

University of Mississippi

eGrove

---

Honors Theses

Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale  
Honors College)

---

Spring 5-9-2020

## "You Play Like A Girl": How Alternative Conceptualizations Of Sexism Impact Attitudes Toward Women In Professional Sports

Kate Wigod  
*University of Mississippi*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon\\_thesis](https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis)



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#), [Politics and Social Change Commons](#), and the [Sports Studies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Wigod, Kate, ""You Play Like A Girl": How Alternative Conceptualizations Of Sexism Impact Attitudes Toward Women In Professional Sports" (2020). *Honors Theses*. 1357.  
[https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon\\_thesis/1357](https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis/1357)

This Undergraduate Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College) at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact [egrove@olemiss.edu](mailto:egrove@olemiss.edu).

**“YOU PLAY LIKE A GIRL”: HOW ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF SEXISM  
IMPACT ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL SPORTS**

By  
Kate Wigod

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

Oxford  
May 2020

Approved By:

---

Advisor: Dr. Robert Brown

---

Reader: Dr. John Bruce

---

Reader: Dr. Kirsten Dellinger

© 2020  
Kate Wigod  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

## DEDICATION

*To all women in professional sports, who prove that equality is not just something they want, but something they deserve.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my friends and Nathan: Thank you so much for being so understanding and supportive throughout this process. I am so appreciative of the friendship, love, and memories we have shared throughout these four short years. College would not have been the same without each and every one of you.

To my family: Thank you for supporting me from 2,000 miles away and for being my biggest cheerleaders along this journey. Thank you for reminding me how important family is, no matter how far away you may be from one another. I love you so much more than you know.

Lastly, a HUGE thank you to Dr. Brown and Travis Endicott for your patience and belief in me throughout this whole process. It is safe to say that this thesis would not have been possible without either of you, and I cannot thank you enough for your contributions to this project. I have learned so much from both of you, and am eternally grateful for both of your mentorships and friendships.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines whether alternative conceptualizations of sexism impact attitudes towards women in professional sports. Specifically, this thesis focuses on the United States Women's National Soccer Team (USWNT), who sued their governing body in 2018 on the bases of unequal treatment and pay. The choice to focus on this particular team is because these women generate more revenue and outperform the United States Men's National Soccer Team; two factors that are normally used to justify why female athletes should not be paid equally. To measure sexist attitudes, a survey of 74 questions was administered through Lucid and served as the primary data source for this thesis. 808 respondents ages 18 and up answered questions about their demographics, partisanship, and political participation to gather background information and classify the responses by these factors. Additionally, questions to measure respondents' attitudes among four sexism scales (hostile, benevolent, external and internal motivation to respond), as well as several questions related to gender equality, athletes making political statements, and the possibility of a White House boycott by the United States Women's National Soccer Team were included. The results of this survey found that hostile sexism is the most consistent in terms of influencing attitudes about the USWNT. Benevolent sexism attitudes are important, yet display a different pattern than hostile sexism attitudes. External motivation to respond without sexism attitudes were generally not significant in the analysis, and internal motivation to respond without sexism attitudes were positive towards the USWNT. Ultimately, this thesis has determined that three out of these four types of sexist attitudes were influential toward women in professional sports, specifically the USWNT.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES.....                              | vii  |
| LIST OF FIGURES.....                             | viii |
| INTRODUCTION.....                                | 1    |
| BACKGROUND.....                                  | 2    |
| CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT OF SEXISM..... | 15   |
| DATA AND METHODS.....                            | 20   |
| DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....                   | 44   |
| APPENDIX.....                                    | 47   |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY.....                                | 60   |

## LIST OF TABLES

|         |  |    |
|---------|--|----|
| Table 1 | Effect of Sexism Knowledge on Relative Success of USWNT..... | 28 |
| Table 2 | Effect of Sexism on Views Toward Equal Pay for USWNT.....    | 31 |
| Table 3 | Favorability Toward Megan Rapinoe.....                       | 41 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|          |  |    |
|----------|--|----|
| Figure 1 | Mean Scores on Sexism Indices.....   | 24 |
| Figure 2 | Correlation Matrix – Sexism Indices.....   | 26 |
| Figure 3 | Predicted Probability of Knowing USWNT Are More Successful.....                    | 29 |
| Figure 4 | Predicted Probability of Supporting Same Pay for USWNT/USMNT.....                  | 32 |
| Figure 5 | Effect of Treatment on Support for White House Boycott.....                        | 36 |
| Figure 6 | Effect of Treatment on Support for White House Boycott.....                        | 38 |
| Figure 7 | Interactive Effect of Sexism and Partisanship on USWNT White House<br>Boycott..... | 39 |
| Figure 8 | Support for Megan Rapinoe by Sexism Category.....                                  | 42 |
| Figure 9 | Favorability Toward Megan Rapinoe.....   | 43 |

## *Introduction*

In this thesis, I examine alternative conceptualizations of sexism to test for their potential influence on attitudes towards women in professional sports, specifically the United States Women's National Soccer Team (USWNT). Some of the specific questions I examine center around whether or not revenue or success should determine equal pay for professional athletes, if boycotting traditional White House visits due to disagreements with the current administration are appropriate, and the favorability of Megan Rapinoe, captain of the United States Women's National Soccer Team and standard-bearer for discussions of the White House boycott. The United States Women's National Soccer Team makes an interesting test case to examine how partisan and sexist attitudes impact attitudes towards female athletes because this team has overcome the two primary arguments typically used to define salary differences: revenue generation and success. By using the United States Women's National Soccer Team as a basis for this thesis, I am determining whether or not these conceptualizations of sexism influence attitudes towards women who compete in professional sports, as well as measuring the impact that partisanship has in contributing to these attitudes.

To evaluate these questions, I designed a study (appendix) that was randomly distributed to 808 people through Lucid<sup>1</sup>. This study asked participants to respond to several batteries of questions shown in the literature to capture different dimensions of sexist attitudes, as well as questions regarding the USWNT.

---

<sup>1</sup> Lucid is a market research platform that provides access to authentic, first-party data in over 90 countries. My study was distributed through this platform in order to get a random sample of respondents who received a small monetary incentive for completing it.

## ***Background***

### Inequality For Women

Women make up half of the workforce and are the sole breadwinners in half of American families with children (Childers et al., 2018). Yet, in a 2018 study conducted by the Institute for Women's Policy Research, full-time year-round female employees earn about 82 cents per dollar that a man earns, and over a 15-year period, women have made about 49% of what a man earns cumulatively (Childers et al., 2018). Social scientists have determined that stereotypes and assumptions about men and women shape gender inequalities in jobs, wages, authority, and family responsibilities. For example, men tend to be seen as more authoritative, whereas women are viewed as more communal. This can lead people to assume that men are in charge, and women are contracted to carry out routine maintenance efforts. Sociological research shows that women are underrepresented in occupations that are highly competitive, inflexible, and require high levels of physical skill, while they are overrepresented in occupations that place high emphasis on social contributions and interpersonal skills (Hentschel et al., 2019).

Studies also show that in job interviews where men and women have the same qualifications, one gender receives more offers according to traditional assumptions about gender productivity (Ridgeway, 2013). The traditional "housewife" is perceived in the lower half of all groups in a social status, and when both partners earn wages, women still do twice as much housework and child care (Ridgeway, 2013). There are clear discrepancies in the hiring process between men and women, all of which contribute to workplace discrimination. About four-in-ten women (38%) who have experienced discrimination or have been treated unfairly because of their gender cite experiences in the workplace, particularly among older women. A little over half of Boomer women (51%) who have faced gender discrimination cite situations related to

hiring, pay or promotion, as compared to 36% of Gen X and 26% of Millennial women. 43% of respondents specifically mention that men are paid more than women and 29% cite greater employment opportunities or preferential treatment for men. 26% say they have had their abilities questioned or were treated as if they weren't smart because of their gender; and one-in-ten cite sexual harassment or catcalling (Horowitz et al., 2017).

Two of the biggest problems that women face in the workplace are the broken rung and the glass elevator. The broken rung refers to the biggest struggle that women face on the path to senior leadership, which is the first step up to manager. For every 100 men promoted and hired to manager, only 72 women are promoted and hired. As a result, men end up holding 62 percent of manager-level positions, while women hold just 38 percent (Huang et al., 2019). The glass elevator refers to the inequality experienced between men in female-dominated careers versus women in male-dominated careers. Men in female dominated jobs, such as nursing, elementary education, and social work do not have the same constructs as women who are in male dominated fields. In fact, men in these situations benefit from a kind of preferential treatment due to same-sex mentoring and management informal networks that implicitly provide them with more opportunities to advance towards the upper levels of the organization (Cassini, 2016). For example, even if there are less than 5% of all nurses who are men, you would still see a much larger percentage of men who are hospital administrators or senior leaders within the organization (Goudreau, 2012). The role of the modern woman has changed significantly over the past fifty years, but discriminatory attitudes being demonstrated by men, employers, and other figures of authority remain as an impediment to change.

Despite all of this, there are several factors that attempt to justify inequality. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the United States is average in terms of a gender wage

gap due to an 18-percentage point disparity between male and female wages. That puts the United States on par with Canada and Finland and slightly above the G7 indicator of closing the wage gap, which is 16 percentage points (IMF, 2018). Segregation is another factor, and can be divided into two parts: sectoral gender segregation and occupational gender segregation. Sectoral gender segregation outlines the fact that one gender tends to be concentrated in low-paying economic sectors whereas the other gender tends to be concentrated in high-paying economic sectors. On the other hand, occupational gender segregation is the same concept but displayed in terms of low-paying and high-paying occupations (Leythienne and Ronkowski, 2018). High levels of segregation have been considered to be a significant factor in the discrepancy between the wages of women and men, and given that women are the gender most associated with lower-paying economic sectors and occupations, a gender gap based on segregation would be inevitable. Lastly, motherhood is a huge factor in justifying inequality. The “motherhood penalty” is a term coined by sociologists who argue that in the workplace, working mothers encounter systematic disadvantages in pay, perceived competence, and benefits relative to childless women (Correll et al., 2007). Mothers may earn less than other women because having children causes them to lose job experience, be less productive at work, trade off higher wages for mother-friendly jobs, and be discriminated against by employees (Budig and England, 2001). Results from a study conducted by Budig and England also show a wage penalty of 7 percent per child, meaning mothers with multiple children are penalized worse than mothers with only one child (Budig and England, 2001). On top of this, women face pressure from society or their partners to become more domestic once a child is born. A study conducted by the Center for Creative Leadership revealed that 47 percent of respondents feel as though women face social pressure to shoulder more family responsibility (Zhao and Puril, 2017). Motherhood is a role that

should not be taken lightly, and the motherhood penalty places women who choose this path in a situation where significant wage loss is expected.

### Women in Professional Sports

Women in professional sports represent an important subgroup with which to examine gender inequity. Female tennis players, for example, are the only athletes to rank among Forbes 100 Highest Paid Athletes. Although tennis is noted as one of the most progressive sports in terms of equal pay, there are still important disparities. The median gap between a woman in the Top 100 on the Women's Tennis Association tour and her opposite number on the male Association of Tennis Professionals tour is roughly \$120,624. Moreover, in a 2014 study conducted by the International Tennis Federation, it was determined that 336 male tennis players made enough money to pay for the average expenses of playing tennis, compared to only 253 women who could do the same (Rothenberg, 2016). Even the most marketable female tennis players, such as Serena Williams and Maria Sharapova, make about four times as much from endorsements and appearances than they do for their tournament prize winnings over 2019 (Abrams, 2019)<sup>2</sup>.

The same situation exists in women's golf, where Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) players competed for a total of \$67 million in prize money in 2018; about 20% of the \$360 million that Professional Golf Association (PGA) players competed for in the same year (Mell, 2018). Similarly, women in male-dominated sports, such as NASCAR driver Danica

---

<sup>2</sup> This statement is also true for the top three male tennis players. Roger Federer, Novak Djokovic, and Rafael Nadal have earned a collective \$373 million in prize money, but off the court they have received a total of \$1.2 billion dollars from endorsements and appearance fees.

Patrick and Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) star Ronda Rousey ranked among the top earners in their sports while they were active competitors (Abrams, 2019).

Although the potential for women to become high-earning professional athletes is optimistic for those who compete in *individual* sports, the story is completely different for women who compete in professional team sports. The top salary for a Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) star was 117,500 in the 2018-2019 season, less than one percent of the top salary in the National Basketball Association (NBA), which was \$37.4 million. The team salary cap for the National Professional Fastpitch Softball League is \$175,000, whereas the highly successful Boston Red Sox of Major League Baseball (MLB) split \$227 million in salary in 2019 (Abrams, 2019). Common arguments in support of these pay gaps center around large economic differences between men's and women's team sports, such as the related difference in the ability to generate television and commercial revenue. For example, the Super Bowl held between the Kansas City Chiefs and the San Francisco 49ers brought in about 100 million viewers, and the 2019 Women's World Cup final match brought in about 83 million (Battaglio, 2020; Glass 2019). If high ratings were the sole determinant of salary for these two events, the United States Women's National Team would should receive a comparable salary to Super Bowl players. This not the case, therefore there must be other reasons as to why the USWNT does not receive similar paychecks to Super Bowl players, which I will discuss later.

As a result, many women on professional sports teams are becoming increasingly vocal about the income inequality they have experienced as a result of playing their sport. Before winning a historic gold medal in the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games, the United States Women's National Hockey Team threatened to boycott the 2017 IIHF World Championship if a settlement was not made with USA Hockey for equal treatment to the men's

team (WSF, 2019). These women were barely making enough wages to live and were left out of all pre-Olympic marketing plans, but after a year-long battle for equality, the IIHF conceded to many of the players demands. In the WNBA, most players have to compete overseas during the off-season in order to make a living wage. WNBA players have not asked for the same multi-million-dollar contracts that the NBA players have, but instead have asked for equity in terms of percentages. NBA players' salaries are based on 49-51% of the league's total revenue, whereas the combined WNBA salaries are a maximum of 22% of the league's total revenue, significantly lower than their male counterparts (WSF, 2019). In 2016, six of the best female surfers in the world founded the Commission for Equity in Women's Surfing (CEWS). This organization exists to "increase the number of events and the number of awards for women, as well as offering equal prize money... to achieve meaningful equity in competitive surfing". In 2018, their work paid off, as the World Surf League announced equal prize money for all WSL controlled events in 2019 and beyond, which is a huge step for what has been a traditionally male-dominated sport (WSF, 2019).

### US Women's National Soccer Team

Perhaps no example highlights the disparities between women's and men's professional team sports than the differences between the United States Women's and Men's Soccer Teams. In March of 2019, the USWNT sued the United States Soccer Federation (USSF) for equitable pay and treatment, including \$67 million in damages and backpay. USWNT players choose higher base pay and benefits such as maternity-leave pay in exchange for lower performance-based play through their union's collective bargaining agreement, whereas the men have higher performance-based compensation with no benefits and only get paid if they are called into play

(Grezler, 2019). This makes it appear as though the women have a better deal than the men, but when it comes to overall payout, the women have it worse.

If both teams were to play 20 “friendly” matches each year, the women would earn a maximum of \$99,000 (\$4,950 per game), whereas the men would earn an average of \$263,320 (\$13,166 per game). In this scenario, the women would be earning about 38% of what the men earn for doing the exact same thing. The United States Soccer Foundation has openly indicated that “market realities are such that the women do not deserve to be paid equally to the men,” a statement with no evidence to back it up (United States Women’s National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019). According to those filing the lawsuit, they have also denied the USWNT equal playing, training, and travel conditions, equal promotion of their games, and other terms and conditions of employment equal to the Men’s National Team (United States Women’s National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019).

In addition to issues related to equitable compensation, the lawsuit filed by the USWNT also alleges that the USSF subjected the USWNT and similarly situated current and former USWNT players to matches on inferior surfaces at a rate far in excess of that required of MNT players. For example, from January 1, 2014 through December 31, 2017, the USWNT played 62 domestic matches, 13 (21%) of which were played on artificial surfaces. During that same period of time, the USMNT played 49 domestic matches, only 1 (2%) of which was played on an artificial surface. The USSF arranged for natural grass to be installed temporarily over artificial surfaces for 8 USMNT domestic matches, including 3 venues where the USSF did not temporarily install natural grass when the USWNT played in those same venues. The USSF provided a temporary natural grass overlay for the USWNT only once during this same time period. The USSF provided the USMNT with the benefit of charter flights more frequently than

it does for the USWNT. In 2017, for example, the USSF chartered flights for the USMNT on at least seventeen occasions, while failing to do so even once for the WNT (United States Women's National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019).

In light of the USWNT's on-field success, the USWNT often spend more time practicing for and playing in matches, more time in training camps, more time traveling and more time participating in media sessions, among other duties and responsibilities, than similarly situated USMNT players. For example, from 2015 through 2018, the USWNT played nineteen more games than the MNT played over that same period of time. As the USMNT averaged approximately seventeen games per year in that time frame, the WNT played the equivalent of more than one additional USMNT calendar year season from 2015 through 2018. The USSF, nevertheless, has paid and continues to pay the USWNT less than similarly situated USMNT players (United States Women's National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019).

In terms of the World Cup, the winner of the men's tournament receives \$38 million dollars out of a \$400 million-dollar prize fund. Each of the 32 teams that qualified for the tournament received \$8 million, and the prize fund came from a projected \$5 billion that FIFA expected to earn in revenue. If the United States Men's National Soccer Team had qualified and won the World Cup in 2018, each player would have received \$1.1 million dollars. By contrast, the prize pool for the 2019 Women's World Cup was \$30 million dollars, with the winner receiving \$4 million dollars and each player earning \$250,000 for winning the tournament, about 10.5% of the Men's World Cup winnings.

Disparities related to the World Cup go beyond tournament prize money, however. From March 19, 2013 through December 31, 2016, USWNT players earned only \$15,000 total for being asked to try out for the World Cup team and for making the team roster. USMNT players,

on the other hand, earned \$55,000 each for making their team's roster in 2014 and could have earned \$68,750 each for making their team's roster in 2018. The pay for advancement through the rounds of the World Cup was so skewed that, in 2014, the USSF provided the USMNT with performance bonuses totaling \$5,375,000 for losing in the Round of 16, while, in 2015, the USSF provided the USWNT with only \$1,725,000 for winning the entire tournament. The USWNT earned more than three times less than the USMNT while performing demonstrably better (United States Women's National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019). Although this could technically be seen as a FIFA issue and not a US Soccer issue, the lawsuit is based on equality and the players believe that it is the federation's responsibility to ensure equality in pay based on results regardless of FIFA (Schad, 2019).

Importantly, these differences in pay or treatment of the USWNT cannot be reasonably attributed to arguments about the greater success of their male counterparts. Indeed, the situation is completely the opposite. Since the origin of the Women's World Cup in 1991, the USWNT has won the tournament four times, placed second once, and placed third three times. They have won four Olympic gold medals and one silver, as well as eight CONCACAF Gold Cups. The team was collectively selected as Time's Athlete of the Year for 2019, and captain Megan Rapinoe received Sports Illustrated's Sportsperson of the Year. By any objective measure, the United States Women's National Soccer Team has maintained the highest standard of excellence, placing them at the pinnacle of their sport.

In contrast, the US Men's National Team's best placement in FIFA World Cup history was a third-place finish in 1930. Since then, the men have made it to the Quarterfinals once (2002), Round of 16 three times (1996, 2010, 2014), and have been eliminated in the group stage during most of their FIFA World Cup appearances. Notably, the USMNT did not even qualify

for the 2018 World Cup; the first time in the history of their team. They have never won an Olympic gold, and have won three less CONCACAF Gold Cup championships than the women<sup>3</sup>.

It goes without saying that the USWNT is by far the more successful team, making the inequality they have experienced over the past decade completely unreasonable. The USMNT agrees, as they have openly supported their female counterparts' fight towards equality. The men are asking the public to tell the federation's sponsors they won't support them until the federation gives the women a new agreement paying a fair share of gate receipts, television and sponsorship revenue (Bachman, 2019).

It is plausible, of course, that the men's national team can be less successful on the field and still generate greater revenues than the women's team, thereby justifying differences in wages. However, this is not the case. The USWNT has actually generated slightly more revenue due to their on-field success, allowing them to surpass the men over the last few years. From 2016 to 2018, women's games generated about \$50.8 million in revenue compared with \$49.9 million for the men, according to U.S. soccer's audited financial statements (United States Women's National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019). In 2016, the year after the World Cup, the women generated \$1.9 million more than the men. Game revenues are made up mostly of ticket sales. In the last two years, at least, the men's tally includes appearance fees that opposing teams pay the U.S. for games, whereas the women's team does not get that luxury (Bachman, 2019). During FY2016 (April 1, 2015-March 31, 2016), the USSF budgeted a combined net loss for the national teams of \$429,929. But thanks largely to the success of the female players on the USWNT, the USSF revised its projections upward to include a \$17.7

---

<sup>3</sup> The United States Men's National Soccer Team technically won both the Silver and Bronze medals in the 1904 Olympics. Only three teams competed, two of which were from the United States. The team also won third place in the first FIFA World Cup in 1930, and won five CONCACAF Gold Cups between 1991-2017.

million profit. The net profit for the USWNT outstripped net profit for the USMNT because the female players on the USWNT were more successful in competition than the male players on the USMNT – while being paid substantially less (United States Women’s National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019).

### Views on Gender Issues Based on Party Identification

There are several reasons as to why women are seen as the “lesser gender” in the eyes of some Americans, politics being one of them. In a study conducted by the Pew Research Center, 69% of Democrats are dissatisfied with the nation’s progress on equality for women, whereas 26% of Republicans have the same sentiment on this issue (Horowitz et al., 2017). Democrats are also much more likely than Republicans to say that men have easier lives than women these days: 49% of Democrats say this compared with 19% of Republicans. A majority of Republicans (68%) say neither men nor women have it easier today (compared with 45% of Democrats). Those who see an advantage for men often say these inequities are rooted in the workplace (Horowitz et al., 2017). Among Democrats, a majority of women (74%) and men (64%) say the country hasn’t gone far enough when it comes to achieving gender equality, while Republican women are more likely than their male counterparts to share this view (33% vs. 20%), both of which are relatively small shares of each group do so (Horowitz et al., 2017).

About four-in-ten women (43%) say they have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of their gender; far smaller shares of men (18%) say this has happened to them. Democratic women are significantly more likely than Republican women to say they have experienced gender discrimination (51% vs. 34%). Among men, it’s Republicans who more often say they have been discriminated against because of their gender (20% compared with 14%

of Democratic men) (Horowitz et al., 2017). These differences in gender beliefs based on an individual's party identification may have impacts on gender inequality due to the increased polarization we see today.

### Discussion of USWNT

The USWNT makes an interesting test case with which to examine impacts of sexism on perceptions of the role of women in sports. First, given the information above, the USWNT clearly appears to be underpaid despite their many successes. Not only have these women performed better than their male counterparts on the field, but they have surpassed the USMNT off the field in terms of revenue generation all while receiving unequal treatment from the USSF. This means that the typical arguments used to justify pay discrepancies are not applicable. Moreover, the USWNT has been a central figure in the fight towards equality by filing a lawsuit against their governing body, in which they call them out for the impartial treatment they have received over the past few years.

In addition, the team stepped directly into the political realm when captain Megan Rapinoe began making statements about her refusal to participate in an honorary visit to the White House if the USWNT had won the World Cup. This refusal stems from her open disapproval of President Trump, which she has made apparent on several different media sites. Megan Rapinoe has received a significant amount of criticism from those who believe her refusal to visit the President is inappropriate given her occupation as a female professional athlete.

Despite the fact that these women are more successful and generate more money than their male counterparts, they have received criticism for publicly speaking on these issues. I chose this team as the main case for my thesis because I wanted to see how issues of sexism and

partisanship have an impact on attitudes towards this highly successful and visible team of female athletes. My approach will be to examine the potential impact of different conceptualizations of sexism, as well as partisan attitudes on perceptions of the USWNT.

## *Conceptualization and Measurement of Sexism*

The literature on sexism has identified its several forms, four of which I will examine here: hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and internal and external motivation to respond as sexist.<sup>4</sup> Each of the different types of sexism center around its own unique set of principles, making them related but identifiable from one another.

### Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

In general, hostile sexism items capture the extent to which people exhibit prejudice and resentment toward women in a way that seeks to justify male power, traditional gender roles, and men's exploitation of women as sexual objects through derogatory characterizations of women. Hostile sexist beliefs might result in attitudes that view women as incompetent at certain tasks, or seek to characterize women as unfit to wield power over economic, legal, and political institutions. Examinations of hostile sexism helped contribute to an understanding of how individuals might think and behave negatively towards individual women who are seen as posing a threat to men's status in the workplace (Masser and Abrams, 2004). In a business setting, for example, higher hostile sexism would typically be associated with more negative evaluations and lower recommendations for a female managerial candidate. Conversely, these attitudes are also associated with higher evaluations and recommendations for a male managerial candidate. Hostile sexism is typically measured by a series of questions centered around women being too easily offended, demanding too much, and women trying to gain power through the guise of equity (Glick and Fiske, 1996).

---

<sup>4</sup> In addition, some studies also utilize measures of Old-Fashioned and Modern sexism. Yet, recent research has shown them to have predictive validity, and have measurement properties that are less desirable than the hostile sexism and benevolent items (Schaffner, 2019). For these reasons, and in order to reduce the length of my survey (addressed below), I chose to omit testing for Old-Fashioned and Modern sexism in this thesis.

Benevolent sexism relies on kinder and gentler justifications of male dominance and prescribed gender roles; it recognizes dependence on women and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women. Benevolent sexism taps into the extent to which people see women as frail creatures who need to be cherished and protected by men. (Glick and Fiske, 1996). This type of protective paternalism is a hallmark of benevolent sexism, and, in its most extreme form, both partners agree that the husband should wield greater authority, to which the wife should defer. In determining sexist attitudes, it is important to note that an individual may feel as though “protecting a woman from danger or harm” is their responsibility. That sentiment can appear to be harmless, but if it is taken to an extreme, it can prevent a woman from achieving a goal due to the physical or emotional restraints of another person.

Benevolent sexism is evident in the traditional male gender role of provider and protector of the home, with the wife dependent on the husband to maintain her economic and social status (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Moreover, by endorsing different gender roles and valuing different qualities in men and women, benevolent sexism also promotes men’s social power by negatively affecting women in career settings (Overall and Hammond, 2017). For example, offers of help framed in benevolent sexism, such as men saying “don’t worry, a male co-worker will cooperate and help you get used to the job” interfere with women’s task performance and reduce women’s feelings of competence (Dardenne et al., 2007). Thus, while benevolent sexism promotes a gender role structure that promises intimacy and security within heterosexual relationships, it often offers women relationship security at the expense of their career aspirations and accomplishments (Overall and Hammond, 2017).

Finally, even though benevolent sexism suggests a subjectively positive view of women, it shares common assumptions with hostile sexist beliefs: that women inhabit restricted domestic

roles and are the "weaker" sex. Thus, benevolent sexism provides a comfortable rationalization for confining women to domestic roles. Indeed, both hostile and benevolent sexism serve to justify men's structural power (Glick and Fiske, 1996), albeit in different ways. Benevolent sexism is measured through questions revolving around a woman's role at home, as well as women demonstrating certain qualities more frequently than their male counterparts (Glick and Fiske, 1996).

Studies generally find that these two scales of sexism range from being entirely uncorrelated to exhibiting a moderate positive correlation (Glick and Fiske 2011). Glick and Fiske propose that hostile and benevolent sexism have their roots in biological and social conditions that are common to human groups. Although "anthropologists do not totally agree on whether male dominance characterizes all human cultures" (Stockard and Johnson, 1992), they do agree that patriarchy (men possessing structural control of economic, legal, and political institutions) is prevalent across cultures. The degree of hostile as compared with benevolent sexism may vary widely among societies (from those in which women are treated as chattel to those dominated by an ideology of chivalry), depending on factors such as sex ratios (Guttentag and Secord, 1983). However, the balance of power between the sexes is typically complex, reflecting the coexistence of male structural power and female dyadic power (Glick and Fiske, 1996).

### Internal and External Motivation to Respond

The discrepancy between self-reported attitudes and more indirect or implicit measures suggests to some theorists that self-report measures are not trustworthy assessments of people's true attitudes. Specifically, they doubt whether changes in self-reported attitudes are sincere and

instead believe these changes are simply a response to politically correct pressure that discourages overt expressions of prejudice (Klonis, 2005). Much of the theorizing on people's responses to politically correct social norms assumes that when people do not feel constrained by social norms to respond without prejudice, they will express their true prejudiced attitudes. This view discounts the potential influence of internal reasons as a motivator to act in non-prejudiced ways (Klonis, 2005).

The Internal Motivation Scale (IMS) and External Motivation Scale (EMS) are largely dependent on the notion that people can be motivated to respond without prejudice primarily for internal reasons or external reasons. The IMS and the EMS were developed to highlight the discrepancies between the internal sexist attitudes that an individual attempts to constrain, as well as the external nonsexist attitudes an individual tries to demonstrate. There is a strong correlation between the IMS and traditional measures of prejudice, such that low-prejudiced people tend to be higher in internal motivation than highly-prejudiced people. In contrast, those individuals who respond without prejudice solely to avoid negative reactions from others and not because of nonprejudiced personal beliefs (externally motivated to respond) show a discrepancy between privately and publicly reported stereotype endorsements (Plant and Devine, 1998). Compared to other motivational subgroups, people who lack values that impel them to treat people equally but who are motivated to maintain a nonprejudiced public image to others (externally motivated to respond) are the most negative towards members of the prejudiced group. Moreover, this negativity is expressed in ways that are difficult to explain solely in terms of attitudes or the motivations to respond without prejudice (Cox and Devine, 2014; Plant and Devine, 1998).

Since their development, the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales have been useful in predicting a range of responses and clarifying a variety of issues. People with positive representations of women may doubt that they could be sexist, therefore it is unlikely that being a nonsexist would be an important personal standard for these individuals (Klonis, 2005). Accounting for internal and external motivation is important to the purpose of this thesis because while it is essential to understand how individuals demonstrate sexist attitudes (i.e.: hostile and benevolent), it is also important to highlight an individual's internal motives to hide their sexist attitudes from others. By understanding the internal components of sexist attitudes, I can better understand the overall influence of sexist attitudes towards women who play professional sports.

## *Data and Methods*

The primary source of data for this thesis is a study of 74 questions with 808 respondents that were drawn from Lucid.<sup>5</sup> I felt that Lucid was the right source for respondents for this study because it provides a demographically and politically balanced set of respondents.<sup>6</sup> After obtaining informed consent, the preliminary section of the questionnaire asks respondents questions about their demographics, partisanship, and political participation to gather background information and classify the responses by these factors. Additionally, I included questions to measure respondents' attitudes among four sexism scales (hostile, benevolent, external and internal motivation to respond), as well as several questions related to gender equality, athletes making political statements, and the possibility of a White House boycott by the United States Women's National Soccer Team. Question wording for all items is included in the appendix. The racial/ethnic and partisan composition of this sample was approximately 71% White, 12% Black, 7% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 5% identifying as Other; 37% Republican, 13% Independent, and 50% Democrat.

### Constructing the Sexism Indices

Following work by Glick and Fiske (1996), I relied on questions from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory to create the hostile sexism and benevolent sexism indices. Consisting of sets of 11 questions each about hostile and benevolent sexism, the ASI is relatively new to political science research, but has been featured prominently in analyses examining sexism in the 2016 presidential election (Cassese, 2018; Frasure-Yokely, 2018; and Schaffner, 2019). Cassese

---

<sup>5</sup> Human subject approval was obtained from the University of Mississippi (20x-237).

<sup>6</sup> The survey was conducted from February 25-March 2, 2020. See Schaffner (2019) for more on using Lucid to generate nationally represented survey samples.

(2018), for example, found that hostile sexists exposed to Trump’s attack on Clinton showed increased support for Trump and decreased support for Clinton. Cassese also found that benevolent sexists reacted to Trump’s statement with increased support for Clinton, consistent with benevolent sexism’s focus on protecting women. The “woman card” attack produced distinct emotional reactions among those with low and high levels of hostile and benevolent sexism, as well as increased political participation among hostile sexists (Cassese, 2018). Frasure-Yokely also found that ambivalent sexist views positively and significantly predicted support for Trump among white women, whereas these views had no impact on support for Trump among women of color (Frasure-Yokely, 2018). Schaffner found hostile sexism to be the strongest and most consistent predictor of both general prejudice against women as well as evaluations of prominent politicians (Schaffner, 2019).

In addition, Schaffner addressed the issue of how to best measure hostile sexism. Schaffner’s work resulted in a streamlined measurement strategy, wherein he identified the subset of questions best able to measure hostile sexism. Specifically, Schaffner recommends a two to four item reduced hostile sexism battery that will allow scholars to efficiently, validly, and consistently measure sexist attitudes (Schaffner, 2019). I follow Schaffner’s lead here, and measure hostile and benevolent sexism as follows:<sup>7</sup>

- Hostile Sexism
  - Women are too easily offended.
  - Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality”.

---

<sup>7</sup> Respondents were asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with these statements using a six-point scale. I chose to use a six-point scale instead of a traditional seven-point scale by eliminating a “neither agree or disagree option.” This was to exclude neutral responses from this study.

- Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- When women lose to men in fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- Benevolent Sexism (Protective Paternalism/Complementary Gender Differentiation)
  - Women should be cherished and protected by men (PP).
  - Men should sacrifice to provide for women (PP).
  - In a disaster, women do not need to be rescued first (PP).
  - Women have a superior moral sensibility (CGD).
  - Women have a quality of purity that few men possess (CGD).
  - Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste (CGD).

In addition, in order to account for the desire to reflect perceived social norms regarding sexism, respondents were asked several questions designed to tap into internal and external motivations to respond. I chose to only include 13 of Klonis' original 20 question scale in order to minimize respondent time and because these 13 questions represented all aspects of internal and external motivation to respond.<sup>8</sup> Respondents were asked to determine whether they agree or disagree with these statements using the same six-point scale used for the hostile and benevolent sexism indicators. These questions are as follows:

- Internal Motivation to Respond
  - According to my personal values, using stereotypes about women is OK.
  - I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonsexist towards women.

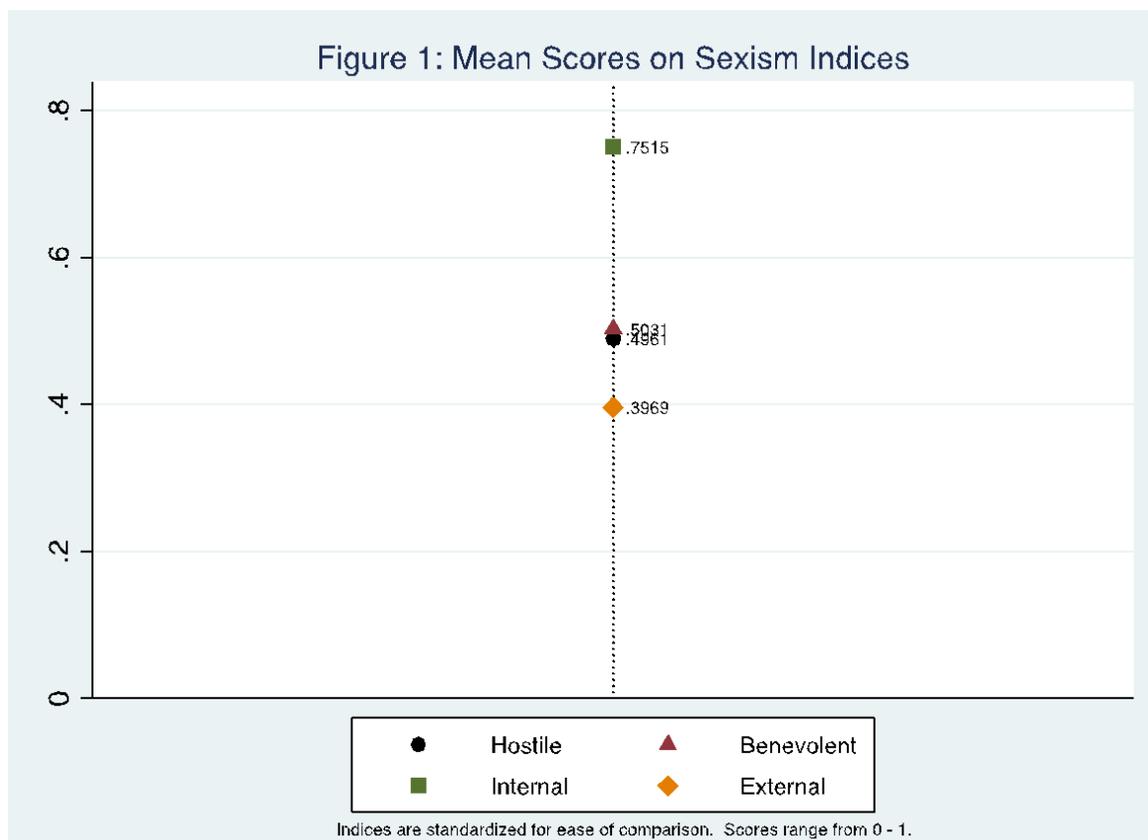
---

<sup>8</sup> See Klonis (2005) for the full 20 question scale.

- I attempt to act in nonsexist ways towards women because it is personally important to me.
- I support the equal rights of women because it is personally important to me.
- Because of my personal beliefs, I think women should be able to go into male-dominated careers without resistance from society.
- It is personally important to me to let people know that I think women are just as good as men in high-level careers.
- According to my personal standards, women are entitled to have as much access to leadership roles as men.
- External Motivation to Respond
  - Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards, I try to appear nonsexist towards women.
  - I try to hide any negative thoughts about women in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
  - If I acted sexist towards women, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
  - I support women's rights because I feel like I have to in today's PC climate.
  - I try to treat women and men as equals, because I am afraid other people would be upset with me if I didn't.
  - I publicly support women going into male-dominated careers, because I'm afraid of disapproval from others.

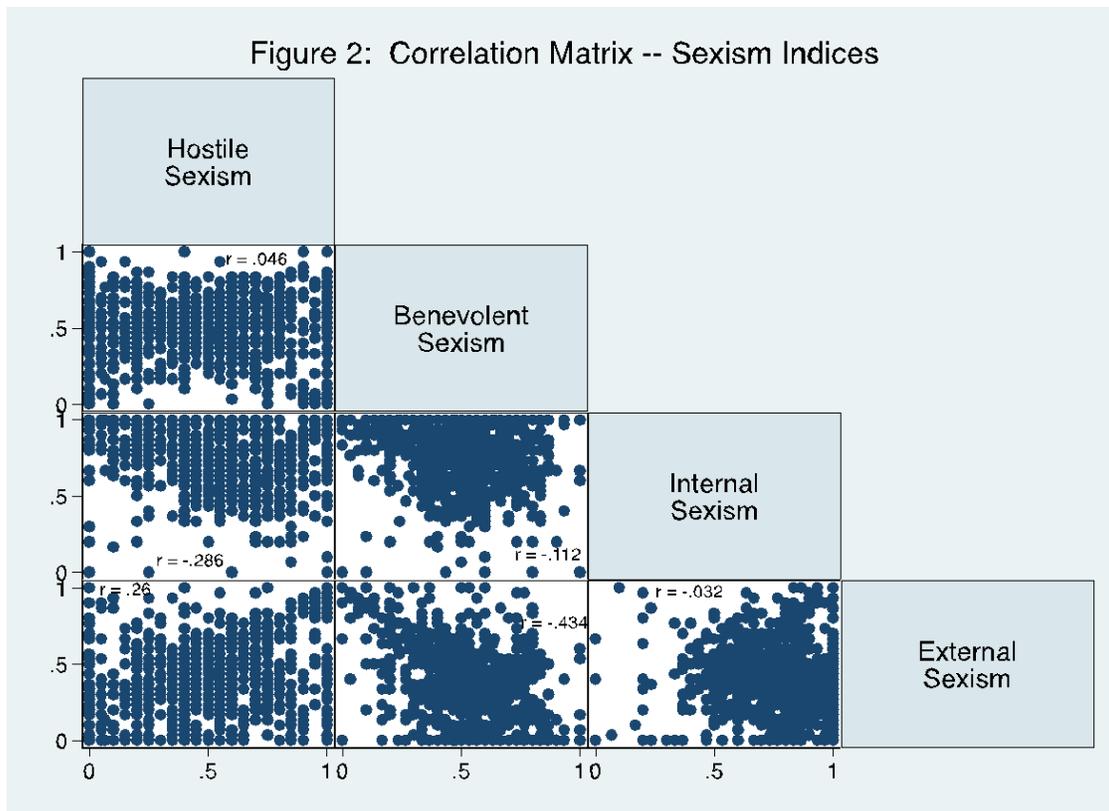
Figure 1 reveals the average scores for each set of responses, after they have been indexed and standardized, with higher values indicating more sexist beliefs. Scores range from

zero to one, and hostile sexism was the highest detected index with a mean score of .7515. Given that hostile sexism is defined as a traditional conception of prejudice that centers around an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization (Glick and Fiske, 1996), it is understandable that respondents who demonstrate hostile sexist attitudes would be more willing to indicate them in a survey. Benevolent sexism was the second highest index with a mean score of .5031. Because benevolent sexist attitudes are subjectively positive in feeling tone and elicit behaviors that are categorized as prosocial (Glick and Fiske, 1996), respondents who identify with benevolent sexist attitudes would be less willing to admit to them due to not assuming that their behavior is wrong. However, given that hostile and benevolent sexism usually show high positive correlations (Glick and Fiske, 1996), it is surprising that the mean score difference between the hostile and benevolent sexism indices is larger than expected.



Internal motivation to respond falls right under the midpoint with a mean score of .4961, and external motivation to respond rounds out the bottom with a score of .3969. Respondents whose motivations is self-determined (internal motivation to respond) effectively control prejudice across situations and strive for positive interactions. In contrast, respondents who answered without prejudice to avoid social sanctions (external motivation to respond) consistently fail at regulating difficult instances of prejudice and respond with avoidance to interactions (Butz and Plant, 2009). Surprisingly, internally motivated respondents who normally minimize their sexist attitudes were more willing to acknowledge them on a non-anonymous survey compared to externally motivated respondents, who attempt to appear nonsexist around those they do not know. Both the difference between hostile and benevolent mean scores and the unexpectedly high level of internally motivated respondents deviate from expectations addressed in literature, yet have significant impact in this thesis.

Figure 2 shows the correlations between the four indices. While there are some modest correlations here, particularly the expected negative relationship between benevolent and external sexism ( $r = -.434$ ), overall this matrix suggests the indices are doing a reliable job of tapping into distinct aspects of sexism.



Knowledge of USWNT Success and Attitudes Toward Equal Pay

Confident that my survey responses have generated reasonable indices of the various sexism indicators, I move to my first set of analyses: an examination of factors related to whether respondents know the USWNT is more successful, and whether they think the players deserve to make more money. These analyses are based on the following questions, which are used as the dependent variables:

*From what you know now, which team has been more successful in World Cup play over the last few tournaments: the men's or women's U.S. National Soccer team?*

0 = Men's U.S. National Soccer Team

1 = Women's U.S. National Soccer Team

*Do you think the men's and women's soccer teams do essentially the same job and thus the players should be paid about the same, or do you think the economics of men's and women's soccer are fundamentally different which justifies the difference in their salaries?*

0 = Economic differences justify salary differences

1 = They should be paid the same

In order to account for other potential explanations, I control for partisanship, respondents' interest in the 2019 FIFA Women's World Cup, and a variety of standard demographic measures (gender, age, income, education).<sup>9</sup> Because the dependent variables are dichotomous, I use logistic regression in my analysis.

Table 1 reveals interesting results regarding sexism and knowledge regarding the relative success of the two national soccer teams. Here, we see that hostile sexism has a significant and negative impact on whether respondents are correctly able to differentiate which is the more successful team. Higher levels of hostile sexism are associated with a belief that the U.S *Men's* National Team is more successful, something clearly not supported by any objective assessment of the teams' performance.

---

<sup>9</sup> Specifics on measurement of these variables included in the Appendix.

Table 1: Effect of Sexism on Knowledge of Relative Success of USNT

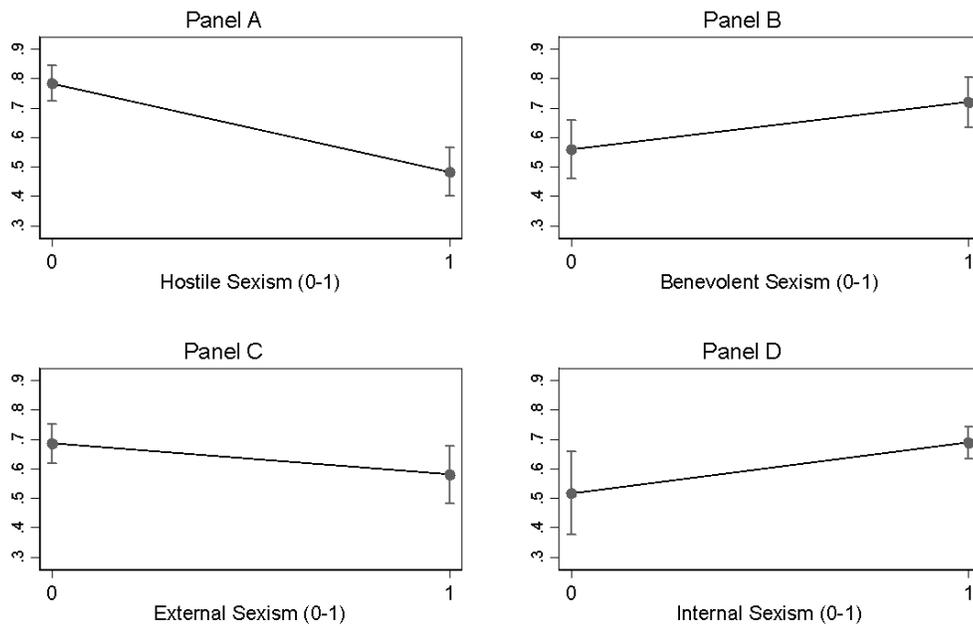
|                       | USNT Same Pay = 1    |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Hostile               | -1.483***<br>(0.342) |
| Benevolent            | 0.805*<br>(.452)     |
| Internal              | .826*<br>(.439)      |
| External              | -.521<br>(.372)      |
| Interest in 2019 WC   | -.184<br>(.239)      |
| Republican = 1        | .276<br>(.263)       |
| Democrat = 1          | .153<br>(.251)       |
| Female = 1            | .417**<br>(.167)     |
| Age                   | 1.80***<br>(.355)    |
| Education             | .211<br>(.234)       |
| Income                | .132<br>(.309)       |
| Constant              | -.499<br>(.579)      |
| Observations          | 789                  |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup> | .137                 |

Logistic regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is dichotomous and scored as follows: (1) indicates knowledge that the USWNT is the more successful team, (0) indicates that the respondent believes the USMNT is more successful. Reported p-values are two-tailed. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Higher levels of benevolent sexism and internal motivation, interestingly, have the opposite (albeit much weaker) effect, indicating that these aspects of sexism are less likely to lead to clouded judgements regarding the relative success of the two national teams. With regard

to the control variables, we see no impact of party identification, income or education. Surprisingly, interest in the 2019 Women’s World Cup was also not significant. Age and gender both are significant, with women and older respondents better able to accurately gauge between the success of the two national soccer teams.

Figure 3. Predicted Probability of Knowing USWNT are More Successful



Note: Logistic regression predictive margins, with 95% confidence intervals, are from Table 1. Source: 2020 Lucid Survey (N=789).

Figure 3 displays the results from the model in Table 1. Panel A shows the difference in predicted probabilities among those who scored low (0) and high (1) in my Hostile Sexism measure. As evidenced in both Table 1 and Panel A, those who scored highest in my Hostile Sexism measure exhibited a 30% decrease (.784 for those scoring zero, - .482 for those scoring one) in knowledge in who is the more successful United States National Soccer Team. As I have described above, the Women’s National Team has been more successful than the Men’s National Team, and Panel A shows that those who exude hostile sexism beliefs are less likely to know this

difference. Panel C also shows a decrease in knowledge for those scoring highest in External Motivation to Respond Without Sexism, but it not to the same degree (either magnitude or significance) as respondents in Panel A.

Panel B shows the results for my measure of Benevolent Sexism on the knowledge question of which team has been more successful. The difference between those who score low (.560) and high (.719) shows that there is almost a 16% increase in individuals who score high in benevolent sexism as compared to those who score zero in this measure. For individuals in the Internal Motivation to Respond Without Sexism measure, the results are listed in Panel D. Similarly to Panel B, we see an increase in about 17% (.517 for zero scores and .688 for those who score one). Therefore, for individuals who score higher in these two measures, we see a greater likelihood of knowledge regarding the relative success of the two teams (both are significant at the  $p < 0.1$  level).

Turning to the question of whether the teams should be paid equally (Table 2), we see a different pattern emerge. Not surprisingly, hostile sexism is again significant and negative, but in this analysis, the coefficient for benevolent sexism flips to negative (albeit somewhat weaker). In addition, it emerges as strongly significant in this analysis, with respondents who score higher on this index being more inclined to think the USWNT should receive equal pay.

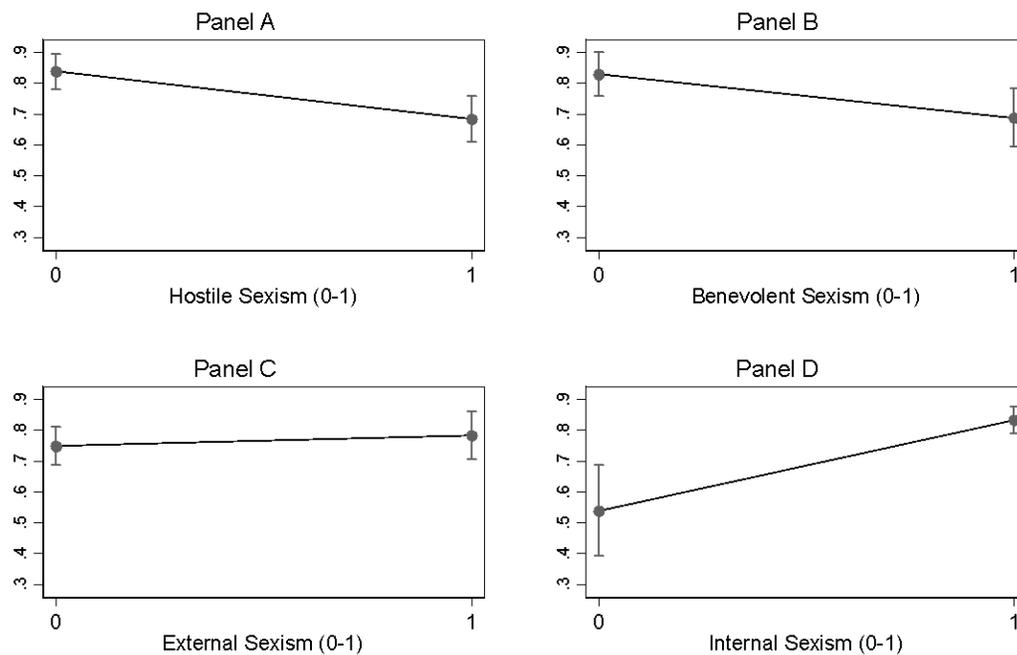
Table 2: Effect of Sexism on Views toward Equal Pay for USWNT  
 USNT Same Pay = 1

|                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Hostile               | -.991**<br>(.395) |
| Benevolent            | -.908*<br>(.524)  |
| Internal              | 1.66***<br>(.484) |
| External              | .228<br>(.432)    |
| Interest in 2019 WC   | 1.06***<br>(.287) |
| Republican = 1        | -.301<br>(.278)   |
| Democrat = 1          | .596**<br>(.278)  |
| Female = 1            | .794***<br>(.191) |
| Age                   | 1.54***<br>(.409) |
| Education             | -.219<br>(.265)   |
| Income                | .0453<br>(.349)   |
| Constant              | -.447<br>(.646)   |
| Observations          | 793               |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup> | .137              |

Logistic regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is dichotomous and scored as follows: (1) indicates the respondent believes the USNT should be paid the same, and (0) if they believe that economic differences justify salary differences. Reported p-values are two-tailed. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

In this analysis, we also see some interesting differences in how the control variables behave. Specifically, interest in the Women’s World Cup is now a significant and positive predictor of support for equal pay, indicating that, not surprisingly, those most interested in watching women’s soccer (and presumably supporting the USWNT) are more likely to favor equal pay. Here, we also see the impact of partisanship. While the Republican dummy variable is not significant in the face of these controls for sexism and other variables, the Democratic dummy is significant and positive.

Figure 4. Predicted Probability of Supporting Same Pay for USWNT/USMNT



Note: Logistic regression predictive margins, with 95% confidence intervals, are from Table 1. Source: 2020 Lucid Survey (N=793).

Figure 4 shows the predicted probabilities for the model on equal pay. The first panel (Panel A) looks at the predicted probabilities for respondents with my measure for Hostile Sexism. What Panel A displays is that the difference between a respondent who scored zero (0)

and one (1) in my measure of Hostile Sexism is a decrease of over 15% (.837 - .683) in support for same pay between the USWNT and USMNT. A similar, albeit not significant, difference among individuals using my measure of Benevolent Sexism (from zero to one) shows a decrease of slightly more than 15% (.838 - .687) in support for same pay. There is no distinct difference for individuals using my measure of External Motivation to Respond without Sexism. However, we see an increase of almost 30% in support for same pay between the two National teams among individuals who score low (.538) on Internal Motivation to Respond without Sexism (Panel D) as compared to those who score high (.832) on this measure. There are clear differences on how respondents responded to this question given how they scored on my sexism battery.

#### Experiment: White House Boycott

The next step in the analysis focuses on my first experiment, which examines factors related to support (opposition) for athletic teams boycotting visiting the White House. Megan Rapinoe, captain of the United States Women's Soccer Team, openly stated that if her team won the 2019 Women's World Cup, she would boycott the traditional White House visit due to her conflicting beliefs with President Trump. Rapinoe received a lot of attention for this statement, as she has been extremely vocal about her disapproval of the President. With this in mind, I decided to control whether or not respondents felt that it was appropriate for a National Team to boycott the White House after an impressive win. In administering this experiment, respondents were given the following vignette to read:

**Control:** *Imagine if the United States Soccer Team won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it*

*is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?*

1 = Highly inappropriate

2 = Somewhat inappropriate

3 = Somewhat appropriate

4 = Highly inappropriate

I then added two treatments using the United States Men's National Soccer Team and the United States Women's National Soccer Team to determine if responses changed solely based on gender. The questions were laid out as followed:

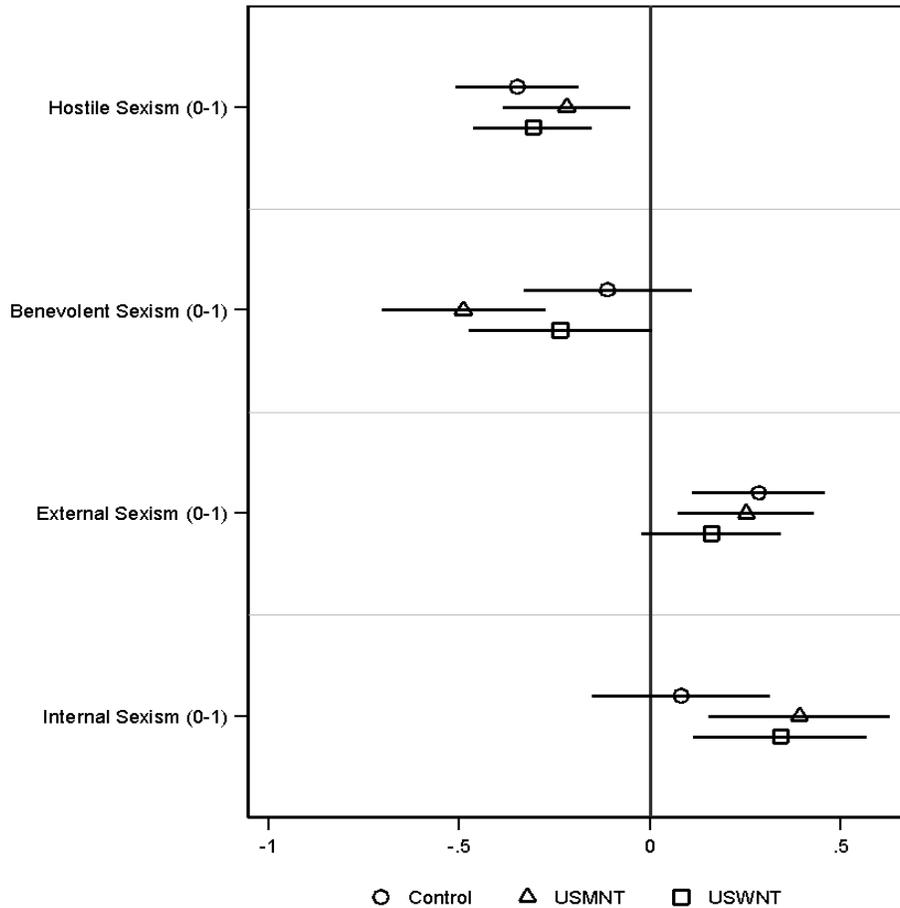
**Men's Team Condition:** *Imagine if the United States Men's National Soccer Team won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?*

**Women's Team Condition:** *Imagine if the United States Women's Soccer Team won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?*

The purpose of this control and its treatments is to determine if attitudes towards boycotting White House ceremonies change based on gender of the team involved. By asking whether this behavior is acceptable based on gender, I can get an indication of whether or not respondent attitudes are more critical of one gender over another. If respondent attitudes are more critical of one gender over another, it is possible that there could be some underlying sexist attitudes.

The scenario depicted in my second experiment is increasingly interesting because it not only looks at support/opposition to different genders and their boycott; it also includes the fact that these groups are teams representing the entirety of the country. As indicated in my description above, there are three different conditions with one outcome measure (support for athlete's boycott). Respondents in the control condition (no gendered team notification) are indicated in Figure 5 with circles (○). Respondents in the treatment condition where respondents are asked for their support of the United States Men's National Team boycotting the White House visit are indicated with triangles (△). Lastly, respondents who received the Women's National Team treatment are indicated with squares (□) in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Effect of Treatment on Support for WH Boycott [0-1]



Note: Whiskers indicate 95% confidence intervals. See Table 2 for treatment conditions and the Appendix for complete question wording. Circles represent respondents in the control condition who were not given the gender of the National Team; Triangles represent respondents in the Men's National Team treatment condition and Squares represent respondents in the Women's National Team treatment condition.

Source: 2020 Lucid Survey.

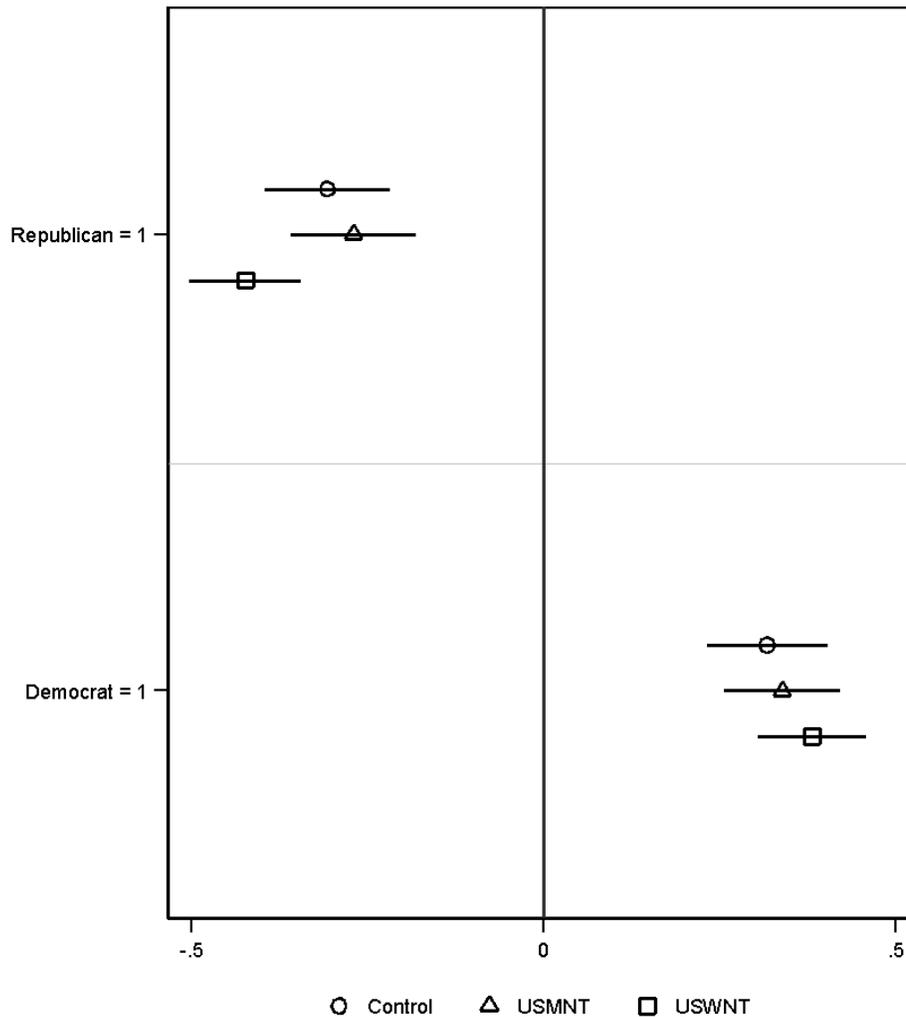
First, I examined how sexist beliefs moderated respondent's support for boycotting the White House. Figure 5 displays the results of how respondents with high levels of my sexist measures either supported/opposed boycotts from the teams discussed in the different conditions. For individuals who scored high in Hostile Sexism, those respondents were uniformly against White House boycotts, regardless of the team that was doing the boycott. Respondents who scored high in Benevolent Sexism were only less likely to support the Men's team (USMNT;  $\Delta$ ) in boycotting the White House. Individuals who scored highest in External Motivation to Respond without Sexism were more supportive of the boycotts but only in the control ( $\circ$ ) and

USMNT ( $\Delta$ ) conditions. Respondents scoring high in Internal Motivation to Respond without Sexism were supportive of the boycott, but only when they were told what specific team (USWNT or USMNT) would be conducting the boycott. Figure 5 displays a clear significant difference between the control condition and the two treatment conditions for Internal Sexism.

With this experiment, I also thought it would be wise to check for partisan differences among my respondents. Figure 6 shows that there are clear levels of support (opposition) for each partisanship group. Republicans (depicted in the top half of Figure 6) are uniformly against boycotting White House visits, regardless of the treatment or control condition they were randomly placed in. As Figure 6 shows, there is not a difference in level of opposition between the control and Men's National team (USMNT) conditions. However, when comparing the level of opposition for the Women's National team (USWNT) to both the USMNT and control conditions, there is a significant decrease ( $p < 0.001$ ) in support for the USWNT to boycott the White House visit.

Alternatively, Democrats (depicted in the bottom half of Figure 6) are uniformly more supportive of any of the treatment or control conditions boycotting their visit to the White House. What this current study cannot articulate is if these results are directly conditioned on the fact that currently there is a Republican President. The language included in the conditions attempted to articulate that the support (opposition) of the boycott was contingent on, "whomever is serving as President." However, current and relatively recent past events are often times on the minds of survey respondents when asked about support/opposition of current administration officials (Zaller and Feldman 1992).

Figure 6. Effect of Treatment on Support for WH Boycott [0-1]



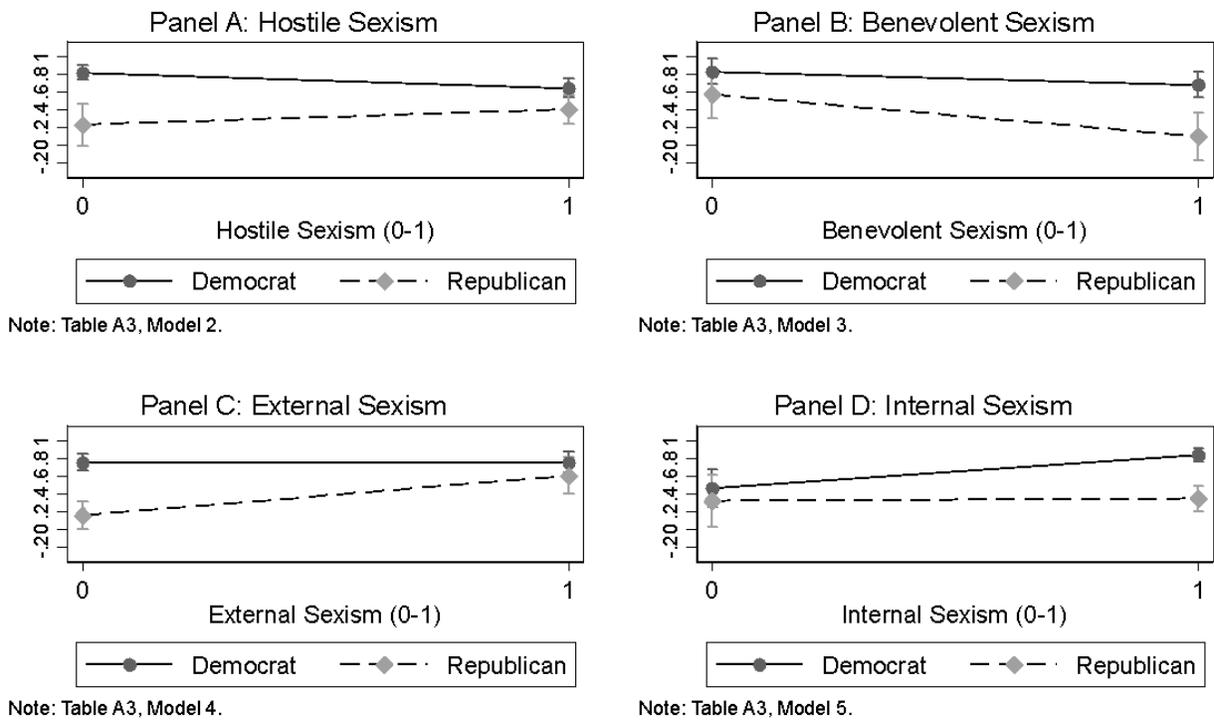
Note: Whiskers indicate 95% confidence intervals. See Table 2 for treatment condition and the Appendix for complete question wording. Circles represent respondents in the control condition who were not given the gender of the National Team; Triangles represent respondents in the Men's National Team treatment condition and Squares represent respondents in the Women's National Team treatment condition.

Source: 2020 Lucid Survey.

Since there are clear differences based on sexism and partisanship, I conducted an additional analysis to measure the interactive effect of sexism and partisanship on support/opposition to the national soccer teams boycotting the White House. In Figure 7, I interacted the different sexism measure (hostile, benevolent, external, and internal) with a dichotomous party variable (Democrats are zero and Republicans are one). I separated each

measure of sexism into one of four panels that comprise Figure 7. In Panel A (top left panel), there is no clear significant difference in support for the USWNT boycott for Democrats, the dark line marked with circles at zero and one on the x-axis, who move from scoring a zero on the Hostile Sexism measure to a one. Alternatively, Republicans, lighter dotted line marked with diamonds, display more support for USWNT White House boycotts for those who are a one on the Hostile Sexism scale as compared to those who scored zero. Similar findings to Panel A are seen in Panel C (External Sexism). Democrats display no changes in support. However, as Republicans move from zero (coefficient = .166) on this scale to one (coefficient = .675), their level of support increases by more than 50 points (on a 0-1 scale) and they display similar scores to Democrats in relation to their support for a USWNT boycott.

**Figure 7. Interactive Effect of Sexism and Partisanship on USWNT White House Boycott**



Note: Coefficient estimates, with 95% confidence intervals, are from Table A3. Source: 2020 Lucid Survey (N=236).

### Favorability Towards Megan Rapinoe

I complete my analysis with an examination of attitudes toward the player who sparked the controversy over a potential White House boycott: Megan Rapinoe. I include all variables in the previous analyses (see Table 1 and Table 2), but also include one of those dependent variables: support for equal pay. My reasoning here is that if respondents are inclined to think the teams should be paid equally, there are more likely to have a positive impression of one of the standard-bearers of that issue.

Table 3 shows the results of this analysis. In Model 1 of Table 3, we see the baseline results for favorability towards Megan Rapinoe. The sexism measures in Table 3 return similar results to what Table 2 displays. For those who scored highest in hostile and benevolent sexism they were less likely to hold favorable feeling about Megan Rapinoe. Additionally, those who score high in internal motivation to respond without sexism are more likely to favor her. Most of the results from Model 1 are similar to what we see in Model 2, except benevolent sexism is no longer significant (although the sign remains negative) and the sign and significance is altered for females. What Model 2 introduces is an interaction between my gender variable (Female = 1) and equal pay. For a better graphical representation of the results, for the interaction between these two variables in Table 3, my focus turns to Figure 8.

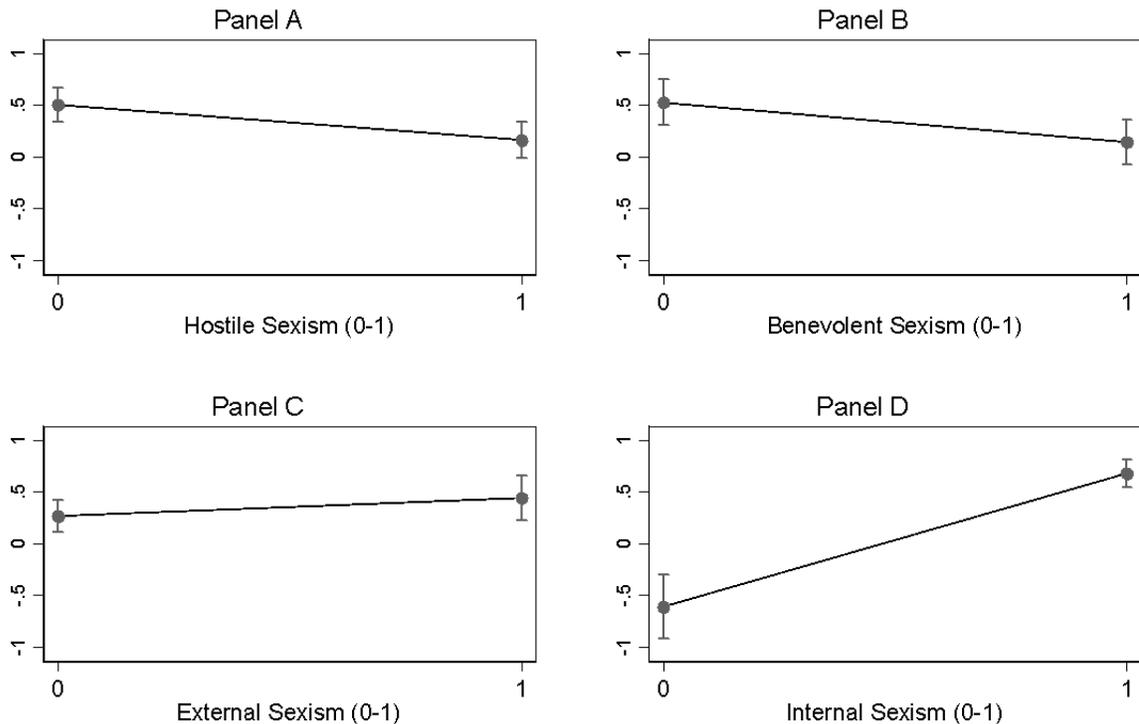
Table 3: Favorability Toward Megan Rapinoe

|                       | Baseline Favorability<br>Model | Gender*Equal pay<br>Interaction |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Hostile               | -.306**<br>(.155)              | -.32<br>(.155)                  |
| Benevolent            | -.218<br>(.181)                | -.198<br>(.181)                 |
| Internal              | 1.13***<br>(.187)              | 1.13***<br>(.186)               |
| External              | .134<br>(.169)                 | .128<br>(.169)                  |
| Interest in 2019 WC   | .645***<br>(.112)              | .628***<br>(.112)               |
| Republican = 1        | -.343**<br>(.122)              | -.332**<br>(.122)               |
| Democrat = 1          | .214*<br>(.251)                | .221*<br>(.116)                 |
| Female = 1            | -.155**<br>(.078)              | .146<br>(.156)                  |
| Age                   | -.008***<br>(.002)             | -.008***<br>(.002)              |
| Education             | .115<br>(.151)                 | .129<br>(.151)                  |
| Income                | .131<br>(.145)                 | -.139<br>(.144)                 |
| Support for equal pay | .455***<br>(.093)              | .621***<br>(.119)               |
| Gender*equal pay      | -----                          | -.395**<br>(.178)               |
| Constant              | .426<br>(.271)                 | 2.46***<br>(.275)               |
| Observations          | 793                            | 793                             |
| R <sup>2</sup>        | .266                           | .27                             |

OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is scored as follows: -2 = very unfavorable, -1 = unfavorable, 0 = no opinion, 1 = favorable, 2 = very favorable. Reported p-values are two-tailed. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

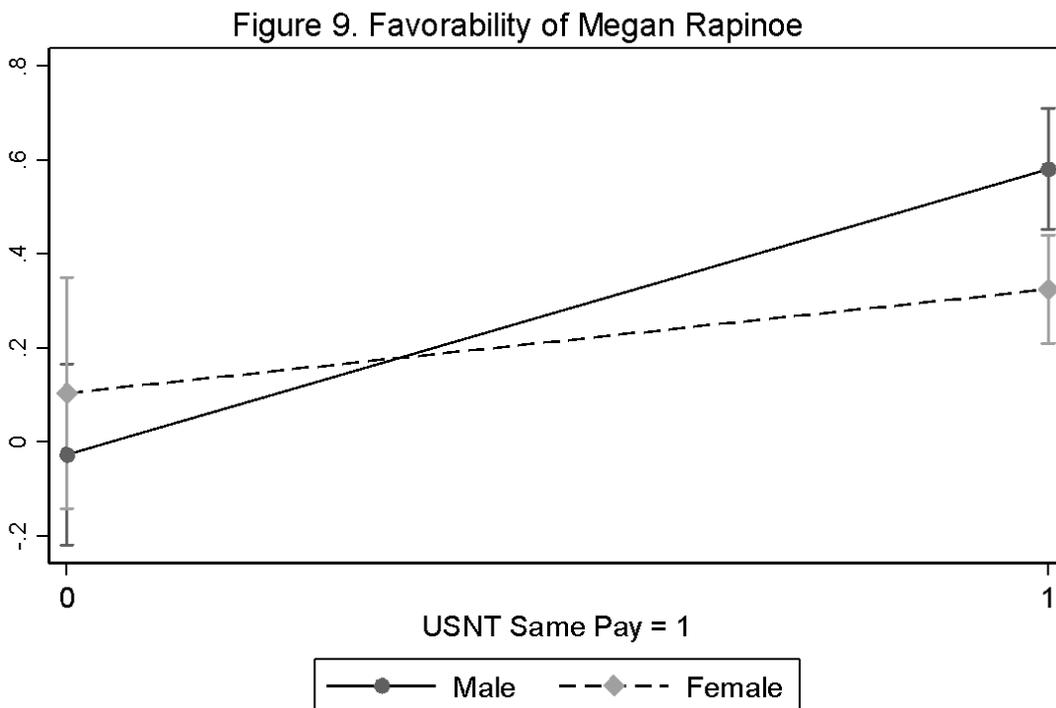
Figure 8 depicts the level of support for Megan Rapinoe based on the different conceptualizations of sexism. In Panels A and B, we see that those who scored highest in hostile and benevolent sexism are less likely to hold favorable opinions about Megan Rapinoe compared to those who scored lowest in both of these two measures. In Panel C, there was a slight increase between those who scored lowest and highest on the external motivation to respond without sexism measure, yet this increase was not statistically significant. Lastly, in Panel D, there was a massive increase along the continuum between those who scored highest and lowest in the internal motivation to respond without sexism measure, with these respondents being the only group who showed favorable support for Megan Rapinoe.

Figure 8. Support for Megan Rapinoe by Sexism Category



Note: Coefficient estimates, with 95% confidence intervals.  
 Source: 2020 Lucid Survey (N=795).

Figure 9 illustrates the results of the interaction between gender and support for same pay, and how this relates to support for Megan Rapinoe. For both genders, when they believe that economic differences justify the salary difference (0 on the x-axis) they have very low favorability towards Megan Rapinoe. However, when we look at the other side of the x-axis we see a different story. For men (dark grey circles) who believe that the National teams should have the same pay, we see a positive and significant difference (.608) in terms of approval for Megan Rapinoe as compared to men who do not support same pay. For females (light grey diamonds) who support same pay, while we see an increase compared to those who do not support same pay, the coefficients are not statistically different from each other.



Note: The figure plots OLS estimates with 95% confidence intervals. These estimates are based on OLS regressions where the dependent variable is 'Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the following individuals?' (Megan Rapinoe). See the Appendix for complete question wording. (N=791)

## *Discussion and Conclusion*

In conclusion, this thesis has examined how alternative conceptualizations of sexist attitudes influence women in professional sports, specifically the United States Women's National Soccer Team. To do this, I administered a study on Lucid, in which I tested knowledge of USWNT success, attitudes towards equal pay, an experimental White House boycott, and favorability towards Megan Rapinoe, captain of the USWNT and standard-bearer for discussions of the White House boycott.

Results indicated that respondents who demonstrated hostile sexist attitudes had a significant and negative impact on knowledge of USWNT success and attitudes towards equal pay, were uniformly against White House boycotts regardless of whichever team chose to do so, and were less likely to hold favorable opinions about Megan Rapinoe. Those who demonstrated benevolent sexist attitudes were less likely to have clouded judgments on the relative success of the two national teams, less likely to support equal pay, less likely to only support the United States Men's National Soccer Team in boycotting the White House, and less likely to hold favorable opinions about Megan Rapinoe. Respondents who demonstrated internal motivation to respond shared the same results as those with benevolent sexism when it comes to knowledge of the success of the two national teams, were more inclined to think that the USWNT should receive equal pay, were supportive of the boycott only when they were told what specific team would be conducting the boycott, and were more likely to favor Megan Rapinoe. Lastly, those who identified with external motivation to respond had no impact on knowledge of the national team's successes, no impact on whether or not teams should be paid equally, were more supportive of the boycotts in the control and USMNT conditions, and had no impact on favorability towards Megan Rapinoe.

Partisanship had no impact on knowledge of USWNT success, yet was significant in assessing sentiments about equal pay. The Republican dummy variable was significant in the face of controls for sexism and other variables, whereas the Democratic dummy is significant and positive, indicating that Democrats are more supportive of equal pay than Republicans. In regards to the White House boycott experiment, Republicans are uniformly against boycotting the White House regardless of treatments or control, and Democrats are uniformly more supportive of any boycott for both treatments and control; however, this study cannot articulate if these results are conditioned based on a current Republican administration. Partisanship also did not have an impact on favorability towards Megan Rapinoe.

Different control variables were tested in each analysis, with some being more significant than others. For example, there was no impact of party identification, income, education, or interest in the 2019 Women's World Cup on knowledge of national team successes, yet age and gender were both significant, with women and older respondents being more able to accurately depict success between the two teams. Interest in the 2019 Women's World Cup and women were significant and positive in expressing that the USWNT should receive equal pay, whereas the other control variables tested were not significant. For both men and women, low favorability for Megan Rapinoe was expressed when respondents believed that economic differences should justify salary differences. However, men who believe that both national teams should receive equal pay had favorable opinions about Megan Rapinoe compared to those who do not support equal pay. There was an increase in support for Megan Rapinoe between women who support equal pay compared to those who do not support it, however the coefficients are not statistically different from each other.

From the results of my study and interpretation of the literature, it is clear that those who demonstrate hostile sexist attitudes have the most influence on inequalities for women who play professional sports. This stems from having minimal knowledge of the USWNT success, an opposition towards equal pay and White House boycotts, and low favorability of Megan Rapinoe. Benevolent sexist attitudes are moderately influential by opposing equal pay, only supporting a boycott by the USMNT, and demonstrating low favorability towards Megan Rapinoe, but carry no weight in terms of knowledge of team success. Those who demonstrated levels of external motivation to respond are the least influential, with no impact on knowledge of team successes, equal pay, or favorability towards Megan Rapinoe and were likely to only support boycotts from the control or the USMNT. Respondents who identified with levels of internal motivation to respond were positively influential, with support for equal pay and boycotting when told which team it would be, and favorability of Megan Rapinoe.

Ultimately, alternative conceptualizations of sexism had mostly negative impacts on attitudes towards women who play professional sports with the exception of internal motivation to respond to sexism. The results of this study and the literature that support it emphasize that the playing field for women in professional sports is not equal to their male counterparts, and indicate that sexist attitudes need to be reduced in order to achieve equality.

## APPENDIX

Outlined below is a list of all questions asked in my survey, which took place from February 25, 2020 to March 2, 2020. This survey had 808 respondents, all of which were over the age of 18.

### **IRB Consent**

#### Description

- The goal of this survey is to ask you some questions about your views on politics.

#### Cost and Payments

- This is an online survey and it will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Your participation is voluntary and there is paid compensation for your participation.

#### Risks and Benefits

- There is no risk to you in taking this survey. If you experience any negative emotions as a result of this survey you should quit the study, and contact the PI immediately.

#### Confidentiality

- Confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology used. You will not be asked for your name or any other identifying information and any views you express will be kept completely anonymous.

#### Right To Withdraw

- Even if you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

#### IRB Approval

- This study has been reviewed by The University of Mississippi's Institutional Review Board (IRB). If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a participant of research, please contact the IRB at (662) 915-7482 or [irb@olemiss.edu](mailto:irb@olemiss.edu).

#### Statement of Consent

- I have read and understand the above information. By completing the survey/interview I consent to participate in the study and affirm that I am 18 years of age or older.

#### Principle Investigators

- Katherine Wigod  
Department of Political Science  
136 Deupree Hall  
The University of Mississippi  
(662) 915-7401
- Dr. Robert Brown  
Department of Political Science  
136 Deupree Hall  
The University of Mississippi  
(662) 915-7401

### **Demographic Questions**

- Do you consider yourself to be male or female?
  - Male
  - Female
  - Other

- Which ONE of the following racial or ethnic groups best describes you?
  - A drop down menu of races to choose from was provided.
- What is the highest level of education you have completed?
  - A drop down menu of education levels to choose from was provided.
- Thinking back over the last year, what was your family’s annual income?
  - A drop down of income levels to choose from was provided.
- What is your current religion, if any?
  - A drop down menu of religions to choose from was provided.
- Which of the following BEST describes your religious beliefs? Select all that apply.
  - A drop down menu of religious beliefs to choose from was provided.
- Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?
  - More than once a week
  - Once a week
  - Once or twice a month
  - A few times a year
  - Seldom
  - Never
- In what year were you born?
  - Respondents were given a text box to write in their answer.
- What is your state of residency?
  - A drop down menu of all 50 states was provided for respondents to select their state of residency.

**Partisanship and Ideology**

- Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?
  - Republican
  - Democrat
  - Independent
- If “Republican” was selected, would you call yourself a strong Republican or not very strong Republican?
  - Strong
  - Not very strong
- If “Democrat” was selected, would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not very strong Democrat?
  - Strong
  - Not very strong
- If “Independent” was selected, do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?
  - Closer to Republican Party
  - Closer to Democratic Party
  - Not closer to one or the other
- Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your political viewpoint?
  - Very conservative
  - Conservative
  - Somewhat conservative

- Moderate
- Somewhat liberal
- Liberal
- Very liberal
- Would you say that one of the United States' political parties is more conservative than the other on a national level?
  - The Democratic Party is more conservative than the Republican Party
  - The Republican Party is more conservative than the Democratic Party
- How often do you support President Trump's policies?
  - Always
  - Most of the time
  - About half the time
  - Sometimes
  - Never

### **Political Participation and Interest**

- Some people seem to follow what is going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?
  - Most of the time
  - Some of the time
  - Every now and then
  - Never
- Are you registered to vote?
  - Yes
  - No
- If the 2020 Presidential Election was held today, with Donald Trump as the Republican candidate running against a Democratic candidate, who would you vote for?
  - The Democratic candidate
  - Donald Trump
  - It depends on who the democratic candidate is
  - I would not vote
- Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Democratic Party?
  - Very favorable
  - Somewhat favorable
  - Somewhat unfavorable
  - Very unfavorable
- Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Republican Party?
  - Very favorable
  - Somewhat favorable
  - Somewhat unfavorable
  - Very unfavorable
- Do you approve of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?
  - Strongly approve
  - Somewhat approve
  - Somewhat disapprove

- Strongly disapprove
- Do you approve of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President?
  - Strongly approve
  - Somewhat approve
  - Somewhat disapprove
  - Strongly disapprove
- Do you approve of the way Donald Trump is handling the issue of women’s rights?
  - Strongly approve
  - Somewhat approve
  - Somewhat disapprove
  - Strongly disapprove
- Do you approve of the way Barack Obama is handling the issue of women’s rights?
  - Strongly approve
  - Somewhat approve
  - Somewhat disapprove
  - Strongly disapprove

**Celebrity Gender Equality Control**

- A celebrity recently stated, “Men and women are human. They are not better, wiser, stronger, more intelligent, more creative, or more responsible than each other. Equality is a given. Men and women are human.” How likely are you to agree with this statement?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- Referencing the quote above, who do you believe stated it?
  - Respondents were given a text box to provide their answer.
- What party do you think this celebrity aligns him or herself with?
  - Democratic Party
  - Republican Party
- If “Republican Party” is selected, Based on your assumption of the celebrity's party identification and your perception of this statement, how much more likely would this endorsement make you support the Republican Nominee in the 2020 Presidential Election?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- If “Democratic Party” is selected, Based on your assumption of the celebrity's party identification and your perception of this statement, how much more likely would this endorsement make you support the Republican Nominee in the 2020 Presidential Election?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely

### **Celebrity Gender Equality Republican**

- A celebrity who aligns himself or herself with the Republican Party recently stated, “Men and women are human. They are not better, wiser, stronger, more intelligent, more creative, or more responsible than each other. Equality is a given. Men and women are human.” How likely are you to agree with this statement?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- Referencing the quote above, who do you believe stated it?
  - Respondents were given a text box to provide their answer.
- Based on your party identification and perception of this statement, how much more likely would this endorsement make you support the Republican Nominee in the 2020 Presidential Election?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely

### **Celebrity Gender Equality Democrat**

- A celebrity who aligns himself or herself with the Democratic Party recently stated, “Men and women are human. They are not better, wiser, stronger, more intelligent, more creative, or more responsible than each other. Equality is a given. Men and women are human.” How likely are you to agree with this statement?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely
- Referencing the quote above, who do you believe stated it?
  - Respondents were given a text box to provide their answer.
- Based on your party identification and perception of this statement, how much more likely would this endorsement make you support the Democratic Nominee in the 2020 Presidential Election?
  - Very likely
  - Likely
  - Unlikely
  - Very unlikely

### **Gender and Sports Questions**

- How many children or teenagers age 0 to 17 live in your household?
  - None
  - One child
  - Two children
  - Three children
  - Four children
  - Five or more children

- If “one, two, three, four, or five or more children” were selected, what is the gender of your child(ren)?
  - Boys
  - Girls
  - Boys and girls
  - Prefer not to say
- Did you, or do you currently, participate in sports?
  - Yes
  - No
- If “one, two, three, four, or five or more children” were selected, do your children participate in sports?
  - Yes
  - No
- If “one, two, three, four, or five or more children” was selected, what sports do they play? Check all that apply.
  - Football
  - Basketball
  - Baseball/Softball
  - Soccer
  - Swimming/Diving
  - Tennis
  - Golf
  - Gymnastics
  - Cheerleading
  - Other
- How much have you heard, read, or learned about a federal law known as Title IX?
  - A great deal
  - A lot
  - A moderate amount
  - A little
  - None at all
- In your opinion, what should determine how much male and female athletes make?
  - How successful they are
  - How much money they generate
- Which one of the following BEST describes your interest level when it comes to watching women’s sports in general?
  - Very interested
  - Somewhat interest
  - A little bit interested
  - Not at all interested
- How interested are you in watching soccer?
  - Very interested
  - Somewhat interested
  - A little bit interested
  - Not at all interested

- Which of the following BEST described your interest level in watching the 2019 FIFA Women's World Cup?
  - Very interested
  - Somewhat interested
  - A little bit interested
  - Not at all interested
- From what you know now, which team has been more successful in World Cup play over the last few tournaments: the men's or women's US National Soccer Teams?
  - Men's US National Soccer Team
  - Women's US National Soccer Team
- How much have you heard about the US Women's National Soccer Team suing the US Soccer Federation for paying and treating women considerably less than their male counterparts?
  - Heard a lot
  - Heard a little
  - Heard none at all
- Do you think the men's and women's soccer teams do essentially the same job and thus the players should be paid about the same, or do you think the economics of men's and women's soccer are fundamentally different, which justifies the difference in their salaries?
  - They should be paid the same
  - Economic differences justify salary differences
- Do you support or oppose professional athletes make public statements about current political issues?
  - Strongly support
  - Somewhat support
  - Somewhat oppose
  - Strongly oppose
- How much have you heard in the news about a player for the US Women's National Team saying she would not attend a White House ceremony after the team won the World Cup?
  - Heard a lot
  - Heard a little
  - Heard none at all

### **White House Visit Boycott Experiment – Control**

- Imagine if the **United States Soccer Team** won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?
  - Highly inappropriate
  - Somewhat inappropriate
  - Somewhat appropriate
  - Highly appropriate

### **White House Boycott Experiment – Men’s Team**

- Imagine if the **United States Men’s Soccer Team** won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?
  - Highly inappropriate
  - Somewhat inappropriate
  - Somewhat appropriate
  - Highly inappropriate

### **White House Boycott Experiment – Women’s Team**

- Imagine if the **United States Women’s Soccer Team** won the World Cup and refused to take part in traditional White House ceremonies due to their disapproval of the President. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for athletes to refuse to attend traditional White House ceremonies celebrating championships due to political differences with whomever is serving as President?
  - Highly inappropriate
  - Somewhat inappropriate
  - Somewhat appropriate
  - Highly inappropriate

### **Sexism Questions**

- On average, women typically have less job opportunities and lower pay than their male counterparts. Do you think these differences are mainly due to discrimination?
  - Yes
  - No
- How much do you think the federal government should be doing to make sure that women get equal pay for equal work?
  - A lot
  - Some
  - None at all

### **Hostile Sexism**

- Respondents were given a six point scale (agree strongly, agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree, disagree strongly) to answer the next 4 questions:
  - Women are too easily offended.
  - Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of “equality”.
  - 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.

### **Benevolent Sexism (Protective Paternalism/Complementary Gender Differentiation)**

- Respondents were given a six point scale (agree strongly, agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree, disagree strongly) to answer the next 6 questions:
  - Women should be cherished and protected by men. (PP)
  - Men should sacrifice to provide for women. (PP)
  - In a disaster, a women does not need to be rescued first. (PP)
  - Women have a superior moral sensibility. (CGD)
  - Women have a quality of purity that few men possess. (CGD)
  - Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste. (CGD)

### **Internal Motivation To Respond Without Sexism**

- Respondents were given a six point scale (agree strongly, agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree, disagree strongly) to answer the next 7 questions:
  - According to my personal values, using stereotypes about women is OK.
  - I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonsexist towards women.
  - I attempt to act in nonsexist ways toward women because it is personally important to me.
  - I support equal rights for women because it is personally important to me.
  - Because of my personal beliefs, I think women should be able to go into male-dominated careers without resistance from society.
  - It is personally important to me to let people know that I think women are just as good as men in high-level careers.
  - According to my personal standards, women are entitled to have as much access to leadership roles as men.

### **External Motivation To Respond Without Sexism**

- Respondents were given a six point scale (agree strongly, agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree, disagree strongly) to answer the next 6 questions:
  - Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards, I try to appear nonsexist toward women.
  - I try to hide any negative thoughts about women in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
  - If I acted sexist toward women, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
  - I support women's rights because I feel like I have to, in today's PC culture.
  - I try to treat women and men as equals, because I'm afraid other people would be upset with me.

- I publicly support women going into male-dominated careers because I am afraid of disapproval from others.

### **Favorability**

- Respondents were given a five point scale (very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, no opinion) to determine their opinions about these individuals:
  - Emma Watson, Actress
  - Daniel Radcliffe, Actor
  - Megan Rapinoe, member of the United States Women’s National Soccer Team
  - Christian Pulisic, member of the United States Men’s National Soccer Team
  - Malala Yousafzai, Pakistani social activist
  - Nelson Mandela, South African political leader/activist
  - Nikki Haley, Former UN Ambassador
  - John Kasich, Former Ohio Governor

### **Military Questions**

- Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the US military?
  - Yes, and I am currently serving
  - Yes, I am a veteran and not currently serving
  - No
- Have any of the following family members served in the US military? Please select all that apply.
  - Spouse
  - Son
  - Daughter
  - Mom
  - Dad
  - Sibling
  - Grandfather
  - Grandmother
  - Aunt
  - Uncle
  - Cousin
  - None
- If “are you now, or have you ever been a member of the US military?” was selected, which branch did you serve in?
  - Air Force
  - Army
  - Coast Guard

- National Guard
- Navy
- Marines
- How much confidence do you have in the US military?
  - A great deal
  - Quite a lot
  - Some
  - Very little
  - None
- Do you support or oppose women having positions in the military?
  - Strongly support
  - Support
  - Oppose
  - Strongly oppose
- In your opinion, what is the percentage of women that are currently serving in the military?
  - Respondents were given a sliding thermometer to select their answer.
- We would like to know how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Respondents were given a six point scale (agree strongly, agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree) to answer these questions.
  - Women in the military are as capable as men in carrying out war-time assignments and responsibilities.
  - Women's roles as wives and mothers make them less well suited than men for the military.
  - Women in the military should not be assigned to active combat duty.
  - Women have as much to offer in the military service of their country as men.
  - Women who are in the military should not have children.
  - Women have the same capacities for military leadership as men.
  - If reinstated, both men and women should be subject to the military draft.
  - Having children should not be an obstacle for a woman contemplating the military as a career.
  - A woman in the military should not be given an assignment which separates her from her children.
  - Women can perform as well as men in all facets of the military.
  - In time of war, military women who have children should be excused from duty which places them under physical threat.
  - Men are better suited than women for combat.
- Do you approve or disapprove of women serving in each of the following military roles? Respondents were given a six point scale (approve strongly, approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, disapprove, disapprove strongly) to indicate their opinions.

- Jet fighter pilot
- Mechanic
- Nurse (not in a combat zone)
- Nurse (in a combat zone)
- Typist in the Pentagon
- Military commander
- Combat soldier
- Jet transport pilot
- Air defense gunman
- Crew member on a combat ship
- Ordinance disposal (diffusing bombs)
- Serving on a submarine

### **Group Closeness**

- Of the following groups, how close to do you feel towards them? By “close”, we mean people who are most like you in their ideas, interests, and feelings.
  - Republican Party
  - Democratic Party
  - Women
  - Men
  - LGBTQ+ Community
  - Heterosexual Individuals
  - Whites
  - African-Americans
  - Hispanics/Latinos
  - Agnostics
  - Atheists
  - Evangelical Christians
  - Jews
  - Catholics
  - Feminists
  - Men’s Rights Activists
  - Celebrities/Professional Athletes
  - Conservatives
  - Liberals
  - Veterans
- Some people think certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while others feel they do not have enough influence. Listed are the groups and you may choose how much influence this group has. Respondents were given three choices (too much influence, not enough influence, or no influence) to indicate their response.

- Republican Party
- Democratic Party
- Women
- Men
- LGBTQ+ Community
- Heterosexual Individuals
- Whites
- African-Americans
- Hispanics/Latinos
- Agnostics
- Atheists
- Evangelical Christians
- Jews
- Catholics
- Feminists
- Men's Rights Activists
- Celebrities/Professional Athletes
- Conservatives
- Liberals
- Veterans

**Thank You**

- We would like to thank you for participating in this survey. If you have any comments or questions about the topics discussed or questions asked, feel free to respond in the box below.
  - Respondents were given a text box to write in any questions or comments they may have.

## Bibliography

- Abrams, Olivia. "Why Female Athletes Earn Less Than Men Across Most Sports." *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine, 26 June 2019
- Bachman, Rachel. "U.S. Men's Soccer Players Tell Federation to Raise Women's Pay." *The Wall Street Journal*, Dow Jones & Company, 13 Feb. 2020.
- Bachman, Rachel. "U.S. Women's Soccer Games Outearned Men's Games." *The Wall Street Journal*, Dow Jones & Company, 17 June 2019.
- Battaglio, Stephen. "Super Bowl 2020 Scores 99.9 Million TV Viewers with Chiefs Comeback." *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 3 Feb. 2020.
- Berscheid, E., & Peplau, L A. (1983). "The Emerging Science of Relationships". *Close Relationships*, 1-19. New York: W. H. Freeman Publishing.
- Berscheid, E., Snyder, M., & Omoto, A. M. (1989). "The Relationship Closeness Inventory: Assessing the Closeness of Interpersonal Relationships". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 792-807.
- Budig, Michelle J., England, P., "The Wage Penalty for Motherhood." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 66, no. 2, 2001, pp. 204–225. *JSTOR*. Accessed 7 Apr. 2020.
- Butz, D and Plant, E. "Prejudice Control and Interracial Relations: The Role of Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice". *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 77, Issue 55.
- Cassini, Annalisa. "Glass Ceiling and Glass Elevator". *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies* (eds A. Wong, M. Wickramasinghe, R. Hoogland and N.A. Naples). 2016. doi:10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss262
- Cassese, Erin C., and Mirya R. Holman. "Playing the Woman Card: Ambivalent Sexism in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Race." *Wiley Online Library*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 21 Sept. 2018.
- Childers, C et al., "Pay Equity and Discrimination". *Institute for Women's Policy Research*. Published 2018.
- Correll, Shelley J., et al. "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?" *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 112, no. 5, 2007, pp. 1297–1338. *JSTOR*, Accessed 7 Apr. 2020.

- Cox, W. and Devine, P (2014). “Stereotyping to infer group membership creates plausible deniability for prejudice-based aggression”. *Psychological Science*. 2014;25(2):340–348. doi:10.1177/0956797613501171.
- Dardenne, B et al., (2007). “Insidious Dangers of Benevolent Sexism: Consequences for Women’s Performance”. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 764-779. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.764
- Davis, Scott. “Here Is the Giant Pay Disparity between the U.S. Women's National Team Winning the World Cup vs. the Men.” *Business Insider*. 7 July 2019.
- Dworkin, Gerald, "Paternalism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2019 Edition)*, Metaphysics Lab, Stanford University. Edward N. Zalta (ed).
- Editors, IMF. “Chart of the Week: Equal Pay Remains a Global Issue.” *IMF Blog*, 13 Mar. 2019.
- Equal Measures 2030, 2019, “Harnessing the Power of Data for Gender Equality: Introducing The 2019 EM2030 SDG Gender Index.” *Equal Measures 2030*. 2019.
- Feather, N.T. et al. (2004). “Value Correlates of Ambivalent Attitudes Toward Gender Relations”. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 3-12.
- “Fight for Equal Pay in Women's Sports, The” *Women's Sports Foundation*, 10 Oct. 2019
- Frasure-Yokely, Lorrie. “Choosing the Velvet Glove: Women Voters, Ambivalent Sexism, and Vote Choice in 2016.” *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, vol. 3, no. 1, Mar. 2018, pp. 3–25., doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2017.35>.
- Glass, Alana. “FIFA Women's World Cup Breaks Viewership Records.” *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine, 21 Oct. 2019.
- Glick, Peter, Fiske, Susan. “The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 70, no. 3, 1996, pp. 491–512., doi:10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491.
- Goudreau, Jenna. “A New Obstacle for Professional Women: The Glass Escalator.” *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine. 24 July 2012.
- Greszler, Rachel. “Why the Pay Gap Between Women's and Men's Soccer?” *The Heritage Foundation*, 2019

- Guttentag, M., Secord, P. (1983). "Too Many Women?". Beverly Hills, California. Sage Publishing.
- Hatfield, E. (1988). "Passionate and Compassionate Love". *The Psychology of Love* (pp. 191-217). New Haven, Connecticut. Yale University Press.
- Hentschel, Tanja, et al. "The Multiple Dimensions of Gender Stereotypes: A Current Look at Men's and Women's Characterizations of Others and Themselves." *Frontiers in Psychology*, Frontiers Media S.A., 30 Jan. 2019,
- Hess, Cynthia, et al. "Pay Equity & Discrimination." *Institute for Women's Policy Research*, 11 Sept. 2019
- "Home." *Women in the States*, statusofwomendata.org/.
- Horowitz, Juliana Menasce, et al. "Views of Gender in The U.S." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, 31 Dec. 2019.
- Huang, Jess, et al., "Women in the Workplace 2019". *McKinsey and Company*. McKinsey and Company. 2019.
- Klonis, Suzanne C., et al. "Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Sexism." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol. 31, no. 9, 2005, pp. 1237–1249., doi:10.1177/0146167205275304.
- Leythienne, D., Ronkowski, P. (2018). "A Decomposition of the Unadjusted Gender Pay Gap Using Structure of Earnings Survey Data". *Statistical Working Papers*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. doi: 10.2785/796328
- Lindholm, Johan (2017). "From Carlos to Kaepernick and Beyond: Athlete's Right to Freedom of Expression". *The International Sports Law Journal*, pp 1-3.
- Masser, B.M., Abrams, D. Reinforcing the Glass Ceiling: The Consequences of Hostile Sexism for Female Managerial Candidates. *Sex Roles* **51**, 609–615 (2004).  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-004-5470-8>
- Mell, Randall. "Randall's Rant: Time to Step up and Fill the Gender Pay Gap." *Golf Channel*.

- Morrison, Melanie & Morrison, Todd & Pope, Gregory & Zumbo, Bruno. (1999). An Investigation of Measures of Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism. *Social Indicators Research*. 48. 10.1023/A:1006873203349.
- Overall, Nickola C., and Matthew D. Hammond. "How Intimate Relationships Contribute to Gender Inequality: Sexist Attitudes Encourage Women to Trade Off Career Success for Relationship Security." *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 1, Mar. 2018, pp. 40–48, doi:10.1177/2372732217745096.
- Plant, Ashby & Devine, Patricia. (1998). "Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 75. 811-832. 10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811.
- Reid, P.T. (1988). "Racism and Sexism: Comparisons and Conflict". *Eliminating Racism*, pp. 203-221. New York: Plenum Press.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. "Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World". *Oxford University Press*. 2011.
- Rierson, Sandra L. "Race and Gender Discrimination: A Historical Case for Equal Treatment Under the Fourteenth Amendment". Duke School of Law. 1994.
- Rothenberg, Ben. "Roger Federer, \$731,000; Serena Williams, \$495,000: The Pay Gap in Tennis." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 12 Apr. 2016.
- Rudman, L. A., Heppen, J. B. (2003). "Implicit Romantic Fantasies and Women's Interest in Personal Power: A Glass Slipper Effect?". *Personality and Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 1357-1370.
- Schaffner, Brian F., "How Political Scientists Should Measure Sexist Attitudes". *Tufts University*. Published 2019.
- Schad, Tom. "Breaking It Down: What Exactly Is the Gap in Pay between USWNT and USMNT Players?" *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network. 10 July 2019.
- Simril, Renata. "Show Her the Money: Why Female Athletes Deserve Higher Pay." *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine. 5 June 2019.
- Stockard, J., Johnson, M. (1992), "Sex and Gender in Society". Volume 2. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice Hall Publishing.
- Swim, Janet et al. (1995), "Sexism and Racism: Old-Fashioned and Modern Prejudices" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68, no. 2: 199-214.

- Tajfel, Henri. 1978. "The achievement of group differentiation ." In *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, by Henri Tajfel, 77-98. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* 33 (47): 74.
- Unger, R., & Crawford, M. (1992). "Women and Gender". *A Feminist Psychology*. New York. McGraw-Hill Publishing.
- United States Women's National Team v. United States Soccer Federation, 2019*. <https://games-cdn.washingtonpost.com/notes/prod/default/documents/24961428-3d51-4b8e-b2e5-acdb4c25b75d/note/e5d43867-3817-4ca9-a154-4faa275d5ff0.pdf#page=1>
- "Women and the Law". *Harvard Business School. President and Fellows of Harvard College*. Published 2010.
- "Women's History Milestones: A Timeline." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks. Published 2019. Accessed 26 Feb. 2019.
- "Woman Suffrage Movement, the" *National Women's History Museum*, Published 2020.
- Zhao, S., Puri, S., "Glass Doors to The Corner Office: Women and Leadership." *Center for Creative Leadership*, Center for Creative Leadership, 2017.