

How Intergroup Contact Can Change Policy Views

James Druckman

Northwestern University and IPR

Elizabeth Sharrow

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Version: March 10, 2021

DRAFT

Please do not quote or distribute without permission.

Abstract

Can interpersonal contact across groups change policy views? While a vast literature explores the conditions under which inter-personal contact can reduce prejudice, little work studies whether it also can alter opinions about public policy. The authors argue that individuals from advantaged groups come to support policies that benefit a marginalized group when a) they value equality, b) they learn of the plight of the marginalized group via inter-group contact, and c) they trust the policy-making institution charged with governance capacity. This latter condition allays fears that policies will undermine the interests of the advantaged group. Druckman and Sharrow test their hypotheses in the context of interactions among college student-athletes. They use both observational and experimental data to show contact can change policy views in the presence of institutional trust. The results expand prior work on inter-personal contact to look directly at public policy and accentuate how institutions shape the outcome of interactions.

The authors are listed in alphabetical order and contributed equally. They thank Linda Tropp for crucial advice and Maya Novak-Herzog for assistance.

Social groups are not created equal. That truism has led generations of social scientists to explore intergroup biases and antidotes to inequities. One of the most studied hypothesis is that – under particular conditions – intergroup contact can lead members of an advantaged group (e.g., a majority) to hold more favorable attitudes towards members of a disadvantaged group (e.g., a minority) (e.g., Allport 1954, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, 2011, Paluck et al. 2019). Whether contact influences other outcomes, such as broader social cohesion (e.g., Mousa 2020) or support for policies that vitiate inequities (e.g., Hässler et al. 2020), remains less clear. Here we investigate the latter issue: when does intergroup contact lead an advantaged group to support policies that benefit the disadvantaged group? Such policy support often serves a precursor for the formation of coalitions that advocate for meaningful change. Moreover, policy changes serve as a route to address structural causes of the inequities.

We theorize that interpersonal contact can alter policy opinions of the advantaged group when those individuals also trust the policy-making institutions. Trust provides individuals with confidence that policy changes beneficial to another group will not wholly undermine their own standing. Put another way, contact facilitates learning within dominant groups about the marginalized group’s plight and the need for policy change, while trust ensures new policies will not unduly subvert the interests of the advantaged group.

We test this prediction in the context of college athletics. We focus on women student-athletes who have long faced massive resource and opportunity inequities. College athletics provide an excellent opportunity for a case study on the potential impacts of intergroup contact, particularly on issues of gendered policy change. College sports are not only built on historic and enduring androcentric legacies, but overt segregation based on sex also hyper-structures the training, competition, and social experiences of participants. In other words, the advantaged

group (i.e., men) is long established in their dominant status in the quest for resources, and the institutions that determine intergroup contact are unusually rigid. Such structured power hierarchy (i.e., male dominance is long-standing and normalized) and predictable conditions of intergroup separation make for an ideal context for case study of contact effects. Moreover, the key issue of sex equity at stake in the policy milieu of college sports reflects the battles faced by women in American society writ large. We provide survey and experimental evidence consistent with our prediction that increased contact between dominant and subordinate groups changes attitudes among the advantaged policy stakeholders. These results demonstrate how contact shapes policy views in one context. More generally, it sets an agenda for future work to explore the interaction of institutions, segregation, and contact in creating pathways for marginalized groups to advance.

Contact, Trust, and Policy Attitudes

A marginalized social group is one that faces systematic exclusion from a given social, economic, and/or political system (Young 2000). These groups are disadvantaged by exclusions and consequently face the persistent challenge of enacting change to improve their condition within and despite systems in which they lack power. Such change can be sought by working with those in power to create beneficial policies or by pressing for change via social movements. Ultimately, most policy proposals designed to improve a marginalized group's condition need to garner the support of those outside the policy's targeted population. Otherwise, any change is vulnerable, with the potential for success often hinging on support from beneficent others. In essence, marginalized groups need to build coalitions through sometimes ephemeral political dialogue. As Mutz et al. (1996: 1) explain, politics "hinges not just on whether citizens

at any one moment in time tend to favor one side of an issue over another, but on the numbers of them that can be brought, when push comes to shove, from one side to the other...”

What is required to sway members of an advantaged (i.e., non-marginalized) group to support policies that benefit a marginalized group? We posit three key conditions. First, members need to hold values – that is, “enduring belief[s] that... [an] end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite...” (Rokeach 1973: 5) – sympathetic to the rights of the marginalized group. Most directly, this would be the value of equality, without which individuals may have no interest in addressing extant inequities (e.g., Jacoby 2006, Druckman and Lupia 2016). Second, members of the advantaged group must recognize the marginalization of subordinate groups, and the role of policies in redressing the problems. The absence of this knowledge separates support for abstract equality from applied policy support: individuals must be aware of marginalization to support addressing it.¹ Third, they must trust the entity charged with policymaking and implementation. Those from an advantaged group need to believe that the new policies will not ultimately have an adverse impact on them. As trust increases, so does comfort in delegating policy-making power (Lupia and McCubbins 1998: 85). Hetherington and Rudolph (2015: 36) explain that “if people perceive the architect of policies as untrustworthy, they will reject its policies; if they consider it trustworthy, they will be more inclined to embrace them” (also see Hetherington 2005: 51).

Interpersonal contact between the advantaged and marginalized group can play a crucial role in building a policy coalition to support policies that benefit the marginalized group.² Most of the considerable literature on intergroup contact focuses on how increased contact leads to

¹ This is reflected in the well-documented relationship between education and tolerance, which partially comes about from learning of the other group via intergroup contact (Vogt 1997: 103, van Doorn 2014).

² We follow Pettigrew and Tropp (2006: 754) in defining intergroup contact as “actual face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups.”

diminished prejudice (e.g., as contact with African-Americans increases, white racial prejudice decreases) (e.g., Allport 1954, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, 2011).³ Contact also can play a role in meeting the conditions for garnering policy support among empowered groups. Most directly, heterogeneous interactions affect an understanding of other's views (Huckfeldt et al. 2004, Mutz 2006: 74-87). It also can "facilitate understanding of the structural disadvantages faced by the minority group" (Kim et al. 2018: 1034).⁴ Interpersonal contact then can satisfy the aforementioned second condition (i.e., knowledge) of helping those from the majority group recognize the need for policies to rectify inequities.⁵ Although our research design does not delve into the qualitative content of these interactions, our work aligns with research documenting the effectiveness of sharing narratives by or about group members to alter attitudes (including policy support) concerning marginalized groups (Kalla and Broockman 2020).⁶

Of course, this understanding need not lead to support for policy changes; as Hässler et al. (2020: 381) state, "contact may improve advantaged group members' feelings towards disadvantaged groups while having little impact on their support for policies or actions designed to redress group-based inequalities." These authors show that intergroup contact leads to support

³ Contact typically reduces prejudice, although there is substantial variation based on the groups involved (Paluck et al. 2019); it is also unclear whether the reduced prejudice builds more societal cohesion in general (Mousa 2020) and what conditions are required for prejudice reduction (Paluck et al. 2019, 2021).

⁴ Kim et al. (2018) focus on deliberative contexts, pointing out that many day-to-day interpersonal interactions do not offer the context to exchange such personal details. This occurs, in part, because they minimize the likelihood of political discussions. In situations where discussion of the relevant topics likely occur with frequency (such as the one we study), interpersonal contact can suffice.

⁵ Other work shows that heterogeneous interaction can lead people to change their policy views (Druckman and Nelson 2003, Ugarriza and Caluwaerts 2014, Druckman et al. 2018a). Contact also could plausibly address the first condition of altering equality values, although changing values faces a high threshold as they are enduring (Goren 2020).

⁶ Non-judgmental narratives facilitate persuasion because – compared to direct argumentation – they are perceived to be less manipulative, produce less counter-arguing, and cause less threat to the receiver. Kalla and Broockman (2021) offer evidence that the key is to engage in perspective-giving – that is, hearing about the experiences of an outgroup member (from them or others).

for social changes among the advantaged group.⁷ However, Hässler et al. do not explore policies that could directly threaten the material standing of the advantaged group.⁸ And, Dixon et al. (2010) point out that the positive outcomes of contact may not carry-over to policies that directly threaten the material standing of the advantaged group.⁹ This is where our argument about trust becomes relevant: if members of an advantaged group trust policy-makers, it will reduce the perceived threat of a new policy. We thus arrive at the following hypothesis. When an advantaged group values equality, we expect an interactive effect: as the amount of contact with a marginalized group increases, members of an advantaged who trust the policy-making institution become supportive of policies that benefit the disadvantaged, marginalized group, all else constant. Contact interacts with trust to generate policy support.

Gender and College Athletics

To test our hypotheses, we need a context where there exists (1) a marginalized and an advantaged group, (2) policies that benefit the marginalized groups, and work to the detriment to the advantaged group, (3) variation in contact between the groups, and (4) variation in institutional trust. (We are not studying variation in equality values, as we will explain.) The case of women in college athletics satisfies each of these requisites. This context also allows us to extend an emerging literature that uses sports as a laboratory to study political and social processes (e.g., Wallsten et al. 2017, Anderson et al. 2019, Chen and MacDonald 2020).

Marginalization

⁷ They also show that intergroup contact is negatively associated with support for social changes among disadvantaged groups, except when it comes to the outcome of working in solidarity.

⁸ Hässler et al. (2020) show increase in support for low cost collective actions (e.g., signing an online petition), high cost collective actions (demonstrating), empowering policies (e.g., ensuring the disadvantaged group has more decision making power), raising in-group awareness, and working in solidarity.

⁹ Dixon et al. (2010) show that contact produces policy support by altering perceptions of the marginalized groups plight/injustice (a la our first condition) and by reducing threat of the other group. A reduction of threat means the advantaged group worries less about adverse consequences that benefit the marginalized group. We focus on trust in policy-makers instead of threat although it captures a similar idea.

Sports historically excluded women from competitive opportunities and athletic leadership (Cahn 1995). To the extent that opportunities for women have increased in the U.S., it is largely due to public policy intervention and sports governance organizations. In the realm of college sports, understanding the evolving place of women requires consideration the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the main governance institution that oversees college sports.¹⁰ The NCAA authors the rules for competition and eligibility at all member institutions.¹¹ As a private, non-profit membership association among colleges and universities, the NCAA oversees more than half a million college student-athletes at nearly 1,300 institutions, who compete in twenty-four sports across three “divisions.”¹² Their governance structure operates through a system of more than 150 committees, populated by over 1,500 elected individuals from member institutions. The NCAA committees create and revise governing policies for college sports, most notably policies concerning amateurism and women’s opportunities (see Sack and Staurowsky 1998).

The NCAA governed only men’s athletics until the early 1980s, a shift brought on by the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 – a U.S. federal law that prevents discrimination based on sex at any institution that receives federal funds (e.g., athletic opportunities need to be non-discriminatory). The law expanded collegiate athletic opportunities

¹⁰ The NCAA does not govern *all* American college athletics, although it is the governing body with oversight over the largest number of institutions and student-athletes. Other governing bodies include the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics that governs athletics at 251 small colleges in North America, the National Junior College Athletic Association that governs athletics for 525 community/junior colleges in the United States, and the National Christian College Association that governs competition among 92 Christian colleges in the U.S. and Canada.

¹¹ Leadership also emerges from college and university Athletic Directors and athletic conferences (e.g., Big Ten, Pac-12, etc.) on some issues, like how individual institutions allocate resources or the minimum academic eligibility requirements for athletes within a conference that can be higher than the NCAA eligibility minimums.

¹² The Divisional structure was created in 1973 to align institutions for competition; national championships and elements of governance are organized within divisions. Division I institutions are generally the largest athletics programs with the most sizable budgets; they are further subdivided on the basis of whether or not they offer football programs. They grant partial or full athletic scholarships to many (but not all) athletes and compete at the highest level. Division II institutions also are allowed to grant athletic scholarships. Division III institutions do not grant athletic scholarships (see Shannon 2018).

for women such that participation was twelve times greater in 2014 than prior to Title IX's passage (Acosta and Carpenter 2014).

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

Despite decades of policy implementation, vast inequities remain. In Table 1, we present gender comparisons for athletic participation, expenditures, and leadership; we do so for each of the aforementioned NCAA Divisions as well as cumulatively across all NCAA institutions. The first column shows a near 15% disparity in women's versus men's athletic participation opportunities. Women account for roughly 43% of student-athletes while men account for about 57%, nationwide. These figures illustrate that despite significant increases to women's athletic opportunity, Title IX's implementation remains incomplete. Federal policy guidelines dictate that equity *should* be determined by offering athletic opportunities proportional to the enrollment of undergraduate women which currently stands at 56% (NCES 2019).¹³

Table 1 also reveals even more stark differences in expenditures (an area excluded from direct policy enforcement) between men's and women's teams on scholarships, recruiting and overall spending. There, we find that institutions spend 16.1% more on men's than women's athletics on average; among the largest athletic departments (i.e., NCAA Division I schools competing in the Football Bowl Subdivision) men benefit from 41.51% more spending than women, or almost \$21.5 million on average. The last columns of Table 1 show the paltry leadership opportunities for women: they hold only 26.88% of head or assistant coaching job and an abysmal 21.27% of director of athletic jobs. Even on women's teams, 59% of the head coaching positions are held by men (not directly presented on the table).

¹³ The table shows that there are more women's teams than men's teams (i.e., a 1.11 gender disparity). Schools tend to sponsor more teams for women but with fewer net opportunities.

Two important factors undergird these disparities: a lack of policy enforcement and structural sex segregation. Sex separate teams define training, competition and NCAA championship opportunities (e.g., distinct women’s basketball and men’s basketball championships) (Sharro 2019). Policy guidelines incentivize segregated approaches to sex equity in sport (see McDonagh and Pappano 2007; Sharro 2017). Simultaneously, federal law provides latitude which dictates that while resource allocation must not be unreasonably disproportionate (see OCR 1996), the federal government has never invoked Title IX’s “death penalty” on any institution. Doing so would require that all federal funds (from research grants to federally-subsidized student loans) be revoked from a non-compliant institution. Instead, most institutions have been allowed to persist in some degree of disparate treatment which favors men, reflected in Table 1. While the NCAA provides rules and guidelines, it lacks the ability to enforce federal law and ultimately individual schools allocate resources, decide on opportunities, and hire staff. Thus, the acting policy-implementing body for an individual athlete is his or her school.¹⁴ And, these data on inequities make clear that within college sports, women student-athletes face routinized subordination compared to men that defines marginalized group status. In contrast, male student-athletes enjoy the benefits of the resource and the opportunity gap, thus being an advantaged group.

Policies

Although the aforementioned inequities are pervasive and long-standing, discussions about policy change are on-going. The NCAA has initiated some policy practices to address gender inequalities including the creation of women’s leadership positions (e.g., “Senior Woman

¹⁴ Athletes can of course pursue policy enforcement in the courts or through the federal Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights, but this is costly, time-consuming, and therefore less likely to be pursued by the majority of athletes (i.e., Brake 2010).

Administrator,” a role within each athletic department to designate the highest-ranking woman) and the publication of reports on the status of gender equity in college sports (e.g., NCAA 2017). But clearly inequalities remain significant (NCAA 2009, 2017). In response, two policy proposals to close the aforementioned gaps include: (1) equitable resource and opportunity allocation to close the aforementioned gaps, (2) increasing representation of women in coaching and administrative positions (see e.g., Sabo et al. 2016, Druckman et al. 2018b). These two policies could destabilize the material standing of male student-athletes since each involves reallocation of funds or opportunities (i.e., women would receive more and men less if budget levels remain fixed).

Pursuing such policies requires overcoming decades of inertia that has left women as a marginalized group continually seeking expanded resource and leadership opportunities. Yet, women student-athletes have a long history of using the courts, for example, to secure policy interpretations that have forced institutions to implement Title IX (e.g., Brake 2010; Belanger 2016). Protest tactics are also common in sport, particularly among African-American student-athletes who have utilized protest to bring attention to issues of economic exploitation in sport, relying heavily on the media to force these issues into the public sphere (e.g., Epstein and Kisska-Schulze 2016). Moreover, the last decade of college sports – with the NCAA now allowing limited compensation for student-athletes via sponsorship – shows the potential for change from grassroots efforts (i.e., student-athletes played a crucial role in pushing for these reforms via a unionization attempt and legally pursuing compensation). One effective strategy to pursue such change involves the formation of a coalition with the advantaged group (i.e., male student-athletes) to press for change.

So how do men in sports think about issues of gender equity? We have clear evidence that many male student-athletes hold supportive views and/or sympathetic values (e.g., equality). In prior work, we asked student-athlete respondents how they felt resources and opportunities *should* be distributed between women and men. They rated twenty-four distinct items (e.g., finances, athletic scholarships, coaches) on 5-point scales ranging from women should be extremely advantaged to men should be extremely advantaged with the midpoint of 3 being “neither men nor women advantaged.” The average male student-athlete’s score is 3.11 (standard deviation = .39) with 62% having an average across all items of exactly 3.0 (i.e., equal distribution) (Druckman et al. 2018b). Clearly, in the abstract, male student-athletes support a norm of equity and there is scant variation. For this reason that we do not empirically assess this condition in our analyses.¹⁵

Interpersonal Contact

College sports offers a unique opportunity to study contact. Institutions and historic legacies condition the interactions between groups. Namely, college sports is overwhelmingly sex-segregated in most training and competition environments. 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” (Sharro 2017, 2019). Student-athlete lives are highly structured with notable time commitments organized overwhelmingly around athletic obligations surrounded primarily by their teammates (e.g., NCAA 2019) and social networks driven by sport, school, and other social forces (e.g., living arrangements, social preferences; e.g. Sinclair 2012: 6). Their lives are quite different from the average college student, with the median Division I student-athlete reporting that he/she spends 33 hour a week

¹⁵ In our studies, we measured how much respondents valued gender equity with the scores being extremely high (and scant variance).

on his/her sport (NCAA 2019).¹⁶ Consequently, the amount of cross-gender interaction varies based mostly on factors orthogonal to policy preferences, such as whether one's sport shares training facilities with teams from the other gender.

Thus, collegiate athletics offer an especially good domain to study the impacts of contact across largely segregated institutions because so few other realms of social life remain as sex segregated. Both single-sex education and women's exclusion from higher education (e.g., medical and law schools) have largely, though certainly not entirely, ended as a result of Title IX's implementation and shifting social norms (Rose 2018). Likewise, women's inclusion in many long-standing male-exclusive occupations such as firefighting, policing, and the military have integrated areas of the androcentric workforce over recent decades (Grossman 2016). Outside of sports, sex integration is more the rule than the exception. Segregated athletics remain among the most structured and static instances of segregation based on sex, particularly at the collegiate level where competitive athletics hyper-determine how college athletes spend their time. For these reasons, and based on the data we elucidate next, we select sports for our case study because we are able to hold constant expectations about the impact of cross-sex contact in unique ways.

In Figure 1, we present a histogram – based on data from our first study below – of the self-reported percentage of time male student-athletes spend interacting with female student-athletes (as a proportion of time spent interacting with student-athletes). The median male student-athlete spends 31% of his time interacting with female student-athletes, with a first quartile score of 20% and a third quartile score of 45%.¹⁷ Given that women comprise 43% of the student-athlete population, the 31% median reflects the impact of sex segregated institutions

¹⁶ The medians for Division II and Division III, respectively are 31 and 28.

¹⁷ The mean is 32%.

and concomitant homophily. That the median score jumps to 40% among men who report participating on co-ed teams (e.g., some track and field teams that train and travel together for competition) makes clear that institutions play a role.

[Insert Figure 1 Here]

We theorize that these interactions have consequences for policy attitudes. As the literature demonstrates, narrative discussion can be particularly impactful on altering attitudes about marginalized groups (Kalla and Broockman 2020). We do not measure the content of the conversations among student-athletes via contact but it seems likely that much of it involves individuals sharing personal experiences in college athletics.¹⁸ Most of the contact occurs in the context of day-to-day athletic participation, rather than a setting where deliberative argumentation about public policy occurs.¹⁹

Trust

The final piece needed to test our hypothesis involves variations in trust. We focus on trust for the student-athletes' schools since schools decide how to allocate resources and whom to hire (within the broad confines of the NCAA). A 2020 Gallup report revealed that compared to non-student-athletes, student-athletes are more likely to graduate in four years, less likely to transfer, and more likely to feel attached to and donate to their school (Gallup 2020). Roughly, 50% report strong agreement that their undergraduate education was worth the cost. While this does not directly measure trust, it suggests that student-athletes have relatively positive

¹⁸ In this vein, student-athletes serve as a crucial source of social support for one another when it comes to addressing the psychological toll of college athletics (Sullivan et al. 2020).

¹⁹ Allport (1954) poses four conditions under which contact works best: equal status in the contact situation, common goals, cooperation, and support of authorities or customs. While these conditions have not been systematically tested (Paluck et al. 2019), student-athlete interactions likely approach them. Even if they have distinct resources, student-athletes share a similar status in a given contact situation. They also likely have a shared goal of improving student-athlete life, and have no reason to conflict per se when in contact. Support of authorities may vary and aligns with our argument about the role of trust.

experiences *but* also substantial variance (e.g., 50% did not report strong agreement). We thus expected, prior to data collection, to see dispersion in levels of trust.

Summary

Women student-athletes face substantial hurdles for equality. While institutions have evolved to better facilitate their inclusion, women continue to experience substantial participation and resource gaps. The policy agenda contains a number proposals to address these inequities; one route to pursuing them involves forming coalitions with male student-athletes who in the abstract support equity. In what follows, we present two studies to explore whether increased contact along with high levels of trust lead male student-athletes to support equity policies.

Study 1

To test our hypothesis, we drew a random sample, stratified by NCAA Division, of 63 schools. During the summer of 2018, we invited individuals to participate in a survey with the goal of learning “what stakeholders think about various issues involving college sports.” Details on sampling and survey implementation appear in online Appendices 1 and 2.

We obtained a final sample of 2,539 student-athletes. We weighted the sample by race, sex, Division, and sport. Details on weighting appear in online Appendix 3 and the demographic breakdown of the sample appears in online Appendix 4. The survey contained four items to measure resource allocation for gender equity – including opposition or support for Title IX, more equitable opportunities, equal spending, and more enforcement of sexual harassment laws. It also included two items asking about opposition or support for requiring schools to interview women for head coaching and athletic director jobs. We scaled these six measures into a single average scale gender equity policy score ($\alpha = .83$).

The survey included a budget allocation item that forced respondents to grapple with the reality of finite resources to support college sports and redistributive consequences. It asked them to allocate percentages of a budget across six items, three of which involved gender equity initiatives (i.e., ensure equal opportunities, enforcement of sexual harassment laws, support for training of women coaches), and three aimed at expanding benefits to student-athletes (i.e., paying student-athletes, guaranteed scholarships, guaranteed medical coverage). We compute a score for gender equity budget allocation by summing the equity initiative percentages.

The survey included independent measures that allow us to test our hypothesis. It asked individuals to report their gender (male, female, other), and we created a dummy variable to indicate “female.” While we did not explicitly hypothesize about gender, it follows that members of the marginalized groups will strongly support policies meant to address inequities. To measure contact, we asked individuals to report – of the total amount of time they spend with student-athletes – what percentage is spent with each of four demographic groups: White men, African-American men, White women, and African-American women (Druckman et al. 2018c, Paluck et al. 2016: 567, Amsalem and Nir 2019). We then compute a variable for percent contact that a male respondent has with women student-athletes. While our key variable is the amount of contact male student-athletes have with women (the distribution of which appears in Figure 1 above), we also include, a variable for male contact that women students athletes have. Hässler et al. (2020) find that for members of a marginalized group, contact with the advantaged group can decrease support for social change. To measure trust, we asked respondents how often they trust their school do what is right on a five point scale from “never” to “always.”

Our survey includes a host of other explanatory variables. We expect race to play a role since benefit policies – such as pay-for-play and guaranteed scholarships – are often seen as

ways to rectify racial injustices with regard to African-Americans (e.g., Druckman et al. 2016). These policies are invoked in our budget allocation outcome variable. We measured race by asking respondents to choose which of seven racial or ethnic groups best describe them. We created a variable for “African-American” respondents as well as one to capture “other minorities.” (We do not include other individual racial categorical variables since there is less reason to expect variation among other minorities.)

We measure ideological predispositions because gender progressive policies counter the beliefs of those with high levels of sexism and political conservatives (who tend to put less stock in equity). We employ a four-item hostile sexism scale (Glick and Fiske 1996) to assess sexist attitudes ($\alpha = .90$) and a conventional single item for ideological conservatism. Given the aforementioned racial dynamics, we also include a measure of racial conservatism based on three items: opposition to affirmative action, perceptions that racial discrimination is no longer a problem in the U.S., and opposition to giving those from disadvantaged social backgrounds preferential treatment in college admissions ($\alpha = .67$). Finally, we include other controls: religion, year in school, income, parental education, athletic scholarship, academic scholarship, membership on a co-ed team, membership on the football team or the men’s basketball team (given these are the main revenue generating sports), and NCAA Division. We provide more details about our outcome and independent variables in Appendix 5. The question wordings appear in Appendix 6.

Before turning to the results, we acknowledge concerns about causality: it is possible that the amount of contact is a product of policy views if those who hold certain opinions (e.g., support gender equity policies) seek out particular discussion partners (e.g., more interactions with women student-athletes). If so, then, policy preferences may drive discussion and not vice

versa. Our response is threefold. First, the interpersonal relations measures are disconnected from politics and policy – they are purely demographic measures.²⁰ It seems unlikely that student-athletes seek out others with the purpose to discuss policies that, while important, do not directly affect their daily experiences. As we discussed, student-athletes' lives are highly structured with notable time commitments (e.g., NCAA 2019). Second, if policy concerns drive choices in discussion partner, we would likely see strong negative correlations between sexism and the frequency of interactions between women and men. These individuals are probably more apt to avoid interactions with groups they tend to dislike and with whom they likely disagree on policy. Yet, we find only a small negative correlation (-.07). Third, even with these reassurances, we cannot entirely rule out endogeneity concerns or omitted variables, and so in our second study, we employ an experiment to offer a stronger causal test.

Results

We start with graphs, Figures 2 and 3, of the raw mean scores (and 95% confidence intervals) of equity policy support and equality budget allocation. The equity score graph shows high support with an overall mean of 5.09, and a substantial gender disparity of 4.52 for men and 5.84 for women ($p < .01$ for a two-tailed test). The budget allocation shows a middling overall score that skews slightly away from gender equity towards more allocation to benefit policies (i.e., 46.23% is allocated to gender equity initiatives). We again see a large gender disparity from 40.82% to 53.40% ($p < .01$). This establishes the gendered nature of these policies that would improve the situation of women (the marginalized group).

[Insert Figures 2 and 3 Here]

²⁰ 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).

To test our hypothesis, we regress each outcome variable on our hypothesized variables along with the aforementioned controls. The results appear in Table 2, with the first two columns displaying results for gender equity policies and the second two for equity budget allocation. The initial model for each outcome variable excludes trust and the contact-trust interaction, while the second model adds them.²¹

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

Across all models, we see a large and significant effect of gender, after controlling for other variables. Further, sexist and racist attitudes lead to significantly less support for both equity policies and budget allocation. Those on athletic scholarships significantly oppose both, likely stemming from implicit threat to the benefits allocated to those student-athletes. Interestingly, African-Americans support equity policies but oppose the allocation. As mentioned, benefit policies disproportionately benefit African-Americans and thus when faced with a tradeoff, African-American student-athletes allocate more to benefits instead of gender equity. No other control variable (even participation on a co-ed team) is consistent across both outcome variables. The more female student-athletes interact with males, the less supportive they become of gender equity policies and budget allocation – as suggested by Hässler et al. (2020) – but it falls well short of statistical significance.

Most importantly, we see in the models without the trust interaction – models 1 and 3 – evidence of a contact effect: the male student-athletes who interact more with women student-athletes exhibit greater support for gender equity policies and budget allocation. This may appear, at first glance, counter to the hypothesis that trust is “necessary.” However, when we turn

²¹ In Appendix 7, we provide results of the full model but for males respondents only, as well as models that differentiate the gender equity policy outcome components (i.e., measures directly affecting resources and those affecting hiring).

to models 2 and 4 that add the interactions with trust, we see they are highly significant. In the case of gender equity policies, the contact variable on its own becomes significant and negative suggesting that at very low levels of trust, contact reduces support for gender equity policies (perhaps due to a feeling of threat). It also becomes negative for the budget allocation but falls short of significance. The significant interactions make clear that as trust levels increase, so does the impact of contact. Put another way, interpersonal contact with the marginalized group increases support when there are high levels of trust in the policy-making institution. Trust on its own does not have a significant effect, and is negatively signed. It is the intersection of contact and trust that matters.

Notably, the large coefficients on the contact-trust variables are a bit misleading (i.e., the average male-female contact*trust score is .11, reducing the large coefficients). To gauge the effect, we plot the predicted values and 95% confidence intervals – setting all other variables at their mean values – for the average woman and for a man with low contact/low trust, low contact/high trust, high contact/low trust, and high contact/high trust. For low contact, we use the first quartile score (.20) and for high we use the third quartile (.45). For low trust, we use the second score on the scale (.25) that indicates trusting the school some of the time, and for high we use the fourth score (.75) that indicates trusting the school most of the time.

[Insert Figures 4 and 5 About Here]

In Figure 4, we display the predicted values for equity policy support. When controlling for all other factors, we see the predicted score for a female student-athlete is 5.65 (down from the raw mean reported in Figure 1 that did not control for other variables). Further, in all cases, male student-athletes exhibit significantly lower scores. When males have “low contact and high trust,” we find some increase in support (to 4.68), reflecting that our “low contact” scenario still

has some contact (i.e., 20%). Clearly though without trust, contact has little effect. Yet, when there is both high contact and high trust, the score substantially increases to 4.91 – a 5.8% increase from low contact-low trust. We note that this is a small effect size – moving from the lowest score (4.47) to the highest in the out-group contact-high trust scenario (4.91), Cohen’s D is .12. This is in line with other recent work on contact (e.g., Kalla and Broockman 2020).

In Figure 5, we find a more dramatic impact of trust-contact: with high levels of both, the score jumps to nearly 47%, nearly 10% higher than low contact-low trust. The effect size here is also on the small side with a Cohen’s D is .15. Nonetheless, we see male student-athletes moving from clearly favoring allocation to benefit initiatives to being nearly equally supportive of benefit and gender equity spending.

In sum, we find that interpersonal contact with a marginalized group can increase the extent to which members of the advantaged group support policies that benefit the marginalized group. However, this occurs only in the presence of institutional trust. Trust likely appeases feelings of threat among members of the advantaged group. The finding speaks to Allport’s condition of institutional supports, albeit in a distinct way since what matters is not having the contact sanctioned by institutions but rather having those involved trusting the institutions to act in their interests. Although male student-athletes do not approach the level of the support exhibited by female student-athletes, the effects reveal a path to a potential policy coalition. This is particularly true if levels of contact can increase. As shown in Figure 1, the sex segregated nature of college athletics cap the amount of contact. Structural elements can, therefore, limit coalition formation and policy change. The results also show that marginalized groups face an uphill task of challenging the status quo while also being careful not to undermine the trust the advantaged group has in the policy makers.

Study 2

Next, we sought to replicate the results of study 1 using an experiment. While the structure of college athletics gives us confidence in the direction of study 1's results, we cannot entirely put aside concerns about omitted variables (e.g., that may explain contact and policy views). Thus, we rely on the imagined contact approach. This entails having individuals “imagine” contact with those from the other group. This is a distinct construct, not a direct substitute, for actual contact. Miles and Crisp (2014: 3) explain, it is the “concept of contact, mentally articulated in the form of an imagined interaction.” Even so, we use the paradigm as way to isolate causal processes and document policy attitudes immediately after priming male student-athletes to think of interactions with women student-athletes.²² If it works, one could employ interventions that involve brief exposure to the experiences of women-student-athletes. Kalla and Broockman (2020) show exposure to video narratives of marginalized groups can alter policy views for at least a month after exposure.

Participants and Design

We drew a distinct random sample, stratified by NCAA Division, of 53 schools.²³ We invited participants to take-part in a survey in late May-early June 2020, “to learn what student-athletes think about various issues involving college sports.” Details on sampling and implementation appear in online Appendix 8. We obtained a final sample of 2,136.²⁴ We

²² Miles and Crisp (2014) meta-analyze 71 tests of imagined contact and report evidence of a small to medium effect size on attitudes, emotions, intended behaviors, and actual behaviors towards the out-group. That said, there is debate about the robustness of the imagined contact paradigm. For example, Bigler and Hughes (2010) raise various concerns such as demand effects where participants express more favorable out-group attitudes since they anticipate that is what the experimenter desires. That is less of a concern for us given our focus on policy and not out-group attitudes; however, we directly address this concern by assessing the possibility of demand effects.

²³ We excluded schools that had been in our previous sample.

²⁴ The actual final N is 2,144 but 8 respondents chose “other” for gender and given the analyses are contingent on gender, we excluded these 8 respondents from the analyses.

weighted the sample by race, sex, Division, and sport. The demographic breakdown of the sample appears in online Appendix 9.

[Insert Figure 6 About Here]

To test the hypotheses, we use an experiment that randomly assigned male respondents to (1) in-group or out-group contact, and (2) low or high trust.²⁵ For the in-group, we matched the demographic of the respondent; for example, for white men, it was a white male, while for African-American male, it was an African-American male. For the male respondents, then, the crucial out-group was a woman of the same race (we kept race constant between respondent and the manipulation to avoid confounds). We present the design in Figure 6. The hypothesis straightforwardly suggests that, for male respondents, the women contact X high-trust condition should lead to higher levels of support for equity policies and gender budget allocation, than all the other conditions.²⁶ Our contact manipulation read as follows, with the inserted names for white male and African-American male respondents, respectively:

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a [male/female] student athlete named [Dalton Wood/Shelbi Wood][Jabari Washington /Eboni Washington]. He/She is discussing [his/her] life as a

²⁵ We exclude control conditions – such as no contact or not trust manipulation – to ensure sufficient statistical power. Moreover, they are not necessary for testing our prediction. Miles and Crisp (2014) find that inclusion of a non-contact control group does not differ from the in-group contact condition (which is likely a more conservative baseline given the possibility of conformity effects; also see Stathi and Crisp, 2008, Kuchenbrandt et al. 2014). Excluding a trust control prevents us from isolating the “natural” level of trust; however, we already have a gauge on that from study 1, where we find a relatively high level with more than half the sample gave a score of 4 or 5 on a 5 point scale.

²⁶ We pre-registered this prediction at: <https://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=yp8c5a>. The design had three notable extensions not relevant to testing this specific hypothesis. First, for white male respondents, it also included conditions that involved contact with African-American male student-athletes. Second, the out-group for white-women were African-American males (rather than white males). Both of these design features reflected our interest in how contact with African-Americans affect attitudes towards benefit policies (e.g., a set of items about pay-for-play, sponsorship, etc.). This is beyond the purview of this paper. Third, African-American women did a distinct exercise to gauge how they juggle gender equity policy support with benefit policy support. We do not present these race based contact results since they are orthogonal to our interests here (i.e., focused on distinct outcome policies).

student-athlete. The interaction with [Dalton/Shelbi][Jabari/Eboni] is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about [his/her] experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with [Dalton/Shelbi] [Jabari/Eboni] might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

We included substantial detail (e.g., where the interaction takes place, what it is about) and instructed participants to elaborate to increase ecological validity and better mimic our construct of contact frequency (i.e., many interactions with more lasting impacts). Instructing participants to close their eyes during the imagined encounter also prompts greater elaboration (Husnu and Crisp 2011). These reflect common practices in imagined contact studies (Crisp et al. 2009, Husnu and Crisp 2010). Finally, we add realism by not just describing the gender identity of the imagined contact, as is typical, but also supplying a gendered name (e.g., Shelbi, Eboni Washington), similar to practices in audit studies (e.g., Butler and Crabtree 2021).²⁷

To manipulate trust, we focus on how the policymaking bodies, in this case the school and the NCAA, either help (high trust) or hurt (low trust) student-athletes' success. Specifically, we attend to two dimensions – voice and satisfaction – as they map onto external and internal efficacy that relate to trust (e.g., Rosenstone and Hanson 1993). We operationalize voice via student-athlete representation in decisions that affect their lives. For the low trust manipulation, we mention policymaking committees include fewer than 5% of student-athletes.²⁸ For the high trust manipulation, we mention school and NCAA student-athlete advisory committees that

²⁷ We used names from Druckman et al. (2018c) who provide data on the equivalence of the perceived class and familiarity of the names.

²⁸ We computed this percentage by coding membership on all NCAA committees.

provide policy input. We operationalize satisfaction with academic major information. For the low trust manipulation, we mention a survey that 75% of student-athletes who start in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – change to more “manageable majors” (Adler and Adler 1985). For the high trust manipulation, we mention a survey that shows that 56% of former student-athletes report having strong “purpose” and well-being (Gallup 2016). We implemented the trust manipulations relaying the aforementioned information (for the given condition) and then asking what the respondent thinks using asymmetric scales (see Petrocelli et al. 2010). Precise wording appears in Appendix 10.²⁹

After reading the relevant stimuli, participants answered the same outcome variables as in study 1 regarding gender equity policies ($\alpha = .83$) and budget allocation. Since the study was conducted during a period when substantial financial cuts were being made due to COVID-19, we added another outcome variable that asks about the relative priority of ensuring gender equity (e.g., equal resources, leadership opportunities) or ensuring student-athlete benefits (e.g., sponsorship opportunities, guaranteed scholarships) in light of the current financial situation (see also Druckman and Sharrow 2020). Answers are on a 5-point scale from “definitely ensure benefits” to “definitely ensure gender equity.” We included a set of manipulation checks to ensure that our trust manipulation succeeded, and that people envisioned a positive interaction (as instructed). We evaluated demand effects by asking respondents why we asked them to imagine the encounter and whether we, the researchers, support gender equity policies (e.g., Peterson and Mummolo 2020).

Results

²⁹ We piloted the trust items to ensure they had the intended effect; as discussed below, we also included manipulation checks in the experiment.

We begin with our manipulation checks.³⁰ When asked about the positivity of the interaction, respondents reported an average score of 4.43 (std. dev.: .80) on a 5-point scale with higher scores indicating great positivity. Eighty-six percent of the sample provided a score of 4 or 5. As instructed, respondents viewed the interaction positively. Also, relative to those assigned to a low trust condition, those assigned to a high trust condition reported significantly higher levels of trust in their school with respective means of 3.53 (.92) and 3.66 (.88) (on a 5 point scale; $t_{1,915} = 2.40$; $p < .05$ for a two-tailed test).³¹ Only 15% of respondents answered that the purpose of the imagined interaction was to alter their policy views (from 6 options; the most frequent answers included to recognize comradery and to think of the person's demographic group). Finally, the average score when asked whether the researchers advocate for greater gender equity is a high 3.49 (.70) on a 4-point scale with higher scores indicating more support. However, it does not correlate with experimental condition assignment and thus male student-athletes in the out-group female contact conditions are no more likely to respond to demand requests than those in the other conditions. All of these checks give us confidence in our manipulations and minimize our concern about demand effects.

In presenting the results, we focus on male respondents since that is the relevant population for our hypothesis; we also combine white and African-American males as the same results hold for both groups. In Appendix 11, we present results for women and separately by race for men. We present the results in two ways – first with figures of the mean values (and confidence intervals) for each randomly assigned experimental condition for each outcome variable. Then, we will present regressions of each outcome variable on out-group contact, high

³⁰ We do not include the male respondents assigned to the African-American male contact conditions or African-American women in these analyses given they are not included in the main analyses below (see prior note).

³¹ We also asked about trust in the student-athlete's athletic department and in the NCAA. For both these measures, those in the high trust condition reported higher scores (with respective p -values of .07 and .02).

trust, and an interaction of the two with the hypothesis suggesting the interaction be significant and positive. (All results are robust if we correct for multiple comparisons.)

[Insert Figures 7, 8, and 9 About Here]

Figure 7 shows a remarkably high 6.01 average score among women student-athletes (with little variance – a small confidence interval). In contrast, the average scores among men with in-group contact and any level of trust register roughly 1.25 points lower (4.76, 4.71). We also see that out-group contact with a female student-athlete but low institutional trust even marginally lowers the score relative to in-group contact (i.e., 4.64). Out-group imagined contact on its own is not sufficient. Yet, as predicted, contact with the out-group female along with high institutional trust leads to a significant increase to 5.26 ($p < .01$ versus all male conditions). While this still does not rival support for policies among women student-athletes, the roughly 9% increase (versus in-group contact/low trust) opens up clear policy coalition possibilities. It also registers as a medium effects size; for example, comparing the lowest score (4.64; out-group contact, low trust) with the highest (5.26; out-group contact, high trust) produces a Cohen's D of .52.

We find the same patterns for both the budget allocation and COVID-era gender prioritization. For the budget allocation, we see that in-group contact or out-group contact with low trust leave male student-athletes 10% or more below female student-athletes who register an average score of 52.75% ($p < .01$). Yet, when male student-athletes imagine contact with a female student-athlete in the presence of high trust, they nearly split the budget between gender equity and benefits (i.e., approaching 50%). Again, they do not match the score of female student-athletes generally, but the increase compared with the other male conditions is

substantial, around 10%. This is medium effect size; for example, comparing the smallest score (37.20) to the largest (48.93) produces a Cohen's D of .56.

Turning to COVID-era gender equity prioritization, female contact with high trust actually leads a higher, albeit not significantly so, average score (3.24) versus the score for women student-athletes (3.21). And again, we only see such movement with the mix of out-group contact and trust ($p < .01$) (see Table 3). This is a medium effect size with $d = .58$ for the smallest (2.60) versus the largest (3.24) contact conditions.

[Insert Table 3 About Here]

In Table 3, we present regressions similar to those from the first study. They echo the figures with the out-group contact-trust interaction being highly significant and positive across the three outcome variables. We again see a consistent effect of sexism and racial conservatism (except for the COVID item). African-Americans exhibit lower support for the budget allocation and COVID item, although, in contrast to the prior study, they do not have significantly lower support for gender equity policies. Otherwise, we find no consistent patterns for the controls.

In sum, the experiment provides consistent results to the survey and shows that the dynamic holds for a COVID-era gender equity prioritization measure. The results also suggest that in a system defined by sex segregation, one route to generating support for gender equity policies is to have male student-athletes more consistently contemplate (imagine) the plight of female student-athletes. When they also feel positive about the policy-making institution, such an exercise alters their policy views and provides a possibility for a policy coalition.

Conclusion

Recent arguments in political science suggest a primary place of identity in preference formation (e.g., Achen and Bartels 2016). This follows due to the evolution of the policy context.

Indeed, the history of college sports elucidates why identity issues have come to the fore. College sports were created to serve an androcentric constituency. The incorporation of women introduced unique and counter-veiling agendas that led gender to define the contours of policy debate. These circumstances accentuate the extant literature on the importance of considering how the historic legacies of group inclusion drive contemporary policy preferences (e.g., Strolovitch 2007, Wong 2008).

Given the prominence of sex-based social groups in college sports, it is sensible that a mechanism for coalition formation is interpersonal contact. Contact has long been seen as a route to increased tolerance and understanding. Less work considers policy support that can be vital for changes to sustain. We posited that three conditions determine whether advantaged group members come to support policies that benefit marginalized groups: valuing equality, learning – via contact – about the status of the marginalized group, and trusting policy-making institutions. The college sport setting provides little variance on the equality value (as demonstrated in prior work) but allowed us to study the role of contact and trust. Our survey and experimental results show both matter.

Of course, it remains to be seen whether similar dynamics operate in distinct contexts and with different operationalizations. In that sense, we suggest a path forward that propels the intergroup contact literature to attend to when contact alters policy views. We also are conscious our effect sizes range from small to medium, similar to related work (e.g., Miles and Crisp 2014, Kalla and Broockman 2020). Whether these movements translate into the formation of meaningful policy coalitions is a logical next question – our findings suggest the possibility, not a guarantee, of policy change.

We conclude with two meta-considerations. First, as explained, rather than integrating women into “men’s” athletic programs, women have been incorporated into American college sports under an ethos of “separate, but equal” (Sharro 2017, 2019). These circumstances result in less contact across gendered identity groups that, in turn, undercuts potential policy coalitions and ultimately policy reform. This particular case suggests future study of local political structures, educational institutions, neighborhood settings, social media systems, and others – any set of formal or informal rules condition political interactions that shape public policy (Nir 2012, Trounstein 2018). Much can be gained from analyzing policy preferences alongside consideration for the institutional setting in which those preferences are formed. This is a point often lost on political behavior and public policy research that rarely consider the structuring capacities of institutions (although see Mettler and Soss 2004; Soss 2000). That trust in those institutions may play a role in the impact of contact further highlights the importance of attending to institutional settings when studying interpersonal interactions. Put another way, it is profitable to study behavior and institutions in tandem rather than as distinct areas. This is readily apparent when it comes to understanding the impacts for the gendered order and integrating historically androcentric institutions.

Second, only recently have scholars begun to study the political dynamics of sports (e.g., Wallsten et al. 2017, Anderson et al. 2019, Chen and MacDonald 2020). We view ourselves as following this trajectory. There is little doubt that politics infuse sports – from the racialization of mascots to the local economic politics of stadium building to the international politics of the Olympics to the legal issues around drug testing. Studying these dynamics not only inform an understanding of happenings in a crucial social domain but also, as we hope is true in our case, provide generalizable lessons for how politics works.

References

- Achen, Christopher, and Larry Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Acosta, Vivian, and Linda Carpenter. 2014. "Women in Intercollegiate Sport."
<http://www.acostacarpenter.org/>.
- Adler, Peter, and Patricia A. Adler. 1985. "From Idealism to Pragmatic Detachment: The Academic Performance of College Athletes." *Sociology of Education* 58 (4): 241.
- Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison- Wesley.
- Amsalem, Eran, and Lilach Nir. 2019. "Does Interpersonal Discussion Increase Political Knowledge?" *Communication Research*.
- Anderson, Christopher J., Luc Arrondel, André Blais, Jean-François Daoust, Jean-François Laslier, and Karine Van der Straeten. 2020. "Messi, Ronaldo, and the Politics of Celebrity Elections: Voting for the Best Soccer Player in the World." *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (1): 91–110.
- Belanger, Kelly. 2016. *Invisible Seasons: Title IX and the Fight for Equity in College Sports*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Bigler, Rebecca S., and Julie M. Hughes. 2010. "Reasons for Skepticism about the Efficacy of Simulated Social Contact Interventions." *American Psychologist* 65 (2): 132–33.
- Brake, Deborah. 2010. *Getting in the Game: Title IX and the Women's Sports Revolution*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Butler, Daniel M., and Charles Crabtree. 2021. "Audit Studies in Political Science." In James N. Druckman, and Donald P. Green, eds., *Advances in Experimental Political Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Cahn, Susan. 1995. *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's*
- Chen, Dan and Andrew W. MacDonald. 2020. "Bread and Circuses: Sports and Public Opinion in China." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 7 (1): 41-55.
- Crisp, Richard J., Sofia Stathi, Rhiannon N. Turner, and Senel Husnu. 2009. "Imagined Intergroup Contact: Theory, Paradigm and Practice: Imagined Intergroup Contact." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 3 (1): 1-18.
- Dixon, John, Kevin Durrheim, Colin G. Tredoux, Linda R. Tropp, Beverley Clack, Liberty Eaton, and Michael Quayle. 2010. "Challenging the Stubborn Core of Opposition to Equality: Racial Contact and Policy Attitudes: Racial Contact and Race Policy Attitudes." *Political Psychology* 31 (6): 831-55.
- Doorn, Marjoka van. 2014. "The Nature of Tolerance and the Social Circumstances in Which It Emerges." *Current Sociology* 62 (6): 905-27.
- Druckman, James N., Adam J. Howat, and Andrew Rodheim. 2016. "The Influence of Race on Attitudes about College Athletics." *Sport in Society* 19 (7): 1020-39.
- Druckman, James N., Adam J. Howat, and Jacob E. Rothschild. 2019. "Political Protesting, Race, and College Athletics: Why Diversity Among Coaches Matters." *Social Science Quarterly* 100 (4): 1009-22.
- Druckman, James N., and Arthur Lupia. 2016. "Preference Change in Competitive Political Environments." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 13-31.
- Druckman, James N., Matthew S. Levendusky, and Audrey McLain. 2018a. "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions: The Effects Of Partisan Media On Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (1): 99-112.

- Druckman, James N., Jacob Rothschild, and Elizabeth Sharrow. 2018b. "Gender Policy Feedback: Perceptions of Sex Equity, Title IX, and Political Mobilization Among College Athletes." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(3): 642–53.
- Druckman, James N., Sophie Trawalter, Ivonne Montes, Alexandria Fredendall, Noah Kanter, and Allison Paige Rubenstein. 2018c. "Racial Bias in Sport Medical Staff's Perceptions of Others' Pain." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 158 (6): 721-729.
- Druckman, James N., and Elizabeth Sharrow. 2020. "Public Opinion, Crisis, and Vulnerable Populations: The Case of Title IX and COVID-19." *Politics & Gender* 16(4): 1084–92.
- Epstein, Adam, and Kathryn Kisska-Schulze. 2016. "Northwestern University, the University of Missouri, and the Student-Athlete: Mobilization Efforts and the Future." *Journal of Legal Aspects of Sport* 26: 71.
- Gallup, Inc. 2016. "Understanding Life Outcomes of Former NCAA Student-Athletes." *The Gallop Purdue Index Report*.
- Gallup, Inc. 2020. "A Study of NCAA Student-Athletes: Undergraduate Experiences and Post-College Outcomes." Washington, DC: Gallup.
- Glick, Peter, and Susan Fiske. 1996. "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (3): 491–512.
- Goren, Paul. 2020. "Values and Public Opinion." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, Oxford University Press.
- Grossman, Joanna. 2016. *Nine to Five: How Gender, Sex, and Sexuality Continue to Define the American Workplace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Hässler, Tabea, Johannes Ullrich, Michelle Bernardino, et al. 2020. "A Large-Scale Test of the Link between Intergroup Contact and Support for Social Change." *Nature Human Behaviour* 4 (4): 380–86.
- Hetherington, Marc J. 2005. *Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hetherington, Marc and Thomas J. Rudolph. 2015. *Why Washington Won't Work: Polarization, Political Trust, And the Governing Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Jeanette M. Mendez, and Tracy Osborn "Disagreement, Ambivalence, and Engagement: The Political Consequences of Heterogeneous Networks," *Political Psychology* 25(1): 65-95.
- Husnu, Senel, and Richard J. Crisp. 2010. "Elaboration Enhances the Imagined Contact Effect." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46 (6): 943–50.
- Husnu, Senel, and Richard J. Crisp. 2011. "Enhancing the Imagined Contact Effect." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 151 (1): 113–16.
- Jacoby, William G. 2006. "Value Choices in the American Public." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 706–23.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2020. "Reducing Exclusionary Attitudes through Interpersonal Conversation: Evidence from Three Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2): 410–25.
- Kim, Nuri, James S. Fishkin, and Robert C. Luskin. 2018. "Intergroup Contact in Deliberative Contexts: Evidence From Deliberative Polls." *Journal of Communication* 68 (6): 1029–51.

- Kuchenbrandt, Dieta, Friederike Eyssel, and Sarah K. Seidel. 2013. "Cooperation Makes It Happen: Imagined Intergroup Cooperation Enhances the Positive Effects of Imagined Contact." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 16 (5): 635–47.
- Lowe, Matt. 2020. "Types of Contact: A Field Experiment on Collaborative and Adversarial Caste Integration." *CESifo Working Paper No. 8089*.
- Lupia, Arthur, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- McDonagh, Eileen, and Laura Pappano. 2007. *Playing With the Boys: Why Separate Is Not Equal in Sports*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mettler, Suzanne, and Joe Soss. 2004. "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (1): 55–73.
- Miles, Eleanor, and Richard J. Crisp. 2014. "A Meta-Analytic Test of the Imagined Contact Hypothesis." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 17 (1): 3–26.
- Mousa, Salma. 2020. "Building Social Cohesion between Christians and Muslims through Soccer in Post-ISIS Iraq." *Science* 369 (6505): 866–70.
- Mummolo, Jonathan, and Erik Peterson. 2019. "Demand Effects in Survey Experiments: An Empirical Assessment." *American Political Science Review* 113 (2): 517–29.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutz, Diana C., Paul Sniderman, and Richard Brody. 1996. "Political Persuasion: The Birth of a Field of Study." In Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody, eds., *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). 2009. *Gender Equity in College Coaching and Administration: Perceived Barriers Report*. Indianapolis, IN: National Collegiate Athletic Association.
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). 2019. "NCAA GOALS Study." Accessed at: <https://www.ncaa.org/about/resources/research/ncaa-goals-study>.
- National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). 2017. "45 Years of Title IX." Indianapolis, IN: NCAA.
- National Council for Educational Statistics (NCES). 2019. *The Condition of Education 2019 (NCES 2019-144)*. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2000062> (July 31, 2019).
- Nir, Lilach. 2012. "Cross-National Differences in Political Discussion: Can Political Systems Narrow Deliberation Gaps?" *Journal of Communication* 62 (3): 553–70.
- Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education (OCR). 1996. "Clarification of Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Guidance: The Three-Part Test." <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/clarific.html> (May 17, 2017).
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. 2019. "The Contact Hypothesis Re-Evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy* 3 (2): 129-58.
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Roni Porat, Chelsey S. Clark, and Donald P. Green. 2021. "Prejudice Reduction: Progress and Challenges." *Annual Review of Psychology* 72 (1): 533–60.
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Hana Shepherd, and Peter M. Aronow. 2016. "Changing Climates of Conflict: A Social Network Experiment in 56 Schools." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113 (3): 566–71.

- Pettigrew, Thomas F., and Linda R. Tropp. 2006. "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90 (5): 751–83.
- Rokeach, Milton 1973. *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press
- Rose, Deondra. 2018. *Citizens by Degree: Higher Education Policy and the Changing Gender Dynamics of American Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Sabo, Don, Philip Veliz, and Ellen J. Staurowsky. 2016. *Beyond X's and O's: Gender Bias and Coaches of Women's College Sports*. East Meadow, NY: Women's Sports Foundation.
- Sack, Allen, and Ellen Staurowsky. 1998. *College Athletes for Hire*. New York: Praeger.
- Shannon, Brian. 2018. "The Revised NCAA Division I Governance Structure After Three Years: A Score Card." *Texas A&M Law Review* 5(1): 65–103.
- Sharrow, Elizabeth. 2017. "'Female Athlete' Politic: Title IX and the Naturalization of Sex Difference in Public Policy." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5(1): 46–66.
- Sharrow, Elizabeth. 2019. "Sex Segregation as Policy Problem: A Gendered Policy Paradox." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2019.1568883>.
- Sinclair, Betsy. 2012. *The Social Citizen*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Soss, Joe. 2000. *Unwanted Claims: The Politics of Participation in the U.S. Welfare System*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Strolovich, Dara Z., 2007. *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender In Interest Group Politics*. University of Chicago Press.

- Sullivan, Mariah, Matt Moore, Lindsey C. Blom, and Greta Slater. 2020. "Relationship between Social Support and Depressive Symptoms in Collegiate Student Athletes." *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education* 14 (3): 192-209.
- Trounstein, Jessica. 2018. *Segregation By Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press. *Psychology* 99 (2): 262–81.
- Wallsten, Kevin, Tatishe M. Nteta, Lauren A. McCarthy, and Melinda R. Tarsi. 2017. "Prejudice or Principled Conservatism? Racial Resentment and White Opinion toward Paying College Athletes." *Political Research Quarterly* 70 (1): 209–22.
- Wong, Janelle. 2008. *Democracy's Promise*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Young, Iris Marion. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Table 1: Gender Inequities in Participation Opportunities, Resource Allocation, and Leadership (Men's – Women's), 2018-19

	Average % difference (Men's - Women's) in Participation Opportunities **	Average # difference (Men's - Women's) Participation Opportunity **	Average # difference (Men's - Women's) in number of varsity teams	Average % difference (Men's - Women's) in Athletic Scholarship Dollars	Average \$ difference (Men's - Women's) in Athletic Scholarship Dollars	Average % difference (Men's - Women's) in Recruiting Expenditures	Average \$ difference (Men's - Women's) in Recruiting Expenditures	Average % difference (Men's - Women's) in Overall Expenditures***	Average \$ difference (Men's - Women's) in Overall Expenditures***	Percent Women Employed as Coaches (Head or Assistant) *	Percent of Women Employed as Directors of Athletics *	Percent of Women Athletic Directors (Assistant, Associate, Director) *
	Participation Measures			Resource Allocation Measures						Leadership Measures		
	Participation		Teams	Athletic Scholarships		Recruiting		Expenditures Total		Coaches	Athletic Directors	
NCAA Division I	8.81%	38	-1.79	4.96%	\$502,621	32.15%	\$293,557	24.20%	\$ 9,126,894	25.38%	10.96%	29.87%
(NCAA Div I FBS)	10.39%	46	-2.11	13.36%	\$1,380,681	44.72%	\$635,374	41.51%	\$ 21,459,124			
(NCAA Div I FCS)	16.11%	65	-1.67	10.66%	\$572,603	31.70%	\$126,172	22.39%	\$ 3,106,595			
(NCAA Div I w/o Football)	-2.26%	-7	-1.53	-13.31%	-\$736,467	16.20%	\$60,002	3.90%	\$ 698,447			
NCAA Division II	16.29%	62	-1.17	9.19%	\$219,659	18.61%	\$15,513	10.88%	\$ 564,234	25.58%	18.33%	33.39%
(NCAA Div II with Football)	26.85%	103	-1.16	21.29%	\$499,646	33.64%	\$26,670	21.95%	\$ 154,992			
(NCAA Div II w/o Football)	3.86%	13	-1.69	-5.05%	-\$109,621	0.55%	\$2,109	-2.12%	\$ (78,230)			
NCAA Division III	18.25%	76	-0.5	N/A	N/A	18.93%	\$12,407	13.20%	\$ 302,807	28.95%	31.54%	40.01%
(NCAA Div III with Football)	26.67%	119	-0.27			31.07%	\$20,635	21.25%	\$ 499,169			

(NCAA Div III w/o Football)	6.68%	17	-0.81			2.00%	\$1,093	2.14%	\$ 32,810			
NCAA All Divisions	14.64%	60	-1.11	6.95%	\$369,538	23.20%	\$104,271	16.10%	\$ 3,236,552	26.88%	21.27%	32.66%

** Count based on unduplicated counts as reported in EADA statistics, data includes male practice players on women's team roster counts

* Citation: National Collegiate Athletic Association. 2020. NCAA Demographics Database [Data visualization dashboard.]. Retrieved from <http://www.ncaa.org/about/resources/research/ncaa-demographics-database>

*** Expenditures calculated using EADA statistics

Table 2: Explaining Gender Equity Policy Views and Budget Allocation

	(1) Gender Equity Policies	(2) Gender Equity Policies	(3) Gender Equity Budget	(4) Gender Equity Budget
Female	1.116*** (0.124)	1.123*** (0.123)	17.092*** (2.890)	17.334*** (2.897)
African-American	0.248*** (0.082)	0.236*** (0.082)	-3.416* (2.074)	-3.755* (2.039)
Racial Conservatism	-1.803*** (0.175)	-1.757*** (0.178)	-10.123*** (3.624)	-9.295*** (3.538)
Sexism	-1.097*** (0.132)	-1.050*** (0.132)	-12.196*** (2.909)	-11.329*** (2.852)
Male with Female Contact	0.492* (0.273)	-0.969* (0.553)	19.025*** (6.294)	-14.094 (12.526)
Female with Male Contact	-0.061 (0.163)	-0.312 (0.401)	-2.892 (4.412)	-11.577 (11.538)
Trust		-0.258 (0.271)		-9.118 (8.002)
Male with Female Contact * Trust		2.552*** (0.803)		58.100*** (21.801)
Female with Male Contact * Trust		0.443 (0.634)		15.157 (18.647)
Other Minority	0.066 (0.077)	0.072 (0.074)	-4.385*** (1.634)	-4.316*** (1.608)
Catholic	0.056 (0.070)	0.054 (0.069)	-1.628 (1.480)	-1.701 (1.464)
Non-Christen Religion	-0.020 (0.118)	-0.006 (0.119)	-3.247 (2.299)	-3.038 (2.308)
Not Religious	-0.044 (0.069)	-0.042 (0.067)	-3.464** (1.508)	-3.439** (1.492)
Year in School	-0.124 (0.091)	-0.097 (0.091)	-3.573* (1.991)	-3.066 (1.992)
Income	-0.128 (0.102)	-0.134 (0.101)	1.799 (2.168)	1.729 (2.170)
Parental College	-0.141** (0.070)	-0.112 (0.069)	-1.818 (1.452)	-1.283 (1.426)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.138** (0.070)	-0.137** (0.069)	-3.540** (1.564)	-3.531** (1.578)
Academic Scholarship	0.056 (0.053)	0.063 (0.052)	-1.874 (1.179)	-1.813 (1.142)
Co-ed Team	0.149* (0.082)	0.154* (0.080)	-1.037 (2.170)	-0.997 (2.089)
Football	-0.133 (0.104)	-0.119 (0.102)	-1.722 (2.114)	-1.537 (2.116)

Men's Basketball	0.051 (0.200)	-0.014 (0.196)	0.481 (4.509)	-0.770 (4.405)
Division 2	0.038 (0.072)	0.028 (0.071)	6.594*** (1.797)	6.408*** (1.806)
Division 3	0.063 (0.071)	0.061 (0.070)	5.212*** (1.547)	5.170*** (1.537)
Conservatism	-0.395*** (0.145)	-0.433*** (0.145)	-2.558 (3.282)	-3.370 (3.181)
Constant	5.885*** (0.172)	5.987*** (0.235)	48.220*** (3.831)	52.661*** (5.467)
Observations	2,406	2,406	2,406	2,406
R-squared	0.517	0.527	0.178	0.191

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

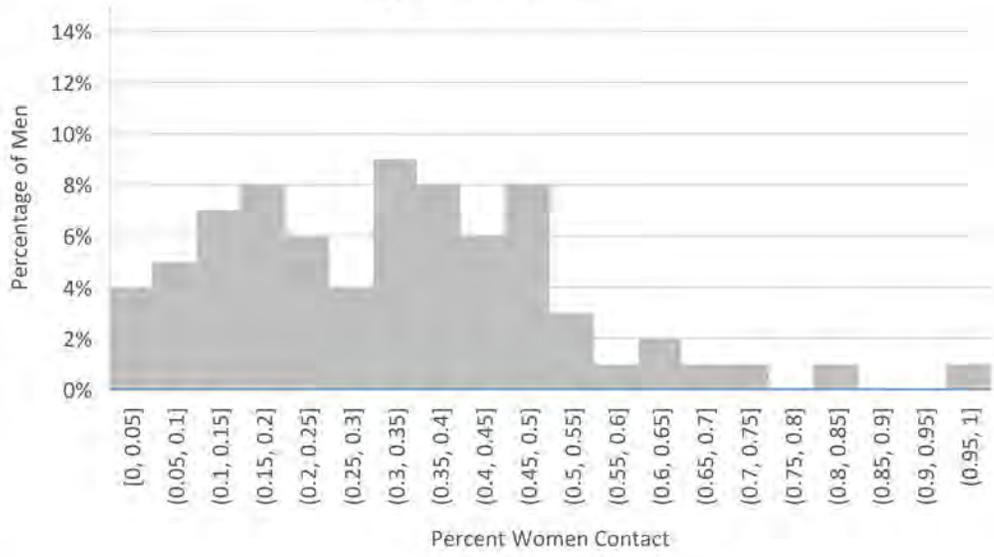
Table 3: Experimental Results

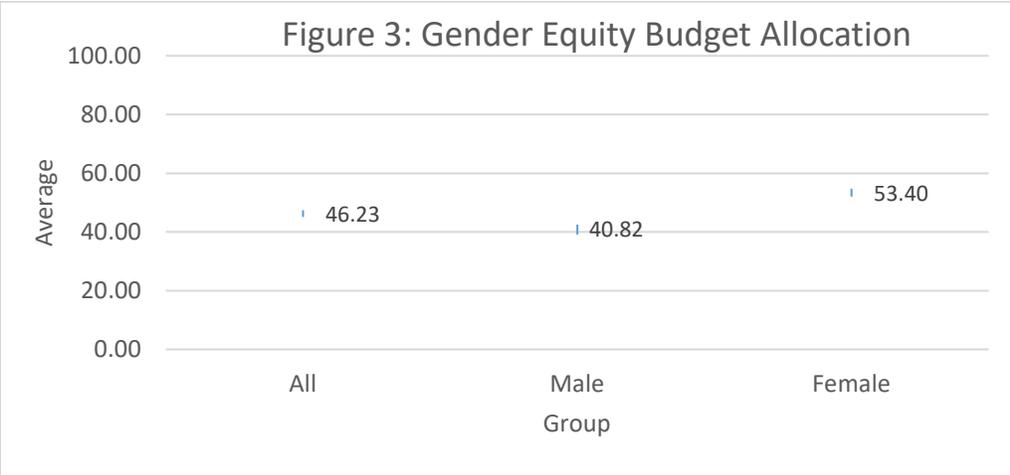
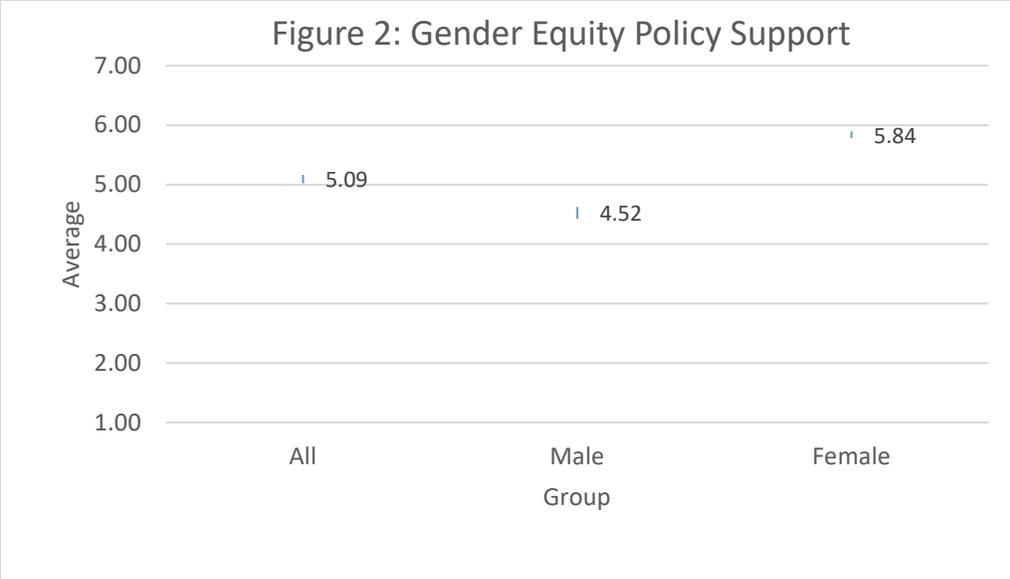
	(1) Gender Equity Policies	(2) Gender Equity Policies	(3) Gender Equity Budget	(4) Gender Equity Budget	(5) COVID-era Gender Prioritization	(6) COVID-era Gender Prioritization
African- Americ. Rac. Co.		-0.103 (0.157)		-5.988** (2.774)		-0.360** (0.168)
		-1.827*** (0.284)		-12.767** (6.038)		-0.108 (0.324)
Sexism		-0.998*** (0.243)		-14.482*** (4.400)		-0.896*** (0.233)
M-F Contact Trust	-0.117 (0.167)	-0.305** (0.140)	0.020 (2.583)	2.181 (2.514)	0.098 (0.175)	0.082 (0.169)
	-0.051 (0.140)	-0.058 (0.118)	-3.109 (2.513)	-2.007 (2.299)	0.028 (0.168)	0.063 (0.146)
Cont.* Trust	0.672*** (0.222)	0.800*** (0.189)	11.705*** (3.895)	8.749** (3.629)	0.514** (0.242)	0.462** (0.229)
Other Minor. Catholic		-0.050 (0.122)		3.456 (2.909)		-0.048 (0.190)
		-0.074 (0.118)		-1.010 (2.407)		-0.135 (0.148)
Non. Chris. Not Relig. Year		-0.099 (0.177)		-3.319 (3.464)		-0.126 (0.179)
		-0.089 (0.141)		-1.284 (2.506)		0.173 (0.149)
		0.213 (0.172)		4.243 (3.094)		0.251 (0.188)
Income		0.164 (0.202)		-1.924 (3.702)		-0.325 (0.233)
Parent College Ath. Schol. Acad. Schol. Co-ed		-0.415*** (0.141)		-2.108 (2.430)		0.058 (0.174)
		-0.144 (0.128)		0.157 (2.574)		-0.217 (0.166)
		0.133 (0.105)		-5.090*** (1.928)		-0.210* (0.121)
		-0.107 (0.175)		-4.328 (3.149)		0.432** (0.203)
Football		0.119 (0.110)		-5.966*** (2.237)		-0.242* (0.137)
Mens B-ball Div. 2		0.170 (0.157)		4.743* (2.450)		-0.152 (0.219)
		0.087 (0.156)		6.780** (2.892)		0.094 (0.186)
Div. 2		0.165		1.060		-0.083

Conser.		(0.120)		(2.282)		(0.143)
		-0.642**		-0.540		-0.402
Constant	4.757***	(0.252)	40.311***	(4.714)	2.604***	(0.323)
	(0.096)	(0.255)	(1.804)	(5.334)	(0.117)	(0.286)
Observations	549	499	549	499	504	485
R-squared	0.045	0.395	0.049	0.198	0.051	0.208

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

Figure 1: Percentage of Women Stud. Athl. Contact By Male Stud. Ath.





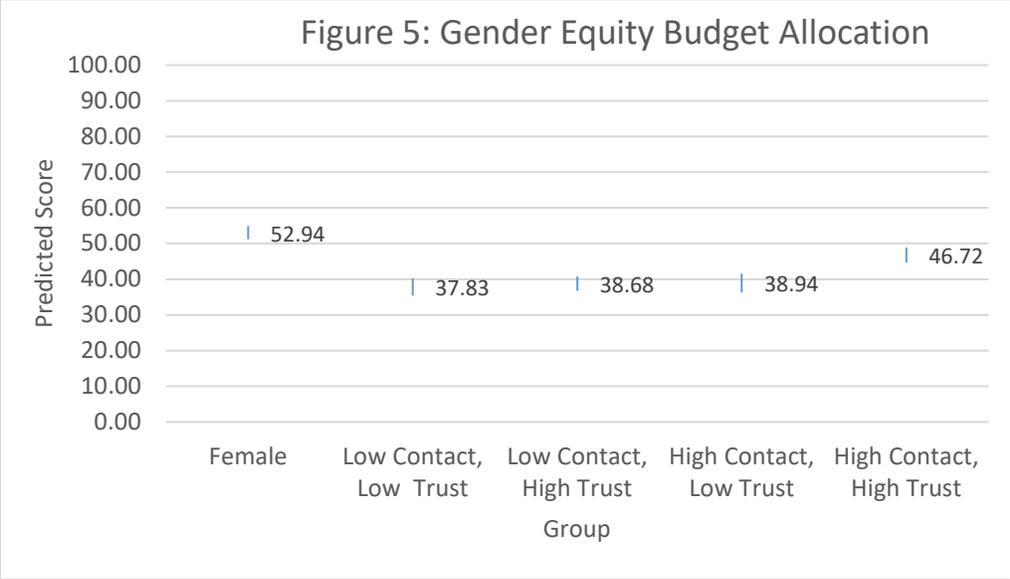
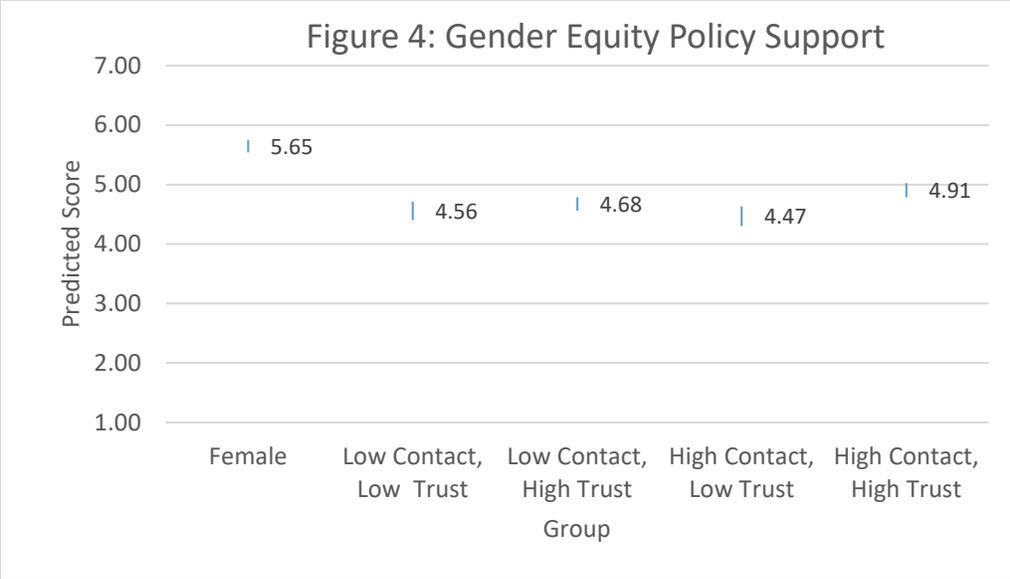


Figure 6: Experimental Design

	Low Trust	High Trust
In-group Contact (Male)	1	2
Out-group Gender Contact (Female)	3	4

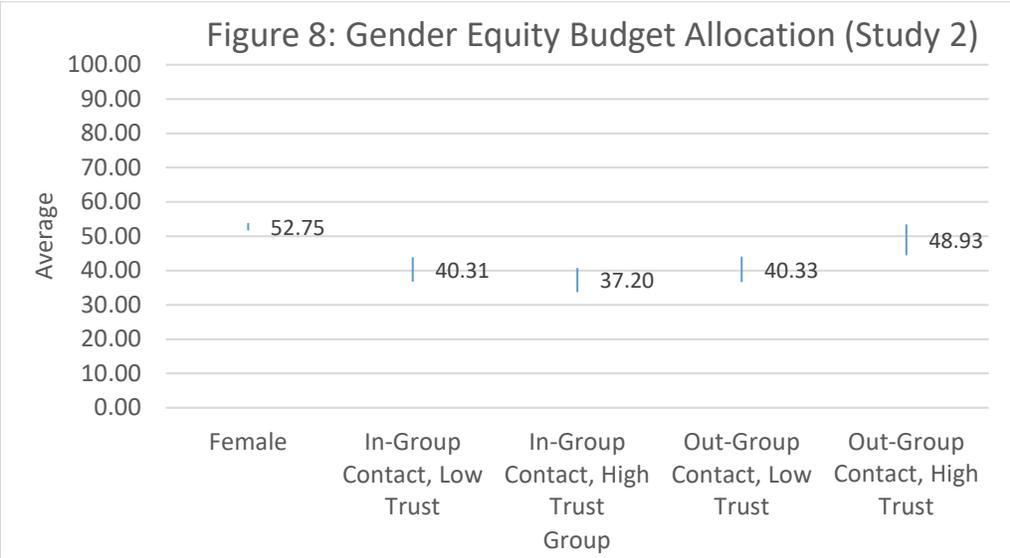
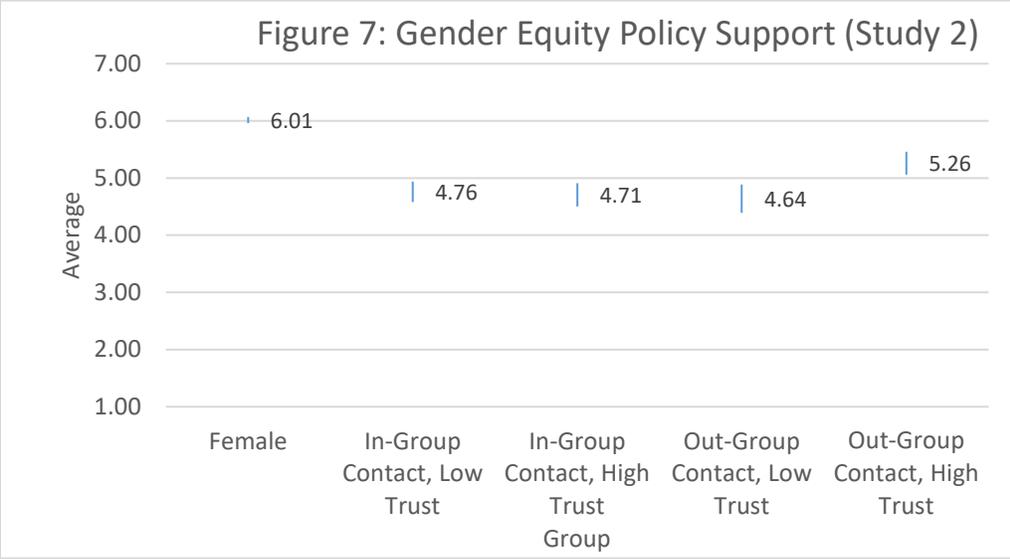


Figure 9: COVID Gender Equity Prioritization (Study 2)



Appendix 1: Study 1 Sample

Our population includes 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 since they often have more teams and thus ensured a sufficient sample size. In addition, when it comes to tradeoffs with benefit policies, many of those are most directly relevant to Division 1. Of the schools selected into our sample, we then checked for the availability of publicly accessible e-mail addresses for student-athletes. 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. We ended up with 63 schools.

In terms of identifying which individuals to solicit, we included all student-athletes listed on the sports' rosters. We ended up with a sample frame of 23,032 student-athletes (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 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. This means that our actual sampling frame was respectively 21,242. Our final sample – that is, respondents who completed the entire survey – is 2,539, leading to basic response rate of 12%.

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 EADA.

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

Appendix 2: Study 1 Survey Implementation

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 to ensure their anonymity.

Appendix 3: Study 1 and Study 2 Sample Weighting

For both studies, 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 all NCAA student-athletes. 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.

We obtain the population percentages based on race, gender, sport, and Division. For weighting purposes, we classified each student-athlete as being White, African-American, or Other Minority. We did this since our focus is on African-Americans as a population that may have a particulate stake in benefit policies. Also, the other groups constitute small individual percentages (e.g., Latinx consisted 5.7% in the student-athlete population data, Asians were just 2.1%).³ 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.⁴

We weighted on sport since it is plausible that some sports may generate distinct attitudes, particular football and men's basketball, which are the main revenue generating sports.⁵ 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 do 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 4.5% 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.⁶

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

³ 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. 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. In our sample data, we used a question that asked respondents to choose a singular race that best describes them.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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").

(e.g. Division III student-athletes do not receive athletic scholarships), and our intent to generalize across Divisions, we weighted by Division.

We created weights using the “anesrake” package for R (<https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/anesrake/index.html>) (see DeBell 2018). We raked the data by gender, division, ethnicity, 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). 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. In weighting the data, we also stratified based on Division since our random samples were drawn within each Division.

Appendix 4: Study 1 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 the same as the population percentages.

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	< \$30,000: 7%; \$30,000-\$69,999: 16%; \$70,000-\$99,999: 22%; \$100,000-\$200,000: 35%; >\$200,000: 21% ³
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 Contact ⁵	18% (std. dev.: 20%)
Average Trust in School (1-5 scale with higher scores indication more trust)	3.32 (std. dev.: .98)

¹Less than 1% classified themselves as Middle Eastern/North African; less than 1% classified themselves as Native American; 4% classified themselves as “other.”

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

³This sums to 101% because due to rounding error.

⁴This sums to 101% because due to rounding error.

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: 32% (std. dev: 16%).

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).

Appendix 5: Details on Study 1 Variables

Most of our outcome variables follow straightforwardly from well-established debates about gender equity (see, e.g., Sharrow 2019). Yet, a few points are worth making about some of the measures in light of the timing of the survey. First, the question about undertaking less or more enforcement of sexual harassment laws in college athletics was highly relevant due to high-profile events. 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 famously 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. Second, in the domain of coaching and athletic director rules, 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).

As for our independent variables, 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 the idea that this group is a particular stakeholder for benefit policies. Second, the item we did use offers an "other" option, and thus, if someone 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.

For contact, our survey 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 is oddly .0876 ($p < .01$) 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). We include an "other minority" measure to captures any other racial effects beyond African-American identity. We include religion indicators to capture variation in values that may affect gender equity beliefs. We include family income because those with lower incomes may be supportive of benefit provisions given needs. We include division dummies since gender equity may be more salient at lower divisions where benefits are less central in debates. We control for political ideology since conservatives may generally oppose policy innovation in the domain of sports (Zorn and Gill 2007). We include sexism since it follows clear that gender equity policies upset the standard gender order that those with more sexist attitudes seek to preserve.

We include year in school since Druckman et al. (2014) show those later in school are more supportive of benefits. We include parental college education (i.e., if any parent has a college degree) as 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. 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 benefits. We include a dummy for whether the respondent has a full or partial academic scholarship because those on academic scholarship may focus less on benefits. We include a variable indicating co-ed team membership since that likely increases gender equality support. We include membership on the football and men's basketball team given these are the main revenue sports invoked in popular discourse about benefits.

Appendix 6: Study 1 Question Wording⁷

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*

⁷ We do not include the items to measure benefits since we do not use those data in the paper.

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</i>	<i>less should be done to</i>	<i>less should be done to</i>	<i>right amount is being done</i>	<i>more should be done to</i>	<i>more should be done to</i>	<i>should be done to</i>
<i>ensure opportunities</i>	<i>ensure opportunities</i>	<i>ensure opportunities</i>	<i>ensure opportunities</i>	<i>to ensure</i>	<i>ensure</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>
------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------	---	-------------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------------

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>
------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------	---	-------------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------------

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>
------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------	---	-------------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------------------

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</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</i>	<i>less should be done to</i>	<i>less should be done to</i>	<i>right amount is being done</i>	<i>more should be done to</i>	<i>more should be done to</i>	<i>should be done to</i>
<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>	<i>enforce</i>
<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>	<i>sexual harassment laws</i>

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. _____

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

⁸To 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

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 _____

⁸ This item and the two in the subsequent table compose our racial conservatism scale.

Appendix 7: Study 1 Male Only Results and Results for Gender Resource and Gender Hiring Policies

Explaining Gender Equity Policy Views and Budget Allocation Among Male Student-Athletes Only

	(1) Equality Policy	(2) Equality Budget
African-American	0.450*** (0.115)	2.545 (2.914)
Racial Conservatism	-2.086*** (0.250)	-9.459** (4.790)
Sexism	-1.139*** (0.195)	-12.489*** (4.008)
Male with Female Contact	-0.975 (0.674)	-11.919 (16.194)
Trust	-0.234 (0.373)	-6.217 (10.608)
Male with Female Contact * Trust	2.387** (1.038)	48.946* (27.862)
Other Minority	0.137 (0.114)	-3.107 (2.229)
Catholic	0.074 (0.115)	-2.423 (2.149)
Non-Christen Religion	0.249 (0.160)	-4.971 (3.579)
Not Religious	0.023 (0.104)	-5.165** (2.222)
Year in School	-0.224 (0.136)	-1.359 (2.844)
Income	-0.177 (0.156)	-1.562 (3.187)
Parental College	-0.083 (0.106)	-1.577 (2.100)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.253** (0.105)	-2.580 (2.291)
Academic Scholarship	0.147* (0.082)	-2.462 (1.675)
Co-ed Team	0.052 (0.143)	0.615 (3.167)
Football	-0.108 (0.104)	-2.791 (2.162)
Men's Basketball	-0.072 (0.194)	-0.918 (4.301)
Division 2	0.047 (0.108)	7.509*** (2.795)
Division 3	0.101	5.881***

	(0.103)	(2.210)
Conservatism	-0.417*	-6.808
	(0.233)	(4.881)
Constant	6.093***	55.108***
	(0.319)	(7.541)
Observations	902	902
R-squared	0.448	0.166

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Explaining Resource and Hiring Gender Equity Policies

	(1) Resources	(2) Hiring
Female	1.252*** (0.133)	0.867*** (0.202)
African-American	0.184** (0.088)	0.334** (0.134)
Racial Conservatism	-1.298*** (0.178)	-2.682*** (0.274)
Sexism	-1.225*** (0.136)	-0.701*** (0.215)
Male with Female Contact	-0.330 (0.602)	-2.237*** (0.804)
Female with Male Contact	-0.103 (0.438)	-0.734 (0.671)
Trust	-0.069 (0.300)	-0.640 (0.399)
Male with Female Contact * Trust	1.777* (0.909)	4.087*** (1.166)
Female with Male Contact * Trust	-0.062 (0.703)	1.455 (1.030)
Other Minority	0.109 (0.076)	-0.004 (0.121)
Catholic	-0.068 (0.073)	0.295*** (0.110)
Non-Christen Religion	-0.095 (0.125)	0.164 (0.174)
Not Religious	-0.021 (0.068)	-0.088 (0.112)
Year in School	-0.191** (0.094)	0.084 (0.149)

Income	-0.165 (0.103)	-0.066 (0.164)
Parental College	-0.065 (0.071)	-0.213* (0.115)
Athletic Scholarship	-0.066 (0.076)	-0.274*** (0.103)
Academic Scholarship	0.020 (0.055)	0.149* (0.085)
Co-ed Team	0.121 (0.079)	0.221 (0.136)
Football	-0.099 (0.102)	-0.154 (0.172)
Men's Basketball	-0.022 (0.189)	0.003 (0.298)
Division 2	0.091 (0.078)	-0.094 (0.113)
Division 3	0.150** (0.073)	-0.116 (0.113)
Conservatism	-0.293* (0.151)	-0.708*** (0.223)
Constant	5.704*** (0.247)	6.558*** (0.369)
Observations	2,406	2,406
R-squared	0.490	0.341

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Appendix 8: Study 2 Sampling and Implementation

Our sampling and implementation approach was the same as for study 1 (see Appendices 1 and 2), except we excluded any school that was in our study 1 sample. We ended up with 53 schools and 21,649 e-mail addresses for as sampling framing (prior to bounce backs). We implemented the study in late May-early June 2020, “to learn what student-athletes think about various issues involving college sports.” A total of 2,956 bounced back, leaving a sampling frame of 18,693. We received 2,144 responses for a response rate of 11.5%. Eight respondents chose “other” for gender and given our analyses are contingent on being male/female and race, we have an effective N of 2,136. We used the same weighting procedures as outlined in Appendix 3.

Appendix 9: Study 2 Demographics

The demographics come from the full sample even though we focus our main analyses on male student-athletes. As with study 1, given our post-stratification weights, the sample matches the population on gender, race, and Division.

Weighted Student-Athlete Sample Description

Gender	Male: 57%; Female: 43%
Race (that best describes the respondent)	White: 65%; African-American: 16%; Hispanic/Latino: 7%; Asian/Pacific Islander: 7%; Other: 6% ¹
Religion	Protestant: 42%; Catholic: 24%; Jewish: 4%; Other Religion: 4% ² ; Not Religious: 26%
No Parent With College Degree	19%
Familial Income	< \$30,000: 6%; \$30,000-\$69,999: 12%; \$70,000-\$99,999: 19%; \$100,000-\$200,000: 38%; >\$200,000: 25%
Year in School	First Year: 29%; Sophomore: 27%; Junior: 24%; Senior: 19%; Post-Graduate: 2% ³
Athletic Scholarship (full or partial)	42%
Academic Scholarship (full or partial)	44%
Coed Team (self-reported)	7%
Athletic Division	Division 1: 36%; Division 2: 24%; Division 3: 40%
Mean Political Ideology (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more conservative)	3.69 (std. dev.: 1.51)
Mean Racial Conservatism (0 to 7 scale)	2.57 (std. dev.: 1.17)
Mean Hostile Sexism (1-7 scale with higher scores indicating more sexism)	3.11 (std. dev.: 1.64)

¹ This sums to 101% due to rounding error. 1% classified themselves as Middle Eastern/North African; 1% classified themselves as Native American; 4% classified themselves as “other.”

² 1% classified themselves as Muslim; less than 1% classified themselves as Hindu; 3% classified themselves as “other.”

³ This sums to 101% due to rounding error.

Weighted Student-Athlete Sports Participation

Sport	Weighted Sample Percentage	Population Percentage
Baseball	7.24%	7.91%
Basketball	7.42%	7.91%
Beach Volleyball	0.36%	0.26%
Bowling	0.06%	0.17%
Cross Country	6.74%	6.69%
Equestrian	0.08%	0.32%
Fencing	0.86%	0.31%
Field Hockey	1.13%	1.38%
Football	16.02%	16.49%
Golf	2.40%	3.13%
Gymnastics	0.73%	0.43%
Ice Hockey	0.78%	1.50%
Lacrosse	5.48%	5.90%
Rifle	0.00%	0.08%
Rowing	2.48%	2.15%
Rugby	0.00%	0.14%
Sailing	0.29%	0.13%
Skiing	0.61%	0.14%
Soccer	10.89%	11.79%
Softball	4.18%	4.55%
Squash	0.26%	0.21%
Swimming	4.63%	5.07%
Tennis	3.46%	3.68%
Track and Field	18.21%	13.16%
Volleyball	4.06%	4.38%
Water Polo	0.41%	0.51%
Wrestling	0.94%	1.61%
Other	0.28%	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).

Appendix 10: Study 2 Survey⁹

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 |

Did 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 did your team(s) compete?

Division 1 *Division 2* *Division 3*

In what athletic conference did your team(s) compete this past year? _____

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*

⁹ We do not include the experimental conditions for African-American women or items to measure benefits since we do not use those data in the paper.

We are next going to ask you a few more questions about your background and opinions.

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/
Other Northern African American

IF WHITE MALE → Randomly assign to 1 of 6 conditions.

	Low Trust	High Trust
In-Group Contact	1	2
Black Contact	3	4
Female Contact	5	6

Condition 1

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white male student athlete named Dalton Wood. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Dalton is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Dalton might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 2

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-

athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having “strong purpose” in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white male student athlete named Dalton Wood. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Dalton is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Dalton might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 3

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or

engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American male student athlete named Jabari Washington. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Jabari is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Jabari might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 4

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes’ lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having “strong purpose” in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American male student athlete named Jabari Washington. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Jabari is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Jabari might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

Condition 5

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white female student athlete named Shelbi Wood. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Shelbi is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Shelbi might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 6

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having "strong purpose" in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white female student athlete named Shelbi Wood. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Shelbi is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Shelbi might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

IF WHITE WOMAN → Randomly assign to 1 of 4 conditions.

	Low Trust	High Trust
In-Group Contact	1	2

Black Contact	3	4
---------------	---	---

Condition 1

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white female student athlete named Shelbi Wood. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Shelbi is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Shelbi might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 2

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot

- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having “strong purpose” in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting a white female student athlete named Shelbi Wood. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Shelbi is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Shelbi might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 3

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot

- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American female student athlete named Eboni Washington. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Eboni is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Eboni might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 4

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having "strong purpose" in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American female student athlete named Eboni Washington. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Eboni is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Eboni might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

IF BLACK MALE → Randomly assign to 1 of 4 conditions.

	Low Trust	High Trust
In-Group Contact	1	2
Women Contact	3	4

Condition 1

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American male student athlete named Jabari Washington. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Jabari is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Jabari might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 2

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having "strong purpose" in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American male student athlete named Jabari Washington. He is discussing his life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Jabari is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about his experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Jabari might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 3

Many student-athletes express concern that NCAA and college committees that make policy do not include enough student-athletes. For example, currently student-athletes populate less than 5% of committee slots in the NCAA. To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes worry about their ability to choose the major that they want. For example, one study finds that 75% of student-athletes who start off in pre-professional majors – such as pre-med or engineering – need to change to more “manageable majors.” To what extent do you agree this is a problem?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American female student athlete named Eboni Washington. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Eboni is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Eboni might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

Condition 4

Many student-athletes have been excited about the NCAA and college level student-athlete advisory committees. As you may know, these committees offer input on the rules and policies that affect student-athletes' lives. These committees also have expanded in size over time. To what extent do you think these committees are a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

Many student-athletes take pride in how college sports prepare them for life. For example, one study finds that a vast majority of former student athletes report having “strong purpose” in life and are achieving their life goals. To what extent do you agree this is a good thing?

- a. Agree somewhat
- b. Agree quite a bit
- c. Agree a lot
- d. Agree very much
- e. Agree completely

We would like you to take a minute to imagine yourself meeting with another student-athlete (in person; not during the COVID-19 pandemic). To help you imagine the meeting, we are going to provide some details about the other person and the encounter.

Imagine you are meeting an African-American female student athlete named Eboni Washington. She is discussing her life as a student-athlete. The interaction with Eboni is positive, relaxed, and comfortable. You learn some interesting things about her experiences in sports.

While imagining this think specifically of *when* (e.g., after a workout) and *where* (e.g., at a training facility, tutoring center) this conversation with Eboni might occur. Finally, please make sure that you imagine the scenario with your eyes closed for a minute or so.

In the text box below, please describe some aspects of the scenario as you just imagined it.

TEXT BOX

PAGE BREAK

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

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>Definitely disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	<i>Slightly disagree</i>	<i>Neither disagree nor agree</i>	<i>Slightly agree</i>	<i>Somewhat agree</i>	<i>Definitely agree</i>

PAGE BREAK

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?

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

PAGE BREAK

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>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

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>
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

PAGE BREAK

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 should be done to enforce sexual harassment harassment laws</i>	<hr/> <i>Somewhat less should be done to enforce 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>
--	---	---	--	---	---	---

An area that could come under discussion due to the financial impact of COVID-19 is whether to prioritize ensuring gender equity (e.g., equal resources, leadership opportunities) or to prioritize ensuring in benefits (e.g., sponsorship opportunities, guaranteed scholarships). What do you think?

<hr/> <i>Definitely ensure benefits</i>	<hr/> <i>Probably ensure benefits</i>	<hr/> <i>Equal priority</i>	<hr/> <i>Probably ensure gender equity</i>	<hr/> <i>Definitely ensure gender equity</i>
---	---	---------------------------------	--	--

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 are 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. _____

PAGE BREAK

How often can you trust ***your school*** to do what is right?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>Never</i>	<i>Some of the time</i>	<i>About half of the time</i>	<i>Most of the time</i>	<i>Always</i>

How often can you trust ***the athletic department at your school*** to do what is right?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>Never</i>	<i>Some of the time</i>	<i>About half of the time</i>	<i>Most of the time</i>	<i>Always</i>

How often can you trust ***the NCAA*** to do what is right?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>Never</i>	<i>Some of the time</i>	<i>About half of the time</i>	<i>Most of the time</i>	<i>Always</i>

Recall the meeting with another student-athlete – **NAME** – we asked you to imagine earlier, how negative or positive was the interaction you imagined?

- Very negative
- Somewhat negative
- Neither negative nor positive
- Somewhat positive
- Very positive

Why do you think we asked you to imagine a meeting?

- To make you realize the comradery in college sports
- To make you think how you feel about different types of people
- To make you think specifically about the demographic group of the person in the imagination exercise
- To make you think about perspectives on policies relevant to college sports
- To make you think about different sports

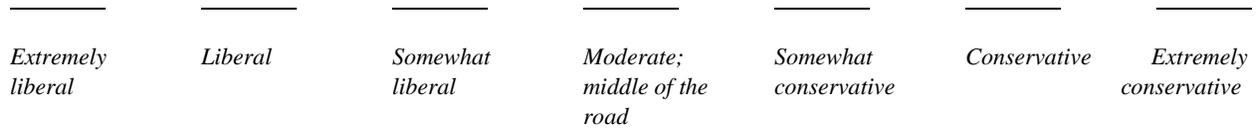
f. I do not know

To what extent do you think the people who designed this survey strongly advocate for more gender equity policies for college student athletes (e.g., equal spending, co-ed teams, increased women coaches)?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little bit
- c. Somewhat
- d. Strongly

We are next going to ask you a few questions about yourself and your opinions about politics, your school, and society.

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?



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

To 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)?

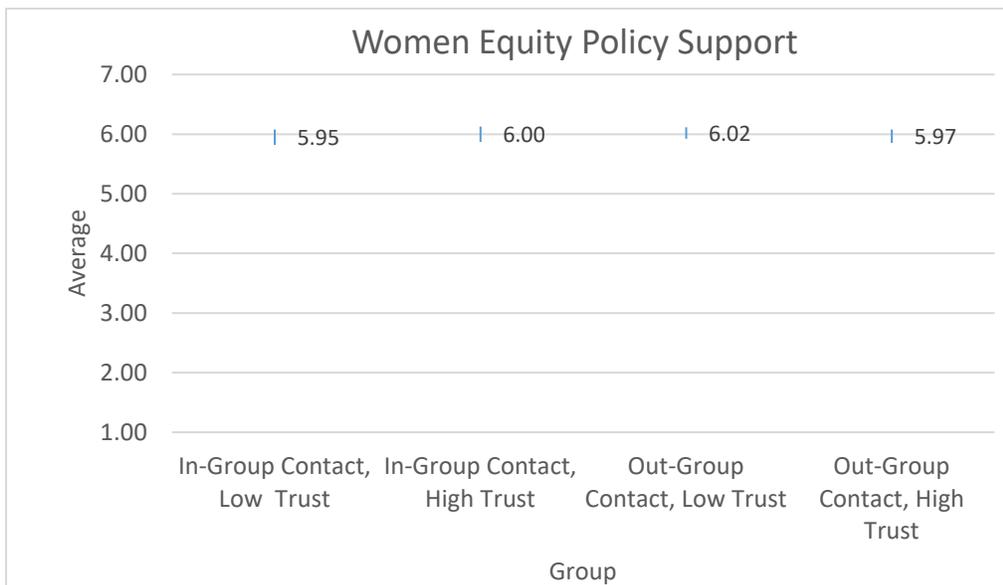
Strongly Moderately Slightly Neither oppose Slightly Moderately Strongly
oppose *oppose* *oppose* *nor support* *support* *support* *support*

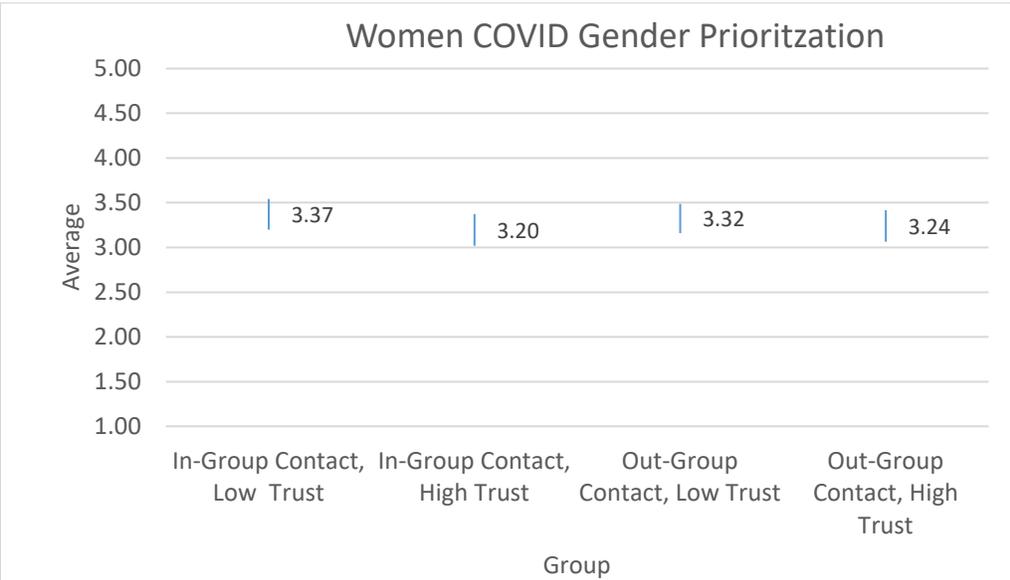
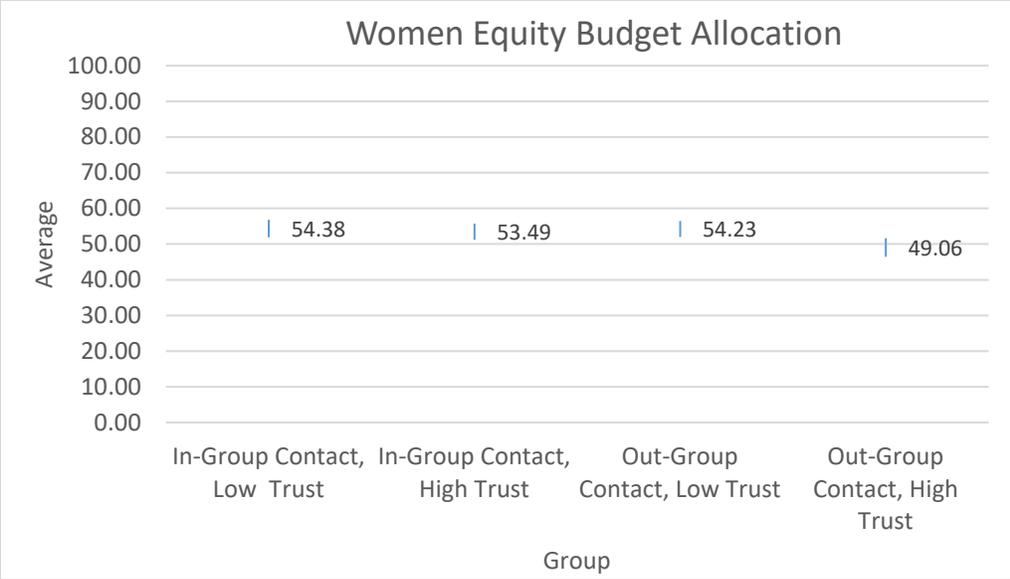
Now we'll present you with a few statements. After each one, we would like you to tell us how strongly you disagree or agree.

	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

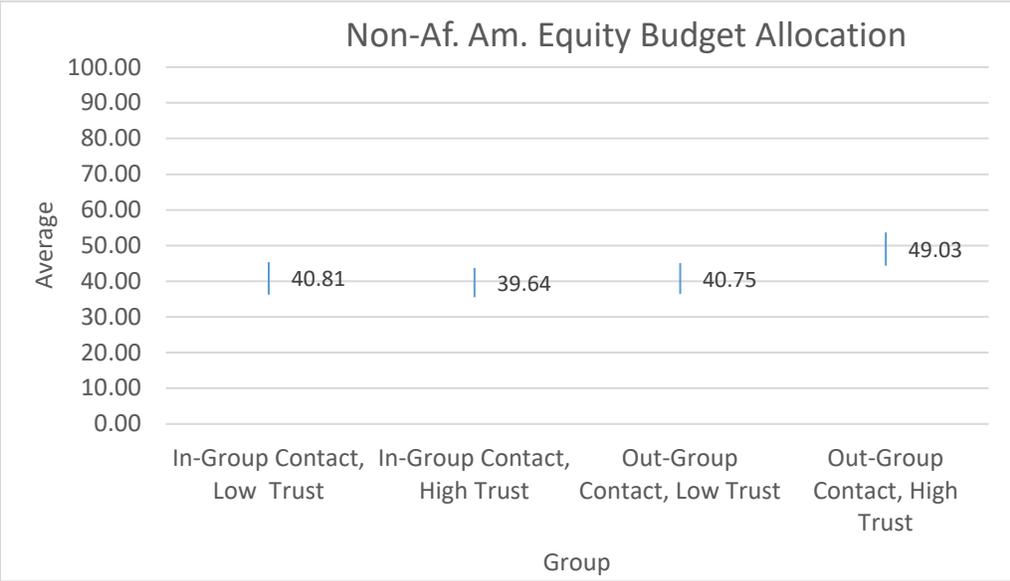
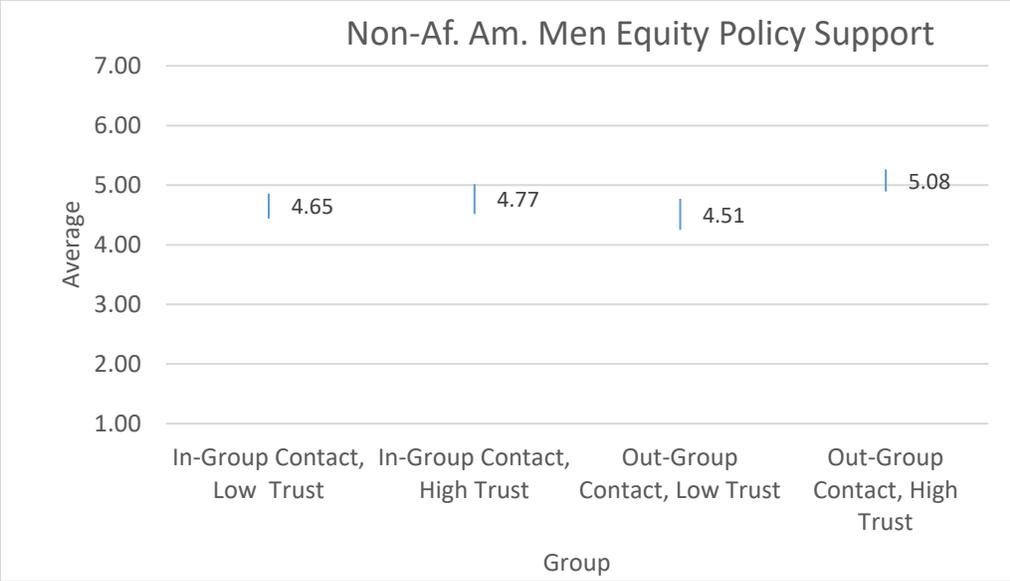
Appendix 11: Study 2 Women and Male by Race Results

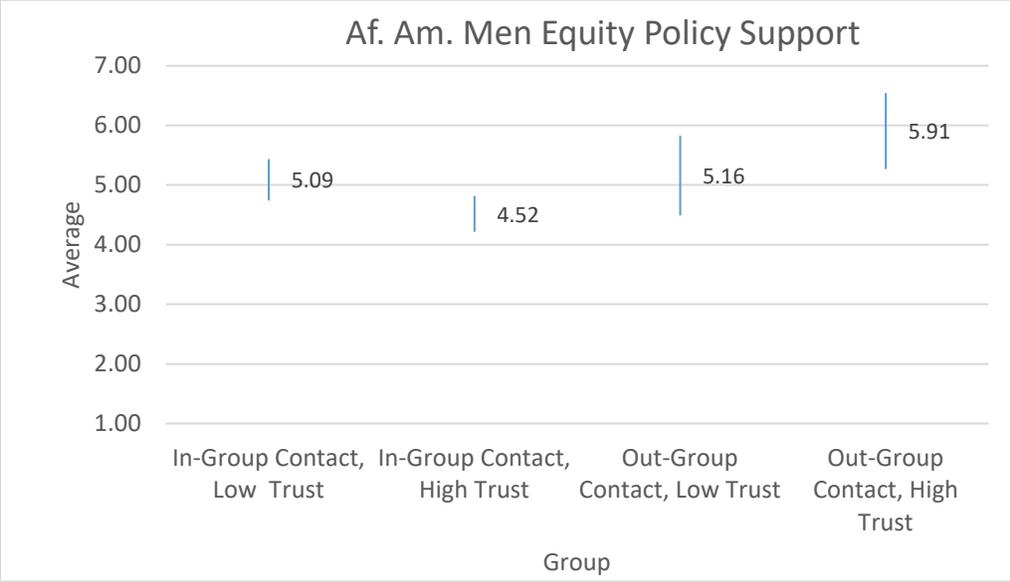
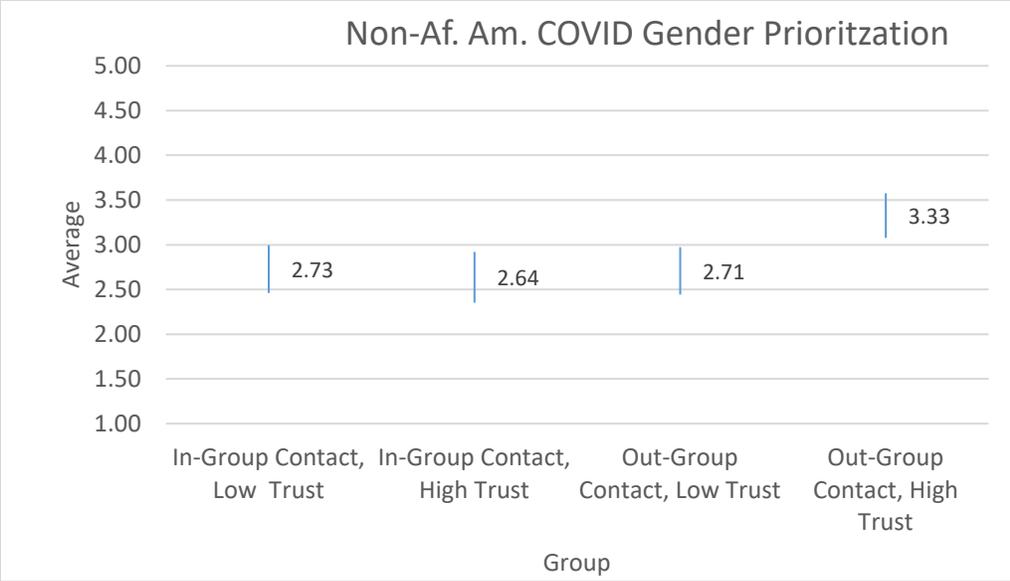
We assigned women student-athletes to designs depending on their race. For African-American women student-athletes we assigned them to a distinct design that we do not discuss here – that primed their gender or racial identity to see how they prioritized competing considerations of gender equity and benefit (which as explained, have a racialized component). Non-African-American women were assigned to a design similar to our male design although their out-group contact was with an African-American woman. The idea here again was to study benefit attitudes (which is beyond the purview of this paper). We present graphs, analogous to Figures 7-9, for non-African-American woman. We find little movement across outcomes variables, which is not surprising as we did not expect it. There is some decrease on the budget allocation item in the out-group high-trust condition but accounting for multiple comparisons leaves us with little faith in the meaning of the result.

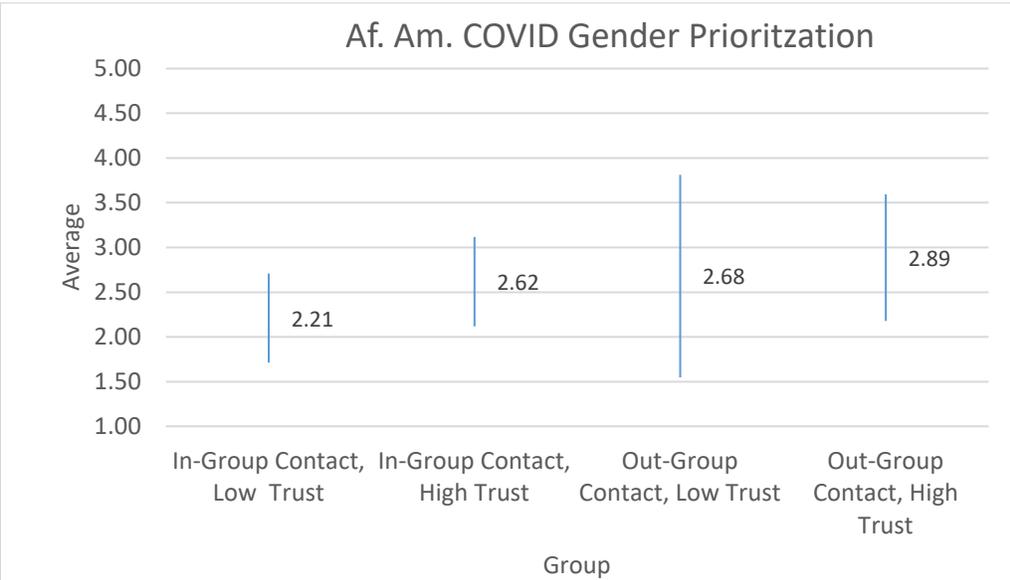
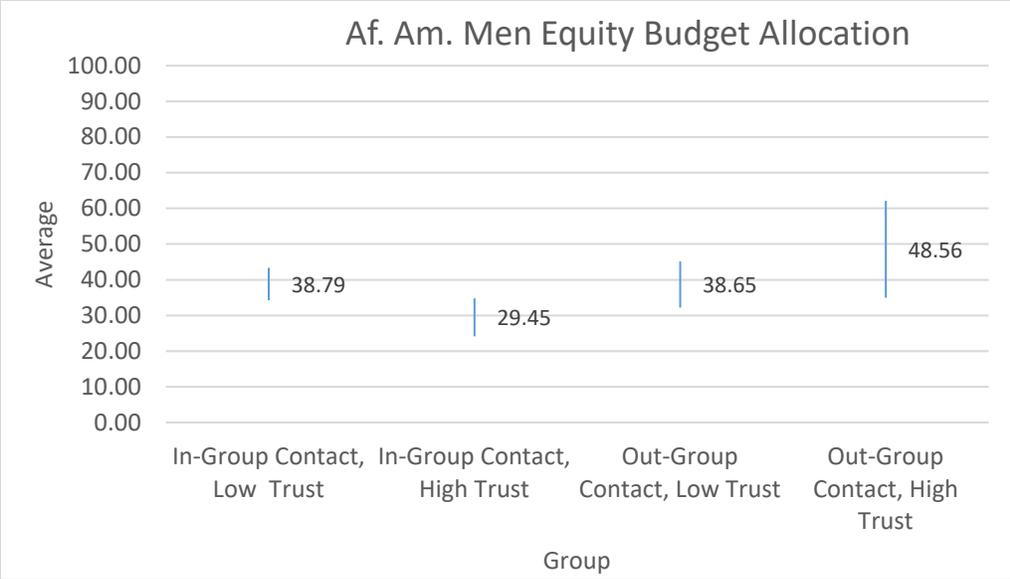




We next present the results separately for non-African-American males and African-American males. We find that the results are robust for non-African American males and move in the direction predicted for African-American males but the sample sizes are so small for that group, the confidence intervals end up being very large.







Appendices References

- Callegaro, Mario, Reg Baker, Jelke Bethlehem, Anja S. Göritz, Jon A. Krosnick, and Paul J. Lavrakas, eds. 2016. *Online Panel Research: A Data Quality Perspective*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- DeBell, Matthew. 2018. "Best Practices for Creating Survey Weights." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Survey Research*, edited by David Vannette and Jon Krosnick, 159–62. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Druckman, James N., Mauro Gilli, Samara Klar, and Joshua Robison. 2014. "The Role of Social Context in Shaping Student-Athlete Opinions." *PloS ONE* 9 (12): e115159. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0115159>.
- Druckman, James N., and Donald P. Green. 2013. "Mobilizing Group Membership: The Impact of Personalization and Social Pressure E-Mails." *Sage Open* 3 (2): 2158244013492781.
- Druckman, James N., and Jacob Rothschild. 2019. "Playing with Pain: Social Class and Pain Reporting among College Student-Athletes." *The Sports Journal* 20.
- Elliott, Michael R. 2008. "Model Averaging Methods for Weight Trimming." *Journal of Official Statistics* 24 (4): 517–540.
- Jury, Mickaël, Annique Smeding, Nicole M. Stephens, Jessica E. Nelson, Cristina Aelenei, and Céline Darnon. 2017. "The Experience of Low-SES Students in Higher Education: Psychological Barriers to Success and Interventions to Reduce Social-Class Inequality." *Journal of Social Issues* 73 (1): 23–41.
- Sharrow, Elizabeth. 2019. "Sex Segregation as Policy Problem: A Gendered Policy Paradox." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2019.1568883>.
- Zamora, Karen. 2018. "Former UMD Women's Hockey Coach Wins Discrimination Case, \$3.7 Million Award." *Star Tribune*. <http://www.startribune.com/former-umd-women-s-hockey-coach-wins-discrimination-case/477007603/>
- Zorn, Christopher, and Jeff Gill. 2007. "The Etiology of Public Support for the Designated Hitter Rule." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2 (2): 189–203.