A FEMININIST CRITIQUE OF CONTINUING COACHING AND ADMINISTRATIVE INEQUALITIES AFTER TITLE IX IMPLEMENTATION

by<br>Eryn Elizabeth Rothenberg<br>A Thesis<br>Submitted to the<br>Graduate Faculty<br>of<br>George Mason University<br>in Partial Fulfillment of<br>The Requirements for the Degree<br>of<br>Master of Science<br>Sport and Recreation Studies

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at George Mason University

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my loving family who has been by my side throughout this entire writing process. To my mom and dad, Libby and "H" Rothenberg, thank you for believing in me and supporting the decisions that I make, and for always teaching me that with hard work comes great success. To my brother, Ryan, thank you for always being there to listen and continuing to encourage me. And to the rest of my family, thank you for your ideas, your suggestions, your input, and your support not only through the writing of this thesis but throughout my entire life. I love you all very much.

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#### Abstract

\section*{A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF CONTINUING COACHING AND ADMINISTRATIVE INEQUALITIES AFTER TITLE IX IMPLEMENTATION}

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This thesis describes how Title IX has contributed to the progress in women's sports and female participation numbers at all levels since its implementation in 1972. However, while the law has contributed to increased participation on the playing field, Title IX has not generated similar opportunities for women in coaching and upper level administrative positions in sport. The areas that are examined in this thesis are women's experiences in coaching and athletic administration, and the policies that shape the opportunities available to them. A detailed analysis was conducted pertaining to the case of Stanley $v$. The University of Southern California with the intention of identifying barriers that women face when working in the sport industry. Finally, based on the surveyed literature, as well as this case study, suggestions are offered for improving opportunities for women both on and off the playing field.


## CHAPTER ONE

## Justification/Rationale

I have been involved in sport all my life, particularly basketball. Sport participation began for me at a young age, playing on local YMCA teams and in different organizations that offered basketball clinics in the area. My participation in basketball continued into middle school and high school. While I did not play at the college level, I had the opportunity to work with my university's women's basketball team as well as the professional women's basketball team nearby as a manager and intern, respectively. Looking back at all of these sport-related experiences, I realize the options available to me would have been limited without the implementation of Title IX. Women’s sports existed before Title IX; however, the opportunities were minimal and the statistics of women players dismal by today's standards.

People often use the terms equity and equality interchangeably; however, there are important distinctions between the two in regards to Title IX. Equity involves understanding and giving people what they need to enjoy their lives. In contrast, equality is the goal to ensure that everyone gets the same things in order to enjoy their lives. In relation to Title IX, both terms could be used; however, because Title IX aims to give women the opportunities they need in order to live their lives in sports equity goes hand
in hand. Equality would be ideal for both men and women in sports, because it too promotes fairness and justice. However, not all male and female athletes need exactly the same items to fully live their life in sports ("Distinguish between Equity," n.d.).

Throughout the history of the United States, there have always been issues with inequity and inequality. Civil rights has been at the forefront on many government policies. The Brown v. Board of Education case, as decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1954, ruled that all public institutions (including schools) divided by race, whether equal or not, were no longer constitutional. President John F. Kennedy (as cited in Rhine, 2005) took it upon himself to expand the opportunities for people of color as well as women during the 1960s and made this quite clear in his 1963 Civil Rights speech stating that, "The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated." It is these dates, speeches, and movements that ultimately laid the path to the creation of Title IX (Rhine, 2005).

President Richard Nixon signed Title IX into law in 1972 as a part of the Education Amendments. While the focus of Title IX mandated equal opportunity in the area of education (Heuben, 2003), it would soon become apparent after its creation that the new law would not only have an affect on education, but also have a large impact on sports. Title IX states that, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under an education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" as cited in Title IX Turns 40: A Brief History And Look Forward (Buchanan, 2012). While this
statement does not specifically mention athletics, Title IX has required equal accommodation and treatment for women at both the interscholastic and intercollegiate levels of sport (Mitten, Davis, Shropshire, Obsborne, \& Smith, 2013) and over time has changed women's professional sport as well.

The number of females participating in sports today has increased dramatically since the implementation of Title IX 42 years ago. According to recent statistics, 4,494,406 boys and 3,173,549 girls are participating in different sports at the high school level (Pauline, 2012, p. 4). At the collegiate level, there are close to nine women's teams, on average, per school with a total around 200,000 intercollegiate athletes, the highest number in history. The 2012 Summer Olympics in London took place in the same year as the $40^{\text {th }}$ anniversary of Title IX; more female athletes participated than in any other Olympic Games in history—nearly 5,000 women from more than 200 nations. U.S. Olympic Committee chief executive Scott Blackmun (as cited in Pauline, 2012, p. 4) recently stated that, "Title IX really gave the U.S. a head start in having a national commitment to make sure that young women are getting an opportunity to be involved in sport."

## High School Women's Sports

Since the implementation of Title IX, the growth of girls participating at the high school level of sport has been steady. Prior to 1972, a mere 7.5\% of high school athletes were female. Today, this number is almost five times higher at 39.5\% (Lyons, 2006). At first, it was difficult for females to see the difference that Title IX had made beyond the establishment of teams, in areas such as facilities, lockers, and travel accommodations
(Owens, Smothers, \& Love, 2003). Title IX went beyond requiring the same opportunities or "teams" for both girls and boys. Title 34 of the Code of Federal Regulations, also implemented in 1972, has to be considered when determining if there are equal opportunities in athletics for both genders (Lyons, 2006, p. 6) reports these Title 34 factors:

1. Selection of sports and levels of competition that effectively accommodate the interests and abilities of members of both sexes;
2. The provision of equipment and supplies;
3. Scheduling of games and practice times;
4. Travel and per diem allowance;
5. Opportunity to receive coaching and academic tutoring;
6. Assignment and compensation of coaches and tutors;
7. Provision of locker rooms, practice, and competitive facilities;
8. Provision of medical and training facilities and services;
9. Provision of housing and dining facilities and services;
10. Publicity.

With the implementation of Title IX at the high school level, girls have a chance to participate in physical activities that they enjoy and at which they can excel. Athletics provides a structured activity, which can help prevent delinquent tendencies in adolescent females (Cahn, 1994). Before Title IX, when a female participated in a sport, it was not with professional aspirations; it was solely for recreational and possibly fitness goals (Cahn, 1994). Today, that is not the case, with the number of females playing sports in
college; young girls can participate at the high school level knowing playing sports can assist with financing a college education. High school sports have not only given girls a chance to participate in activities that they love, but it has also given many the chance to further their education.

## College Women's Sports

At the collegiate level, women have greatly increased participation in sport as a result of Title IX. In 1972, only $15.6 \%$ of college athletes were female ("Empowering Women," 2005). Currently, this statistic has grown to more than $30 \%$ of college studentathletes. It is encouraging that the opportunity for women to play sports at the collegiate level has increased so much over the past 40 plus years. The following chart clearly shows this growth in the number of college female athletes since Title IX (Dusenbery \& Lee, 2012):


Figure 1 Female Athlete Numbers

However, at this level of competition, there is still inequity when comparing men's and women's sports. For example, the following graph highlights this discrepancy as expressed by the differences in median spending per athlete at NCAA Division I FBS schools (Dusenbery \& Lee, 2012).


Figure 2 Spending of FBS Schools

Equality in collegiate athletics, somewhat similar to that of high school athletics, would include equality of opportunity, equality of result, and equality of treatment (Mahony, Riemer, Breeding, \& Hums, 2006). Title IX, when applied to intercollegiate athletics, includes three broad areas: financial assistance to athletes; "other program areas" such as "treatment, benefits, and opportunities" for intercollegiate athletes; and "equal
opportunity (equally effective accommodation on the interests and abilities of male and female athletes)" (Anderson, Cheslock, \& Ehrenberg, 2006, p. 228). Title IX consists of a three-pronged test in regards to intercollegiate athletics. Part one of this test is often referred to as substantial proportionality. Intercollegiate athletic departments will pass this portion of the test if their men's and women's sports are "substantially proportionate" to their undergraduate enrollment numbers. Part two is referred to as history and coaching practice. Schools will satisfy this part of the three-pronged test if they have a history and continuing practice of expanding their program based on the developing interest, responsiveness, and abilities of the underrepresented sex, which more often than not tends to be female. And finally, part three of the three-pronged test is effectively accommodating interests and abilities. This prong is satisfied when a college or university is doing the best that they can to meet the abilities and interests of their female students, even if there are fewer females than males participating in sports (Anderson, Cheslock, \& Ehrenberg, 2006).

Like Title 34 for high schools, this three-pronged test is used to decide if colleges or universities are complying with the rules of Title IX. In order to satisfy Title IX requirements, a school must pass at least two out of the three parts. If a college or university does not comply, their federal funding could potentially be taken away (Christian, Stachowski, Ferden, \& Walter, 2004).

Similar to high school athletics, although not as common, having the opportunity to play sports in college has given some female athletes the opportunity to even further their playing time by participating in professional sports. While the number of females
going from college to professional sports is not great, it is more than it was prior to Title IX.

## Professional Women's Sports

While there has been increased participation of women at the high school and collegiate levels of competition, there has not been comparable participation rates in professional sport. There have been improvements, however. Today, we have a professional women's basketball league (WNBA); there have been the creation of two professional soccer leagues; the trials of professional softball; the growth of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA); and a significant amount of progress at the Olympic level. But, with these increased opportunities for women to compete at the professional level, there are still struggles. If professional women's sports are to grow, there are a few factors that author Val Ackerman (2011) says are key. The first is understanding the audience:

Women's sports leagues are operating in a customer-service environment. This means their leaders have to be knowledgeable about the types of fans most likely to turn out for their sport and creative about the best ways to reach them. For example, one might assume women's sports events would naturally attract female fans. This happens, but adult women are often too busy with professional and family obligations to attend entertainment events, including sports events, on any kind of regular basis. They might not even be interested in sports at all. Sports leagues need to adapt to this reality (e.g., through creative promotional, scheduling and ticket sales strategies) or look elsewhere for support (para. 9).

The next key factor is how important marketing and promotion are to professional women's leagues. Today, as Ackerman argues, main media outlets rarely cover women's sports, so the leagues themselves need to make sure they are promoting their offerings. Technology and social media have become very effective ways to do this. The third and final key, according to Ackerman, is the need to grow the organization base. In other words, it is important that more women assume executive leadership positions within different sport organizations. Not only should they assume positions within sports organizations, but also if women take ownership positions they could help shoulder the capital requirements. While the support of men's leagues has been helpful with the foundations of women's leagues, it is key for women's leagues to start doing things on their own (Ackerman, 2011).

## Summary

Despite the fact that there have been great advancements in female participation since the implementation of Title IX in 1972, the advancements in the coaching and upper level administrative roles for women has not been as great. As Gina Pauline (2012, p. 4) observes:

In today's society, as men still constitute the majority of decision makers with the industry, sport is still perceived as a primarily male domain. In the sport industry, which includes professions in marketing, finance, event management, facility management, communications, sales, law, and governance, women are underrepresented, are paid less, and are marginalized in the workplace. Women still do not have the same
opportunities to hold traditional male positions and upper management positions.

The increased opportunities for women to participate in sports from a young age all the way to the professional level have been tremendous. Despite the 37 words of Title IX making dreams come true for those women who participate in athletics, there is still room for more dreams to be made. As author Kelli Anderson (2012, p. 45) puts it in her recent article, "The Power of Play":

Still, there's work to do. Opportunities in high school have increased for both girls and boys, but girls have 1.3 million fewer chances to play. Many coaching jobs that once went to women are now claimed by men. Inequities in resources, and resistance to equal access for women, persist. But the benefits of Title IX, to women and to society, are almost incalculable. Girls who compete in sports get better grades, graduate at higher rates and have more confidence. The vast majority avoid unplanned pregnancies, drugs, obesity, depression and suicide. Two generations of female athletes -- who once could venture no closer than the sideline -have felt the adrenaline rush of competition, learned the value of teamwork, pushed themselves to their physical limits, then coped with the consequences of victory and defeat. They have earned recognition, received scholarships, inspired celebration -- even, yes, been drafted and made a living from their talent....

## Thesis Overview

This thesis examines those areas where there is room for females to advance in the sports industry; more specifically, in the roles of coaching and administration. The aforementioned chapter has served as an introduction to the broad area of interrelated issues concerning Title IX. Chapter Two offers a review of the literature in two areas. The first of these areas includes research about women in the coaching profession, a profession that is male dominated: specifically, female coaches in male sports, the decline in number of female coaches, and the difficulty of females obtaining coaching jobs. And, the second area examined in the review of literature is women in administrative roles in both colleges/universities and sports businesses. This particular area examines different roles that females are often given in athletic offices and how difficult it is to obtain an administrative job in the "good old boys" club (or male dominated world) of coaching. An explanation of different policies that have been put in place over time to create more gender equity and opportunity for women is supplied. Chapter Two also provides an overview of the theoretical paradigm I utilized in my analysis.

My method of analysis, a case study, is presented in Chapter Three. Chapter Four discusses policies that are in place in the NCAA while focusing on a single legal case, Stanley v. University of Southern California. The case study addresses issues affecting gender equity. This chapter also makes connections between different barriers that have been found in the review of literature, the policies that are in place in sports governing bodies and individual schools, as well as the specific case analyzed. From this context, I then offer recommendations on what can be improved or changed in order to give women
the opportunities they deserve in the coaching profession and in sports administration. Chapter Five provides a summary of the present research. In addition, I outline recommendations, based on my case study analysis, for increasing opportunities for women to coach and serve in administrative capacities.

## Statement of the Problem

Since the implementation of Title IX, the numbers of females participating in athletics has risen. However, rather than an increase in the number of women in coaching positions, there has been a dramatic decline. Title IX has failed to create more opportunities for women who wish to hold administrative positions in athletic departments.

## CHAPTER TWO

Women's sports have been inching towards equity in regards to participation on the playing field since the implementation of Title IX in 1972; but even with the great advancements in female sports made over the past 42 years, other opportunities for women to work in the sports industry have not caught up. Policies have been put in place in order to help achieve equity in sports, but even these policies have not made the changes they should. The two primary areas in which opportunities for women in sports are lacking are the coaching profession and sports administration.

## Coaching

"Good leadership is about the person and has little to do with gender," says Carol Meyrowitz (Jones, 2009). This quotation is key when looking at the role women have in the coaching profession. Despite this statement, it is commonly believed that men are better coaches; and many people, especially those that have not been close to female coaches, do not understand how a female could coach a group of athletes and be successful. However, this quote says it perfectly: it does not matter the gender of the person. A good leader is a good leader; a good coach is a good coach.

The data on the impact of Title IX on the number female coaches are grim.
Females have experienced a decline in coaching positions at all levels since 1972 when Title IX was made a part of the Education Amendments. Before 1972, more than $90 \%$ of head coaches of women's teams were women. As of 2014, more than 40 years after the passing of Title IX, this number had been more than cut in half to $43.4 \%$ of head coaches of women's teams, being women (Kilty, 2006). The following chart shows the difference in numbers between the percentage of teams coached by men and women since Title IX was passed (Dusenbery \& Lee, 2012):

Percentage teams coached by men
Percentage teams coached by women


Figure 3 Percentage of Male and Female Coaches

Below is a recently published report card by The Tucker Center for Research on Girls \& Women in Sport showing the status of women in collegiate coaching (LaVoi, 2014).


Figure 4 Report Card

This report examined 76 of the larger Football Bowl Subdivision athletic programs to determine the numbers of women head coaches who were coaching women's teams. Grades were then given to the schools based on the percentage of females coaching their teams. If a school had between 70-100 percent of women coaching female teams they received an A. If the percentage was between 69 and 55, they received a B. With a percentage between 54 and 40, the school received a C. If the percentage was between 39 and 25, they received a D. And anything below 24 percent received an F. With a majority of the schools receiving a C grade or below, it indicates that the number of women coaching women's athletics teams continues to decline (LaVoi, 2014) (at least in the FBS subdivision).

Women's college basketball is one of the leading female sports at the collegiate level. Examining this sport more specifically in regards to the percentage of female coaches, "women occupy 58.3\% of head coaching positions" (Walker \& SartoreBaldwin, 2012, p. 305). Outside of basketball, but among all college athletic teams, only 20.9\% of head coaches are female (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). Many different studies analyze this dramatic drop in numbers. One particular study, reviewed in the article "Gender Variations in Coaching Jobs," four sports (basketball, baseball, softball, and soccer) from eighteen schools in the NCAA were evaluated to determine the percentage of female coaches. These particular sports were chosen because they are the sports that have the most number of male and female participants at the intercollegiate level of participation. There were a total of 36 teams examined for this particular study.

Of these 36 teams, only 9 were coached by women, meaning that in some of the largest sports participated in by men and women at the collegiate level, only $25 \%$ of these 36 teams had coaches that are women (Ellis \& Masterson, 2007).

Though men do have opportunities to coach women's teams, there are limited opportunities for women to coach men's sports. In fact, the percentage of females coaching men's athletics is under 2\% and has been for the past three decades (Kilty, 2006, p. 223). Again, looking specifically at basketball, women possess a mere $0.01 \%$ of head coaching positions of men's collegiate basketball teams. While this number is extremely low, it does not mean that there are not women who have the interest and expertise to coach men's sports. However, those women who do want to coach men's sports often feel discriminated against. Men's basketball, as well as other sports, tend to be resistant to change because of the strong masculine culture that has been present in the sport since its creation. So when a woman tries to join in, she is often hit with discrimination because of the gender exclusivity that has and continues to occur (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). Ever since Title IX was implemented, the numbers of women participating in sport has significantly increased. So, an integral question is, why are females not coaching more (Kilty, 2006)? One possible answer to this question is money. Due to the increased importance of women's sports at the high school and collegiate levels, there are more financial resources associated with women's athletics and with more financial resources comes more interest from men in coaching women's athletic teams (Blom et al., 2011). Before Title IX, when there was not as much interest,
money in female sports was minimal and therefore men were not drawn to coaching a female team. As money became available, men became more interested in coaching women's sports. Since Title IX, women's sports have earned a new level of respect when it comes to college coaching jobs. Before Title IX, women's sports advocates just saw coaching as a chance to do something they enjoyed; but after 1972, this enjoyment was able to become a career. Not only did this open the door for women, but for men's assistant coaches who saw taking a women's coaching job as a way to make it to the top of the ladder quicker (Greenwell, 2012). Despite the increase in funding, coaches of women's teams are still paid significantly less than coaches of men's teams. In collegiate basketball, male coaches average $\$ 71,511$ while females average $\$ 39,177$. Some contend that this makes perfect sense due to the number of fans and interest that people have in men's sports compared to women's; but this difference in salaries holds true in femaledominated sports as well. For example, if a male is the head coach of a female gymnastics team, he is more often than not compensated at a higher level than a woman coaching that same gymnastics team ("Empowering Women," 2005).

Another barrier for women seeking coaching positions is a lack of female role models. According Christine Brennan (2013), a USA Today sportswriter: More than 40 years after Title IX opened the floodgates for women and girls to play sports, our universities are doing a terrible job of hiring women to coach women's sports. More and more, they are hiring men to coach women's teams, failing to give female athletes the professional opportunities they deserve after their playing days are over and, perhaps
just as important, failing to provide girls and women with female coaching role models so they might someday aspire to these jobs.

It is a concern that could be causing some disparity between male and female coaches (Ellis \& Masterson, 2007). Because there were limited opportunities for women in sport before Title IX, there is not a large network and resources for women to utilize (Kilty, 2006). A possible solution to this problem could be more college educational programs directed toward women who desire to coach. Included in this would be the hiring of female professors for sport management programs and collegiate athletic programs improving access for women into coaching positions by "placing jobs in female-friendly places such as women’s sports magazines" (Ellis \& Masterson, 2007, p. 61). Having females present in the educational setting, especially in programs relating to sport, will make clear to other females that there are opportunities for them. One important site for female role models is as coaches of girls and women's teams. When women have had their own female coaches, and if these coaches have an impact on them, it can generate interest among girls to become coaches in the future when their playing days have ended (Kilty, 2006).

In sports as a whole, there is the idea of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemony refers to the literal and ideological forces that hierarchically organize and structure individual lives and social practices. The hegemony theory has been adopted by research when studying inequities within the sport industry. Along with this idea is the notion that "masculinity is synonymous with sport" (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013, p. 304).

Walker and Sartore-Baldwin’s (2013) article, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the Institutionalized Bias Toward Women in Men’s Collegiate Basketball: What Do Men Think?," states:

In the locker room, on the floor, and in coaches-players relationships masculinity is often toughness, the idea of toughness, the idea of being a man, playing like a man. Those things are all prominent in college basketball and then on coaching staffs there is a locker room mentality environment that exists within the dynamics of a coaching staff. I have been to three different places and it has existed like that all three places. In my experience it has been a consistent thing, so to bring a woman into that type of masculine environment would be uncomfortable for a lot of men. Men would not want to do it because it is an old boys club to be honest and bringing a woman into that would be a challenge (p. 309). Ultimately, what is most difficult for women's coaches is getting in the door. Because of sexism, men typically do not think about hiring a woman when filling a coaching position (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). But, if they are fortunate enough to get through the door, when someone hears that a woman is a head coach for a men's team, there is a reaction of shock and surprise then their coaching ability, authority, and experience as a coach is questioned. This is why, if you find a woman in charge of a men's team, or even working with male athletes, they are a coach for a combined team meaning a team that
men and women are both on. These often include cross-country, track, and swimming (Blom, Abrell, Wilson, Lape, Halbrook, \& Judge, 2011).

Because there is a hierarchy that structures lives and social practices, it can be difficult for women to get into a world that men have dominated for years. Even though times have changed in regards to sport since Title IX, many still believe that coaching is a men's area. Coaching, for some, is nothing more than a "Good Old Boys Club." This sums it up; men are often accepted into the coaching profession, women have to prove themselves (Kilty, 2006). Access discrimination, which is the prohibition of certain people into "certain professions or careers" due to very exclusive networks or previously placed barriers, has also been a problem for women interested in coaching teams of the opposite gender (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013, p. 207).

Besides hegemonic masculinity, the "Good Old Boys Club," money, and a lack of female role models, there are other external barriers that have prevented women from coaching or even having a desire to coach. According to Kilty (2006), "one of these is the assumption of differential competence by gender" (p. 225). This means that a male coach is automatically assumed to be more competent than a female coach. This assumption of differential competence automatically "lowers women’s feelings of personal accomplishment and confidence" (p. 224). Homophobia is another significant reason that women do not get into coaching. Coaching is a "heterosexist atmosphere" (p. 225). There is a belief that women who are involved in sports and coaching are "not
really women" (Kilty, 2006, p. 225). A female coach is often assumed to be a lesbian ("Empowering Women," 2005).

Another significant factor that prevents women from being offered coaching positions is the low number of female Athletic Directors. Athletic Directors obviously have a significant role to play in the hiring process for new coaches. According to Kilty (2006, p. 223), "male athletic directors outnumbered female athletic directors 5 to 1." An example of the lack of female Athletic Directors is evidenced by the larger 120 NCAA Football Bowl Subdivision programs. In these programs, "only five women (4.2\%) headed an athletic department" (Blom et al., 2011, p. 54).

Opposite of external barriers are those internal barriers that prevent women from coaching. There are four internal main barriers that have been identified in the literature, according to Kilty (2006, pp. 226-227). The first is perfectionism. Women often strive for perfectionism in all aspects of their lives, including coaching. The second barrier is lack of assertiveness: "women coaches often feel a strong need to be liked" (p. 226). This need can "interfere with [a female coach's] ability to set limits, manage conflict, and negotiate effectively" ( $p, 226$ ). Inhibition in promotion of accomplishments is the third internal barrier. As Kilty (2006, p. 226) states, "women are not likely to highlight their individual success." Finally, being a coach can increase stress due to the hours and the amount of time travelling keeps them from their home; this is the fourth barrier. Many women also have families, pairing the stress of having a family with coaching a team.

This can limit women from feeling capable of "having it all," even though they continue to desire to be successful at coaching (Kilty, 2006).

The Civil Rights movement and legislation of the 1950s and 1960s was designed to remove barriers for people of color in all aspects of life, including education, housing and work. And despite all of the gains made, the demographic profile coaches of all sports (but here I focus specifically the coaches of women's teams) tends to significantly be shaped not only by gender, but also race. Title IX has created playing opportunities for women of all races. In fact, more than half of all Division I women's basketball players are African American (Hattery, 2012, p. 260). Yet, at the Division I college level, specifically basketball, there are only 35 coaches that are African American (Hattery, 2012, p. 262). While this number may not seem that small, when considering all of the different coaches in men's and women's sports, it is actually a very small fraction of all coaches. Richard Lapchick (as cited in Elfman, 2009), director of the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports at the University of Central Florida, "called for the equivalent of a civil rights movement in college sports". Hiring practices have changed everywhere else, but not in college sports. Lapchick (as cited in Elfman, 2009) also believes congressional hearings need to be held on these issues: "Whenever Congress gets involved, we see colleges and universities taken action."

While "Title IX is not directed specifically at the coaching profession," it does include it (Ellis \& Masterson, 2007, p. 60). Women have reported feeling second best, having to prove their coaching competence and so much more. A 2009 NCAA survey
(as cited in Blom et al., 2011, pp. 54-55) reported why many female athletes do not desire to be coaches. These reasons include (1) they desired a higher salary; (2) being a coach is a large time commitment; (3) there is a lack of female role models; (4) female athletes know other females who are not happy in athletics; (5) female athletes have had a poor relationship with their own coaches; and (6) these athletes witness gender and racial discrimination and sexual orientation stereotyping. If female athletes feel this way, it will be difficult to get them to desire to be coaches in the future. If female athletes themselves do not have any interest in coaching, the chances of improving the number of women coaches will be slim.

## Administration

Since Title IX was passed in 1972, the percentage of women's collegiate athletic programs that are directed by a female head administrator has dropped from $90 \%$ down to 18.6\% (Acosta \& Carpenter, as cited in Kilty, 2006, p. 223). This drop in percentage does not stop with head administrators; it continues into all administrative structures of all women's athletic programs. Today, in $14.5 \%$ of women's athletic programs, there is not a single female involved in the entire administrative structure (p. 223). The smallest percentage of programs with a female Athletic Director at $8.7 \%$ are Division I institutions (p. 223). There are 16.9\% female Athletic Directors at Division II schools and Division III schools have 27.5\% female Athletic Directors (p. 223).

There are many questions that need to be asked when considering the small number of female Athletic Directors. Sander (2011) offers these for consideration:

Are qualified women being overlooked because they lack connections in an oldboy network that some say still dictates many hiring decisions? Have they been passed over so many times that they've stopped trying, in some cases, choosing to leave the profession altogether? Or are they simply content, with all the pressures bearing down on the top person, to be No. 2? (para. 5).

All of these questions, when examined more closely, do play a part in the lack of female administrators at all levels of sport.

Over the years, athletic departments have not felt "much pressure to diversify their leadership teams" (Sander, 2011, para. 44). Because of this mentality, as well as the mentality that even in administrative roles, like previously discussed in the coaching section, women who are involved in are athletics are thought to be lesbians ("Empowering Women," 2005). Not only is homophobia apparent in administrative offices, but also consistent with the idea of hegemonic masculinity: "women are consistently stereotyped as being less fit for leadership roles than their male counterparts" (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013, p. 303). Through investigation of the different problems women experience in getting administrative roles, it is apparent that there needs to be a "more thorough analysis of gender issues in sport to sufficiently address the underrepresentation of women in decision-making roles in all areas at all levels, addressing discriminatory practices, and holding decision makers accountable" (Yiamouyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, p. 1) for their hiring decisions.

A phrase that has been used in regards to administrative or managerial roles is "think manager, think male" (Burton, Grappendorf, \& Henderson, 2011, p. 37). It is these kind of phrases that have played a part in women not advancing as much as they can or should. Characteristics of a person often play an important role when one is hired for a position of authority. Characteristics that are described as important to managers can often be perceived to be the same characteristics most often associated with men. The social role theory is one that can often be seen in the sports industry. This particular theory states that "there are qualities and behavioral tendencies believed to be desirable for each sex, as well as expectations regarding the roles men and women should occupy" (p. 37). Social role theory identifies the characteristics that are often associated with men and women. For females, these characteristics are "affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and gentle" (p. 37). Those characteristics of men are "aggressive, dominant, forceful, self-confident, and selfsufficient" (p. 37). Not only is there social role theory, but role congruity theory is also pertinent, stating that gender roles can be applied to men and women, and "certain jobs can be viewed as more appropriate for men and women" (p. 37).

These are not the only reasons keeping women out of authoritative roles. A recent study of the NCAA's National office found that female leadership representation inequalities exist within virtually all levels of the organization: "men serve in the more powerful decision making roles whereas women serve in the labor-intensive 'housekeeping' positions" (Yiamouyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, pp. 9-10). These
inequalities exist "despite federal law that prohibits sex discrimination in employment and the Principle of Gender Equity in the NCAA constitution" (p. 9). The NCAA has tried to show that discrimination does not apply to them because the organization has had an " $8.2 \%$ increase in the number of women serving in administrative positions" (Hatfield, Hatfield, \& Drummond, 2009). However, these positions include "business manager, graduate assistant, academic advisor, and administrative assistant." Further, "these particular positions do not cross over into the overall administration of the athletic department" (Hatfield et al., 2009). This was also found true in the Burton, Grappendorf, and Henderson (2011) article, "Perceptions of Gender in Athletic Administration: Utilizing Role Congruity to Examine." This article concluded that "women working in intercollegiate athletics tend to be found in support positions, including life skills, advising, and daily operations" (pp. 37-38).

While there are rules made by the federal law, the NCAA governance system is different than most large organizations; and because of this, these laws do not seem to play as important of a role in increasing opportunities for women. The NCAA consists of "more than 1,000 collegiate institutions categorized into three divisions: Divisions I, II, and III" (Yiamoyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, p. 2). It is a "voluntary membership institution, meaning that the schools are the members of the organization and the representatives from the member schools...are responsible for the regulation of the association" (p. 2). The staff of the NCAA is there to assist these member institutions; and to do this; the NCAA is divided into seven major units:

The senior management group includes the President, Chief Policy Advisor, General Counsel, Chief Operations Officer, and Vice Presidents of Communications, Membership and Student-Athlete Affairs, and Championships and Alliances (p. 3).

The main job of the NCAA national office is to be responsible for the general promotion of intercollegiate athletics and the NCAA brand. So, while the NCAA does have some control, "the national office does not dictate NCAA rules" (p. 3).

Now that the NCAA structure has been laid out, this organization too has its problems. As Yiamouyiannis and Osborne (2012, p. 3) have observed, "What has happened to women with respect to leadership roles [within intercollegiate athletics] has very little to do with logic, or women's qualifications, and everything to do with power." This statement correlates directly to the problems that are going on in the NCAA. Indeed, "the higher the level of importance in the governance structure, the lower the percentage of women there are involved in leadership roles" (p. 9). In fact, there are only three women on the executive committee of the NCAA (the most powerful group). Thus, it is no surprise that women have not achieved equality in intercollegiate athletics when they cannot achieve equality in the governing body of these programs (p. 9).

There are barriers, both workplace and personal, that impede women's access and progress toward assuming more administrative positions in sport. These workplace barriers include issues in the hiring process, chilly work environments, pay inequities, homophobia and sexual harassment. Some of the general barriers include "interest level,
qualifications, work/home conflicts, and burnout" (Yiamouyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, p. 3). For example, many women contend that their decision not to fight for an Athletic Director's position is because they care about their families (Sander, 2011). These barriers, both personal and workplace, are key reasons as to why there is a lack of females in administrative positions and why some women lack the desire to seek these positions.

Burton, Grappendorf, and Henderson’s (2011) article, "Perceptions of Gender in Athletic Administration: Utilizing Role Congruity to Examine (Potential) Prejudice Against Women," discusses three reasons why women can be very valuable at managerial positions: "fixing women, valuing the feminine, and creating equal opportunity" (p. 37). Burton et al. (2011) go on to say:

The first frame, fixing women explores reasons why women are deficient in skills and attributes necessary in management and indicates that if these deficiencies are addressed, women will be better suited for management positions. Valuing the feminine also highlights women's differences in management and leadership, but instead of being viewed as deficiencies, these perceived differences are highlighted as valuable within management in sport organizations. Finally, creating equal opportunity focuses on the structural constraints keeping women from obtaining senior level positions in management (p. 37).

Before women were to be seen holding administrative positions, not only in sports, but also at all levels, they had to enter into the realm of education. Women's
opportunity for leadership roles began as a result of coeducation, but later declined as the purpose of educating female students and fears of feminization emerged in co-ed institutions. From 1890 until the late 1920s, male and female students proceeded along separate although parallel paths sharing few intellectual or practical interests. In fact, up until the late 1950s, the "purpose of [higher] education for women was [highly] differentiated by gender" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 59). Institutions focused on preparing women for their duties as wives and mothers. As a direct result of these different goals, women were pushed out of fields such as medicine and science and more into femalespecific fields such as home economics and nursing (p. 59). If women had degrees from a college or university before Title IX, they often found positions in higher education because, outside of the schools, there were limited career opportunities for woman. Some of these positions were to oversee female students; it was known that women were given jobs to oversee "the woman problem" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 38). "Coeducation," as Hoffman (2006, p. 22) observed, "eventually gave way to a gender-combined model of higher education both in and out of the classroom." She continued: "This gendercombined, gender equity period is marked by the passage of Title IX in 1972" (p. 22). Hoffman noted the rise of a "three-pronged, turn-of-the-century view of women's education" (p. 40). And Talbot (as cited in Hoffman, 2006) believed:
(1) women were intellectually equal, requiring educationally equal opportunities,
(2) women need a community on a coed campus, and (3) movement of women [would lead] into socially useful professions (p. 40).

In regards to athletics, Title IX helped connect athletics and higher education for women. At this time in history (the late 60s and early 70s), society told women not to be "overly competitive" and encouraged to assume particular styles of play or sports such as tennis, golf, and swimming. These sports were encouraged for women because they were less likely to involve contact or "unnecessary exuberance" (Cahn, 1995; Hoffman, 2006). Basketball, however, was actually introduced to women at Smith College in 1893. This sport gained popularity very quickly among women; however, society was concerned about the effect it would have on femininity. The interest in basketball showed that women did have interest in sport participation, so a Physical Education (PE) field was created for women. However, this PE field was really made to discourage strenuous competitive activity for female students. This Physical Education field promoted the "right kind" of athletic programs for the new "sports woman" who is a "healthy, vibrant, [and a] graceful [woman]" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 45). Yet, even with this, the thought was still that these Physical Education programs would ultimately make and develop a complete individual for the woman's place she would likely hold in society: "a wife, mother, or a career woman" (p. 45).

The role of the Senior Woman Administrator (SWA) is an administrative role that many women hold at the collegiate level. While it is an administrative opportunity for women, when dissected as a true leadership position, it does not contribute to women gaining more administrative positions in part due to the tasks that they are expected to fulfill. Before the SWA position was founded, female leaders "utilized four strategies or
combinations of strategies to overcome resistance to women students and barriers to their own leadership within higher education: super-performance, subordination, innovation, and separatism" (Hoffman, 2010, p. 59). According to Hoffman (2010, p. 59):

First, through super-performance women "sought status through extraordinary efforts and a willingness to sacrifice traditional relationships" in professional roles female administrators as well as their own leadership strategies. . . . Second, using subordination as a strategy, women accepted a "subordinate position within a male-dominated profession" . . . . A third strategy was innovation, by which women established new professional fields that were out of the direct competition with men. . . . Finally, through separatism, women assumed leadership roles in traditionally male disciplines within all-women environments. Before going into further detail about this particular position, it is important to examine its creation. On and before 1972, the AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) was in control of women's athletics. But in 1982, just ten years after the implementation of Title IX, the NCAA took over the AIAW (Hatfield et al., 2009). With this takeover, men's program directors assumed leadership of athletic departments. The female Athletic Director was often demoted to assistant or associate Athletic Director temporarily (Hoffman, 2010). Female coaches also lost their jobs or were put in secondary positions to men. After the NCAA takeover, the role of the Senior Woman Administrator was designated to give women the administrative opportunity they had lost. The idea was to ensure that women would have a voice in the administration of
intercollegiate athletic programs, but over time this voice has faded drastically (Hatfield et al., 2009).

The Senior Woman Administrator role was intended to encourage and promote the involvement of women in decision-making, enhance the representation of women's experiences and perspectives, and support women's interests in intercollegiate athletics. Sadly though, these responsibilities have really been all that SWAs were given. The SWA is seen as an advocate for female student-athletes (Hatfield et al., 2009). But, too much advocacy for women and women's programs, by a woman athletic leader, especially when framed in terms of Title IX, is viewed negatively, because it looks like the women are only after making things equal and fair for women, not for everyone. The Senior Woman Administrator role emerged at the same time that compliance rules for colleges and universities emerged. This coincidence was not positive for women because it only pushed women further into roles with organizational and advisory functions, rather than decision making authority. For example, Title IX compliance is usually the responsibility of the SWA (Hoffman, 2010).

Every member institution of the NCAA Division I is required to list a Senior Woman Administrator on their NCAA Institutional Representatives Form. Yet, while every Division I school has to list and have an SWA, the colleges and universities may not be using their SWAs to their full potential. In order for Senior Woman Administrators to be effective administrators, their role must be clearly understood; they must have adequate levels of influence on administrative strategies and courses of action
within athletic departments, not just on issues related to gender equity and women's sports (Hatfield et al., 2009).

When interviewed about their jobs, many SWAs verbalize that they have not been given responsibilities that are appropriate for their role. As one SWA describes it, "whenever it was time to plan a party, I was asked to plan it" (Hatfield et al., 2009). Women do think it is important as a Senior Woman Administrator to advocate for women's athletics, gender equity, and serving as a role model for other women; however, more than that is necessary. It is important that "a female voice be at the table, many times the only female voice...providing a diverse, different view—a different perspective" (Hatfield et al., 2009). While SWAs believe it is important for them to have a voice and advocate, it is also important for them to have "decision making authority in marketing, development, promotions, and sponsorships" (Hatfield et al., 2009); however, they do not have this power which is limiting the scope of their involvement. In order for the SWAs to have more "advisory" authority, she must have final, decision-making authority in the area of budgetary decisions. And, unless an SWA "is given the authority to grant and deny permission for spending coupled with the access to accountability methods, greater opportunity exists for her authority to be subverted" (Hatfield et al., 2009).

Title IX does not directly extend any protection to women leaders in sport and this can be seen through the lack of females who hold administrative roles in sports (Hoffman, 2006). As Shaw and Hoeber (as cited in Burton et al., 2011) pointed out:

It appears that, despite many years of lobbying by feminists and other sympathetic individuals, little has changed in the higher echelons of sport management and that most men's access to influential positions in sport organizations is somehow understood to be more "natural" and therefore accepted over women's access to such positions (p. 37).

When women are given administrative positions high up the chain of command, and have been given the chance to oversee large parts of the athletic program, as first to third in command, they have done well at their jobs (Sander, 2011). Some have presided over national championship teams, some have overseen major capital projects, and many have increased fund raising for their schools (Sander, 2011). The position of Senior Woman Administrator may have benefits for some women who are given authority; but overall, this role limits the advancement of a critical mass of women. The SWA role "pinches the pipeline at the senior level of department leadership and really only allows one woman to advance" (Hoffman, 2010, p. 71). In many cases, this role has become known as the Sole Woman Administrator and because of this, some women hope it will go away (p. 68).

Some recommended strategies to address these barriers are (1) implement gender neutral hiring policies, (2) offer additional training and education for women, and (3) offer additional mentoring and networking opportunities for women (Yiamouyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, p. 3). One possible example of implementing gender neutral hiring policies would be to create a rule similar to that of the Rooney Rule in the National Football League that requires teams to interview minority candidates for head coaching
and senior football operation jobs when one becomes available (Brennan, 2013). Creating a similar rule, but requiring that women have the chance to be interviewed and considered for administrative roles, might be an option to assist women in assuming more positions (Sander, 2011). It is time the NCAA, Athletic Directors, college presidents, and conference commissioners do something about the hiring issues (Brennan, 2013).

Finally, as discussed in coaching, race could potentially be playing a role as to why women are not chosen for administrative positions within different sports organizations. It is often found that when an individual's race and gender are considered together, the low number of women Athletic Directors is much more complex than just a lack of women leadership positions (Hoffman, 2006).

The Perceived Barriers: (2008-2009) Gender Equity in College Coaching and Administration Report (Bracken, 2009) identified perceptions of female coaches and women administrators with regards to discrimination in sports. One of the findings of this study showed that female coaches showed some "dissatisfaction with the equality of the sexes within athletics departments, salary, and level of stress with their job" (p. 2). Female administrators also indicated some dissatisfaction with the gender equality within "athletics department[s] [and the] equality of race/ethnicity" in athletics departments (p. 12). Some numbers from this study are as follows: First, $39 \%$ of respondents believe the most qualified applicants are being hired in intercollegiate coaching regardless of gender (p. 14). Out of female coaches, $82 \%$ agreed that there is gender discrimination in athletics administration (p. 14). 83\% of female coaches also agreed that there is gender discrimination in athletics in general (p.14). Of the women surveyed, $81 \%$ agree that
there are men in athletics administration who only hire men (p. 14). 84\% of female administrators agreed that there is gender discrimination in athletics administration (p. 19). Out of those female administrators, $83 \%$ also agreed that there is gender discrimination in athletics in general (p. 19). And, 80\% of female administrators surveyed believe that there are men in athletics administration who only hire other men (p 19). The numbers in this report demonstrate that those women who are on the ground-as coaches or female administrators-have a firm belief that there is gender discrimination as well as hiring discrimination in athletic departments (Bracken, 2009).

Ultimately, even with Title IX accounting for the increased participation of women athletes, there has not been that same change in the number of female coaches of different sports teams and as upper level administrators.

## Athletic Conferences: Gender Policies

The United States government has passed much legislation to promote gender equity and equality. These different materials include the Constitution and amendments, statutes, regulations, policies, and laws. Not all of these materials relate specifically to sport, but there are some governmental legislation that do directly affect sports at the college and university levels. Some of these include Title IX, Title VI, the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act, and the Equal Pay Act (Judge, O’Brien, \& Morrison, 2010).

Women are underrepresented in the areas of coaching and administration in sports, as shown in previous sections; and research has identified barriers that explain, in part, the reasons for this underrepresentation. But there is more to it. As noted previously, collegiate sports do not just follow policies set up by our government, but
they follow those policies and guidelines set up by the collegiate sports governing body and the NCAA as well.

In 1992, in an effort to reign in the escalating gender equity concerns in collegiate athletics, the NCAA formed a Gender Equity Task Force. The NCAA Executive Director at the time, Richard D. Schultz, appointed the Task Force, and its 16 members "representing each NCAA division with defining gender equity, examining and evaluating NCAA policies and recommending changes that would move the Association toward creating gender equity in intercollegiate athletics" (Hosick, 2007).

After completing their research in 1992, the Task Force issued a final report containing several recommendations to NCAA member institutions, the media, as well as the general public (Judge et al., 2010). One of the first recommendations made by the Task Force was to have "principles of gender equity as an addition to the NCAA constitution, requiring member institutions to abide by federal and state laws regarding gender equity and preventing the Association from adopting legislation that would prevent compliance with those laws" (Hosick, 2007). More specifically, the "NCAA Constitution 2.3 (the principle of gender equity) indicates that the activities of the NCAA are to be conducted in a manner free of gender bias, that each member college is to comply with federal and state laws requiring gender equity, and that the association should adopt legislation to enhance member institution compliance with applicable gender equity laws" (Yiamouyiannis \& Osborne, 2012, p. 4). 2.6 of the NCAA Constitution, The Principle of Nondiscrimination, also states that there will be an atmosphere of respect for and sensitivity to the dignity of every person" ("Gender Equity

Planning," n.d., p. 1). It is also the policy of the Association to refrain from discrimination with respect to its governance, policies, educational programs, activities and employment policies including on the basis of age, color, disability, gender, national origin, race, religion, creed or sexual orientation" ("Important Facts About," n.d.)

The Task Force "also recommended the creation of a sourcebook that would include guidelines to assist member institutions in achieving gender equity" (Hosick, 2007). This sourcebook was written by college and university administrators, along with faculty athletics representatives, Title IX and equal opportunity officers, athletic administrators, staff, and with student-athletes kept in mind. This sourcebook, today known as the Gender Equity Manual, according to the NCAA (Judge et al., 2010, p. 6):
it is not intended to provide the lone standard by which an institution measures its compliance with Title IX or a formalistic blueprint for compliance with the NCAA-adopted principle of gender equity. Quite frankly, there is no single model that can realistically apply across the board. Rather, it is hoped that this manual explains the law in a way that is accessible to those seeking to understand the law, to incorporate genderequitable policies into existing athletics programs and to evaluate their implementation in a meaningful way.

The Gender Equity Manual includes sources of law, NCAA specific issues, harassment issues facing colleges and universities under Title IX, employment issues, and gender equity plans, audits, and training (Judge et al., 2010).

The creation of the Gender Equity Task Force, was to some a "defining moment in NCAA history. It was the moment that the organization legitimized the fight for gender equity" (Hosick, 2007). As Hosick (2007) observed, the Task Force "marked the beginning of the Association’s leadership in issues of gender equity." And, not only was it seen inside the organization, but outside too. It "put the issue [of gender equity] at the forefront of people's minds with the weight of the NCAA" behind it (Hosick, 2007).

As a part of Gender Equity Planning, the NCAA also has another initiative with a gender equity component; this is the Athletics Certification:

NCAA Certification requires Division I schools to maintain five-year gender equity plans which demonstrate commitment to fair and equitable treatment of both male and female student-athletes and athletics department personnel. Similarly, Division II and Division III schools are required to conduct a comprehensive self-study and evaluation of their intercollegiate athletics programs at lease once every five years ("Important Facts About," n.d.).

To help colleges and universities, the Gender Equity Manual, which comes from the "Gender Equity Best Practices Manual" laid out by the NCAA (n.d.) lays out steps that can be taken to develop a gender equity plan that will produce positive outcomes: "the keys to having a positive equity outcome are education, communication, and commitment" (p. 8). Nine steps are provided here:

1) Include gender equity in the institutional mission statement. 2) Help people to understand gender equity and Title IX. Educating for understanding will result in better buy-in and commitment to achieving equity. 3) Include Title IX and gender equity information in department and university speakers forums that are available to student-athletes, coaches, administrators and faculty. There are many speakers nationally who can enhance your educational efforts. 4) Discuss with staff, administration, board, and community members the importance of gender equity in athletics, including Title IX. 5) Evaluate the program objectively for equity, and on an ongoing basis. The process should be a continuous one of action and progress. 6) Obtain a commitment from the department and university administrators to correct any inequities in a timely manner. Support from key decision-makers is critical to achieving equity. 7) Identify ways to implement changes in a constructive manner. Involve staff in identifying solutions. It is easier to make changes when those affected are a part of the process. 8) Be open and honest in communicating any changes. 9) Establish a gender equity committee with diverse representation. The committee should include men and women from various campus departments and disciplines and of diverse races and ethnicities. Different perspectives and experiences will allow for a thorough evaluation of men's and women's programs and expansive exploration of solutions where disparities exist. The committee should be
a standing committee, so it is available not only to develop the plan, but also to help monitor progress on goals, adjust the plan over time, and communicate with campus and community constituents about the efforts (p. 8).

In the final point of developing a gender equity plan, the suggestion was made that a gender equity committee be formed. It is highly recommended by the NCAA that this committee be made up of diverse representation. The suggested composition for a gender equity committee by the NCAA is that it include ("Gender Equity Planning," n.d., p. 8):

- Men and women (both in the athletics department and across campus)
- Athletics department representatives (Consider male and female administrators and men's and women's coaches.)
- Senior woman administrator (This is the highest-ranking female in the athletics department, who must be a part of the department's senior management team.)
- Title IX coordinator (Title IX mandates that institutions or other recipients of federal funds designate at least one employee as a Title IX coordinator to oversee compliance efforts. This individual is usually an appointment outside the athletics department and responsible for all aspects of campus compliance with Title IX. This function is often managed by the EEO or human resources office on campus.)
- University legal counsel.
- Faculty (which might include the institutions faculty athletics representative.)
- Presidents office designee (This appointment is important to ensure that the president is informed throughout the process and will support the final plan.)
- Students (student-athletes and other student representatives; consider including alumni athletes)

Title IX was modeled after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and they both share a common purpose: "to ensure that public funds gathered from all the people are not utilized in ways that encourage, subsidize, permit, or result in prohibited discrimination against some of the people" ("Title IX Legal," n.d.). Ultimately, both prohibit conduct by a recipient of federal financial assistance that results in a person being "excluded from participation in,... denied the benefits of, or... subjected to discrimination under" a federally-assisted program or activity ("Title IX Legal," n.d.).

Title IX, like Title VI, recognizes three types of prohibited discrimination: disparate treatment, disparate impact, and retaliation (Title IX Legal," n.d.). Disparate treatment "refers to actions that treat similarly situated persons differently on the basis of a prohibited classification. In the case of Title IX, the prohibited classification is sex" (n.d.). Disparate impact "focuses on the consequences of a facially sex-neutral policy or practice" (n.d.). Retaliation protection provide that "[n]o recipient or other person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by [Title VI], or because he has made a
complaint, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding or hearing under this subpart" (n.d.).

In regards to employment discrimination, Title VI prohibits any employment discrimination if there is federal financial assistance that is received in order to actually provide the employment to the recipient who is receiving the discrimination ("Title IX Legal," n.d.). Title IX, on the other hand, does not contain "limiting language," and therefore "reaches employment discrimination in the educational programs or activities of recipients without limitation" (n.d.). Further, "Title IX common rule applies its prohibition against sex-based discrimination to the full range of activities related to the recruitment, evaluation, classification, payment, assignment, retention or treatment of employees" ("Title IX Legal," n.d.). Even more specifically, Title IX states that this law "protects coaches and athletics staff from employment discrimination based upon gender and from retaliatory employment action directed toward one who has raised concerns about gender inequity" ("Gender Equity Planning," n.d., p. 2).

Under Title IX common rule, concerning all areas, in providing any aid, benefit, or service, a recipient may not, on the basis of sex ("Title IX Legal," n.d.):

- Treat one person differently from another in determining whether such person satisfies any requirement or condition for the provision of such aid, benefit, or service.
- Provide different aid, benefits, or services or provide aid, benefits, or services in a different manner.
- Deny any person any such aid, benefit, or service.
- Subject any person to separate or different rules of behavior, sanctions, or other treatment.
- Apply any rule concerning the domicile or residence of a student or applicant, including eligibility for in-state fees and tuition.
- Aid or perpetuate discrimination against any person by providing significant assistance to any agency, organization, or person that discriminates on the basis of sex in providing any aid, benefit, or service to students or employees;
- Otherwise limit any person in the enjoyment of any right, privilege, advantage, or opportunity.


## Summary of Related Literature

The surveyed literature reviewed here demonstrates both the positive and negative effects that Title IX has had on women in the sporting world. It shows that there have been large advancements in numbers at all levels of play by female athletes. But it also shows that there are large areas, primarily in coaching and athletic directors/administration, where improvement can and still needs to be made for women. Previous studies do not just focus on one area where Title IX has had an effect for women, but rather they bring two of the largest areas together (coaching and administration), thus highlighting connections and recurring problems. Clearly, sports have been thought of as a male dominated area for many years; and because of this, women have had a hard time getting in. And if they do get in, they are often still thought to be less than their male counterparts. Women deal with sexism in every area of sports,
whether it be in coaching or in administration where there is the belief that women are not qualified to do the same work as men. The existing literature echoes previous research done in these areas with relation to Title IX, and taps into some areas that have been studied; but rather than looking at the different areas separately, it brings them all together to show what areas still need work to create equality for women in sports. This research also examines policies that have been made over time, including Title IX, which lay out what proper gender equity is. Colleges and universities use these policies as guidelines to make sure that they are complying with and creating gender equity in their athletic departments whether it is with coaches or administrators.

## Theoretical Framework

Feminism is often thought of as a theory "that men and women should be equal politically, economically, and socially" ("Feminist Theory Examining," n.d., [p. 1]). And, to be a feminist you must hold the belief that men and women should be equal in these areas ("Feminist Theory," n.d.). In the United States, feminism as a movement, aims to make women the social equals of men. However, because this definition is so broad, it often raises questions by those who examine it. In essence, since men themselves are not even entirely equal, "which men do women want to be equal to?" (hooks, 1984, p. 18). There is not a definite answer to this question because it is not a certain type of man that women wish to be equal with. Rather, they desire to be seen on the same level as men in all areas, not thought of as lesser than solely because of their gender.

Feminist theory "attempts to develop a comprehensive account of the subordination of women" ("Theory, Feminism," n.d., p. 1). Further, it "is a prerequisite for developing effective strategies to liberate women; [and] identifies the underlying causes of women’s subordination" (p. 1). According to Flax (as cited in "Theory, Feminism," n.d., p. 1), feminist theory has a number of purposes: "(1) to understand the power differential between men and women; (2) to understand women's oppressionhow it evolved, how it changes over time, how it is related to other forms of oppression; [and] (3) how to overcome oppression." Similarly, as Hattery, Smith, and Staurowsky (2007) put it, "feminist theory is built on the assumption that men and women occupy different landscapes and social institutions and that power is distributed primarily to individual men and male-dominated institutions" (p. 256).

Few people fully understand feminist thought (Beasley, 1999; Foss, 2004). One reason for this has been "a central problem within feminist discourse" over the years (hooks, 1984, p. 17). Feminist discourse has not been able to "arrive at a consensus of opinion about what feminism is or accept definition(s) that could serve as points of unification" (p. 17). Not agreeing on a definition inhibits "solidarity among women" (p. 17). As hooks (1984) observes, unfortunately, "feminism seems to be a term without any clear significance" (p. 23). However, there are many terms today that have multiple meanings, and everyone interprets their own way. Feminism and feminist theory are not confusing terms, as Jane Flax (as cited in "Theory, Feminism," n.d., p. 2) describes it:

Feminist theory is the foundation of action and there is no pretense that theory can be neutral. Within feminist theory is a commitment to change
oppressive structures and connect abstract ideas with concrete problems for political action. There has to be a commitment to do something about the situation of women.
"Women," notes hooks (1984, p. 43) "are the group most victimized by sexist oppression" and feminism is a struggle "to end this sexist oppression" (p. 31). Sexism is initiated by social structures that have been put in place over time and by individual institutions. It is often started by those "who dominate, exploit, or oppress" others (p. 43). But it has also been seen to be started by those who have experienced sexism because they are taught to accept the status quo no matter what it may be (p. 43). Barbara Berg (as cited in hooks, 1984) in Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center emphasizes how women are gaining greater individual freedom for themselves:

It is the freedom to decide her own destiny; freedom from x-determined role; freedom from society's oppressive restrictions; freedom to express her thoughts fully and to convert them freely into action. Feminism demands the acceptance of woman's right to individual conscience and judgment. It postulates that woman's essential worth stems from her common humanity and does not depend on the other relationships of her life (p. 24).

Defining feminism as social equality with men has caused some to believe that it has really become a movement affecting the social standing of white women in the middle and upper classes rather than women of all color and social standing (hooks, 1984, p. 1). Because of these thoughts, over the years different types of feminism have
been found to give more support to those women of color and lower social status. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was black feminism, which consisted of black women "fighting on several fronts-those of race, sex, and class" (Rich, 2007, p. 26). Following this was multiracial feminism that is an "evolving body of theory and practice informed by wideranging intellectual traditions" (Baca Zinn \& Thornton Dill, 1996, p. 323) put forth by women of color. As Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill, 1996, p. 324) observe:

Although U.S. women of color represent many races and ethnic backgrounds . . . our feminisms cohere in their treatment of race as a basic social division, a structure of power, a focus of political struggle, and hence a fundamental force in the shaping of both men's and women's lives.

Below are the features of multiracial feminism described by authors Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thorton Dill (1996, pp. 326-328) in their article, "Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism":

First, multiracial feminism asserts that gender is constructed by interlocking inequalities, what Patricia Hill Collins calls a "matrix of domination." The idea of a matrix is that several fundamental systems work with and through each other. People experience race, class, gender, and sexuality differently depending upon their social location in the structures of race, class, gender, and sexuality. . . .

Second, multiracial feminism emphasizes the intersectional nature of hierarchies at all levels of social life. . . . In other words, intersecting forms of domination produce both oppression and opportunity. . . .

Third, multiracial feminism highlights the relational nature of dominance and subordination. . . . Race is a vital element in the pattern of relations among minority and white women. . . .

Fourth, multiracial feminism explores the interplay of social structure and women's agency. Within the constraints of race, gender, and class oppression, women create viable lives for themselves, their families, and their communities. Women of color have resisted and undermined the forces of power that control them. . . .

Fifth, multiracial feminism encompasses wide-ranging methodological approaches. . . . Most basically, research by and about marginalized women has destabilized what used to be universal categories of gender. . . . Women of color have, as Norma Alarcon argues, asserted ourselves as subjects, using our voices to challenge dominant conceptions of truth.

Sixth, multiracial feminism brings together understandings drawn from the lived experiences of diverse and continuously changing groups of women.

Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill go on to state that "all women are affected by the racial order of society" (p. 330).

Judith Lorber (as cited in Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007) explains: I see gender as an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of every day life, is built into the major social organizations of society, such as the economy, ideology, the family, and politics [and sports], and is also an entity in and of itself (pp. 256-257). In the article, "Great Divides: The Cultural, Cognitive, and Social Bases of the Global Subordination of Women,"Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (2006) focuses on how people behave "as if categories are reliable indicators of commonalities in a population" (p. 2). In social life, gender is the "most basic and prevalent category throughout the world" (p. 2). And, even though it is the most basic, it is also the "most resistant to social change" (p. 3). These categories and divides that have been made in our society are "often enforced by persuasion, barter, custom, force, and the threat of force" (p. 3). As previously mentioned, gender is often considered the hardest category to change and the only way for changes to happen really depends on how pervious the boundaries surrounding the category are (p. 3).

Over time, as Fuchs Epstein (2006) explains, "men have prevented the incursions of women into their spheres except when they needed women's labor power, such as in wartime" (p. 9). Even as the ideology of equality has become more widespread and has brought significant changes for women, "the worldwide status of women [has] remained subordinate to that of men" (p. 9). Despite these changes, "nowhere are substantial numbers of women in political control; nowhere do women have the opportunity to carry out national agendas giving women truly equal rights" (p. 9).

Fuchs Epstein (2006) notes that women face a significant amount of hostility when they "cross conventional boundaries and perform 'men's work'" (p. 11). Men who hold gatekeeping positions often use subtle prejudices and practices that limit women's access to the better, male-labeled jobs and ladders of success (p. 11). It is true that not only do women encounter discrimination in workplaces, but those husbands who wish to lower their work hours to assist their working wives usually encounter discrimination as well. Sometimes they even receive so much discrimination that it "may lead to a loss of a promotion or a job (p. 11).

Today, there is not as much of a problem with women having the qualifications to do the work, but it has more so become the trouble that women have with getting promoted or being included in the workplace networks that form, making it harder for a woman to make it to the top of an organization (Fuchs Epstein, 2006, p. 17). In order for societies to be the most productive that they can be, they need to have "porous boundaries between categories of people" (p. 17). Fuchs Epstein (2006, p. 17) further believes that "prosperous nations benefit from women's full participation and productivity in societies."

There is a gender divide that exists in our society. This divide has, for a long time, supported a woman's main role to be reproduction and for them to have the opportunity to be a part of support activities, which has then decreased their independence (Fuchs Epstein, 2006, p. 1). By decreasing women’s independence, females are not seen as decision makers and therefore suffer when they want roles or jobs in an organization that are seen as decision making (Fuchs Epstein, 2006, p. 1). Women
have often viewed leisure as a way to realize a sense of autonomy and individual identity (Wearing, 1998, p. 52). In this leisure sense, feminist theory refers to those forms of analysis, which seek to increase understanding of women's experiences in all societies "with a view to improving the quality of life [for both men and women]" (Wearing, 1998, p. ix).

Angela Hattery, Earl Smith, and Ellen Staurowsky (2007), in their article, "They Play Like Girls: Gender Equity in NCAA Sports," opine: "if sports are so good for men, why have they—and their institutions—been so resistant to offering all that is good in sports to women?" (p. 257). They go on to say, "we suggest that the more access women have to sports participation and coaching, the more exposure women athletes have, the more important it becomes for men to remind women that they are still just women" (p. 258).

I can predict, based on the framework provided by feminist theory, that the sexism in form of barriers, will limit the opportunities and successes that women have in accessing professional employment - as coaches and administrators - in the world of sport. I will use this framework to examine and analyze the experiences of women using the case study approach.

## Research Question

RQ1: How does the Stanley v. University of Southern California court case represent the continued inequalities between men and women, at the coaching and administrative levels, in sport since the implementation of Title IX?

## Limitations

The limitations of a study are those characteristics of design or methodology that impacted or influenced the application or interpretation of the results. The limitations are the "constraints on generalizability applications to practice, and/or utility of findings that are the result of the ways in which you initially choose to design the study and/or the method used to establish internal and external validity" ("Organizing your Social," 2014). The limitations of this particular study are described here.

One limitation to this study is that one case analysis was completed rather than conducting multiple case analyses. It is from this single case study that policy implications and suggestions are made. Due to it being a single case analysis, the number of policy implications and suggestions that are formed may be limited than if multiple cases were examined.

Another limitation of this study was the timeline by which the research was needed to be completed by the researcher. Additional time may have provided the opportunity to analyze more information pertaining to women as coaches and athletic administrators, as well as the possibility to complete a multiple case analysis rather than a single case.

## CHAPTER THREE

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze how the Stanley v. University of Southern California court case represents the continued inequalities between men and women at the coaching and administrative levels in sport since the implementation of Title IX. The purposes of this chapter are to describe the methodology, explain the data used, describe the procedure behind the collection of data, and to deliniate how the data collected was analyzed.

## Chosen Methodology

The methodology for this thesis is a case study analysis. In a case study, "sometimes called idiographic research—a particular individual, program, or event is studied in depth for a defined period of time" (Leedy \& Ormrod, 2013, p. 141). A case study analysis can involve a single case, or a researcher can study two or more cases. Two or more cases are often studied when a comparison is to be made, whereas one case tends to be examined when the case being studied can promote understanding.

In a case study analysis, "the researcher collects extensive amounts of data on the individual(s), program(s), or event(s), on which the investigation is focused. These data often include observations, interviews, documents (e.g., newspaper articles), past records (e.g., previous test scores) and audiovisual materials (e.g., photographs, videotapes,
audiotapes)" (p. 141). The researcher "also records details about the context surrounding the [particular] case" (p. 141).

After the researcher decides on a single or multiple case study and collects extensive data about that particular case, a data analysis is done. This data analysis consists of the following five steps (Leedy \& Ormrod, 2013, pp. 141-142):
(1) Organization of details about the case. The specific "facts" about the case are arranged in a logical (e.g., chronological) order.
(2) Categorization of data. Categories are identified to help cluster the data into meaningful groups...
(3) Interpretation of patterns. Specific documents, occurrences, and other bits of data are examined for the specific meanings that they might have in relation to the case.
(4) Identification of patterns. The data and their interpretations are scrutinized for underlying themes and other patterns that characterize the case more broadly than a single piece of information can reveal.
(5) Synthesis and generalization. An overall portrait of the case is constructed. Conclusions are drawn that may have implications beyond the specific case that has been studied.

After the data analysis is complete, a research report is often done. There are five steps that are often found in a research report for a case study. They are as follows (Leedy \& Ormrod, 2013, p. 142):
(1) A rationale for studying the case. Explains why the case was worthy of indepth study...
(2) A detailed description of the facts related to the case. Describe the specific individual(s), program(s), or event(s) you studied, as well as the setting and any other uncontested facts about the case...
(3) A description of the data you collected. Tell your readers what observations you made, whom you interviewed, what documents you examined, and so on.
(4) A discussion of the patterns you found. Describe any trends, themes, personality characteristics, and so on that the data suggest. At this point, you are going beyond the facts themselves to your interpretation of the facts...
(5) A connection to the larger scheme of things. In some way you need to answer the question So what? In what way does the case study contribute to our collective knowledge about some aspect of the world or human experience?... You might compare the case with another...You might argue that the case either supports or disconfirms an existing hypothesis or theory. Or you might use the case to support your contention that a particular intervation...can be a highly effective one.

## Data

For this thesis, one particular case study was chosen to be analyzed. This case was Stanley v. The University of Southern California, a law suit that was examined due to the sports related issues it brings forth. These issues include discrimination, harassment, and retaliation that women undergo working in the sports field. It also looks at the issue
of women not receiving the same pay as males who hold the same or similar positions in the athetic department at a college or university. All of these issues were clearly identified in the empirical literature I reviewed as well as being consistent with feminist theory as laid out above.

## Procedure

In order to complete this analysis of the Stanley v. University of Southern California (USC) case, documents, scholarly articles, newspaper articles, and court case summaries pertaining to this case were collected and analyzed. The actual Stanley $v$. University of Southern California case serves as the primary data source. This includes documents from the first trial, as well as the second in which Stanley appealed the court's decision. These actual case documents were accessed through the Lexis/Nexis academic database. The combination of materials created a data set from which to research the case in depth. Newspaper articles from the time that the court case took place were collected to get statements, opinions, and reactions from Stanley, her legal team, and USC and its Athletic Director's legal team. Scholarly articles were also read to obtain information about the case itself, about the issues it brings up in the sporting world, and what has been done since the case in order to improve the situations that women encounter when they hold a position in an athletic department at a college or university.

## Analysis

After the aforimentioned documents were collected, examined, and information extracted, discussion of the patterns that were found in the Stanley $v$. University of Southern California were related to patterns found in the review of literature as to what
barriers women come across when working in the sport industry. These connections were made to indicate that, even after the passing of Title IX and the different policies that are in place in regards to gender equity, women are still encountering barriers that keep them from obtaining jobs as coaches or administrators in sports program at a college or university. Additionally, feminist theory provided a paradigm in which to analyze the empirical facts of the case.

I was also guided by principles of feminist criticism. As stated by Sonja Foss (2004, p. 157):

Feminist criticism is the analysis of rhetoric to discover how the rhetorical construction of gender is used as a means for domination and how that process can be challenged so that all people understand that they have the capacity to claim agency and act in the world as they choose. Gender is a culture's conception of the qualities considered desirable for women and men, a construction created and maintained through various forms of rhetoric.

With the barriers found in the review of literature and those found in the case of Stanley v. University of Southern California, there is a clear inherent domination of gender, specifically male, as Foss (2004) opined. The steps of feminist criticism were also taken into account and used when analyzing the facts of the Stanley v. University of Southern California case. Feminist criticism involves two basic steps: "(1) analysis of the construction of gender . . . in the artifact studied and (2) explanation of what the artifact suggests about how the ideology of
domination is constructed or how it can be challenged and transformed" (Foss, 2004, p. 158). The way that men and women are depicted in this case will be indicated as well as how this case presents the standard for women and men coaches. Finally, it will be determined whether this case affirms and supports the ideology of male domination that has occurred in sports at the coaching and administrative levels over time.

## CHAPTER FOUR


#### Abstract

Rationale The case of Stanley v. University of Southern California was worthy of an indepth study for many reasons. This particular case is built around many issues that women have faced over time, and those issues that women still face, particularly in the time period after the implementation of Title IX. As noted in the literature review, in the areas of coaching and administration, women have confronted many barriers working in the sports industry, a world run predominantly by males. While this case took place more than twenty years ago, it did so after the implementation of Title IX. This provides an opportunity to see what barriers women have faced and continue to face while being a professional in the field of sport-even with different policies in place pertaining to gender equity. Additionally, this case provides evidence that can be examined and analyzed to see if it will in fact confirm what others have shown that there remains widespread gender discrimination in sport.

\section*{Data Collected}

Information from the Stanley v. University of Southern California case analysis was collected from a variety of different primary and secondary sources. Many of the facts about this particular case were taken from the actual court summaries that were written from when the case took place. One of these summaries provided information


from the first case that Stanley instigated and the second from her appeal. Information was also gathered from scholarly articles and journals that focus on sport law cases. Newspaper articles were also surveyed to gain information about the case and the views that the two sides (Stanley and USC) held. Information was also collected about policies implemented by the University of Southern California in regards to gender equity, discrimination, hiring practices, and Title IX.

## USC and NCAA Official Policies

Over time, policies have been implemented by our national government in order to require gender equity in the workplace. These policies have been in the form of constitutions and amendments, regulations, statues, and laws. As noted previously, these policies include Title IX, Title VI, the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act, and the Equal Pay Act. Not only have policies been made by the national government, but the governing body of intercollegiate athletics as well: the NCAA. As noted, the NCAA formed the Gender Equity Task Force in order to help regulate schools’ commitment to best gender equity practices. A Gender Equity Manual (Judge et al., 2010) was also written in order to assist schools and give them a source to refer to when determining if they were complying with gender equity policies. The NCAA also added gender equity as a section to its Constitution and made an Athletics Certification that schools must hold and renew every five years.

So, while the government and the governing body of intercollegiate athletics have created policies on gender equity, athletic conferences, as well as the individual colleges
and universities have created their own policies in regard to issues such as gender equity, sex discrimination, equal pay, and harassment.

The University of Southern California is a member of the PAC 12 conference. When examining policy, it was found that the PAC 12 Handbook 2013-2014 discusses proper hiring processes. Under the section recommended hiring practices, number 1.c. states that, "when interviewing for the head coaching position in any women's intercollegiate sport, to include at least one female candidate in the pool of interviewees" ("Pac-12 2013-2014 Handbook," 2013, p. 37).

Though there is guidance in the PAC 12 Handbook, it makes clear that "it is the responsibility of each institution to determine independently its own policy regarding nondiscrimination" ("Gender Equity Planning," n.d., p. 1). These policies, made by the schools independently, are to complement those policies made by the government, NCAA, and their conference. Looking directly at the University of Southern California, the Office of Equity and Diversity lists USC-specific policies in regards to equal opportunity, affirmative action, non-discrimination, harassment, sexual harassment, and sexual assault.

USC’s Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action and Non-Discrimination policy explains that the institution "is an equal opportunity employer and educator," and "is firmly committed to providing equal opportunity for outstanding men and women of every race, creed and background" (Dickey, 2011, para. 1). It also states that the university "is committed to complying with all applicable laws and governmental regulations at every level of government which prohibit discrimination against, or which
mandate that special consideration be given to, students and applicants for admission, or faculty, staff and applicants for employment, on the basis of any protected category" (Dickey, 2011, para. 2). Finally, the university "seeks compliance with all statues prohibiting discrimination in education, including Title VI, VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, [and] Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972" (Dickey, 2011, para. 2).

The Discrimination, Harassment, Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault policy adopted by the University of Southern California makes it clear that USC "is committed to maintaining an environment that is free from discrimination and harassment, including sexual harassment; the university expects that all members of the university community—faculty, staff, and students should be able to pursue their work and education in such an environment" (Garrett \& Dickey, 2011, para. 1). This policy also states that USC "is committed to complying with all applicable laws and government regulations, which prohibit discrimination, harassment...and retaliation" (Garrett \& Dickey, 2011, para. 2). Discrimination, specifically in this policy, is described as the "unfair treatment of a person or group because of that person’s or group’s protected category status" (Garret \& Dickey, 2011, para. 4). The Discrimination, Harassment, Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault policy of USC also prohibits "threatened, attempted, or actual retaliation against anyone who, in good faith, brings a complaint of discrimination or harassment..., participates in a discrimination or harassment investigation; or protests the alleged discrimination, harassment or retaliation" (Garrett \& Dickey, 2011, para. 21). Along with these two larger policy pages listed on the USC Office of Equity and Diversity page is one dedicated to Title IX.

A description of all the policies that have been put in place by the government, NCAA, conferences, and individual schools has just been presented. Yet today, there is still an underrepresentation of women collegiate coaches and administrators working in athletic departments. The Stanley v. University of Southern California court case brings forth barriers that clash against these policies and offers the opportunities to examine the inequities that still take place for women in the coaching and administration positions in collegiate athletics after the implementation of Title IX.

## Facts of the Case

## Stanley v. University of Southern California

Marianne Stanley, the University of Southern California (USC) Women’s Head Basketball Coach, began her position with the Trojans in 1989. Her initial contract was a four-year term, ending in June of 1993 (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999). This initial contract stated that USC would pay Stanley an annual salary of \$60,000 with \$6,000 in housing allowance (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). Just before her contract was to expire, Stanley "entered into negotiations with USC [Athletic Director, Mike Garrett], for a new contract" (Yasser, Goplerud, McCurdy, \& Weston, 2004, p. 26). Stanley "asked that her new contract be equal [to] that of the [USC Men’s Basketball Coach, George Raveling]" (O’Brien, O’Brien, \& SarfoKantanka, 2009, p. 33). Stanley not only advocated for herself to receive a raise, but that her assistant coach also get a higher salary for the following years (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). On April 20, 1993, "Stanley and Garrett had an initial meeting to negotiate a new contract" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999).

During this meeting, Stanley said that Garrett verbally agreed to offer her a multi-year contract that would be satisfactory based on her requests (Stanley $v$. University of Southern California, 1994). A week after their initial meeting, Garrett offered Stanley "a three-year contract providing \$80,000 in year one, $\$ 90,000$ in year two, and $\$ 100,000$ in year three with a \$6,000 per year housing allowance for each of the three years" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999). Garrett also agreed to raise the assistant coach's salary from \$37,000 to \$50,000 per year (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). Garrett knew that this offer was "not equal to Raveling's contract" (O’Brien, O’Brien \& Sarfo-Kantanka, 2009, p. 33), but he believed that the offer was fair (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994).

Stanley rejected the offer and came back with one that she believed to be fair. She proposed "a three-year contract with an automatic two-year renewal provision, and total compensation of $\$ 88,000$ for year one, $\$ 97,000$ for year two, and $\$ 112,000$ for year three, plus additional incentives" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999). Garrett rejected the counter offer and proposed to Stanley his final offer, "a one-year contract at $\$ 96,000$ " (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). After this series of rejections and counteroffers, USC and Garrett revoked their final offer and informed Stanley that they were seeking a new coach and Stanley "was asked to perform no further services for USC...as her existing contract had expired" (Yasser, Goplerud, McCurdy, \& Weston, 2004, p. 26).

On August 5, 1993, Stanley "initiated this action in the Los Angeles County Superior Court, making claims of sex discrimination and retaliatory discharge" (Stanley
v. University of Southern California, 1999). Some of the claims included violation of the "Equal Pay Act..., Title IX..., the California Fair Employment and Housing Act..., and the California Constitution" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). Stanley's complaint also included "wrongful discharge in violation of California’s public policy, breach of an implied-in-fact employment contract, intentional infliction of emotional distress, and conspiracy" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). Stanley also sought a "declatory judgment that USC’s conduct constituted sex discrimination, a permanent injunction restraining the defendants from discrimination and retaliation" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). Stanley also requested a "temporary restraining order" to remain head coach (Yasser, Goplerud, McCurdy, \& Weston, 2004, p. 26). And finally, Stanley "sued USC and Athletic Director Mike Garrett for \$8 million" ("Supreme Court Justice," 1994): "three million dollars for compensatory damages, and five million dollars in punitive damages" (Stanley v . University of Southern California, 1994).

The Equal Pay Act (EPA) states that an employer cannot pay an employee of one sex less than it pays an employee of the other sex where both employees are performing equal work under similar working conditions on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility (O’Brien, O’Brien, \& Sarfo-Kantanka, 2009). Stanley, as head women's basketball coach:
was responsible for the recruiting of student athletes, administering the basketball program, coaching and disciplining team members, supervising the academic and personal lives of her players, as well as supervising assistant coaches as well as
other personnel. In addition, she directed the women's basketball program and reported directly to the Athletic Director. Stanley coordinated the duties of the entire basketball staff. She prepared and managed every aspect of the budget. Furthermore, she developed the practice plans and scheduling, promoted and directed summer camps, and cultivated community support through season ticket sales, promotion, and fundraising.

Finally, during her 17 years as a coach, she won four national championships (Wolohan, 1996, p. 55). Because of these duties, Stanley believed that she was entitled to pay equal to that of Coach Raveling because her position as Women’s Head Basketball Coach "requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and is performed under similar working conditions" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994) just as the EPA states. After making these claims, the court "granted summary judgment for USC and Garrett" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999). Stanley then appealed asserting that USC discriminated against her because of her sex (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994).

In this case, "the district court concluded that Coach Marianne Stanley had failed to demonstrate that she would prevail on the merits of her claim of a denial of equal pay for equal work because she failed to present facts clearly showing that USC was guilty of sex discrimination in its negotiations for a new employment contract" (Stanley $v$. University of Southern California, 1994). The court also concluded that "the jobs of women's and men's basketball coaches at USC were not substantially equal because the men's coach bore additional responsibilities" (Yasser, Goplerud, McCurdy, \& Weston,

2004, p. 26). USC stated that these additional responsibilities meant that Coach Raveling had to do
substantial public relations and promotional activities to generate revenue for USC. These efforts [by Coach Raveling] resulted in revenue that is 90 times greater than the revenue generated by the women's basketball team. Coach Raveling was required to conduct twelve outside speaking engagements per year, to be accessible to the media for interviews, and to participate in certain activities designed to produce donations and endorsements for the USC Athletic Department in general (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). While the court did agree that these two coaching jobs share a commonality of the core tasks, "the additional responsibilities borne by the men’s coach . . . make the jobs substantially different" (Yasser, Goplerud, McCurdy, \& Weston, 2004, p. 26). Ultimately, the court found that there were "significant differences in the areas of public relations skills, credentials, experience, and qualifications, and substantial differences in their responsibilities and working conditions" (Judge, O'Brien, O’Brien, \& Vandenburg, 1996, p. 505).

The court also rejected Stanley's claim that USC terminated her contract in retaliation (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1994). This claim failed because the evidence did not support Stanley's assertion that USC "retaliated" against her because she insisted that USC honor Garrett's "offer," filed a discrimination claim, and filed a complaint in state court. USC's offer of a multi-year contract remained open after Stanley insisted she be paid equal to Raveling. In the end, "Stanley's contract expired
and she was unable to negotiate a new contract acceptable to her" (Stanley v. University of Southern California, 1999).

## Recurring Patterns

When reviewing literature on women in coaching and administration roles in sport, there were multiple barriers found that have prevented these numbers from rising over time. These barriers included homophobia, sexual harassment, hiring policies, pay inequities, access discrimination, homogenic masculinity, the "Good Old Boys Club" mentality, a lack of female role models, unequal assumption of competence, sex discrimination, and an overall lower number of female Athletic Directors. In the case of Stanley v. University of Southern California, some of these barriers were clearly present. These barriers have also been found in other court cases and articles written on female coaches or administrators in athletic departments.

## Pay Inequities

The first major barrier is pay inequities. In this case, Stanley was fighting in order to get her salary raised to that equal of the men's head basketball coach because she believed that the job that they were doing was equal and thus deserved equal pay. Not only did Stanley initiate a raise for herself, but also for her assistant coach who was being paid less than the male assistant coaches. Ultimately, the court decided that USC showed enough evidence to prove that differences in the men's and women's basketball coaches salaries were legal because of Raveling's extra responsibilities. While the verdict did not go as Stanley had hoped, the case brought up the barrier of pay inequities that women often undergo.

The Stanley v. University of Southern California case is not the only instance that has brought pay inequities for females in the sports industry to the forefront. Recent articles have also brought forth the issue. "Pay for Women’s Basketball Coaches Lags Far Behind Men’s Coaches," an article by Gentry and Alexander (2012, para. 2) from The New York Times, recently showed that Title IX has made improvements; yet "there is at least one area where women's teams still lag significantly behind: coaches' compensation." From 2003 to 2010, "the average salary for the coach of an NCAA Division I men's team in any sport...increased by 67 percent to $\$ 267,000$. By contrast, however, the average salary for the coach of a women's team only increased by 16 percent to $\$ 98,106$ " (Gentry \& Alexander, 2012, para. 4). Looking specifically at basketball, Gentry and Alexander note a men's team coach had a median salary of $\$ 329,300$, "nearly twice that of coaches for women's teams who had a median [salary] of $\$ 171,600$ " (para. 5). Below is a figure further illustrating the differences in pay in men's and women's sports, but specifically from the top five sports in the Mid-American Conference (Tranelli, n.d.):


Figure 5 MAC Head Coach Salaries

These big salary differences often "emerge when third-party money [specifically that provided by athletic donors or corporate sponsors] is used for items in contracts described as supplements" (Gentry \& Alexander, 2012, para. 10). These supplements are often along the lines of appearance fees or talent fees, such as those appearance fees that played a large role in the final court ruling of the Stanley v. University of Southern California case. According to Gentry and Alexander (2012, para. 11):

Because equal pay is required only for comparable work, contracts are often structured so men's coaches perform more additional duties beyond simply coaching. For example, a men's coach may be required to make 20 appearances a year at alumni events, while the women's coach is required to make 15. Because of this, contracts for male coaches often are written to include more of these appearances or responsibilities, which is then paid for by donations, and results in men being paid twice that of females in the coaching profession (Gentry \& Alexander, 2012). Other cases have also been brought forward regarding women fighting for equal pay relative to their male counterparts. One of these was a case filed by former Texas Southern women's basketball coach, Surina Dixon. Dixon filed a lawsuit after making the claim that she was fired after complaining about gender discrimination and advocating for gender equity, including pay. Dixon, being a new coach at the school, was only" offered a one-year contract at $\$ 75,000$ while [the] new men's basketball coach .. . was given a five-year contract for a salary at \$150,000 a year" ("Ex-women’s Coach Sues," 2008, para. 3). In a statement, Dixon said, "I believe because I questioned the
terms of the contract, the years, the salary, which were a huge gender difference and because I was questioning those things, I think that I was terminated based on sex discrimination and retaliation" ("Ex-women’s Coach Sues," 2008, para. 5).

## Sex Discrimination

The second barrier, related to previous literature research illustrated in the Stanley v. University of Southern California case, was sex discrimination. In this particular case, Stanley believed that she was being discriminated against during this process because of her gender. A large barrier that has prevented women from wanting to become a coach or be an administrator in an athletic department, or even be the Athletic Director herself, is because of the amount of sex discrimination that they receive in the workplace.

Sex discrimination is a barrier that goes alongside others. Some of these include unequal assumption of competence. Some believe that women cannot be as good of coaches as men, or that women can not handle the larger operations of an athletic department and because of these beliefs they are either not hired, or they are given jobs that are often considered more "housekeeping" positions rather than decision making roles. Another aspect of sex discrimination is evident in hiring policies in which women may not be hired for any position in sports because the person doing the hiring process discriminates by gender. Many other barriers are associated with sex discrimination; but in this particular case, Stanley believed that she was not receiving the same pay as the male coach, as well as not having her proposals for pay agreed upon because of her gender.

Another case of sex discrimination that recently surfaced is that of Marilynn Stacey-Suggs who filed a lawsuit against Savannah State University (SSU) contending that the university discriminated against her based on her sex. Stacy-Suggs worked for Savannah State for a number of years and who, in 2010, became the university's first female Athletic Director (AD) (Parks, Chesin, \& Walbert, 2012). In 2011, the university hired Damon Evans to be a consultant to SSU's athletic program. After his hiring, Evans began "running the athletics program from behind the scenes" (para. 3). Shortly afterwards, Stacey-Suggs was fired by the school president and replaced with a less qualified male who would do Evans’s bidding. The new AD was paid \$30,000 more per year, with fewer qualifications and less experience at the Division I level. It was after she was fired that SSU decided to create a position titled Associate Director of Student Development for Stacey-Suggs, paying her half of what she made as the AD. After this occurred, Stacey-Suggs complained about discrimination based on her sex and was then told that her job was to become only "interim" (para. 4).

This case illustrates sex discrimination, as the new president of SSU did not believe in having a woman as Athletic Director, brought someone in to do behind the scenes work, and then fired Stacey-Suggs, filling her position with a male who would agree with those statements and decisions made by the other male who was brought in for consulting.

Kristen Galles (as cited in Martin, 2013, para. 6), a Northern Virginia attorney and Title IX specialist, says that "there’s massive sex discrimination in college sports." Specifically, Galles refers to two lawsuits that were brought forth by former University of

Tennessee athletic department employee Jenny Moshak and her colleagues. These lawsuits alleged that Moshak and her colleagues had to work harder than their male counterparts, under worse conditions, for less money and fewer benefits, and then were punished when they dared to complain. Moshak and her colleagues found these claims to be true when The University of Tennessee brought its men's and women's athletic departments together rather than having them remain separate. Once merged, the women were able to compare their responsibilities and the work that they did to the men and found that they were receiving less money even though they had the same job title and responsibilities. The University of Tennessee has long been known for its sports programs and with Pat Summitt as head coach of the women's basketball team, paying their male and female coaches similar pay. However, Galles (as cited in Martin, 2013, para. 7) makes the point that this case is "a window into the discriminatory decisionmaking that happens every day in college athletics. And the fact that it's happening at a school like this really highlights the extent to which discrimination is a problem everywhere."

## Retaliation

One barrier that the Stanley v. University of Southern California case made clear that was not found in previous literature was retaliation based on gender. Title IX prohibits retaliation and states that "[n]o recipient or other person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by [Title VI], or because he has made a complaint, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding or hearing under
this subject" ("Title IX Legal," n.d.). In this case, Stanley believed that USC’s Athletic Director was retaliating against her not only because she was a woman, but also because she was bringing up the issue of unequal pay in a complaint brought to court.

There have been many other cases where women have filed lawsuits because they feel they were fired as a form of retaliation after fighting for gender equity within their respective athletic departments. The case of Lindy Vivas v. California State University at Fresno is another prime example. Vivas had been the head volleyball coach at Fresno State and had turned the program into the most successful in school history (Buzuvis, 2010). But Vivas was also "an advocate for gender equity at a university with a long history of discrimination against women's athletics in violation of Title IX" (p. 1). Many times, Vivas "had complained about discrimination to university officials and government regulators responsible for enforcing Title IX"(p. 1). Vivas filed suit against Fresno State, complaining that one of the main reasons, besides "her gender, her marital status, her perceived sexual orientation," was because "of her whistleblowing on gender discrimination within the department" (p. 2). Shorty after Vivas sued Fresno State, Diane Milutinovich, "an athletic department official...also claimed she was fired in retaliation for her efforts to ensure the athletic department is compliance with Title IX" (p. 2). Former women's basketball coach Stacy Johnson-Klein also sued, claiming retaliation. All three of these women won their court cases (Buzuvis, 2010).

Yet another court case involving retaliation was presented to the courts in January 2012. Denise Taylor, the former women's basketball coach at Jackson State University, claimed she was retaliated against by being put on administrative leave after she
complained about "unfair treatment, recruiting, and budgets of the women's basketball team that was based on sex" ("Jackson State University," 2012, para. 2). Taylor’s counsel, Nick Norris, stated, "From the evidence we have seen so far, it appears that Jackson State University retaliated against Mrs. Taylor because it was concerned its disparate treatment of the women's basketball program would come to light" ("Jackson State University," 2012, para. 3).

Jaye Flood, the former Florida Gulf Coast University women's volleyball coach, brought a case to court after claiming that she was fired from her position after complaining about sex discrimination including: "female coaches receiving a lower salary than male coaches, male coaches getting multi-year contracts while female coaches got one-year contracts and men's sports getting two assistant coaches while women's sports got fewer" (Kane, 2008, para. 11). Flood is quoted as saying, "The University does not want to hear the truth, we have only been punished for bringing these discrepancies to light" (para. 3). She argued that as soon as she made complaints, the retaliation started, and ended in her losing her position as coach, even though she was the most successful coach in school history (para. 9).

Nancy Hogshead-Makar and Karen Doering (n.d.), in their article "Despite Title IX, Sports Still Inequitable, Homophobic," talk about the impact that retaliation has had on women in sports. As they argued, "the squeaky wheel may get the grease, but it also risks getting replaced." The same goes for women in athletic departments: "Many athletic departments are happy with women coaches and support their goals as long as they remain quiet on women's equity." Because of this, women are afraid to speak out;
they want to keep their jobs (Hogshead-Maker \& Doering, n.d.) And, while some women are still afraid to be that so-called whistleblower-since 2005 when the U.S. Supreme Court recognized a private right to action for retaliatory discrimination under Title IX— more women have come forward with law suits. Erin Buzuvis (2010) argues that, because retaliation is now not acceptable, this decision has opened the door for litigation by athletics officials who felt that they were mistreated for speaking out, primarily because they no longer have to prove that discrimination occurred against them but just that they perceived it to exist. In the past, it has been "difficult for female coaches to challenge sex-based pay discrimination because they must demonstrate the university's failure to treat them similarly to a male coach of comparable responsibility" (p. 7). However, "due to Title IX's cause of action for retaliation, it is more likely that a coach who is fired for complaining about perceived pay discrimination itself or if her retaliation claim required her to succeed on the pay discrimination claim itself" (Buzuvis, as cited in Moltz, 2010, para 4).

## Feminist Analysis

Stanley v. University of Southern California, as well as other previously mentioned cases, demonstrate the continued inequities between men and women following the implementation of Title IX. Further analysis through a feminist lens shows that sexism in the form of barriers has limited the opportunities and successes that women have in accessing professional employment—as coaches and administrators-in the world of sports as previously predicted.

In the Stanley v. University of Southern California case in particular, Marianne Stanley, head basketball coach, wanted equal pay to the other head basketball coach at the university, despite the fact that she coached a team of females not males. Feminism is the belief that men and women should be equal ("Feminist Theory Examining," n.d.). According to this definition, Marianne Stanley would receive equal pay to her male counterpart, George Raveling. However, as seen in this case, by Stanley not getting the equal pay she sought, is a good example of the ways in which gender boundaries are policed (Fuchs Epstein, 2006; Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007).

Fuchs Epstein (2006) claims that gender is the "most basic and prevalent category in social life throughout the world" (p. 2), but also the most difficult to change (p. 17). Based on the Stanley v. University of Southern California case, the Stacey-Suggs v. SSU case, as well as others, the idea that gender as a category is difficult to change is evident through the recurring barrier of sex discrimination. Sports have always been viewed as a man's domain. This is apparent through groups or ideas such as the "Good Old Boys Club," as mentioned in the review of related literature. Through a feminist lens, it is barriers such as sex discrimination and the continued belief that sports is a man's world that explain and continue to make clear as to why women as coaches and administrators continue to struggle. As Fuchs Epstein (2006) puts it, women face a large amount of hostility when trying to perform "men's work" (p. 11). Feminist theorists illustrate that the concept of gender, in general, is difficult to change; but, specifically, it is women, not men who are "the group most victimized by sexist oppression" (hooks, 1984, p. 43) and feminism truly is "a struggle to end [this] oppression" (p. 24).

The case of Stanley v. University of Southern California, as well as others related to the barriers of sex discrimination, pay inequities, and retaliation, show the "short end of the stick" that women have continued pulling despite Title IX and other policy attempts to stop it. This would suggest a sense of the "separation of spheres and systematic allocation of power" (Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007, p. 256). Further, "one of the tenets of a patriarchal culture, such as that which exists in the US, is devaluing of women and women's activities" (p. 268). The barriers brought up in this case analysis, as well those found when reviewing other cases, reiterate the idea of patriarchy and that it does still exist in sports. Specifically in Stanley v. University of Southern California, despite her success, Coach Stanley was paid a significant amount less than the coach of the men's basketball team. And, while it was found in trial that this was due to more appearances that Coach Raveling had to make throughout the course of the year than Coach Stanley, from what feminist theory shows us, a large part of it could also have been that he (Coach Raveling) as well as the Athletic Director at the time were male. And, it has been seen through male domination in sport that when women make strides in sports, administration, and participation, men "remind women that they are still just women" (Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007, p. 258).

In the retaliation barrier that was found in Stanley v. University of Southern California, as well as multiple other cases, through a feminist lens, one could see that these female coaches and administrators being fired, often after complaining of gender discrimination, plays into the idea of a man putting a woman back in her place and trying
to show that men still have the upper hand in sports. It also speaks to the idea of patriarchy that feminism brings forth.

If patriarchy continues to be the standard—not only in sport but also in society in general-the goal of men and women being equal, as feminism pushes for, is going to be difficult to achieve. Through the analysis of the Stanley v. University of Southern California court case, feminism not only gives reasons as to why women experience the barriers that they do in coaching and administration, but feminist theory strongly suggests that this struggle will continue. Women in coaching and administrative positions will continue to face pay inequities, sex discrimination, and retaliation. And the only way to go about changing this for the better is to, through a feminist lens, create equality among men and women and institute changes.

## Further Analysis

Digging deeper into analysis with a feminist lens, the Stanley v. University of Southern California case is a good illustration of three tenets brought up by feminist theory. These three tenets are (1) gender-specific roles, (2) women's work being undervalued, and (3) women challenging men in the workplace and what occurs because of it (Padavic \& Reskin, 2002, p. 6).

Gender roles have been prescribed for men and women throughout history, and this "sexual divide is the most persistent and arguably the deepest divide in the world today" (Fuchs Epstein, 2006, p. 2). Feminist theory, as previously explained, "is built on the assumption that men and women occupy different landscapes and social institutions and that the power is distributed prominently to individual men and male-dominated
institutions" (Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007, p. 256). Because of this long history of men and women assuming different roles and being expected to obtain them, there is often a high level of resistance to those women who want to do something that in the past has not been considered appropriate for their gender.

In the case of Marianne Stanley, feminist theory predicts that she would encounter resistance because of this history that men and women are meant to maintain particular roles. Stanley believed that she deserved equal pay to the men's basketball coach; and when she fought to make it a reality, she was met with resistance. Having the beliefs that certain positions are meant for women has, over time, put them in a box that, even today, women cannot seem to break from. Stanley tried to break out of this box when she approached the Athletic Director about equal pay as well as equal assets for her female athletes. And, when she got close to breaking out of the box that the history of male dominance has put women in, she was met with resistance which-in Stanley's case, as well as the other cases found earlier in this chapter-led to the loss of her job.

Not only have women been put in this box and are met with resistance when they attempt to make a change, but looking through a feminist lens, the Stanley v. University of Southern California case indicates that even when women are given the opportunity to showcase their skills and work, they are devalued. As Fuchs Epstein (2006, p. 3) notes, "worldwide, in society, women as a category, are subordinated to men." In Stanley’s case, this was evident by the difference in pay between the male basketball Coach Raveling and herself as USC's women's coach.

Marianne Stanley was a successful coach and had created a winning basketball program during her time at USC. Because of her success, she believed she deserved the same pay as Raveling who had also created a successful basketball program. However, as previously mentioned, history shows us through the idea of hegemonic masculinity, that men are held above women and more often than the jobs that men do are valued more than those that women do (Walker \& Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). In this particular case, even though Stanley and Raveling were both successful basketball coaches, it ultimately came down to the fact that George Raveling was a male coaching a team of men. This leads us to the third point about how a situation is handled when women challenge men and fight for equality.

In the United States, democracy has taught us that everyone is equal. However, feminist theory makes clear that while this view is professed, men are still believed to be more valuable than women. As previously mentioned, "women's subordination is basic to maintaining the social cohesion and stratification systems of ruling and governing groups-male groups-on national and local levels, in the family, and in all other major institutions" (Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007, pp. 257-258). When women challenge men and get closer to being equal and obtaining the same statuses as males, not only are they met with resistance but justifications are then created so that men can continue to put themselves on a higher pedestal. To repeat Hattery et al.’s (2007, p. 258) contention, men do this by reminding "women that they are still just women." Examples include, particularly in basketball, that women cannot dunk, or that they are less interesting to watch. As Hattery, Smith, and Staurowsky (2007) make us aware from
their article, "They Play Like Girls: Gender Equity in NCAA Sports," "as women’s athletics has encroached on the territory reserved exclusively for men, the resources allocated to women vary as much by gender as they do by sport" (p. 258).

Much literature on occupational sex segregation has been written; the majority of this literature, however, has focused on the experiences of women entering male dominated occupations. It is very rare for men to take over predominantly female work (Padavic \& Reskin, 2002, p. 38). What is interesting and unique about intercollegiate women's basketball, as noted in Chapter Two, is that prior to the passage of Title IX, women's basketball was dominated by women coaches. It is only since the passage of Title IX that this occupation has integrated. When Title IX required universities to equalize resources, including coaching salaries, it resulted in "the increased attractiveness of coaching jobs" (p. 72), and that is ultimately when "men began displacing women" (p. 72) in coaching positions.

As the visibility of NCAA women's basketball began to increase, so did the resources devoted to it, including financial support for head coaches. As it became evident that one could earn a good living, even if salaries remain lower than those for the head coaches of men's teams, men became interested into entering into the women's world, something they had apparently had no interest in previously. And, as predicted by Padavic and Reskin's (2002) work on occupation sex segregation, the more men who entered the ranks of head coaches for women's teams, the more the position was valued; prestige and pay go hand in hand (Padavic \& Reskin, 2002).

Again, as predicted by Padavic and Reskin (2002), and the "glass elevator"-a concept that describes the fact that men who work in predominantly female occupations like teaching and nursing quickly rise to the top and become administrators-men who coach women's basketball, on average, are paid higher salary than a women who coach women's teams. This difference in pay has been viewed as the "most immediate consequence of sex segregation" (p. 58).

Analyzing this phenomenon through a feminist lens, gendered pay inequity can be understood as a way of marking the gender boundary (as suggested by Fuchs Epstein, 2006; Hattery, Smith, \& Staurowsky, 2007). Or put more plainly, decisions made by athletic directors, who are predominantly men, to pay men more than women for coaching women's basketball is a way of maintaining and reinforcing the idea that women will always be below men, that men will continue to find ways to show women that they are just that, and that men's work is more valued than women's.

Considering what has taken place in women's basketball and having the Stanley case to show the predictions made by feminist theory are true, it would be interesting to flip the scenario. By this, I mean to have a case in which a male coach who is coaching a women's team fights for pay and equity between his women's program and the equivalent men's program. For example, what would happen if Geno Auriemma, the University of Connecticut women's basketball coach, were to go to the Athletic Director at the University of Connecticut and ask to receive the same salary as the male coach of the men's basketball team? If Auriemma were to do this, it would certainly test feminist theory; what would the justification then be to the unequal pay seeing how both are male
coaches? Feminist theory suggests that men are valued more than women in their work. So, in this case with two men both coaching basketball, it would be interesting to see if they were to put one man on a higher level than the other, or if they would not be able to justify paying two males differently than a male and a female.

If a hypothetical case like this one involving Geno Auriemma were to occur, it would shed light on other cases in the past. It would bring forth those three tenets that feminist theory predicts and would indicate if these tenets hold true in a situation involving the same gender coaches and different gender teams or if a male fighting for equality with another male would receive it.

Analyzing the Stanley case through this feminist lens predicts that, when women get closer to men, justifications are made to put women back in their place. The difference in salary between Stanley and Raveling is again an example of how this is accomplished by Athletic Directors. When the case was brought to court, Stanley made clear that both coaches were successful; and just because she was a female and was coaching a female team did not warrant being paid significantly less than Raveling. In order to respond to this, the university as well as the Athletic Director scrambled to find justification as to why this was acceptable. This justification was found articulated that, because Raveling was expected (but not necessarily required) to make a few more public appearances, the school was justified to pay him more.

By examining gender, the tendency to undervalue women's work, and the consequences of women who challenge hegemonic masculinity in sport participation and administration, Stanley's case is an illustration of what feminist theory predicts. In

Chapter Five, suggestions and recommendations will be made that, if implemented, will hopefully create a sense of equity and minimize the patriarchy that still dominates sports today.

## CHAPTER FIVE

Title IX was signed into law by President Nixon mandating equal opportunity in the area of education. This law includes any program receiving federal financial assistance, bringing sport at all levels into the mix. Since the implementation of Title IX, the number of females participating in sport has increased astronomically. However, the numbers of female coaches have declined, and women continue to struggle securing positions in athletic administration. The purpose of this research was to show these continued inequalities by reviewing previous literature completed on women in coaching and administrative positions in athletic departments; reflecting on policies that are in place to create equity; and conducting a case study in order to indicate the amount of inequity that continues to take place despite Title IX.

The literature review identified many barriers that scholars have formulated as to why women have not been able to assume more coaching and athletic administration positions. These barriers are as follows:

- Homophobia
- Sexual harassment
- Unequal hiring processes
- Pay inequities
- Access discrimination
- Homogenic masculinity
- "The Good Old Boys Club"
- Lack of female role models
- Unequal Assumption of competence
- Lower numbers of female Athletic Directors
- Interest level
- Qualifications
- Work and home conflicts
- Burnout

While some of these barriers are personal and internal, many of them come from external forces. Because of this, not only is it difficult for women to gain access in an athletic department either as a coach or administrator; but once they do, they often are treated poorly on account of their gender.

To further indicate that these barriers exist despite policies established by our national government, the NCAA as well as schools and universities themselves, a case study analysis was conducted on the Stanley v. University of Southern California case. This particular case brought up two barriers that I have found to appear most often when researching why women have not been able to secure more coaching and athletic administration positions: sex discrimination and pay inequities. Marianne Stanley sued because she believed that she was discriminated against because of her gender, and that she received lower pay because she was the coach of the women's basketball team, even
though she believed she deserved to be paid the equal amount as the men's basketball coach because they had the same job.

The Stanley v. University of Southern Califronia case also brought up another barrier that was not evident from the review of literature. This barrier was retaliation. After being fired, Marianne Stanley argued that she was ultimatley let go because of her gender and the fact that she advocated for equality between the men's and women's basketball programs at USC.

After reviewing the Stanley v. University of Southern Califronia case, further analysis was then completed to indicate that it was not just in this case that barriers of sex discrimination, retaliation, and pay inequities exist. Many other cases-as well as the research literature-indicate that again, despite Title IX and policies against inequity, inequality still takes place in athletic departments. Even further analysis was done using feminist theory to see that sexism, in form of barriers, has limited the opportunities and successes of women in coaching and administrative roles as predicted. Through this analysis, reasons were found as to why women are having these experiences (for example, the idea that sport is hyper-masculine), that there is a patriarchal culture, and that women face hostility when men believe they are trying to do "men's work."

The previous research question asked how the Stanley v. University of Southern California court case represents continued inequalities between men and women at the coaching and administrative levels since Title IX was implemented. By using feminist theory, this question was able to be analyzed, and points were found true in this particular case that represent these continued inequalities. This court case showed that the work
women do is often undervalued. In this case, it was shown through a female coach being paid less than a male coach, even though they had the same job title, worked at the same university, and coached the same sport. Through this pay inequality, it shows that in athletics, male coaches are typically more valued than female coaches no matter the level of their success. Feminist theory also makes clear the idea of gender-specific roles. In the case of Stanley, being a woman and coaching a female basketball team showed that this idea brought up by feminist theory still holds true: women should coach women, and not men. Finally, the Stanley v. University of Southern California case, as well as the other cases that were analyzed, complellingly showed the truth behind the feminist theory idea of women challenging men in the workplace, and then the reprecussions that follow if they do.

Marianne Stanley believed that she was retaliated against once she fought for equal pay to a male, as well as equal opportunities for the women's basketball team at USC. This has happened to female coaches and athletic administrators in various schools and universities. Once they enter the male workplace that sports has always represented, and try to create equality either for themselves or female sports in general, many believe that they are discriminated against, devalued even more, and in many cases retaliated against, which more often than not leads to losing their position. Ultimately, looking back at the initial research question brought up in this thesis, while using a feminist lens to analyze the Stanley v. Unviersity of Southern California court case, was a true representation of the continued inequalities between men and women, at the coaching and administrative levels, in sport since the implementation of Title IX. And, although
feminist theorist Fuchs Epstein (2006, p. 17) states that gender’s sexual divide "is the most resistant of all categories to change," below are recommendations and suggestions that would be a start in the right direction of creating the equality among men and women in sport that feminism strives for.

## Future Research and Recommendations

In the future, research could be done to gain more knowledge about females in coaching and administrative positions. For example, a multi-case study could be completed. The advantage to doing a multi-case study would be to find more information about these recurring patterns of sex discrimination, pay inequities, and retaliation that women experience or a multi-case study could have the potential to bring up new patterns. Interviewing Senior Woman Administrators could also be an option for future research. Doing this would look further into the SWA position, its formation after the takeover of the AIAW from the NCAA, and how women in this position feel about their role. This could also be done with coaches and other administrative positions that women have. Doing personal interviews with women holding these positions would allow for more insight about how women feel that they are treated, what they believe should be done, and how change can be made to reach equity between men and women in sports.

Because there is still a large amount of inequality among men and women in the areas of coaching and athletic administration, I have made recommendations that I believe could help lessen these inequalities in schools and universities across the country. These recommendations have been made by taking into account all that feminist theory
discusses when looking at male dominance in sport, as well as the Stanley v. University of Southern California and related court cases, and all other information and research gathered throughout this document. These recommendations are:

1. Having mandatory training sessions on sex discrimination and gender bias for everyone working in athletic departments at universities. This is recommended because paper policies alone are not providing the protection to which women are entitled. Athletic department officials, as well as the school's presidents, need to take action so that everyone is treated equally.
2. Having a rule similar to that of the Rooney Rule in the National Football League. This rule would state that no matter the position, as long as a female candidate applies and has the qualifications listed for the job, she must be interviewed.
3. Making applications for positions in athletic departments "gender free." This would mean that all applications coming in for coaching and athletic administrative positions would conceal the gender of the applicant. And, if anything on their resume and application indicated their gender (e.g., attending an all female school), that too would be blacked out. This would allow for candidates to be interviewed without bias.
4. As a part of Gender Equity Planning, the NCAA should require that schools at all division levels maintain two year gender equity plans rather than five years. This would force schools to examine their policies more often, keeping the issue at the forefront of their mind rather than being able to set it on the back burner.
5. If the schools and universities do not submit their gender equity plans every two years, fines would be imposed with financial penalty and possible game forfeiture.
6. Each school/university in the NCAA will be required to have a gender equity committee. In order to make sure that schools complied, each school would be required to submit the list of their gender equity committee members and annual committee notes, planes, and implementations at the start of each school year.
7. Pay information for coaches and athletic administrators would be made public each year.

I believe that by implementing some, if not all, of these recommendations, we would see an increase in the number of female coaches and athletic administrators in schools and universities.

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