

Does the Sex Difference in Competitiveness Decrease in Selective Sub-populations? A Test with Intercollegiate Distance Runners

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Sex differences in some preferences and motivations are well established, but it is unclear whether they persist in selective sub-populations, such as expert financial decision makers, top scientists, or elite athletes. We addressed this issue by studying competitiveness in 1,147 varsity intercollegiate distance runners. As expected, across all runners, men reported greater competitiveness with two previously validated instruments, greater competitiveness on a new elite competitiveness scale, and greater training volume, a known correlate of competitiveness. Among faster runners, the sex difference decreased for one measure of competitiveness but did not decrease for the two other competitiveness measures or either measure of training volume. Across NCAA athletic divisions (DI, DII, DIII), the sex difference did not decrease for any competitiveness or training measure. Further analyses showed that these sex differences could not be attributed to women suffering more injuries or facing greater childcare responsibilities. However, women did report greater commitment than men to their academic studies, suggesting a sex difference in priorities. Therefore, policies aiming to provide men and women with equal opportunities to flourish should acknowledge that sex differences in some kinds of preferences and motivation may persist even in selective sub-populations.

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Introduction

Sex differences in some preferences and motivations are well established. Notably, compared to women, men generally show greater desire for sex in short-term or uncommitted contexts (Baumeister, Catanese & Vohs, 2001; Schmitt, 2005), greater preference for occupations that involve working with things rather than with people (Lippa, 1998; Konrad et al., 2000; Su, Rounds & Armstrong, 2009), greater motivation to prioritize the professional sphere over the domestic one (Browne, 2002; Hakim, 2006), and, in several domains, greater willingness to take risks (Wilson & Daly, 1985; Byrnes, Miller & Schafer, 1999; Croson & Gneezy, 2009).

One outstanding question is whether sex differences in preferences and motivations persist when men and women are drawn from highly selective sub-populations or are otherwise equated on domain-relevant traits. For example, in a recent review of women's lesser representation in science, Ceci, Ginther, Kahn, and Williams (Ceci et al., 2014) suggested that policy makers should take seriously the possibility that women's lesser representation is partly due to the fact men and women of similar scientific ability may differ considerably in various preferences and motivations.

Unfortunately, there is little empirical data bearing directly on this question. One study explored the lifestyle preferences of adults in their mid-30s who had been identified as profoundly gifted as children or as top math or science graduate students ten years earlier. In these selective sub-populations, men were more likely than women to prioritize their careers over their families, although the difference was smaller among those with no children (Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009). There have also been relevant studies of financial decision making (Croson & Gneezy, 2009). These studies typically report that the sex difference in risk taking substantially weakens (Dwyer, Gilkeson & List, 2002; Halko, Kaustia & Alanko, 2012) or disappears (Johnson & Powell, 1994; Atkinson, Baird & Frye, 2003) when financial knowledge or wealth are controlled.

Competitiveness

We suggest that progress in addressing this issue may come from investigating the preference for engaging in direct competition (hereafter "competitiveness").¹ Competitiveness is an appropriate focus because it constitutes a core component of sex differences, and the sex difference in competitiveness is thought to have practical implications (Wilson & Daly, 1985; Croson & Gneezy, 2009; Niederle & Vesterlund, 2011; Benenson, 2013). Moreover, evidence for a sex difference has emerged from many areas: on surveys, men report greater enjoyment of competition in general (Houston et al., 2005; Piko et al., 2010), greater desire to win in interpersonal situations (Spence & Helmreich, 1983; Gill, 1988), and greater desire to strive for success relative to others in sports (Gill, 1988; Merten, 2008; Findlay & Bowker, 2009); in laboratory games, men are more likely than women to choose competitive rather than non-competitive compensation schemes (Croson & Gneezy, 2009; Niederle & Vesterlund, 2011); in their free time, boys and men play video games more often than girls and women, particularly competitive games, and males are more likely to report that competition motivates them to play (Lucas & Sherry, 2004; Hartmann & Klimmt, 2006); and, finally, boys and men participate in

¹ Several modes of indirect competition have also been identified, and these may be employed more by women than men. These include competing discreetly by disavowing that one is competing (Benenson, 2014), socially excluding competitors (Benenson et al., 2013), and gossiping or spreading rumors about competitors (Archer & Coyne, 2005).

63 sports substantially more often than girls and women, although there is no consistent difference
64 for non-competitive physical activity or exercise (Stamatakis & Chaudhury, 2008; Lunn, 2010;
65 Deaner et al., 2012).

66 To our knowledge, only one previous study tested whether the sex difference in
67 competitiveness decreases in selective sub-populations. Houston, Carter, and Smither (Houston,
68 Carter & Smither, 1997) reported that among active professional tennis players ($n = 130$), there
69 was no sex difference in the competitiveness scale of the Sport Orientation Questionnaire (SOQ;
70 Gill & Deeter, 1988) and that women scored significantly higher (Cohen's $d = -0.5$) on the
71 Competitiveness Index (Smither & Houston, 1992). These results support the hypothesis that the
72 sex difference in competitiveness disappears in more selective sub-populations. Nonetheless,
73 tennis might be an unusual sport because this study also found no sex difference with either
74 competitiveness measure among amateur tennis players ($n = 92$).

75 Other studies, although not specifically designed to address the question of interest, have
76 yielded relevant data. Gill and Dzewaltowski (Gill & Dzewaltowski, 1988) investigated the
77 competitiveness of undergraduate students and intercollegiate student-athletes (NCAA Division
78 I) with the SOQ. Athletes reported significantly greater competitiveness than non-athletes ($d =$
79 1.5), and men reported significantly greater competitiveness than women ($d = 0.5$). Effect sizes
80 could not be calculated for sex difference within each sample, but the authors reported there was
81 no significant interaction between sex and population. These findings support the hypothesis that
82 the sex difference in competitiveness is not attenuated in more selective sub-populations.
83 Nevertheless, this conclusion must be viewed cautiously because the athletes were drawn from
84 several sports, competitiveness varied significantly across sports, and the authors did not control
85 for this possible confound. Moreover the study's modest sample size ($n = 213$) suggests it may
86 have lacked sufficient power to detect the interaction of interest. Three other studies reported
87 significantly greater male competitiveness with the SOQ in selective athletic populations
88 (Hellandsig, 1998: "talented" teens in Norway, $n = 175$, $d = 0.5$; Jamshidi et al., 2011: "elite"
89 athletes in Iran, $n = 688$, $d = 1.0$; Poiss et al., 2004: NCAA Division III student-athletes, $n = 304$,
90 $d = 0.4$). However, none of these studies addressed the potentially confounding role of variation
91 across sports or included a less selective comparison group.

92 Therefore, it remains unresolved whether the sex difference in competitiveness
93 disappears or becomes attenuated in selective athletic sub-populations. Here, we address in this
94 question for intercollegiate distance runners.

95 **Distance Running as a Test Domain**

96 Distance running is an excellent domain for assessing variation in competitiveness
97 because the motivation to run varies substantially among runners. While some runners are
98 primarily motivated by competition, most mainly run for other reasons, such as affiliation,
99 health, and life meaning (Masters, Ogles & Jolton, 1993; Ogles & Masters, 2003). Distance
100 running is also advantageous because, unlike many sports, it is generally accessible, acceptable,
101 and popular for both men and women, and the financial incentives do not appear to favor men
102 (Deaner, 2013)

103 There is mounting evidence for a sex difference in competitiveness in distance running.
104 First, more male than female runners report that competition motivates them to run (Callen,
105 1983; Johnsgard, 1985; Ogles & Masters, 2003). Second, male runners are more likely to choose
106 to participate in competitive contexts. Among masters runners (age 40+) in the U.S., male and
107 female participation in road races is equivalent, yet at track meets, where runners are twenty
108 times more likely to run fast (relative to age-specific, sex-specific standards), men participate

109 about three times as often as women (Deaner, Addona & Mead, 2014). Similarly, a study
110 reported that when they have the option of entering a single-sex competitive road race or a
111 single-sex non-competitive road race held in the same location on the same day, men were
112 substantially more likely than women to select the competitive race (Garratt, Weinberger &
113 Johnson, 2013). Third, at U.S. road races, roughly three times as many men as women run fast
114 relative to sex-specific world class standards, and the best supported explanation for this pattern
115 is that more men engage in the training necessary for faster performances (Deaner, 2006b, 2013;
116 Deaner & Mitchell, 2011). Finally, there is a robust sex difference in pacing in the marathon:
117 men are three times more likely than women to slow dramatically, and this likely reflects, in part,
118 men's greater risk taking, a component of competitiveness (March et al., 2011; Deaner et al.,
119 2014).

120 Studying intercollegiate distance runners offers several advantages for addressing the
121 question of whether the sex difference in competitiveness disappears or becomes attenuated in
122 selective sub-populations. One advantage is that sub-population selectivity can be addressed by
123 grouping runners according to their running ability. We will measure ability using runners' best
124 timed race performances and also by their collegiate team's National Collegiate Athletic
125 Association athletic division (i.e., NCAA Division I, Division II, or Division III). These
126 measures have complementary strengths. Best timed race performance is a direct ability measure,
127 but, for various reasons, not all runners have the opportunity to perform (or perform to the best
128 of their ability) at commonly contested distances. Athletic division, by contrast, moderately
129 correlates with timed performance (see Results) and is readily reported by all runners. Division I
130 runners are generally fastest, Division II runners are intermediate, and Division III runners are
131 slowest.

132 A second advantage of studying intercollegiate distance runners is that competitiveness
133 can be assessed with multiple measures. Specifically, we will use a general sports
134 competitiveness instrument, the SOQ (Gill & Deeter, 1988), a motivational instrument designed
135 specifically for distance runners (Motivation for Marathoners Scales; MOMS: Masters, Ogles &
136 Jolton, 1993), and new items addressing motivation to compete and train at a selective or elite
137 level after college. In addition, we will use training volume as another indicator of
138 competitiveness (Deaner, 2013). Training volume, assessed as distance run per week or running
139 sessions per week, is consistently associated with better distance running performance (Bale,
140 Rowell & Colley, 1985; Hagan et al., 1987; Deaner et al., 2011) and self-reported
141 competitiveness (Masters, Ogles & Jolton, 1993; Ogles & Masters, 2003; Deaner et al., 2011).

142 A third advantage of studying intercollegiate distance runners is that explanations for the
143 possible sex difference in competitiveness can be explored. In particular, we will test whether
144 sex differences in competitiveness in running can be attributed to sex differences in injuries or
145 obligations outside of sports, including childcare.

146 The purpose of this study, therefore, is to test, within the domain of distance running,
147 whether the expected sex difference in competitiveness decreases in increasingly selective sub-
148 populations. Its strengths are that it uses two measures of selectivity, several measures of
149 competitiveness and investigates possible causes of sex differences.

150 **Methods**

151 **Research Approval**

152 All human subjects were treated in accordance with established ethical standards. The
153 Chair of the Human Research Review Committee at Grand Valley State University reviewed the

154 study protocol [427545-1] and certified it as approved and exempt from full committee review
155 on February 28, 2013.

156 **Recruitment**

157 To identify colleges and universities for possible recruitment, we made use of the
158 National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) online directory of sports sponsorship
159 (<http://perma.cc/8BLQ-57B3>). In February 2013, we created a list of all institutions (N = 976)
160 with men's varsity intercollegiate cross country teams participating in any of the NCAA's three
161 divisions, Division I, Division II, or Division III (hereafter, DI, DII, and DIII). With the
162 exception of Jacksonville State, all of the institutions on this list sponsored both men's and
163 women's cross country teams. In addition, there were approximately 80 NCAA institutions that
164 sponsored women's but not men's cross country teams; we did not include these institutions on
165 our recruitment list.

166 We selected, at random, half of the institutions on our recruitment list and then
167 determined which of these allowed public access to student email directories. Out of 488
168 institutions, 130 (27%) allowed email access, 67 of 164 (41%) for DI, 21 of 127 (17%) for DII,
169 and 42 of 197 (21%) for DIII. For these schools, we attempted to acquire the names of all
170 student-athletes who were listed on the male or female cross-country team roster at each
171 institution's athletics website. We then attempted to acquire each student-athlete's email. We
172 were successful in 2,163 of 2,245 cases (92%) for men and 2,218 of 2,362 cases (94%) for
173 women. Most failures were related to the runner having a name shared by others at their
174 institution; we did not acquire an email unless we were confident it uniquely corresponded with a
175 student-athlete listed on the roster.

176 We sent out recruitment emails on March 19, 2013. This email contained a request for
177 participation in a survey study of motivation, training and performance in distance runners. It
178 offered no incentives and stated that participation would take roughly 10 minutes.

179 Approximately 1,460 individuals of 4,381 (33%) that we contacted opened the survey
180 link and consented to participate, although some merely skimmed the survey and answered few
181 or no questions; 1,147 individuals (26% of those contacted) provided sufficient data for inclusion
182 in at least some analyses. Besides those who elected not to open the survey link or who opened
183 the survey but elected not to complete it, the response rate was diminished because some emails,
184 roughly 1%, "bounced back" with a message indicating the accounts were no longer active.
185 Moreover, an unknown number of emails may have been filtered by software and thus not read.
186 Only responses completed prior to March 24, 2013 were included in the final data set.

187 **Participants**

188 Of the 1,147 participants, 608 were men (28.1% response rate) and 539 were women
189 (24.3%). Participants' mean age was 20.1 years, and all were at least 18 years of age.
190 Participants reported an average of 2.2 previous seasons of collegiate cross country and 5.5
191 previous seasons of total collegiate distance running, including cross-country, indoor track and
192 field, and outdoor track and field. Twenty five percent were in their first year of undergraduate
193 studies, 25% were second years, 23% were third years, 21% were fourth years, 3% were fifth
194 years, and 3% were graduate students. Forty six percent were DI athletes, 11% were DII athletes,
195 and 43% were DIII athletes. Eighteen percent reported finishing among the top 10 individual
196 cross-country performers in their conference meet at least once, and 5% reported finishing
197 among the top 50 individual cross-country performers in their national meet at least once. There
198 were no significant sex differences in any of these characteristics (all $ps > .08$).

199 Women reported being more likely to receive athletically-related financial aid ($\chi^2(3, n =$
 200 1145) = 12.5, $p = .006$). Eight percent of women received full athletic scholarships, 26%
 201 received partial athletic scholarships, 4% received “other financial aid related to athletic ability”,
 202 and 62% reported receiving no aid; the corresponding values for men were 4.3%, 22%, 6%, and
 203 69%. Women also reported being somewhat more highly recruited than men ($\chi^2(3, n = 1147) =$
 204 10.6, $p = .01$). Sixteen percent reported being highly recruited, 35% reported being moderately
 205 recruited, 28% reported being lightly recruited, and 20% reported not being recruited at all; the
 206 corresponding values for men were 15%, 31%, 37%, and 17%. These differences likely reflect
 207 that, across all DI and DII institutions, there is roughly 40% more athletically-related financial
 208 aid available for cross country and track and field for women than for men (NCAA Research,
 209 2011). DIII institutions are not permitted to offer athletically-related financial aid.

210 **Representativeness of the Sample**

211 To evaluate the representativeness our sample, we focused on runner’s abilities,
 212 specifically whether runners had ever finished among the top 50 individual cross-country
 213 performers in their division’s national meet. Running ability is an appropriate focus because it is
 214 known to be associated with competitiveness (Masters, Ogles & Jolton, 1993; Ogles & Masters,
 215 2003; Deaner et al., 2011). Competitiveness is the study’s focal topic and thus its relation to
 216 response propensity warrants investigation (Montaquila et al., 2007).

217 We assessed the occurrence of achieving the top 50 benchmark in our sample by
 218 including it as a survey item. We assessed the occurrence of this benchmark in the sub-
 219 population of NCAA distance runners that we attempted to recruit (rather than the full population
 220 of all NCAA distance runners) by first gathering cross-country championship results for each of
 221 the three divisions for the years, 2009-2012.² After eliminating those who finished in the top 50
 222 more than once, we had 703 unique names, 350 men and 353 women. Of the 350 men who
 223 finished in the top 50 at least once, 62 were sent the survey, 4 did not have available emails, and
 224 the remainder were not on our list of potential recruits (see above, “Recruitment”). Of the 353
 225 women who finished in the top 50 at least once, 41 were sent the survey, 8 did not have available
 226 emails, and the remainder were not on our list of potential recruits.

227 In our sample, 30 of the 603 male and 26 of the 532 female respondents (5% of each)
 228 answered “Yes” to the item about having been a top 50 performer. (Five men and seven women
 229 who participated in some parts of the survey did not answer this question.) If all respondents who
 230 answered this question did so honestly and accurately, then 48% (30 of 62) of the top male
 231 performers and 63% (26 of 41) of the top female performers who were recruited participated in
 232 our survey. This sex difference in the likelihood of participation was not significant ($\chi^2(1, n =$
 233 103) = 2.2, $p = .13$). By contrast, 27% of non-top 50 males (573 of 2,096) and 24% of non-top 50
 234 females (506 of the 2,170) participated in our survey, a sex difference which was significant
 235 ($\chi^2(1, n = 4,266) = 7.7, p = .006$). For both men and women, top 50 finishers were significantly
 236 more likely to participate than those who never finished in the top 50 (men: $\chi^2(1, n = 2,158) =$
 237 13.3, $p = .0003$; women: $\chi^2(1, n = 2,211) = 34.5, p < .0001$). Thus, faster runners were

² We were unable find results for the 2009 DIII championships, but this is unlikely to affect the reported patterns. This is because for DI and DII results we found that very few runners who were on a roster in spring 2013 and finished in the top 50 in 2009 failed to finish in the top 50 at least once in 2010, 2011, or 2012. In particular, there were only three men and two women from DI and DII combined who achieved this distinction, and none of these runners were recruited to participate in our study.

238 substantially more likely to participate than slower runners, and men were more likely than
239 women to participate, although this sex difference was due to greater participation by slower
240 male runners.

241 **Survey**

242 The survey was presented on a commercial survey platform, SurveyMonkey.
243 Respondents first provided written consent to participate. Next were items addressing training,
244 injuries, and performance, including the following items that were examined in this study: (1)
245 “When training in college, what was the highest average running mileage per week you
246 maintained for a 4 week period? If you didn’t keep track or can’t recall, please leave this blank.”
247 (We inquired about miles, rather than kilometers, because most U.S. runners monitor their
248 running distance in miles.); (2) “When training in college, what was the highest average number
249 of running sessions per week you maintained for a 4 week period? If you didn’t keep track or
250 can’t recall, please leave this blank.”; (3) “When running regularly in college, how many
251 sessions of aerobic cross-training did you usually do per week? This might include elliptical,
252 biking, swimming, aqua running or other aerobic exercise. If you didn’t keep track or can’t
253 recall, please leave this blank.”; (4) “How many times in your college career did you miss at
254 least 2 weeks of training because of illness or injury?” Options for this item were 0, 1-3, 4-6, 7-9,
255 and 10+; (5) “Please list your best collegiate track performance for two of the following
256 distances. If you competed at more than two distances, please provide information on the
257 distances where you performed best.” Options were 800 m, 1500 m, 1600 m, 1609 m (mile),
258 3000 m, 3200 m, 3218 m (2 mile), and 5000 m; (6) “Have you ever finished as one of the top 10
259 individual cross-country performers in your conference meet?” Options were yes and no; (7)
260 “Have you ever finished as one of the top 50 individual cross-country performers in your
261 division’s national meet?” Options were yes and no.

262 Next were seven items designed to desire address motivation to train and compete as a
263 highly competitive or professional runner after college. Options for each item ranged from one
264 (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). The items were: (1) “I plan to continue racing
265 competitively after my collegiate career is over.”; (2) “I might try making it as a professional
266 runner.”; (3) “Qualifying for the Olympic trials or a national team is a long-term goal of mine.”;
267 (4) “I’d love to be a professional athlete.”; (5) “I would like to take my training to the next
268 level.”; (6) “I look forward to training much less after my collegiate running career is over.”
269 (reverse scored); and (7) “If I had the opportunity, I would train much more than I currently do.”

270 There were then four items addressing possible injuries and commitment to academics.
271 Options for the first three items ranged from one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). The
272 items were: “I have often had to limit my training because of injuries and illness.”; “I am
273 committed to doing the best that I can in school.”; and “I take my education at least as seriously
274 as my running.” The fourth item was, “How many hours per week do you usually study?”
275 Options were 0-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26+.

276 Next were several additional items concerning academics (e.g., grade point average,
277 academic major), but these were not included in this study. Then there several items addressing
278 social behavior, including the following items that were assessed below: (1) “I already have (or
279 had) at least one child.” Options were yes and no; (2) “I am likely to have children in the next 3
280 years.” Options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Following this were
281 several demographic items, most of which were noted earlier in the Methods section.

282 The next component was the Motivations of Marathoners Scales (MOMS: (Masters,
283 Ogles & Jolton, 1993), which consists of 56 items that are rated as to the degree to which the

284 runner considers them a reason for training and running in a marathon or distance race (Masters
285 et al 1993). Items represent nine internally consistent motivational constructs: affiliation (6
286 items), competition (4), health orientation (6), life meaning (7), personal goal achievement (6),
287 psychological coping (9), recognition (6), self-esteem (8), and weight concern (4). Each item is
288 rated on a one (not a reason) to seven (a very important reason) scale. The score for each scale is
289 calculated by averaging the score for each item included in the scale. Evidence for the internal
290 consistency (Cronbach's alphas range from .80 to .93), test-retest reliability (*rs* range from .71 to
291 .90), and factorial and construct validity of the scales has been presented previously (Masters,
292 Ogles & Jolton, 1993; Masters & Ogles, 1995; Ogles, Masters & Richardson, 1995). Because the
293 scales were developed in mainly recreational samples of distance runners, and runners in the
294 current study were younger and generally much faster, we analyzed the factor structure of these
295 56 items. As detailed in the Supplemental Information, we found it similar to the original
296 structure, and the structure was similar in men and women.

297 Participants then completed the Sport Orientation Questionnaire (SOQ), which consists
298 of 25 items that are rated on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (Gill
299 & Deeter, 1988). Items represent three internally consistent motivational constructs:
300 competitiveness (13 items), win orientation (6), and goal orientation (6). The score for each scale
301 is calculated by averaging the score for each item included in the scale. Evidence for the internal
302 consistency (Cronbach's alphas range from .79 to .95), test-retest reliability (*rs* range from .73 to
303 .89), and factorial and construct validity of the scales has been presented previously (Gill &
304 Deeter, 1988). These scales were developed in both general and highly athletic samples of high
305 school and college students. Nonetheless, we explored their factor structure among the distance
306 runners in the current study. As detailed in the Supplemental Information, we found it similar to
307 the original structure, and the structure was similar in men and women.

308 **Comparisons of Men's and Women's Running Ability and Training**

309 Cross-country courses vary substantially in terrain and accuracy of measured distances,
310 so we focused on best track performances, which are far more standardized. However, not all
311 runners have participated in the same track distances, and making comparisons across distances
312 is difficult because it appears to be easier to run relatively fast (e.g., proportionally close to a
313 world record) at shorter distances (Deaner, 2006b). Hence, we based our ability classifications on
314 the race distance where runners most frequently reported a best performance, the 5000 m run;
315 632 runners (299 women) reported a best performance for this distance.

316 Comparisons of men's and women's performance in the 5000 m (and all other distances)
317 are complicated by the fact that, for any given level of talent and training, men run roughly 10%
318 faster than women (Sparling, O'Donnell & Snow, 1998; Thibault et al., 2010). This gap is
319 believed to mainly reflect men's greater maximal oxygen uptake, which is mediated by several
320 physiological factors, including men's greater hemoglobin concentration, lesser body fat, and
321 greater muscle mass per unit of body weight (Sparling, O'Donnell & Snow, 1998; Thibault et al.,
322 2010). It is difficult to make a fair correction for this difference (e.g., reducing women's
323 performance durations by 10%) because the sex difference in performance is roughly 10%
324 among the fastest runners but is often observed to be 15-20% among somewhat slower runners
325 (Sparling, O'Donnell & Snow, 1998; Deaner, 2006b; Thibault et al., 2010). Therefore, we
326 assigned runners into one of four sex-specific ability quartiles based on 5000 m performance. For
327 the 299 women who reported a performance, the cut-off to be included in quartile four, the
328 fastest women's group was 17:54 or faster; the cut-off to be in the slowest group was 19:30 or
329 slower. For the 333 men who reported a performance, the corresponding performance cut-offs

330 were 14:47 or faster and 15:58 or slower.³

331 Comparing men's and women's training volumes in term of distance is also complicated
332 by the performance gap between male and female runners. This is because slower performers
333 generally train more slowly and hence will accumulate less training distance for the same
334 duration of running. Therefore, although we explored absolute mileage per week, most
335 comparisons focused on mileage per week after increasing each women's reported mileage by
336 22%. Below we refer to this as "adjusted mileage." We chose a 22% adjustment because the sex
337 difference in the inter-quartile grouping cut-offs ranged from 21-22%. Moreover, NCAA top
338 performance lists indicate a similar sex difference in each athletic division
339 (<http://perma.cc/WWQ7-NHKY>). For example, for the 2013 Outdoor Championships, the sex
340 difference for 500th best 5000 m performance was 19% among DI runners, 23% among DII
341 runners, and 22% among DIII runners. Although we know of no previous study that has adjusted
342 women's training distances, previous studies have shown that adjusting women's running
343 performances can prevent the over-estimation of sex differences (Deaner et al., 2011, 2014).

344 **Data Inclusion**

345 We only considered responses from individuals who reported both their sex and athletic
346 division. Among these individuals, there were a substantial number who did not complete all
347 items, particularly the MOMS and SOQ scales, which were administered later in the survey; we
348 generally included data from such individuals. However, in completing multi-item scales, some
349 participants answered some but not all items; we did not include these responses. This occurred
350 for the 56-item MOMS ($n = 151$ excluded, 69 women), the 25-item SOQ ($n = 51$, 20 women),
351 and the 7-item elite competitiveness scale ($n = 4$, 2 women). Because they seemed unlikely to
352 represent sincere responses, we also excluded the SOQ and MOMS data from one man who
353 reported "1" for all 71 items on these scales; we excluded data from one woman who reported
354 "1" for all 25 items of the SOQ scale. All other individuals showed variability across these multi-
355 item scales.

356 Some responses to the performance and training questions were not credible, presumably
357 because runners had poor recall or did not understand the items (e.g., they provided monthly
358 rather than weekly estimates of training volume). Therefore, to minimize their effects, we deleted
359 the following highly improbable responses: 5000 m performances faster than the current world
360 record for one's sex ($n = 4$, 2 women), regularly completing more than 24 running sessions per
361 week ($n = 41$, 17 women), and running greater than 200 miles (322 km) per week for a 4 week
362 period ($n = 5$, 3 women).

363 **Statistics**

364 We conducted analyses with Statistica 6.1 (Statsoft Inc., Tulsa, OK USA). Following the
365 convention in sex differences research, a positive effect size (Cohen's d) indicates a greater value
366 for men; a negative effect size indicates a greater value for women. All statistical tests were two
367 tailed and α was set at .05.

368 **Results**

369 **Overall Sex Differences in Competitiveness and Training**

³ Even in the slower quartiles, most intercollegiate runners are of high ability compared to recreational runners. For example, fewer than 1% of performances in 5000 m road races in the U.S. are fast enough to qualify for the second slowest quartile (i.e., 19:29 or faster for women, 15:57 or faster for men; see (Deaner, 2006a).

370 Similar to previous research with the SOQ (Gill & Deeter, 1988; Poiss et al., 2004; see
371 also Gill & Dzewaltowski, 1988; Hellandsig, 1998; Merten, 2008; Jamshidi et al., 2011), men
372 reported significantly greater competitiveness ($d = 0.56$) and win orientation than women ($d =$
373 0.48), but there was no significant sex difference for goal orientation ($d = 0.07$; Table 1).
374 Consistent with previous research using the MOMS (Ogles, Masters & Richardson, 1995; Ogles
375 & Masters, 2003; Deaner & Mitchell, 2011), men reported significantly greater endorsement
376 than women for competition ($d = 0.61$) and, somewhat unexpectedly, also for goal achievement,
377 although the effect size for this was modest ($d = 0.21$). For the other seven MOMS sub-scales,
378 there was no significant sex difference or women's scores were significantly higher than men's
379 (Table 1).

380 Next we explored the seven new items designed to address motivation to train and
381 compete as an elite runner after college. As predicted, these items showed good internal
382 consistency ($\alpha = .82$), supporting the hypothesis that they may constitute a unitary construct
383 that we provisionally call "elite competitiveness." Supporting its validity, for both men and
384 women, elite competitiveness (mean of seven items) correlated significantly with the SOQ and
385 MOMS measures of competitiveness and goal achievement, our two primary measures of
386 running volume, and 5000 m best performance quartile (Table 2). In addition, supporting the
387 hypothesis that it may be specifically associated with exceptional performance and training
388 commitment, elite competitiveness was, in most cases, more highly correlated with running
389 volume and running performance than were the SOQ and MOMS measures (Table 2). For men,
390 the correlations were significantly greater ($p < 0.05$) for elite competitiveness and 5000 m
391 performance and elite competitiveness and weekly adjusted mileage than were the respective
392 associations for MOMS competitiveness, MOMS goal achievement, or SOQ win orientation.
393 Also, for men the correlation was significantly greater for elite competitiveness and weekly
394 training sessions than for MOMS competitiveness and weekly training sessions or MOMS goal
395 achievement measure and weekly training sessions.

396 As predicted, men scored significantly higher than women in elite competitiveness ($d =$
397 0.50), as well as six of the seven items contributing to it (Table 1).

398 As predicted, men reported significantly greater training volumes (Table 1). This was true
399 for absolute running mileage per week ($d = 1.21$), adjusted running mileage per week (i.e.,
400 increasing women's mileage by 22%; $d = 0.42$), and running sessions per week ($d = 0.51$).
401 Women reported significantly more aerobic cross-training sessions per week than men, but the
402 difference was modest ($d = -0.17$). Moreover, runners engage in cross-training only a few times
403 per week but usually run at least once per day (Table 1). Thus, for those runners who reported
404 both running sessions and cross-training sessions, the total number of training sessions per week
405 (sum of running and cross-training) was significantly greater for men ($d = 0.27$). Table 2 also
406 reveals that greater adjusted mileage and more running sessions were significantly associated
407 with faster running for both men and women but that greater cross-training was only
408 significantly associated with faster running for women.

409 **Sub-population Selectivity**

410 Our chief question is whether sex differences in competitiveness and related measures
411 become significantly smaller as a function of sub-population selectivity or running ability. We
412 first addressed this by grouping individuals into sex-specific quartiles based on fastest 5000 m
413 performance and then conducting homogeneity of slopes analyses, testing whether, for each
414 measure, there was a significant interaction between sex and running performance quartile. We
415 focused on the three competitiveness measures, two running volume measures, and MOMS goal

416 orientation and SOQ win orientation. These latter two measures were correlated with
 417 competitiveness measures (Table 2) and, across all runners, were endorsed significantly more by
 418 men than women.

419 Figure 1 illustrates, for each performance quartile, the sex difference in each measure as
 420 an effect size. Figure 2 shows differences in means for the competitiveness and running volume
 421 measures.

422 There were significant interactions for MOMS competition ($F(1,534) = 13.3, p = .0002$)
 423 and MOMS goal achievement ($F(1,534) = 4.4, p = .035$). For both MOMS sub-scales, the sex
 424 difference decreased among faster runners (Fig. 1). In fact, for runners in the fastest quartile,
 425 there was no significant sex difference with either measure (competition: $t(129) = 1.23, p = .22,$
 426 $d = 0.22$; goal achievement: $t(123) = 0.59, p = .56; d = -0.10$).

427 There were no significant interactions between and sex and running performance in
 428 predicting the three SOQ sub-scales (all $ps > .50$) or elite competitiveness ($p = .97$; Fig. 1). For
 429 SOQ competitiveness, SOQ win orientation, and elite competitiveness, the sex difference was
 430 significant for all four ability quartiles, with the exception of SOQ win orientation for the second
 431 slowest quartile ($t(140) = 1.45, p = .15; d = 0.25$).

432 There were significant interactions for adjusted mileage per week ($F(1,607) = 5.9, p =$
 433 $.016$) and running sessions per week ($F(1,579) = 10.5, p = .001$). In both cases, the sex difference
 434 was greater among faster runners (Fig. 1 & 2). The sex difference for both training volume
 435 variables was significant ($p < .05$) for the three fastest quartiles but not for the slowest quartile
 436 (running sessions: $t(145) = 0.60, p = .55; d = 0.10$; adjusted mileage: ($t(143) = 1.67, p = .10; d =$
 437 0.28).

438 Our second measure of sub-population selectivity or running ability was the runner's
 439 team's athletic division, NCAA DI, DII, or DIII. We first confirmed that athletic division was
 440 associated with running performance, as assessed by fastest 5000 m performance quartile: this
 441 correlation was significant for women ($r(297) = .50, p < .001$), and the median best performances
 442 for DI, DII, and DIII were 18:04, 18:55, and 19:21. For men also, the correlation was significant
 443 ($r(331) = .45, p < .001$), and the median best performances were 14:54, 15:22, and 15:47.

444 We next conducted homogeneity of slopes analyses to test whether there were significant
 445 interactions between sex and athletic division. As illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, there was no
 446 indication of an interaction (all $ps > .35$) for any of the competitiveness-related measures. For all
 447 of these measures, the sex difference was significant for each athletic division (all $ps < .01$), with
 448 the one exception of MOMS goal achievement for D1 runners ($t(440) = 0.97, p = .33; d = 0.09$).

449 **Explanations for the Sex Difference**

450 There are several possible explanations for the sex difference in competitiveness. One
 451 candidate is that female runners generally suffer more injuries or illness than male runners, and
 452 this could more frequently disrupt their training or diminish their enthusiasm for competing.
 453 However, there was no indication of a sex difference for the two items addressing the extent to
 454 which injuries or illness compromised training (Table 3).

455 A second explanation is that women's lesser competitiveness is due to their having
 456 greater obligations or burdens outside of sports. One specific obligation is childcare or the
 457 expectation of providing childcare in the near future. Contrary to this explanation, there was no
 458 sex difference in having children already or the likelihood of having children in the next three
 459 years (Table 3). More importantly, the rates for both were very low. Only one of 530 woman
 460 reported having children already, and only 32 of 535 women (6%) responded with a 3 or greater

461 on a 5-point scale (“neither agree nor disagree) to the statement “I am likely to have children in
462 the next 3 years”; only nine (1.6%) responded with a response of 4 or greater (“agree”).

463 We also addressed the obligations explanation in an indirect but more general way. We
464 did this by including items addressing runners’ commitment to their academic studies. The logic
465 is that if women have more obligations (of various kinds) than men do, then women should also
466 report studying less than men. However, women reported spending significantly more time
467 studying (Table 3), suggesting that female runners generally do not prioritize running as much as
468 male runners do. Supporting this interpretation were sex differences on the two items endorsing
469 commitment to academics; on both items, women scored significantly higher than men (Table 3).

470 Discussion

471 An important question about sex differences in preferences and motivation is whether
472 they persist when men and women are drawn from selective sub-populations (Croson & Gneezy,
473 2009; Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009). We addressed this question by investigating
474 competitiveness in intercollegiate distance running. Our main finding is that male runners are, on
475 average, more competitive than female runners, and this sex difference is undiminished among
476 the fastest runners. Strengths of our study include its large sample size, use of two measures of
477 sub-population selectivity, and use of several measures of competitiveness. Before examining the
478 possible cause(s) of this sex difference in competitiveness and its theoretical implications, we
479 consider potential objections and limitations to our study.

480 Possible Objections

481 One objection to our main conclusion—that the sex difference is undiminished among the
482 fastest runners—is that we found clear evidence that the sex difference disappeared among the
483 fastest quartile of runners for MOMS competition and MOMS goal achievement (Figs. 1 & 2).
484 Although these results are notable, they do not undermine our general conclusion. This is
485 because we did not find any narrowing of the sex difference in SOQ competitiveness, SOQ win
486 orientation, elite competitiveness, or either measure of training volume. Furthermore, Table 2
487 provides some evidence that MOMS competition and goal achievement, although valid within
488 recreational runners (Masters, Ogles & Jolton, 1993; Masters & Ogles, 1995; Ogles, Masters &
489 Richardson, 1995), may not be in more selective sub-populations. In particular, unlike the other
490 competitiveness-related measures, neither of these MOMS sub-scales were significantly
491 associated with 5000 m performance in male intercollegiate runners (MOMS competition, $r =$
492 0.01 ; MOMS goal achievement, $r = .02$).

493 Another crucial point is that the sex difference in competitiveness did not vary
494 significantly across NCAA athletic divisions for any of the competitiveness-related measures,
495 including the two MOMS measures (Figs. 3 & 4). These results are notable because NCAA
496 athletic division correlated with timed running performance for both women ($r = 0.50$) and men
497 ($r = 0.45$), and these tests were based on large samples, at least 975 total runners for each
498 measure (Table 1).

499 A second objection is that we have found an overall sex difference in competitiveness,
500 but this difference is trivially small and unimportant (Gill, 2000). This objection appears to have
501 little merit with respect to our study. One reason this objection is weak is that the sex differences
502 in competitiveness and training volume we found (d s ~ 0.50 ; see Table 1) are comparable in
503 magnitude to those typically found in social psychology as a whole ($d = 0.45$) and about twice as
504 large as those typically reported for studies of sex differences ($d = 0.26$; Richard, Bond &
505 Stokes-Zoota, 2003; see also, Hyde, 2005). We also note that the sex differences in
506 competitiveness and training volume varied substantially across performance quartiles (Table 2;

507 Fig. 2) and athletic divisions (Fig. 4), as expected by definitions of competitiveness (Gill &
508 Deeter, 1988; Masters, Ogles & Jolton, 1993). Nonetheless, Figures 2 and 4 show that sex
509 differences in competitiveness and training volume were roughly similar in magnitude to
510 differences across performance quartiles and athletic divisions; this pattern indicates that sex
511 differences explain appreciable variance in competitiveness. A final reason our results should not
512 be dismissed as unimportant is that they appear to explain ecologically relevant behavior. In
513 particular, there is a substantial sex difference in the depth of outstanding American professional
514 distance runners, as about two to three times as many men as women run fast relative to sex-
515 specific standards (Deaner, 2006b, 2013). This pattern is what would be expected if, among
516 talented intercollegiate runners, women were less likely than men to be motivated to pursue a
517 professional running career, as indicated in this study (Table 1).

518 A third objection is that results based on our sample might not generalize to all NCAA
519 distance runners. This objection is valid in the sense that we did not assess the extent to which
520 our sample corresponds to the population. Nonetheless, with respect to our conclusions about a
521 sex difference in competitiveness, this objection appears weak. This is because, in the Methods
522 section, we showed that, although faster runners tended to be overrepresented as respondents, the
523 greater response of men in our study (28.1%) compared to women (24.3%) was due to slower
524 male runners being significantly more likely than slower female runners to respond. Because
525 running ability is positively correlated with competitiveness (Table 2), this suggests that a more
526 representative sample might yield a slightly larger sex difference in competitiveness than
527 obtained in this study. Furthermore, the men and women who participated did not differ
528 significantly in their responses to several items that might be related to competitiveness,
529 including running experience and the achievement of top performances in conference and
530 national cross-country meets (see Methods).

531 **Explanations for the Sex Difference in Competitiveness**

532 There are many candidate explanations for the sex difference in competitiveness in
533 intercollegiate distance runners. One explanation is that female intercollegiate runners have
534 fewer opportunities than male runners to compete and train. Our results suggest that this is
535 unlikely, because women were no more likely than men to have their training disrupted by
536 injuries and illness, almost no women already had children, and few women anticipated having a
537 child in the next three years (Table 3). Moreover, women spent more time studying than men and
538 reported greater commitment to academics than to running (Table 3). These results suggest that,
539 rather than lacking sufficient time for running, female runners are instead more likely than males
540 to prioritize their studies over their running.

541 A second candidate explanation is that female intercollegiate runners' lesser
542 competitiveness is due to their having fewer incentives to excel compared to their male
543 counterparts. Much evidence contradicts this idea. Consistent with NCAA data (NCAA
544 Research, 2011), we found that women were more likely than men to receive athletic
545 scholarships. These scholarships can be worth tens of thousands of dollars, and many runners
546 earn them after matriculating at an institution and achieving outstanding performances.

547 Another kind of incentive is prize money at road races. Intercollegiate athletes are not
548 permitted to accept substantial prize money, but improving one's performance during college can
549 increase one's capability to earn prize money after college. To the best of our knowledge, all
550 U.S. road races have identical purses for men and women, and prizes for excelling in
551 international competition, such as the Olympics, are equivalent (Byrnes & Drawbaugh, 2012). It
552 is true that across all international road races, there is estimated to be 15% more prize money

553 available for men than women (Association of Road Racing Statisticians, 2013). However,
554 world-wide, there are roughly eight times as many male as female professional runners who run
555 relatively fast compared to gender-specific world class standards, and the variance among top
556 female performances is substantially greater than among top male performances (Frick, 2011).
557 This lesser depth among professional female distance runners suggests that, all else being equal,
558 it should be easier for women than men to earn prize money. Finally, another important source of
559 income for professional distance runners is sponsorship (e.g., from footwear companies), and a
560 recent survey of U.S. distance runners showed highly similar receipt of sponsorship for men and
561 women (Huntley, 2013).

562 A third candidate explanation for the sex difference in competitiveness is more general,
563 potentially applying to many kinds of athletes, not only distance runners. It holds that girls and
564 women typically experience less encouragement and opportunities to be competitive (and even
565 participate) in sports. This socialization explanation is popular, and there is much evidence
566 consistent with it (Gill, 2000; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Hogshead-Makar & Zimbalist, 2007;
567 Brake, 2010). For example, parents' perceptions of their children's sports ability are strongly
568 associated with the children's sports ability beliefs and their participation (Fredricks & Eccles,
569 2005). However, the correlational design of studies in this area means that attributions of
570 causality must be viewed cautiously. Similarities between parents' and children's sports interest,
571 for instance, might be driven by children's behavior. Likewise, these studies do not consider the
572 possibility that sports interest (and perhaps competitiveness) may be genetically transmitted, as
573 some studies indicate (e.g., Lykken et al., 1993; Hur, McGue & Iacono, 1996).

574 Another kind of evidence often cited in support of the socialization view is that the sex
575 difference in sports interest (and perhaps competitiveness) has supposedly declined in the U.S.
576 since the passage of Title IX in 1972. Title IX prohibits sexual discrimination in educational
577 opportunities, including sports, and it has resulted in the creation of substantially more equitable
578 opportunities and incentives (e.g., scholarships) for female athletes (Hogshead-Makar &
579 Zimbalist, 2007; Brake, 2010). Although Title IX has been successful in many respects,
580 increasing female participation in organized school sports does not provide unambiguous
581 evidence of increasing female sports interest. This is because there must have been considerable
582 unmet female sports interest prior to Title IX, i.e., girls and women who wished to participate but
583 lacked opportunities. In fact, a recent study showed that outside of organized school settings, the
584 sex difference in sports participation (and presumably interest) remains large in the
585 contemporary U.S., with males participating roughly three times as much as females (Deaner et
586 al., 2012). Furthermore, this sex difference apparently has not decreased since at least the early
587 2000s (Deaner et al., 2012). Other studies indicate that the sex difference in competitiveness in
588 U.S. distance runners declined somewhat in the 1980s and 1990s but has been stable since
589 (Deaner, 2006b, 2013; Deaner & Mitchell, 2011; Deaner, Addona & Mead, 2014).

590 A fourth explanation is that the sex difference in competitiveness is due, at least in part,
591 to males' typically greater exposure to prenatal androgens. Although no study in this area has
592 focused on sports competitiveness per se, several kinds of evidence indicate that sex-
593 differentiated childhood activity patterns (e.g., boys greater interest in rough-and-tumble play)
594 are partly due to boys' greater exposure to prenatal androgens (Berenbaum & Beltz, 2011).
595 These activity patterns, in turn, predict adult sports interest (Giuliano, Popp & Knight, 2000;
596 Cardoso, 2009). Furthermore, females with congenital adrenal hyperplasia, a disease
597 characterized by heightened prenatal androgen exposure, are more likely than unaffected females

598 to show strong interest in stereotypically masculine sports (Berenbaum, 1999; Frisén et al.,
599 2009).

600 Finally, from a functional, evolutionary perspective, the present study's results are
601 compatible with the hypothesis that men are more predisposed than women to engage in cultural
602 displays to publically signal their qualities to potential mates, competitors, and allies (Hawkes &
603 Bird, 2002; Lombardo, 2012; Deaner, 2013). It is important to emphasize two things about this
604 hypothesis. First, it is fully compatible with hypotheses addressing proximate causality (e.g.,
605 socialization, prenatal androgen exposure). Second, this hypothesis does not hold that men are
606 generally more industrious or capable than women. Instead, the claim is that men are predisposed
607 to channel their efforts into domains where they can "show off" in comparison to others. This
608 hypothesis is supported by several lines of evidence (Deaner, 2013), including that that men
609 generally report stronger competitive orientations, whereas women report stronger work
610 orientations (e.g., Spence & Helmreich, 1983; Gill, 1986). The present results support this
611 hypothesis because intercollegiate distance running, like most other sports, constitutes public
612 competition, and men reported greater motivation to compete. By contrast, academic
613 performance, which women prioritized more, seems less publicly visible.

614 **Explanations for the Sex Difference Persisting Among Faster Runners**

615 Studies of financial decision makers often report that the sex difference in risk taking
616 substantially weakens or disappears when comparing individuals from similar and selective sub-
617 populations (Croson & Gneezy, 2009). The main interpretation is that the generally observed
618 difference in risk taking is mediated by domain-relevant characteristics, such as investment
619 knowledge or wealth. When men and women do not differ in these characteristics, due to
620 selection, training, or endowment, then the sex difference in risk taking disappears (Croson &
621 Gneezy, 2009).

622 Our study of distance runners yielded a different result, namely that the sex difference in
623 competitiveness was generally undiminished in selective sub-populations. This could be due to
624 one of several differences between the sub-populations of distance runners and financial decision
625 makers. One difference is that women are substantially under-represented among financial
626 decision makers, whereas there are slightly more female than male NCAA intercollegiate
627 distance runners. Thus, if the sport of distance running (like most other sports) was not
628 segregated by sex, and there was selection for competitiveness (but not other characteristics), we
629 would expect that male runners would substantially outnumber female runners, but there would
630 be no sex difference in competitiveness. In other words, one might claim that, although both
631 male and female runners are drawn from selective sub-populations, the male sub-population is
632 actually more selective.

633 A second, related difference is that moderate to high levels of risk taking may be
634 indispensable for financial decision making jobs, but high competitiveness, although helpful in
635 distance running, may not be required. Much more important, perhaps, are a runner's
636 physiological and biomechanical characteristics. Thus, although male and female intercollegiate
637 distance runners may be identical in many important respects, such as their likelihood of
638 possessing genes associated with high maximal oxygen uptake (Tucker & Collins, 2012), they
639 may differ in other characteristics, including competitiveness.

640 Our finding that the sex difference in competitiveness remains undiminished among the
641 faster runners is broadly consistent with previous studies of distance running. One study reported
642 that, in the U.S., two to four times as many males as females ran fast relative to sex-specific
643 world class standards, and this difference was nearly as large among professional distance

644 runners as it was among high school and collegiate runners (Deaner, 2006b). In the study
645 showing a sex difference in marathon pacing, the sex difference increased significantly among
646 slower runners, yet even among the fastest runners (e.g., sub-3 hour finishers), men were roughly
647 three times as likely as women to experience marked slowing (Deaner et al., 2014).

648 Our results are also consistent with research on lifestyle preferences among adults in their
649 mid-30s identified as profoundly gifted as children or as top math or science graduate students
650 about ten years earlier (Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009). Although men and women in
651 these selective sub-populations were matched in their scientific abilities, their adult preferences
652 differed. Men generally focused on their careers, including gaining recognition for their
653 professional achievements, whereas women reported holding a more communal orientation,
654 balancing careers with friendships and family. These sex differences emerged as individuals
655 transitioned from their training (e.g., graduate school in mid-20s) to their careers and had or
656 anticipated having children (Lubinski et al., 2001; Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009).

657 Although our distance running results echo those of the top science ability study
658 (Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009), they differ in two notable ways. First, the sex difference
659 we documented cannot be as readily attributed to women anticipating that the conflict between
660 professional and family goals will be more acute for them than for men. This is because most
661 collegiate runners likely enjoy their greatest opportunities for earning recognition (e.g., winning
662 individual and team championships) and financial rewards (i.e. scholarships) during their
663 collegiate careers, a time when almost none have or anticipate having children (Table 3). Even
664 the very small number of runners with the talent and desire to succeed as professionals generally
665 reach their earnings peaks by their late 20s (Huntley, 2013). This is because elite endurance
666 performance declines with age beginning at roughly age 30 (Joyner, 1993). Because the median
667 age for bearing a first child for college-educated women in the contemporary U.S. is 30
668 (Hymowitz et al., 2013), these points suggest that most collegiate female runners aspiring to
669 excel as professionals would only be modestly deterred by the possibility that running would
670 interfere with motherhood.

671 Our results are also notable because the sex difference in competitiveness shown here
672 occurs in a sex-segregated domain, whereas in science and most other settings, men and women
673 jointly compete. This is notable because behavioral economics experiments generally find that
674 women exhibit greater competitiveness in single-sex settings (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2011).
675 Thus, in ecologically relevant, mixed-sex settings, the sex difference in competitiveness might be
676 greater than reported here for distance running.

677 **Conclusions**

678 Sex differences in preferences and motivations are well known and believed to have
679 important implications (Wilson & Daly, 1985; Browne, 2002; Hakim, 2006; Croson & Gneezy,
680 2009; Ceci et al., 2014). Although the causes of these differences remain unresolved, one popular
681 hypothesis is that if men and women are drawn from selective populations, so that their
682 opportunities and abilities do not differ, then the sex differences in preferences and motivations
683 will shrink or disappear (Croson & Gneezy, 2009). The present study provides one of the
684 strongest tests yet of this hypothesis, and the results did not support it. A crucial question,
685 however, is whether the patterns documented here among intercollegiate U.S. distance runners
686 will generalize to other populations, including those in other societies and other domains of
687 selectivity (e.g., tennis: Houston, Carter & Smither, 1997).

688 If the main finding of the present study—that sex differences in preferences and
689 motivations remain substantial in selective sub-populations—does turn out to be generalizable,

690 then this may have implications for policy decisions. First, if a policy goal is to facilitate
691 women's achievement, then policies should consider women's preferences. In academia, for
692 example, successful policies may include creating part-time tenure-track positions, stopping the
693 tenure clock, and providing subsidized child care (Mason, Wolfinger & Goulden, 2013; Ceci et
694 al., 2014). Some have even suggested that parental leave policies may be most effective if they
695 are reserved exclusively for women (Rhoads & Rhoads, 2012). A second implication is that
696 policy makers may need to reconsider efforts to equalize the number of men and women in some
697 domains where women are under-represented. The present study, along with others (e.g., Hakim,
698 2006; Ferriman, Lubinski & Benbow, 2009; Lippa, 2010; Ceci et al., 2014), suggests that the
699 under-representation of women may sometimes reflect sex differences in preferences that cannot
700 be easily ascribed to sex differences in incentives and opportunities. Although it is often assumed
701 that these preferences are suboptimal for women, the limited data available suggest otherwise
702 (Pinker, 2009; Ceci & Williams, 2009). For example, in the top science ability study (Ferriman,
703 Lubinski & Benbow, 2009), women with children were less satisfied with their careers than
704 women without children, yet they reported greater life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was not
705 addressed in the present study, yet we suspect that female distance runners giving priority to
706 studying over running similarly reflects the pursuit of their own long-term interests.

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Table 1.

Sex Differences in Motivation and Training.

Topic or Instrument	Sub-scale or item	Men			Women			<i>t</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
		M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
SOQ									
	Competitiveness	4.34	0.5	555	4.03	0.6	496	9.07 ***	0.56
	Goal orientation	4.43	0.5	555	4.39	0.5	496	1.16	0.07
	Win orientation	3.67	0.8	555	3.28	0.8	496	7.73 ***	0.48
MOMS									
	Affiliation	4.16	1.4	514	4.65	1.4	461	5.50 ***	-0.35
	Competition	5.43	1.2	514	4.61	1.5	461	9.50 ***	0.61
	Goal achievement	6.17	0.8	514	5.99	0.9	461	3.31 ***	0.21
	Health	4.25	1.4	514	4.71	1.2	461	5.36 ***	-0.35
	Life meaning	3.97	1.5	514	4.40	1.5	461	4.41 ***	-0.28
	Psychological coping	3.88	1.5	514	4.38	1.4	461	5.47 ***	-0.35
	Recognition	4.01	1.4	514	3.94	1.5	461	0.71	0.05
	Self-esteem	4.75	1.2	514	5.12	1.1	461	4.77 ***	-0.31
	Weight	2.82	1.3	514	3.74	1.6	461	10.02 ***	-0.64
Elite competitiveness									
	Racing competitively after college	3.86	1.1	608	3.71	1.1	538	2.26 *	0.13
	Make it as a pro runner	2.37	1.3	608	1.96	1.1	538	5.67 ***	0.34
	National team is a goal	2.66	1.4	607	2.08	1.3	539	7.08 ***	0.42
	Love to be a pro athlete	3.84	1.2	607	2.93	1.4	539	11.56 ***	0.68
	Take my training to next level	3.99	1.0	605	3.47	1.3	532	7.59 ***	0.45
	If I had opportunity, I'd train more	3.46	1.2	607	3.01	1.2	539	6.37 ***	0.38
	Train less after college (R)	3.35	1.2	607	3.29	1.2	538	0.95	0.06
	Elite competitiveness (mean 7 items)	3.35	0.8	603	2.92	0.9	531	8.48 ***	0.50
Training volume									
	Mileage per week	69.98	17.4	592	51.69	13.0	505	19.50 ***	1.21

SEX DIFFERENCE IN COMPETITIVENESS

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Adjusted mileage per week	69.98	17.4	592	63.06	15.9	505	6.83 ***	0.42
Running sessions per week	8.32	2.2	557	7.30	1.8	487	8.05 ***	0.51
Cross training sessions per week	1.32	1.8	587	1.64	1.9	511	2.86 **	-0.17
Total sessions per week	9.58	2.8	557	8.85	2.6	487	4.34 ***	0.27

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 2.

Intercorrelations for Competitiveness-related Measures, Training Volume, and Performance.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. SOQ: Competitiveness	--	0.61*	0.57*	0.65*	0.54*	0.44*	0.08	0.09	-0.05	0.24*
2. SOQ: Win Orientation	0.66*	--	0.26*	0.60*	0.35*	0.31*	0.07	0.14*	-0.03	0.28*
3. SOQ: Goal orientation	0.54*	0.29*	--	0.33*	0.47*	0.29*	0.07	0.05	-0.04	0.14
4. MOMS: Competition	0.63*	0.55*	0.36*	--	0.70*	0.34*	0.12*	0.11*	0.01	0.29*
5. MOMS: Goal achievement	0.48*	0.25*	0.46*	0.64*	--	0.35*	0.15*	0.12*	-0.02	0.21*
6. Elite competitiveness	0.37*	0.15*	0.34*	0.23*	0.37*	--	0.13*	0.03	-0.06	0.30*
7. Adjusted mileage per week	0.15*	0.16*	0.12*	0.05	0.06	0.26*	--	0.46*	0.00	0.46*
8. Running sessions per week	0.05	0.06	0.04	-0.03	0.02	0.16*	0.57*	--	0.03	0.26*
9. Cross training sessions per week	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.03	0.00	0.07	-0.07	-0.05	--	-
10. 5000 m Performance quartile	0.22*	0.19*	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.33*	0.55*	0.44*	-0.10	--

Note. Intercorrelations for women are presented above diagonal, and intercorrelations for men are below the diagonal. Correlations for women are based 349 participants, save those involving 5000 m performance, which are based on 194 participants. Correlations for men are based on 426 participants, save those involving 5000 m performance, which are based 244 participants. * $p < .05$

Table 3.

Sex Differences in Characteristics Relevant to Potential Explanations for the Sex Difference in Competitiveness.

Topic or Instrument	Item or sub-scale	Men			Women			<i>t</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
		M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Injuries									
	Miss 2+ weeks of training due to injury	2.10	2.3	607	2.10	2.3	537	0.04	0.00
	Had to limit training due to injuries	2.80	1.4	606	2.89	1.4	538	1.08	-0.06
Children									
	Already have child	0.00	0.0	602	0.00	0.1	530	0.69	-0.04
	Likely to have child in next 3 years	1.46	0.7	607	1.39	0.7	535	1.74	0.10
Academics									
	Do my best in school	4.32	0.9	602	4.60	0.6	533	6.09 ***	-0.37
	Take education as seriously as running	4.01	1.2	604	4.47	0.9	537	7.45 ***	-0.45
	Hours studying	13.67	7.2	607	15.60	7.0	538	4.60 ***	-0.27

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Figure 1. Sex differences in competitiveness-related measures and training volume as a function of 5000 m performance quartile.

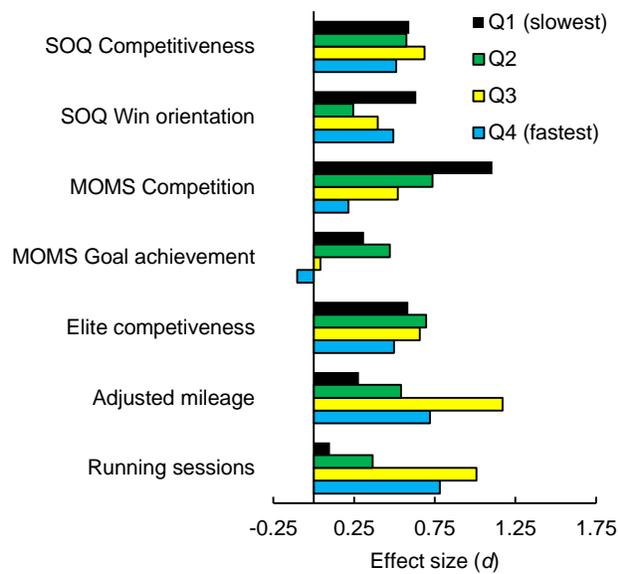


Figure 2. Sex differences, as a function of 5000 m performance quartile, in (a) SOQ Competitiveness, (b) MOMS Competition, (c) Elite competitiveness, (d) Adjusted mileage per week, and (e) Running sessions per week. Solid lines indicate women; dashed lines indicate men. Squares indicate means and error bars represent two standard errors of the mean (95% confidence interval). Quartile 1 (Q1) runners are slowest and Quartile 4 (Q4) runners are fastest.

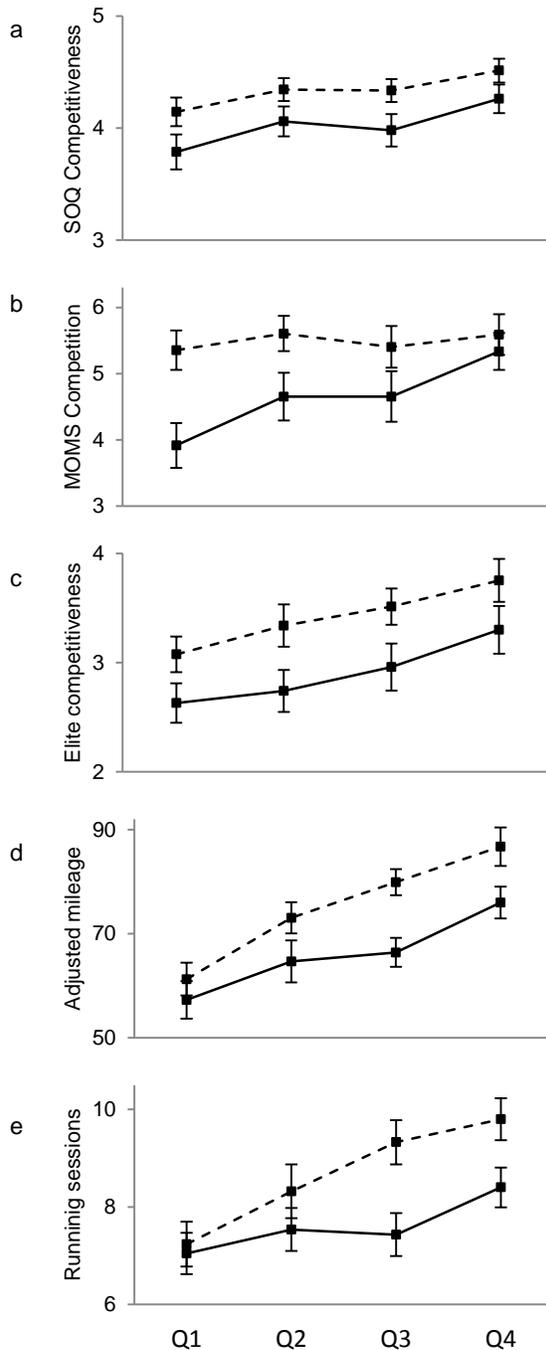


Figure 3. Sex differences in competitiveness-related measures and training volume as a function of athletic division.

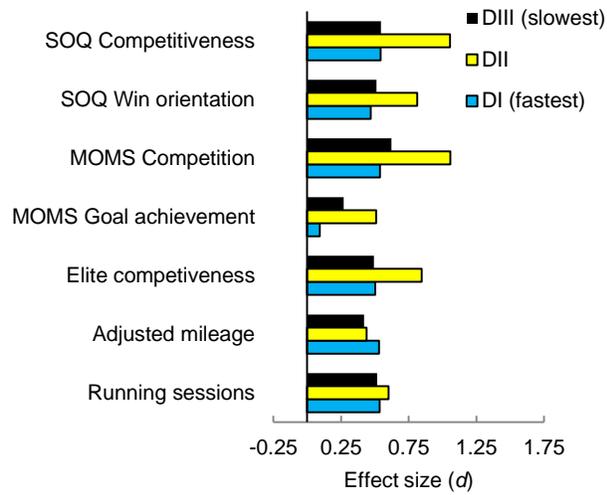


Figure 4. Sex differences, as a function of athletic division, in (a) SOQ Competitiveness, (b) MOMS Competition, (c) Elite competitiveness, (d) Adjusted mileage per week, and (e) Running sessions per week. Solid lines indicate women; dashed lines indicate men. Squares indicate means and error bars represent two standard errors of the mean (95% confidence interval). DIII runners are generally slowest, DII runners are generally intermediate, and DI runners are generally fastest.

