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WHAT IF THEY WERE RIGHT? TITLE IX AND THE AIAW'S PHILOSOPHY OF COACHING AND ATHLETIC ADMINISTRATION.

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WHAT IF THEY WERE RIGHT? TITLE IX AND THE AIAW'S PHILOSOPHY OF COACHING AND ATHLETIC ADMINISTRATION.

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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WHAT IF THEY WERE RIGHT?

TITLE IX AND THE AIAW'S PHILOSOPHY OF COACHING AND ATHLETIC ADMINISTRATION.

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

of

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by

Robert Scott Russell

In Partial Fulfillment of the

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of

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAU	– Amateur Athletic Union
AAHPER	– American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
AIAW	– American Intercollegiate Association for Women
APEA	– American Physical Education Association
CIAW	– Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women
CISW	– Commission on Intercollegiate Sports for Women
CWA	– Committee on Women’s Athletics
DGWS	– The Division for Girls’ and Women’s Sports
ERA	– Equal Rights Amendment
GAO	– General Accounting Office of the NCAA
HEW	– The US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
N4A	– National Association of Academic Advisors for Athletics
NAAF	– National Amateur Athletic Federation
NADPECW	– National Association of Directors of Physical Education for College Women
NCAA	– National Collegiate Athletic Association
NAGWS	– National Association for Girls and Women in Sport
NJCESCW	– National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women

NOW – National Organization of Women

OCR – The Office of Civil Rights

SPWIA – Special Committee on Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics (SPWIA)

ABSTRACT

Russell, R. Scott. Ph.D., Purdue University, December 2015. Can Women Regain Control of the Principles and the Administration of Women's Collegiate Sports? Major Professor: William A. Harper.

When Title IX was first signed into law in the United States in 1972, its intended purpose was to guarantee equal opportunity for women in educational settings. In collegiate athletics Title IX quickly became a battle ground. It became a battle ground over how to increase the number of female collegiate athletes without impacting men's programs, and also a battle ground over who would have primary responsibility for the administration of women's sports. When the male-dominated NCAA took over the administration of women's varsity teams after a 10-year battle with the female-led AIAW, female athletic administrators were forced to relinquish their authority over long-held ideals which governed women's sports. The AIAW and other leaders in women's collegiate athletics didn't go down without a fight, and many expressed grave concern for the direction of women's athletics under the leadership of men. Now, more than 40 years after the implementation of Title IX, after dramatic increases have been realized in the number of women competing on collegiate sports teams across the US, what if those fears have been realized? Are women's sports and female athletes better now that they have been forced to adopt the male model of collegiate competition, or would

the increases in participation and the opportunities for female athletes, female coaches, and female administrators have been even more dramatic if the AIAW had survived?

The principles of education, participation, and character that governed women's athletics for nearly 100 years have been lost in a system that only sees one way of administering athletics. Women have been forced to adopt a male approach to athletics for the sake of equality, but is equal really better? Is there a path that leads to a future where women once again lead women's athletics? I think there is, and this dissertation points the way.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

From its earliest beginnings, sport for women in the United States was designed by women who were educators, who were advocates for the benefits of physical fitness for women, and who believed that sport provided lessons in character that couldn't be learned in the classroom. Sport with character and the personal character that is achieved from applying one's self to a sport – these were the principles that guided the first efforts to include sport and fitness in the educational experience for collegiate women.

For over 100 years, women guided sport for women as it evolved from early physical education classes to national championship events involving collegiate teams from every corner of the country. Throughout that evolution, change was guided by the principles of the women who rose to leadership roles in the organizations that were charged with administering collegiate sports for women. From the suffrage movement of the 1800s to the equal rights movement of the 1900s, women's collegiate sports largely avoided the commercialism and win-at-all-cost nature of their male counterparts. Character continued to be the driving influence, even as female collegiate athletes became increasingly more competitive.

In 1972, federal legislation mandated that women have opportunities equal to their male peers in every collegiate academic setting, including athletics. But what did “equal” really mean? Did equal mean men and women were integrated into the same classrooms, or did equal mean that women must be given the same types of opportunities afforded to men, if not exactly the same? Did equal mean that women should instantly be integrated onto previously all-male collegiate athletic teams? Or did equal mean women should continue competing against only other women, yet provided with the same resources as men’s teams?

Ultimately, in the struggle for control of women’s collegiate sports (from 1972 to 1982), the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) won out over the American Intercollegiate Association for Women (AIAW), and women’s sports were forced to comply with the model which had governed men’s sports for more than a century. Women no longer were in control of sports for women, and something had been lost. Women no longer guided the evolution of sports for women, and women’s collegiate athletics began to look more and more like the men. Some called this progress, and some called it equality. But was it better, and was it an improvement that was in the best interest of the collegiate female athlete? From a statistical standpoint, the number of women competing at the collegiate level has increased dramatically since 1972, but something has been lost in exchange. Today, far more men coach women’s collegiate sports teams than women, and women comprise fewer than 20% of those who are responsible for the administration (and therefore the direction) of women’s collegiate athletics.

So what would college sports for women look like if the AIAW had prevailed and separate, yet equal, organizations had been charged with running collegiate athletics for men and women? Would a similar number of women be competing at the collegiate level, or is it possible that there would be even more? Would women be playing games invented by (and for) men with modified rules (i.e. – a smaller ball), or would the list of sports offered for women reflect the many differences that exist between the two genders? Most importantly, is it too late for women's sports to be returned to the guidance of women? Is there a future model for collegiate athletics that would allow men to pursue sports as they see fit, while allowing women to follow a vision for college sports that could potentially be very different?

In the pages that follow, I will retrace the history of sport for women with an emphasis on the manner in which women guided and administered the athletes and teams competing at the collegiate level. As a male author, a major obstacle will be offering opinions and recommendations that aren't perceived as sexist. After all, what interest would a man have in a future athletic model that inherently excludes men? For more than 20 years I coached collegiate water polo, primarily collegiate club water polo, but always with the goal of someday coaching at the varsity level. When the women's water polo team at the University of Michigan, which I founded in 1988, was finally elevated to varsity status in 1999, I applied to be the team's coach. The university, however, selected a female candidate (a former athlete whom I had previously coached) as Michigan's first varsity water polo coach. Soon after, I moved to Purdue University to pursue my Masters degree and selected Title IX as my thesis topic with the intent of

exposing its many flaws and inequities. What I found instead has led me to be an advocate for Title IX, but a critic of the NCAA. My research has led me to question, “is a greater equality yet to be gained?” That question will be the focus of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2. SPORT FOR WOMEN IN AMERICA, THE FIRST 100 YEARS

The history (or herstory) of women in sport in the United States followed a variety of paths and was influenced by many people and events, including cultural influences, political factors, and a list of governing organizations whose names produced more acronyms than a casual observer could comprehend. This chapter will provide a chronology of sport for women in America and introduce some of the key events and organizations that preceded Title IX and the AIAW. A common theme throughout, however, will be the administration of women's sport as an extension of a woman's education, and the fact that administrators were educators first, and only filled administrative roles when necessary.

1830s

The debate on the merits of women participating in physical activity has been present in much of the recorded history of women in sport. In the 1830s, Catharine Beecher, director of an all-girls school in Hartford, Connecticut, openly advocated for physical education and exercise for women as part of the school's curriculum. At a time when popular belief held that vigorous physical activity could be detrimental to a woman's health, primarily her reproductive health, Beecher's calisthenics program became a model for private girls' schools and colleges across the U.S. Specifically,

Beecher encouraged both men and women across the United States to participate in vigorous physical activity for at least one to two hours daily (R. Bell, 2007).

1840s & 1850s

One major influence was the Women's Suffrage Movement that began in the 1840s. In 1849, Amelia Bloomer began editing *The Lily*, a bi-weekly publication that was the first newspaper for women. When suffrage activist Libby Miller introduced a new style of clothing for women in 1851 that allowed more freedom of movement, Bloomer published articles on the new clothing trend that eventually came to be known as The Bloomer Costume, or "Bloomers." While not universally accepted in the U.S., Bloomers (which incorporated loose fitting trousers topped by a short dress) gave women the ability to more freely participate in athletic activities such as bicycling and horseback riding. By the late 1800s, a woman's ability to ride a bicycle was not only important as a means of recreation, but far more valuable as an independent means of transportation (Sherrow, 1996).

Athletics and physical education on United States college campuses began to take shape and develop during the middle of the 1800s, but following two distinctly different models for men and women. For men's collegiate athletics, the details surrounding what is widely credited with being the first athletic competition between two American universities, Harvard and Yale, illustrate the early philosophy. In 1852, members of the Harvard and Yale crew teams competed against each other in a rowing race. The event, however, was slightly more complicated than one team visiting the other's campus and competing in front of on-campus spectators. The race itself took

place on Lake Winnepesaukee in New Hampshire, and was jointly sponsored by the resort which housed the athletes and spectators, and the railroad that provided the transportation to and from the event. In addition to the actual race, the athletes and spectators were treated to an eight-day festival of social activities leading up to the scheduled athletic event. In the end, Harvard defeated Yale, and the first intercollegiate athletic rivalry was formed (Suggs, 2005). Over the next 50 years, athletic competitions between collegiate teams would become more popular and involve an increasing number of sports such as baseball and football, which resulted in the formation of leagues (conference) based on geographic location (i.e. – Big Ten Conference, Missouri Valley Conference).

1860s & 1870s

In contrast to a system that allowed businesses to exploit collegiate athletics for marketing purposes and involved a great deal of gambling on the outcome of the event, women's collegiate athletics began as part of the curriculum for physical education classes. At a time when the women's suffrage movement was advocating for equal rights for women in every walk of life, health educators began to recognize the benefits of moderate (if not yet vigorous) daily exercise on the overall health and well-being of a woman's body. Bicycling, tennis, and walking became popular forms of exercise for women, but on collegiate campuses, group activities gained in popularity. Women's colleges such as Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley were formed in the 1860s and 1870s, recognizing the increasing demand by women to earn college degrees. Athletic teams that were formed on these campuses, and for women at co-educational schools, were

intramural (meaning within a single institution) in nature and seldom involved competition against other schools. The administrators of these teams were women who held faculty positions in physical education, and the early organizations developed to standardize playing rules were comprised exclusively of these female educators (Suggs, 2005). At the time, education was one of the career paths available to women, but certain areas of collegiate academia were still considered male-only. Because men and women did not compete against (or with) each other at the collegiate level, those women who took responsibility for leading female students could do so without being influenced by male coaches or administrators. For approximately 100 years, the philosophy guiding women's collegiate athletics was "participation over competition", and this remained an integral part of the administration of women's teams as long as female student athletic practices and events were controlled by organizations led by women.

1890s

The concept of a coach leading a team of women in any form of athletic event or activity didn't begin to take shape until the early 1890s. Prior to this, physical activity or exercise for women was done on an individual basis, and when a group of women did exercise together it much more closely resembled what is referred to today as calisthenics. The Boston Normal School for Gymnastics was founded in 1889 by Mary Hemenway "to train physical education teachers and ensure that a steady stream of gymnastics and physical education teachers would be available for public schools, universities, and YMCAs in Boston and across the nation (McCullick, 2000)." An early

product of this school was Senda Berenson, who developed the first rules for a version of basketball (which had only recently been invented by James Naismith) for women. In 1892, while teaching physical education at Smith College, Berenson developed a modified version of Naismith's game as an alternative to the exercises she and many of her students saw as mundane. Berenson's rule-book was published that year and led to the formation of women's basketball teams at colleges and universities across the country. In 1896, the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford University played the first intercollegiate basketball game for women, and possibly the first intercollegiate athletic competition for women in any sport. Berkeley defeated Stanford, 2-1, in front of an all-female audience, reflecting the attitude of that time toward modesty in women (R. Bell, 2007).

In 1899 Berenson founded the National Women's Basketball Committee, which later became the Committee on Women's Athletics of the American Physical Education Association. The National Women's Basketball Committee not only developed and continued to refine a common set of rules for the game, but also put restrictions on the number and frequency of intercollegiate games. The intent was to emphasize intramural contests among groups of female students, rather than encouraging intercollegiate competition against other schools (Suggs, 2007). Much of this philosophy had its roots in the principles of physical education at the turn of the twentieth century. Female physical educators believed the greater emphasis men's sports put on winning and exalting the most talented individuals, the further they strayed from the morals of fair play and sportsmanship. Those women who were

trained as physical educators held to the belief that competing in a sport was an opportunity for an athlete to improve her physical skill, as well as her character, and that the path being taken by men's collegiate teams failed in the latter of these.

1900s

As more women became interested in participating in physical activities and sports, and as the virtues of exercise and being physically fit became more widely accepted for both men and women, changes began to take place in American culture that helped women be more athletic. While Bloomers had become popular in Europe in the late 1800s, the type of clothing worn by most women in the United States in the early 1900s continued to consist of many layers and did not allow for the freedom of movement needed for many athletic activities. May Sutton, who became the first American tennis player to win a singles title at Wimbledon in 1905, describe the required tennis dress: "It was a wonder we could move at all. We wore a long undershirt, pair of drawers, two petticoats, white linen corset cover, duck shirt, shirtwaist, long white silk stockings, and a floppy hat. We were soaking wet when we finished a match (Sherrow, 1996)." During her 1905 Wimbledon victory over two-time defending champion Dorothea Douglass Chambers, Sutton shocked the Wimbledon spectators by rolling her sleeves up above her elbows and by wearing a skirt that allowed her ankles to show.

1910s

Building on the success of Bloomers for bicycling, athletic clothing for women began a gradual transformation, although still in front of almost exclusively all-female

audiences. Sports like basketball, rowing, bowling, swimming, and track and field all saw dramatic increases in female participation, along with changes in the clothing worn by women when competing in these events. In 1919, one year before she won three gold medals in swimming at the 1920 Antwerp Olympic Games, Ethelda Bleibtrey was arrested for “nude swimming” at a Manhattan Beach (New York) swimming pool when she removed the stockings women at the time were expected to wear as part of their swimming attire. The public support Bleibtrey received quickly led to a change in what was deemed to be acceptable swimming attire for women to wear in public (Suggs, 2005).



Ethelda Bleibtrey (Right)

In addition to the restrictive clothing styles of the time, there was a very negative stigma associated with women who were muscular and strong, physical traits that could develop from exercising or training for a sport in excess. In that day it was considered more desirable for a woman to be dainty and modest. Being muscular was associated with manual and physical labor, and was not viewed as attractive in the early 1900s. However, the change in attitudes regarding women’s athletic clothing and a slimmer more athletic female physique are largely credited with influencing the changes in women’s fashion during the “roaring 20s” to a more form-fitting, shorter style of dress.

As both men's and women's sports continued to grow in the early part of the twentieth century, a number of organizations were formed to oversee rules and participation in a variety of sports. Several have now existed for more than 100 years, including the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations (YMCA and YWCA), the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). The NCAA, in fact, was created in 1906 as the result of a meeting between President Theodore Roosevelt and the presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton in which the primary topic was reducing the brutal style of play in college football (Watterson, 2000). The National Women's Basketball Committee (founded by Berenson in 1899), became the Committee on Women's Athletics of the American Physical Education Association (APEA) in 1917. The APEA was the professional association for physical education faculty members, and was another example of the difference in philosophy held between athletic organizations formed to govern male and female athletic teams and events. Unlike the AAU and NCAA, which have never been aligned with an academic organization, the APEA was an academic organization for physical education professionals, which oversaw the rules and participation of sports that were being offered as part of a physical education curriculum. In fact, the APEA created separate committees to oversee basketball, swimming, field hockey, track and field, and soccer, in direct response to the 1914 decision by the AAU (an organization run by men) to allow women to participate in national championships for swimming and track and field. Female coaches and administrators viewed this as an intrusion of men into women's sports, and held their athletes out of AAU competitions as a result.

1920s

In 1920, the National Association of Directors of Physical Education for College Women (NADPECW) was created for the expressed purpose of facilitating “colleges and schools to promote physical activity to the masses; play for the sake of play and not to advertise corporations or even colleges themselves; and keep women in charge of women’s athletics (Suggs, 2005).” In fact, this foundational philosophy of women’s athletics would be prevalent in every governing organization for female physical education teachers and coaches until the break-up of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1982.

The Olympic Games were also a venue where the original ideals surrounding men’s and women’s sports collided. At the first modern Olympic Games in Athens 1896, no women competed, as Pierre de Coubertin (the man responsible for reviving the Olympic Games) felt their inclusion would be "impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic, and incorrect (Ferez, 2012).” In spite of these objections, women (primarily from European countries) began participating in the Olympics in 1900 in Paris in the sports of tennis, sailing, croquet, equestrian and golf. Swimming events for women were added to the Olympic program in 1912 and by 1928, when women were first allowed to compete in track and field, women like Getrude Ederle and Babe Didrickson were becoming famous internationally for their athletic accomplishments. The Olympic Games, however, reflected the male ideal of sports, with medals awarded for first, second, and third place, participation limited to only the most accomplished athletes in each sport, and special distinction given to those countries earning the greatest number

of medals. So, even while American women were being included in the Olympics in increasing numbers, their accomplishments and individual accolades were not the result of support from any US organization governing women's sports.

Through the 1920s and 1930s, team sports for female collegiate athletes in the US were strictly regulated. "Play days" and "sports days" were scheduled (and sometimes unscheduled) events where a group of female athletes from one college or university would drive to the campus of another school to compete in sports in an intramural setting. Frequently, the athletes from both schools would be divided into two teams, with athletes from both schools combined to make up the two rosters. In these settings, participation was the goal and the reward, rather than one school being victorious over its rival (Suggs, 2005). Participation rates continued to increase among women's sports at the collegiate level, but at the same time, football was becoming so popular that larger universities were beginning to build stadiums that could seat over 50,000 spectators, and cities like Pasadena, New Orleans, and Miami began hosting games around the holidays (later referred to as "Bowl Games") to attract the huge number of spectators who would travel to watch their favorite team play.

In 1929, Howard Savage co-authored a comprehensive report titled American College Athletics which was published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. This 408-page report described in great detail the current state of collegiate athletics in the United States and contained chapters with the following titles:

- Chapter I - The Study of Athletics in American Universities and Colleges
- Chapter II - The Growth of College Athletics
- Chapter III - The Development of the Modern Amateur Status

Chapter IV - Athletics in American Schools
Chapter V - The Administrative Control of American College Athletics
Chapter VI - Athletic Participation and Its Results
Chapter VII - The Hygiene of Athletic Training
Chapter VIII - The Coach in College Athletics
Chapter IX - Extramural Relationships
Chapter X - The Recruiting and Subsidizing of Athletes
Chapter XI - The Press and College Athletics
Chapter XII - Values in American College Athletics

Savage's report condemned both university presidents and athletic directors for allowing collegiate football to evolve beyond the realm of the amateur athlete into a multi-million dollar business meant to market the names of the universities which fielded teams, while exploiting the student/athletes who comprised each team's roster (Thelin, 2011).

Women's physical educators who comprised the Committee on Women's Athletics (CWA) and the American Physical Education Association (APEA) had long been in agreement with several of Savage's criticisms of men's intercollegiate athletics, some of which are reflected in the titles of these chapters. Recruiting prospective students based on their athletic skills rather than their academic merits, subsidizing students for athletic performance rather than academic performance, and publicizing the results of an event through the media were exactly at odds with the principles of women's athletics for at least the first half of the 1900s. In fact, the title of Savage's final chapter, *Values in American Collegiate Athletics*, emphasizes the key term for which women believed to be a major departure from men's athletics – "Character." Playing for the love of the game, understanding the values learned from participating in athletic competition, and maintaining camaraderie and sportsmanship regardless of the

outcome were critical to the philosophy of women's athletics. These attributes of sport helped to build character in young women, but were found less and less in games competed by men. Women, therefore, were determined to keep athletics in an educational environment for women, in contrast to the world of men's athletics portrayed by Savage.

In the late 1920s, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) was formed to organize intercollegiate competition for women's teams as female athletic administrators recognized the increasing desire among female athletes for extramural competition. The Nineteenth Amendment had passed in 1920, giving women the right to vote, and across America women were feeling more empowered to do things previously reserved for men only, including competing in athletic events. While they still didn't approve of the nature of men's varsity competition, the NAAF provided a forum for women's physical educators and leaders of women's sports to formalize their beliefs regarding competition for girls and women by issuing a policy statement of the organization's goals for women (R. Bell, 2007).

Specifically, these goals were:

- "play for play's sake"
- limit awards and travel
- protect the participant from exploitation
- discourage "sensational" publicity
- place qualified women in immediate charge of athletics and other physical activities

1930s

Even with renewed energy in the feminist movement, the CWA, the APEA, and the NAAF were all impacted by the depression in the 1930s. The depression left millions of Americans out of work, and what resulted was a campaign to keep women home and out of the work force, stagnating virtually every branch of the women's movement for equal rights. The expectations of society shifted to a woman's place was "in the home," which temporarily replaced the ideals of physical educators that there were psychological and physiological benefits to be gained from involvement in sport.

1940s

Female athletic administrators continued to hold to the ideal of women's athletics as something separate and very different from football and other men's sports. In 1940, the Committee on Women's Athletics of the APEA became the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF), in a proactive move to be better prepared to administer national competitions for women's collegiate sports.

The American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER) had been formed in 1885 as a national organization to provide support to professionals specializing in health, physical education, recreation. Recognizing an increased interest in intercollegiate and national competitions for women's collegiate sports, a branch of AAHPER had been created for the purpose of organizing and administering these types of events. Initially called the Committee on Women's Athletics (CWA), this branch of AAHPER was eventually named the Division for Girls' and Women's Sports (DGWS). In 1941, the DGWS worked with Gladys Palmer, chairperson

of the Department of Physical Education at Ohio State University, to organize a national collegiate golf championship, which was the first women's national intercollegiate championship event. Some of those involved with the AAHPER objected to the tournament's use of the terms "national" and "intercollegiate", preferring instead that Palmer use terms like "invitational" and "collegiate". Despite these differences in terminology, Palmer and Ohio State hosted the event called The Women's National Collegiate Golf Tournament, which drew 30 competitors in its first year (R. Bell, 2007). The event was interrupted by World War II temporarily, but resumed in 1946.

1950s

In the 1950s and 1960s, many U.S. colleges and universities began women's athletic teams that competed regionally with other schools in their respective geographic areas. In swimming, for example, teams would have competitions referred to as "Telegraph Meets." These meets would be held between two schools at the same time, but with each team swimming at home in their own pool. The coaches of each team would run one event, and then call the coach of the opposing team to compare the times from each team's swimmers. Each event was scored based on time, with the fastest time earning first place, etc. These meets were contested in front of no spectators, but allowed athletes from two schools to compete against each other, without the burden of travel and taking extra time away from their studies.

In 1956, a committee was formed from representatives of three existing women's athletic organizations: the National Association for Physical Education for College Women, the National Association for Girls' and Women's Sport, and the

American Federation of College Women. This committee was formally named the National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women (NJCESCW) in 1957 and was the first national organization to administer women's intercollegiate athletic programs across the United States. From 1957 to 1965, the NJCESCW developed guidelines for conducting intercollegiate events, sanctioned state and regional intercollegiate competitions, and supervised the Women's National Collegiate Golf Tournament. In 1965, the NJCESCW disbanded and the DGWS assumed responsibility for the administration of all women's collegiate athletic programs (R. Bell, 2007).

1960s

Administrators within the DGWS felt strongly that women were going to find opportunities to compete in elite, Olympic-style sports and decided that it would be better for those women to compete within the American collegiate system, under the supervision of qualified women, rather than allowing the NCAA to take control. In 1963, Sara Staff Jernigan of the DGWS addressed the NCAA's annual convention, asking the association to stop allowing women to compete on men's teams, arguing that women's sports would not develop if the best athletes were skimmed off by men's programs. In 1964, the NCAA granted Jernigan's request by passing a rule that limited championship participation to men only (Suggs, 2005).

At the same time, DGWS officials began to explore the idea of creating an organization to sponsor women's championships, which would involve creating a new structure to govern women's collegiate sports across the country. NCAA officials again expressed their agreement with the DGWS when Charles S. Neinas, the top assistant to

NCAA director Walter F. Byers, wrote that the “NCAA limits its jurisdiction and authority to male student-athletes. . . Consequently, a national organization assuming responsibility for women’s athletics would not be in conflict with this Association.” (Suggs, 2005).

Prior to the 1960s, there was little discussion of equality for women in sports. The social movements that began with the fight for civil rights in the 1950s and continued with women’s rights in the 1960s led to a greater conversation about athletic participation opportunities for women, yet virtually ignored opportunities for women in coaching and athletic administration. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a federal law aimed at ending the injustices of segregation and discrimination in every walk of life, including education, but made no specific mention of gender equality. However, this piece of legislation re-energized the women’s rights movement that had lost some momentum in the years following women’s suffrage in 1920 and the passage of the 19th Amendment, and gave rise to the efforts to add an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution.

The Higher Education Act of 1965, which was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson, was intended to provide greater federal assistance to U.S. colleges and universities. In 1972, Title IX was introduced by Senator Birch Bayh (Indiana) as an amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965 for the purpose of specifically adding gender equality to a federal law that impacted virtually every college and university in the country, and was signed by President Richard Nixon on June 23 of that year. Much of the original wording of Title IX was crafted by the Department of Health, Education,

and Welfare (HEW) from similar pieces of civil rights legislation that addressed proportions and statistics to integrate schools and workplaces along racial lines. Although originally intended to provide equal opportunity for women in the classroom, Title IX would eventually become most widely known for its impact on collegiate athletics (Gregg, 2007).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the social conscience of America was changing. The push for Civil Rights, which culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, helped increase the status of both women and minorities, and a wave of feminist activism was born. Feminist activism moved the movement for women's rights forward and the United States became embroiled in the debate for an Equal Rights Amendment, which also raised the consciousness of those involved in women's sport. Collegiate women who sought greater athletic opportunities moved closer to this goal in 1957, when the official position statement of the Division for Girls and Women in Sport (DGWS) was amended to state that intercollegiate programs "may" exist. In 1963, the DGWS view of women in sport evolved even further to state that it was "desirable" that intercollegiate programs for women exist (R. Bell, 2007).

In 1966, the DGWS appointed a Commission on Intercollegiate Sports for Women (CISW) to assist in conducting intercollegiate competitions, and in 1967 announced that Katherine Ley would lead the organization which was renamed the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW). The women's movement in sport was moving toward a governance of collegiate athletics more in line with men's athletics. In 1969, a schedule of national championships for women's sports was

announced that included gymnastics and track and field. Swimming, badminton, and volleyball followed in 1970, and in 1972 basketball was added. There was now a demand for an institutional membership organization for women similar to the NCAA, and the CIAW was replaced by the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1971 (R. Bell, 2007). This set the stage for the struggle to control women's athletics between the AIAW and the NCAA, which was eventually won by the NCAA in 1982.

CHAPTER 3. THE BIRTH OF THE AIAW AND THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF WOMEN'S CONTROL OVER WOMEN'S SPORTS

Although it survived in name for a short period after June of 1982, the AIAW administered collegiate sports for women from 1972 to 1982. The leadership of the AIAW felt strongly that keeping the association free from the influence of men's athletics was critical. The model established by early administrators of women's sports had long been "a girl for every sport, and a sport for every girl," and the championships sponsored by the AIAW were structured to promote greater participation more than the competitive nature of the NCAA men's championships (Wilson, 2013). Individual female athletes who chose to excel at individual sports were not discouraged, but the AIAW leadership viewed team sports differently. In contrast to the NCAA, the AIAW stressed its principle that a woman should select a college for academic reasons first, and pursue athletics second. To accomplish this the AIAW allowed female athletes to transfer freely between schools, initially banned athletic scholarships, and forbid off-campus recruiting. While the NCAA had separated its national championships into College and University divisions, the AIAW made no distinction between small and large schools, with everyone competing for one championship. In fact, in the first AIAW championship, in volleyball in 1972, UCLA played Sul Ross State from Alpine, Texas, in the championship match, which Sul Ross won (Suggs, 2005)

The Association For Intercollegiate Athletics For Women

The first president of the AIAW was Dr. Carole Oglesby, who had received degrees in Physical Education from both UCLA and Purdue University. An advocate for women's sports since the early 1960s (if not earlier), Dr. Oglesby embodied the principles by which the AIAW hoped to govern women's collegiate athletics for a very long time. Because the NCAA initially gave no outward appearance of having an interest in women's sports, the leaders of the AIAW viewed their organization as an equal to the NCAA for the purpose of providing governance of women's sports, while the NCAA continued to govern the men. Dr. Oglesby served as the president of the AIAW for its first year, and was then followed by Carol Gordon, Leotus Morrison, Laurie Mabry, Peg Burke, Charlotte West, Judith Holland, Carol Mushier, Christine Grant, Donna Lopiano, Merrily Dean Baker, and Virginia Hunt, who each served one-year terms (Wilson, 2013).

The first efforts of Dr. Oglesby and the other founders of the AIAW were to draft and adopt a constitution and bylaws that served to state their philosophy of the educational basis for women's intercollegiate athletic programs. Oglesby, who had previously held a key leadership role in the CIAW explained that the fundamental AIAW principle was a focus on student-athlete welfare, and the Association's goal was to establish a model of athletics that enriched the life of the participant, not the status of the collegiate institution. To support this philosophy, the AIAW leaders established a fair and inclusive approach to governance that included a system emphasizing equal voice and open debate best exemplified by the annual AIAW Delegate Assembly. At the AIAW's first Delegate Assembly in 1973, newly elected president Carol Gordon offered a

glimpse at the future for the organization when she warned that the membership should be concerned with two fundamental questions: (1) “Must women follow that which is laid down for men by men?” and (2) “Are there any protections in the law to ensure different philosophical roots in intercollegiate sports for men and women (Wilson, 2013)?” At the time, there was still uncertainty over the actual implementation of Title IX, and whether it would allow women to develop their own system of athletics with “different philosophical roots” than the men’s system.

Because the passage of Title IX and the formation of the AIAW happened somewhat simultaneously, there was an assumption made by the AIAW that women could be afforded equal opportunities while still remaining separate from the male-dominated college athletic departments, and in particular separate from the NCAA. Since the philosophies at the foundation of men’s and women’s sports were so diametrically opposed, it appeared that “separate, but equal” could be the way for women to have increased opportunity while still holding to a set of principles that were very different from the those of the NCAA. Emphasizing the view of many in the AIAW that women were not dependent on men to govern women’s athletics is a sign that still hangs in the office of Dr. Oglesby which reads: “A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle.”

Another departure from the way in which the NCAA governed men’s sports was the AIAW’s inclusion of athletes in the process of governing collegiate athletics. Peg Burke, who would become the fifth president of the AIAW, championed the idea of having athlete representation at the annual Delegate Assembly. She proposed that a

Student Leadership Conference be held in conjunction with the Delegate Assembly, and when the proposal passed, the Student Leadership Conference became a permanent addition to these annual meetings. Commenting on the significance of the annual Student Leadership Conference, Burke said: "I think that conference was and is one of the most exciting parts of the Delegate Assembly. It is exciting to see the political savvy the students develop and utilize in the subsequent days of an Assembly. They lobby like crazy for their issues, and I love to see it (Wilson, 2013)."

While they may have disapproved of the athletics model being used for men by the NCAA, the AIAW leadership recognized the current generation of female athlete was evolving in a way that challenged the Association's leadership. They needed to consider changes that reflected a shift toward acknowledgement of the achievements of elite athletes and dominant teams. At an AIAW Presidential Review held in Iowa City in 1980, Dr. Oglesby expressed the belief that those organizing women's athletics in the past had over-focused on students with average or substandard ability to the detriment of those who were more talented. She urged leaders in women's intercollegiate athletics to call for a more balanced approach that would support all students, including provisions for more competitive sport experiences for highly-skilled girls and women. Even before this, however, the AIAW had been forced to re-evaluate its stance on providing scholarships to student athletes and restrictions on off-campus recruiting (Wilson, 2013).

The first major test of the conflict between the philosophies of the AIAW and the NCAA came in 1973, just one year after the passage of Title IX. Female tennis players

from Marymount College and Broward Community College in Florida sued the AIAW over the issue of athletic scholarships. Specifically, the suit claimed that providing the benefit of athletic scholarships to men, but not to women, was not equitable and in violation of the mandates of Title IX. The AIAW settled the case rather than proceeding to trial and changed its rules to allow member schools to offer athletic scholarships to female athletes. At the same time, however, the leadership of the AIAW encouraged its membership to continue the practice of pursuing scholarships based on academic criteria, rather than athletic performance (Wilson, 2013).

Even after modifying its initial stance on scholarships and recruiting, the AIAW refused to completely adopt the model being used by the men. The Association's leaders frequently reasserted that another way the AIAW tried to serve the best interests of student athletes and coaches was by establishing reasonable recruiting rules. The Association's approach to recruiting emphasized potential student athletes' on-campus visits instead of a system that required coaches to frequently travel off campus to win over recruits. There may not have been universal support regarding these recruiting policies within the AIAW, but Christine Grant openly questioned how anyone in higher education could fail to understand the rationale behind the AIAW's recruiting rules: "Certainly, we are concerned about finances, but do many know we are equally concerned with protecting the high school student athlete from undue harassment? Do many know that we are also protecting the coaches from what often has been termed as the exhaustive and degrading process of wooing a seventeen year-old (Wilson, 2013)?"

The AIAW By The Numbers

The AIAW began the 1971-72 academic year with 278 charter institutions, but did not divide member schools into divisions in the same manner as the NCAA. Initially, the primary funding for the AIAW came from the \$150 in annual membership dues each institution paid to be members of the AIAW. In 1975, when the AIAW decided to separate championships into two divisions, that fee structure changed to \$350 for schools with fewer than 3,000 female students and \$500 for schools with greater than 3,000. Four years later in 1979, the AIAW leadership again decided to restructure its membership, and established three separate competitive divisions. Dues for those schools in Division I were set at \$700, \$600 for those in Division II, and \$500 for Division III. The AIAW also signed its first television contract in 1975, which provided the Association with an additional \$15,000 in income. By 1981 when the AIAW signed its last TV contract, that amount had increased to nearly \$250,000 (Suggs, 2005).

At its peak in 1979, the AIAW listed 970 member schools, but that membership declined to 961 in 1980 as direct competition from the NCAA began to have an effect. In 1981 that number fell even further to 759 members (Table 1). In its first year of operation, the AIAW sponsored championship in seven sports: badminton, basketball, golf, gymnastics, swimming & diving, track & field, and volleyball. During the 1981-82 academic year, its last year of operation, the AIAW offered 41 national championships in 19 sports in three different divisions. The principle office of the AIAW was located at 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington, DC, and was established as a non-profit corporation in 1971 under the laws of the District of Columbia. The primary legislative

body of the AIAW which met annually at the Delegate Assembly was comprised of an Executive Board and a voting representative from each member institution. The Executive Board was made up of 26 voting members, including the immediate past president, the current president, and the president-elect. Handling regular AIAW business throughout the year was the Executive Committee, which included the three Presidents and an Executive Director (Plyley, 1997).

AIAW Membership from 1972 to 1982

Academic Years	Number of Members	Percentage Increase
1971-72	278	--
1972-73	381	37%
1973-74	508	33%
1974-75	595	17%
1975-76	723	22%
1976-77	804	11%
1977-78	825	3%
1978-79	915	11%
1979-80	970	6%
1980-81	961	-1%
1981-82	759	-21%

Table 1 – The number of AIAW member institutions by year during the eleven academic years in which the AIAW was in operation (Plyley, 1997).

At the same time that female athletic administrators and educators were working to secure the future of collegiate athletics for women, the NCAA was also laying the groundwork for the administration of women's athletic teams at NCAA colleges and universities. In 1964 when the NCAA invited leaders from the DGWS to attend its annual convention, Sara Staff Jernigan and Dr. Marguerite Clifton opened a formal line of communication with a conversation on the topics of allowing women to compete on men's teams, and the possible involvement of the NCAA in the administration of women's athletics. The leadership of the DGWS opposed female athletes competing on men's teams because in many cases it took the best athletes away from a women's program, and rarely resulted in an improved athletic experience for the female athlete. The following year, 1965, the NCAA Convention enacted a rule restricting female athletes from competing in NCAA championship events and tournaments. A year later, in 1966, when the NCAA learned that the DGWS had made formal plans to create a governance organization to oversee national championships for women (the CIAW) its official response read:

The NCAA limits its jurisdiction and authority to male student-athletes. In fact, the Executive Regulations of this Association prohibit women from participating in National Collegiate Championship events. Consequently, a national organization assuming responsibility for women's intercollegiate athletics would not be in conflict with this Association. The NCAA stands ready to be of assistance, in an advisory capacity, in formulating policies and procedures for the conduct of intercollegiate athletics for women. We wish the DGWS well in this important endeavor (Plyley, 1997).

This may have been the NCAA's "official" response, but in reality a committee was appointed by the NCAA in 1967 to analyze the possibility of adding women's sports

to the athletic departments of current NCAA-member schools. The assumption was that these teams would be governed by the same rules as NCAA men's programs, but not funded at the same level. While the recommendations that came out of this committee did not result in any movement on the part of the NCAA toward sponsoring sports for women, it did cause concern among DGSW leaders (Suggs, 2005).

In a 1971 letter to the AIAW's Elizabeth Hoyt, NCAA Executive Director Byers indicated that the NCAA's legal staff had started evaluating whether the NCAA could be held liable for not allowing women to compete for an NCAA championship. A month later, and about one year before Title IX was passed into law, Byers reported to the NCAA membership that because of the opportunities women had to compete both nationally and internationally (i.e. – the Olympics), a female athlete would have justification to complain that the NCAA did discriminate against female athletes (Plyley, 1997). Byers concluded that the NCAA had to make plans to provide opportunities for women in case the AIAW leadership felt it could not match the opportunities being provided male athletes by the NCAA. Byers' blatant implication was that the AIAW's emphasis on participation over competition would almost certainly fail to provide women with an opportunity comparable to NCAA male athletes, providing a glimpse at the power-struggle that would ensue.

In a somewhat heated response to Byers' comments about the AIAW and its philosophical differences with the NCAA, Rachel Bryant of the AIAW warned that:

A group of professional women educators have designed an organization and a program in accordance with their accepted philosophy and standards to meet the needs and interests of college women

students. To have it now threatened by an organization designed for men and controlled by men would cause such a furor that the NCAA would have a real battle on its hands (Suggs, 2005).

In other words, the AIAW administration believed that it (the AIAW) was best suited to administer collegiate sports for women and it would be a mistake for the NCAA to attempt to do what the AIAW was already doing. Additionally, the divergent philosophies of the two organizations led the AIAW leadership to believe the best interest of female collegiate athletes couldn't possibly be maintained by the men who ran the NCAA.

In 1971 at the same time that the DGWS was working to create the AIAW, the NCAA established a special committee to review the NCAA's legal obligations regarding women's intercollegiate athletics and the participation of female athletes in intercollegiate athletics. This committee chaired by David Swank of the University of Oklahoma (later called the Swank Committee) went so far as to suggest that the AIAW become affiliated with the NCAA as the female branch of that organization. Anticipating the potential legal dilemma of only sponsoring sports for men (even before the advent of Title IX), the Swank Committee saw the AIAW as a way to avoid the legal obligation of also offering sports for women. Specifically, the Swank Committee reported that it was the wish of the NCAA "to be legally exonerated from this obligation by having the AIAW affiliate with the NCAA in some legal way through their Bylaws (Plyley, 1997)." After meeting with leaders of the newly formed AIAW however, the Swank Committee recognized that the AIAW was not interested in a subordinate role within the NCAA, and concluded that the only way for the NCAA to avoid legal action was to allow women and

women's teams to become sponsored by the NCAA. Just two months after the Swank Committee submitted its report to the NCAA, Title IX became law and tensions between the AIAW and the NCAA began to escalate.

With the passage of Title IX in 1972 and the success of the national championships being sponsored by the AIAW, the NCAA's role in women's sports quickly became a national discussion. Many of the same points being debated over women's rights and the ERA became relevant topics regarding the treatment of female athletes and the administration of women's athletics. At colleges and universities where women's sports were being administered by the Physical Education department, in other words by female educators who typically held both teaching and administrative positions with the school, many university presidents chose to move women's teams to the Athletic Department instead. This move virtually insured that women's programs would be run by the men who already ran the Athletic Department, changing the fundamental philosophy that had been nurtured by female administrators for decades to a model similar to that being used to run men's programs.

Initially, most female administrators and coaches were able to retain positions similar to those they held prior to the shift, but in every case they found themselves reporting to male athletic directors. It soon became evident that maintaining opposing philosophies, such as the AIAW's reluctance to offer athletic scholarships, was going to create problems for athletic directors and university presidents alike in the new Title IX era. Title IX demanded equity and equality and in sports from basketball to water polo, if the university was providing athletic scholarships to male athletes, it was only logical

that female athletes on that campus demanded the same benefit, regardless of the beliefs of past generations of women.

CHAPTER 4. 1972 TO 1982, A TURBULENT 10 YEARS

The period of time from 1972 to 1982 saw a very dramatic increase in the number of female athletes who were given opportunities to compete in a sport at the collegiate level. This was also a time of almost constant struggle between the AIAW and the NCAA. Where the two organizations disagreed on the fundamental principles of collegiate athletics, they opposed each other just as vigorously on the issue of who should be administering sports for men and women. The conflict between the AIAW and the NCAA was fought against the backdrop of Title IX, but Title IX will not be the main focus of this chapter. Instead, we will investigate the AIAW's attempts to retain its ability to provide governance for women's athletics and the NCAA's attempts to take over control of women's athletics and, therefore, establish exclusive control of all sports offered by NCAA member schools. In Chapter 5, we will turn our attention back to Title IX and how its implementation changed the landscape of collegiate sport.

The Root Of The Conflict

The core of the conflict between the AIAW and the NCAA was twofold: First, on several occasions, the NCAA attempted to initiate its own women's championships with little to no regard for the AIAW's already established programs and disregarding the women's right to self-governance. Second, the NCAA directed abundant resources

throughout the 1970s to fight Title IX's application to athletics, sending the message that they were in opposition to the government's mandate for women to have equitable opportunities and resources in educational sport programs (Wilson, 2013).

At the NCAA convention early in 1973, shortly after the passage of Title IX, the chief legal counsel to the NCAA advised the NCAA to rescind its rule prohibiting female student-athletes from competing for NCAA championships. The regulation was amended to permit female student-athletes to compete in NCAA tournaments and championship events, and as a result, later that year a diver (Dacia Schileru) from Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, became the first woman to compete in an NCAA championship when she entered the College Division of the national championship diving meet. With this event, the NCAA marked its first official step into the administration of women's collegiate athletics, and a year later the Swank Committee was revised and renamed the Special Committee on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics (SPWIA). One of the key recommendations from the SPWIA was that a joint committee of the AIAW and the NCAA be established to consider the possibility of a joint organizational structure (Plyley, 1997).

On October 10, 1974, a group of AIAW leaders, including Leotus Morrison, Laurie Mabry, and the Association's legal counsel, Margot Polivy, met with Swank and the SCWIA to discuss ideas for a possible merger of the two organizations, or at least some form of official affiliation. Polivy, in fact, even suggested that both the AIAW and the NCAA be dissolved and that a new organization be formed that would provide governance of both men's and women's athletics into the future. Morrison and Mabry

insisted that if a new organization was created, female leadership must be given the same representation and power for administration and policy-making. Swank, however, indicated that it was unlikely the NCAA leadership would agree to a new structure which granted women equal representation, and the meeting ended with the two sides agreeing to disagree, but willing to continue the discussion on that topic (Suggs, 2005).

At the NCAA's annual convention in January of 1975, the Executive Council of the NCAA passed a resolution that established the groundwork for the NCAA to administer women's athletic teams and offer national championships in women's sports. In response, AIAW president Leotus Morrison issued the following statement to NCAA president, Alan Chapman:

AIAW views with grave concern the announced intention of the NCAA to commence a pilot program of intercollegiate athletics for women. For the sake of future harmony in administration of intercollegiate sports programs for all students and to restore an atmosphere of cooperation in which a mutually beneficial exchange of views and exploration of future alternatives might continue, the Executive Board of the AIAW urges the Executive Council to reconsider immediately its decision to initiate any pilot program in women's intercollegiate championships. AIAW has no choice but to view failure to reconsider as an effort by NCAA to undermine the existing women's intercollegiate championship program (Suggs, 2005).

At Chapman's request, Swank and his committee submitted the following three alternatives for the NCAA's Executive Council to consider:

1. Both the NCAA and AIAW remain as individual governance associations, where the AIAW is responsible for women and the NCAA is responsible for men.

2. The NCAA offer men's and women's programs to its members with alterations to the NCAA Constitution and bylaws to accommodate women's teams.
3. The AIAW and NCAA form an alliance with equal vote in determining the structure of a new governance organization (Suggs, 2005).

The NCAA Executive Council rejected all three alternatives. Instead, the NCAA decided to delay holding NCAA championships for women and created a standing committee on women's intercollegiate athletics for the purpose of continuing discussions with the AIAW. As a result, a number of meetings between AIAW and NCAA representatives took place during 1976 and 1977, but no definitive solution to the integration of men's and women's athletics was reached.

In the midst of these negotiations between the AIAW and the NCAA, the AIAW signed its first television contract in 1975 with the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). The two-year deal gave the AIAW \$25,000 for both the 1975-76 and 1976-77 academic years for the rights to all of its national championships. The first major network contract signed by the AIAW was with NBC for 1977-78, specifically for the rights to broadcast the Division I gymnastics championship. In 1979, the AIAW and NBC entered into a four-year agreement that gave NBC the rights to cover all AIAW Division I and open championships. During the 1979-80 school year, NBC televised five AIAW national championships, and doubled that coverage to ten championship events in 1980-81. In 1981-82, when NBC abruptly terminated its coverage of AIAW events, the AIAW lost a major source of income, which was a key complaint in its later legal action against the NCAA, but also a contributing factor in its eventual demise (Plyley, 1997).

At its annual conventions in 1978 and 1979, the NCAA began the process of offering national championship events for women, against the objections of the AIAW. Beginning with Division II institutions in 1978 and then adding Division III schools in 1979, the NCAA established women's national championships in sports like basketball, gymnastics, swimming, field hockey, tennis, and volleyball. In late 1980, the NCAA's Special Committee on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics drafted a proposal that would lead to the establishment of women's championships at Division I institutions, spelling the end of peaceful negotiations with the AIAW. Christine Grant, president of the AIAW and in attendance at the 1981 NCAA convention where the Special Committee's proposal was officially adopted, addressed the assembled NCAA membership, expressing a sentiment she shared with virtually all of those who held leadership positions in the AIAW:

I rise in symbolic opposition to the motion before you.

It is difficult to describe the actions taken in the last three days.

I, and many other women, came here convinced that a desire for mutual accommodation between AIAW and NCAA would far outweigh any thirst for precipitous action.

Obviously, I was in error. Obviously, it was not persuasive to you that by your actions women in athletics – students and professionals – were losing control of their own destinies. Obviously, it was not persuasive to you that it was the conviction of those most closely associated with women's athletic programs that your actions will do untoward damage to those programs. And finally, it is obvious that your appeal to your sense of fair play had little effect on your actions.

I find it somehow fitting that Father Joyce's same pleas on behalf of football coaches, however, were persuasive to and prevalent in this assembly. I would hope in the future that you might be as considerate of women's athletics, and those involved in it, as you have demonstrated you can be to football coaches.

My three days here have not been pleasant. As 1980 AIAW president, I was privileged to meet a large majority of those directly involved in

administering women's athletic programs and female student-athletes. In the last three days, I have seen their hopes and aspirations to chart a new and innovative course for intercollegiate athletics severely damaged. I believe we will all live to regret the actions you have taken. I believe our institutions and our students will suffer in the coming years from the loss of a viable option to NCAA governance.

I am not angry at what has occurred, but I am profoundly sad. Mainly, I'm sad that I have found very little sincere interest in the preferences of the women in athletics, or in seeking a mutually agreeable alternative governing structure for men's and women's athletics. Instead, I and many other women who have spoken have sensed aggression and hostility toward our views, and an unbridled desire for the precipitous extension of this association's authority into women's athletics.

You have spoken of options, yet with motion after motion you have assured that women will have no options. The realities of women in subordinate positions and the practicalities of conflicting noncompetitive rules systems have left very little option indeed. You have bought your way into women's athletics with the lure of big money and other luxuries, but you haven't bought it from those most directly affected.

As certain as I stand before you, you will find that you have also bought the philosophy and expectation of organizational responsiveness that those in women's athletics have held dear. AIAW is not a governance organization, but it is also an ideal. And, while I do not know what the future may hold for that organization, I do know that the ideal will never die (Hult, 1999).

On October 9, 1981, the AIAW filed a Civil antitrust suit in the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia, seeking a preliminary injunction against the NCAA's ability to hold collegiate national championships for women. It was the AIAW's contention that the NCAA's decision to sponsor women's championships not only removed the AIAW as a viable option for the governance of women's athletics, but also resulted in the NCAA's eventual monopoly of all women's intercollegiate athletics. The District Court ruled against the AIAW, asserting that the NCAA had not violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Shortly after, the AIAW, with a membership that was rapidly

departing to join the NCAA and financial resources that were nearly exhausted, made the agonizing decision in June of 1982 to suspend operation. The AIAW Officers and Executive Board briefly attempted to find options that might keep their legal hopes alive, but the courts offered no options for appeal and the AIAW was forced to relinquish the governance and control of women's intercollegiate athletics to the NCAA (Hult, 1999).

CHAPTER 5. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TITLE IX

The passage of Title IX in 1972 came at the beginning of the struggle between the AIAW and the NCAA for control and ownership of women's collegiate athletics, and created a new challenge for university presidents and chancellors. Every university president recognized the academic implications of Title IX and the expectations this would create for equality and equal opportunity in the classroom, but the picture was less clear when it came to athletics. The climate of the Women's Rights movement made it clear that areas of study once dominated by men on college campuses (i.e. – science, medicine, business, and law) must now be made equally accessible to women. But this was also a time when many collegiate athletic departments had started spending millions of dollars to operate and promote their football and (men's) basketball programs, and the idea that a similar number of dollars must now be spent on women's athletics put athletic directors on the defensive.

As Congress and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) began to formalize the implementation of Title IX, some female legislators, including Edith Green and Bernice Sandler, tried to keep the focus on the academic impact of the legislation, and avoid the debate that could (and later would) arise over athletics. No part of Title IX required that an academic department have separate but equal

classrooms for both men and women. The primary intent was to afford women exactly the same access to academic resources as men. Further, Title IX was intended to break down many of the barriers women had previously faced in academic fields such as science, medicine, law, and business. However, no university was faced with the prospect of building a medical school for women to match the one being attended predominantly by male students.

In athletics, however, the path to equality was not paved with teams comprised of both men and women. The goal of Title IX was not to have an equal number of male and female athletes on the basketball or swimming teams. Instead, and unlike academics, the nearly unanimous vision for equality was the addition of teams for women to match the existing opportunities for men. One major problem with this vision, however, was the financial impact to a college's athletic department. Unlike academics where an increase in the number of female students translated to a comparable increase in tuition income, no similar increase in revenue was projected to be forthcoming by adding female athletes to an athletic department.

The Tower Amendment

In May 1974, the HEW drafted formal regulations regarding the implementation of Title IX in collegiate athletics. Senator John Tower (Texas) proposed an amendment to those regulations that would remove "revenue-producing sports" from any equation regarding equity. In other words, Senator Tower (and others) believed that if the university's football team could finance its own operations, it should not be held liable for the fact that the athletic department didn't also offer a women's football team

(Suggs, 2005). Specifically, Tower stated “Grave concern has been expressed that the HEW rules will undercut revenue-raising sports programs and damage the overall sports program of the institution. Were HEW, in its laudable zeal to guarantee equal athletic opportunities to women, to promulgate rules which damaged the financial base of intercollegiate sports, it will have thrown the baby out with the bath water.”

(Congressional Record 1974, May 20, 1974, vol. 120, pt. 15: 322).

Later that year, in July, Congress moved forward with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the title given to the regulations that would govern the enforcement of Title IX. The Tower Amendment was rejected and replaced with an alternative amendment authored by Senator Jacob R. Javits (New York). The wording of the Javits Amendment clearly indicated that all sports would be included in the enforcement of Title IX, but stated that any enforcement must make “reasonable provisions considering the nature of particular sports.” This didn’t mean that an athletic department had to fund a single women’s program the way it funded football (a major concern of many collegiate athletic directors), but the amendment made it clear that Title IX gave the HEW direct authority over collegiate varsity sports, which prompted a stern response from the NCAA (Suggs, 2005).

In a letter to President Gerald Ford, HEW secretary, Casper Weinberger, made several points clear regarding the final draft of the regulations which were published in May of 1975. His first point to President Ford was that sport was far less important than other areas covered by Title IX, but he anticipated that it was likely to cause the most controversy. Second, he advised the president that the HEW General Counsel and the

Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel had determined that athletics are part of any educational program and were, therefore, covered by Title IX. Third, and with specific reference to the Javits amendment, Weinberger reiterated for the president that Title IX would be a federal law that applied to all sports, including revenue-generating sports (Suggs, 2005).

Included in the final draft of the regulations were specific provisions that the HEW felt helped to define equality and compliance with Title IX. Specifically, these provisions were:

1. A clear definition of what sports were considered "contact sports" and the stipulation that women could be allowed to try out for a men's team in a non-contact sport.
2. A list of 10 factors to be used to determine whether equal opportunity was being provided to women, including equipment, scheduling of practice and games, travel and per diem, facilities, coach's salaries, etc.
3. The recognition that men's sports may ultimately, in fact, end up costing more than women's sports, and that this would not mean that a school was out of compliance.
4. Colleges and Universities would have three years to come into compliance with Title IX (Suggs, 2005).

In the eyes of the NCAA, one of the main problems with the HEW's Title IX regulations, and the provisions for compliance, was the vagueness of the wording. The HEW's regulations provided no specific formula which defined equal opportunity, or whether equality by gender had been met. Instead, the HEW was left to determine whether a school was in compliance with the Title IX regulations, a fact that left many collegiate athletic administrators very uneasy.

To the AIAW, the HEW had blatantly disregarded many of the underlying principles of the AIAW's model for the implementation of women's collegiate athletics. Specifically, one of the AIAW's main precepts was that athletes should progress through their academic careers in the same manner as all other students, without the benefit of special tutors provided by the athletic department. AIAW principles also discouraged special housing and dining facilities for athletes, in contrast to the HEW's special provisions which stipulate these as a measure of equality between male and female athletes. To the AIAW administration, the HEW regulations appeared to be written with men's sports in mind, or at least from the perspective of men's sports, without considering the principles the AIAW hoped would govern women's sports at the collegiate level going forward.

With both the NCAA and the AIAW unhappy with the regulations being put in place by the HEW, the debate over measuring compliance with Title IX seemed to offer no viable compromises or solutions. During the summer of that year (1975) there were a number of attempts in both Congress and the Senate to amend or completely abolish the HEW's Title IX regulations, but each attempt died in committee and was never called to a vote. One problem facing the HEW, however, was the final compliance provision, allowing schools three years to achieve gender equity in athletics.

Over the next three years, the HEW faced a law suit from the NCAA (which eventually failed in 1980), and nearly 100 complaints that had been filed against high school and college athletic departments as a result of the original three-year time-frame established for Title IX compliance. In July of 1978 the HEW published a document that

was intended to clarify its position on Title IX and more clearly define its definition of compliance with Title IX. Unfortunately, the 1978 document created more questions than answers, resulting in more than 700 questions and complaints submitted from high school and collegiate athletic departments (Suggs, 2005). In 1979, the document was revised, becoming what the HEW referred to as a “policy interpretation,” becoming what would later be labeled the “three-pronged test.”

The Three-Pronged Test

Specifically, colleges and universities would be considered to be in compliance with Title IX if they could show adherence to at least one of the following strategies:

1. Have substantially the same proportion of female athletes on varsity teams as the proportion of female students in the undergraduate population.
2. Be able to demonstrate a “history and continuing practice” of expanding programs for women.
3. Be able to show that the institution is fully and effectively accommodating the interests and abilities of women on campus (Federal Register 44, no. 239 (December 11, 1979): 71413.).

While the HEW had initial ownership of enforcement, when the HEW was transitioned into two separate federal agencies (the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services) the following year (1980), Title IX became the responsibility of the Department of Education and its newly formed Office for Civil Rights (OCR). Specifically, it became the responsibility of the OCR to monitor the Title IX compliance of NCAA member schools, and to handle the enforcement of policies established by the former HEW (Plyley, 1997).

At its face, the intent of the test for compliance was to insure that a college or university offer athletic opportunities to men and women similar to the ratio of male and female students in the general undergraduate population. If a school's enrollment was 55% male and 45% female, then the number of athletes competing on varsity teams must be similar to that ratio. The challenge for many schools was twofold – football, and the trend in collegiate enrollment for women to outnumber men in undergraduate programs.

The Challenge Of Proportionality

The challenge that football presented many athletic directors was that there is no female equivalent sport to balance football and most collegiate football programs carry an extremely large roster. Only women's crew can begin to approach football in terms of roster size, but the need for a body of water of sufficient size to accommodate rowing competitions makes that option very unpractical for the vast majority of schools. Therefore, for those schools whose football roster listed more than 100 athletes, it would take the addition of three to four women's teams just to balance that one male sport. It didn't take long for athletic directors to begin approaching the ratio standard by choosing to eliminate other men's sports, rather than (or in addition to) adding new opportunities for female athletes. This quickly turned Title IX into a debate that pitted men against women in terms of their perspective of whether Title IX was having a positive effect on collegiate athletics.

The other challenge with the ratio standard was the nationwide trend of increasing enrollment by women in virtually every academic field offered at the

undergraduate level. It became very common for a school's female enrollment to exceed 50%, and in some cases even 60%. Because the NCAA had its roots in men's collegiate athletics, virtually every NCAA member institution listed more male athletes than female athletes. For an athletic director to bring his (her?) school into compliance with the ratio standard, one of three strategies had to be adopted, or some combination of those three.

First, and in keeping with the intent of the legislation, an athletic director could choose to add sports and athletic opportunities for women until that school's ratio of male and female athletes was similar to the school's enrollment ratio. Sports like crew, soccer, field hockey, and water polo were identified as emerging sports for women that could be added to an athletic department's roster of teams, with the transition made even easier if that school already supported a men's program that used similar equipment and facilities (i.e. – a swimming pool). In particular, a sport like crew was an attractive choice because it helped to also balance the number of dollars being spent on male and female athletes because of the relatively high cost of equipment (boats, etc.).

The second option an athletic director had to reach (or move toward) compliance was to eliminate existing men's programs to a point where the ratio of male and female athletes was similar to the school's enrollment. Initially, this was the much more frequent option taken by athletic administrators and caused an uproar in several men's sports like wrestling, gymnastics, and swimming. For example, in 1991, the University of Wisconsin in Madison, Wisconsin, announced the elimination of three men's sports, including baseball, gymnastics, and fencing and in 1999, Miami of Ohio

University in Oxford, Ohio, announced that four men's sports (golf, tennis, soccer, and wrestling) would be eliminated in its efforts to be in compliance with Title IX.

The third – and much less widely discussed – option presented to athletic directors was referred to as “roster management.” Implementing this strategy involved placing limits on the number of men who could join an existing team, while encouraging the coach of an existing women's team to add as many athletes as possible to that roster. For example, a men's swimming team might be limited to 20 swimmers, while the women's swimming team at the same school was allowed (encouraged) to have 40 women listed on its roster. While complying with the intent of balancing an athletic department's overall male to female ratio, roster management offered an option that involved very little change in the cost of operating existing teams or building new facilities. For female athletes, roster management often resulted in less desirable practice times (only a certain number of swimmers can swim in a pool at one time) and limited access to team competitions. Coaches were often forced to trim down their over-sized rosters for both home and road events, leaving some athletes to endure the challenges of training with their team, without the reward of participating in competitions.

President Ronald Reagan

As the 1970s came to a close and the 1980s began, however, any momentum Title IX had gained came to a screeching halt when Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States. Reagan and many members of his cabinet were openly opposed to the Civil Rights movement, including a great deal of the federal legislation enacted

during the 1970s. For example, Edwin Meese, who served on the Reagan cabinet as Counselor to the President and would later become the 75th US Attorney General in 1985, frequently voiced the opinion that the Education Department should be abolished because education should be left to the individual states to regulate. Further, Meese believed the federal government should not be involved in creating or enforcing civil rights laws that affected US colleges and universities. Even Reagan's Secretary of Education, Terrel H. Bell, wrote in his personal memoir that he considered Title IX to be the "lesbian's bill of rights" (T. Bell, 1988).

As a result of Reagan administration efforts, very few gains were made in women's collegiate athletics during the 1980s. However, from 1981 to 1989, 167 men's programs were dropped from NCAA member institutions as some schools independently continued to work toward compliance with Title IX (NCAA Participation Rates Report, 2014). This method of working toward a balanced ratio of male and female athletes came during an era of reduced federal funding, making it much more difficult for athletic administrators to add programs to their department.

It was also under this presidential attitude of disdain for Civil and Women's Rights that the AIAW met its demise. As the NCAA expanded its offering of women's collegiate national championships, fewer schools chose to continue their membership with the AIAW. At its peak, the AIAW listed nearly 1,000 member institutions, but when the NCAA began to offer championships across all three divisions in the early 1980s, AIAW membership fell off dramatically. The event that precipitated the end of the AIAW was the NCAA's Division I Women's National Basketball Championship

tournament in the spring of 1982. With the NCAA able to offer incentives such as payment of transportation costs to tournament games for participating teams, former AIAW powerhouse programs such as Tennessee, Louisiana Tech, and Old Dominion chose to participate in the NCAA's event, leaving that year's AIAW tournament without any high-profile teams. NBC cancelled its contract with the AIAW in 1982, and by June of 1983, the AIAW ceased to exist (Plyley, 1997).

In opposition to President Reagan, Republican Senator Robert Dole (Kansas) sponsored the "Civil Rights Act of 1984," which supported a return to enforcement of Title IX (as well as Title VI, Title VII, the Rehabilitation Act, and the Age Discrimination Act). The bill initially received support from the House of Representatives by a 375 to 32 vote (Pear, 1984), but it was opposed by the Reagan administration. Dole attempted to re-introduce the bill again in 1985, and again in 1987, and was finally successful in passing the bill through both the House and the Senate in 1988, before it was vetoed by President Reagan in March. One week later, however, both the House and Senate voted to override the president's veto and pass the legislation, giving both the civil rights and women's rights movements renewed momentum in the closing months of the Reagan presidency.

Through the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s, discussions of Title IX in the media and legal actions taken against college and university athletic departments became increasingly visible. In 1992, the twentieth anniversary of Title IX, the NCAA produced its first Gender Equity Report and announced the formation of a Gender Equity Task Force. Analyzing data from the 1990/91 academic year, the Gender Equity

Report showed that women comprised 30% of the athletes on collegiate varsity teams and were receiving approximately 30% of the scholarship dollars. Also reported were the figures that female athletic teams accounted for 23% of athletic department operating budgets, and 17% of recruiting funds (Lederman, 1992).

The most difficult obstacle faced by the Gender Equity Task Force as it worked to address problems in reaching Title IX compliance was the size of (and passion for) football. Scholarships in football were unlimited through the 1970s, but had been reduced to 105 for cost-cutting reasons in the 1980s, and eventually reduced further to the current level of 85. To balance the number of male scholarships given to football players, it would take as many as four or five women's programs offering a full complement of scholarships. Based on the findings of the Gender Equity Report, this would likely represent a major increase in spending for any athletic department fielding a football team.

Measuring Success In A Man's World

At the same time that collegiate athletic directors were trying to figure out how to comply with Title IX, a shift was taking place in the way female athletes were being coached at the collegiate (and in some sports international) level. The earlier philosophies of participation and inclusion for all were being replaced by programs like the University of Tennessee women's basketball team, coached by Pat Summitt, and the University of North Carolina women's soccer team, coached by Anson Dorrance. Both of these programs put a tremendous value on recruiting the very best athletes available and winning at the highest level possible – the NCAA Championships.

Dorrance began coaching both the men's and women's soccer teams at UNC while still a law student in 1979, and continued coaching both for 10 years. Dorrance was unique to women's collegiate athletics in two ways. First, he was a man coaching a women's team at a time when the majority of coaches for women's collegiate teams were women (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014). Second, he spoke openly of his philosophy that women should be coached the same way as men, when the vast majority believed female athletes needed a more nurturing environment (Dorrance, 2002). Dorrance's practices regularly included a great deal of conditioning, so his athletes would be more physically fit than their competition. Dorrance's athletes were frequently quoted saying the UNC team practices were more physically demanding than their games. In the first 20 years that the NCAA sponsored a championship for women's soccer, North Carolina won 17 times. At the 2004 Olympic Games, one third of the USA women's roster were UNC alumnae (12 out of 37), and the head coach, April Heinrichs, was Dorrance's first major recruit to attend North Carolina.

After competing for the United States in the 1976 Olympic Games and serving as one of the team's co-captains, Summitt became the full-time head coach of the University of Tennessee women's basketball team, earning a salary of \$250 per month. In that same year, the University of Tennessee began operating separate athletic departments for men and women, with the total women's budget being set at \$126,000. The scholarship portion of that operating budget was \$25,000, of which basketball received \$3,000 (Suggs, 2005).

From the start, Summitt ran her program using the same model as men's programs, recruiting the best players (first regionally, then nationally), creating a "Boost-Hers" club to increase funding for the program, and working to cultivate a fan-base that would support the team at home competitions. In 1987, Summitt's Lady Vols began holding their home games in a 24,000-seat arena, while averaging about 3,000 spectators per game. A year later, that number grew to 4,000, and almost 7,000 in 1989. After winning their third national championship in 1996, average attendance increased to over 10,000 per game (the first women's program to reach that mark), and after winning three NCAA titles in a row in 1998, attendance at Lady Vols' home games peaked at more than 16,500 per game. This was more than the average attendance for University of Tennessee men's basketball games, and 10 times greater than the NCAA average of 1,618 for all women's collegiate basketball games (Suggs, 2005).

In addition to the success of Summitt's teams at the ticket office, the Tennessee women's basketball team also began to turn a net profit for the UT women's Athletic Department financially. For example, following the successful 1998 season, Summitt's program had expenses of approximately \$2.3 million and revenues around \$2.8 million, for an overall net-profit of just under \$500,000. The Tennessee women's Athletic Department still operated a net loss overall, but the basketball program was one of only four in the country to turn a profit. In the classroom, Summitt's program was also more successful than the Tennessee men, with more than two-thirds of the Lady Vols earning degrees, compared to less than 30 percent for the men's program (Suggs, 2005).

While both Dorrance and Summitt had success with their programs, their tenures paralleled a period in women's collegiate athletics that saw a major shift in the percentage of women who coached female collegiate teams. When Title IX was enacted in 1972, more than 90% of the head coaches of women's collegiate teams were women, and similarly approximately 90% of the athletic administrators supporting those teams were women as well. Thirty years later, only 44% of women's collegiate teams were coached by women and female athletic administrators had fallen to below 18%. With the NCAA in control of collegiate sports for both men and women, coaches had to run programs in compliance with the male model of athletics in order to be successful. Playing for the good of the individual athlete and the love of the game (IAAW tenants) was replaced (for women's programs) with recruiting the best athletes, promoting the name of the university, and winning.

CHAPTER 6. WOMEN PLAYING A MAN'S GAME

The Stanford Prison Experiment

In his book *The Lucifer Effect*, Phillip Zimbardo recounts his research experiment as a member of the Stanford University faculty called the Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE). While there are few, if any, references to sport in Dr. Zimbardo's book, one of the primary themes discussed, "Understanding How Good People Turn Evil," gives some insight on the situation with which female athletic administrators are faced as they operate in a system run by the NCAA. In an attempt to examine how a person's behavior can be influenced by the situation in which they find themselves, Dr. Zimbardo randomly divided a group of male college students into prisoners and guards, placed them in a mock prison (using classrooms in the basement of one of the buildings on the Stanford campus), and observed (recorded on video tape) the behaviors that ensued. To say Zimbardo was surprised by the experiments results would be an understatement.

Prior to the experiment, those volunteering to participate were carefully screened, with many applicants being rejected. The 20 young men who were selected to begin the experiment were chosen because they did not exhibit any characteristics that led Dr. Zimbardo to believe they would behave inappropriately to the mock prison

environment. Each participant was told that he would be paid \$15 per day for the duration of the experiment (two weeks). Before the process of selecting which participants would be guards and which would be inmates, those chosen for the study were asked if they would prefer to be inmates or guards, and the vast majority indicated they would prefer to be inmates. Dr. Zimbardo speculated this was due to the fact that undergraduate college students from Stanford and Berkeley (the two schools from which the participants were recruited) could not picture themselves in future careers as corrections officers.

Once the participants were divided into two groups, those selected as guards went through a brief training session, in which they were instructed to treat the inmates in a way that might cause mild discomfort (i.e. – solitary confinement) and disorientation (i.e. – interrupted sleep patterns). The prison guards were encouraged to maintain discipline and order, but were also instructed that physical abuse of the prisoners was not acceptable and would not be tolerated. Those participants who were randomly selected into the prisoner population were told they would be allowed to quit the experiment anytime for any reason, but were given no other instructions on how to behave once they had been “arrested” and placed in the Stanford Prison. They were simply told to be ready to begin the experiment on a particular day and date (a Sunday), but were all surprised when real members of the Palo Alto police force arrived early on Sunday morning, arrested them, read them their Miranda rights, placed them in handcuffs, and delivered them to the Stanford Prison. Dr. Zimbardo’s intent with this tactic was to add an element of realism to the prisoner’s incarceration.

Beginning with the very first 24-hour period of the experiment, Dr. Zimbardo began to see character transformations in both the prisoners and the guards. Several prisoners soon began to exhibit symptoms of extreme stress, including one participant who was removed from the study after only 36 hours. Several others were released within the first three days of the study. For the guards, the transformation was that of the average college kid becoming a sadistic, power-hungry prison guard. The role affected each guard differently, but several guards went to great lengths to make the prisoners physically and mentally uncomfortable as they struggled to gain control over prisoners that became increasingly dissatisfied with the prison environment.

The experiment, which had been scheduled to last two weeks, was called off after less than one week because of the disturbing and potentially devastating behavior exhibited by both groups of test subjects. In fact, Dr. Zimbardo himself had become so consumed by the experiment that it took the outrage of an outside observer (a Berkeley psychology professor with whom Dr. Zimbardo was romantically involved) to convince him to end the experiment prematurely. Ultimately, he feared for the safety of the young men who had volunteered for the experiment and decided to remove them from the situation that was causing their extreme behavior well before the full two weeks had elapsed. The behaviors Dr. Zimbardo witnessed had such an impact that he had to wait 30 years before he could bring himself to review the video tapes and write the book which recounts the story of the Stanford Prison Experiment.

Dr. Zimbardo draws many parallels between the behaviors he recorded in the seemingly controlled environment of his experimental prison, to those of the torture

and atrocities committed by US service members and CIA agents at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2003. In the military court-martials that followed, seventeen people were removed from military duty, and eleven were sentenced to various terms in military prisons and dishonorably discharged from service. The highest ranking officer charged in the Abu Ghraib abuse cases was Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, the commanding officer of the detention facilities in Iraq, who was demoted to the rank of colonel as a result of her involvement in approving of the torture techniques used on Abu Ghraib detainees.

While no criminal charges resulted from the incidents in the Stanford Prison Experiment, Dr. Zimbardo's post-experiment debriefing with the students who had participated in the study showed that a great deal of animosity had developed between those who had been guards and those who had been inmates. The guards almost unanimously agreed that the inmates had been disrespectful of authority, had behaved badly, and deserved every measure of punishment administered. The prisoners believed the guards had gone too far in exercising their control over the inmates, that the punishments were unjust and arbitrary, and that the behavior of the guards toward the inmates was intended to dehumanize those incarcerated. Dr. Zimbardo also found it interesting that both the guards and the prisoners believed the guards were much taller and larger physically than the inmates, when in fact, after having the two groups line up together, the two groups were almost identical in average height and weight.

The Parallel Between The SPE And Women's Collegiate Athletics

A parallel can also be drawn from the results of the Stanford Prison Experiment and the transition that has taken place in women's collegiate athletics since 1982. Some women's collegiate teams are still coached by women, and some women's collegiate teams are still administered by female athletic administrators, however, the reality of the situation for all female athletes, coaches, and administrators is that they are functioning within a model that was created by men, for men. For that reason, the philosophies and principles of an athletic environment run by women for women are far less prevalent, and today the behavior of female athletes, coaches, and administrators more closely resembles that of their male counterparts. Ask a current collegiate female athlete what she thinks of the idea of "play days", and she would likely be insulted by the thought and consider it sexist that anyone would think women could prefer this type of athletic event over a competitive contest against another collegiate team. The parallel here isn't that women have crossed over to the dark side of men's athletics with no hope of ever returning to the principles that once governed women's athletics. Instead, the reference to the Stanford Prison Experiment demonstrates that the environment in which women's athletics now functions creates behaviors that might not have been instinctive otherwise.

At this point, we can only imagine what collegiate athletics would be like today if the AIAW had been allowed to continue running women's collegiate sports. However, we have numerous examples of leaders from the AIAW and other women's sports organizations extolling the virtues of an athletic environment based on education and the self-fulfillment and best interest of the student-athlete. Just as Dr. Zimbardo argues

that the situation creates the behavior of the individuals involved, it should be clear that the leaders of the AIAW were advocates for an athletic culture of positive growth, where athletes were more likely to build character and self-worth, and where athletics were an extension of an athlete's overall collegiate education. The NCAA, on the other hand, has been criticized for nearly 100 years for promoting the names of its member institutions and seeking the financial gain of media publicity, often at the expense of the academic schedules of the athletes who must travel and compete when it serves the NCAA best (i.e. – football bowl games, basketball's March Madness). Being placed in an environment designed by men for male athletes can be seen in comparison to Dr. Zimbardo's experiment as somewhat prison-like, where female athletes have adapted their behavior to survive, and in many cases even thrive, under the model of athletics created by the NCAA.

The current perception of Title IX in collegiate athletics by both administrators and athletes, and how it influences the management of a modern collegiate athletic department, can be traced back to the legal action taken against Brown University in the 1990s. This case became the turning point after which women's collegiate athletic programs were run in the same manner as men's programs, because coaches, administrators, and university presidents dared not be accused of treating female athletes differently than men. Did the case of Cohen vs. Brown University help to advance the cause of female collegiate athletes, or did it help to bury the athletic philosophies of the AIAW (and the DGWS, etc.)?

Cohen Vs. Brown University

In May of 1991, while offering 31 varsity sports, far more than most other US colleges and universities, Brown University announced it would be eliminating men's golf and water polo and women's gymnastics and volleyball, reducing each program to club status. In 1992, a group led by Brown gymnast Amy Cohen filed suit against Brown University, accusing the university of discriminating against women by not offering sufficient sports opportunities for female athletes on the Brown campus, and claiming that the university's actions were a direct violation of the NCAA's three-part test for Title IX compliance (Blum, 1992).

The challenge for Brown University was the athletic department's previous history of adding opportunities for female athletes through 1970s, yet while the student population was very close to an even split between male and female students, the proportion of male to female varsity athletes at Brown was 61% to 39% after dropping the two men's and two women's sports. While an improvement to pre-Title IX figures, the legal action pointed to the fact that Brown was still far from reaching proportionality. Further complicating objections from Brown University was the third part of the NCAA's three-part test – interest on campus by qualified female student athletes. By relegating gymnastics and volleyball to club status, the university was allowing those female student athletes to continue competing for Brown against other collegiate programs. In effect this recognized that interest existed on campus by qualified female gymnasts and volleyball players for the school to field teams, but the university was saying it was not willing to fund the teams in the same manner as a varsity sport by not paying a coaching staff, providing equipment, or funding travel to

away competitions. So, as the plaintiffs claimed, Brown University did fail to meet all three of the NCAA's criteria for being in compliance with Title IX.

The plaintiffs in the case against Brown were not without challenges of their own. Major obstacles in any legal action against an entity the size of Brown University includes overcoming the resources available to the school, and the fact that a collegiate athlete only has four or five years to compete for that school's team. Amy Cohen may not have been the first athlete to file a legal action against a school claiming gender discrimination, but she was the first at a high-profile university with a large athletic department that openly disagreed with the proportionality standard in the NCAA's three-part test. Robert Reichley, Brown University's Vice President for Public Affairs, pointed to the fact that Brown ranked second among all Division I athletic programs in the number of varsity sports offered for women. "We feel we are in compliance with Title IX" Reichley stated in an interview published in the Chronicle of Higher Education in April, 1992. "We feel our record is better than most schools in the country, and we are one of the leaders in offering sports opportunities to women (Blum, 1992)."

The argument Brown University expressed to Judge Raymond J. Pettine of the U.S. District Court for Rhode Island was that siding with the plaintiff would result in taking financial control of the athletic department out of the hands of the university. Additionally, Brown lawyers argued the university was not required to meet the NCAA's proportionality standard because "Equal opportunity does not require proportional representation (Associated Press, October 27, 1992)." This was a key point in the Brown argument before the U.S. District Court and later with the U.S. Court of Appeals. Simply

put, Brown University was saying that fewer women wanted to play sports than men, so the proportion of opportunities for women to participate in sports at Brown did not have to be equal to that of men. Those who sided with this opinion claimed that both biological and psychological reasons existed for the greater interest in sports by men, compared to women. In her book, *Tilting the Playing Field: School, Sports, Sex, and Title IX*, Jessica Gavora dedicates an entire chapter to the topic, providing anecdotal evidence that supported the Brown opinion (Gavora, 2002).

In December, 1992, Judge Pettine ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and ordered Brown University to re-instate the women's gymnastics and volleyball teams, while making no mention of the two affected men's programs. Brown University immediately filed an appeal with the U.S. Court of Appeals, but in May, 1993, the appeals court sided with Pettine's ruling and upheld the order to re-instate the two women's programs, and to fund them accordingly (Cohen et al. v. Brown University et al., 1992). Brown argued that since they had eliminated two sports for both men and women, they were treating the two genders equitably, and that the choices were purely based on financial factors. However, appeals court judge Bruce Selya disagreed, specifically including in his opinion on the ruling that "Brown's claim overlooks the shortcomings that plagued its program before it took action (Cohen et al. v. Brown University et al., 1992)."

In addition, Selya's opinion also appeared to close the loop that had existed with the third part of the NCAA's three-part test. Specifically, Selya stated clearly that if an athletic department did not meet the proportionality test, and interest existed on campus by qualified athletes of the under-represented gender in a sport, the

department automatically failed the third part of the test. It is worth noting that a closer look at the proliferation of women's collegiate club championships at that time, compared to the schools represented with their corresponding male to female student body ratios and varsity athletic opportunities, would have put a significant number of athletic departments at risk. For example, the University of Michigan athletic department had elevated the women's crew team to varsity status in 1991 in an effort to move closer to compliance with the proportionality test. However, the department still fell well short of the male/female ratio of the student body. At the same time, the Michigan women's water polo team (at the time, a club program) regularly competed against varsity programs, qualified for and competed successfully at a National Championship event sponsored by the Collegiate Water Polo Association (before an NCAA championship was held), and was ranked as one of the top-10 college women's water polo teams every season throughout the 1990s. After several unsuccessful attempts by members of the women's club program to convince Michigan to elevate women's water polo to varsity status, in May of 1999 the university announced that women's water polo and men's soccer would begin competing as fully-funded varsity programs beginning with the 2000-01 academic year. While this qualified as a program upgrade for both the female water polo players and male soccer players, in effect the University of Michigan did very little to bring itself closer to compliance with Title IX by adding both a female and male sport at the same time.

The impact of Pettine's ruling and Selya's written opinion in support of that ruling caused a fundamental change in the way colleges and universities approached

Title IX. Simply moving in the direction of proportionality was no longer good enough. In effect, any school that did not have a male to female athlete ratio that matched the student body, was in imminent danger of facing a legal challenge similar to Brown University. In fact, Pettine applied even greater pressure on the Brown administration by ordering the university to submit a plan to reach Title IX compliance. Brown complied, but Pettine rejected the initial plan based on Brown's plan to reach compliance by eliminating men's programs rather than adding women's teams. Brown again turned to the Court of Appeals to overturn Pettine, and again the appellate court sided with Pettine and against the university, but it did nullify Pettine's restriction on eliminating men's programs, effectively giving Brown University the ability to reach proportional compliance by any means it wished (Suggs, 2005).

The fight was not over for Brown, however, as the university decided to take its case to the US Supreme Court. By this point, the publicity surrounding the case had attracted the attention of academic and athletic administrators across the country. Friend-of-the-court briefs were filed with the Supreme Court that represented 60 colleges and universities, and nearly 50 senators and members of the United States Congress. The Supreme Court, however, decided not to hear the case and in March of 1997 effectively ended Brown University's ability to continue appealing Pettine's initial ruling at the First District Court in Rhode Island. In 1998, Brown added women's water polo, fencing, gymnastics, and skiing as fully funded varsity programs to meet the terms imposed by the District Court. These programs brought the ratio of male to female athletes to within a three percentage point difference at Brown, but the greater impact

was felt in collegiate athletic departments around the country. From the date in 1992 when Cohen (et al) first filed suit against Brown University, to 1998 when Brown finally complied with the First District Court's decision, nearly 1,200 women's teams had been added as varsity sports across the US (Naughton, 1998). Clearly, collegiate athletic administrators and college and university presidents were influenced by the case brought against Brown University and began taking steps to avoid any similar litigation.

Although the legal action in the Cohen vs. Brown University case had finally come to a close, the debate over the merits and the implementation of Title IX continued on many fronts. One challenge that now faced both the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) and collegiate administrators was how to define whether a school was in compliance with proportionality when undergraduate enrollment at every school is a very fluid number. Male and female enrollment numbers can fluctuate several percentage points from one year to another, and some schools are more susceptible to mid-year drop-out and transfers than others, which changes proportionality dynamically throughout the school year. Adding or dropping a collegiate athletic team, however, is a decision that takes time and planning over many months, and sometimes years. A school with a male to female student ratio close to 50/50 may set that as a goal for its athletic department, only to find, two years later after making the necessary additions and/or reductions toward that goal, that the enrollment has changed to 55% women and 45% men. Now, the efforts that school took to reach proportionality appear to leave it several percentage points out of compliance. Should the school then be punished for not anticipating changes in enrollment, or should it be commended for

taking strides toward reaching proportionality? That question was at the root of the dilemma faced by the OCR and those within collegiate athletic departments charged with managing and maintaining compliance.

What To Do As Women Start To Outnumber Men

For example, when Miami of Ohio University made the decision to eliminate four men's varsity sports in its effort to reach proportionality, it also faced the challenge of a changing landscape in collegiate academics, where women were beginning to outnumber men. At Miami, as the 1990s came to a close, women comprised almost 60 percent of the undergraduate student population in Oxford. Trying to anticipate enrollment trends, while also keeping your athletic department in compliance with the OCR's proportionality test, became a nearly impossible exercise for athletic administrators. And while the OCR recognized this dilemma, many schools found themselves faced with legal actions of their own from individuals or supporters of both male and female athletes.

The sport of rowing, or crew, added to the complexity of the debate over the decision to drop men's teams and/or add new varsity teams for women. Unlike most collegiate sports, there are virtually no crew teams at the high school level in the US, with the exception of a few private schools in the Northeast and a handful of schools in the Pacific Northwest. To fill the dozens of positions on a collegiate crew roster, coaches often recruit tall, athletic girls from sports like volleyball and basketball, and recruit on campus looking for female students with the physical stature needed to be successful at crew. Unique to crew, previous crew experience has little to no bearing on

an athletes' success at the college level. In stark contrast are the two men's sports that have been reduced the most at the collegiate level as a result of Title IX – swimming and wrestling. Both swimming and wrestling have historically been sports where the successful collegiate athlete began competing in his sport while in elementary school, swimming or wrestling for local age-group programs, and wrapping up a scholastic career on a high school team. In other words, the average collegiate male swimmer or wrestler has likely been competing in his sport for at least 10 years before entering college. The same could be said of female athletes in sports like swimming, basketball, softball, soccer, and more. Giving scholarships to young women on a collegiate crew team who had no previous experience with that sport before walking onto campus, while reducing or completely eliminating scholarships and opportunities for male swimmers and wrestlers, fueled the divide between those who advocated for male sports and those who supported the overall intent of Title IX. In effect, the issue became divided by gender, with men primarily opposed to Title IX and women supporting its implementation.

While the focus of Title IX was, and continues to be gender, the ethnicity of those benefiting from Title IX seems to have resulted in comparatively little public debate. For men, sports like football and basketball are comprised of a much higher percentage of African-American athletes than the ratio of African-American students at that school. For women, teams most frequently added at the collegiate level (crew, soccer, lacrosse, golf) usually list very few African-Americans on their rosters. Similarly, opportunities for women in other ethnic groups (Hispanic, Asian, Native American, etc.)

have been far less prevalent than opportunities for white female athletes. So, while the intent of Title IX does not appear discriminatory, the application of the law has been (Lapchick, 2014).

At the same time, the debate over coach's salaries was also becoming very public. As the proportionality of athletes began to move toward compliance, the proportionality of dollars spent to support women's programs came under scrutiny. The discussion was fairly straightforward when comparing like sports (men's and women's basketball, men's and women's soccer, etc.), but how did a school compare the salary of a head football coach to that of a women's crew coach? With both rosters frequently above 100 athletes, should a women's crew coach expect to be paid a salary similar to that of the head coach of the school's football team? In 1997, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission said "No." According to the EEOC, the additional responsibility of many football coaches to attract thousands of spectators and generate at least some revenue toward the athletics budget made the two coaching positions inherently unequal (EEOC, November 3, 1997).

Another consideration is the actual ratio of male and female coaches. This has been impacted by the seniority of the respective talent pools, and the desire to achieve financial equity between the programs. The fact that male sports had existed in abundance for decades created a steady stream of male coaches in those sports. As women began applying for the new positions coaching female teams that were being added to collegiate athletic departments, they often found themselves competing for those positions against male candidates with many more years of coaching experience.

Athletic Directors, then, were usually faced with the decision whether to hire a female coach, whose starting salary would be toward the bottom of the pay-scale (but in line with the salary for a first-time coach), or hire a seasoned male coach whose salary would more effectively balance the ratio of salaries between male and female programs in the department. The numbers reported by the NCAA's General Accounting Office (GAO) indicate that the latter was the decision more frequently made by athletic administrators as women's programs were initially added to an intercollegiate athletics program. The fact that the overwhelming majority of those who were hiring these coaches were men can't be understated as another reason why men were more frequently hired to coach women's teams than women.

Time has also been another factor in both the number of women hired to be head coaches of women's programs, as well as the salaries paid to those women. When Title IX was enacted in 1972, more than 95% of athletic directors in all divisions were men, and more than 99% in Division I. Data collected by Acosta and Carpenter shows an overwhelming bias by male athletic directors to hire male coaches for both men's and women's teams, while female athletic directors are far more likely to hire a woman to coach a women's team. It is not uncommon for an athletic director to hold that position for 10 to 20 years, and while it is unlikely that many of the male athletic directors from 1972 still hold their positions, women still are rarely selected for the top position in a collegiate athletic department. In 2014, women comprised about 20% of the athletic directors in all divisions, but only 10% in Division I. This puts women seeking to be head coaches at a competitive disadvantage since 80% of athletic directors are still men, and

men are more likely to hire men for a coaching position than women. As women begin to occupy a more equitable proportion of athletic director positions, the Acosta/Carpenter data indicates that more women will also be hired to coach female collegiate varsity teams.

CHAPTER 7. COACHES AND ADMINISTRATORS AFTER THE AIAW

Over the past 40 years, a great deal of attention has been given to the intent of Title IX, the interpretation(s) of Title IX, the implementation of Title IX, and ultimately the impact of Title IX on both female and male athletes. Often overlooked in this discussion however, is how the lives, careers, and opportunities of those who support female athletes have been affected by the breakup of the AIAW. Prior to 1982, women's collegiate athletic teams were predominately coached by women and those female coaches reported almost exclusively to female administrators. In the era of Title IX however, and without the AIAW, opportunities for female coaches and administrators have not materialized at the same rate as increases in participation. In fact, the dramatic increase in the number of new women's teams has benefited at least as many men who were hired to coach women's teams, and women who serve as athletic administrators are now a clear minority (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014).

A Rapid Decline For Coaches And Administrators

Prior to 1972, the year Title IX was enacted, greater than 90% of women's collegiate athletic teams had a female head coach. The vast majority of these coaches were not actually being paid to coach, but coached a collegiate team as an extension of

their responsibility to the faculty position they held in the physical education department. With the birth of Title IX, being the head coach of a women's collegiate team became a position and a full-time responsibility independent of other positions at the university. While this created opportunities for many women to become paid coaches, it also made coaching a women's team more attractive to male coaches. The result was an environment where, over a relatively short period of time, male coaches with similar or greater experience than their female counterparts applied for and were hired to fill positions that previously had only been sought by women.

By 1978, the year established as the initial target for mandatory Title IX compliance, the percentage of female teams coached by women had dropped to 58.2% (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014). One reason for this shift was the dramatic increase in the number of women's teams over that period of time. Most of the women who were collegiate coaches prior to 1972 were primarily employed as physical educators and the vast majority chose to stay in those roles even as the number of women's collegiate teams grew rapidly. There were also far fewer women than men coaching in 1972, making the pool of potential male coaches for new programs significantly greater than the pool of women.

Historically, because women who coached female teams came from the ranks of physical educators, fewer women followed the model typically used by men where athletes moved almost seamlessly into coaching positions as their playing careers ended. Prior to 1972, women who saw themselves as future collegiate coaches, first had to continue their educations to earn the necessary credentials to be considered for

a teaching position at a college or university. Because there were no opportunities for women to be coaches only, female athletes were not presented with a path that led them to assistant coaching positions that prepared them for future opportunities as head coaches. The number of women's teams being added to collegiate athletic departments during the first six years of Title IX quickly out-paced the number of women available to fill those positions, so many of the openings were filled by men.

Another strategy employed by colleges and universities as they added female programs was to simply have an existing male coach also coach the women's team. For example, the coach of a collegiate men's swimming team was given the responsibility of also coaching the women. Since the two sports occupy the same season at the collegiate level, this was similar to increasing the roster of the men's program, but put the onus on the coach to manage his resources (i.e. – the pool) to accommodate not only an increase in numbers, but also a shift in skill and talent level. With fewer than 2% of men's teams coached by women (in all sports) prior to 1972 (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014), this method of adding a women's program to an athletic department roster virtually guaranteed that a man would be coaching the newly added women's program. For athletic administrators, this was also a way to add a women's program without incurring substantial new equipment costs. If a school was already fielding a men's water polo team, that school was very likely to have a regulation-size swimming pool already on campus and would not incur the start-up costs of purchasing water polo goals, balls, and scoring equipment. Similar logic held for sports like soccer, tennis, basketball, lacrosse, track and field, and ice hockey.

As more women's teams were added throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the percentage of women coaching female collegiate teams continued to decline. By 1987, five years after the AIAW ceased operation, women comprised only 48.8% of head coaching positions of female athletic teams, the first time men held the majority in that statistic. That figure continued a gradual downward trend until 2006 when it reached 42.4%. From 2006 to 2014 the number of female coaches rebounded slightly to 43.4% (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014), but the question is how and when will the current generation of female athletes become motivated to follow the path of their male counterparts into coaching positions? Are women on the brink of reclaiming the majority in coaching female collegiate athletes as the current generation of male head coaches move into retirement? Geno Auriemma, head coach of the University of Connecticut women's basketball team, is currently in his 30th season as the team's head coach and lists three assistant coaches – all women. In contrast, Anson Dorrance is in his 35th year coaching women's soccer at North Carolina and has no female assistant coaches – three men.

On the men's side of the ledger, the number of collegiate teams for men has increased by 833 since 1988 (the first year for which the NCAA began publishing participation statistics), yet the percentage of women coaching men's teams has remained virtually unchanged, increasing from approximately 2% to 3% in 2014. Typically, these opportunities for women do not come in team sports such as basketball and soccer, but instead women coaching male collegiate athletes most frequently occurs in sports such as swimming, track and field, tennis, and golf – sports in which one coach may be hired to be the head coach of both the men's and women's teams. In

these sports, male and female athletes can train side by side as they prepare to compete in their individual athletic events.

Longitudinal Data Collected By Dr. Vivian Acosta And Dr. Linda Carpenter

In 1977, two professors at Brooklyn College in New York began a longitudinal research study that continues today regarding the impact of Title IX on athletic participation, coaching positions, and the make-up of those in the administration of collegiate athletics. R. Vivian Acosta, PhD, is a professor emerita at the City University of New York's Brooklyn College, and also a past president of the National Association for Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS). Dr. Acosta earned her PhD in sport administration in 1974 from the University of Southern California. Linda Jean Carpenter, Ph.D., J.D., is also a professor emerita at the City University of New York's Brooklyn College. Dr. Carpenter is also a member of the New York State and United States Supreme Court Bars. The collaborative thirty seven year effort of Dr. Acosta and Dr. Carpenter can be found at <http://www.acostacarpenter.org> and contains a combination of statistical data collected from more than 1,000 NCAA member schools, as well as their commentary on issues surrounding their research.

Beginning in 1977, Acosta and Carpenter began mailing surveys to the Senior Woman Administrator at every NCAA member institution that offered an athletics program for women. By 2014, the number of schools included in the survey was just under 1,100. The research, originally funded by CUNY Brooklyn, now receives continuing financial support from Smith College's Project on Women and Social Change. The report compiled every two years by Acosta and Carpenter has some information

that is similar to that published by the NCAA, such as sections detailing participation by female athletes, as well as information that is not contained in NCAA reports, including statistics on collegiate coaching and assistant coaching positions, athletic administration positions, and athletic support roles such as sports information, athletic training, and strength and conditioning. One area of collegiate athletics not addressed by the Acosta/Carpenter research is officiating.

An analysis of the 2014 participation statistics reported by Acosta and Carpenter shows data from 9581 intercollegiate teams for women at NCAA member schools, which represents approximately 96% of all women's teams reported by the latest NCAA participation figures. The Acosta/Carpenter survey data reports an average of 8.83 teams for women per institution (Figure 1). Both of these figures represent the highest totals in each category, indicating that participation by women in collegiate athletics is continuing to grow and is currently at an all-time high.

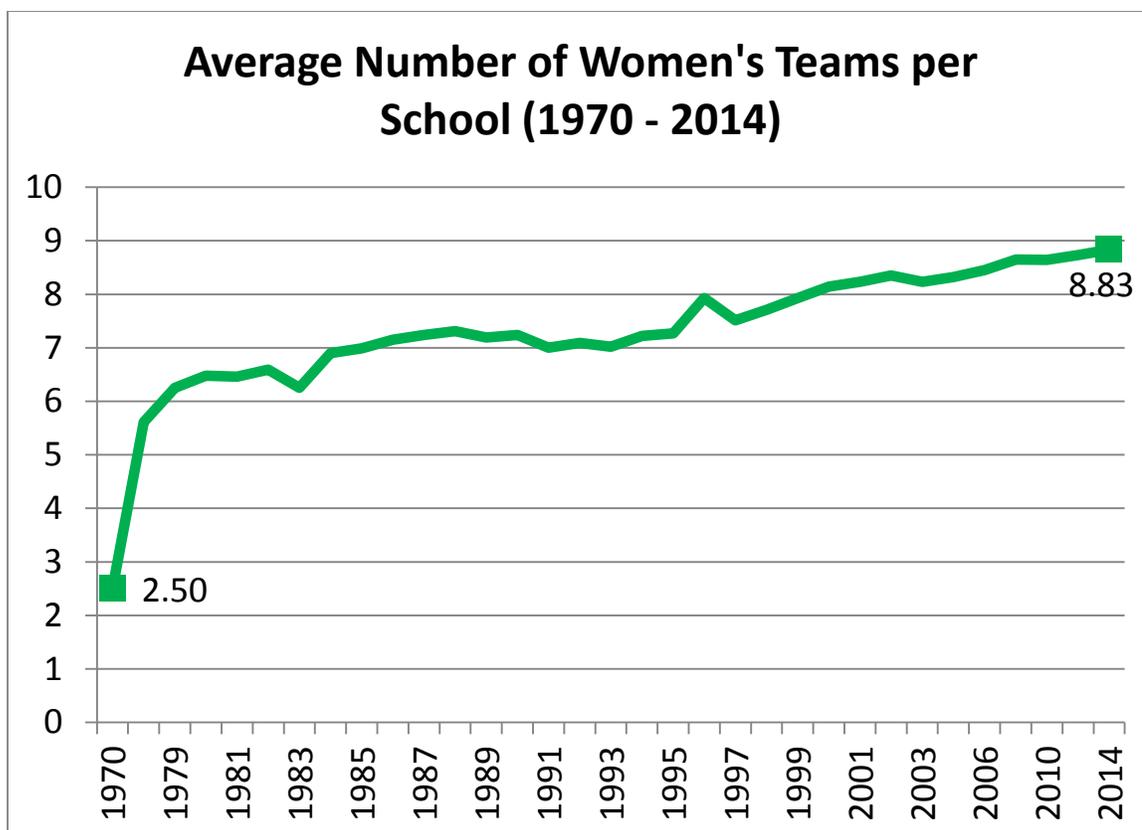


Figure 1 – Average number of women’s teams per school. This data is taken from Acosta and Carpenter (www.acostacarpenter.org) and shows the average number of women’s collegiate teams per school for all divisions, two years prior to Title IX through 2014, the last year for which the study has collected data.

In the past 15 years, 2080 teams have been added for women across all divisions of the NCAA, with basketball being the most popular choice, being offered at 99.1% of NCAA schools. Volleyball and soccer follow basketball in popularity, being offered at 96.6% and 93.3% of NCAA schools, respectively. Comparing the Acosta/Carpenter report (which is based on percentages) to the NCAA’s participation report for 2013-14, greater than 26,000 female athletes are listed on collegiate varsity soccer rosters across NCAA schools, while basketball and volleyball each list just over 16,000. Another

important note about participation in women's soccer at the collegiate level is that only 3% of NCAA schools had women's soccer teams in 1977 (when the Acosta/Carpenter study began), and only 1,855 athletes were listed on NCAA women's soccer rosters in 1981 (the first year the NCAA started tracking participation statistics). Basketball and volleyball have also increased in overall participation since 1981, but much less dramatically than soccer, with basketball participation going from around 10,000 to 16,000, and volleyball participation growing from around 9,000 to 16,000.

On the men's side, football reported 40,733 total athletes across all NCAA divisions in 1981, followed by outdoor track and field with 18,806, and baseball with 17,229. In 2014, football participation had increased to 71,291, baseball to 33,431, and outdoor track and field to 27,514. In comparison to the women's numbers in basketball and soccer, men's basketball increased from 11,578 to 18,320, and men's soccer from 12,957 to 23,603. Across all sports, men's participation in collegiate athletics increased from 169,800 in 1981 to 271,055 in 2014, with the total number of teams for men in all sports increasing from 6,843 to 9,012. For women, total participation increased from 74,239 to 207,814.

With these participation increases have come increases in the number of coaching positions for both women's and men's varsity teams. Again comparing the coaching percentages reported by Acosta/Carpenter with the number of teams reported in the NCAA's annual Participation Rates Report, while the total number of teams for both women and men increased, a greater number of men benefited from those new job postings than did women. At the end of the 1981-82 academic year, when there

were 4,776 women's teams and 6,843 men's teams, 54.6% of the women's teams were coached by women and less than 3% of the men's teams were coached by women.

Therefore, in 1981-82, fewer than 25% of all collegiate teams (men and women) were coached by a female coach. In 2014, the NCAA reported 10,322 teams for women and 9,012 for men (Figure 2), nearly twice as many total teams as 1982.

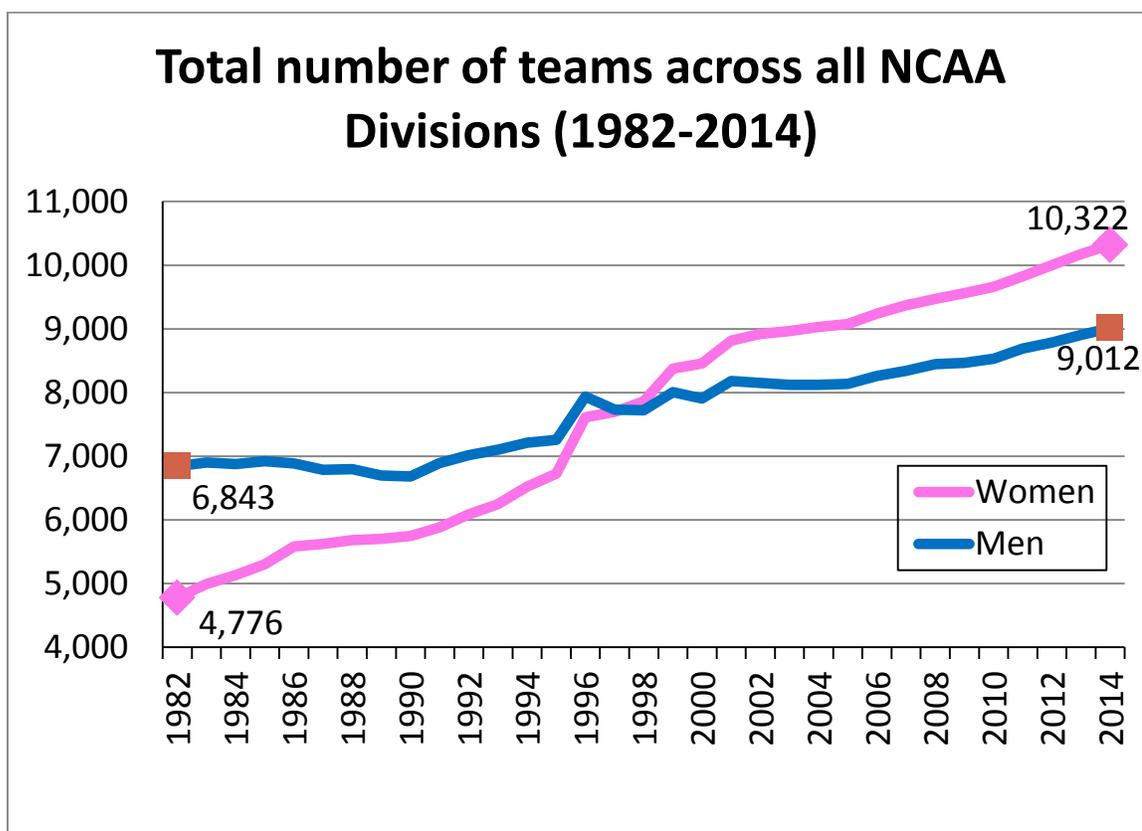


Figure 2 – The total number of NCAA varsity teams across all divisions for both men and women. This data is taken from Acosta and Carpenter (www.acostacarpenter.org) and shows the increase in the overall number of teams for both men and women since the NCAA began keeping participation statistics in 1982 to 2014. The number of teams for women has more than doubled, while the men have seen approximately a 33% increase.

In 2014 however, the percentage of women coaching women's teams stood at 43.4%, and the percentage of women coaching men's teams remained less than 3%

(Figure 3). In other words, while nearly 10,000 new collegiate coaching positions being created between 1981 and 2014 across all collegiate sports, both male and female, the percentage of women coaching collegiate athletes declined. This percentage has seen a slight increase since reaching an all-time low in 2006 of 42.4%, giving rise to optimism that a generation of female athletes may now be poised to move into coaching positions as they become available.

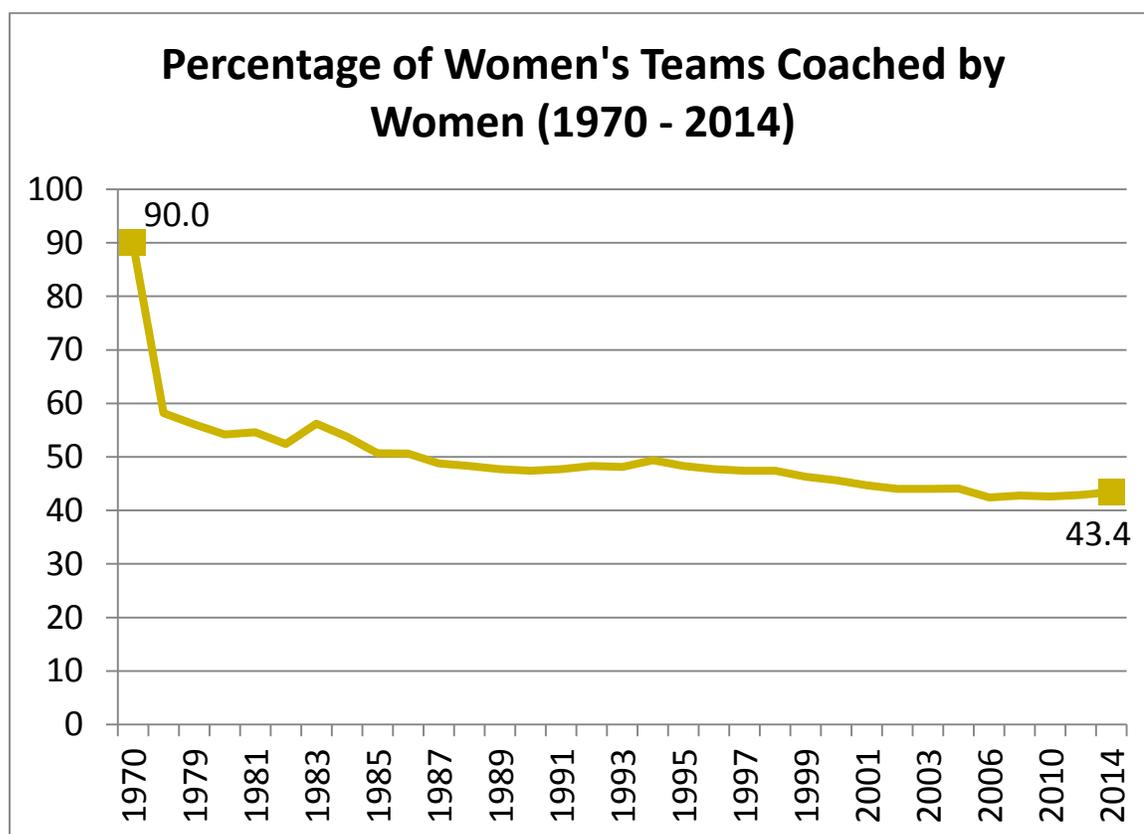


Figure 3 – Percentage of women's teams coached by women. This data is taken from Acosta and Carpenter (www.acostacarpenter.org). Prior to Title IX, more than 90% of women's collegiate teams in all divisions were coached by women. That percentage changed dramatically with the passing of the Title IX legislation and was below 60% in the first year that Acosta and Carpenter began collecting data. The Acosta/Carpenter data shows a steady decline in the percentage of women coaching women's teams through 2014, the last year for which the study has collected data.

Another important consideration highlighted by the Acosta/Carpenter research is the gender of a school's athletic director. In 2014, when female students comprised approximately 57% of the student body nationwide, only 22.3% of collegiate athletic departments were led by women, and only 36.2% of all athletic administration positions were held by women. Further, 11.3% of collegiate athletic departments listed no female administrators in any capacity. These figures appear to have a direct correlation to the percentage of women hired as coaches. As reported in the latest edition of Acosta and Carpenter's report:

In Division 1 when there is a female AD, the percentage of female coaches is 46.8% compared to 43.0% when the AD is a male. Similarly, in Division 2, the average percentage of female coaches is 40.6% when the AD is a female and 35.9% when the AD is a male. The apparent connection to the gender of the AD continues in Division 3 where, when the AD is a female, the percentage of female coaches averages 53.9% and when the AD is a male, the average is 44.4%.

These numbers parallel the differences between the NCAA divisions in the percentage of women currently serving as the head Athletic Director at NCAA member school. In Division I, 10.6% of Athletic Directors are women, in Division II, 23.2% of Athletic Directors are women, and in Division III, 30.3% of Athletic Directors are women. Further, Division III athletic departments that are led by women are the only statistical category currently with a greater percentage of women coaching women's teams than men (Hatfield, 2009).

For sports like football and wrestling, it is logical that there are currently no women coaching men since there is no NCAA equivalent sport for women. In sports that are competed by both genders (i.e. – ice hockey, soccer, swimming, tennis) the

explanation for why fewer women than men hold head coaching positions seems less obvious, until we consider that the NCAA is still a male-dominated governance organization.

In sports that are dominated by women, however, the numbers are startling. In volleyball, for example, the NCAA's report on participation for the 2013-14 academic year showed 1,646 male athletes and 16,647 female athletes. In other words, 15,000 more women participate in varsity volleyball at the collegiate level than men (or ten times more women than men). However, across all NCAA divisions, only 51.5% of coaches of the more than 1,000 women's volleyball teams are women, and in Division I, the number is just slightly over 41%. For the number of female volleyball coaches to accurately reflect the number of female collegiate volleyball players, there would need to be ten female coaches for every one male coach, yet the current ratio stands at one to one (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014).

In the sport of field hockey there were nearly 6,000 women participating on 270 teams in 2013-14. Women comprised 92% of the coaches of these teams, which taken at face-value seems like a high percentage, except there are no NCAA male field hockey teams and zero male field hockey athletes participating at NCAA schools. How then, did approximately 22 schools find male coaches for their varsity field hockey teams who were more qualified than any available female candidates for the position (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014)?

Softball, which does have some similarities to the sport of baseball, listed over 19,000 athletes playing for approximately 1,000 teams in 2013-14. Just over one-third

of those teams, or approximately 333, were coached by men, none of whom could have played collegiate softball since the sport is not offered for men. In collegiate swimming, women outnumber men 12,300 to 9,600, yet fewer than 25% of those female swimmers were coached by a woman (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014).

One sport that defies this trend is lacrosse. At the collegiate level, relatively similar numbers of men and women participate on varsity lacrosse teams (12,000 compared to 10,000), yet 86% of women's lacrosse teams are coached by women (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014). The reasons for this are very likely rooted in the origins of men's and women's lacrosse, and the major differences in the playing rules. Men's lacrosse is derived from a game that originated with the Native Americans in North America hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years ago. The Native American version of the sport of lacrosse used equipment similar to that used by men playing lacrosse today (i.e. – a hard ball and a stick with a woven pocket at one end for catching and throwing), was extremely physical, sometime resulting in devastating injuries, and was played in a large open area, sometimes with one hundred or more men on a team. The current sport of women's lacrosse is actually more closely related to field hockey than men's lacrosse. It was first adapted from field hockey in regions of Europe where the terrain didn't allow a ball to roll freely on the ground. Today, the goal used by men's and women's collegiate (and high school) lacrosse teams are the same, but virtually every other aspect of the game is different, including the size of the playing field (the women's field is longer), the configuration of the sticks, and the padding and helmets worn by men, but not by women. As a result, the percentage of women coaching

women's collegiate lacrosse teams is far more similar to the numbers reported in field hockey, currently standing at approximately 86% (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014).

Unlike lacrosse, sports like basketball, soccer, and water polo have nearly identical rules and field dimensions for both the men's and women's games, with only a slight difference in the size of the balls used for women's basketball and women's water polo. In soccer, the number of male and female participants is fairly similar (26,000 vs. 23,000), yet fewer than one-third of women's collegiate soccer teams list a female head coach. In cross-country track, there are 14,000 male participants and 16,000 female participants, yet the coaching percentages are very similar to swimming with women occupying fewer than 25% of the head coaching positions. The NCAA's most recent figures on track and field participation show more than 27,000 athletes for both men and women competing at the collegiate level, approximately 55,000 student/athletes combined nation-wide. However, slightly under 18% of those coaching female track and field athletes are women, and only 10% of all collegiate track and field athletes (male and female combined) are being coached by women (Acosta/Carpenter, 2014).

Football And Athletic Administration

The relationship between football and the administration of a collegiate athletic department can't be underestimated as a factor in the current percentage of women who hold coaching positions at the collegiate level. Football has always been an all-male sport that has participation rates several times greater than any other team (male or female) on campus, and frequently the athletic administration at a school has direct ties to the football program. Even at those schools where the athletic director wasn't a

former football player or coach (or both), the influence football has over the athletic director (and the entire athletic department) is tremendous. As a result, the top athletic administration positions are far more frequently filled by men than women. This results in the gender disparity in athletic administration that can be seen in the results of the data collected by Acosta and Carpenter.

In Division I, where football has the greatest number of participants (well over 100 at many schools) and wields the greatest influence, approximately 1-in-10 Athletic Directors are women. In Division II the percentage increases to 2-in-10, and 3-in-10 Division III athletic departments are headed by women. In fact, women are now more likely to become the president of a university than the head of a Division I athletic department. At least on the academic side of campus, Title IX has provided women with the opportunities necessary to break through the “glass ceiling” and hold the top academic position on campus in increasing numbers. In athletics, however, football presents a continuing obstacle that could be difficult for women to overcome.

Similarly, the NCAA was an organization originally formed for the purpose of administering collegiate sports for men on a nationwide level. When the NCAA was originally formed, there was already an organization handling the administration of women’s collegiate teams, so the NCAA turned its focus to men’s sports. When the NCAA was victorious in its battle with the AIAW and took over control of both men’s and women’s intercollegiate athletic teams in 1983, the administration of the NCAA was all-male and any women wishing to remain involved in the administration of collegiate sports on a national level ultimately reported to at least one male administrator. While

the NCAA now employs some women in administrative positions (the NCAA's staff directory is not available to the public), the top position, President of the NCAA, has never been held by a woman. This produces an environment at the highest level of collegiate athletics that is similar to that seen in an athletic department with a male athletic director. With a male-only perspective at the highest position in the NCAA, hiring practices and policy decisions will continue to be made that favor men, even if unintentionally. In the same way that male athletic directors continue to hire male coaches disproportionately for women's collegiate varsity teams, a male NCAA president will not have the same vision for overall equality in collegiate athletics as a female NCAA President.

Imagine for a minute, what would have happened if the AIAW and NCAA had successfully negotiated a solution that would have allowed the AIAW to continue the governance of women's sports in the era of Title IX and the dramatic increase in women's participation in sports. There is every reason to believe that women's participation numbers would have been similar (if not greater) to those seen over the past 30 years, but it is likely that the number of female coaches and administrators would have seen similar increases to those of the athletes. In a "separate but equal" world of college athletics, football might still dominate many statistical aspects of men's sports, but it wouldn't also impact the ability of women to govern women's sports.

CHAPTER 8. CAN ALL SPORT BE RUN IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE ATHLETE?

In the current state of Title IX, the number one challenge to participation compliance, fairness, and equity is football. Women now comprise approximately 60% of the total undergraduate population of U.S. colleges and universities, but close to 60% of the varsity athletes at those schools are still men. Nearly one quarter of all collegiate male athletes play football, approximately 75,000 according to the NCAA's most recently reported participation statistics. And while there are a handful of sports that are played primarily by women (i.e. – field hockey and volleyball), balancing the huge number of boys and young men who participate in football will continue to be difficult at the high school and collegiate level for many years.

In the areas of coaching and athletic administration, the problem is similar to that faced when trying to be compliant in terms of participation. Football has so thoroughly dominated collegiate athletics for so many years (financially, number of participants, number of spectators), that a disproportionate number of men who are employed in some form of athletic administration have ties to football. This is true in individual collegiate athletic departments, conference offices (i.e. – Big Ten, Pac Ten, SEC), and even within the NCAA's national administrative structure. This culture of a male-dominated athletic administration results in the types of percentages reported by

Acosta and Carpenter in their data on women in collegiate coaching positions and in athletic administration. It also explains why the trend toward equity in both of those areas of collegiate athletics lags far behind the numbers reported for participation. While participation percentages are mandated by Title IX and are scrutinized in the press and media, the fact that women hold far less than 50% of the coaching positions at the collegiate level remains largely out of the public eye. Even less visible is the large disparity that exists in the percentage of collegiate athletic directors who are women. While greater than 50% of the athletes competing on a college campus nationwide are now female, fewer than 25% of those female athletes are participating in a department led by a female athletic director.

Sports Information

Similarly, collegiate Sports Information Directors (SIDs) are administrative positions within a collegiate athletic department (most frequently held by an Assistant or Associate Athletic Director) and these positions are overwhelmingly staffed by white men (Hardin, 2014). The primary role of an SID is far more in keeping with the male-model for a collegiate athletic department, by publicly promoting the accomplishments of its athletes and advertising the name of the university. At the NCAA Division I level, a Sports Information Director (SID) manages the responsibilities of several assistants, who in turn are assigned responsibility for specific intercollegiate sports within the department. These responsibilities include all press and media coverage for each team, with the head SID typically responsible for the university's most high-profile sports, often football and men's basketball. At the NCAA Division III level, a single SID is often

responsible for supporting all of the school's varsity sports, with assistance coming from a variety of sources including part-time and/or student employees.

The SID and the sports information department are the primary source for all information released to the media about athletes, coaches, and teams who represent the school in intercollegiate competition. In the past, this involved producing media guides for individual sports teams; issuing press releases on the results of competitions against other schools and the accomplishments of individual athletes (or coaches); and providing in-game support for a team such as recording statistics specific to that sport (i.e. – touchdowns in football, baskets in basketball, and goals in soccer). More recently, daily updates to the athletic department's Web site, Facebook page, Twitter feed, and other forms of social media have become part of distributing information to those interested in following a school's sports team(s). With white men occupying the vast majority of collegiate sports information positions (Hardin, 2014), the beliefs and prejudices of this group can influence the content of the press releases they produce. Of the respondents to Hardin's survey, 80% were men and slightly over 90% were white, which is well out of proportion with the gender and racial composition of athletes who are currently competing on collegiate sports teams across the country.

In a paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Kaiser (2010) states "Content analyses of stories about Title IX and about women's sports suggests that the differences in attitudes, values, and beliefs could translate to differences in coverage, based on byline gender: A longitudinal study examining Title IX frames [articles] over time showed that female reporters were more

likely than their male counterparts to adopt a feminist orientation toward Title IX.” In other words, women writing about the accomplishments of female athletes and women’s sports teams are more likely to speak in terms that resonate more to a female audience, while men writing about any athlete or athletic contest are more likely to emphasize the more masculine traits of the event. Hardin (2014) goes so far as to characterize writing styles of male SIDs by reporting “research has documented trends in coverage driven by the logic of women’s outsider status.” So, whether men consciously believe that women should be given the same opportunities in sports as men, some men still perceive women as outsiders in the sports realm, and some women still value the more traditional ideals of women’s sports. Women writing and reporting on sports, therefore, are less likely to emphasize the masculine and are more likely to “understand the devaluation of not only women, but also the ‘feminine’ in sports.”

Acosta and Carpenter (2014) report that fewer than 10% of Division I SIDs are women, 16.5% at the Division III level, and 12.1% across all NCAA divisions. So, while these positions are at the forefront of all information released to the media on collegiate sports, nearly 90% of those writing and providing that information are doing so from a male perspective. This may not have the same direct impact on providing opportunities for women as coaches and administrators, but it does play an important role in the way women are viewed in the overall context of sport, leadership, and sports administration. Even subtle discrimination in the form of stories written in such a way that they give accolades to masculine attributes in all sports can deter women from trying to continue their association with athletics after their days as athletes are over.

The fact that more careers are available to women who excel academically and the current disparity in the level of pay that exists between male and female coaches can both be seen as plausible reasons for why men continue to outnumber women as collegiate varsity coaches.

The Inequity Of Football

Football, particularly at the Division I level, also frequently results in inequities in the way male and female athletes and coaches are treated within an athletic department. Even if an athletic department treats non-revenue sports equally between men and women (i.e. – similar budgets for the men’s and women’s soccer programs), the money that flows through a collegiate football team dramatically alters the ratio of dollars spent on male and female athletes. For example, in 2003 the University of Oregon completed a \$3.2 million construction project for a new football locker room that was completely funded by donations from a single booster of the Oregon football program (Suggs, 2005). No similar facility was constructed for any of the women’s sports at Oregon. The salaries commanded by high-profile Division I football coaches have escalated to levels far beyond any other employee at their school, often in the range of several million dollars per year. In December, 2014, Jim Harbaugh left his position coaching a professional football team to sign a contract with the University of Michigan for approximately \$7 million per year. The coaches of women’s teams at the University of Michigan each are paid about 1% of that amount annually (Snyder, 2015). Geno Auriemma, who has coached the University of Connecticut women’s basketball team for 30 years and is arguably the most successful coach in collegiate women’s

basketball, currently earns approximately \$2 million per year – about 30% of Harbaugh's salary (Associate Press, 2013). So, while every collegiate football coach is not being paid the same salary as coach Harbaugh, some are paid similarly, and virtually every head football coach at a Division I school that competes in a major conference is being paid more than the sum of the salaries of coaches for women's teams at that school.

What Will Change?

The question then becomes, what changes must take place to the existing culture of the leadership in collegiate athletics to become more inclusive of women and result in a ratio of female athletic administrators that is roughly equal to the percentage of female athletes who are listed on collegiate varsity rosters? Will the current number of female collegiate athletes simply produce enough candidates that future openings in athletic administration are filled by an equal number of men and women (or at least a ratio equal to male and female athletes), or will it take further legislation to require that current hiring practices change? The numbers seem to be trending in the direction of a greater percentage of women coaching women's teams, but an increase from 42.4% to 43.4% over ten years is far from promising. Currently, men more frequently hire men as coaches, and more men than women hold the responsibility of making hiring decisions. Therefore, the answer appears to be that responsibility of hiring coaches of women's teams must be returned to women. When women have responsibility for hiring coaches, a larger percentage of female coaches are hired to lead women's collegiate teams. This, in turn, provides the female athletes on those teams with a greater number of female role-models in positions they might aspire to fill someday, which is

critical since the path to coaching and athletic administration for women is far different now than it was when women's athletics was run strictly by women prior to Title IX and under the leadership of the AIAW.

That model required a woman to become an educator first, and then to add coaching and/or athletic administration to her teaching responsibilities. Today, both male and female coaches are predominantly former athletes who moved into some form of coaching shortly after their days as an athlete ended. Future athletic administrators still come from the ranks of former coaches to a large extent, making it even more critical for women to achieve equity (or proportionality) in collegiate head-coaching positions. To a lesser degree, some athletic administrators are now hired based on completing an academic curriculum which specifically prepares them for a career in athletic administration, a trend which could help the current generation of female students prepare for a career in that area in the same way as their male classmates.

In academics, Title IX has had a positive and measureable impact on opportunities available to women. Not only women in the collegiate classroom, but also for women in the professional ranks and as collegiate educators and administrators. For example, in 2008 almost an identical number of women graduated from US medical schools as men, compared to 1972 when fewer than 10% of graduates from US medical school were women. Similarly, in 2005 49% of US law school graduates were women, increasing from only 5% in 1972. In science and engineering fields, women now represent 40% of the undergraduate degrees earned, and approximately 35% of those

earning a Ph.D. The average annual salary for women in science and engineering, however, still lags far behind their male counterparts, with women bringing home an average of \$71,845, while men receive \$86,214 (UCSD, 2011).

The changes that have taken place in collegiate athletics in the years since Title IX was adopted and the AIAW folded have evolved slowly and from a wide variety of contributing influences. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect a single recommendation or act of legislation to return women's collegiate athletics to an environment governed by women, for women. In the current model of women's athletics governed by the NCAA, more female athletes have an opportunity to compete on athletic teams than did past generations of women. But do numbers of athletes alone provide a measure of whether this is a "better" athletic experience for a greater number of female athletes? Additionally, the current NCAA male-dominated model discriminates against female coaches and administrators so thoroughly that the percentages of women in coaching and athletic administration are far removed from the ratio of female to male athletes. Progress by coaches and administrators would likely take decades (if not longer) to improve by any significant measure in the current system.

Should There Be Separate But Equal?

So what would a future look like where women's athletics is once again run by women with the primary focus being the best interest of female athletes? Would that future include the NCAA, but with changes to the NCAA structure that would significantly alter the current male dominance of both men's and women's sports? Or would that future see men's and women's sports separated into two different

governance organizations, each with the power to make decisions independently of each other, yet both charged with protecting the best interests of collegiate athletics? What if football and men's basketball became entities separate from the collegiate athletic department entirely? These two sports in particular have become so overwhelmingly dominated by television contracts, money, and the prospect of being a gateway to professional sports, they might be better served being run by business professionals. But even the vast majority of athletes in those two sports will not earn a living as professional athletes after college. Approximately 1.2% of men's NCAA basketball players who are graduating or leaving college will be drafted by the National Basketball Association (NBA), and about .03% (roughly 3 out of every 10,000) of male high school seniors playing varsity basketball will eventually be drafted by NBA teams. Similarly, about 1.6% of male athletes whose collegiate football careers have ended will be drafted by the National Football League (NFL), and about .08% of high school seniors playing football will eventually be drafted by the NFL (NCAA.ORG).

An Example Of Dollars And Football

In Division I in particular, the number of dollars needed to operate and the number of dollars generated by football and men's basketball make it difficult to argue in favor of separating them from the rest of the athletic department. The University of Michigan, for example, has a football program that is one of the oldest and most successful (by the measure of male athletics) in the country. During the 2014-15 academic year, the Michigan football team generated revenues for the school's athletic department totaling \$91 million, or 58% of the \$157.9 million in revenue produced by

the University of Michigan athletic department that year. It cost \$27 million to run the Michigan football team, meaning the program contributed around \$64 million to the operation of the 29 other varsity teams at Michigan. The sum of ticket sales for all athletic home events at Michigan was \$51 million in 2014-15, with \$46 million coming from the six home games played at Michigan Stadium by the football team. The other revenue-producing program for Michigan is men's basketball, which contributed \$14 million in revenue to the department, while requiring \$7 million to operate (Svoboda, 2015). More than thirty years after the fall of the AIAW, women's collegiate athletics continues to be run predominantly by men, using a model of governance designed for men, yet there are still no female sports that attract the number of spectators or generate the number of dollars as football and men's basketball.

If nothing else, these numbers reiterate a concern expressed nearly 90 years ago by Howard Savage, that collegiate athletics had become too commercial and more concerned with marketing the school's name than the future success and wellbeing of its student-athletes. Instead of returning the game to the athletes, as Savage suggested, Michigan (and other similar NCAA Division I athletic departments) now produces around \$1 million of revenue for every boy on the basketball team, and about \$750,000 for each football player. These revenues help to fund the athletic scholarships of the other varsity teams on campus, but they don't guarantee the academic success of the athletes who will not go on to earn millions as professional athletes. In fact, the NCAA has instituted minimum requirements for graduation rates in direct response to the number of football and men's basketball players choosing to leave college before earning their

degree. One season after the University of Connecticut men's basketball team won the men's NCAA Tournament championship in 2014, the team was ineligible to compete in the 2015 post-season tournament, and defend its title, because of its failure to meet the NCAA's minimum graduation requirements.

Dr. Zimbardo's Discussion Of Heroes

In the final chapter of Dr. Zimbardo's book, *The Lucifer Effect*, he turns his discussion from the potential evil that can come from people being placed in a bad or negative situation, to examining forces that resist situational influences and produce heroism and heroes. In Dr. Zimbardo's words: "The ascent into goodness, rather than the descent into evil". He begins by defining the three key elements of situational influence – Person, Situation, and System.

The Person is an actor on the stage of life whose behavioral freedom is informed by his or her makeup – genetic, biological, physical, and psychological. The Situation is the behavioral context that was the power, through its reward and normative functions, to give meaning and identity to the actor's role and status. The System consists of the agents and agencies whose ideology, values, and power create situations and dictate the roles and expectations for approved behaviors within its spheres of influence.

In the case of Dr. Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment, the guards and prisoners were the people, the prison experiment was the situation, and Dr. Zimbardo himself was the system.

Dr. Zimbardo continues by providing examples of people who resisted the influences of the situation in which they found themselves, emerging as heroes for the positive impact they had on the lives of others – often in the face of tremendous

personal risk. Specific to the Stanford Prison Experiment and the Abu Ghraib abuses were the people who caused these situations to end. In Palo Alto, that hero was Christina Maslach, whose reaction to observing the Stanford Prison led to its almost immediate termination, but her actions also held personal risk because of her relationship with Dr. Zimbardo. In Iraq, the hero turned out to be Army Reserve specialist Joe Darby, who delivered a CD containing images of the many abuses at Abu Ghraib to the Army's Criminal Investigation Division. In a system that often requires military service members to follow orders without question, Darby's personal ethics wouldn't allow him to witness the abuses at Abu Ghraib without making someone outside the prison aware of what was going on inside.

Among his many examples, Dr. Zimbardo also includes the details of the heroism of Richard Rescorla, the director of security in Morgan Stanley's World Trade Center (WTC) offices in New York City. A decorated Vietnam veteran, Rescorla defied WTC authorities on September 11, 2001, and organized the evacuation of Morgan Stanley employees from 30 floors, rather than following the order to remain in their offices. When WTC Tower 2 collapsed, Rescorla and five other Morgan Stanley employees were killed, but more than 2,800 employees exited the building before the collapse and were saved. Rescorla made the ultimate personal sacrifice, against the orders of authorities with whom he worked on a daily basis, to save the lives of nearly 3,000 men and women whose names are now not inscribed on the memorial monument that stands where the World Trade Center towers use to stand.

While Dr. Zimbardo praises the undeniable heroism of people like Nelson Mandela and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., there are examples of sports heroes who changed the complexion of two major sports, baseball and football, not mentioned in Dr. Zimbardo's book. Branch Rickey's ability to hire Jackie Robinson to be the first African American athlete to play in professional baseball's major league was met with both criticism and skepticism, but ultimately Rickey and Robinson both became heroes for paving the way for future African American athletes to play professional baseball. The situation of racial prejudice that was prevalent in American culture in the 1940s made Rickey's decision unpopular with many white baseball fans, and the prejudices Robinson endured on the playing field as well as during the team's travels proved challenging for both men. Their heroism in the face of bigotry changed baseball from a game played by white men only, to the international and multi-ethnic game it is today. Their personal sacrifice reached beyond the sport of baseball, creating a system that now allows athletes of any race and from every corner of the globe to pursue a career on an American professional sports team.

Somewhat more controversial are the contributions of Paul "Bear" Bryant to the desegregation of collegiate football. Bear Bryant was the head coach of the football team at the University of Alabama during a time in US history when racial segregation and Civil Rights were highly contentious issues. Throughout the 1960s Bryant's Alabama teams went from winning national championships with an all-white roster, to finishing the 1969 season with a 6-5 record and the press calling for Bryant's resignation. At the time, many believed the decline in Alabama's football program was due to Bryant's

blatant racism and refusal to recruit black athletes to play football at Alabama. After all, Bryant had been raised in Alabama during a time when the Civil War was still a recent memory and segregation between blacks and whites was a fact of life. We now know, however, that the governor of Alabama at that time, George Wallace, threatened to virtually close down the University of Alabama if he learned that Bryant was recruiting black athletes. History will remember George Wallace as one of the most outspoken and openly racist politicians of any era, and as the governor of Alabama, he wielded tremendous power over the university.

In his book "I remember Paul "Bear" Bryant", Al Browning writes:

Bear Bryant was very instrumental in changing how Alabama thought not just about black football players but how they thought about African Americans in general. His self-sacrifice paved the way for African American students to attend college and to earn a degree and better their life. Without Bryant many people think that the covert racism that many blacks faced in those days would have continued to perpetrate, and would have slowed the civil rights movement and advances for all minorities. Although many people don't think of Bear Bryant as a civil rights leader, in some ways he was one, for the advances in football he made. He gave many African Americans opportunities that they otherwise wouldn't have had the chance to have. For all the wrong that was racism in the south, Bear Bryant was one individual who stood up against it and defied society in the south.

As powerful and influential as Bryant was in the state of Alabama, he was no match for Wallace. So, as the decade of the 1960s came to a close and Bryant continued to watch talented black high school athletes from the state of Alabama leave to play college football elsewhere, he devised a plan with his good friend John McKay that would force Governor Wallace to recognize the benefit of having black athletes play college football in Alabama. Bryant and McKay had each won national championships

during the 1960s, and for the opening game of the 1970 season, Bryant invited McKay to bring his University of Southern California team to play in Alabama. McKay's USC team listed several very talented black athletes, while Bryant's 1970 roster was once again all white. Alabama lost to USC 42-21 to open the 1970 season, in large part due to the 150 yards and three touchdowns scored by black running back Sam Cunningham, but throughout the game it was clear that USC was the better team. The following year, 1971, Alabama gave scholarships to two black football players, and by 1973, almost one third of the Alabama roster was made up of black athletes. Bryant endured years of personal criticism when it was the system of racial prejudice at the highest level of Alabama state politics that wouldn't allow him to recruit black athletes to play football at Alabama. He then worked within the system of college football to find a situation that facilitated the change he knew was right, just, and in the best interest of the future of college sports. The integration of black athletes into the University of Alabama football team not only impacted the roster of the Alabama football team, but opened the door to athletes in many other sports throughout the Southeast Conference.

Throughout American history, the struggle for women's rights has been impacted, and at times interrupted, by the fight for civil rights. The women's suffrage movement that was gaining momentum in the 1840s and 1850s fought desperately to earn the right for women to vote. When the Civil War occupied the attention of our nation in the 1860s, political issues specific to women were no longer a priority, and it took almost 60 years for women to regain the political influence that led to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment (giving women the right to vote) in August of 1920.

Similarly, the 1940s and 1950s were a time when the traditional roles of women were being redefined. The National Organization of Women (NOW) and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) were an important part of the landscape of the 1960s and 1970s, but Civil Rights were even bigger. Perhaps it was that the Civil Rights movement had a charismatic and identifiable leader in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., while none of the women's leaders of that time reached that stature, or maybe it was simply that more people were more passionate about the issues surrounding Civil Rights. Whatever the reason, and in spite of the gains made by women at that time (i.e. – Roe vs. Wade in 1973), the fight for Civil Rights once again overshadowed the efforts of women to gain equality in American culture.

Dr. Zimbardo makes it clear that heroes can come in many forms as the result of a wide variety of events and situations. In virtually every country, the military awards special distinction to those whom they believe have acted in a heroic manner. Dr. Zimbardo also points to historic figures such as Achilles and Socrates as heroes (one military, one civic) who were well known in their time, but became names people will remember for millennia because of their heroic actions. In Dr. Zimbardo's opinion, even more heroic are those who never intended to be placed in a heroic situation, those who found themselves in a situation that called for action, and as a result of their action the lives of others were changed forever. Sometimes, that event involves a disaster like the attack on the World Trade Center in New York, while at other times the event can simply be voicing a reaction to seeing college boys shackled together with bags over

their heads. These acts of heroism in the face of necessity transform common people into heroes who positively impact the lives of many others.

The Dollars And The Madness

College sports in America are bigger than ever, enlists more athletes than ever, and are seen by more fans than ever on an increasing array of media outlets. Saturday afternoon football games are attended by more than 100,000 fans and watched by millions on television. The men's NCAA basketball tournament is so popular that it has become synonymous with an entire month – March Madness. And thanks to advances in technology, those of us who no longer live on or near the campus we attended, can watch virtually every home event for every sport offered by our alma matter's athletic department. But what about the athletes who comprise those rosters and who train for their sport and who wear the uniform that represents the school at which they are enrolled? Is the current system of collegiate sports being administered by the NCAA enhancing the life and the collegiate experience of the individual athlete? That was, first and foremost, the number one priority for the leaders of the AIAW, but it is clear by its policies and actions that the NCAA places very little value on the individual student-athlete and their success or failure in the classroom.

When I first began researching for this dissertation, I believed I would be focusing on the impact Title IX had on women in every aspect of college athletics – athletes, coaches, administrators, and even officials. I was certain if I looked deep enough, I could find a path that would lead to a model for women's athletics that benefited women in every area of collegiate sports – the answer had to be there

somewhere, if I only looked hard enough. Instead, what I discovered is a system of administering collegiate athletics that would be to the benefit of both men and women, but is not currently being implemented. Perhaps it isn't fair to say all men and all women would benefit, but the overwhelming majority would. The NCAA is a corporation and collegiate athletics is its business. As a result, the values that drive NCAA policy and decision making have less to do with academics (how do college basketball players take the entire month of March off from school and still pass their classes?), and more to do with a business model designed to sell sports to sports consumers. Athletes come and go from the most high profile NCAA sports so quickly (men's NCAA basketball players are only required to attend one year of college before electing to become a professional), that completing a four-year undergraduate degree becomes secondary to maintaining athletic eligibility.

The NCAA model is contrary to the type of college environment that works to ensure the academic success of its students, and views athletics as simply an extension of a well-rounded collegiate education. At its heart, Title IX is about ensuring that every college student be provided with the same opportunities as others, regardless of gender. In essence, Title IX is more closely aligned with the principles of the AIAW (and its predecessors) than with the NCAA. Title IX protects the rights of the individual college student over the institution, much like the AIAW promoted educational principles first, with athletic accomplishment as a secondary goal. As it stands today, the identity of collegiate athletics as it is being administered by the NCAA is in crisis. On one hand, the NCAA has a multi-billion dollar entertainment business that exploits the

athletic talents of a few college athletes, while catering to the demand placed on it by millions of viewers and ticket buyers. On the other hand, the NCAA continues to maintain ownership of most collegiate sports and their national championships, which include hundreds of thousands of student-athletes who are driven to compete because of their love for their sport.

It isn't reasonable to expect modern collegiate athletics to change to the model used by women's athletics prior to the formation of the AIAW in 1972. Play dates and telegraphic swimming meets would seem insulting to the current generation of collegiate athletes (both male and female) who now live in a competitive environment that has evolved far beyond those practices. However, the principles which governed the leadership of the AIAW from 1972 to 1982, and held the best interest of the individual student/athlete at heart, would clearly benefit the overwhelming majority of current collegiate athletes, at every division of the NCAA and regardless of gender. The principle of education being the first priority in selecting a college would benefit every athlete who will not earn a living in professional sports, but instead will use their completed degree to be successful in an increasingly competitive and global job market. Similarly, adopting the AIAW's focus on success in the classroom over athletic success would help influence athletes to hold their academic performance in higher regard than scoring goals or touchdowns.

The time is right for the system of collegiate sport to change, but that change will require heroes, heroes with the vision to see what Howard Savage warned about 90 years ago, and with the courage to work in the best interest of the student-athlete.

With the volume of money at stake, the NCAA will certainly work to protect its interests in collegiate football and basketball, but virtually every other college sport would be enhanced by governance from an organization whose primary goal was advancing the academic career of the student-athlete, while also providing a competitive environment for those athletes to pursue their passion for their sport. Simply put, the best way to move college sports into the future is to break up the NCAA and redefine the rules of governance. The resulting structure must be designed with the best-interest of the individual student/athlete as the primary function, rather than protecting the interests of the institutions, conferences, and corporate partners.

Who will be the heroes to lead the change? In the same way Dr. Zimbardo couldn't see that his project had gone off track and needed a voice from outside that "system" before he could see the project needed to be terminated, those who have a vested interest in the current model of the NCAA can't see that the majority of college athletes at US colleges and universities would benefit from an athlete-centered system of governance. The existing model that promotes institutions, month-long championship tournaments worth billions of dollars in television revenues, and a football post-season in Division I that has failed to adopt a playoff system for decades due to the influence of bowl games that pay millions of dollars to the schools who attend, is the opposite of athlete-centered. Take, for example, any school that hopes its men's basketball team will be successful in the NCAA tournament. In the 64-team format, the first round of games began on a Thursday, but with the format expanded to

68 teams, the first games now begin earlier in the week, with two games played on Tuesday and another two on Wednesday.

UConn Men's Basketball – NCAA Champs To NCAA Ineligible

When the University of Connecticut men won the NCAA Basketball Tournament in 2014, their first week consisted of a first-round game on Thursday in Buffalo, New York, for which the team would have travelled from Connecticut on Tuesday. The members of the UConn team attended class only on Monday of that week. After winning on Thursday, Connecticut played again on Saturday, returning to campus sometime on Sunday. The following week, their Sweet-Sixteen game was on Thursday in New York City, requiring the same travel commitment as the prior week, so again athletes might have attended class on Monday, but were absent for the remainder of the week. After winning in the Sweet-Sixteen round, the Huskies played again on Saturday, and again returned to Storrs on Sunday. Having made the Final-Four in Arlington, Texas, Connecticut might have stayed on campus Monday and Tuesday, but the media events that surround the Final-Four required the team to travel by Wednesday at the latest for a game to be played on Saturday.

At this point, in a best-case scenario, the student-athletes on the UConn men's basketball team might have attended class on four days in three weeks. After winning on Saturday, the team advanced to the championship game, which is held in prime-time on Monday night to maximize television revenues. That game begins around 9:00pm and concludes around 11:30pm (Eastern Time), and after winning the championship game it is reasonable to expect that the team did not fly back to Connecticut until later

in the day on Tuesday. Add a campus wide celebration for the team upon their return to the list of distractions for the UConn athletes, and at best they might have attended class two days that week, meaning those who attended class every day possible went to class on six days in the four-week period from March 17 to April 11. When you add to that the days missed toward the end of February and in early March to attend the Big-East Conference tournament, it becomes easy to see why the Connecticut men failed to meet the academic standards to remain eligible for the tournament the following year. The only real question is, how does any team that competes for several weeks during March-Madness protect the academic success of their athletes, when the schedule for the event is structured only for the purpose of maximizing the NCAA's television income?

Clearly, then, our heroes are not likely to come from within the NCAA. There is, however, a model for the governance of collegiate athletics that promotes academic success while also cultivating an environment where athletes can be successful in their chosen sport. This model began with the predecessors of the DGWS and continued with the AIAW from 1972 until it closed its doors in 1982. In this model of collegiate athletics, high school seniors select a college or university to attend primarily based on the academic programs the school offers, while also considering if the athletic programs offered by that school's athletic department allow him/her to continue participating in their sport. For athletes and non-athletes alike, the goal of a college education is to provide a gateway to a career that will last for decades after graduation, so for approximately 99.9% of US college students, their academic success should be their

highest priority. As a result, the leadership necessary to move collegiate athletics back to a system that encourages academic growth and success first must come from those in positions of leadership on the academic side of campus – university presidents, vice presidents, and leaders within the faculty.

A Proposed Model For Change

Much like a corporation with a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) who reports to a Board of Directors, the president of a university is the CEO of that institution, typically reporting to a Board of Trustees. Beneath every university president are vice presidents responsible for a variety of different aspects of that school's daily operation, and below that are the deans of various schools or departments on campus and the faculty who comprise those departments. Whether they report directly to the president, or to a vice president of student affairs (or another similar office), the Athletic Director at an institution reports to a superior whose office is housed on the academic side of campus. Ultimately, the direction for the change needed to restructure college athletics must begin with university presidents, but smaller steps can be taken within the academic structure of each school to provide leadership that demonstrates to the athletes and coaches that the institution has a vested interest in the academic success of every student.

Our heroes, then, must be academic leaders who are willing to challenge the present structure of the NCAA and work to institute change. University presidents hire and fire athletic directors, and university presidents must eventually be charged with setting the academic standards for those students who compete in collegiate sports, the

same way they are expected to uphold the standards of their university for the entire student-body. The process, however, can begin at positions within each university below the president's office, by implementing academic support for collegiate athletes that demonstrates the university's commitment to the academic success of athletes in every sport, while recognizing that the demands on an athlete's time are different than those of a non-athlete. This structure of academic support to the athletics department has been implemented to various degrees at schools across every division of the NCAA, but there are currently no formal standards or expectations that a school must provide these resources to the athletic department. The National Association of Academic Advisors for Athletics (N4A) is a national organization whose membership are those within a university community who provide academic support to a school's varsity athletes. The vast majority of these support positions are currently employed within a school's athletic department and, therefore, report to the athletic director. Such academic support positions would be far more credible if their direction came from a position within the academic administration of the institution. The academic success of a school's students, all students, can only truly be guided by those whose first priority is academics.

The question remains, however, what path will these academic leaders take to institute meaningful and lasting change to the NCAA's control over collegiate athletics and collegiate athletes? First, there must be the organized creation of a movement that begins dialogue on the topic of NCAA reform, and establishes momentum for others to join the cause. Within the current structure of the NCAA and college athletics, the

highest probability for success would be a coordinated effort by the university presidents of a major athletic conference like the South East Conference (SEC) or the Big Ten. These conferences and their individual schools have extremely high-profile athletic programs and an attempt by an organized group of university presidents from one of these “major” conferences would attract attention from both the media and other high-ranking collegiate administrators.

Within the Big Ten Conference structure, for example, is a group called the Council of Presidents and Chancellors (COP/C) which “holds ultimate authority and responsibility for Big Ten Conference governance. All policy is decided at the COP/C level, including the conference office annual budget and all other financial matters. Other responsibilities of the COP/C include, but are not limited to, hiring and determining duties of the Big Ten Commissioner, enforcing conference rules, agreements, appendices and bylaws, amending or repealing bylaws and admitting new institutions into membership (<http://www.bigten.org/genrel/071311aaa.html>).” Currently, the COP/C, which lists 14 members, is comprised of ten men and four women and holds two annual meetings each year.

As an example of this group’s policy-making abilities, at its annual meeting in December of 2014, the COP/C approved a recommendation to establish enhanced concussion protocols for Big Ten athletes. These enhanced concussion protocols were incorporated into the conference-wide concussion management policy and included reporting requirements, disciplinary action for non-compliance, and the use of independent neutral athletic trainers in the evaluation of an athlete’s ability to rejoin

his/her team for practice and competition. The evaluation and treatment of concussions is a topic that has recently received a great deal of media attention, in large part due to a high-profile legal battle between the NFL and the football player's union over what responsibility the NFL has for professional football players who suffer debilitating injuries as the result of concussions suffered while playing football. Clearly, public discussion on the topic of concussions led the Big Ten's COP/C to act on behalf of the best interest of athletes who participate on Big Ten teams in sports where an athlete could suffer a concussion.

With this collection of university presidents and chancellors already charged with oversight of athletics in the Big Ten Conference, the next step is to find one (or more) members of the group to champion the cause of reforming the conference's relationship with the NCAA. While each of the current 14 members of the Big Ten's COP/C hail from a wide variety of academic backgrounds, each holding Ph.D.'s in their respective fields, they also possess the leadership qualities to have risen to the positions they hold at their respective universities. Collectively, these leaders of institutions that make up one of the strongest collections of academic institutions, who have been grouped for athletic purposes, carry significant influence in collegiate athletics. If this group were to initiate an effort to prioritize academic performance by all student/athletes, other similar groups and conferences would be sure to follow.

In the same way Dr. Carole Oglesby and her successors in the AIAW worked heroically to establish a lasting model of collegiate athletics that held to that organization's morals and principles, what if our new hero came from the ranks of the

Big Ten's COP/C to champion the initiative to change the Big Ten's relationship with the NCAA. For example, Dr. Lou Anna K. Simon, currently the President of Michigan State University and a current Big Ten COP/C member, is a past chair of the NCAA's Executive Committee. Among her many other affiliations, she now chairs the Association of American Universities, a group of 62 leading U.S. and Canadian research universities focused on issues of concern, including research funding, research and education policy, and graduate and undergraduate education. With her ties to the NCAA and her well documented efforts to improving collegiate education, access to education, and her commitment to applying knowledge to benefit society and further the global common good, Dr. Simon would have the credibility needed to move a discussion of change forward. Working in cooperation with other members of the Big Ten's COP/C, Dr. Simon could draft a resolution to be presented at a future annual meeting. After discussion by the COP/C members and Executive Committee, the resolution could be passed and implemented in much the same way as the measure on enhanced concussion protocols. The timeframe for change of this magnitude would very likely be measured in years rather than months, but like any movement to institute change, the critical element is creating the momentum needed to build a following with the resources and commitment to affect that change. It will take a leader with Dr. Simon's stature to be the hero who moves the leadership of the Big Ten Conference (for example) down the path of meaningful academic reform in athletics.

The End-Goal

In the end, the ultimate goal of this reform may not be a return to separate but equal. In the climate of today's collegiate athletics, some of the old standards and ideals by which the AIAW operated may not reflect the current ambitions of female collegiate athletes. What is in the best interest of the collegiate athlete may be evolving in the same way that cultural norms change from generation to generation. Today in the United States women can vote, people of the same gender can be married, and children can be born to parents with different skin colors and cultural backgrounds without being persecuted. The logical evolution of collegiate athletics is toward a system that is far more representative of the population of athletes than what currently exists in collegiate coaching and administration. Much like the goal of Title IX was proportionality in the classroom and in participation, having a proportion of coaches and administrators roughly equal to the proportion of athletes would infuse college sports with a diversity of ideas and ideals that could more evenly balance the varying needs and goals of all athletes – male and female.

The AIAW and its predecessors were driven to govern women's collegiate athletics using a model that had been handed down from generations of female physical educators who held to the principle that athletics could enhance the educational experience for college women, but who never imagined that athletics would be given a higher priority than academic performance. At the same time, the NCAA charted a different course for collegiate athletics for men, recognizing there was interest within American culture for athletic rivalries between schools, a growing desire to attend large-

scale athletic events, and eventually to watch those events on television (and now streaming online) by the millions. When Title IX mandated that women have the same opportunities as men in every aspect of collegiate life, battle lines were drawn between the NCAA and the AIAW over which organization would be best suited to lead women's athletics. The fundamental problem with that conflict was that the AIAW's model wasn't only better for women, it was better for all collegiate athletes, with the exception of the very few who use collegiate athletics as a gateway to a career as a professional athlete. In short, the AIAW was right, but the far-reaching influence and the enormous wealth of the NCAA eventually crushed the AIAW, forcing every athlete, both male and female, to operate within the NCAA's system. And while some would argue that female participation in collegiate athletics has increased dramatically under the NCAA's watch, a closer look shows that the most dramatic increases actually came during the tenure of the AIAW, which created the momentum for women's sports to continue to grow in spite of the NCAA, not as a result of the NCAA. Perhaps the most telling example of the NCAA's attitude toward women in sport is the number of positions in coaching and the administration of athletics that are held today by men, compared to those held by women.

The academic success of Title IX can be seen in the graduation statistics of both undergraduate and graduate programs across the US. Only when athletics is governed in the same way as academics, with the same priorities, will women finally be given opportunities that are the same as the opportunities given to men. Only when university presidents take control of athletics at every level of collegiate sport will the

intent of Title IX finally be realized, and “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.”

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VITA

VITA

I arrived at Purdue in the fall of 2000 after spending 15 years working as a computer programmer and coaching the men's and women's club water polo teams at the University of Michigan. I had been successful in elevating the Michigan women's water polo team from club to varsity status, but had not been offered the job as the team's first varsity coach. Initially, my goals for attending Purdue included earning a Masters degree in Kinesiology to better position myself to become a varsity water polo coach. I soon began coaching the Purdue club water polo teams, taking over for my good friend Bill Wood who had recently passed away.

During my first year on campus, Dr. William (Bill) Harper gave me an opportunity to be involved in the planning for a new summer program at Purdue called the National Youth Sports Program (NYSP). Using my background as a computer programmer, I started as the camp's resident computer-geek, but was eventually given a chance to be involved in virtually every aspect of the program. Through my involvement with the NYSP program and my experience with professors like Bill Harper, Tom Templin, Rosanne Lyle, Bonnie Blankenship, and Dave Klenosky, I changed my goals and targeted a career as a collegiate educator.

When I first decided on a topic for my Masters project, I was intent on exposing all of the flaws and inequities in Title IX. After all, I had been personally involved in Michigan's effort to become compliant with Title IX, but then lost my coaching position with the team I had created to a female candidate with no meaningful prior coaching experience. My research, however, led me to become an advocate for Title IX, but a sceptic of the NCAA. I found the intent of Title IX to be sound, but the enforcement by the NCAA to be inconsistent and arbitrary.

After completing my Masters degree and taking a year to coach water polo at Harvard, I returned to Purdue intent on completing my Ph.D. and following in the footsteps of Bill Harper and others. I continued my studies, designed and implemented research that included my interest in NYSP, and taught a variety of undergraduate classes to prepare for a future career as a professor. In the spring of 2006, my wife was given a career opportunity that moved our family from Indiana to Connecticut. Initially, I had hoped to be able to complete my Ph.D. remotely from Connecticut, but I did not maintain the appropriate focus and after several semesters away from West Lafayette I terminated my enrollment at Purdue.

Two years ago in the fall of 2013, I contacted Bill Harper to see if there was any chance that a path might exist which could lead to the completion of my Ph.D. I suspect Bill had to pull more than a few strings on my behalf, but he and I decided on a topic for a dissertation and set in motion the process that has resulted in the content of this paper. We decided to dive even deeper into Title IX and with every draft I submitted Bill helped me refine and focus my efforts, always working toward the goal of helping me

complete my degree. We haven't seen each other in over nine years, but I can safely and without hesitation say that I owe my degree to Bill Harper, his vision, his wisdom, and his mentorship. Bill – Thank you.