Pacific Islander* *Middle Eastern/
Northern African* *Native American* *Other*

Which of the following racial or ethnic categories *best* describes you (*please check just one on this question*)? **IF THE ANSWER IS "OTHER," ASK FOLLOW-UP OPEN-ENDED "How would you characterize the racial or ethnic category that best describes you?_____"**

White *Black/African American* *Hispanic/Latino* *Asian/Pacific Islander* *Middle Eastern/
Northern African* *Native American* *Other*

Given your knowledge of Title IX, do you disagree or agree with its requirements as applied to college athletics?

Definitely disagree *Somewhat disagree* *Slightly disagree* *Neither disagree nor agree* *Slightly agree* *Somewhat agree* *Definitely agree*

Some people think more should be done to ensure women have the same opportunities as men in college sports. Others think less should be done to ensure equal opportunities. What do you think?

<hr/> <i>Much more</i>	<hr/> <i>Somewhat</i>	<hr/> <i>A little</i>	<hr/> <i>About the</i>	<hr/> <i>A little</i>	<hr/> <i>Somewhat</i>	<hr/> <i>Much</i>
<i>less should be done to ensure opportunities</i>	<i>less should be done to ensure opportunities</i>	<i>less should be done to ensure opportunities</i>	<i>right amount is being done to ensure opportunities</i>	<i>more should be done to ensure</i>	<i>more should be done to ensure</i>	<i>should be done to</i>

Do you oppose or support *equal* spending on men’s and women’s college sports?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support allowing women, who are athletically qualified, to participate on men’s teams in ***individual noncontact sports*** (e.g., track, tennis, swimming)?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support allowing women, who are athletically qualified, to participate on men’s teams in ***team noncontact sports*** (e.g., baseball, rowing, volleyball)?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support allowing women, who are athletically qualified, to participate on men’s teams in ***contact sports*** other than football (e.g., basketball, hockey, wrestling)?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support allowing women, who are athletically qualified, to participate on the ***men’s football team***?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support a rule that would require schools to *interview at least one woman* when searching for a new **head coach** for a woman's team?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Do you oppose or support a rule that would require schools to *interview at least one woman* when searching for a new **Athletic Director**?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
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Some people think more should be done to enforce sexual harassment laws in college athletics (e.g., within teams, athletic departments). Others think less should be done. What do you think?

<hr/> <i>Much more less should be done to enforce sexual harassment harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>Somewhat less should be done to enfore sexual harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>A little less should be done to enforce sexual harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>About the right amount is being done enforce sexual harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>A little more should be done to enforce sexual harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>Somewhat more should be done to enforce sexual harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>Much should be done to enforce sexual laws</i>
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Some of the following questions involve issues that would require funding. In most cases, these funds would likely come from some mix of individual schools, the NCAA, and possibly athletic conferences. Also, some of the questions may seem most applicable to certain contexts such as programs that offer scholarships. You are free to answer such questions with those types of programs in mind, or not (e.g., answer them in a more general sense). It is entirely up to you.

Do you oppose or support paying student-athletes salaries like other employees?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support compensating student-athletes for the marketing of their names, images, and/or likenesses?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support allowing student-athletes to receive compensation for commercial sponsorships and/or endorsements?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support allowing student-athletes to form a union to collectively bargain?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support providing scholarships for former student athletes, who did not graduate, to return to school to complete their degrees? (This refers to those whose college careers are complete.)

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support guaranteeing scholarships for as long as student-athletes are enrolled and making progress towards degrees (even if they are no longer participating in sports and thus are no longer “student-athletes”)?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support requiring schools to provide basic medical insurance for student-athletes?

<hr/> <i>Strongly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly oppose</i>	<hr/> <i>Neither oppose nor support</i>	<hr/> <i>Slightly support</i>	<hr/> <i>Moderately support</i>	<hr/> <i>Strongly support</i>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Do you oppose or support having schools provide lifetime medical coverage for student-athletes’ injuries that occur during their collegiate careers?

*Strongly
oppose*

*Moderately
oppose*

*Slightly
oppose*

*Neither
oppose nor
support*

*Slightly
support*

*Moderately
support*

*Strongly
support*

Imagine that a fund has been created for college sports initiatives. Your job is to allocate this fund. You can only allocate it to the below items and you must allocate **all** of the fund. Please list what percentage you would give to each initiative. The total must sum to 100%.

- Ensuring that men and women student-athletes have equal opportunities. _____
- Paying salaries to student-athletes, like other employees. _____
- Infrastructure for the enforcement of sexual harassment laws in college sports. _____

- Guaranteeing scholarships for as long as student-athletes are enrolled and making progress towards degrees (even if they are no longer participating in sports and thus no longer “student-athletes”) _____
- Training and support (via seminars and events) for women pursuing careers as college coaches. _____
- Guaranteeing medical coverage for all student-athletes. _____

STUDENT-ATHLETES

How unlikely or likely is it that you would take each of the following actions, in the future, to advocate for greater gender equity in college sports?

	Very unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Slightly likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely
Talk to a coach							
Talk to an athletic director							
Talk with other student-athletes							
Protest during a game/competition							
Protest outside of a game/competition							
Write to a college president							
Write to a media outlet							
Sign a petition							
Write a politician							

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Slightly unlikely Neither unlikely nor likely Slightly likely Somewhat likely Very likely

How unlikely or likely is it that you would take each of the following actions, in the future, to advocate for more rights and/or benefits for student-athletes (e.g., to collectively bargain, receive guaranteed scholarships, compensation for commercial sponsorships, etc.)

	Very unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Slightly likely	Somewhat likely	Very likely
Talk to a coach							
Talk to an athletic director							
Talk with other student-athletes							
Protest during a game/competition							
Protest outside of a game/competition							
Write to a college president							
Write to a media outlet							
Sign a petition							
Write a politician							

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Slightly unlikely Neither unlikely nor likely Slightly likely Somewhat likely Very likely

ADMINISTRATORS

If you were contacted by a student-athlete to discuss **gender equality among student-athletes**, how unlikely or likely would you be to respond (e.g., meet/discuss)?

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Slightly unlikely Neither unlikely nor likely Slightly likely Somewhat likely Very likely

If you were contacted by a student-athlete to discuss **benefits and compensation for student-athletes**, how unlikely or likely would you be to respond (e.g., meet/discuss)?

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Slightly unlikely Neither unlikely nor likely Slightly likely Somewhat likely Very likely

EVERYONE

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Extremely liberal Liberal Somewhat liberal Moderate; middle of the road Somewhat conservative Conservative Extremely conservative

Please state the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements **about politics**:

	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree
People like me don't have any say about in what the government does.							
Public officials don't care much what people like me think.							
Sometimes, politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't							

really understand what's going on.							
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.							
	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree

Please state the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements **about your school**:

	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree
People like me don't have any say about in what my school does.							
Officials at my school don't care much what people like me think.							
Sometimes, the affairs of my school seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.							
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important issues facing my school.							
	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree

The following statements concern women, men, and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you disagree or agree with each statement.

	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree
Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."							
Women are too easily offended.							
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.							
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.							

Definitely disagree Somewhat disagree Slightly disagree Neither disagree nor agree Slightly agree Somewhat agree Definitely agree

¹¹To what extent do you oppose or support affirmative action programs designed to help blacks and other minorities get access to better jobs and education (e.g., a college education)?

Strongly oppose *Moderately oppose* *Slightly oppose* *Neither oppose nor support* *Slightly support* *Moderately support* *Strongly support*

Now we'll present you with a few statements. After each one, we would like you to tell us how strongly you disagree or agree.

	Definitely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Definitely agree
Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America.							
Students from disadvantaged social backgrounds should be given preferential treatment in college admissions.							

Definitely disagree Somewhat disagree Slightly disagree Neither disagree nor agree Slightly agree Somewhat agree Definitely agree

¹¹ This item and the two in the subsequent table compose our racial conservatism scale.

STUDENT-ATHLETES

One last question! We are interested in the frequency with which you interact with *other student-athletes* of various demographic backgrounds.

Of the total time you spend with other student-athletes, what percentage involves interacting with each of the below demographic groups. The total cannot exceed 100% but it also need not sum to 100% since we do not list an exhaustive set of demographic descriptions.

White men_____

African-American men_____

White women_____

African-American women_____

ADMINISTRATORS

One last question! We are interested in the frequency with which you interact with *student-athletes* of various demographic backgrounds.

Of the total time you spend working with student-athletes (if any), what percentage involves directly working with each of the below demographic groups. The total cannot exceed 100% but it also need not sum to 100% since we do not list an exhaustive set of demographic descriptions. If you do NOT directly work with student-athletes, ENTER 0% for all below.

White men_____

African-American men_____

White women_____

African-American women_____

Online Appendix 9: Full Regressions for Student-Athletes

Policy Support and Budget Allocation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	1.009*** (0.104)	-0.547*** (0.123)	-0.157*** (0.022)
African-American	0.146 (0.100)	0.981*** (0.109)	0.089*** (0.024)
Racial Conservatism	-1.396*** (0.154)	-1.081*** (0.167)	0.095*** (0.034)
Hostile Sexism	-1.201*** (0.126)	0.162 (0.145)	0.098*** (0.027)
%Male-Female Contact	1.433*** (0.522)	-0.480 (0.618)	-0.235** (0.114)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.723** (0.354)	2.722*** (0.404)	0.414*** (0.078)
Other Minority	0.101 (0.071)	0.131 (0.082)	0.035** (0.015)
Catholic	0.033 (0.064)	0.142* (0.078)	0.010 (0.014)
Non-Christian	0.001 (0.123)	0.189 (0.115)	0.038* (0.022)
No Religion	0.130** (0.065)	0.198*** (0.074)	0.040*** (0.014)
Year in School	-0.083 (0.088)	-0.044 (0.100)	0.039** (0.020)
Family Income	-0.072 (0.096)	0.148 (0.112)	-0.008 (0.021)
Parent College Ed.	-0.152** (0.066)	-0.099 (0.070)	0.019 (0.014)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.177** (0.071)	0.327*** (0.080)	0.038** (0.015)
Academic Scholarship	0.031 (0.051)	0.074 (0.057)	0.020* (0.011)
Co-ed Team	0.269*** (0.078)	0.022 (0.088)	0.012 (0.019)
Football Team	0.057 (0.096)	0.211* (0.120)	-0.006 (0.021)
Men's Basket. Team	0.041 (0.193)	-0.172 (0.260)	-0.027 (0.041)
Division 2	0.079 (0.071)	-0.283*** (0.082)	-0.067*** (0.017)
Division 3	0.093 (0.071)	-0.065 (0.080)	-0.034** (0.015)
Conservative Ideology	-0.721*** (0.137)	-0.266* (0.150)	0.046 (0.031)
Constant	5.463*** (0.163)	5.048*** (0.201)	0.446*** (0.036)
Observations	2,408	2,408	2,408
R-squared	0.519	0.215	0.207

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Policy Participation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity Participation	(2) Benefits Participation
Female	1.130*** (0.155)	0.092 (0.189)
African-American	0.557*** (0.166)	0.860*** (0.169)
Racial Conservatism	-1.535*** (0.229)	-1.465*** (0.249)
Hostile Sexism	-1.018*** (0.208)	-0.172 (0.238)
% Male-Female Contact	2.432*** (0.768)	0.701 (0.908)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.329 (0.510)	1.733*** (0.566)
Other Minority	0.147 (0.102)	0.106 (0.124)
Catholic	-0.017 (0.095)	0.016 (0.109)
Non-Christian	-0.006 (0.176)	-0.127 (0.182)
No Religion	-0.074 (0.097)	-0.022 (0.109)
Year in School	-0.018 (0.137)	-0.276* (0.154)
Family Income	-0.235 (0.158)	-0.077 (0.173)
Parent College Ed.	-0.163* (0.099)	-0.260** (0.102)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.117 (0.110)	0.113 (0.113)
Academic Scholarship	-0.090 (0.077)	0.108 (0.088)
Co-ed Team	0.107 (0.118)	-0.034 (0.131)
Football Team	-0.257* (0.149)	0.135 (0.163)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.195 (0.255)	0.181 (0.283)
Division 2	-0.092 (0.116)	-0.140 (0.120)
Division 3	0.092 (0.107)	-0.137 (0.114)
Conservative Ideology	-0.667*** (0.222)	-0.279 (0.236)
External Pol. Efficacy	-0.122 (0.168)	-0.052 (0.191)
Internal Pol. Efficacy	0.224 (0.168)	0.318 (0.207)
External School Efficacy	0.026 (0.161)	-0.283 (0.181)
Internal School Efficacy	-0.195 (0.202)	0.051 (0.236)
Constant	4.475*** (0.282)	4.509*** (0.323)

Observations	2,401	2,395
R-squared	0.330	0.123

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 10: Full Regressions for Administrators

Policy Support and Budget Allocation (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	0.336*** (0.117)	-0.333** (0.160)	-0.071** (0.030)
African-American	-0.226 (0.148)	0.360** (0.173)	0.004 (0.034)
Racial Conservatism	-1.138*** (0.251)	-1.112*** (0.297)	0.057 (0.063)
Hostile Sexism	-0.608*** (0.210)	-0.163 (0.224)	0.090* (0.047)
% Male-Female Contact	0.896* (0.469)	0.500 (0.571)	-0.209* (0.112)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.105 (0.347)	0.986** (0.448)	0.180* (0.092)
Other Minority	0.327** (0.138)	0.274* (0.144)	0.031 (0.030)
Catholic	0.012 (0.088)	-0.046 (0.112)	-0.040 (0.025)
Non-Christian	-0.168 (0.167)	-0.320* (0.166)	-0.029 (0.037)
No Religion	-0.008 (0.120)	-0.092 (0.125)	-0.059** (0.026)
Age	0.076 (0.398)	-0.457 (0.394)	-0.050 (0.088)
Education	0.760 (0.481)	1.629*** (0.547)	0.190 (0.117)
Family Income	-0.151 (0.166)	-0.031 (0.175)	-0.011 (0.038)
Area Admin.	-0.169 (0.112)	-0.583*** (0.123)	-0.052* (0.030)
Area Medical	0.077 (0.104)	-0.522*** (0.125)	-0.005 (0.028)
Area Academic	0.084 (0.119)	0.368** (0.152)	0.005 (0.031)
Area Performance	-0.353** (0.139)	-0.362** (0.163)	0.047 (0.041)
Years in Field	-0.339 (0.305)	-0.600* (0.336)	-0.066 (0.075)
Head of Dept.	0.072 (0.106)	0.088 (0.105)	0.024 (0.024)
Played Varsity Sport	0.033 (0.080)	-0.060 (0.093)	-0.044** (0.020)
Works with Women's Team	-0.036 (0.087)	-0.175* (0.102)	0.002 (0.020)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.072 (0.102)	0.039 (0.107)	-0.011 (0.023)
Division 2	-0.198 (0.170)	0.068 (0.190)	-0.025 (0.040)
Division 3	0.311*** (0.104)	0.114 (0.118)	-0.012 (0.026)
Conservative Ideology	-0.981***	-0.742***	-0.123**

Constant	(0.204) 4.880*** (0.329)	(0.282) 4.706*** (0.383)	(0.051) 0.512*** (0.079)
Observations	815	815	815
R-squared	0.290	0.288	0.098

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Policy Responsiveness (with Control Variables)

	(1) Gender Equity Response	(2) Benefits Response
Female	0.652** (0.268)	0.050 (0.282)
African-American	-0.124 (0.317)	-0.083 (0.334)
Racial Conservatism	-0.783 (0.579)	-1.035* (0.594)
Hostile Sexism	-1.217*** (0.436)	-0.795* (0.444)
% Male-Female Contact	2.432** (1.019)	0.655 (1.062)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.850 (0.816)	1.905** (0.810)
Other Minority	0.069 (0.299)	0.046 (0.335)
Catholic	-0.319 (0.196)	-0.261 (0.198)
Non-Christian	-0.098 (0.365)	-0.287 (0.381)
No Religion	0.114 (0.245)	-0.245 (0.258)
Age	-0.785 (0.691)	-1.328* (0.793)
Education	0.223 (0.772)	1.228 (0.901)
Family Income	0.344 (0.348)	0.470 (0.349)
Area Admin.	0.680*** (0.206)	0.737*** (0.223)
Area Medical	-0.621*** (0.228)	-0.564** (0.231)
Area Academic	0.073 (0.253)	0.289 (0.272)
Area Performance	0.073 (0.309)	0.139 (0.308)
Years in Field	0.852 (0.588)	1.031 (0.654)
Head of Dept.	0.117 (0.204)	-0.077 (0.205)
Played Varsity Sport	0.397** (0.168)	0.315* (0.166)
Works with Women's Team	-0.077 (0.170)	-0.116 (0.178)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.013 (0.220)	0.067 (0.217)
Division 2	-0.021 (0.340)	0.049 (0.348)
Division 3	0.297 (0.208)	0.227 (0.208)
Conservative Ideology	-0.448 (0.452)	-0.436 (0.456)
Constant	4.786***	4.320***

	(0.663)	(0.719)
Observations	815	815
R-squared	0.167	0.130

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 11: Supplementary Regressions for Student-Athletes

Individual Scales for Gender Equity

	(1) Resource Equality	(2) Gender Integration	(3) Gender Interview Rules
Female	1.184*** (0.120)	0.894*** (0.193)	0.896*** (0.171)
African-American	0.115 (0.103)	0.120 (0.187)	0.253 (0.156)
Racial Conservatism	-1.345*** (0.172)	-0.791*** (0.293)	-2.725*** (0.276)
Hostile Sexism	-1.240*** (0.132)	-1.383*** (0.238)	-0.749*** (0.214)
%Male-Female Contact	1.163* (0.606)	2.395** (0.948)	0.112 (0.835)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.682* (0.396)	-0.697 (0.640)	-0.837 (0.604)
Other Minority	0.116 (0.075)	0.133 (0.140)	0.011 (0.125)
Catholic	-0.053 (0.073)	-0.012 (0.118)	0.290*** (0.112)
Non-Christian	-0.096 (0.122)	0.033 (0.218)	0.142 (0.175)
No Religion	-0.012 (0.069)	0.384*** (0.127)	-0.098 (0.114)
Year in School	-0.175* (0.094)	-0.060 (0.173)	0.041 (0.151)
Family Income	-0.167 (0.102)	0.022 (0.187)	-0.057 (0.167)
Parent College Ed.	-0.083 (0.071)	-0.172 (0.125)	-0.258** (0.116)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.073 (0.076)	-0.235** (0.119)	-0.262** (0.102)
Academic Scholarship	0.014 (0.054)	-0.009 (0.096)	0.144* (0.087)
Co-ed Team	0.120 (0.079)	0.435*** (0.137)	0.230* (0.135)
Football Team	-0.090 (0.107)	0.311* (0.186)	-0.143 (0.180)
Men's Basket. Team	0.070 (0.189)	-0.028 (0.386)	0.117 (0.298)
Division 2	0.065 (0.078)	0.176 (0.129)	-0.081 (0.114)
Division 3	0.122* (0.073)	0.180 (0.124)	-0.135 (0.115)
Conservative Ideology	-0.254* (0.152)	-1.228*** (0.255)	-0.646*** (0.225)
Constant	5.781*** (0.184)	4.701*** (0.293)	6.344*** (0.277)
Observations	2,408	2,408	2,408
R-squared	0.489	0.241	0.333

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Individual Scales for Benefits

	(1) Resource Compensation	(2) Scholarships	(3) Medical
Female	-0.926*** (0.156)	-0.519*** (0.194)	0.201 (0.151)
African-American	1.222*** (0.143)	1.013*** (0.180)	0.462*** (0.122)
Racial Conservatism	-0.735*** (0.225)	-1.562*** (0.267)	-1.289*** (0.208)
Hostile Sexism	0.231 (0.194)	0.103 (0.220)	0.100 (0.171)
%Male-Female Contact	-1.227 (0.786)	-0.235 (0.987)	0.854 (0.706)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	2.892*** (0.528)	3.874*** (0.594)	1.207** (0.474)
Other Minority	0.126 (0.107)	0.002 (0.126)	0.276*** (0.095)
Catholic	0.182* (0.102)	0.110 (0.108)	0.091 (0.093)
Non-Christian	0.102 (0.149)	0.177 (0.205)	0.384*** (0.125)
No Religion	0.264*** (0.097)	0.009 (0.113)	0.249*** (0.080)
Year in School	-0.158 (0.133)	0.071 (0.146)	0.067 (0.114)
Family Income	0.227 (0.146)	-0.020 (0.169)	0.165 (0.131)
Parent College Ed.	-0.173* (0.094)	-0.004 (0.113)	-0.044 (0.085)
Athletic Scholarship	0.382*** (0.102)	0.209* (0.114)	0.334*** (0.093)
Academic Scholarship	0.204*** (0.075)	-0.086 (0.091)	-0.022 (0.066)
Co-ed Team	0.065 (0.110)	-0.118 (0.126)	0.074 (0.100)
Football Team	0.166 (0.143)	0.271 (0.179)	0.248* (0.130)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.227 (0.344)	0.087 (0.285)	-0.321 (0.330)
Division 2	-0.249** (0.105)	-0.317** (0.126)	-0.316*** (0.095)
Division 3	-0.138 (0.106)	0.241** (0.119)	-0.229** (0.094)
Conservative Ideology	-0.348* (0.195)	-0.337 (0.224)	-0.046 (0.175)
Constant	5.001*** (0.257)	4.677*** (0.289)	5.494*** (0.228)
Observations	2,407	2,407	2,406
R-squared	0.177	0.149	0.137

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Individual Equity Action Scales*

	(1) Equality Action Sport	(2) Equality Action Protest	(3) Equality Action Politics
Female	1.405*** (0.184)	0.726*** (0.182)	1.032*** (0.182)
African-American	0.523*** (0.169)	0.549*** (0.204)	0.607*** (0.208)
Racial Conservatism	-1.810*** (0.256)	-1.403*** (0.266)	-1.260*** (0.284)
Hostile Sexism	-1.074*** (0.236)	-0.898*** (0.237)	-1.024*** (0.240)
%Male-Female Contact	2.627*** (0.917)	2.893*** (0.877)	1.867** (0.878)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	0.285 (0.577)	0.094 (0.582)	0.542 (0.605)
Other Minority	0.035 (0.114)	0.301** (0.129)	0.193 (0.126)
Catholic	-0.044 (0.110)	0.029 (0.107)	-0.010 (0.113)
Non-Christian	-0.010 (0.175)	-0.035 (0.236)	0.018 (0.221)
No Religion	-0.111 (0.107)	0.045 (0.120)	-0.103 (0.118)
Year in School	0.050 (0.159)	-0.275* (0.159)	0.062 (0.165)
Family Income	-0.118 (0.170)	-0.265 (0.190)	-0.371* (0.192)
Parent College Ed.	-0.193* (0.110)	-0.058 (0.120)	-0.194 (0.124)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.161 (0.119)	0.019 (0.124)	-0.149 (0.131)
Academic Scholarship	-0.074 (0.084)	-0.192** (0.094)	-0.045 (0.096)
Co-ed Team	0.039 (0.130)	0.143 (0.149)	0.173 (0.140)
Football Team	-0.375** (0.175)	-0.137 (0.167)	-0.179 (0.173)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.001 (0.306)	-0.333 (0.283)	-0.352 (0.286)
Division 2	-0.036 (0.122)	-0.125 (0.140)	-0.146 (0.140)
Division 3	0.156 (0.120)	0.138 (0.122)	-0.025 (0.128)
Conservative Ideology	-0.499** (0.238)	-0.921*** (0.264)	-0.721*** (0.268)
External Pol. Efficacy	-0.109 (0.187)	-0.247 (0.202)	-0.056 (0.212)
Internal Pol. Efficacy	-0.227 (0.192)	0.584*** (0.204)	0.585*** (0.204)
External School Efficacy	0.235 (0.181)	-0.318* (0.187)	-0.022 (0.189)
Internal School Efficacy	0.301 (0.231)	-0.914*** (0.256)	-0.377 (0.247)
Constant	4.979***	4.164***	4.008***

	(0.324)	(0.331)	(0.345)
Observations	2,401	2,401	2,401
R-squared	0.353	0.215	0.227

*We look at three dimensions: contacting those in the athletic department (i.e., sports personnel -- coach, athletic director, student-athlete, petition), protesting (at game or outside of game), and taking political action (writing the college president, media, or a politician). Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Individual Benefit Action Scales*

	(1) Resource Action Sport	(2) Resource Action Protest	(3) Resource Action Politics
Female	0.227 (0.211)	0.042 (0.216)	-0.049 (0.225)
African-American	0.661*** (0.175)	1.122*** (0.212)	0.952*** (0.221)
Racial Conservatism	-1.679*** (0.272)	-1.136*** (0.306)	-1.393*** (0.326)
Hostile Sexism	-0.040 (0.262)	-0.405 (0.268)	-0.195 (0.277)
%Male-Female Contact	0.996 (1.002)	1.415 (1.052)	-0.162 (1.096)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	1.667** (0.654)	1.635** (0.665)	1.876*** (0.673)
Other Minority	-0.016 (0.136)	0.348** (0.146)	0.106 (0.149)
Catholic	0.016 (0.122)	0.017 (0.128)	0.014 (0.134)
Non-Christian	-0.234 (0.200)	-0.200 (0.228)	0.066 (0.232)
No Religion	-0.101 (0.122)	0.049 (0.127)	0.043 (0.132)
Year in School	-0.316* (0.170)	-0.337* (0.181)	-0.180 (0.193)
Family Income	-0.093 (0.181)	0.131 (0.208)	-0.179 (0.220)
Parent College Ed.	-0.223** (0.109)	-0.314** (0.137)	-0.277** (0.137)
Athletic Scholarship	0.098 (0.117)	0.157 (0.136)	0.103 (0.147)
Academic Scholarship	0.060 (0.097)	0.049 (0.103)	0.206* (0.109)
Co-ed Team	-0.140 (0.151)	-0.033 (0.148)	0.087 (0.153)
Football Team	0.118 (0.181)	0.250 (0.203)	0.083 (0.204)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.012 (0.323)	0.510 (0.344)	0.220 (0.354)
Division 2	-0.234* (0.132)	-0.057 (0.143)	-0.065 (0.153)
Division 3	-0.105 (0.121)	-0.065 (0.137)	-0.229 (0.144)
Conservative Ideology	-0.202 (0.252)	-0.668** (0.296)	-0.128 (0.292)
External Pol. Efficacy	-0.102 (0.206)	-0.240 (0.225)	0.136 (0.244)
Internal Pol. Efficacy	0.018 (0.228)	0.519** (0.236)	0.582** (0.259)
External School Efficacy	-0.207 (0.194)	-0.653*** (0.215)	-0.136 (0.226)
Internal School Efficacy	0.451*	-0.593**	-0.054

Constant	(0.253) 5.322*** (0.375)	(0.295) 4.031*** (0.375)	(0.301) 3.739*** (0.412)
Observations	2,395	2,392	2,392
R-squared	0.098	0.140	0.085

* We look at three dimensions: contacting those in the athletic department (i.e., sports personnel -- coach, athletic director, student-athlete, petition), protesting (at game or outside of game), and taking political action (writing the college president, media, or a politician). Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Division 1 Only Policy Support and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	0.842*** (0.145)	-0.646*** (0.163)	-0.186*** (0.026)
African-American	0.140 (0.117)	0.805*** (0.133)	0.066*** (0.023)
Racial Conservatism	-1.197*** (0.204)	-0.944*** (0.195)	0.076* (0.040)
Hostile Sexism	-1.079*** (0.153)	0.117 (0.157)	0.138*** (0.037)
% Male-Female Contact	0.052 (0.746)	-1.327 (0.843)	-0.450*** (0.135)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.889** (0.437)	2.302*** (0.390)	0.482*** (0.071)
Other Minority	0.026 (0.088)	0.107 (0.097)	0.053*** (0.017)
Catholic	0.141** (0.071)	0.068 (0.091)	-0.027* (0.015)
Non-Christian	-0.045 (0.120)	0.141 (0.147)	-0.038 (0.031)
No Religion	0.167* (0.087)	0.171** (0.084)	0.025* (0.014)
Year in School	-0.137 (0.106)	0.237** (0.112)	0.038* (0.023)
Family Income	-0.281** (0.122)	-0.182 (0.126)	-0.010 (0.027)
Parent College Ed.	-0.037 (0.089)	-0.158* (0.084)	-0.010 (0.016)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.097 (0.067)	0.313*** (0.071)	0.034** (0.013)
Academic Scholarship	0.111* (0.061)	-0.124** (0.060)	0.004 (0.013)
Co-ed Team	0.183* (0.095)	0.142 (0.095)	0.018 (0.020)
Football Team	0.229* (0.127)	0.315** (0.130)	-0.009 (0.025)
Men's Basket. Team	0.064 (0.269)	0.289 (0.281)	-0.054 (0.047)
Conservative Ideology	-0.667*** (0.191)	-0.001 (0.174)	0.009 (0.032)
Constant	5.470*** (0.216)	5.329*** (0.237)	0.530*** (0.039)
Observations	1,453	1,453	1,453
R-squared	0.482	0.253	0.235

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Division 1 Only Policy Participation

	(1) Gender Equity Participation	(2) Benefits Participation
Female	1.118*** (0.237)	0.184 (0.261)
African-American	0.647*** (0.192)	0.785*** (0.198)
Racial Conservatism	-1.307*** (0.300)	-1.533*** (0.311)
Hostile Sexism	-0.886*** (0.281)	0.063 (0.270)
% Male-Female Contact	2.195* (1.215)	0.724 (1.348)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.272 (0.552)	1.517** (0.641)
Other Minority	0.185 (0.142)	0.114 (0.161)
Catholic	0.097 (0.112)	-0.097 (0.128)
Non-Christian	0.275 (0.238)	0.301 (0.218)
No Religion	-0.041 (0.117)	0.041 (0.129)
Year in School	-0.018 (0.168)	-0.129 (0.178)
Family Income	-0.516** (0.242)	-0.343 (0.232)
Parent College Ed.	-0.034 (0.139)	-0.149 (0.142)
Athletic Scholarship	0.030 (0.115)	0.252** (0.113)
Academic Scholarship	0.138 (0.104)	-0.042 (0.116)
Co-ed Team	0.072 (0.146)	-0.010 (0.173)
Football Team	-0.062 (0.204)	0.073 (0.203)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.306 (0.508)	-0.200 (0.547)
Conservative Ideology	-0.355 (0.332)	0.249 (0.304)
External Pol. Efficacy	0.040 (0.227)	-0.217 (0.241)
Internal Pol. Efficacy	0.281 (0.222)	0.480* (0.246)
External School Efficacy	0.011 (0.230)	-0.118 (0.238)
Internal School Efficacy	-0.434* (0.255)	-0.172 (0.311)
Constant	4.133*** (0.374)	4.226*** (0.399)
Observations	1,446	1,442

R-squared

0.284

0.137

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Unweighted Policy Support and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	1.045*** (0.082)	-0.623*** (0.097)	-0.173*** (0.018)
African-American	0.078 (0.079)	0.916*** (0.093)	0.093*** (0.017)
Racial Conservatism	-1.347*** (0.112)	-0.970*** (0.131)	0.096*** (0.024)
Hostile Sexism	-1.164*** (0.088)	0.068 (0.103)	0.111*** (0.019)
%Male-Female Contact	1.309*** (0.406)	-0.756 (0.476)	-0.266*** (0.089)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.269 (0.244)	2.322*** (0.286)	0.339*** (0.053)
Other Minority	0.041 (0.060)	0.167** (0.070)	0.047*** (0.013)
Catholic	0.094** (0.047)	0.088 (0.055)	-0.015 (0.010)
Non-Christian	0.006 (0.082)	0.028 (0.096)	-0.010 (0.018)
No Religion	0.142*** (0.047)	0.116** (0.055)	0.017 (0.010)
Year in School	-0.018 (0.065)	-0.026 (0.076)	0.027* (0.014)
Family Income	-0.147** (0.071)	-0.007 (0.083)	-0.018 (0.016)
Parent College Ed.	-0.073 (0.050)	-0.135** (0.058)	0.013 (0.011)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.114** (0.046)	0.293*** (0.054)	0.031*** (0.010)
Academic Scholarship	0.093** (0.037)	-0.030 (0.043)	-0.008 (0.008)
Co-ed Team	0.227*** (0.058)	0.072 (0.068)	0.001 (0.013)
Football Team	0.097 (0.086)	0.263*** (0.100)	0.003 (0.019)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.032 (0.159)	0.068 (0.186)	0.002 (0.035)
Division 2	0.064 (0.063)	-0.230*** (0.074)	-0.048*** (0.014)
Division 3	0.186*** (0.051)	-0.027 (0.059)	-0.036*** (0.011)
Conservative Ideology	-0.685*** (0.099)	-0.308*** (0.116)	0.004 (0.022)
Constant	5.237*** (0.122)	5.355*** (0.143)	0.519*** (0.027)
Observations	2,408	2,408	2,408
R-squared	0.504	0.178	0.209

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Unweighted Policy Participation

	(1) Gender Equity Participation	(2) Benefits Participation
Female	1.315*** (0.124)	0.095 (0.136)
African-American	0.502*** (0.119)	0.794*** (0.131)
Racial Conservatism	-1.350*** (0.168)	-1.304*** (0.185)
Hostile Sexism	-0.975*** (0.133)	-0.159 (0.147)
% Male-Female Contact	3.053*** (0.604)	0.895 (0.664)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.754** (0.363)	1.987*** (0.400)
Other Minority	0.169* (0.090)	0.164* (0.099)
Catholic	0.093 (0.070)	0.048 (0.077)
Non-Christian	-0.034 (0.122)	-0.138 (0.134)
No Religion	-0.010 (0.070)	-0.016 (0.077)
Year in School	0.090 (0.097)	-0.103 (0.107)
Family Income	-0.276*** (0.106)	-0.280** (0.117)
Parent College Ed.	-0.041 (0.074)	-0.137* (0.082)
Athletic Scholarship	0.015 (0.069)	0.172** (0.076)
Academic Scholarship	0.068 (0.055)	0.068 (0.060)
Co-ed Team	0.118 (0.086)	0.044 (0.095)
Football Team	-0.182 (0.127)	0.184 (0.140)
Men's Basket. Team	-0.118 (0.236)	0.410 (0.259)
Division 2	-0.073 (0.093)	-0.152 (0.103)
Division 3	0.214*** (0.075)	-0.117 (0.083)
Conservative Ideology	-0.769*** (0.148)	-0.336** (0.162)
External Pol. Efficacy	-0.110 (0.115)	-0.210* (0.126)
Internal Pol. Efficacy	0.363*** (0.124)	0.197 (0.136)
External School Efficacy	-0.156 (0.111)	-0.349*** (0.122)
Internal School Efficacy	0.100 (0.152)	0.220 (0.168)
Constant	3.754***	4.449***

	(0.215)	(0.237)
Observations	2,401	2,395
R-squared	0.315	0.110

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 12: Supplementary Regressions for Administrators

Individual Scales for Gender Equity

	(1) Resource Equality	(2) Gender Integration	(3) Gender Interview Rules
Female	0.560*** (0.106)	0.059 (0.264)	0.445** (0.200)
African-American	0.042 (0.147)	-1.028*** (0.272)	0.840*** (0.223)
Racial Conservatism	-0.936*** (0.248)	-0.431 (0.436)	-2.948*** (0.451)
Hostile Sexism	-0.767*** (0.207)	-0.714* (0.372)	-0.081 (0.371)
%Male-Female Contact	1.115*** (0.402)	0.603 (1.076)	1.036 (0.761)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.190 (0.335)	0.062 (0.669)	0.780 (0.564)
Other Minority	0.196* (0.116)	0.437* (0.251)	0.366* (0.205)
Catholic	-0.111 (0.093)	0.045 (0.159)	0.192 (0.156)
Non-Christian	-0.212 (0.183)	-0.243 (0.293)	0.067 (0.281)
No Religion	-0.021 (0.100)	0.135 (0.200)	-0.272 (0.205)
Age	0.375 (0.355)	-0.161 (0.792)	-0.067 (0.656)
Education	0.335 (0.497)	2.001* (1.054)	-0.872 (0.826)
Family Income	-0.016 (0.153)	-0.259 (0.305)	-0.196 (0.282)
Area Admin.	-0.241** (0.109)	-0.108 (0.235)	-0.145 (0.188)
Area Medical	0.080 (0.111)	0.036 (0.218)	0.153 (0.199)
Area Academic	0.081 (0.120)	-0.028 (0.236)	0.321 (0.197)
Area Performance	-0.286 (0.178)	-0.665*** (0.254)	0.133 (0.315)
Years in Field	-0.000 (0.288)	-0.953 (0.708)	0.225 (0.601)
Head of Dept.	-0.039 (0.105)	0.283 (0.188)	-0.128 (0.178)
Played Varsity Sport	0.090 (0.077)	-0.139 (0.144)	0.265** (0.132)
Works with Women's Team	0.022 (0.079)	-0.112 (0.161)	0.005 (0.137)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.078 (0.100)	0.145 (0.168)	-0.080 (0.179)
Division 2	0.028 (0.153)	-0.060 (0.326)	-0.928*** (0.257)
Division 3	0.294*** (0.104)	0.348** (0.177)	0.272 (0.174)
Conservative Ideology	-0.299	-1.968***	-0.372

Constant	(0.207) 5.131*** (0.314)	(0.348) 4.144*** (0.685)	(0.349) 5.850*** (0.558)
Observations	815	815	815
R-squared	0.246	0.186	0.274

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Individual Scales for Benefits

	(1) Resource Compensation	(2) Scholarships	(3) Medical
Female	-0.639*** (0.190)	-0.165 (0.240)	0.100 (0.203)
African-American	0.606** (0.235)	-0.109 (0.273)	0.292 (0.213)
Racial Conservatism	-0.895** (0.382)	-1.128** (0.509)	-1.523*** (0.439)
Hostile Sexism	-0.541* (0.309)	0.062 (0.348)	0.383 (0.319)
%Male-Female Contact	0.468 (0.666)	0.836 (0.856)	0.207 (0.747)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	1.137** (0.546)	1.079 (0.663)	0.592 (0.590)
Other Minority	0.231 (0.201)	0.385 (0.258)	0.248 (0.247)
Catholic	-0.051 (0.134)	-0.140 (0.176)	0.061 (0.155)
Non-Christian	-0.297 (0.260)	-0.734*** (0.265)	0.044 (0.224)
No Religion	0.014 (0.168)	-0.308 (0.191)	-0.082 (0.163)
Age	-0.593 (0.494)	0.210 (0.618)	-0.737 (0.512)
Education	1.855*** (0.711)	2.295*** (0.756)	0.531 (0.643)
Family Income	-0.043 (0.239)	-0.077 (0.282)	0.027 (0.234)
Area Admin.	-0.570*** (0.160)	-0.546*** (0.195)	-0.627*** (0.147)
Area Medical	-0.207 (0.157)	-0.706*** (0.191)	-0.959*** (0.164)
Area Academic	0.472** (0.210)	0.405* (0.228)	0.101 (0.179)
Area Performance	-0.184 (0.215)	-0.763*** (0.250)	-0.311 (0.234)
Years in Field	-0.736* (0.403)	-0.124 (0.502)	-0.841** (0.428)
Head of Dept.	0.058 (0.138)	0.168 (0.176)	0.037 (0.145)
Playedvarsity2	-0.104 (0.121)	-0.067 (0.145)	0.021 (0.117)
Works with Women's Team	-0.183 (0.126)	-0.158 (0.159)	-0.149 (0.128)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.036 (0.142)	0.035 (0.170)	0.061 (0.145)
Division 2	0.297 (0.215)	0.179 (0.311)	-0.557** (0.271)
Division 3	0.061 (0.173)	-0.059 (0.183)	0.381*** (0.140)
Conservative Ideology	-0.760** (0.345)	-0.876** (0.388)	-0.545 (0.365)
Constant	3.995*** (0.498)	4.475*** (0.598)	6.290*** (0.500)

Observations	815	815	815
R-squared	0.222	0.161	0.261

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Division 1 Only Policy Support and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	0.388*** (0.111)	-0.388*** (0.135)	-0.090*** (0.028)
African-American	-0.156 (0.134)	0.483*** (0.173)	0.018 (0.030)
Racial Conservatism	-1.628*** (0.287)	-1.412*** (0.304)	0.101* (0.059)
Hostile Sexism	-0.559*** (0.205)	-0.012 (0.225)	0.026 (0.043)
% Male-Female Contact	1.064** (0.421)	-0.123 (0.533)	-0.267*** (0.103)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.024 (0.343)	1.297*** (0.390)	0.185** (0.080)
Other Minority	0.207 (0.158)	0.252 (0.159)	0.011 (0.031)
Catholic	0.108 (0.092)	0.125 (0.102)	-0.029 (0.021)
Non-Christian	0.036 (0.194)	-0.093 (0.190)	-0.013 (0.038)
No Religion	0.143 (0.116)	0.027 (0.120)	-0.037 (0.024)
Age	-0.344 (0.345)	-0.636 (0.470)	0.030 (0.097)
Education	0.361 (0.433)	0.930 (0.577)	0.119 (0.111)
Family Income	-0.241 (0.170)	-0.188 (0.186)	-0.004 (0.035)
Area Admin.	-0.063 (0.111)	-0.471*** (0.128)	-0.057** (0.027)
Area Medical	0.091 (0.110)	-0.406*** (0.115)	0.024 (0.024)
Area Academic	0.098 (0.122)	0.342** (0.137)	0.006 (0.029)
Area Performance	-0.124 (0.155)	-0.213 (0.144)	0.022 (0.032)
Years in Field	-0.159 (0.282)	-0.091 (0.413)	-0.033 (0.083)
Head of Dept.	-0.044 (0.106)	0.108 (0.116)	0.019 (0.023)
Played Varsity Sport	0.139* (0.078)	0.085 (0.088)	-0.011 (0.018)
Works with Women's Team	0.049 (0.081)	0.014 (0.093)	0.002 (0.019)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.112 (0.107)	-0.028 (0.106)	-0.013 (0.020)
Conservative Ideology	-0.820*** (0.230)	-0.738*** (0.243)	-0.104** (0.045)
Constant	5.181*** (0.318)	4.866*** (0.381)	0.481*** (0.075)
Observations	678	678	678
R-squared	0.309	0.265	0.071

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Division 1 Only Policy Responsiveness

	(1) Gender Equity Response	(2) Benefits Response
Female	0.326 (0.244)	-0.222 (0.272)
African-American	-0.352 (0.318)	-0.181 (0.336)
Racial Conservatism	-1.430*** (0.519)	-1.721*** (0.537)
Hostile Sexism	-1.319*** (0.415)	-0.923** (0.452)
% Male-Female Contact	1.541 (0.997)	-0.345 (1.093)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.862 (0.737)	2.212*** (0.757)
Other Minority	-0.222 (0.264)	-0.255 (0.295)
Catholic	-0.207 (0.183)	-0.135 (0.201)
Non-Christian	-0.033 (0.356)	0.232 (0.388)
No Religion	0.152 (0.228)	-0.021 (0.239)
Age	-0.662 (0.762)	-0.805 (0.872)
Education	0.575 (0.998)	0.243 (1.119)
Family Income	0.602* (0.340)	0.694* (0.356)
Area Admin.	0.662*** (0.217)	0.582** (0.240)
Area Medical	-0.416* (0.226)	-0.466* (0.248)
Area Academic	0.233 (0.249)	0.307 (0.282)
Area Performance	-0.123 (0.293)	-0.129 (0.349)
Years in Field	1.250* (0.666)	1.051 (0.750)
Head of Dept.	-0.231 (0.199)	-0.229 (0.218)
Played Varsity Sport	0.568*** (0.156)	0.566*** (0.170)
Works with Women's Team	-0.010 (0.167)	0.003 (0.185)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.543*** (0.182)	0.251 (0.215)
Conservative Ideology	-0.172 (0.414)	-0.010 (0.431)
Constant	4.439*** (0.683)	4.500*** (0.752)
Observations	678	678

R-squared

0.173

0.142

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Unweighted Policy Support and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Female	0.596*** (0.109)	-0.332*** (0.119)	-0.084*** (0.025)
African-American	0.020 (0.142)	0.439*** (0.156)	0.017 (0.033)
Racial Conservatism	-1.162*** (0.215)	-1.313*** (0.237)	0.055 (0.050)
Hostile Sexism	-0.715*** (0.170)	-0.027 (0.187)	0.067* (0.040)
%Male-Female Contact	1.188*** (0.419)	0.320 (0.460)	-0.211** (0.098)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.283 (0.315)	1.177*** (0.346)	0.216*** (0.074)
Other Minority	0.142 (0.130)	0.261* (0.143)	0.019 (0.030)
Catholic	-0.057 (0.083)	0.070 (0.091)	-0.027 (0.019)
Non-Christian	-0.190 (0.164)	-0.106 (0.181)	0.003 (0.038)
No Religion	0.015 (0.096)	0.017 (0.105)	-0.039* (0.022)
Age	0.133 (0.324)	-0.494 (0.356)	0.013 (0.076)
Education	-0.210 (0.430)	1.107** (0.472)	0.148 (0.100)
Family Income	0.016 (0.142)	-0.094 (0.156)	-0.011 (0.033)
Area Admin.	-0.276*** (0.098)	-0.470*** (0.108)	-0.045* (0.023)
Area Medical	0.033 (0.097)	-0.414*** (0.106)	0.018 (0.023)
Area Academic	0.047 (0.117)	0.374*** (0.128)	0.012 (0.027)
Area Performance	-0.278** (0.131)	-0.246* (0.144)	0.047 (0.031)
Years in Field	-0.117 (0.267)	-0.403 (0.293)	-0.061 (0.062)
Head of Dept.	-0.118 (0.083)	0.056 (0.092)	0.018 (0.019)
Played Varsity Sport	0.105 (0.070)	-0.019 (0.077)	-0.031* (0.016)
Works with Women's Team	0.033 (0.074)	-0.085 (0.081)	0.002 (0.017)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.085 (0.087)	-0.011 (0.096)	-0.012 (0.020)
Division 2	0.048 (0.171)	0.076 (0.188)	-0.016 (0.040)
Division 3	0.246** (0.102)	0.089 (0.112)	-0.018 (0.024)
Conservative Ideology	-0.303* (0.173)	-0.740*** (0.190)	-0.103** (0.040)
Constant	5.670*** (0.300)	4.794*** (0.330)	0.475*** (0.070)

Observations	815	815	815
R-squared	0.268	0.261	0.083

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Unweighted Policy Responsiveness

	(1) Gender Equity Response	(2) Benefits Response
Female	0.419* (0.219)	-0.195 (0.234)
African-American	-0.284 (0.286)	-0.150 (0.305)
Racial Conservatism	-1.197*** (0.434)	-1.391*** (0.463)
Hostile Sexism	-0.965*** (0.343)	-0.657* (0.365)
% Male-Female Contact	1.486* (0.844)	-0.544 (0.900)
% White-Af. Am. Contact	0.729 (0.635)	2.032*** (0.677)
Other Minority	-0.072 (0.262)	-0.133 (0.280)
Catholic	-0.328* (0.168)	-0.210 (0.179)
Non-Christian	0.123 (0.332)	0.145 (0.354)
No Religion	0.142 (0.194)	-0.100 (0.206)
Age	-0.690 (0.654)	-1.035 (0.698)
Education	0.708 (0.866)	1.110 (0.924)
Family Income	0.500* (0.287)	0.627** (0.306)
Area Admin.	0.678*** (0.198)	0.684*** (0.211)
Area Medical	-0.514*** (0.195)	-0.432** (0.208)
Area Academic	0.114 (0.235)	0.339 (0.251)
Area Performance	-0.101 (0.264)	-0.019 (0.282)
Years in Field	1.024* (0.539)	1.100* (0.575)
Head of Dept.	-0.041 (0.168)	-0.139 (0.179)
Played Varsity Sport	0.440*** (0.142)	0.384** (0.151)
Works with Women's Team	-0.034 (0.150)	-0.058 (0.159)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.344* (0.176)	0.293 (0.188)
Division 2	-0.065 (0.344)	0.044 (0.367)
Division 3	0.262 (0.206)	0.235 (0.220)
Conservative Ideology	-0.239 (0.348)	-0.264 (0.371)
Constant	4.452*** (0.606)	4.183*** (0.646)

Observations	815	815
R-squared	0.159	0.130

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 13: Full Regression Student-Athlete and Administrator Policy Support and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity	(2) Benefits	(3) Budget Allocation
Admin.	-0.583 (0.369)	-0.342 (0.430)	0.066 (0.087)
Female	1.009*** (0.104)	-0.547*** (0.123)	-0.157*** (0.022)
African-American	0.146 (0.100)	0.981*** (0.109)	0.089*** (0.024)
Admin.*Female	-0.672*** (0.156)	0.214 (0.201)	0.086** (0.037)
Admin.*Af. Am.	-0.372** (0.178)	-0.621*** (0.204)	-0.084** (0.041)
Racial Conservatism	-1.396*** (0.154)	-1.081*** (0.167)	0.095*** (0.034)
Hostile Sexism	-1.201*** (0.126)	0.162 (0.145)	0.098*** (0.027)
%Male-Female Contact	1.433*** (0.522)	-0.480 (0.618)	-0.235** (0.114)
%White-Af. Am. Contact	-0.723** (0.354)	2.722*** (0.404)	0.414*** (0.079)
Other Minority	0.101 (0.070)	0.131 (0.082)	0.035** (0.015)
Catholic	0.033 (0.064)	0.142* (0.078)	0.010 (0.014)
Non-Christian	0.001 (0.123)	0.189 (0.115)	0.038* (0.022)
No Religion	0.130** (0.065)	0.198*** (0.074)	0.040*** (0.014)
Family Income	-0.072 (0.096)	0.148 (0.112)	-0.008 (0.021)
Division 2	0.079 (0.071)	-0.283*** (0.082)	-0.067*** (0.017)
Division 3	0.093 (0.071)	-0.065 (0.080)	-0.034** (0.015)
Conservative Ideology	-0.721*** (0.137)	-0.266* (0.150)	0.046 (0.031)
Year in School	-0.083 (0.088)	-0.044 (0.100)	0.039** (0.020)
Parent College Ed.	-0.152** (0.066)	-0.099 (0.070)	0.019 (0.014)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.177** (0.071)	0.327*** (0.080)	0.038** (0.015)
Academic Scholarship	0.031 (0.051)	0.074 (0.057)	0.020* (0.011)
Co-ed Team	0.269*** (0.078)	0.022 (0.088)	0.012 (0.019)
Football Team	0.057 (0.096)	0.211* (0.120)	-0.006 (0.021)
Men's Basket. Team	0.041 (0.193)	-0.172 (0.260)	-0.027 (0.041)
Age	0.076	-0.457	-0.050

	(0.398)	(0.392)	(0.088)
Education	0.760	1.629***	0.190
	(0.480)	(0.548)	(0.116)
Area Admin.	-0.169	-0.583***	-0.052*
	(0.112)	(0.124)	(0.030)
Area Medical	0.077	-0.522***	-0.005
	(0.103)	(0.125)	(0.029)
Area Academic	0.084	0.368**	0.005
	(0.118)	(0.151)	(0.031)
Area Performance	-0.353**	-0.362**	0.047
	(0.138)	(0.162)	(0.041)
Years in Field	-0.339	-0.600*	-0.066
	(0.304)	(0.337)	(0.074)
Head of Dept.	0.072	0.088	0.024
	(0.106)	(0.105)	(0.024)
Played Varsity Sport	0.033	-0.060	-0.044**
	(0.080)	(0.093)	(0.020)
Works with Women's Team	-0.036	-0.175*	0.002
	(0.087)	(0.102)	(0.020)
Works with Co-ed Team	0.072	0.039	-0.011
	(0.101)	(0.107)	(0.022)
Admin.*Rac. Cons.	0.259	-0.031	-0.037
	(0.296)	(0.340)	(0.072)
Admin.*Hos. Sex.	0.593**	-0.325	-0.007
	(0.244)	(0.266)	(0.054)
Admin.*% Male-Fem. Cont.	-0.537	0.981	0.026
	(0.701)	(0.840)	(0.159)
Admin.*% White-Af. Am. Cont.	0.828*	-1.737***	-0.234*
	(0.498)	(0.602)	(0.120)
Admin.*Other Minority	0.225	0.143	-0.004
	(0.155)	(0.165)	(0.034)
Admin.*Catholic	-0.021	-0.188	-0.050*
	(0.109)	(0.137)	(0.029)
Admin.*Non-Christian	-0.169	-0.508**	-0.067
	(0.208)	(0.203)	(0.043)
Admin.*No Religion	-0.138	-0.290**	-0.099***
	(0.136)	(0.146)	(0.030)
Admin.*Family Income	-0.079	-0.179	-0.003
	(0.191)	(0.208)	(0.043)
Admin.*Division 2	-0.277	0.350*	0.042
	(0.182)	(0.205)	(0.043)
Admin.*Division 3	0.218*	0.179	0.021
	(0.126)	(0.142)	(0.030)
Admin.* Conservative Ideology	-0.260	-0.476	-0.169***
	(0.246)	(0.317)	(0.060)
Constant	5.463***	5.048***	0.446***
	(0.163)	(0.201)	(0.036)
Observations	3,223	3,223	3,223
R-squared	0.476	0.318	0.192

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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