U.S. Women's Sport Consumption and Self-Identified Fandom:

An Exploration of Social Structural and Sociocultural Antecedents

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Abstract

In this study, using data from the National Sports and Society Survey (N = 2853), we examine U.S. women's reports of their sport consumption and self-identified sport fandom. Multiple regression analyses are used to assess associations between social structural and sociocultural antecedents of consumption and women's frequencies of watching and following sport, frequencies of attending live sport events, and the amount of money that they spend to watch and follow sport. We then investigate the relationships between women's sport consumption behaviors and their fandom. We find that women are common consumers of sport and their consumption is positively associated with their socioeconomic statuses, number of children, social relationships, sport participation experiences, and sport-related identities. We also find evidence that women's sport consumption behaviors are only modestly associated with their levels of fandom. We conclude with reflections on what these results mean for better understanding and supporting women's sport consumption and fandom.

U.S. Women's Sport Consumption and Self-Identified Fandom: An Exploration of Social Structural and Sociocultural Antecedents

Sport consumption is prevalent in the United States. Over two-thirds of Americans identify as sport fans and live sport events consistently attract very large U.S. audiences each week (Allison and Knoester, 2021). Although many studies have investigated sport consumption motivations, social structural and sociocultural antecedents to sport consumption and self-identified fandom have been comparatively neglected— particularly among U.S. women. Yet, globally, women control 70% of consumer-related decisions and represent a growing consumer market across sport sectors, including the spectator market (Funk et al., 2016). While many sport organizations have moved away from “shrink it and pink it” marketing for women, marketing campaigns are commonly aimed at a monolithic “female fan” who is assumed to love wine, spa treatments, and shopping (De la Cretaz, 2017).

Although some women enjoy these promotions, they reinforce gender stereotypes and promote the idea that women do not consume sport out of interest in sport itself (Pope, 2017). Consequently, it is important to more closely scrutinize women's sport consumption behaviors and the social structural and sociocultural factors that may impact these behaviors and be connected to fandom. Many social structural (e.g., socioeconomic status (SES)) and sociocultural (e.g., community's passion for sports) factors may be linked to women's access, encouragements, and relationships to sport over their life course. A comprehensive analysis of them can offer a richer understanding of women as sport consumers and fans beyond one-dimensional caricatures of the “female fan.”

In the present study, we draw from Funk et al's (2016) and Trail and James' (2015) models of sport consumption and focus on four categories of understudied antecedents relevant

to women's sport consumption: a) social locations, b) sport-related social relationships, c) sport participation experiences, and d) sport-related identities. Using information from a large national sample of U.S. women ($N = 2,853$), we use multiple regressions to assess the associations between women's social locations (e.g., SES, family structure), social relationships (e.g., family, friend, and community relationships), sport experiences (e.g., participation), sport-related identities (e.g., as an athlete), and their sport consumption behaviors and sport fandom. Consumption indicators include self-reports of the frequencies that women watched or followed sport, the frequencies with which they attended sport events, and how much money they spent to watch or follow sport over the past year. Sport fandom consists of self-reports about the extent to which one is a sport fan. In our analyses, we begin by examining consumption behaviors and then turn to consider the relevance of consumption for self-identified sport fandom.

By considering the implications of many different social structural and sociocultural antecedents of women's consumption, we offer new theorizing and empirical evidence of women as sport consumers and fans. Overall, the present study expands our awareness of the characteristics, habits, and life histories of women as sport consumers and sport fans—an understudied, underappreciated, and often neglected component of sport cultures and markets (Allison, 2018; Pope, 2017).

Conceptual Framework

Funk et al. (2016) and Trail and James (2015), when integrated with sociological theorizing on social locations, social learning, and identity (e.g., Bandura, 1977; Lock and Heere, 2017; Messner, 2002; Stryker and Burke, 2000; Wilson, 2002), offer a classic framework that recognizes social structural and sociocultural antecedents as pivotal to sport consumption. We draw upon this framework to envision women's social locations, sport-related social

relationships, sport experiences, and sport-related identities as social structural and sociocultural antecedents that influence their sport consumption behaviors—with implications for fandom, too.

Specifically, Funk et al. (2016) and Trail and James (2015) both posit that external or environmental factors (e.g., culture) are antecedents to internal processes (e.g., motivation, attitude, personality, perception of constraints) that feed into sport consumption outcomes. The Funk et al. (2016) and Trail and James (2015) models broadly define environmental/cultural antecedents of consumption, placing emphasis on consumers' social locations and socialization into sport. They also consider social learning and identity formation in sport contexts to be crucial for establishing and maintaining sport consumer behavior.

Here, we build upon their models, and similarly apply social learning theory and identity theory, while further specifying and integrating considerations of the relevance of many specific sociocultural and other social antecedents of women's consumption behaviors. We additionally emphasize social structure as a prominent source of influence, from a sociological perspective (Messner, 2002, 2009; Wilson, 2002).

Rather than focusing on measuring the ways that antecedents influence motivations or constraints, as is commonly done in sport management and marketing approaches (Kim et al., 2019), we highlight the component relationships between aspects of social structural and sociocultural antecedents and women's sport consumption. There is some empirical support for this approach. Lera-Lopez, et al. (2012) found that in addition to motivation variables, socio-demographic, socio-economic, family structure, sport participation, municipal, and regional characteristics also impacted attendance and consumer expenditure on sport.

Social Location

Women's social, personal, and cultural sport contexts stem from their social locations within social structure. These include ascribed and achieved characteristics involving gender, SES, age, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. Social locations offer different opportunities, and levels of encouragement, to play and consume sport (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Dixon et al., 2008; Knoester and Allison, 2021; Tompsett and Knoester, 2021). Previous research indicates that employment status (Newland and Hayduk, 2020); age (Zhang et al., 2003), race/ethnicity (Armstrong and Stratta, 2004), sexuality (Melton and MacCharles, 2021), marital status (Zhang et al., 2003), and geographic locations (Lera-López, et al., 2012) influence sport consumption. We emphasize gender, SES, and family structure in our conceptual framework.

Gender

Gender operates at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels (Risman, 2018). It directs women's sport interests and experiences over life course—typically in markedly different and socially segregated ways, compared to men. Nevertheless, gender is continually (re)constructed, contested, and performed in sport (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Messner, 2002, 2009).

The social construction of sport largely reflects and endorses hegemonic masculinity in U.S. sport (Messner, 2002; 2009). Thus, sport is commonly assumed to be innately masculine and men's participation in and knowledge of sport are seen as natural and superior compared to women's (Connell, 2005; Toffoletti, 2017). Relatedly, men are assumed to be fans of sport while women are often called upon to authenticate their fandom (Hoeber and Kerwin, 2013).

In fact, women fans must navigate sexist attitudes and behaviors in many sport spaces, including within fan communities (Antonowicz et al., 2020; Jones, 2008). They may express disgust at sexism, ignore sexism, or embrace the sexist attitudes of the majority (Jones, 2008;

Pfister et al., 2013). Even women often hold each other to male-defined fan expectations when it comes to behavior, expression, and dress, for example (Hoerber and Kerwin, 2013). Yet, women across the world have developed a variety of strategies for dealing with gendered barriers to sport fandom and consumption, including forming special fan groups, wearing coordinated outfits, and singing unique chants (Toffoletti, 2017). In sum, though, fan communities may be resistant to including women, which may impact women's desires to engage in sport (Toffoletti, 2017).

Nevertheless, Pope (2017) argues that there have been increasing opportunities for women to get involved in sport as fans because of: a) historical and societal shifts that have offered women increased leisure time and b) shifts in professional sport that have made sport a more friendly domain for women. Women are frequently highly identified and knowledgeable sports fans but, despite trends toward the "feminization of fandom," little has been done across the sport landscape to include women's perspectives and desires into the spectator experience (Pope, 2017; Toffoletti, 2017).

Part of the issue may be that women's consumption is often only analyzed and understood in comparison to men's sport consumption. In this context, women are often framed as being less integral to market success or capable of boosting such success. Cross-cultural studies on the frequencies of women's sport attendance and their frequencies of watching and following sport suggest that women typically follow and attend sport events less frequently than men (Melnick and Wann, 2011; Theodorakis et al., 2017). Nonetheless, although women's weekly frequencies of attending sport events and watching sport on television were not found to be substantial across most studies, between 54% (Qatar) and 94% (Australia) of women reported talking about sport with friends and relatives at least once a week, which was comparable to

men's patterns (i.e., 72% (Qatar) to 100% (Australia)). In the U.S., women make up 32-38% of live sport audiences across the NHL, NBA, MLB, and NFL. Also, women annually spend similar amounts of money as men on sport tickets, merchandise, clothing, and equipment (Nielsen, 2015). Overall, despite some gender differences, these findings suggest that women are interested sport consumers and that more research is needed to determine how frequently women consume sport, how often they engage in spectatorship, and how much money they spend to consume sport.

Furthermore, there is a need to better understand how differences in women's consumption emerge. Several studies suggest that women are especially likely to consume sport for social or relationship-based reasons (Gantz and Wenner, 1991; Ridinger and Funk, 2006). Therefore, further inquiries into women's social relationships and their relevance for sport consumption are needed. In addition, Pope (2017), Toffoletti (2017), and Jakubowska et al. (2020) highlight the importance of looking at the ways that gendered consumption behaviors and levels of fandom are tied to other aspects of women's identities and life histories, including regional and class-based identities as well as early experiences of being socialized into sport. Therefore, we examine several indicators of aspects of women's identities (e.g. as athletes, as fans, as workers) and look closely at their sport-related experiences and relationships, throughout their lives, in attempts to better understand their consumption patterns. First, though, we turn to considerations of how SES and family structure may influence women's sport consumption.

Socioeconomic Status

SES seems to influence women's access and commitments to sport by enabling or constraining the opportunities that women have to watch or follow sport, attend sport events, and spend money on sport consumption. Adults with higher SES spend more money consuming sport

and also attend more live sport events (Lera-Lopez et al., 2002; Wilson, 2002). SES is also correlated with sport fan identities (Knoester and Allison, 2021; Wilson, 2002).

Consequently, we anticipate:

Hypothesis #1: Women's SES will be positively associated with their sport consumption. Specifically, we anticipate that women with higher educational attainments and household incomes watch or follow sport(s) more frequently, attend sport events more frequently, and spend more money on consumption than women with lower levels of education and household income.

Family Structure

Women's leisure time is often theorized as constrained by household and maternal obligations, based on common role commitments (Messner, 2009). However, findings regarding family structure's impact on women's sport consumption have been equivocal. Zhang et al. (2003) found household size to be negatively associated with sport consumption, but Lera-Lopez et al. (2012) found number of children to be positively associated with amateur sport event attendance. Newland and Hayduk (2020) discovered that number of children had no negative impact on female fans' consumption behaviors, attitudes, or motivations. It may be that parenting more children may present increased constraints on women's own preferred consumption, yet children may also encourage women to engage more with sport than they might have otherwise. Children may lead women to consume more sport for social or relationship building reasons (Farrell et al., 2011; Gantz and Wenner, 1991) and they sometimes nurture parents' fan identities (Hyatt et al., 2018).

Therefore, we posit:

***Hypothesis #2:** Number of resident children will be positively associated with women's sport consumption. Specifically, we anticipate women with more children watch or follow sport more frequently, attend sport events more frequently, and spend more money on watching or following sport than women with fewer children.*

Sport-Related Social Relationships

Significant others such as family members, friends, and communities may also affect women's sport consumption (Mewett and Toffoletti, 2011). A social learning approach (Bandura, 1977; Dixon et al., 2008) is useful for conceptualizing how these socialization processes are related to sport consumption. It observes that people learn from one another via messaging, modeling, receptiveness, and imitation. Throughout the life course, women are likely to learn, observe, embrace, and imitate the sport consumption habits of their significant others (Asada and Ko, 2019; Theodorakis et al., 2017).

Socialization into sport is key because people who are not introduced to sport, and encouraged to become and stay involved with it, are less likely to develop attachments to sport. Trail and James (2015) identify six primary socialization agents for sport consumption and fandom: family, friends, the media, geographical location, participation experiences in a sport, and associations with an organization (e.g., school). Some scholars have shown that relationships with such socialization agents may be especially important for women sport consumers (Theodorakis, et al., 2017). In addition to family and friends, local communities that are passionate about sport may encourage women's sport consumption (Mewett and Toffoletti, 2011).

Correspondingly, we expect:

Hypothesis #3: *Women's sport-related social relationships will be linked to their sport consumption. Specifically, women having parents who are more passionate sport fans, older siblings who influenced their sport fandom, more friends while growing up who were athletes, belonging to a high school that was more passionate about sport, and living in a community that is more passionate about sport watch or follow sport more frequently, attend more sport events, and spend more money to watch or follow sport.*

Sport Participation Experiences

Trail and James (2015) describe sport participation as another socializing agent and we similarly expect that it will shape women's sport consumption. As social learning theory suggests, sport experiences offer social settings where women learn from others (e.g., parents, teammates, coaches, refs) and often develop an affinity, appreciation, and comfort with sport settings and consumption behaviors (Dixon et al., 2008). Women who played sport more frequently as youths are three times more likely to be interested in sport compared to women who played sport less frequently (Nielsen, 2015). Adults' sport participation is also positively associated with their sport consumption (Lera-Lopez et al., 2012).

Therefore, we anticipate:

Hypothesis #4: *Women's sport participation experiences will shape their sport consumption. Specifically, women who played sport continually while growing up as well as those who play regularly as adults are expected to watch or follow sport more frequently, attend more sport events, and spend more money on watching or following sport.*

Sport-Related Identities

Finally, sport-related identities are likely to be associated with sport consumption behaviors. Identity theory offers insights into understanding the multiple identities that women

tend to possess and the extent to which they may affect their sport consumption (Allison, 2018; Lock and Heere, 2017; Stryker and Burke, 2000). It highlights that individuals possess complex, multi-faceted identities that are linked to their self-concepts; these identities are relational and interpersonal, revealing information about who a person is and often motivating them to behave in certain ways in given situations.

Behaviors often emerge as extensions to the centrality and salience of peoples' different identities within their social contexts and constraints. Sport-related identities are commonly outgrowths of social relationships, sport participation experiences, and organizational influences (Delia, 2015). Thus, we anticipate that "athlete" and "sport industry worker" identities will influence both consumption behaviors and reported levels of fandom because both identities require women to align their self-concepts with sport-specific behaviors (Tokuyama and Greenhalgh, 2014). Frequency of thinking about sport may also indicate the psychological centrality of sport in one's life and may be linked to sport consumption (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Knoester and Allison, 2021).

Therefore, we suggest:

***Hypothesis #5:** Women's sport-related identities will be positively associated with their sport consumption. Specifically, women who identified more strongly as athletes in their youth and more frequently thought about sport while growing up more frequently watch or follow sport, attend more sport events, and spend more money on sport. Also, women who are sport industry workers consume more sport than women who are not.*

Consumption and Fandom

Although they are often considered together, or used interchangeably, we conceptualize sport consumption and fandom as two relatively distinct but related concepts. In particular, we

conceptualize sport consumption as behavior(s) and sport fandom as self-identities. Yet, they are also reciprocally related with one another (Funk et al., 2016; James and Trail, 2015). Thus, we anticipate that all the social structural and sociocultural antecedents that we emphasized as relevant for women's sport consumption are also relevant for their self-identified fandom.

However, our interest here is to finally consider the extent to which women's sport consumption is, in fact, associated with their sport fandom. We expect that women who consume sport more frequently and engage in multiple dimensions of sport consumption by watching or following sport through different means (e.g., screen, listening, reading, video games), will be more likely to self-identify as more passionate fans. Yet, we are also mindful of a critique of sport fandom research that has been emphasized by feminist scholars: women do not necessarily express fandom with the same behaviors as men. For example, women may not attend as many sport events due to finding the environment unwelcoming, but still maintain passionate fan identities (Toffoletti, 2017). Also, women tend to have more family responsibilities and less leisure time than men (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Knoester and Petts, 2017; Messner, 2002; 2009). Consequently, consumption indicators may not be especially relevant for the understanding of women's self-identified fandom and vice versa (Hoeber and Kerwin, 2013).

Further, sport is not always consumed in the context of fandom (Farrell et al., 2011). Women may disproportionately consume sport to build relationships with family, but not necessarily self-identify as sports fans because of this. Thus, fandom may be disproportionately high compared to consumption behaviors in some cases (e.g., when women have more salient identities and less time, resources, or inclinations to consume sport); or it may be disproportionately low compared to consumption behaviors in other cases (e.g., when consumption occurs not because of fandom but because of child, work, or partner interests).

Mistreatment experiences, adults' athletic identities, and beliefs in the positive values of sport may be associated with both consumption behaviors and sport fandom and may work to confound their associations, too (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Knoester and Allison, 2021; Tokuyama and Greenhalgh, 2014).

Still, we expect:

***Hypothesis #6:** Women's sport consumption will be positively associated with their self-identified levels of fandom. Specifically, women who consume sport more extensively through watching/following, attendance, and expenditures self-identify as more passionate sport fans.*

Method

Data for this study come from the National Sports and Society Survey (NSASS), a large 2018-19 national study of U.S. adults ($N = 3,993$). The NSASS utilized a quota sample that was drawn from the American Population Panel (APP), an opt-in panel of volunteers who signed up to take social science surveys. The APP is the creation of the Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR), a longstanding and well-respected survey research organization. Invitations to take the NSASS were sent to APP members who reported birth years that were 21-65 years ago. Respondents took the NSASS online between the Fall of 2018 through the Spring of 2019 and were compensated with \$35. Like the APP, the NSASS sample is disproportionately female, White, and Midwestern. Thus, post-stratification weighting is being used to better estimate descriptive information about U.S. adults (Knoester and Cooksey, 2020).

The primary sample for the present study includes all women who offered substantive responses ($n = 3$ refused to answer or responded with "Don't Know" (DK)) about their self-identified sport fandom ($N = 2,853$), since it is our final dependent variable. To address missing data, we use multiple imputation with chained equations over ten imputations for our predictor

variables. Tests for multicollinearity, through examining variance inflation factors, offered no evidence of any issues.

Dependent Variables

Our initial dependent variables are formed from women's reports of three types of sport consumption over the past year. These variables are then used as independent variables in predicting women's self-identified sport fandom. First, number of months that women reported watching or following sport was formed based on responses to: a) whether or not women watched or followed sport at all, and then b) the number of months that they reported watching or following sport. The initial question asked: "In the last 12 months, which sport(s) did you watch or follow?" Potential responses included selecting any number of sports from a picklist of 24 commonly watched and played sports in the U.S.; there were also options to select "Various infrequently watched or followed sports," "Watched or followed other sport(s)," and "In the last 12 months I have not watched or followed a sport." Women who reported that they watched or followed 1+ sports were recognized as watching/following sports, while women who reported that they did not watch or follow sports were coded as spending "0" months watching/following sports. Follow-up responses to: "In how many of the last 12 months did you watch or follow [this sport/sports]?" were primarily used to create this dependent variable, then.

Frequencies of attending sport events over the past year were based on responses to two additional follow-up questions. First, any attendance at a sport event is recognized from responses to: "In the last 12 months, how did you watch or follow [this sport/sports]?" when "Attended, in person" was reported as one way a respondent watched or followed sport over the past year. Then, frequency of spectatorship was formed by integrating responses (top-coded at

24) to: “In the last 12 months, how many sport competitions or games did you attend as a spectator?”

Women's financial allocations for their sport consumption is based on responses to: “In the last 12 months, how much did it cost for you to watch or follow [this sport/sports]? (e.g., subscription fees, entry fees, transportation, food and drink purchases, etc.).” The variable was coded into \$100's (top-coded at 6).

Self-identified sport fandom is created from responses (coded 0 = *Not at all*; 4 = *Very much so*) to: “Are you a sports fan?” Options included “Not at all,” “A little,” “Somewhat,” “Quite a bit,” and “Very much so.”

Predictor Variables

Predictor variables include demographic characteristics, sport-related social relationships, sport participation experiences, and sport-related identities. One primary demographic characteristic of interest is women's SES, which is reflected by their educational attainment (i.e., using dummy variables for a high school or less, some college, or a college (used as reference category) education) and household income (in \$10,000s, capped at 15). A second is number of one's own or a partner's children in the household. Other demographic characteristics are used as control variables. These include age, paid work status (1 = works in paid labor), race/ethnicity (i.e., dummy variables for White (used as reference category), Black, Latinx, and Other race/ethnicity), and sexuality (i.e., dummy variables for self-identifying as heterosexual (used as reference category), lesbian or gay, bisexual, or an other sexual identity). Marital status (i.e. dummy variables for married, cohabiting, and single (used as reference category)), urbanicity (i.e. dummy variables for urban (used as reference category), suburban, small city or town, and

rural residence), and Census region (i.e. dummy variables for West (used as reference category), Northeast, Midwest, and South) are also control variables.

Social relationships that encourage connections to sport involve parents' sport fandom (0 = not at all; 4 = very much so, maximum value from up to two self-reported most important parental figures is used) while women were growing up, an older sibling's sport-related influence (i.e. reported having an older sibling(s) who increased one's interest in sport), and the proportion of one's close friends while growing up who were athletes (i.e., dummy variables for a few athlete friends (used as reference category), mostly athlete friends, and no athlete friends). We also employ measures of the extent to which one's high school community was passionate about sport (1 = not passionate at all; 4 = very passionate) and one's current neighborhood community is passionate about sport (1 = not passionate at all; 4 = very passionate).

Sport participation experiences include organized sport participation while growing up (i.e. dummy variables for never playing (used as reference category), playing but dropping out before age 18, and playing continually until age 18) and regular sport participation over the past year (1 = reported playing a sport(s) regularly).

Finally, sport-related identity measures include self-reports of athletic identities while growing up (0 = Not at all; 4 = Very much so) and the extent to which one was consumed with thinking about sport while growing up (i.e. reported hours per week). We also use an indicator of employment in the sport industry (1 = yes).

In predicting women's fandom only, because of endogeneity concerns, we further integrate a measure that taps women's current self-identities as athletes (0 = Not at all; 4 = Very much so). Also, we consider their sport-related mistreatment experiences and their beliefs about the value of sport as potential confounding factors in the relationships between women's sport

consumption behaviors and their self-identified fandom. Sport-related mistreatment (1 = yes) indicates if women reported ever being mistreated in their sport experiences (i.e., been called names, been bullied, discriminated against, or abused). Beliefs about the value of sport are tapped by responses (1 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree) to: "In general, sports build character." Some additional measures of different dimensions of sport consumption are used in predicting fandom, too. They indicate whether women watched or followed sport over the past year via: a) watching on a screen (e.g., TV, computer, phone), b) reading, c) listening (e.g., radio, podcast), d) playing video games, and e) other means.

Results

The analysis for this study first consists of describing the extent to which US women are sport consumers and self-identify as fans. Then, we use multiple regressions to predict frequencies of watching or following sport, frequencies of attending a sporting event, and expenditures paid to watch or follow sport, over the past year. Finally, we regress women's sport fandom on their sport consumption behaviors.

To help illustrate effect sizes, we reference adjusted predictions at representative values (APR) with all other variables set to their mean values, based on the use of marginal effects calculations. We initially offer estimates for representative values when first considering social structure (i.e., SES and family structure). Then, we do so after considering all the predictive factors in the corresponding model and focus on the newly added indicators of sport-related social relationships, participation experiences, and identities as evidencing immersions in sport. Specifically, we report APR's based on model-based indicators (i.e. representative values for each significant variable of interest in the full model) of low, average, and high immersions in sport—with high and low indicating ± 1 SD (or high/low for dichotomous variables) and

average indicating the mean values. We also present standardized coefficients for each model to enable more direct comparisons of the relative usefulness of each predictor, compared to the others, in explaining variation in the dependent variables.

Descriptive Results

As shown in Table 1, women are relatively common consumers of sport. On average, women watched or followed sport for more than half of the year, with 29% of NSASS women reporting that they watched or followed sport during every month of the past year, in fact (87% reported ever watching or following sport over the past year). Also, women reported attending nearly three sporting events over the previous year with 38% of NSASS women attending 1+ sporting event(s) and 4% attending 24+ events. Finally, women reported spending over \$100 to watch or follow sport over the past year, with 7% spending over \$600 and nearly 4% spending over \$1000. Furthermore, women self-identified as slightly more than “somewhat” of a sport fan, on average.

To assess the extent to which the non-representativeness of the opt-in sample may have affected these descriptive results, we weighted the NSASS findings according to the 2018 American Community Survey demographics for U.S. adults ages 20-64, based on age, race, education, work status, marital status, income, and region. This procedure resulted in very little change in estimated sport consumption (e.g., 88% vs 87% for ever watching/following sport, 36% vs 38% for ever attending an event, and \$111 vs \$117 in expenditures) and sport fandom, suggesting that the NSASS women's reports seem to be good proxies for all U.S. women's sport consumption behaviors and fandom.

(Table 1 about here)

Women's Sport Consumption

Next, we turn to our multiple regression analyses. First, in Table 2, we display the results from predicting women's frequencies of watching or following sport. As shown in Model 1, consistent with Hypothesis 1, there is evidence that SES is positively associated with the frequency of watching sport. Household income seems to enable sport consumption ($b = .08, p < .01$) such that the APR for women with \$20,000 in household income is about 6 (i.e., 6.16) months and the APR for women with \$100,000 in household income is nearly 7 (i.e., 6.78) months. There is also some evidence that compared to women with a college education, those with a high school or less education ($b = -.56, p < .10$) watch or follow sport less frequently. Finally, consistent with Hypothesis 2, having more resident children ($b = .40, p < .001$) leads to higher sport consumption. The APR for women with no children is about 6 (i.e. 6.15) months and the APR for women with three children surpasses 7 (i.e. 7.35) months.

(Table 2 about here)

In Model 2 of Table 2, sport-related social relationships are first considered. The results offer consistent support for Hypothesis 3. Social relationships that encourage connections to sport from parents ($b = .51, p < .001$), older siblings ($b = .90, p < .001$), having had mostly athlete friends ($b = .87, p < .001$ and similarly $b = -.74, p < .001$ for having had no athlete friends versus a few of them), one's high school community ($b = .27, p < .05$), and one's current community ($b = .29, p < .05$) are positively associated with frequencies of sport consumption.

Furthermore, as shown in Model 3 and anticipated by Hypothesis 4, sport participation is positively associated with frequencies of sport consumption. Compared to never playing organized sport, playing continuously while growing up ($b = 1.49, p < .001$) leads to more frequent sport consumption in adulthood. In fact, even playing organized sport and dropping out ($b = .55, p < .01$) is related to more frequent sport consumption, compared to never playing

organized youth sport. Also, women's regular sport participation over the past year is positively associated with their sport consumption ($b = 2.18, p < .001$)

Finally, as presented in Model 4 of Table 2, sport-related identities are positively associated with the frequency of watching or following sport, as hypothesized (Hypothesis 5). More strongly identifying as an athlete ($b = .25, p < .001$) and more frequently thinking about sport ($b = .02, p < .001$), while growing up, seem to increase frequencies of consuming sport in adulthood.

To better illustrate the substantive nature of the findings from Model 4, APR's are presented in Figure 1 based on low immersion, average immersion, and high immersion levels in the sport-related relationships, participation experiences, and identities that are expected to enhance sport consumption and are found to be significant in this full model (with all other variables set to their means). These predicted frequencies range from 2.3 to 10.2 months suggesting that women having a low immersion in sport compared to a high immersion in sport over their life leads to watching or following sport for about eight fewer months out of the year.

(Figure 1 about here)

Next, we analyze women's reports of their sporting event attendance over the past year. As displayed in Model 1 of Table 3, consistent with Hypothesis 1, household income ($b = .21, p < .001$) is positively associated with sporting event attendance. The APR for women with \$20,000 in household income is about 2 (i.e., 2.15) events and the APR for women with \$100,000 in household income is nearly 4 (i.e., 3.85) events. Compared to women with a college education, those with some college ($b = -.84, p < .01$) or a high school or less ($b = -1.83, p < .001$) education attend sport events less frequently. Finally, having more resident children ($b = .94, p < .001$) is positively associated with women's sport event attendance, in support of

Hypothesis 2. Having no resident children leads to an APR of around 2 (i.e. 2.22) events and having three children leads to an APR of 5 (i.e. 5.03) events.

(Table 3 about here)

In Model 2, in order to test Hypothesis 3, indicators of sport-related social relationships are added to the equation. As expected, parents' sport fandom ($b = .35, p < .001$) appears to encourage sport attendance. Having mostly athlete friends while growing up ($b = .89, p < .01$) is also positively associated with sport attendance; having no athlete friends ($b = -.74, p < .01$) is negatively associated with it. Furthermore, belonging to a community that is more passionate about sport ($b = .58, p < .001$) seems to increase sport attendance. Finally, there is some evidence that having an older sibling who nurtures one's sport interest ($b = .56, p < .10$) leads to having higher frequencies of sport attendance.

Next, in Model 3 of Table 3, we consider the relevance of women's sport participation experiences for their spectatorship. In support of Hypothesis 4, playing organized sport continuously while growing up ($b = 2.03, p < .001$), compared to never playing organized sport, appears to boost women's spectatorship. Also, recent, regular sport participation ($b = 1.93, p < .001$) is positively related to spectatorship.

Finally, the results after accounting for sport-related identities are displayed in Model 4. Consistent with Hypothesis 5, thinking more frequently about sport ($b = .03, p < .001$) while growing up is positively associated with spectatorship in adulthood.

As displayed in Figure 1, women's APR for sport attendance seems to be somewhat based on low immersion, average immersion, and high immersion levels in sport-related relationships, participation experiences, and identities that are expected to enhance sport

consumption. Women's predicted frequencies range from 0 (i.e., .22) to 6 (i.e. 6.26) events over the past year at these representative values.

Last, we examine how much money women spend to watch or follow sport in Table 4. As seen in Model 1 and anticipated by Hypothesis 1, household income ($b = .09, p < .001$) is positively associated with sport consumption expenditures. The APR for women with \$20,000 in household income is \$88 and the APR for women with \$100,000 in household income is \$161. Having a high school or less education ($b = -.38, p < .01$), compared to a college education, is associated with \$38 less in annual spending. Also, having more children in the household ($b = .17, p < .001$) is positively associated with sport consumption expenditures. Having no resident children leads to an APR of \$106 and having three children results in an APR of \$156.

(Table 4 about here)

Sport-related social relationships are also linked to women's expenditures, as Hypothesis 3 suggested and as Model 2 indicates. Parents' sport fandom ($b = .11, p < .001$), having had an older sibling encourage an interest in sport ($b = .23, p < .05$), and being part of a community that is more passionate about sport ($b = .17, p < .01$) are each positively associated with women's sport consumption expenditures. Similarly, compared to having had a few athlete friends, having had mostly athlete friends ($b = .30, p < .01$) while growing up is positively associated with sport consumption expenditures and there is some evidence that having had no athlete friends ($b = -.17, p < .10$) is negatively associated with expenditures, too.

Sport participation experiences are included in the results displayed in Model 3 of Table 4. As Hypothesis 4 posited, compared to never playing organized sport, playing continuously while growing up ($b = .54, p < .001$) appears to increase sport consumption expenditures. There is also evidence that playing organized sport temporarily ($b = .22, p < .05$) boosts sport

consumption expenditures in adulthood, too. In addition, women's adult sport participation ($b = .59, p < .001$) is positively associated with their expenditures to watch or follow sport.

Finally, we consider Hypothesis 5 in Model 4. As predicted, there is evidence that thinking more about sport ($b = .01, p < .01$) while growing leads to greater levels of women's sport consumption expenditures in adulthood.

As presented in Figure 1, women's APR for consumption expenditures appear to be a function of low immersion, average immersion, and high immersion levels in sport-related relationships, participation experiences, and identities that are expected to enhance sport consumption. Women's predicted consumption expenditures range from \$40 to \$206.

Women's Sport Fandom

Last, we examine the extent to which women's sport consumption behaviors are related to their self-identified levels of fandom. These results are shown in Table 5. Although the focus of this analysis is on the relationship between women's sport consumption and their fandom, as evident from our Hypothesis 6, we first present results in a Model 1 that demonstrate that sport-related social relationships, sport participation involvement experiences, and sport-related identities are not only associated with women's sport consumption, as previously presented, but also with their self-identified levels of fandom.

(Table 5 about here)

In Model 2 of Table 5, we first consider evidence for Hypothesis 6. As anticipated, women's sport consumption is positively associated with their self-identified fandom; yet, the associations are rather modest. More frequent sport consumption via watching or following sport ($b = .10, p < .001$) and expenditures on sport consumption ($b = .08, p < .001$) are positively related to self-identified fandom. Yet, the APR's suggest that even a ten-month difference in the

frequencies of sport consumption over the past year (i.e. 0 months versus 10 months) is only associated with a one level differences in self-identified fandom (e.g., from being midway between “a little” and “somewhat” of a sport fan to midway between being “somewhat” and “quite a bit” of a sport fan). Also, the APR’s from spending \$600 more (i.e. \$0 versus \$600) to enable one’s sport consumption is associated with a difference in self-identified sport fandom that ranges from “somewhat” to midway between “somewhat” and “quite a bit” is only half as large as that one level difference. Women’s frequencies of spectatorship do not seem to offer an independent effect on their fandom, at least in this model—although there was evidence that frequencies of attendance are significantly and positively associated with self-identified fandom in models that isolated the associations between the different types of women’s sport consumption and their self-identified sport fandom (results not shown). Overall, still, women’s consumption behaviors do not seem to be associated with vast differences in their fandom

Finally, in Model 3 of Table 5, we further consider whether different dimensions of sport consumption may differentially encourage women’s self-identified sport fandom, over and beyond their frequencies of watching or following sport, frequencies of spectatorship, and expenditures. Based on the results of this model, we also present illustrations of the associations between different aspects and dimensions of women’s sport consumption behaviors and their self-identified fandom in Figure 2.

(Figure 2 about here)

The results of this analysis suggest that watching sport on a screen ($b = .47, p < .001$) and listening to sport content as a means to follow sport ($b = .24, p < .001$) are each positively associated with women’s self-identified fandom, as expected. Also, the positive associations between frequencies of women’s sport consumption ($b = .07, p < .001$) and their consumption

expenditures ($b = .07, p < .001$) with fandom remain. However, again, these associations do not indicate strong links between women's consumption behaviors and their self-identified sport fandom. As displayed in Figure 2, women's APR for self-identified fandom, when using ± 1 SD for high and low values and means for average values, range from about "somewhat" of a sports fan to slightly higher than "somewhat" of a sports fan at low versus high values of consumption frequency and expenditures. Similar predicted differences in self-identified fandom exist based on whether women watched sports on a screen or listened to them as a means through which to follow. Cumulatively, as shown in the last cluster of bars in Figure 2, low consumption behaviors lead to an APR of being slightly more than "a little" bit of a sports fan and high levels of consumption behaviors are associated with an expectation of women reporting being nearly "quite a bit" of a sports fan.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to use new, unique national data from a large sample of U.S. adults to better understand women's sport consumption and fandom. We found that U.S. women are common consumers of sport and their consumption is positively associated with their SES, number of children, social relationships, sport experiences, and sport-related identities. We also found evidence that women's sport consumption behaviors are positively related to their levels of sport fandom, but that these associations are rather modest. Regardless, women seemed to commonly identify as "somewhat" of a sport fan, which indicates existing interest in sport as well as room for growth.

First, as hypothesized, SES was positively associated with women's frequencies of watching and following sport, their frequencies of attending sport events, and their expenditures to watch and follow sport. These results support and extend previous research on the positive

associations between SES and sport consumption and expenditures (Knoester and Allison, 2021; Project Play, 2019; Tompsett and Knoester, 2021; Wilson 2002). Even though it was not a focus of this study, it is notable that household income was negatively associated with women's fandom. Although women with higher SES may have more access to consumption opportunities (e.g. more resources, time flexibility), their corresponding consumption experiences do not seem to be engendering more passionate fan identities relative to lower SES women. It is possible that women with higher SES may be choosing to engage in other forms of leisure, thus pointing to a need for organizations to make more concerted efforts to engage women consumers and further nurture their fandoms (Pope, 2015, 2017).

Unlike Zhang et al. (2003) and similar to Lera-Lopez et al. (2012) and Newland and Hayduk (2020), we found that number of resident children was positively associated with all three types of consumption behaviors, supporting our second hypothesis. However, we found that number of resident children was not significantly associated with self-identified fandom. These results indicate that having children encourages sport consumption but not necessarily sport fandom, which departs from Hyatt et al. (2018) who found that parents were socialized into sport fandom by their children's interest in sport. It may be that mothers often consume sport to spend time and build relationships with children, but these consumption experiences are not typically centered on women's own enjoyment or leisure, therefore making it challenging to nurture women's fan identities in these contexts.

We also found support for our third hypothesis that anticipated that women who have had social relationships that encouraged connections to sport (e.g., through parents, siblings, high school and local communities) would consume more sport than those who have not. These results are consistent with studies that have found that socialization agents, including family,

school, and communities, are important to women's sport commitments (Asada and Ko, 2019; Theodorakis et al., 2017). Nonetheless, we found that only parents' sport fandom was associated with women's fandom. Other social relationships seem to encourage women to consume more sport, but not increase their levels of fandom per se, it appears. This speaks to the formative influence that parent-child relations offer, we think.

In addition, consistent with our fourth and fifth hypotheses, we found that women's previous sport experiences as well as their sport-related identities were predictive of their sport consumption and self-identified fandom. These results add to research that finds sport involvement linked to greater sport consumption, which suggests life course continuity in women's engagement with sport (Dixon et al., 2008; Nielsen, 2015). Relatedly, there was evidence that mistreatment experiences (e.g., dropping out, mistreatment) decreased fandom and positive attitudes about sport (e.g., sports build character) increased fandom (Allison and Knoester, 2021).

Finally, we did find associations between women's sport consumption and their levels of fandom, as expected. Frequencies of watching and following sport and expenditures on sport were both linked to fandom. However, there still appeared to be a disjuncture between women's sport fandom and their sport consumption. More passionate fan identities are associated with more consumption, but not a great deal more, on average. This supports feminist critiques of measuring women's fandom with constructs such as consumption behaviors, as women's fandom may manifest itself in other ways (Hoerber and Kerwin, 2013). As previously discussed, sport consumption experiences may not be accessible or welcoming for women. Furthermore, women's access to sport consumption opportunities may vary substantially over life course (e.g.,

as a function of family responsibilities) but their self-identified fandom may remain more stable (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Knoester and Allison, 2021).

Our work offers theoretical contributions to sport studies as well. We expanded prominent models of sport consumption (e.g., Funk et al., 2016; Trail and James, 2015) by further investigating specific social structural and sociocultural antecedents of consumer behavior. Our results additionally demonstrated the importance of social learning for women's sport consumption and fandom over their life course. Similarly, our findings suggest that immersions in sport through social relationships, sport participation, sport identities are connected to women's sport consumption and fandom. Yet, social locations structure these processes. SES, gender, and family structures can offer both opportunities and constraints for women's consumption and fandom throughout life course (Allison and Knoester, 2021; Knoester and Allison, 2021; Project Play, 2019; Tompsett and Knoester, 2021). To gain a more robust understanding of women's fandom and consumption, future studies may look at sport consumption and fandom among girls to better understand early experiences of socialization into sport. We also encourage future studies on consumption to examine other aspects of women's social locations and social relationships, including adult friendships and weekly hours of leisure time.

From a practical standpoint, this study has several implications for individuals and organizations concerned with understanding, satisfying, and supporting women consumers and fans. Developing more ways to promote event attendance among women with families seems appropriate, as women with children are more likely to be frequent consumers, particularly those with higher household incomes. However, since number of children is not associated with women's fandom per se, there appears to be a need to consider new ways to bolster mothers' fan

identities. Yet, family, school, and community factors were all significant predictors of women's consumption, too. This further suggests that structural (e.g., sport offerings) and sociocultural (e.g., sport-related relationship) factors are important to consider in encouraging women's sport consumption. Our results indicate that organizations should invest in and encourage girls' sport participation to a greater extent, as it may impact their sport consumption and fandom over life course.

Nonetheless, there are limitations to this study to note. The NSASS respondents were not randomly selected and the sample is not nationally representative. In particular, the sample was overwhelmingly White and well-educated. Future studies should seek to examine the experiences of women of color in more depth and also consider how the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, and education may impact sport consumption. The NSASS data also relies upon self-reports in response to closed-ended survey questions. Also, many questions involve a reliance on retrospective accounts. Future research should seek to complement and replicate the findings from the present study with longitudinal research that employs more objective measures of women's sport consumption as well as with more detailed in-depth information from qualitative research approaches.

Despite these limitations, the present study goes beyond previous research by assessing U.S. women's sport consumption and fandom and the social contexts that encourage these means of sport involvement, with the use of new and unique survey data from many respondents. Our findings offer new insights into women's sport consumption and its social structural and sociocultural antecedents, as well as the relationships between women's consumption and their fandom. We also expand upon Funk et al. (2016) and Trail and James' (2015) models of sport consumption by outlining specific antecedents that are significant to U.S. women's sport

consumption behaviors, namely social locations, social relationships to sport, previous sport experiences, and sport-related identities. Although many studies demonstrate a positive association of fandom on consumption, we theorize about and offer evidence that although women's consumption is associated with their levels of fandom, women seem to commonly self-identify as somewhat passionate sport fans even when their levels of sport consumption are not particularly high. Thus, there appears to be a need for increased efforts to satisfy the interests of women who self-identify as rather passionate sport fans but do not consume a lot of sports. It seems wise to start by simply asking women what they want from sport rather than making assumptions based on gendered stereotypes. Regardless, overall, this study supports a recognized need for more consideration and inclusion of women's perspectives and desires for their sport consumption and fandom experiences (Allison, 2018; Toffoletti, 2017).

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U.S. WOMEN'S SPORT CONSUMPTION AND SELF-IDENTIFIED FANDOM

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for all Variables used in the Analyses

	<u>M/%</u>	<u>(SD)</u>	<u>% Missing</u>
<i>Dependent Variables</i>			
# months watched/followed sports	6.40	(4.47)	9%
# sports events attended	2.80	(5.86)	5%
Amount of money paid to watch/follow sports	1.17	(1.88)	19%
Self-identified sports fandom	2.13	(1.25)	-
<i>Predictor Variables</i>			
High school or less	13%		0%
Some college	41%		0%
(College)	46%		0%
Household income	5.11	(3.88)	15%
Works in paid labor	64%		2%
Age	41.34	(12.37)	0%
Black	10%		<.5%
Latinx	8%		<.5%
Other race/ethnicity	8%		<.5%
(White)	74%		<.5%
Lesbian	5%		2%
Bisexual	16%		2%
Other sexual identity	4%		2%
(Heterosexual)	75%		2%
Married	38%		1%
Cohabiting	17%		1%
(Single)	45%		1%
Number of children	0.64	(1.08)	4%
Suburb	32%		<.5%
Small city or town	29%		<.5%
Rural	15%		<.5%
(Urban)	24%		<.5%
Northeast	14%		0%
Midwest	36%		0%
South	34%		0%
(West)	16%		0%
Parents' sports fandom	2.19	(1.43)	4%
Older sibling effect	13%		0%
Mostly athlete friends	17%		2%
No athlete friends	28%		0%
(A few athlete friends)	45%		0%
H.S. sports community	3.36	(0.78)	8%
Community's passion	3.18	(0.76)	17%
Dropped out of sports	40%		7%
Played until adulthood	22%		7%
(Never played sports)	38%		7%
Sports participant	56%		1%
Athlete identity (child)	1.76	(1.45)	<.5%
Thought sports (child)	14.59	(18.63)	12%
Athlete identity (adult)	0.78	(1.08)	<.5%
Mistreated in sports	35%		4%
Sport industry worker	4%		0%
Character contributions	3.47	(0.64)	1%
Watched on a screen	82%		1%
Read	24%		1%
Listened	28%		1%
Video games	8%		1%
Other means	3%		1%

Note: N = 2,853.

Table 2. Regression Results from Predicting Women's Frequencies of Watching or Following Sports, over the past 12 months

Variable	(1) b	SE	B	(2) b	SE	B	(3) b	SE	B	(4) b	SE	B
High School or less	-0.56+	.29	-.05	-0.20	.28	-.01	-0.04	.27	-.00	-0.24	.27	-.02
Some college	-0.15	.20	-.02	-0.01	.19	-.00	0.09	.18	.01	-0.01	.18	-.00
Household income	0.08**	.03	.07	0.07*	.03	.06	0.05+	.03	.04	0.05*	.03	.05
Works in paid labor	0.06	.19	.01	0.08	.19	.01	0.07	.18	-.01	-0.02	.18	-.00
Age	0.04***	.01	.10	0.04***	.01	.12	0.05***	.01	.14	0.05***	.01	.13
Black	0.15	.30	.01	0.03	.29	.00	-0.02	.28	-.00	-0.20	.28	-.01
Latinx	0.21	.34	.01	0.11	.33	.01	-0.02	.32	-.00	-0.18	.32	-.01
Other race/ethnicity	-0.27	.34	-.02	-0.12	.33	-.01	-0.12	.31	-.01	-0.25	.31	-.01
Lesbian	-0.02	.39	-.00	0.03	.37	.00	-0.17	.36	-.01	-0.34	.36	-.02
Bisexual	-0.21	.25	-.02	-0.12	.25	-.01	-0.00	.24	-.00	0.02	.24	.00
Other sexual identity	-1.28**	.46	-.06	-1.11*	.45	-.05	-0.83+	.43	-.01	-0.76+	.42	-.03
Married	0.20	.22	.02	0.25	.20	.03	0.30	.20	.03	0.31	.20	.03
Cohabiting	0.32	.26	.03	0.38	.25	.03	0.36	.24	.03	0.33	.24	.03
Number of children	0.40***	.09	.09	0.39***	.09	.10	0.26**	.08	.06	0.23**	.08	.06
Suburb	-0.23	.24	-.02	-0.30	.23	-.03	-0.20	.22	-.02	-0.16	.22	-.02
Small city or town	-0.49*	.25	-.05	-0.44+	.24	-.04	-0.30	.23	-.03	-0.25	.23	-.03
Rural	-0.62*	.30	-.05	-0.62*	.29	-.05	-0.52+	.28	-.04	-0.50+	.28	-.04
Northeast	0.73*	.32	.06	0.67*	.31	.05	0.74*	.29	.06	0.78**	.29	.06
Midwest	0.68**	.26	.07	0.43+	.26	.05	0.55*	.24	.06	0.60*	.24	.06
South	0.56*	.26	.06	0.37	.26	.04	0.42+	.25	.04	0.41+	.24	.04
<i>Sports-related Relationships</i>												
Parents' sports fandom				0.51***	.06	.17	0.45***	.06	.14	0.40***	.06	.13
Older sibling effect				0.90***	.24	.07	0.67**	.24	.05	0.58*	.24	.04
Mostly athlete friends				0.87***	.24	.06	0.23	.23	.02	0.02	.23	.00
No athlete friends				-0.74***	.20	-.07	-0.34+	.20	-.03	-0.25	.20	-.03
H.S. sports community				0.27*	.12	.05	0.26*	.12	.04	0.20+	.12	.04
Community's passion				0.29*	.12	.05	0.24*	.12	.04	0.26*	.11	.04
<i>Sports Participation</i>												
Dropped out of sports							0.55**	.19	.06	0.28	.20	.03
Played until adulthood							1.49***	.23	.14	0.94***	.25	.09
Sports participant							2.18***	.17	.24	1.90***	.17	.22
<i>Sports-related Identities</i>												
Athlete identity (child)										0.25***	.07	.08
Thought sports (child)										0.02***	.01	.09
Sport industry worker										0.38	.49	.01
R ²		.04			.11			.18			.20	

Note: N = 2,601; + $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3. Regression Results from Predicting Women's Frequencies of Attending a Sports Event, over the past 12 months

Variable	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	b	SE	B	b	SE	B	b	SE	B	b	SE	B
High School or less	-1.83***	.36	-.11	-1.57***	.35	-.09	-1.38***	.35	-.08	-1.51***	.35	-.09
Some college	-0.84**	.24	-.07	-0.75**	.24	-.06	-0.66**	.24	-.06	-0.72**	.24	-.06
Household income	0.21***	.03	.14	0.20***	.03	.13	0.18***	.03	.12	0.18***	.03	.12
Works in paid labor	0.93***	.24	.08	0.92***	.23	.07	0.73**	.23	.06	0.70**	.23	.06
Age	0.01	.01	.03	0.02+	.01	.04	0.03**	.01	.05	0.02*	.01	.05
Black	0.50	.37	.03	0.44	.37	.02	0.31	.36	.02	0.20	.36	.01
Latinx	0.13	.42	.01	0.06	.43	.00	-0.15	.41	-.01	-0.22	.41	-.01
Other race/ethnicity	0.14	.42	.01	0.24	.41	.01	0.23	.40	.01	0.17	.40	.01
Lesbian	0.23	.49	.01	0.31	.48	.01	0.15	.47	.01	0.01	.47	.00
Bisexual	-0.55+	.31	-.03	-0.43	.31	-.03	-0.28	.30	-.01	-0.29	.30	-.02
Other sexual identity	-0.87	.56	-.03	-0.66	.56	-.02	-0.44	.54	-.01	-0.40	.54	-.01
Married	-0.25	.27	-.02	-0.18	.27	-.01	-0.16	.26	-.01	-0.14	.26	-.01
Cohabiting	-0.48	.32	-.03	-0.40	.32	-.03	-0.42	.31	-.03	-0.40	.31	-.03
Number of children	0.94***	.11	.17	0.91***	.11	.17	0.79***	.11	.14	0.78***	.11	.14
Suburb	0.06	.30	.01	-0.01	.29	-.00	0.06	.29	.00	0.10	.29	.01
Small city or town	0.01	.30	.00	-0.01	.30	-.00	0.11	.29	.01	0.15	.98	.01
Rural	0.03	.37	.00	0.02	.37	.00	0.03	.36	.00	0.07	.36	.00
Northeast	0.49	.39	.03	0.44	.39	.03	0.53	.38	.03	0.54	.38	.03
Midwest	0.94**	.33	.08	0.73*	.33	.06	0.84**	.32	.07	0.86**	.32	.07
South	0.12	.33	.01	-0.01	.33	-.00	0.02	.32	.00	0.01	.32	.00
<i>Sports-related Relationships</i>												
Parents' sports fandom				0.35***	.08	.08	0.26**	.08	.06	0.24**	.08	.06
Older sibling effect				0.56+	.32	.03	0.39	.31	.02	0.35	.31	.02
Mostly athlete friends				0.89**	.30	.06	0.31	.30	.02	0.24	.30	.02
No athlete friends				-0.74**	.25	-.06	-0.37	.25	-.03	-0.35	.25	-.03
H.S. sports community				0.07	.15	.01	0.05	.15	.01	0.02	.15	.00
Community's passion				0.58***	.15	.08	0.54***	.15	.07	0.54***	.14	.07
<i>Sport Participation</i>												
Dropped out of sports							0.32	.25	.03	0.27	.26	.02
Played until adulthood							2.03***	.30	.14	1.90***	.32	.14
Sports participant							1.93***	.22	.16	1.79***	.22	.15
<i>Sports-related Identities</i>												
Athlete identity (child)										-0.04	.09	-.01
Thought sports (child)										0.03***	.11	.08
Sport industry worker										1.16	.61	.03
R ²		.09			.12			.17			.17	

Note: N = 2,720; + p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 4. Regression Results from Predicting Women's Reports of How Much they Paid to Watch or Follow Sports, over the past 12 months

Variable	(1)			(2)			(3)			(4)		
	b	SE	B	b	SE	B	b	SE	B	b	SE	B
High School or less	-0.38**	.13	-.07	-0.27*	.13	-.05	-0.27	.13	-.03	-0.26*	.13	-.04
Some college	-0.13	.09	-.03	-0.09	.08	-.02	-0.05	.08	-.01	-0.08	.08	-.02
Household income	0.09***	.01	.19	0.09***	.01	.18	0.08***	.01	.17	0.08***	.01	.17
Works in paid labor	0.12	.09	.03	0.10	.08	.03	0.06	.08	.01	0.06	.08	.02
Age	0.01+	.00	.04	0.01*	.00	.06	0.01**	.00	.08	0.01**	.00	.07
Black	-0.04	.13	-.01	-0.08	.13	-.01	-0.07	.13	-.01	-0.13	.13	-.02
Latinx	0.17	.15	.02	0.14	.15	.02	0.10	.15	.01	0.07	.15	.01
Other race/ethnicity	0.01	.15	.00	0.04	.15	.00	0.07	.14	.01	0.05	.14	.01
Lesbian	0.07	.17	.01	0.10	.17	.01	0.05	.16	.01	-0.01	.16	-.00
Bisexual	-0.16	.11	-.03	-0.13	.11	-.03	-0.11	.11	-.02	-0.12	.11	-.02
Other sexual identity	-0.41*	.21	-.04	-0.32	.20	-.03	-0.25	.20	-.03	-0.24	.20	-.02
Married	0.14	.10	.04	0.15	.09	.04	0.17+	.09	.04	0.17+	.09	.04
Cohabiting	0.06	.11	.01	0.07	.11	.01	0.08	.11	.02	0.08	.11	.02
Number of children	0.17***	.04	.10	0.16***	.04	.09	0.13**	.04	.07	0.12**	.04	.07
Suburb	-0.16	.10	-.04	-0.17+	.10	-.04	-0.14	.10	-.04	-0.13	.10	-.03
Small city or town	-0.24*	.11	-.06	-0.24*	.11	-.06	-0.20*	.10	-.05	-0.20+	.10	-.05
Rural	-0.22	.13	-.04	-0.25+	.13	-.05	-0.24+	.13	-.04	-0.23+	.13	-.04
Northeast	0.09	.14	.02	0.07	.14	.01	0.11	.13	.02	0.13	.13	.02
Midwest	0.31**	.11	.08	0.24*	.11	.06	0.27*	.11	.07	0.28*	.11	.07
South	0.05	.12	.01	0.00	.11	.00	-0.02	.11	.01	0.03	.11	.01
<i>Sports-related Relationships</i>												
Parents' sports fandom				0.11***	.03	.08	0.08*	.03	.06	0.07*	.03	.05
Older sibling effect				0.23*	.11	.04	0.16	.11	.03	0.14	.11	.03
Mostly athlete friends				0.30**	.11	.06	0.16	.11	.03	0.11	.11	.02
No athlete friends				-0.17+	.09	-.04	-0.05	.09	-.01	-0.03	.09	-.00
H.S. sports community				0.08	.05	.03	0.07	.05	.03	0.06	.05	.02
Community's passion				0.17**	.05	.07	0.15**	.05	.06	0.15**	.05	.06
<i>Sport Participation</i>												
Dropped out of sports							0.22*	.09	.06	0.17+	.09	.05
Played until adulthood							0.54***	.11	.12	0.44***	.11	.10
Sports participant							0.59***	.08	.15	0.51***	.08	.14
<i>Sports-related Identities</i>												
Athlete identity (child)										0.03	.03	.02
Thought sports (child)										0.01***	.00	.08
Sport industry worker										0.21	.22	.02
R ²		.08			.11			.15			.16	

Note: N = 2,300; + $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 5. Regression Results from Predicting Women's Self-Identified Sports Fandom

Variable	(1) b	SE	B	(2) b	SE	B	(3) b	SE	B
High School or less	0.16**	.06	.04	0.21***	.05	.05	0.18**	.05	.05
Some college	0.04	.04	.01	0.04	.04	.02	0.04	.04	.01
Household income	-0.00	.01	-.01	-0.02**	.01	-.05	-0.02**	.01	-.05
Works in paid labor	-0.00	.04	-.00	0.00	.04	.00	0.01	.04	.00
Age	0.01***	.00	.11	0.01***	.00	.06	0.01***	.00	.06
Black	0.14*	.06	.03	0.20***	.06	.05	0.19**	.05	.04
Latinx	0.15*	.07	.03	0.18***	.06	.04	0.15*	.06	.03
Other race/ethnicity	0.10	.07	.02	0.14*	.06	.03	0.13*	.06	.03
Lesbian	0.05	.08	.01	0.06	.07	.01	0.04	.07	.01
Bisexual	-0.11*	.05	-.03	-0.10*	.05	-.03	-0.09	.05	-.03
Other sexual identity	-0.34**	.10	-.05	-0.25**	.09	-.04	-0.21*	.09	-.03
Married	0.05	.05	.02	-0.00	.04	-.00	-0.01	.04	-.00
Cohabiting	0.07	.05	.02	0.04	.05	.01	0.02	.05	.01
Number of children	0.05**	.02	.04	0.03	.02	.02	0.03+	.02	.03
Suburb	-0.08+	.05	-.03	-0.05	.04	-.02	-0.05	.04	-.02
Small city or town	-0.10+	.05	-.04	-0.05	.05	-.02	-0.05	.04	-.02
Rural	-0.19**	.06	-.05	-0.12*	.05	-.03	-0.13*	.05	-.04
Northeast	0.09	.07	.03	0.02	.06	.01	0.02	.06	.01
Midwest	0.06	.05	.02	-0.01	.05	-.00	-0.00	.05	-.00
South	0.07	.05	.03	0.03	.05	.01	0.04	.05	.01
<i>Sports-related Relationships</i>									
Parents' sports fandom	0.12***	.01	.14	0.08***	.01	.09	0.08***	.01	.09
Older sibling effect	0.12*	.05	.03	0.05	.05	.01	0.04	.05	.01
Mostly athlete friends	-0.03	.05	-.01	-0.02	.05	-.01	-0.02	.05	-.01
No athlete friends	-0.10*	.04	-.04	-0.08+	.04	-.03	-0.04	.04	-.02
H.S. sports community	0.04	.03	.02	0.01	.02	.01	0.00	.02	.00
Community's passion	0.01	.03	.01	-0.02	.02	-.01	-0.02	.02	-.01
<i>Sport Participation</i>									
Dropped out of sports	-0.05	.05	-.02	-0.09*	.04	-.04	-0.13**	.04	-.05
Played until adulthood	0.05	.06	.02	-0.04	.05	-.01	-0.07	.05	-.02
Sports participant	0.33***	.04	.13	0.16***	.04	.06	0.13**	.04	.05
<i>Sports-related Identities</i>									
Athlete identity (child)	0.11***	.02	.13	0.11***	.02	.12	0.11***	.01	.12
Thought sports (child)	0.01***	.00	.14	0.01***	.00	.11	0.01***	.00	.10
Sport industry worker	0.33**	.10	.05	0.31**	.09	.05	0.27**	.09	.04
Athlete identity (adult)	0.21***	.02	.18	0.17***	.02	.15	0.17***	.02	.15
Mistreated in sports	-0.10*	.04	-.04	-0.17***	.04	-.06	-0.17***	.03	-.07
Character contributions	0.49***	.03	.25	0.34***	.03	.17	0.31***	.03	.16
<i>Sports Consumption</i>									
# months consume				0.10***	.00	.35	0.07***	.01	.25
# events attended				-0.01	.00	-.02	-0.00	.00	-.01
\$ paid to watch/follow				0.08***	.01	.12	0.07***	.01	.11
Watched on a screen							0.47***	.05	.14
Read							0.06	.04	.02
Listened							0.24***	.04	.08
Video games							0.15	.12	.03
Other means							-0.09	.10	-.02
R ²		.43			.56			.58	

Note: $N = 2,853$; $+p < .10$. $*p < .05$. $**p < .01$. $***p < .001$.

Note: High/low = +/- 1 SD for continuous variables and 1/0 for dichotomous variables; average = set at mean values

Note: High/low = +/- 1 SD for continuous variables and 1/0 for dichotomous variables; average = set at mean values