

# Using Census Data to Understand Diversity in the Sports Industry in the United States

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## ABSTRACT

This paper uses American Community Survey data to explore diversity in the spectator sports industry in the United States. Past works looking at diversity in sports have focused primarily on athletes, coaches, and top management. As these workers comprise only a small share of all workers within sports organizations, focusing only on these participants paints an incomplete picture of diversity in the sports industry. Across occupation types within the sports industry, this study finds that women and minorities are underrepresented. Women account for only 30 percent of workers, while non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic workers each account for less than 13 percent of all workers in the industry. In occupational groupings where women and minorities are appropriately represented, they are overrepresented in those jobs that are lower earning. Women account for half of all workers in office and administrative support occupations and in sales occupations but are less than a third and a quarter of supervisors in these occupations. Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black individuals are underrepresented in management occupations but account for more than a third and a fifth of food service managers. These findings would suggest that more should be done to promote diversity and inclusion in sports organizations, including in those roles that are less publicly visible.

**Keywords:** Diversity, Sports Industry, Sports Organizations

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## 1. Introduction

Sports in the United States have historically and remain to be characterized by a lack of diversity. With regards to the athletes themselves, professional and collegiate sports in the U.S. are now pretty diverse. In 2016, Black players comprised 74.3 percent of players in the National Basketball Association (NBA) and 69.7 percent of players in the National Football League (NFL), and Hispanic players comprised 28.5 percent of players in Major League Baseball (MLB) (Berri, 2018). However, with regards to gender diversity, opportunities for women to participate as professional athletes continue to lag behind opportunities for men, as does compensation. While the athletes are relatively diverse, coaching and leadership suffer from a significant lack of diversity. To cite numbers from collegiate sports in the U.S. in 2019, 86.7 percent of Division 1 (D1) conference commissioners, 85.0 percent of D1 men's head coaches, and 83.2 percent of D1 women's head coaches were white. Only 30 percent of D1 conference commissioners, 4.0 percent of D1 men's head coaches, and 40.6 percent of D1 women's head coaches were women (Lapchick, 2020). In 2019, there were no female head coaches in any of the major top level men's professional team sports in the U.S.

Diversity is an important issue in the management of sports organizations. While fans may see sport as a game, the owners or sports teams and organizations are running business and seeking to earn profits. There are a number of ways in which ensuring that a sports organization has a diverse workforce and a diversity friendly culture impact financial success. Diversity is important for a healthy business environment (Catalyst, 2020). Diversity in the workplace is associated with higher profits (Adler, 2001), increased innovation (Lorenzo et al., 2017), and lower employee turnover (Maurer and Qureshi, 2019). Hiring from a diverse talent pool is likely also important in trying to attract fans beyond the white male demographic. Hiring diverse

management in sports is an issue that continues to receive attention in the media. Even amidst the ongoing Black Lives Matter protests, the first major head coaching hire preceding the start of the 2020-2021 NBA season was Steve Nash, a white male with years of playing experience but no coaching experience. This hire drew the anguish of commentators like Stephan A. Smith and others as there were many highly qualified female candidates, like Becky Hammon, and black candidates, like Ty Lue, not currently in head coaching positions.<sup>2</sup>

As the athletes, coaches, and top management are the most well-known employees in the sports industry, research on diversity in sports typically focuses almost exclusively on these workers. While these workers are typically the highest paid in their organizations, they make up a small share of all workers in these industries. If you attend a professional sporting event in the U.S., you'll encounter a variety of other workers, including ushers, food service workers, janitorial staff and dancers. Beyond consumer facing employees, these organizations employ many workers behind the scenes, including athlete oriented workers like scouts and trainers and office workers like sales staff and administrative support. Therefore, focusing on athletes, coaches, and top management alone paints an incomplete picture of diversity in the sports industry.

Using American Community Survey data made available by the U.S. Census Bureau, I look to understand who works in the spectator sports industry in the United States. As this is a nationally representative survey, this data allows me to paint a more complete picture of diversity in the sports industry. Using the full sample of workers in the spectator sports industry, I first present descriptive statistics for the workers in terms of sex, race, ethnicity, and educational attainment. Then, I explore which occupations these workers are working in, and

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<sup>2</sup> For an example of his commentary on the issue, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kRyGZr-ezWE>.

break down these occupations by race, ethnicity, and sex. Hypothesis tests will be performed to test the shares of workers by race, ethnicity, and sex in these occupations against their shares in the U.S. population.

Like the work focusing on athletes, coaches, and top management, my findings speak to poor representativeness across occupations in the sports industry. I find that men comprise almost 70 percent of workers in the spectator sports industry, and approximately 72.5 percent of workers identify as white of non-Hispanic origins. Only about half of all workers in the spectator sports industry work in arts, entertainment, and sports occupations. Among those workers, under six percent are athletes and under ten percent are coaches or scouts. Women and minorities, while underrepresented overall, are more likely to be found in occupational groupings that are likely to have relatively low earnings. Specifically, women make up relatively large shares of workers in education, office and administrative support, sales, and food preparation and serving workers within the spectator sports industry. Similarly, Black and Hispanic workers make up relatively large shares of building, grounds, and maintenance, food preparation and serving, and protective service workers within the spectator sports industry.

## **2. Literature**

As diversity continues to be a major issue in sport in the United States and internationally, a vast literature exists addressing this topic. Three separate but related literatures will be explored in this literature review. First, I will discuss literature looking to describe and quantify diversity in sports organizations, as this literature is most closely related to the topic of this paper. Second, literature looking to identify barriers to diversity will be discussed. Last, papers describing the experiences of diverse populations in sport will be explored.

### *2.1 Quantifying Diversity in Sports Organizations*

Arguably the most complete description of diversity in sports organization in the U.S. has been performed by The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES). TIDES has been producing reports on diversity in sport in the U.S. since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. While the leagues considered have changed some over time, the most recent TIDES report gave diversity grades for Major League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA), the National Football League (NFL), the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA), Major League Soccer (MLS), and College Sport. Diversity grades are given with respect to race and gender, and then an overall score is given. These scores are calculated by comparing the representation of women and racial groups to their representation in the U.S. population, and then a letter grade is given from A to F. Of the six groups analyzed in the most recent report, only the NBA and WNBA received overall grades of A or better. College sport received the lowest score at a C+. The other three leagues scored within the B range. All six organizations scored better with respect to racial hiring than with respect to gender hiring (Lapchick, 2020).

The first TIDES report to use an A to F scoring system consistent with the most recent report was the 2001 report. When comparing scores for 2001 with 2019, each of the major professional leagues in the U.S. have shown some improvement. The NBA has improved from a B+ to an A, while the NFL, MLB, and MLS have all moved from the C range into the B range (Lapchick, 2006). While improvements have been made in these leagues from the start of the century to today, much of this improvement occurred in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. By 2011, the NBA and WNBA were both in the A range, while the NFL, MLB, and MLS were all in the B range. Further, college sport has actually become less diverse since 2011. College sport received a score of B in 2011, while its score today is C+ (Lapchick, 2011).

Studies have also looked at diversity in sport in more narrow settings. Yiamouyiannis and Osborne (2012) looked to assess female leadership representation within the NCAA. They found that inequalities toward women exist across the board and across all levels of the NCAA. Women were underrepresented as coaches, administrators, conference commissioners, representatives on committees, and in upper leadership positions. While much of the literature focuses on diversity with respect to sex, race, and ethnicity, White et al. (2019) looked at age representation in the governance of rugby in England. While the vast majority of players are under 25, there are no members of the major governing boards that are under 30. This presents a problem as younger players are particularly concerned with health issues stemming from concussions, and the concerns of the younger players are not shared to the same extent by the older governing board.

The coverage of women's sports in the media has also received quantitative attention. Cooky, Messner, and Musto (2015) have conducted historical analyses of the coverage of men's and women's sports in the U.S. Over the past 25 years, the authors had collected data on sports coverage by the Los Angeles local network affiliates of CBS, NBC, and ABC, as well as by ESPN's *SportsCenter*. In 2014, across the four networks only 3.2 percent of coverage was dedicated exclusively to women's sports. Sadly, this number has decreased over time. Five percent of coverage was dedicated to women's sports in 1989. This number peaked at 8.7 percent in 1999, and hit a low at 1.6 percent in 2009. Pavlidis, Kennelly, and Castro (2020) looked to analyze the media representation of sportswomen during Australia's 2018 Gold Coast Commonwealth Games. This was an especially interesting event to examine because of a broader strategic push for gender equality in these games. While the quantity of coverage of women during these games showed improvement, the images portrayed in the media were not

representative. Specifically, the authors felt the media coverage embraced images of “white women celebrating and smiling” while reinforcing “ideals of White, middle-class femininity” despite there being a diverse population of women participating in these games.

## *2.2 Identifying Barriers to Diversity in Sports Organizations*

A series of works by Cunningham and coauthors have sought to identify barriers faced by Black men in coaching at the collegiate level. Cunningham and Sagas (2004) conducted a survey of D1 NCAA football assistant coaches to identify racial differences in perceived opportunities for advancement. They found that coaches that identify as racial minorities report lowered perceived opportunity for advancement, lower career satisfaction, and higher occupational turnover intent relative to coaches that identify as white. Cunningham, Bruening, and Straub (2006) sought to identify barriers to obtaining head coaching positions, comparing D1 assistant football and basketball coaches. In both sports there were no racial differences in the desire to become a head coach. However, Black assistant coaches perceived race and opportunity as limiting their abilities to achieve head coaching positions relative to whites. Further, the effect of race on perceived opportunity and turnover intentions was stronger among football assistant coaches than among basketball assistant coaches. Cunningham (2010) took a multi-level approach to understanding the underrepresentation of Black coaches at the collegiate level. At the macro level, institutionalized practices, political climate, and stakeholder expectations were identified as important factors. At the meso level, prejudice, discrimination, leadership stereotypes, and organizational culture were identified as factors contributing to the underrepresentation of Black head coaches. At the micro level, head coaching expectations and intentions and turnover intentions were identified as important factors.

Qualitative works have also looked to understand barriers to diversity in other settings. While also focused on collegiate athletics, Borland and Bruening (2010) looked to understand barriers faced by Black female assistant coaches in becoming head coaches. Access discrimination, lack of support, and prevalent stereotypes were cited as barriers faced by Black female assistant coaches. The authors sought to understand how these barriers were negotiated and looked to identify methods to eradicate these barriers. Networking and mentoring were identified as important in negotiating the barriers, and more mentoring, development, and expanding job pools were suggested as methods to eradicate the barriers. Spaaij, Knoppers, and Jeanes (2020) looked to identify barriers to diversity in Australian recreational club sport, focusing on the views and practices of those in leadership positions. They identified six practices by those in leadership to resist diversity: speech acts, moral boundary work, in-group essentialism, denial/silencing, self-victimization, and bodily inscription.

### *2.3 Understanding Experiences of Diverse Workers in Sports Organizations*

Authors studying diversity in sport have also looked to understand the experiences of diverse workers in these organizations. Hindman and Walker (2020) looked to understand how female managers in men's sports experience and survive the sexism and organizational culture of their workplaces. Interviews of 11 female business managers of American Hockey League teams were conducted to understand these issues. The authors report a number of ways in which organizational culture is damaging to women. These organizations have an "old boys' club" type culture where female managers feel their capabilities are diminished. Women's bodies are objectified, and sexism comes with emotional and professional repercussions. Melton and Cunningham (2014) looked to understand the experiences of LGBT employees in a collegiate D1 athletics department. While the department was generally not accepting of members of the

LGBT community (domestic partners could not be on health insurance, interviewees did not feel their partners were welcome at department functions, etc.), these employees felt strong connections to their jobs and athletics at the university, and choose to stay in their roles despite opportunities to work in more accepting, higher paying roles in other industries. This may have been in part due to the way in which working in sport shaped the perceptions of others. Working in sport lead some of the LGBT employees to feel more accepted by their homophobic family and neighbors.

#### *2.4 Hypothesis and Contribution*

Taken collectively, the literature paints a grim picture of diversity in sports. However, the primary focus of the literature is on sports workers at the highest levels: athletes, coaches, and upper management. The primary contribution of this work is to expand upon the current literature by examining diversity in sports across all occupations. While sports managers should care about diversity of athletes, coaches, and top management, there should be an emphasis on fair and equal in the hiring of employees in all roles. I pose two primary hypotheses with respect to the proceeding analysis. First, I hypothesize that women and minorities are underrepresented across occupations in the sports industry, not just in the most prominent roles. Second, I hypothesize that women and minorities will occupy most prevalently the roles that are lower earning.

### **3. Data and Methodology**

The data source used in this paper is the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS)<sup>3</sup> retrieved used IPUMS (Ruggles et al., 2020). The ACS is a survey of a random one percent sample of U.S. residents completed yearly. Questions asked in the survey relate to topics

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<sup>3</sup> For more information on the American Community Survey, see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs>.

including but not limited to education, occupation, earnings, and demographics. For the purpose of this analysis, the ACS is useful in that I can identify individuals who work in the sports industry and know their sex, race, ethnicity, and occupation. In the following analysis I use a five-year ACS sample, consisting of the single year samples from 2014 to 2018.

A challenge in identifying who works in the sports industry in the U.S. is that the sports industry is not well defined. Humphreys and Ruseski (2010) identify 12 individual industry groups that are related to sport within the North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS). These 12 industry groups are spectator sports teams, racetracks, other spectator sports, golf courses, skiing facilities, fitness/recreation centers, bowling centers, sporting goods manufacturing, sporting goods retail stores, sporting goods wholesalers, athletes/entertainer's agents, and sports/recreation instructors. NAICS codes identifying industries can have up to six digits. This issue is further complicated as the ACS does not report all 6 digits, but rather reports the first four or five. In reporting only four or five digits, individual industries end up being grouped together. As such, this analysis will be restricted to individuals working in the spectator sports industry, which consists of spectator sports teams, racetracks, and other spectator sports.

Before proceeding, it is important to further describe the types of business which are included in the spectator sports industry<sup>4</sup>. Spectator sports occur in front of paying audiences and firms in this industry can be grouped into one of five categories: sports teams and clubs, racetracks, independent athletes, owners of racing participants, and establishments engaged in providing services in support of sports. Sports teams and clubs consist of professional or semiprofessional organizations that put on live sporting events, like soccer or basketball. Racetracks consists of establishments hosting events such as auto, dog, and horse races.

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<sup>4</sup> For even more detail, see [https://www.census.gov/eos/www/naics/2017NAICS/2017\\_NAICS\\_Manual.pdf](https://www.census.gov/eos/www/naics/2017NAICS/2017_NAICS_Manual.pdf).

Independent athletes are those professional or semiprofessional athletes engaging in non-team sports, like tennis or auto racing. Owners of racing participants are the owners of animals, like dogs or horses, or cars engaging in racing or other spectator events. Last, establishments engaged in sports support services include business involved in activities like sports training and pet grooming (United States, 2017).

Summary statistics for the full sample of survey respondents working in the spectator sports industry are given in Table 1. Sampling weights are used when calculating means, allowing for inference on the total U.S. population. While the sample consists of just over 10,000 observations across the five years, the total sampling weights account for just over 200,000, indicating that about 40,000 individuals work in the spectator sports industry in the U.S. each year. Men comprise almost 70 percent of workers in this industry. With respect to race and ethnicity, 72.45 percent of workers identify as non-Hispanic white, 11.49 percent identify as non-Hispanic Black, and 12.23 percent identify as Hispanic. Almost two-thirds of workers attended at least some college. Of those workers who complete at least a four-year college degree, the most common major grouping is the other category, which includes majors in the arts and humanities, while the second most common major grouping is business.

In the analysis that follows, occupations of workers in the sports industry will be explored further. In each table, percentages of workers by occupation will be presented for the full sample, and then by occupation percentages of workers identifying as male, female, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic. Analysis will first be presented for broad occupational groupings, then for detailed occupations within the most common broad groupings.

Beyond occupational shares of each group, hypothesis tests will be run to test for whether the shares within each occupation differ from the group's share of persons in the U.S. population.

This will allow for the testing of whether women and minority groups are appropriately represented in various occupational categories in the spectator sports industry. According to the latest census estimates, 50.8 percent of the population is female, 60.1 percent is non-Hispanic white, 11.2 percent is non-Hispanic Black, and 18.5 percent is Hispanic. Women are then underrepresented in an occupation if they occupy significantly less than 50.8 percent of jobs, while non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic workers are underrepresented if they occupy significantly less than 11.2 and 18.5 percent of jobs.

## **4. Results**

### *4.1 Broad Occupational Groupings*

Shares of workers by occupational grouping are presented in Table 2. The ACS identifies 23 broad occupational groupings into which detailed occupations are classified<sup>5</sup>. There are 14 occupational groupings each which account for greater than one percent of workers in the spectator sports industry. The other 9 occupational groupings are grouped into an “Other Occupations” category, and account for only 2.16 percent of workers. Not surprisingly, just over half of workers in the spectator sports industry work in arts, entertainment, and sports occupations. This means, however, that almost half of all workers in the spectator sports industry do not work in such occupations. The second most common occupational grouping in the industry are management occupations at 8.37 percent, followed by personal care and service at 6.87 percent, office and administrative support at 5.42 percent, and sales at 5.36 percent. In the five tables that follow, these occupational groupings will be broken down by individual occupations for these five groupings accounting for greater than five percent each of workers in the spectator sports industry.

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<sup>5</sup> For more information on the ACS’s occupational groupings, see <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps/methodology/Occupation%20Codes.pdf>.

While the spectator sports industry as a whole is almost 70 percent male, there are stark differences across occupational groupings. Men account for over 85 percent of all workers in installation and repair, construction, transportation and material moving, and protective service occupations. While accounting for only about 30 percent of all workers, women account for just over 50 percent of workers in education and office and administrative support occupations, and just under 50 percent of workers in sales and food preparation and serving occupations.

Similarly, there are considerable differences in the race and ethnic composition of workers across occupational groupings. While accounting for 11.49 percent of all workers in the spectator sports industry, non-Hispanic Black workers account for 28.34 percent of workers in building, grounds, and maintenance, 24.07 percent of workers in food preparation and serving, and 23.26 percent of workers in protective service occupations. Hispanic workers account for 12.23 percent of all workers in the spectator sports industry, yet account for 28.57 percent of workers in building, grounds, and maintenance, 18.85 percent of workers in personal care and service, and 18.04 percent of workers in food preparation and serving occupations.

#### *4.2 Arts, Entertainment, and Sports Occupations*

Shares of workers by individual occupation within the arts, entertainment, and sports occupational grouping are presented in Table 3. There are eight occupations which each account for greater than five percent of workers within arts, entertainment, and sports. While workers in sports occupations comprise four of these occupations, the majority of workers are in arts and entertainment. With regards to the sports occupations within arts, entertainment, and sports, athletes and sports competitors account for 5.60 percent of workers, coaches and scouts account for 9.78 percent of workers, umpires, referees, and officials account for 6.76 percent of workers, and other entertainment and sports workers account for 5.14 percent of workers. Among arts and

entertainment occupations, artists and designers account for 16.23 percent of workers, actors account for 6.74 percent of workers, musicians and singers account for 17.57 percent of workers, and editors, writers, and authors account for 12.23 percent of workers.

Women are significantly underrepresented in a number of occupations within the arts, entertainment, and sports grouping. Fewer than ten percent of umpires, referees, and officials identify as female. Further, less than 15 percent of workers in five additional occupations are women. These occupations are athletes and sports competitors, musicians and singers, broadcast announcers/radio DJs, other media and communications workers, and other television and media equipment workers. The only occupation where women account for greater than 50 percent of workers is dancers and choreographers, where women account for 68.78 percent of workers.

There is also considerable variation across individual occupations within arts, entertainment, and sports with respect to race and ethnicity. Non-Hispanic Black workers account for just under ten percent of all workers in arts, entertainment, and sports occupations. However, non-Hispanic Black workers account for almost a quarter of dancers and choreographers and over a fifth of broadcast announcers/radio DJs, while accounting for less than five percent each of editors, writers, and authors, other media and communication workers, photographers, and other television and media equipment workers. Similarly, Hispanic workers account for about 11 percent of workers in arts, entertainment, and sports occupations. However, Hispanic workers account for more than a quarter of athletes and sports competitors and other media and communication workers, while accounting for less than three percent of news analysts, reporters, and correspondents and editors, writers, and authors.

#### *4.3 Other Common Occupational Groupings*

Beyond arts, entertainment, and sports, four additional occupational groupings, management, personal care and service, office and administrative support, and sales, each comprised greater than five percent of workers in the spectator sports industry. Shares of workers by individual occupation within the management occupational grouping are presented in Table 4. Over 60 percent of managers in the spectator sports industry fall into the “Other Managers” occupational grouping. As there is not a sports specific managers category option, this is probably not surprising. While women comprise 28.94 percent of all managers in the spectator sports industry, there is considerable variation across individual manager occupations. Likely the highest paid and most publicly prominent of managers in sports, women comprise only 16.32 percent of chief executives and legislators and only 25.64 percent of general and operations managers. Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black workers are relatively underrepresented in management occupations as a whole, at only 9.51 and 7.93 percent of managers respectively. While there were no non-Hispanic Black facilities, computer and information systems, or financial managers in the sample, non-Hispanic Black workers comprised over 20 percent of food service managers. Similarly, there were no Hispanic computer and information systems or facilities managers in the sample, yet Hispanic workers were just over 40 percent of public relations and fundraising managers and just under 40 percent of food service managers.

Shares of workers by individual occupation within the personal care and service occupational grouping are presented in Table 5. There are four occupations each with greater than five percent of workers within this occupational grouping, ushers, lobby attendants, and ticket takers at 33.95 percent, other entertainment attendants at 25.00 percent, animal caretakers at 13.26 percent, and animal trainers at 10.76 percent. Relative at all occupations, women comprise a larger share of workers in this occupational grouping at 33.17 percent. There are five

occupations in which women make up more than half of all workers: hairdressers and cosmetologists, skincare specialists, childcare workers, manicurists and pedicurists, and recreation workers. Similarly, non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic workers comprise greater shares of workers in this occupational grouping than in the spectator sports industry as a whole. Hispanic workers account for 70.00 percent of hairdressers and cosmetologists, 55.70 percent of manicurists and pedicurists, and 45.19 percent of animal caretakers, while non-Hispanic Black workers account for 53.19 percent of baggage, bellhops, and concierge workers.

Table 6 presents shares of workers within individual office and administrative support occupations. There are four occupations that each account for greater than ten percent of workers in this occupational grouping, eligibility interviewers for government programs at 33.56 percent, other office and administrative support at 20.74 percent, secretaries and administrative clerks at 11.40 percent, and office clerks at 11.01 percent. Women comprise just over half of all office and administrative support workers. Despite this, men occupy more than two-third of supervisors of office workers positions. While relatively well-represented across these occupations, women account for 77.45 percent of secretaries and administrative clerks and 70.06 percent of reception and information clerks, but just 8.26 percent of communications equipment operators. Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black workers account for similar shares of workers in these occupations as they do workers in the spectator sports industry as a whole. However, non-Hispanic Black workers account for over 20 percent of hotel and resort desk clerks, eligibility interviewers for government programs, and reception and information clerks but under five percent of bookkeepers and financial clerks and supervisors of office workers.

Shares of workers by individual occupation within the sales occupational grouping are presented in Table 7. Just over 40 percent of all workers in this occupational grouping are

cashiers. Like the office and administrative support occupations, women comprise just about half of all workers in sales occupations yet are less than a quarter of all supervisors of sales workers. Further, women account for almost 75 percent of models, demonstrators, and product promoters. Hispanic and non-Hispanic workers make up a small but slightly larger share of workers in sales occupations relative to all occupations within the spectator sports industry.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusions**

This paper sought to identify who works within the spectator sports industry in the U.S. using American Community Survey data. As less than 15 percent of all workers in this industry are athletes, coaches, or officials, focusing on the diversity of these sports participants paints an incomplete picture of diversity in the industry as a whole. Across occupation types, women and minorities are underrepresented. Further, even in those groupings where women and minorities are appropriately represented, they are overrepresented in those jobs that are likely to be lower earning. For example, women make up about half of all workers in office and administrative support occupations and in sales occupations. However, women account for less than a third of supervisors in office and administrative support occupations and less than a quarter of supervisors in sales occupations. As another example, Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black individuals are underrepresented in management occupations but make up more than a third and a fifth of food service managers.

The major sports organizations in the United States all have a long history of segregation and discrimination, and diversity is an issue that continues to need to be addressed within the sports industry. As emphasized by many others, women and minorities are underrepresented in officiating, coaching, and top management. As is highlighted in this work, this lack of diversity is persistent across occupations. This lack of diversity is a problem both morally and financially.

From a financial perspective, sports managers should seek to hire the most talented individuals. Failing to do so is bad for profits. Diversity is associated with higher profits (Adler, 2001), increased innovation (Lorenzo et al., 2017), lower turnover (Maurer and Qureshi, 2019), and a healthy business environment overall (Catalyst, 2020). As sports organizations seek to thrive in good times and survive in bad times, it is important to take all steps necessary to expand fan bases and hire the most talented, productive workers to ensure profitability.

This work brings to light certain policy implications for the management of sports organizations. First and foremost, improving the diversity of players, coaches, and top management alone will not solve all sport's diversity problems. The lack of diversity is persistent across occupations. Second, men managing women, but not women managing men, is not a problem that is unique to just coaches and players. Rather, men are overrepresented in management across occupations.

This research is only a first step in painting a more complete picture of diversity in the sports industry in the U.S. There are many important questions still to be answered. Do we see a pay gap for women in other occupations within the sports industry like we see for female athletes? Has diversity in sports organizations in the U.S. improved over time? Answering these questions and more will help to provide even further insights.

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## Tables

TABLE 1  
Summary Statistics

Variable	Percentage
Male	69.85%
Female	30.15%
White (Non-Hispanic)	72.45%
Black (Non-Hispanic)	11.49%
Hispanic	12.23%
High School Diploma or Less Education	34.23%
Some College or More Education	65.77%
Undergraduate Major	
Business	18.11%
Education	5.90%
Engineering	3.65%
Sciences	9.99%
Social Sciences	13.07%
Other	54.32%
Number of Observations	10,043
Total of Sampling Weights	210,942

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. Undergraduate major is given for only those workers with a bachelor's degree or greater. Note that the sum of the percentages for undergraduate major exceeds 100% because some individuals report more than one undergraduate major.

TABLE 2  
Broad Occupational Groupings by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupational Grouping	Share of all Sports Workers	Male	Female	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all Sports Workers		69.85%**	30.15%**	72.45%**	11.49%**	12.23%**
Arts, Entertainment, and Sports	50.16%	73.30%**	26.70%**	75.36%**	9.71%**	10.95%**
Building, Grounds, and Maintenance	2.26%	75.23%**	24.77%**	39.04%**	28.34%**	28.57%**
Business and Financial Operations	4.10%	58.24%**	41.76%**	75.94%**	10.99%	9.34%**
Computer and Mathematical	1.02%	78.88%**	21.12%**	72.03%**	11.14%	6.43%**
Construction	1.23%	88.88%**	11.12%**	76.26%**	8.66%	15.20%
Education	1.26%	47.26%	52.74%	78.89%**	5.33%**	9.58%**
Food Preparation and Serving	3.41%	53.24%	46.76%	58.10%	24.07%**	18.04%
Installation and Repair	1.09%	94.44%**	5.56%**	87.02%**	1.22%**	6.86%**
Management	8.37%	71.06%**	28.94%**	79.70%**	7.93%**	9.51%**
Office and Administrative Support	5.42%	49.69%	50.31%	69.42%**	13.00%	12.29%**
Personal Care and Service	6.87%	66.83%**	33.17%**	64.45%**	12.45%	18.85%**

Protective Service	2.54%	86.48%**	13.52%**	64.52%**	23.26%**	12.74%**
Sales	5.36%	50.95%**	49.05%**	69.31%**	14.63%	13.07%**
Transportation and Material Moving	2.89%	87.12%**	12.88%**	71.05%**	10.32%	14.97%**
Other Occupations	2.16%	73.41%**	26.59%**	70.66%**	8.62%**	10.32%**
Number of Observations	10,043	6,936	3,107	7,689	935	1,061
Total of Sampling Weights	210,942	147,344	63,598	152,834	24,245	25,806

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .

TABLE 3  
Arts, Entertainment, and Sports Occupations by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupation	Share of all AES Workers	Male	Female	White (Non- Hispanic)	Black (Non- Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all AES Workers		73.30%**	26.70%**	75.36%**	9.71%**	10.95%**
Artists and Designers	16.23%	60.70%**	39.30%**	82.82%**	4.60%**	7.75%**
Actors	6.74%	68.43%**	31.57%**	72.86%**	13.32%	11.35%**
Producers and Directors	1.99%	76.14%**	23.86%**	79.36%**	6.45%**	13.43%
Athletes and Sports Competitors	5.60%	87.31%**	12.69%**	64.77%**	13.72%	20.79%
Coaches and Scouts	9.78%	77.06%**	22.94%**	74.00%**	13.54%	8.58%**
Umpires, Referees, and Officials	6.76%	90.52%**	9.48%**	73.55%**	10.30%**	12.15%**
Dancers and Choreographers	2.52%	31.22%**	68.78%**	64.05%	24.46%**	11.01%**
Music Directors and Composers	4.24%	82.59%**	17.41%**	75.53%**	5.44%**	9.65%**
Musicians and Singers	17.57%	88.00%**	12.00%**	68.59%**	13.22%	15.36%**
Other Entertainment and Sports Workers	5.14%	68.42%**	31.58%**	72.82%**	9.32%**	12.19%**
Broadcast Announcers/Radio DJs	3.41%	89.84%**	10.16%**	56.27%	20.12%	16.29%
News Analysts, Reporters, and Correspondents	1.63%	65.28%**	34.72%**	89.12%**	7.64%**	1.56%**
Editors, Writers, and Authors	12.23%	54.09%**	45.91%**	88.91%**	4.16%**	2.65%**
Other Media and Communications Workers	0.95%	88.12%**	11.88%**	65.37%**	3.29%**	22.16%
Photographers	3.56%	70.37%**	29.63%**	77.20%**	3.48%**	14.27%**
Other Television and Media Equipment Workers	1.65%	86.11%**	13.89%**	82.62%**	1.49%**	12.18%
Number of Observations	5,049	3,648	1,401	3,996	368	487
Total of Sampling Weights	105,800	77,550	28,250	79,727	10,271	11,586

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry working in arts, entertainment and sports occupations. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .

TABLE 4  
Management Occupations by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupation	Share of all AES Workers	Male	Female	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all Management Workers		71.06%**	28.94%**	79.70%**	7.93%**	9.51%**
Chief Executives and Legislators	8.78%	83.68%**	16.32%**	70.84%**	19.35%	8.71%**
General and Operations Managers	6.89%	74.36%**	25.64%**	91.62%**	2.38%**	4.19%**
Advertising and Promotion Managers	1.32%	91.42%**	8.58%**	45.49%	19.74%	15.45%
Marketing Managers	5.15%	50.22%	49.78%	76.59%**	4.62%**	8.90%**
Sales Managers	4.97%	66.82%	33.18%	72.18%**	6.27%	18.24%
Public Relations and Fundraising Managers	1.99%	69.23%	30.77%	48.72%	7.41%	43.87%
Facilities Managers	1.08%	79.06%	20.94%	93.19%**	0.00%**	6.80%
Computer and Information Systems Managers	1.08%	83.25%	16.75%	91.10%**	0.00%**	0.00%**
Financial Managers	1.93%	41.18%	58.82%	100.00%**	0.00%**	0.00%**
Human Resource Managers	0.91%	72.05%	27.95%	85.71%	9.32%	4.97%
Food Service Managers	2.23%	74.55%	25.45%	40.46%	22.90%	37.91%
Entertainment and Recreation Managers	2.62%	68.68%	31.32%	76.89%**	3.24%	11.66%**
Other Managers	61.04%	71.14%**	28.86%**	82.63%**	7.26%**	7.78%**
Number of Observations	870	595	275	726	55	62
Total of Sampling Weights	17,653	12,544	5,109	14,069	1,400	1,679

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry working in management occupations. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .

TABLE 5  
Personal Care and Service Occupations by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupation	Share of all AES Workers	Male	Female	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all PCS Workers		66.83%**	33.17%**	64.45%**	12.45%	18.85%**
Animal Trainers	10.76%	78.65%**	21.35%**	69.04%**	0.96%**	25.64%**
Animal Caretakers	13.26%	62.82%**	37.18%**	47.79%	7.07%	45.19%**
Gambling Services Workers	4.45%	56.59%	43.41%	70.70%**	4.19%	9.15%
Ushers, Lobby Attendants, and Ticket Takers	33.95%	66.39%**	33.61%**	62.96%**	17.83%	14.16%**
Other Entertainment Attendants	25.00%	70.84%**	29.16%**	73.19%**	14.07%	8.06%**
Hairdressers and Cosmetologists	0.07%	0.00%**	100%**	30.00%	0.00%**	70.00%
Manicurists and Pedicurists	2.18%	32.28%**	67.72%**	29.75%	9.81%	55.70%
Skincare Specialists	0.16%	0.00%**	100%**	100%**	0.00%**	0.00%**
Baggage, Bellhops, and Concierge	0.97%	83.69%**	16.31%**	19.86%**	53.19%**	26.95%

Tour and Travel Guides	2.08%	79.73%	20.27%	91.03%**	8.97%	0.00%**
Childcare Workers	1.35%	27.55%	72.45%	62.76%	5.61%	31.63%
Exercise Trainers and Group Fitness Workers	2.68%	89.18%**	10.82%**	75.77%	17.53%	3.35%
Recreation Workers	3.10%	43.11%	56.89%	67.11%	6.00%	26.89%
Number of Observations	688	444	244	476	86	102
Total of Sampling Weights	14,502	9,691	4,811	9,346	1,805	2,734

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry working in personal care and service occupations. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .

TABLE 6  
Office and Administrative Support Occupations by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupation	Share of all AES Workers	Male	Female	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all OAS Workers		49.69%	50.31%	69.42%**	13.00%	12.28%**
Supervisors of Office Workers	5.24%	67.11%	32.89%	64.44%	4.34%**	16.03%
Communication Equipment Operators	2.12%	91.74%**	8.26%**	91.32%**	6.20%	2.48%
Bookkeeping and Financial Clerks	7.82%	48.94%	51.06%	85.92%**	3.02%**	10.06%**
Eligibility Interviewers for Government Programs	33.56%	56.39%	43.61%	60.64%	22.69%**	15.52%**
Hotel and Resort Desk Clerks	2.23%	69.41%	30.59%	72.55%	23.14%	4.31%
Reception and Information Clerks	2.75%	29.94%	70.06%	76.11%**	20.06%	3.82%**
Production, Planning, and Expenditure Clerks	3.14%	64.62%**	35.38%**	83.57%	5.29%	11.14%
Secretaries and Administrative Clerks	11.40%	22.55%**	77.45%**	65.57%**	7.75%	8.13%
Office Clerks	11.01%	36.03%	63.97%	69.29%**	12.14%	8.65%**
Other Office and Administrative Support	20.74%	50.84%	49.16%	75.25%**	6.45%**	14.29%**
Number of Observations	566	273	293	413	64	65
Total of Sampling Weights	11,439	5,684	5,755	7,941	1,487	1,405

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry working in office and administrative support occupations. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .

TABLE 7  
Sales Occupations by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

Occupation	Share of all AES Workers	Male	Female	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic
Share of all Sales Workers		50.95%**	49.05%**	69.31%**	14.63%	13.07%**
Fundraisers	3.18%	41.67%	58.33%	78.33%	0.00%**	21.67%

Supervisors of Sales Workers	16.46%	75.46%**	24.54%**	69.50%**	13.80%	15.90%
Cashiers	41.86%	45.59%	54.41%	69.26%**	17.55%**	9.06%**
Retail Salespersons	13.83%	68.73%**	31.27%**	66.62%**	13.94%	16.05%
Models, Demonstrators, and Product Promoters	16.33%	25.01%**	74.99%**	74.88%**	11.86%	9.20%**
Other Sales Workers	8.33%	54.35%	45.65%	59.24%	13.80%	26.96%
Number of Observations	559	299	260	407	69	71
Total of Sampling Weights	11,309	5,762	5,547	7,838	1,655	1,478

<sup>a</sup> The sample consists of all workers in the spectator sports industry working in sales occupations. Sampling weights are used when calculating percentages. \*\* indicates  $p < 0.05$ .