ONLINE APPENDIX

for

Religious Freedom in the City Pool:
Gender Segregation, Partisanship, and the Construction of Symbolic Boundaries

Contents

Appendix 1: Sample Demographics

	Gender
Male	596
Female	658
Non-binary	7
NA	0

	Race
Hispanic	173
White	929
Asian	39
Black	78
Other	40
NA	2

	Education
Less than high school	27
High school	140
Some college	194
Associate degree	116
Bachelor's degree	393
Some postgraduate	60
Postgraduate	331
NA	0

	Level of urbanity
Urban	570
Suburban	465
Rural	225
NA	1

	Party
Democratic	575
Independent	114
Republican	546
NA	26

	Age
18-19	8
20-29	106
30-39	487
40-49	261
50-59	255
60-69	142
70-79	1
NA	1

Respondents were assigned to one of three treatment conditions - Muslim, Jewish, or Pentecostal – or a control group. The treatment article appears below. Treatment text changes appear in bold, and the corresponding image for each condition is also shown at the top of the article. The article was adapted from an article by Anna Goren published by the Seattle Globalist on November 21, 2013 (http://www.seattleglobalist.com/2013/11/21/women-only-swim-tukwila-discrimination-complaint/17982).

We introduced the treatment with a screen containing the following text:

On the next screen, you are going to see part of a news article that was originally published in the Seattle Globalist. Please read it carefully before continuing.

Women-only swim in Tukwila faces discrimination complaints
by Anna Goren

A 90-minute time slot on Sunday afternoons, when women can swim at a public pool in Tukwila removed from men, has led to some awkward conversations around gender and **[Islam / Orthodox Judaism / Pentecostal Christianity]** in one of the region's most diverse cities.

The women-only swim times are a permanent, publicly-funded program, which feature a female lifeguard and the pool windows covered to respect the privacy of women inside from outside viewers.

In recent months, some Tukwila residents and City Council members have raised concerns that the women-only swims amount to gender inequality — with some going as far as to call it reminiscent of the Jim Crow era of separate accommodations.

It all came to a head last week when about 40 people attended a sometimes emotional meeting of the Tukwila Pool Metropolitan Park District to discuss the gender-separate swims.

"I'm concerned that launching evermore segregation of women in our society will cause women to be more marginalized than they are right now," Tukwila resident Jacque Carroll said. "This is not a reason for my tax dollars to be used to meet her religious beliefs."

But more than two dozen women — many **[dressed in the Islamic hijab / wearing dark wigs common to Orthodox Jewish women / wearing long hair and modest dresses common among Pentecostal women]**— and a handful of men spoke emotionally to commissioners about how they and their families use the pool.

"This isn't just something I'm doing," Sara, a **[Muslim / Jewish / Pentecostal]** pool-user, said. "It's a commandment from God; men and women are not to mix together. That's my religious belief."

Some women pointed out that, without gender-neutral swim times, they are being excluded from use of the facilities on the basis of their religion, which violates their right to free exercise of religion.

But not everyone is convinced by this argument. "I'm a first amendment nut," Robert Neuffer asserted, "but I do not have to defend beliefs that make women less than human beings. I've seen it abroad, and I don't want it here."

At that meeting, Councilmember Dennis Robertson said city officials needed to be careful not to contribute to gender inequality. "It's not what this country is about," he said.

"I'm happy that these women have a place to swim, but strictly speaking it isn't fair," Robertson said. "It's an extreme religious group that has a standard of modesty and decorum the rest of the culture doesn't share. I don't want to change my attire to accommodate them."

All treated respondents received the following debriefing text at the end of the survey, immediately prior to submitting their responses:

If you are interested in reading the full news article about women-only swim times from the Seattle Globalist, it can be found here. (http://www.seattleglobalist.com/2013/11/21/women-only-swim-tukwila-discrimination-complaint/17982)

Respondents in the Jewish and Pentecostal treatment conditions also received the following debriefing text at the end of the survey:

The original article is about Muslim women, which may or may not match what you saw in your reading. For more information about a variety of religious viewpoints on swimming in mixed-gender situations, see this article. (http://www.beliefnet.com/columnists/news/2009/06/faith-based-beliefs-about-mode.php)

In the control condition, no news article was presented. Instead, the question on preferences about women-only swim policies was prefaced with the following statement:

Some women are uncomfortable swimming at the same time as men, for religious or other reasons. In response, some pools in the United States have started to schedule women-only swim times.

Appendix 3: Racial Perceptions

One possible mechanism of difference between religious traditions is variation in the racial make-up or racialization of the denominations. Muslims are 38% white, Jews are 90% white, and Evangelical Protestants are 76% white. We asked respondents in the control group to estimate the percent white of all three religious groups, and we asked respondents in the relevant treatment conditions to estimate the percent white of the treated religion. Table A3 below describes the actual racial composition of each denomination according to the 2014 Pew Religious Landscape Study,[1] along with the relevant mean estimate in the treatment and control conditions. In the case of Muslim and Evangelical estimates, respondent estimates closely match actual population distributions. Respondents are much less likely to perceive Jews as white than Pew's estimate.

The mean treatment and control group estimates are within one percentage point in all cases. This provides added confidence that effect estimates (differences between treatment and control) in the main text are not the spurious result of differing racialization of the religious groups in the different conditions.

Table A3: Estimated Percent White of Religious Denominations

	Actual	Treatment	Control
Muslim	38%	41%	42%
Jewish	90%	68%	68%
Evangelical	76%	72%	72%

[1] https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/racial-and-ethnic-composition/

Appendix 4: Additional Analysis

4.1: Interactions with Religiosity and Religious Affiliation

The respondent's religion has two potential effects on the outcomes and main findings of the analysis presented in the paper. First, co-religionists may respond particularly strongly to the treatment conditions, making the results based on partisanship an incidental effect of religious identity. Second, people who are highly religious in general (regardless of the religion) might respond differently to religious appeals than people who are not religious. Correlation between religiosity and partisanship could also lead to an effect of religiosity being mistaken for a partisan effect. We address these two issues here.

First, we examine the possible effect of being assigned to a condition that matches the respondent's own religion. In the data, there are 10 Jewish people assigned to the Jewish condition, 1 Muslim person assigned to the Muslim condition, and 90 Evangelical people assigned to the Pentecostal condition (the religious affiliation question did not distinguish between traditions within Evangelical Christianity). Figure A4.1a demonstrates that the main effects (based on the three-category division of data, presented in Figure 3 of the main text) still hold even when these 101 respondents are removed from the analysis. In the distributional results, the p-value of the Wilcoxon rank sum test comparing the distribution for Democrats in the control condition to Democrats in the Evangelical condition goes from $p = .044$ with all respondents to $p = .061$ with the co-religionists removed. The comparison of means is significant ($p < .05$) in both cases.

Figure A4.1a: Support for Women-Only Swim Times by Treatment Condition and Party, Co-Religionists Removed
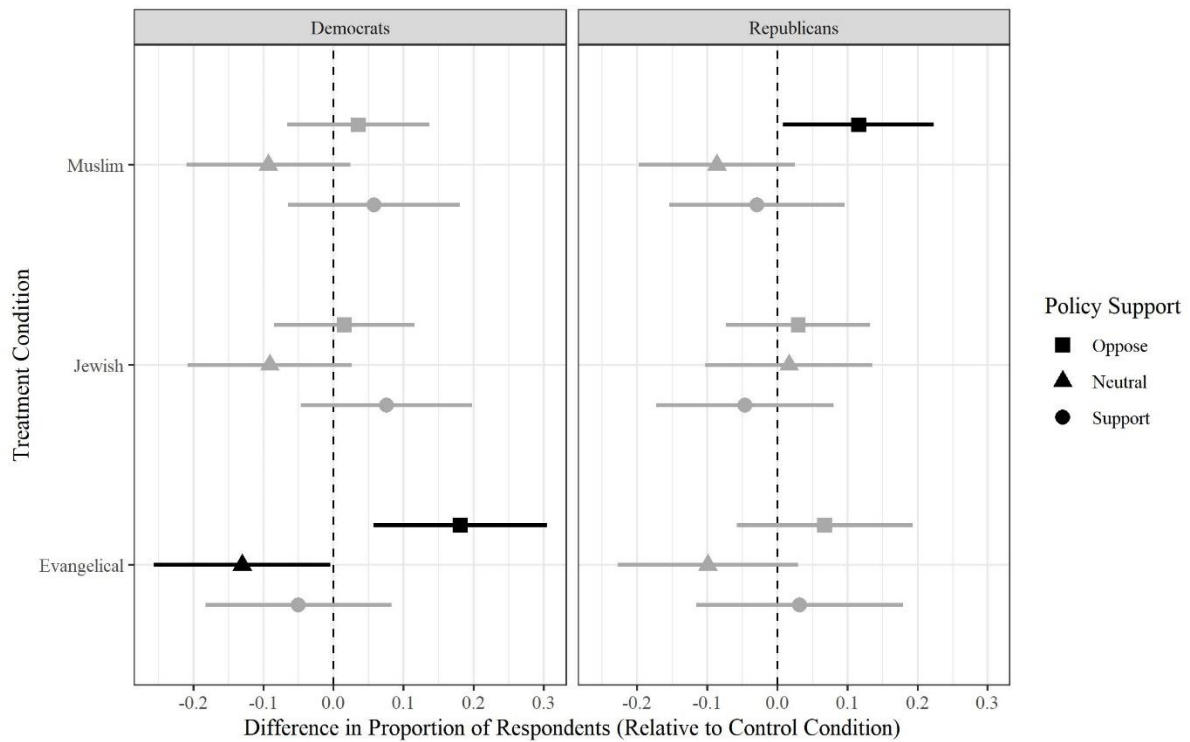
Second, we address the possibility that highly religious people respond in a way that is dramatically different from non-religious people in each treatment condition. Figure A4.1b below displays the different response distributions by treatment condition and level of religious attendance (high church attendance = attends religious services "once or twice a month" or more frequently). We observe no difference between conditions for high church attendance (Kruskal-Wallis p = .20), but observed that responses between conditions differed for low church attendance (Kruskal-Wallis p = .004). Compared to the control condition, low church attenders are only less supportive of women-only swim times in the Pentecostal condition.

Figure A4.1b: Effects of Treatment on Attitudes towards Women's Only Swim Times by Frequency of Church Attendance
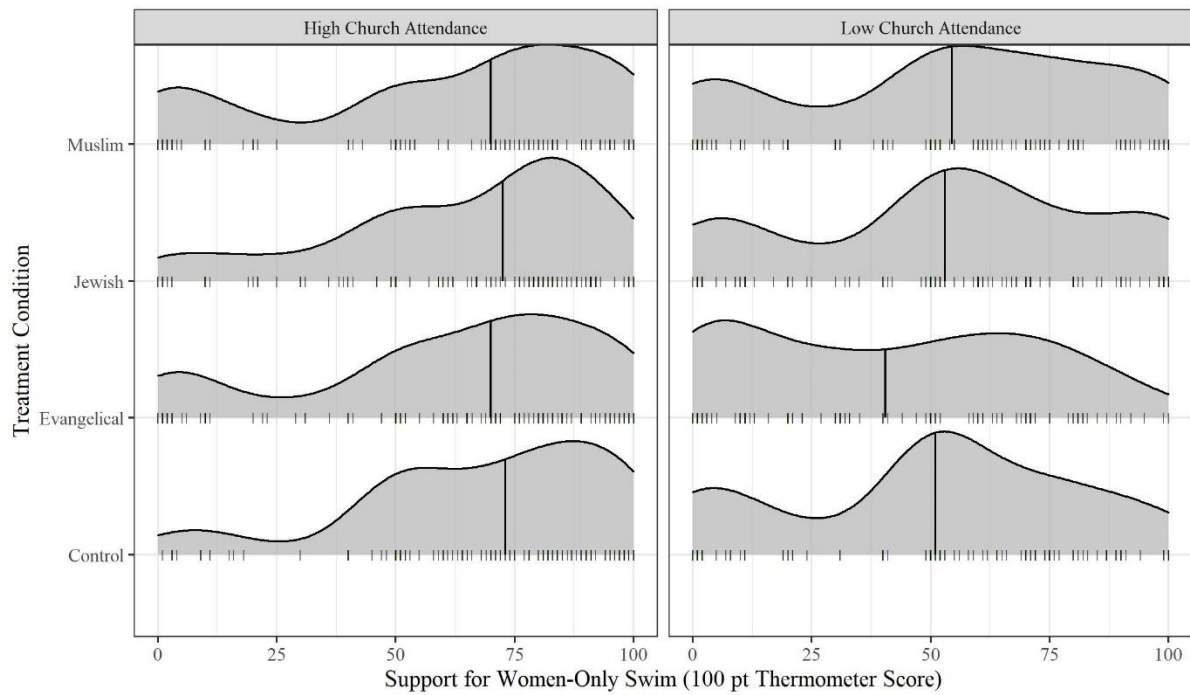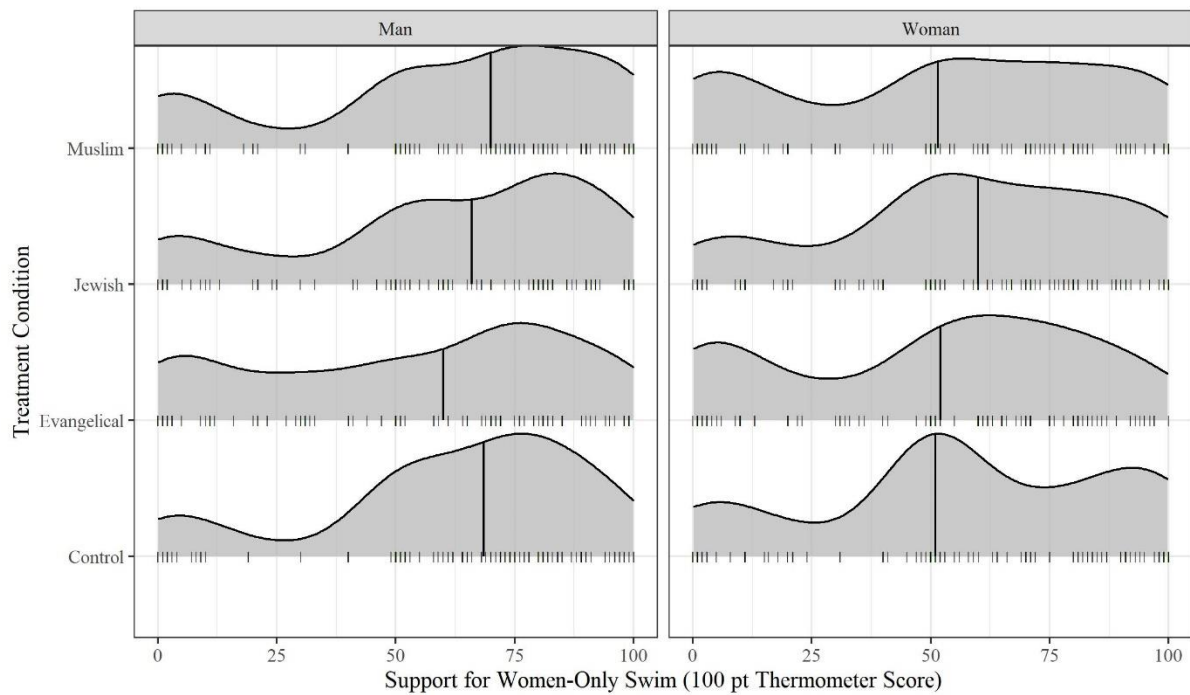

Plots show density distributions of policy support thermometer scores by treatment condition and respondent's religiosity. Vertical lines on the distribution indicate median values. N is approximately 140 per treatment X party condition.

4.2: Interactions with Gender

Figure A4.2 interacts the main effects of the Study 2 treatment with the gender of the respondent rather than the partisanship. However, with the Kruskal-Wallis test we did not observe that results were different due to gender (for men, p=.22, for women p=.27).

Figure A4.2: Effects of Treatment on Attitudes towards Women's Only Swim Times by Gender
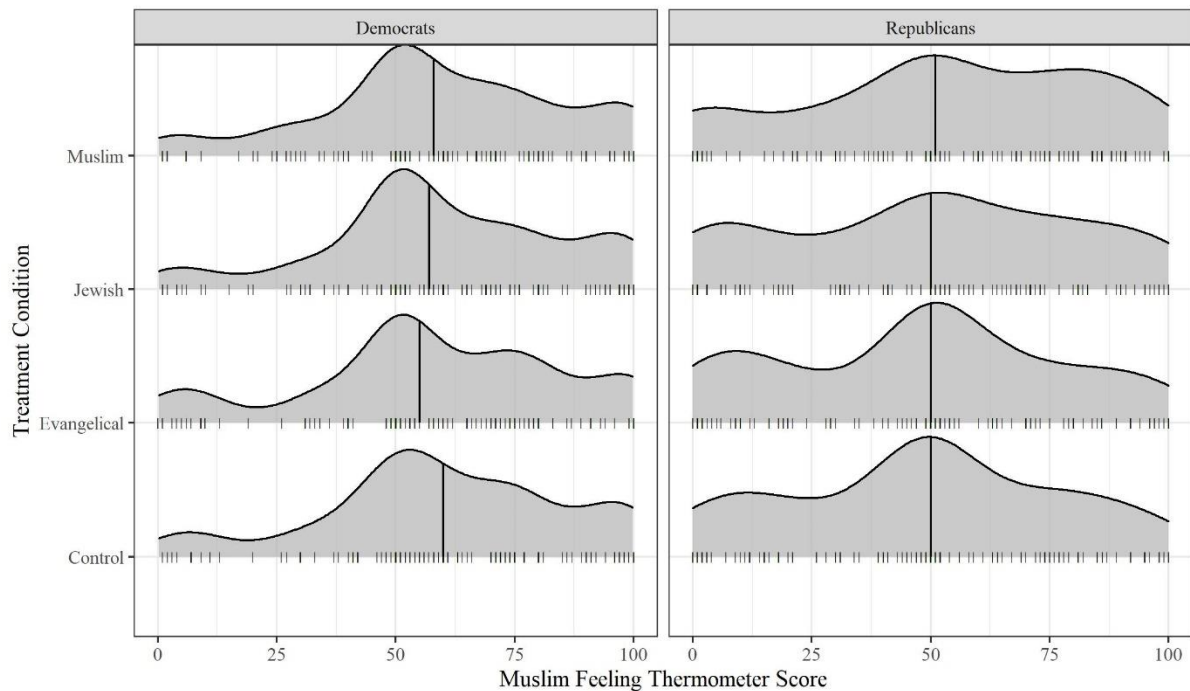

Plots show density distributions of policy support thermometer scores by treatment condition and respondent's gender. Vertical lines on the distribution indicate median values. N is approximately 140 per treatment X party condition.

4.3: Muslim Thermometer Scores

In addition to policy-specific support for women-only swim time, the study also included a thermometer score rating of attitudes towards Muslims. Figure A4.3 below shows the effects of treatment condition on the Muslim thermometer rating by party. The differences in thermometer score ratings are small and not statistically significant. This indicates that reading about a policy request from a group does not necessarily change evaluations of the group, but instead – as found in the main text of the paper – the attitudes toward the group shape responses to the policy request.

Figure A4.3: Muslim Thermometer Rating, By Party

Plots show density distributions of policy support thermometer scores by treatment condition and respondent's party ID.
Vertical lines on the distribution indicate median values. N is approximately 140 per treatment X party condition.

4.4: Strength of Partisanship

To test the possibility that the effects are being primarily driven by strong partisans, who might have the strongest attachment to their partisan social identity, we replicate Figures 2 and 3 from the main text using only the Strong Democrats (N = 344) and Strong Republicans (N = 314) in the sample. The Kruskal-Wallis test did not indicate significant differences in the thermometer scores for either parties across conditions (for strong Democrats, p = .27, for strong Republicans p =.31). While it is possible there are some slightly stronger effects for strong partisans than for the full sample, the substantial reduction in sample size makes it harder to draw strong conclusions for this subgroup. The most notable difference when limiting to just strong partisans is a much larger baseline gap between the parties; in the control condition, Strong Democrats are less supportive of women-only swim (mean = 56.7) than Strong Republicans (mean = 67.7), which is mostly due to a sizeable increase in support for Strong Republicans in the control condition (compared to mean = 60.6 when including weak/leaning Republicans).

Figure A4.4a: Distribution of Women-Only Swim Support with Continuous Outcome Variable, Limited to Strong Partisans
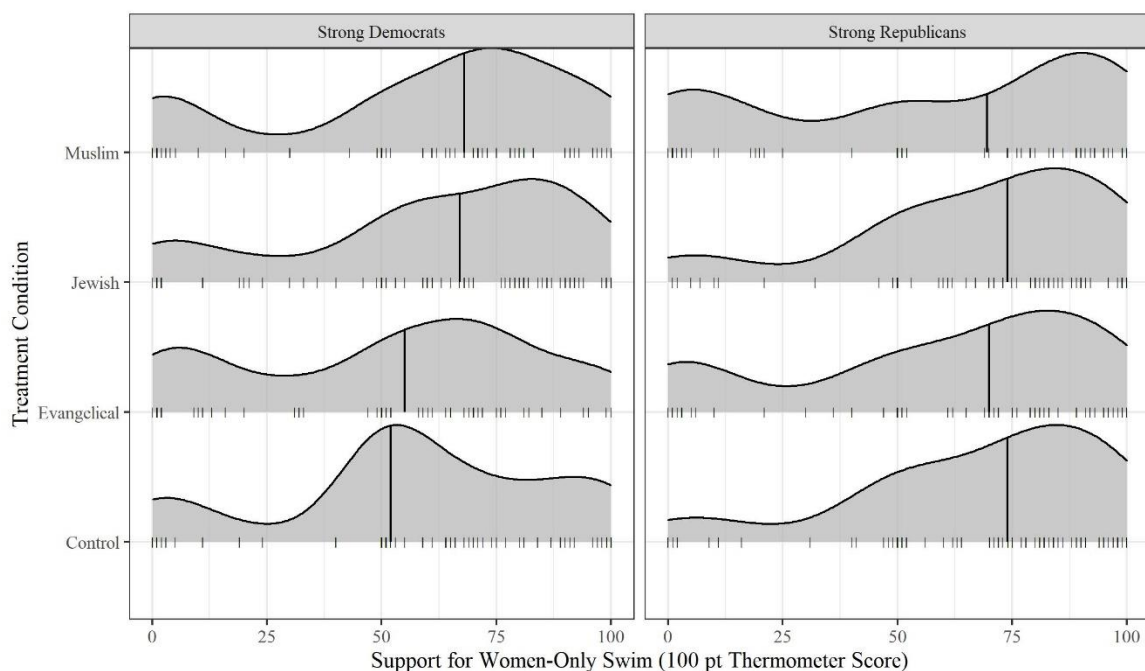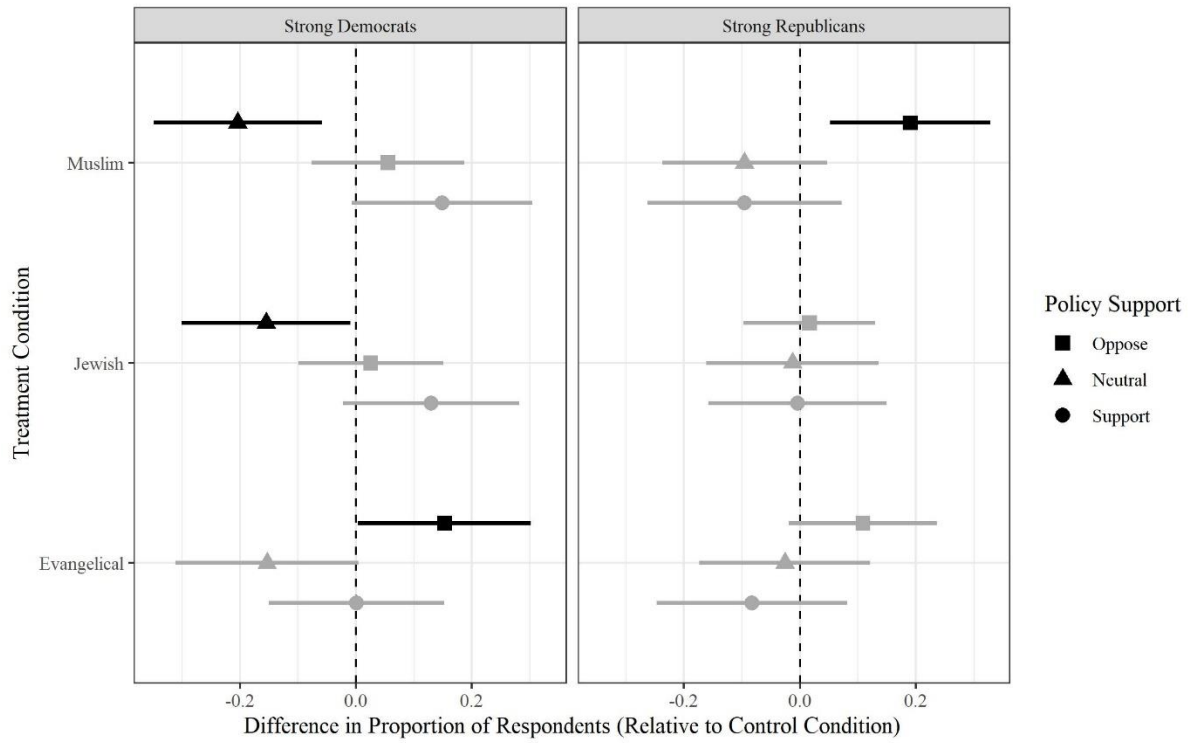
Figure A4.4b: Support for Women-Only Swim Times by Treatment Condition and Party, Limited to Strong Partisans

Appendix 5: Open-Text Coding Frequencies

Table A5. Frequency of Justifications Used in Open-Ended Responses

Label	Description	Number of Uses	Percent Supporting Women's Only Swim Times	Percent Opposing Women's Only Swim Times
Male Gaze	Protecting women from the discomfort they feel from gawking or misbehaving men.	235	57	8
Men's Only Swim Times	Swim times for men only (or other groups), usually as a counterbalance to women's only swim times.	97	54	13
Public vs. Private	Political arguments, about the nature of a public pool being used for private interests, or separation of church & state.	152	13	58
Women's Equality / Rights	Arguments about discrimination, segregation, or equal rights for women.	244	25	53
Religious Equality / Rights	Arguments about discrimination, segregation, or equal rights for religious groups.	75	25	47
Patriotism / National Identity	Mentions of patriotism or national identity.	49	22	57

Appendix 6: Open-Text Coding Additional Analysis

As described in the manuscript, we coded the specific reasons given by respondents in support or opposition to the policy on women's only swim times. Here we briefly describe some of the other arguments that were used, and their variance across treatment conditions.

First, many respondents discussed how women's only swim times could protect women from the discomfort they feel from gawking or misbehaving men (Figure A6.1). We label this theme *Male Gaze*. This argument was typically used in support of women-only swim times and was most commonly used in the control condition. As previously noted, respondents were substantially more likely to use gender-centered arguments in the control condition than in the treatment conditions. In the control condition, 42% of responses by people who supported the policy mentioned themes related to women's ability to be more comfortable because men were not present, compared with only 29% of supportive respondents in any treatment condition. These comments often took a protective tone, such as "I feel this would help many women feel at ease in a public pool without men looking at them," or "I think women should have a safe space where they don't have to feel uncomfortable or deal with unwanted advances." Some respondents even connect these arguments to specific concerns about sexual harassment or women's safety, for example: "sexual harassment is a problem. dudes need to keep it in their pants."

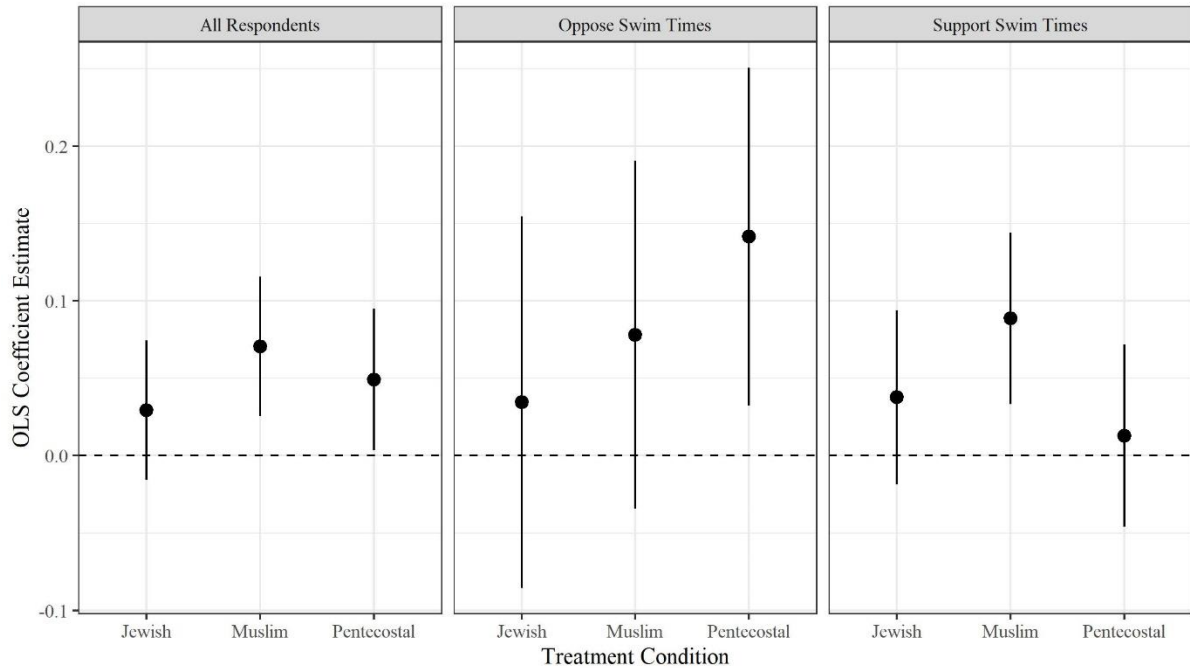Figure A6.1: Effects of Treatment Condition on Uses of "Male Gaze" Arguments
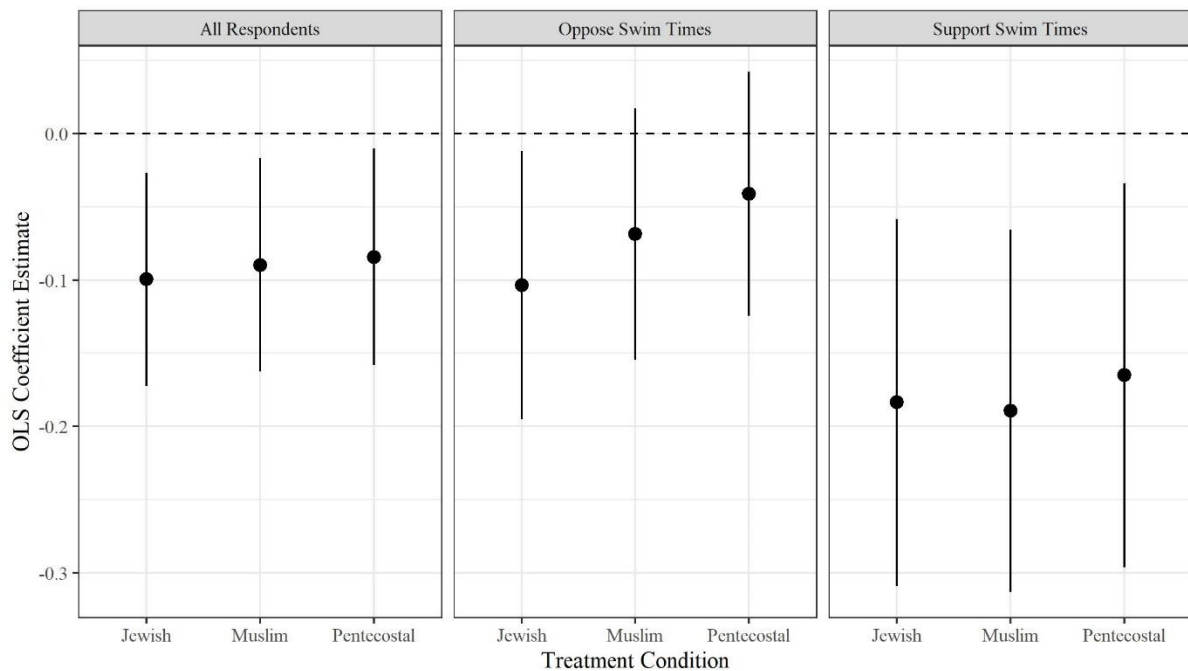
Linear Probability Models predict the use of male gaze arguments based only on binary indicators of treatment condition.
Baseline condition is control. Sample limited to respondents who gave a valid open-text response (N = 1022).
'Support' is respondents with thermometer scores above 65, 'Oppose' is respondents below 34.

Many respondents also made appeals to fundamental rights (Figure A6.2). We coded whether the appeal to rights was based on gender equality/segregation or religious equality/segregation. Although they were predominantly used to oppose gender segregated swim times, arguments about rights were more evenly split between support and opposition than the other arguments examined here. We do not find any treatment effects for the use of women's rights argumentation, which is unsurprising since the gender-related content is identical across treatment conditions.

However, we do find treatment effects on the use of religious rights-based argumentation. Respondents were more likely to use arguments about religious equality to oppose women-only swim times when the treated group was Pentecostal, and more likely to use similar rights-based logic when to justify their support of women-only swim times when the treated group was Muslim. For example, someone in opposition to the policy in the Pentecostal condition stated, "I totally oppose it, since that would generate a wave of people who discriminate against each other, with the simple reason of pleasing their religious fetish." By contrast, a

A17

supportive respondent in the Muslim condition said "I believe that we need to respect others beliefs. Having a women only swim time is not discriminatory, however if a women only swim time is not available that would be discriminatory towards these women."

Figure A6.2: Effects of Treatment Condition on Uses of "Religious Rights" Arguments

Linear Probability Models predict the use of religious rights arguments based only on binary indicators of treatment condition. Baseline condition is control. Sample limited to respondents who gave a valid open-text response (N = 1022). 'Support' is respondents with thermometer scores above 65, 'Oppose' is respondents below 34.

Finally, one common argument was for respondents to caveat their support for women-only swim times upon the condition of the pool offering specialized swim times for other groups – typically men, although some respondents mentioned seniors or families. This is not an argument raised in the treatment text, and we did not find any treatment effects on the use of this argument.