

ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF TITLE IX

By Amanda Paule

The purpose of this study was to examine perceptions of Title IX from the viewpoints of various members of a college community that recently made changes to its athletic programs. Since its inception, Title IX has contributed to a five-fold increase in the number of women participating in collegiate athletics (Bryjak, 2000; National Women's Law Center, 1997; United States General Accounting Office, 2001), and helped to increase women's opportunities to attend universities, medical schools, law schools, and graduate schools (Owens, Smothers, & Love, 2003).

Despite the apparent benefits of Title IX, there are divergent beliefs regarding its usefulness and impact on collegiate sport. While some have a largely positive impression of Title IX, others question the enforcement of Title IX, particularly its impact on collegiate men's sports.

Four main themes emerged from during this study while examining the participants perceptions: differences between females and males are ignored, football as a benefactor and problem, opportunity gained and lost, and the problem is not the law, it's....

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF TITLE IX

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*dedicated to my family for their
unconditional love and support,
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Community Perceptions of Title IX

Chapter 1

Introduction

There is no denying that the sport industry in the United States is an extremely profitable business. We now have television channels, magazines, websites and so forth dedicated solely to sports and sports teams. In fact, “a 1999 study by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles found that 94 percent of U.S. children ages eight to seventeen consume some sport of sports media; one of three did so on a daily basis, and seven in ten did so at least twice a week” (Messner, 2002, p. XIX). It is clear from this study that the United States culture is wrapped up in the world of sport.

One reason sport is of interest to many social scientists is because sports and sports media are believed to contribute to an individual’s views of gender, race, and commercialism in our society (Messner, 2002). For example, in explaining gender relations in North America, Messner discusses what he calls the *center* or *core* of sports. According to Messner (2002), the center of the sport institution is made up of the sport-media-commercial complex which organizes, promotes, publicizes, and profits from big-time college and professional football, men’s big-time college and professional basketball, professional baseball, and men’s professional ice hockey. At this center one finds the sports and individuals who are most celebrated and rewarded by the media and the public. The individuals who are in charge of the central sports at the collegiate level include athletic directors, men’s basketball and football coaches, and male athletes in high-status sports. Messner (2002) asserts that these individuals are able to perpetuate the process of promoting the central sports while keeping the non-central sports out of the spotlight, thereby maintaining the ideologies surrounding the central sports intact.

In contrast, Messner argues collegiate women’s sports and non-revenue men’s sports (e.g., collegiate golf, wrestling, soccer, tennis, and swimming) are more on the periphery of this model and consequently are not fully controlled by the sport-media-commercial complex. These non-central collegiate sports are generally the sports that do not receive much coverage by the media and have had to fight to gain acceptance with the general public, universities, and athletic departments.

The non-central sports are also the ones that tend to be considered less masculine because in these sports the body is not directly used to overpower, coerce, or dominate another. That is, such sports do not involve as much physical contact and are therefore not seen as “masculine.” This argument stems from the contention that to be masculine in Western culture means to have the prerogative to use the body to physically overpower, coerce, or dominate others (Metheny, 1975). Since masculine and feminine are seen as dualistic, to be feminine therefore, means *not* using one’s body in this way – and not being seen as even able to do so. While in our society gender tends to be thought of as an individual attribute that a person is said to have or display in masculine or feminine traits, as noted by Messner (2002), gender is not simply confined to individual people. Rather, different “organizations and institutions are themselves ‘gendered’; that is gender is ‘present in [an institution’s] processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distributions of power’” (p. 66). Sport is one such gendered social institution.

Over the years, modern sport has undoubtedly been amongst the most masculine organizations in our society. It has been men’s sports, primarily the central sports, which have received the most attention and the most financial resources. According to Messner (2002), this has often led to a sense of entitlement among those associated with these sports in regards to athletic opportunities, prestige, and resources. Due to the historical persistence of the male dominated world of athletics, sport tends to remain an area in which masculinity is central to its identity. These patterns appear to be natural and concrete. Therefore, there are not many challenges to the procedures and methods this institution uses that are successful. Hence, the *sports gender regime* is characterized by significantly disproportionate distributions of power, authority, prestige, and resources between women and men (Adler & Adler, 1998).

Researchers such as Margaret Carlisle Duncan, et. al. (1994) and Jennifer Hargreaves (1997) have explored the differential treatment men and women receive in the sports media. Many of these studies contend that the sports media play a vital role in creating and perpetuating gender inequality and stereotypes, and maintaining an ideology of dichotomous sex differences (Speer, 2001). For example, sports consumers are presented with far more stories and highlights of football than swimming or field hockey. Consequently, football is presented as, and thought to be, a more popular sport than swimming or field hockey although few consumers conclude that this is the result of, rather than the cause of, the media’s saturation of the airwaves with

football. It is through critical analyses that the gender norms, patterns, and inequalities that exist in the world of sport are revealed.

While the institution of sport appears to be beyond challenge, its power and influence is actually not permanent or stable (Connell, 1987). For example, in recent years the center of sport has been challenged by girls and women demanding equal opportunities and sometimes by marginalized boys and men who do not acknowledge or encourage unquestioned authority and entitlement of those at the center of the organization (Messner, 2002). The women's movement had a great deal to do with girls' and women's changing involvement in athletics. Along with the women's movement, laws such as Title IX have had a profound impact on the opportunities that girls and women now have in the world of athletics.

Title IX, of the Education Amendments of 1972, is a United States federal statute that was created to prohibit sex discrimination in education programs that receive federal financial assistance. Title IX states that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (Setty, 1999, p. 333). Nearly every educational institution in the United States is a recipient of federal funds and, thus, is required to comply with Title IX (Reith, 1994).

The importance of Title IX cannot be measured solely by numbers and charts. Title IX has provided women with the opportunity to participate in athletics at the collegiate level, and has given them the chance to attend universities, medical and law schools, and graduate schools. Prior to Title IX, women had to endure exclusion from some institutions of higher education solely on the basis of their sex (Owens, Smothers, & Love, 2003). Although historically women have had to struggle to receive full participation in education, Title IX, has aided women's movement toward equality in academic settings.

In addition, Title IX provided the groundwork for gender equality in athletics. Before the passage of Title IX, there were only 32,000 women participating in collegiate athletics and now that number has increased to approximately 163,000 women (Bryjak, 2000; DeVarona & Foudy, 2003; National Women's Law Center, 1997; United States General Accounting Office, 2001). In fact, in 1978 the average college in the United States offered 5.61 sports per school for women. However, by the year 2000 that number had climbed to an all-time high of 8.14 women's sports per school (Acosta & Carpenter, 2000). Furthermore, "the influence of Title IX

goes far beyond the increase in the number of female athletes. Title IX has made possible the rise of female sports leagues, such as the WNBA, and women sports heroes, such as soccer star Mia Hamm and L.A. Sparks basketball star Lisa Leslie. Both women call themselves ‘Title IX babies’” (Current Events, 2003, p. 1).

Title IX has also changed the structure of collegiate athletics. Women are now given more opportunities to participate on the playing field and they receive more funding for scholarships, travel expenses, equipment, and facilities (Bryjak, 2000; Semo & Bartos, 2002). These resources have only enhanced the public visibility of women’s collegiate athletics.

Title IX provides benefits for women beyond athletic participation. According to the National Women’s Law Center (1997), Title IX helps women develop personal skills through athletics. Women now have the chance to learn such things as working with a team, performing under pressure, setting goals, and taking criticism. Athletic participation may also help women develop self-confidence, perseverance, and dedication (National Women’s Law Center, 1997, June). These skills can transfer from the playing field to other aspects of their lives and can be used later in life once women have finished competing in athletics.

There are also long term health benefits to athletic participation for women, such as decreasing a woman’s chances of developing heart disease, osteoporosis, and developing breast cancer. Increasing physical activity also can lead to better posture, reduction of back pain, and a better self-image (National Women’s Law Center, 1997, June).

While the benefits women have received from Title IX are numerous there are still those who believe Title IX has a negative impact on sport – it does more harm than good. Some feel that Title IX has caused a reduction in the number of opportunities male athletes have to participate in collegiate athletics (source). While previous literature has researched both the positive and negative aspects of Title IX, there has been little research done on how members of a community recently affected by Title IX perceive the law.

Title IX is an important area to research because it affects every person who attends an educational institution ranging from elementary school all the way through college and graduate schools. Title IX outlawed sex bias in athletics, career counseling, medical services, financial aid, admission practices, and the treatment of students. It reinvented the way women were treated and educated at educational institutions all across America. Title IX has “changed the mode of operation in our schools. Better athletic programs for girls were instituted. Teachers

began to carefully analyze books and resources materials for bias” (Owens, Smothers, & Love, 2003, p.1). Basically, Title IX required that both males and females receive equal opportunities in the classroom and on the playing field (National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education [NCWGE], 2002).

Since administrators and head coaches were interviewed, along with athletes, community members and college students, it is important to gather information on how they view women in athletics because they are teaching students and athletes and their views could possibly be passed down to those individuals. While Title IX has been in existence since 1972, little research has been done on how Title IX is perceived by athletes, coaches, students, and community members and as a result, there is little research on how Title IX is perceived by different individual’s in a community. Most of the research in this area has revolved around the litigation surrounding Title IX, whether Title IX has hurt men’s athletics, how women have benefited from Title IX, and how different institutions have been impacted by Title IX.

The purpose of this study is to examine a select group of individuals’ perceptions of and experiences with Title IX and to gain insight into why they hold certain beliefs about Title IX. The constituencies that were interviewed for this study are all a part of a university community that has recently undergone changes (i.e., the elimination of 3 men’s sports) resulting from Title IX compliance. While the pros and cons of Title IX have been argued in the popular media and scholarly publications, no research has explored the meaning of Title IX to individuals who have been recently and directly affected by it.

A qualitative study was conducted in order to examine this issue. Qualitative research is a “research method that involves intensive, long-time observation in a natural setting; precise and detailed recording of what happens in the setting; interpretation and analysis of the data using description, narratives, quotes, charts, and tables” (Thomas & Nelson, 2001, p. 15). Qualitative research is appropriate for this study because the goal is to gain an understanding of participants’ experiences and perceptions. It is believed that open-ended questions are the most efficient method to achieve this end (Silverman, 2001).

Qualitative research, more specifically interviewing, was the best method to answer the research question “*What are a university community’s perceptions of Title IX?*” because this method gave the study participants a voice and the opportunity to present what Title IX meant to them. In the interviews, participants were able to convey their understanding and interpretation

of what they believe the law does. Interviews were appropriate so the researcher could gain a sense of what the people are thinking and how they feel by asking follow-up probing questions. Giving individuals who have directly and indirectly been impacted by Title IX a chance to express their perceptions of the law has been neglected to date in the research about Title IX.

In summary, previous research on Title IX has not addressed people's perceptions of Title IX who are part of a university community recently affected by this legislation. Further, previous research has not identified why people believe what they do about Title IX. Are their beliefs based on what they learned in a classroom, personal circumstances, stories from friends, or how the media portrays Title IX? Since there has not been past research in this area, the answers to these questions are not clear.

This study is intended to enhance our knowledge of how Title IX is perceived by those who have been directly and indirectly affected by it. Through the use of interviews, this study will explore a select group of individuals' beliefs about Title IX. This study will hopefully aid those who administer and support the law by providing insight into how and why some people feel favorably or unfavorably about Title IX but more specifically about its impact locally – on programs with which they have some affiliation.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This chapter gives an overview of the existing literature concerning Title IX. It begins with an introduction to Title IX which explains the purpose and how to gain compliance. This is followed by a review of litigation that has surrounded Title IX since its inception. Both men's and women's athletic teams have taken their battle to the courtroom and the rulings in these cases have impacted universities and athletic departments across the United States. Following this discussion, the focus shifts to how Title IX has affected both men and women since its creation. As will be seen, there is much disagreement about whether these effects have been positive or negative. Finally, this chapter presents a brief history of the university that is part of the community used in this study. This history provides a context for a preliminary understanding of the study participants' perceptions of Title IX.

An Introduction to Title IX

Title IX, of the Education Amendments of 1972, was enacted in order to ensure that all students in America's educational institutions are treated equitably regardless of their sex (Setty, 1999). It encompasses athletics, drama, band, home economics, math club, and all other curricular and extra-curricular activities connected with school. In fact, in the 1972 statute there was no reference to athletics or athletic programs. In 1974, the government debated how and if to apply Title IX to athletics. It was not until 1979 that the Office for Civil Rights, the governing body that enforces Title IX, developed an Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Interpretation. This policy was issued on December 11, 1979 and remains in effect today (Arens, 1999; Gavora, 2002). It is with the policy above that this study is concerned.

According to Title IX, schools and/or institutions do not have to have identical men's and women's sports, but they do need to provide equal opportunities for men and women to participate. In addition, institutions need to give equal consideration to female and male athletes in regards to equipment and locker rooms, scheduling of games and practice times, travel and daily allowances, access to tutoring, coaching, locker rooms, facilities, medical and training facilities and services, publicity and promotions, recruitment of student-athletes, and support services (Bonnette, 2000; Reith, 1994).

In order for institutions to be in compliance with Title IX they are required to meet one of three prongs. The first prong is based on proportionality. The proportionality prong states that

the percentage of female and male athletes has to be within one percent of the percentage of female and male undergraduate students at the institution. Thus, if 60% of the undergraduates at an institution are men and 40% are women, then proportionality requires that 59-61% of the athletes to be male and 39-41% to be female (Simon, 2001).

The second prong requires an institution to demonstrate a history and continuing practice of program expansion for the underrepresented gender (women). This prong allows institutions to demonstrate that they have made, and are continuing to make, progress toward equality in athletics (DeVarona & Foudy, 2003). Program expansion refers to the addition of female athletes on existing teams or the addition of women's teams at the institution. It does not, however, include the addition of walk-ons to existing women's teams (Bonnette, 2000). In other words, institutions cannot add players at random to women's teams in order to increase the number of women athletes at the university.

The third prong requires an institution to demonstrate that it is effectively accommodating the interests of the underrepresented gender. This prong allows institutions to "customize equal opportunity requirements to their own campuses, by providing a lower level of opportunity to women where that lower level nonetheless satisfies the interests and abilities that exist" (DeVarona & Foudy, 2003, p.5). Basically, an institution can have a lower percentage of women participating in athletics if they can prove that there is no interest in creating women's teams. An institution can also use this prong if they offer some women's sports and the institution believes (and can prove) there are no other varsity sports in which women want to partake. However, if there are club sports that request varsity status then this prong cannot be used since there is an obvious interest.

To determine whether discrimination exists in athletic participation opportunities the Office of Civil Rights applies the three prong test in a certain way. It first looks at whether or not the opportunities to participate in athletics are substantially proportionate to the percentage of male and female undergraduate students. If the percentage of female and male athletes is within one percent of the percentage of female and male undergraduate students at the institution the school is in a "safe harbor" and the inquiry into whether the institution is in compliance with Title IX will go no further (Sigelman & Wahlbeck, 1999). However, if the institution fails the proportionality test then the question becomes does the institution have a history and continuing practice of program expansion which is demonstrably responsive to the developing interest and

abilities of the members of the underrepresented sex. If there is a history then the participation requirement (prong two) has been met and the university is in compliance. If a school cannot pass the participation requirement, it can still gain compliance if it has “fully and effectively accommodated...the interests and abilities of the members of [the underrepresented] sex” (Sigelman & Wahlbeck, 1999, p. 521). This is how the test is administered that decides whether an institution is in compliance with Title IX or if they are in violation is administered. Only if a school fails all three tests will it be in violation of the participation requirement.

Failing to comply with Title IX can result in the loss of all federal funding. The institutions that have been found in violation of Title IX have all agreed to accept specific plans to work toward compliance rather than losing federal funding. However, the institutions are continually monitored to ensure that they are in fact meeting the guidelines in the plan to gain compliance (Reith, 2004).

Title IX Legislation and Litigation

Title IX was enacted in 1972 but many institutions did not work to meet the minimum requirements of the law due to the lack of enforcement by the government. As a result, the law was not seriously enforced until the 1990's (Sigelman & Wahlbeck, 1999). Since many institutions had not taken the necessary steps to comply with the regulations until recently, it is becoming increasingly hard for institutions to show a history of increasing opportunities for women or prove that the sports they are offering are the only ones in which women want to participate. The reason for this is because high schools are thought of as a feeder system and since they offer a wide range of sports, there are obviously women willing to participate in those activities (Bonnette, 2000). Also with the addition of women's club teams at colleges, it has made it more difficult for institutions to say there are not women interested in participating in sport. Thus, schools have difficulty demonstrating compliance via the second or third prong.

As a last resort, many institutions are choosing the proportionality prong of Title IX. In the process of working toward compliance, some institutions have chosen to cut men's sports to balance out the percentage of male and female athletes. As a result of the elimination of some sports and in an effort to ensure that universities comply with Title IX, there has also been an increase in litigation from individuals who believe their institution was in violation of the law (Semo & Bartos, 2000).

The first Title IX lawsuit took place in 1977 at Grove City College, a private, coeducational liberal arts school. When Title IX was created universities were asked to sign a Title IX compliance agreement, however, Grove City College refused to sign this agreement. The college cited that their reason for not signing the agreement was because it wanted to keep its institutional independence. They believed that by refusing state and federal financial assistance the university would not have to comply with Title IX. However, Grove City did enroll students who received Basic Educational Opportunity Grants through a Department of Education-run program. The Department of Education decided that this financial assistance to students qualified Grove City College as a recipient of federal assistance and made it subject to the requirements of Title IX (Grove City College vs. Bell, 1984; Gavora, 2002; National Women's Law Center, October, 1997). However, when Grove City refused to comply with the requirements of Title IX, the Department Of Education tried to terminate financial assistance to the student financial aid program. Grove City College challenged the Department Of Education's actions and argued that since they were not a federally funded institution then they did not have to comply with Title IX. However, the Supreme Court disagreed. In 1974, they said that Title IX did in fact apply to Grove City College because its students received financial aid from the federal government. The Supreme Court tried to limit the damage its holding inflicted on the institutional independence of colleges by ruling that only Grove City's financial aid office was subject to Title IX because only that part of the university was a recipient of federal aid. The rest of the institution, however, could maintain its autonomy from the federal government (Grove City College vs. Bell, 1984; Gavora, 2002).

However, the decision in the Grove City College vs. Bell case was reversed in March of 1988 by the Civil Rights Act of 1987. This reversal meant that Title IX's application was extended to all aspects of an institution that received federal funds. This new policy allowed for Title IX to be applied to athletics which helped to create the increase in opportunities for women. It was this lawsuit that was meant to ensure women would receive equal opportunities in the classroom and in athletics.

In 1980 at Temple University female students argued that the female athletes were not receiving funds (for travel, equipment, etc.) comparable to the male athletes. The Haffer vs. Temple University case was settled in 1988 when the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania ruled that Temple University had five years to create and implement a plan to

allocate equal funding to both the men's and women's teams (Semo & Bartos, 2000). This case toughened Title IX by insisting on new standards for budgets, scholarships and participation rates of male and female athletes. In addition, the settlement required the upgrade of women's crew to varsity, comparable treatment of men's & women's teams in general, and the addition of a women's team, which turned out to be swimming.

In *Cook vs. Colgate University* (1990), the women's club hockey team sued to gain varsity status. They had on four separate occasions (in 1979, 1983, 1986, and 1988) applied for varsity standing but were denied each time. The female hockey players argued that Colgate University was not effectively accommodating the needs of the underrepresented group. Colgate University responded that since the women's team was a club sport and the men's team was a varsity sport they did not have to allocate comparable funding to the women's team. In the end, the U.S District Court for the Northern District of New York agreed with the women and ruled that Colgate was in violation of Title IX. In its decision, the court stated the Colgate University was not required to provide equal financing for men's and women's teams, but that equal benefits and opportunities must be available to men's and women's teams. After appeals to higher courts failed to change the U.S District Court for the Northern District of New York ruling, Colgate University agreed to comply with the ruling and moved the women's club hockey team to varsity status (Lyons, 1994; Naughton, 1997; Semo & Bartos, 2002).

In *Favia vs. Indiana University of Pennsylvania* (1993), female athletes at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania also took their institution to court after budget cuts at the institution resulted in the elimination of the women's gymnastics, women's field hockey, men's soccer, and men's tennis teams. Prior to the elimination of the sports, 55% of the student body was female, however only 37% of the student-athletes were women. After the cuts, that number of female athletes at the university fell to 36% (Semo & Bartos, 2002). Female athletes of the teams that were eliminated filed a lawsuit claiming that they were rapidly losing opportunities to participate, which violated Title IX. The Pennsylvania lower court ruled that despite the school's history of increasing opportunities for women, the recent cuts negated that progress. As a result, Indiana University of Pennsylvania became the first institution to be ordered to reinstate women's teams that had been eliminated (Shaw, 1995). The men's teams, however, remained eliminated.

A case that was similar to the one against Indiana University of Pennsylvania was Cohen vs. Brown University (1993). In April of 1991, Brown University dropped its women's gymnastics and volleyball teams along with its men's golf and polo squads due to a lack of funding. The affected female teams decided to sue the university on the basis of discrimination. One year later, a class-action lawsuit was filed against Brown University. In this case, Brown University was charged with violating its obligation to accommodate the interests and abilities of female athletes when two of its women's teams were eliminated. Brown University argued that men are simply more interested in sports than women, which accounts for the discrepancy in opportunities. In addition to the claim that women were less interested in sports, Brown University also argued that women were not as skilled and had fewer abilities than the men (Labinger, 1999). The U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit rejected Brown University's argument that men are more interested in sports and ruled that Brown University was not in compliance with Title IX. Brown was ordered to reinstate the two eliminated women's teams and was forbidden from cutting, or reducing in status, any other women's teams (Semo & Bartos, 2002).

Roberts vs. Colorado State Board of Agriculture (1993) was a case where a women's varsity softball team was eliminated. The women filed a lawsuit against the university and won. As in the Cohen vs. Brown University case, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit ruled that Colorado State had violated Title IX by failing to accommodate effectively the interests and abilities of its women students and was ordered to reinstate the women's softball team (Semo & Bartos, 2002).

Kelley vs. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois (1994) was the first decision that addressed gender bias against men. Eight members of the men's swimming team at the University of Illinois claimed they were victims of sexual discrimination because the women's team was not being eliminated. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled that the University of Illinois, Champaign did not violate Title IX when it decided to keep the women's swimming program but cut the men's swimming program. The court ruled that men's interests and abilities were being met since the number of male athletes was more than substantially proportionate to their undergraduate enrollment (Semo & Bartos, 2002). The University of Illinois appealed the decision; however, the court upheld the original verdict and the men's swimming program remained eliminated.

In 1992, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Franklin in *Franklin vs. Gwinnett County Public Schools*. This lawsuit marked the first time plaintiffs were awarded monetary compensation because of an institution's violation of Title IX. Previously, court cases had shown that if institutions fail to comply with one of the Title IX prongs, they risked losing federal funds, but this case showed that institutions may be forced to provide monetary compensation to those students who were never given a chance to participate in athletics. This ruling strengthened Title IX as a law since previously if an institution was found to be violating Title IX, it was ordered to end the discrimination but there were no severe repercussions for being in violation of Title IX. The threat of litigation may encourage schools to remedy discriminatory practices before having to face potentially embarrassing lawsuits and the possibility of having to pay attorney's fees if the discrimination is found to be intentional (Setty, 1999).

As a result of lawsuits such as, *Grove City College v. Bell*, *Cohen vs. Brown University*, and *Haffer vs. Indiana University of Pennsylvania*, a message was sent to institutions across the country—cutting women's sports in order to lower the number of athletes at the university was not a way to comply with Title IX and taking away these opportunities from female athletes would not be tolerated. Schools may have felt that if they eliminated women's athletes it would have made it easier to comply with Title IX via the proportionality prong. However, these lawsuits showed that taking away opportunities from women would not be allowed. Consequently, many other institutions across the United States scrambled to gain compliance with Title IX in order to avoid lawsuits against their schools (Semo & Bartos, 2002).

Increasing Opportunities for Women

Proponents of Title IX suggest that the litigation surrounding Title IX has helped to strengthen the law and increase the opportunities for women to participate in sport. Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, the number of women participating in athletics has dramatically increased. Before Title IX, there were only 32,000 women participating in collegiate athletics. By 1999, that number has increased to approximately 163,000 women (Bryjak, 2000; DeVarona & Foudy, 2003; United States General Accounting Office, 2001). This progress has had an immeasurable impact on hundreds of thousands of women. The increase in women's participation has allowed more women to attend college on an athletic scholarship and finally be able to compete at a higher level of athletics. In fact, "the availability of athletic scholarships

dramatically increases young women's ability to pursue a college education and to choose from a wider range of schools" (National Women's Law Center, 1997, June). Being able to attend college through athletics helps women further their education which will also aid them later in life. Women now are receiving the benefits of higher education that men have received for years.

Not only has the number of women participating in athletics increased, but the number of women's teams has also increased. In 1998-99, there were 330 more women's athletic teams than men's athletic teams (United States General Accounting Office, 2001), although there are generally more athletes on the average men's team than on the women's teams. Women are able to participate in a wide variety of different sports, including soccer, rowing, golf, equestrian, and track and field (United States General Accounting Office, 2001).

The passage of Title IX has also led athletic departments to allocate an increased budget, better game and practice facilities, more recruiting money, and better travel arrangements to women's athletics (Bryjak, 2000; Semo & Bartos, 2002). By allocating more money and resources to women's athletics, institutions are not only allowing women to play sports but they are giving them the necessary tools to become competitive teams. Yet, women continue to lag behind men in funding. Prior to the passage of Title IX, women's athletics comprised on average 15% of the total athletic budget. Now, women's collegiate athletics receive an average of 40% of total athletic budgets (Bryjak, 2000).

The Critics Argument Against Title IX

Many people think that Title IX decreases and inhibits men's opportunities in sport. In fact, some people have said that Title IX is destroying male sport opportunities by compelling sport administrators to drop male programs (Staurowsky, 1996). Jessica Gavora (2002) argues that cuts to men's sports teams have accelerated and "produced new victims. These victims (men) were dismissed because of the assumption that the law had liberated into sports a generation of women who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to compete" (p. 30). Critics of Title IX also argue that from 1985-86 to 1996-97, 21,000 men's spots on athletic teams have disappeared and the amount of scholarship aid they received declined by 10% (Gavora, 2002). Critics, such as Gavora, believe that men are losing opportunities because of the elimination of non-revenue men's teams at universities such as Providence College in Rhode

Island, Miami University, UCLA, the University of Miami, and the University of Northern Colorado (Gavora, 2002).

In addition to their concerns about men losing opportunities to participate in sport, critics of Title IX believe that “more men than women are interested in taking part in college sports and that universities fail to take this into account when applying Title IX” (Arens, 1999, p. 127). Furthermore, they feel that since women are not interested in sports as much as men, there is no reason for men to lose individual roster spots or whole teams in order to gain compliance through the proportionality prong. Arens (1999) believes that athletic programs are being forced to cap the size of teams, terminate long standing programs, and eliminate thousands of male student-athletes from the playing field.

Those who believe that Title IX is harming men’s athletics also contend that Title IX has become a quota system. Critics of Title IX argue that cutting men’s teams in order to gain proportionality is a quota system and should be forbidden (Lynch, 2001). Critics of Title IX feel that the law has been misinterpreted and because of the “quota” that institutions need to achieve men are being discriminated against (Arens, 1999). Basically, they believe that Title IX imposes female athletic opportunities upon universities so they are left with little choice but to eliminate men’s teams.

Title IX Has Not Hurt Men’s Athletics

In contrast to the critics of Title IX, supporters of Title IX believe that Title IX has not hurt men’s athletics at all. Nowhere in the Title IX legislation does it say to eliminate men’s sport in order to comply with the proportionality prong. If an institution chooses to eliminate a sport it is their decision; it is not a legislative or court-imposed action. In addition Thelin (2002) found that nonrevenue men’s sports were already subject to departmental budget cuts long before women’s programs were incorporated into the new, merged intercollegiate athletic department structure. That is, sports like wrestling and men’s tennis were already in jeopardy before Title IX was created. In fact, during the four-year period between 1984 and 1988 a Supreme Court decision suspended the application of Title IX to athletics; however “the number of NCAA institutions sponsoring men’s wrestling teams dropped by 53, from 342 to 289 – or by approximately 13.3 teams per year” (DeVarona & Foudy, 2003). Thus, even though Title IX was not being applied to athletics, a significant number of men’s wrestling teams were being eliminated due to budgetary reasons that had nothing to do with women’s athletics.

According to Staurowsky (1996), supporters of men's athletics do not focus on this fact because it is easier to blame women for the cutting of men's sports rather than the individuals who are in charge of the majority of the universities across this country (i.e. University Presidents, Athletic Directors, member of the Board of Regents, and so forth). It is ironic that those people who believe Title IX legislation and women are hurting men's sports rarely mention the actions of athletic directors who are actually cutting the programs or refusing to consider creative alternatives (Staurowsky, 1996).

Moreover, the latest data appears to challenge the contention that Title IX has decreased the number of sporting opportunities for men. While the number of teams and/or spots on men's athletic teams may have decreased at some universities, the number of men participating in sports has actually increased. Basically, there are currently more men's athletic teams than there were prior to Title IX. In 1971-72, there were 170,384 men participating in varsity athletics, and in 2000-01 that number had grown to 208,866 collegiate male varsity athletes, a 23 percent increase. During that same period, women's participation in sport has grown at a more noticeable rate. From 1971-72 to 2000-01, the number of women participating in intercollegiate athletics has gone from 29,977 to 150,916 (a 403 percent increase). While women have shown a greater rate of increase than men, it is important to note that the number of women in sport *today* is still not comparable to the number of men participating in sport in 1971-72! (Women's Sports Foundation, Title IX at 30).

In addition, women on average represent approximately 53% of undergraduate students but constitute 37% of all college athletes and receive only 37% of scholarships, 27% of recruitment dollars, and 27% of operating budgets in intercollegiate athletics (Phillips & Blinde, 2002). In contrast, men make up 47% of undergraduate students but comprise 63% of collegiate athletes and receive 73% of the operating budgets. Thus, men's intercollegiate athletics are not suffering in resources.

Further, most universities do not cut men's sports to create more opportunities for women or to gain Title IX compliance. Of the 1,911 college and universities that responded to a survey sent out by the United States General Accounting Office, 948 schools had added at least one women's sports teams and 72% of these schools did so without eliminating any sports. Three hundred and seven of the universities stated that they had discontinued at least one team.

Furthermore, between 1992-93 and 1999-2000, approximately 16% of the respondents to the survey neither added nor eliminated any sports (United States General Accounting Office, 2001).

By framing men as the victim of Title IX, attention is taken away from the women who have been denied sporting opportunities for years. By creating a dynamic of male athletes as victims and females as victimizers the group that would ordinarily be thought of as the victims because of their underrepresented status (i.e., female athletes) is transformed into a group that is advantaged, treated preferentially, and in control (Staurowsky, 1996). In effect, men are advantaged by appearing as the victim because it suggests that Title IX is unjust and is hurting their opportunity to play sport.

Another fact that disputes the claim that an increase in sporting opportunities for women has hurt men's participation and sport opportunities is the number of males coaching women's sports. In 1972, over 90% of coaching jobs for women's teams were held by women. By 1977, this figure had dropped to 58.5%, and in 1988, the figure stood at 48.3% (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994). This could be considered one of the hidden benefits to men. In addition to the increase in men's participation in collegiate athletics, men are also having more opportunities to become coaches. Therefore, if we look at this issue in terms of the number of men in sport, opportunities for men have actually increased both on and off the playing field. That is, Title IX has increased opportunities for men as well as women.

History of this Community

The community for this study is a public university located in a small town in the Midwest. University enrollment consists of more than 16,000 primarily undergraduate students. Late in the last decade, the university added women's soccer and synchronized skating, which had previously been club sports, to its varsity offerings. At the same time, the decision was made by the university administration to eliminate three men's sports: tennis, soccer, and wrestling. Another men's sport narrowly escaped the chopping block by garnering alumni monetary support to help run the program. Shortly thereafter, the university released a statement saying that the school "cannot comply with the federal law calling for gender equity in athletics while maintaining its current 22 sports" (Name of University, 1998, April 7). The university came to the conclusion to eliminate three men's teams after a consultant submitted a Title IX compliance plan to the university. In the compliance plan, it stated that despite the universities best efforts to meet Title IX compliance by adding several women's sports, the university had

fallen short. By eliminating the three men's sports the university would save \$300,000 which could be redirected toward women's sports (Name of University, 1998, April 7).

Another reason that the university felt compelled to eliminate three men's teams is because the university was facing a projected annual deficit of \$893,000 (Name of University, 1998, December 14). Even after they considered the benefits of new aggressive fund raising efforts, the university believed they would still be left with a yearly deficit of \$393,000. The elimination of the three men's teams would decrease that deficit to practically zero (Name of University, 1998, December 14).

It is worth noting that before the cuts were made, the universities female athletes comprised 48% of all athletes and received 33% of scholarships (Heller, 1998). Four years later, according to the report, Gender Equity in Athletics Statistics compiled by the university for the 2002 fiscal year, the percent of female undergraduate students was 55.5% and the percent of women participating in varsity athletics was 52.3%, which makes it almost in compliance with the proportionality prong.

Research Question

Title IX was created to ensure that women and men are treated equally in educational settings. There are individuals on both side of the spectrum when it comes to debating whether Title IX is beneficial or harmful. However, previous research has not examined the ideas and feelings of community members about the impact of a decision to cut men's sports ostensibly to comply with Title IX. The current literature on Title IX ranges from the different legislation and litigation that has occurred to the increasing opportunities for women, the impact on men and the impact on institutions (specifically the university where this study took place). Each of these topics has been examined from a variety of angles; however, there is a noticeable gap in the research. There is little information on how those who have and have not been personally affected by Title IX perceive the law. The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of how Title IX is perceived by those who have attended or are attending a university that recently cut men's sports and what the individuals interviewed perceive the purpose of the law to be. This study will examine how various constituencies, including coaches (both past and present), university administrators, current and former student-athletes at the university, current students at the university who do not participate in athletics, and residents of the town perceive Title IX and its impact on athletics at the university. This study will examine

the thoughts and feelings different people in a small college town have about Title IX and will explore differences and similarities between those who have and have not been personally affected. Through the use of a qualitative methodology, and by speaking with various individuals, the question “*What are a university community’s perceptions of Title IX?*” will be addressed.

Chapter 3

Methodology

In order to explore how people feel about and perceive Title IX, a qualitative study was conducted. Qualitative research is a “research method that involves intensive, long-time observation in a natural setting; precise and detailed recording of what happens in the setting; interpretation and analysis of the data using description, narratives, quotes, charts, and tables” (Thomas & Nelson, 2001, p. 15). This type of research focuses on the “naturally occurring” and is, for the most part, unstructured. That is, the researcher is free to deviate from a list of questions and is not confined to a certain pattern.

In contrast quantitative research “relies on determining procedures ahead of time and generally following specific protocols with a stable treatment of the data” (Henderson, 1991, p. 25). This type of research is designed to be replicable and value-free and is believed to be more reliable; that is, the data are able to be consistently assigned to a category (Silverman, 2001). This is because researchers who use this method “have typically relied on prediction and controlled settings such as laboratories” to collect their data (Henderson, 1991, p. 27). Their experiments can also have a specific design that can be replicated to ensure accuracy and reliability (Silverman, 2001). The outcome of quantitative research is focused “on answering specific research questions or testing hypotheses and confirming theory” (Henderson, 1991, p. 27). Since their methods are generally confined to a laboratory and can be replicated, quantitative researchers also believe that their data contains the truth (Chalmers, 1999).

In contrast, qualitative research is more focused on authenticity than reliability. Authenticity refers to gathering an “understanding of people’s experiences and it is believed that open-ended questions are the most effective route towards this end” (Silverman, 2001, p.13). This study focuses more on authenticity because the goal is to explore what different individuals’ perceptions of Title IX are. It is necessary to understand their experiences in order to accomplish this.

The focus on authenticity and not reliability is also a criticism of qualitative research. Since qualitative research depends more on narratives than statistical tables, the problem of reliability exists since there may be no hard evidence to support the study participant may be giving opinions or recounting experiences. Part of the “issue of consistency arises because

shortage of space means that many qualitative studies provide readers with little more than brief, persuasive, data extracts” (Silverman, 2001, p. 33).

Despite the question of consistency, a qualitative study can be replicated by using the detailed description of the research process and procedures used in the original study. However, since where a person is during a specific point in his/her life will never be the same, the study could yield different results if it is replicated a year, a month, or a day later (Silverman, 2001).

The question of consistency is not the only concern with qualitative research. Another concern of qualitative research is that of “anecdotalism” which is the reporting of data in a way that provides only brief glimpses of interviews that are used to support or refute a claim that is being researched. That is, there is a tendency to use parts of interviews or brief conversation in order to make a point or provide evidence for an argument (Silverman, 2001). This raises doubts about the validity of the study. There are several ways to address this criticism including providing evidence that may not support the claim the researcher is attempting to make and informing the reader of the biases and preconceived notions of the researcher (Silverman, 2001). This may provide evidence that the study is not throwing out data that does not conform to the hypothesis the researcher is trying to prove.

The methods that qualitative researchers use can range from observation to interviewing to ethnography. Each method aims “preeminently at clarification, interpretation, and, to a certain degree, at explanation” (Heyink & Tymstra, 1993, p. 293). These methods also require description and analysis and are “concerned with the techniques of data discovery, reduction, display, interpretation, and explanation” (Henderson, 1991, p. 29). Qualitative methods may take longer than quantitative methods to complete because they are “more detailed, are highly variable in content, use pattern analysis, and focus on others’ views” (Henderson, 1991, p. 29).

For the purpose of this study, qualitative research, more specifically in-depth face-to-face interviews, was the method used. This method allowed the researcher to explore the participants’ understanding of Title IX, what it means to them, and how they have come to believe what they do about this piece of legislation.

Furthermore, when using the interview method the researcher can ask open ended questions of the study participants, and if the participant’s answers are unclear or vague, follow up questions can be asked in an attempt to discover what they are really thinking and feeling. If

closed questions were asked participants might feel that they had to fit their answers into an existing mold.

The perspective that frames the researcher's use of interview is "emotionalism." This perspective views individuals as actively constructing their social world and seeks to elicit authentic accounts of individuals' experiences. Emotionalists believe that the interviewer should set up an environment that is conducive to open and honest communication and that it is important to "obtain rapport with respondents and to avoid manipulating them" (Silverman, 2001, p. 90). Emotionalists pay particular attention to the lived experience of individuals, and that is the intent of this study: the purpose is to discover what Title IX means to and how it is experienced by those who have and have not been directly affected by it.

The advantage of using the emotionalist approach to interviewing is that "it allows respondents to use their 'unique ways of defining the world.'" It assumes that no fixed sequence of questions is suitable to all respondents. It allows respondents to "raise important issues not contained in the schedule'" (Silverman, 2001, p. 92). However, there are also pitfalls that one must be aware of with this perspective. The first is the assumption that "it is somewhat naïve to assume that open-ended or non-directive interviewing is not in itself a form of social control which shapes what people say" (Silverman, 2001, p. 92). In order to take account of this it is important to acknowledge different experiences that could impact a person's opinions and feelings about Title IX. This also can occur when the researcher becomes distant or maintains a minimal presence during the interview. During this study the researcher was present and engaged in every interview and encourage the participants at the beginning of the interview to speak their minds and not to worry about how their comments may be perceived by others.

The second potential pitfall is the difference between a 'humanistic' and social science approach. There is a need for the researcher to look at what is being said and identify if it is an authentic experience or a reproduction of widespread cultural assumptions and beliefs (Silverman, 2001). People's beliefs may be the result of what they hear on television and read in the popular media. In addition, it must be recognized that the "well-meaning 'humanistic' social scientist may uncritically take on board a common-sense assumption about the immediacy and validity of accounts of the human experience, which leads to analytic laziness in considering the status of interview data" (Silverman, 2001, p. 93). To guard against this, the researcher must probe and allow the participants to explain their thoughts and expand on their initial responses.

In this way when it is time to report the results, there will be rich data and less uncertainty about what the participant was thinking.

A third caution is to be clear about the role of “common-sense knowledge, rather than ‘empathy’, in ... conduct(ing) and analyz(ing) interviews” (Silverman, 2001, p. 92). That is, the researcher needs to be aware of the fact that study participants may be representing themselves in certain ways and fabricating details of their account (Silverman, 2001). Silverman (2001) states that to guard against this, the researcher should investigate these ‘facts’ rather than disregard them or treat them as the truth.

Participants

In order to answer the research question, “*What are a university community’s perceptions of Title IX?*” the researcher interviewed one administrator, four head coaches, two current student athletes, one former student athlete, two current students, two community members, and a former student-athlete who is now the coach of her former team. Participants in this study were males and females and the only age restriction was that they were over eighteen years old. The age restriction was so each of the participants could give consent to participating in the interview, which would eliminate having to gain parental consent for those under the age of eighteen. Of the thirteen participants, there were six women and seven men, all of whom were Caucasian. This was a purposive “sample” in that the researcher chose individuals for this study who she believed would be able to give unique perspectives surrounding Title IX. Given the implications Title IX holds for gender equality, it was important to the researcher to examine the experiences and perceptions of both men and women when discussing Title IX.

Participants were identified through personal relationships (friendships, acquaintances) with the researcher or through referrals from other individuals (i.e., teachers, classmates). In order to solicit participation, the researcher emailed different head coaches, student athletes, and students on campus (see Appendices A, B, and C for scripts) or contacted individuals by telephone. While some potential participants declined participation in the study due to time constraints, most of the individuals were eager to be interviewed. Prior to each interview, the participants had to answer specific screening questions. Participants were asked if they had heard of Title IX and if they had ever in their life played a sport. By acknowledging their familiarity with Title IX, they were identified as individuals who would be able to contribute to

this study. In addition, by participating in athletics at some point in life, the researcher believed that individuals would be able to draw on personal experiences during the interview.

Procedures

As previously stated, an emotionalist interview approach was the main method used to explore individuals' perceptions of Title IX. Silverman (2001) believes that "interviewers should try to 'formulate questions and provide an atmosphere conducive to open and undistorted communication'" (p. 90). In order to be consistent with this approach, each interview was conducted face-to-face in a location convenient to the participant and audio-tape recorded. A semi-structured format (Silverman, 2001) was used to guide each interview. In this format, a list of questions was developed prior to the interviews to direct the interview but divergence from the interview guide was expected as participant responses directed the interviews and probes were used to gain clarity or further insight into what the participants were saying.

To guard against the social desirability effect, participants were told that confidentiality would be maintained and they would be given pseudonyms. This was done by eliminating their name and sport affiliation from all of their responses. The name of the university in which this study took place has also been changed to State College. In addition, the participants were told that the researcher would be the only person that would hear the audio tapes of the interview and the researcher and her advisor would be only people reading the transcripts of the interview.

The interviews were audio-tape recorded by the researcher with the permission of the participant, and the tapes were transcribed verbatim immediately after. Immediate transcription allowed for a more accurate recording of the data, as well as preliminary analysis before conducting the next interview. As noted by Silverman (2001), data analysis in qualitative research is an on-going process that begins with first observation or interviews. Another advantage of tape recording interviews is that the tapes can be replayed to ensure accuracy in data reporting. In addition, tape recording is useful because it aids the researcher in tidying up the "messy features of natural conversation such as length of pauses or overlapping or aborted utterances" (Silverman, 2001, p. 163). Furthermore, by taping interviews attention can be paid to what the participant is saying and not scrambling to write down responses.

Each interview began by gathering basic demographic data. The researcher asked about the participants' background, such their sport background, where they grew up, how many years they lived in the town, if they attended the university or had any family members that had

attended the university. As much detail about the individual's background, sport experience, and so forth was gathered through follow up probing questions, and then the conversation shifted to Title IX. The participants were again asked if they had ever heard of Title IX, when they first heard about it, their understanding of the purpose of the law, what they believed about Title IX, etc. Following these questions was a discussion about how Title IX has affected women and men, how they would categorize these affects, and if they thought the law was unfair. Finally, the last questions revolved around the addition and elimination of sports at the university where this study took place. All of these questions provoked thought and emotions from each of the participants and generated follow up questions to gain further insight into each of the participants' perceptions of Title IX.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed in a manner consistent with Patton's (1990) strategies for analyzing data. Once all of the interviews were complete, the first step was to organize the data. The researcher read over all of the verbatim transcripts of the interviews to ensure there were no holes or pages absent from the transcripts. Then copies were made of the transcripts so the researcher could begin the next phase of the analysis process.

The next phase of analysis was content analysis, which is "the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data" (Patton, 1990, p.381). The transcripts were coded by reading through the interviews and writing comments or words in the margins that summed up a paragraph or sentence. During the coding process, the researcher met with one of her advisors to discuss the different observations and themes that were emerging through the interviews. Gaining multiple perspectives of the transcripts and the different themes is a crucial part of this aspect of analysis in order to compare and contrast ideas to make sure nothing is being ignored or overlooked.

Inductive analysis was the next method of analysis used in this study. In this part of the analysis, "the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1990, p. 390). Basically, the themes emerge through the words of the participants and the researcher's role is to find those themes by looking through the transcripts.

The first place to begin inductive analysis is the observation of key words or phrases. Some of the key words that emerged while reading the transcripts were misinterpreted,

opportunities, legislate interest, and development tool. After noticing the key words in the transcripts, the next step was to analyze each transcript for other themes. Themes are important for research because they “can provide insight into the cultural beliefs and values that instill powerful experiences and motivations and shape how individuals plan, makes sense of, and respond to events” (Luborsky, 1994, p. 190). By identifying themes throughout each transcript, the researcher was able to gain more insight into what Title IX means to the participants of this study. Once the themes were identifies within each of the interviews, they were then compared and contrasted with the other interviews. Throughout this process, themes were constantly produced and created which provided a wide array of themes for the researcher to sort through. The themes that emerged from the data were related back to the research question of the study “*What are a university community’s perceptions of Title IX?*” This process continued until the researcher was able to come up with four main themes that represented what the perceptions of Title IX were to the individual participants. Within each of these themes, however, were several sub-themes that helped illustrate the main theme and give the varying perspectives that the participants had about Title IX.

Once the themes were identified, the researcher then went back to the transcripts and cut out quotes that she wanted to use that would illustrate the point the participants were trying to make. These quotes were then placed in envelopes with the quote with the same sub-theme from other participants. Once this was complete, the researcher was able to begin the results section of the research paper.

In summary, the researcher first began the process of data analysis by ensuring that the transcripts were complete. Once this was completed, the researcher then started the process of coding the data by writing key words in the margins that helped identify different themes in each of the transcripts. After each of the transcripts was coded, the researcher looked for themes in each transcript and then compared and contrasted it with the themes in the other interviews. The perceptions of the participants were carefully examined and provided a vivid account of what Title IX meant to the participants of this study. The analysis of the interview transcripts resulted in four main themes, as well as several sub-themes for each of the main themes. The main themes were *differences between females and males are ignored, football as a benefactor and problem, opportunity gained and lost, and it’s not the law, it’s....*

Chapter Four

Results

The purpose of this study was to examine “*What are a university community’s perceptions of Title IX?*” To explore what Title IX means to a university community, thirteen interviews were conducted with various members of the community. Each of these individuals had different experiences with sport throughout their life, although each of the participants said that sports were encouraged in their families while they were growing up. College student two recalls her childhood experiences involving her parents and sports.

CS2: My parents got married directly out of high school and I was born a year and three months later. So my mom was 19 and my dad had just turned 20 and um I guess it was a young guy thing and my parents were involved in sports, particularly my dad. And so growing up, having a really young father just made my experience a little different as I don’t know he was able to play with me more often or he had more interest in making me want to play t-ball and soccer and things like that.

Similar accounts of encouragement from parents to participate in sports while growing up came from other study participants as well.

The chapter presents the results that emerged from analysis of the interviews. Again, the question that guided this analysis was *what does Title IX mean to a university community?* Four different themes were identified in analyzing the data and these were labeled: differences between females and males are ignored, football as a benefactor and problem, opportunity gained and lost, and the problem is not the law, it’s.... Each of these major themes is comprised of various sub-themes. Each theme and the sub-themes that comprise it are presented below.

Differences Between Females and Males Are Ignored

The first theme is *differences between females and males are ignored*. In discussing Title IX, some of the participants indicated that they believed Title IX was either fair or unfair. Underlying this perception was the belief that there are physiological/biological and other differences between females and males. This theme is comprised of three sub-themes: skill differences, differences in interest levels (interest for men, interest for women, legislated interest), and differences in dedication and willingness to work hard.

Skill Differences. In discussing their perceptions of Title IX, three of the study participants noted that men are physiologically or biologically superior to women and thus men are more skilled in sports than women. Head coach four discussed the topic of skill difference during the

discussion on how she first heard about Title IX. She recalled the match between Bobby Riggs and Billy Jean King and how she thought it was “stupid.”

Interviewer: *When you say you thought it was stupid when Billy Jean King was playing Bobby Riggs what do you mean by that?*

HC4: *I personally don't think that after a certain age it makes sense for women to compete against men.*

Interviewer: *Why?*

HC4: *Simply because there is such a great difference in physical strength and God given vertical jump. That's why men and women don't play basketball against each other. That's why there aren't leagues, football leagues men versus women because eventually the women are going to get hurt. And that might come as a surprise to you as a female coach, it's a pretty hardliner but I think sometimes in our zeal to get equality we go over the boundary and um I don't think men should compete against women because I think what a distinct disadvantage.*

Community member two had a similar view as head coach four on the skill differences between men and women. While discussing if Title IX is unfair, he mentioned that he did not think that women will ever draw a crowd like men can or be able to play at the same level as the men.

Interviewer: *Why do you think the interest level of girls in sport will never be the same as guys in sport?*

CM2: *I just think its skill level. I just think people want to see people jump really, really high. Anybody who doesn't jump that high then they want to see a ball hit really, really far and if it isn't well that really doesn't excite them. You know what I mean? It's just the way human nature is. They want to see someone jump a certain distance, throw a ball a certain speed, run a certain speed, hit really hard you know. I just think is that a male dominated world?*

Community member two went on to say that there are few exceptions...

CM2: *There are the exceptions, the UCONN's, the Tennessee's, you know when I was growing up Tennessee was dominant but you know that's few and far between and I just think it comes down to that – speed and height and dunking. That's just what people want to see. Are their skill levels the same? Respectively yes, their skill levels, they have greater skills but comparatively no. A woman will never run as fast as a man, never be able to lift as much, never be able to jump as high or as far. That will never occur. Never. Respectively within their own sport skill levels, they're just as good.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think that will never occur?*

CM2: *Just physical, the way a man and a way woman are physically put together from a physiological perspective. And that's just I think I saw the other day the record for the bench press is 875 pounds, 875 pounds. The world's strongest woman is actually, I don't remember but the worlds strongest man is actually twice as strong as the world's strongest woman, twice as strong. So when you are talking about that it's just physical*

limitations that it will never occur. Is that because sport has been so male dominated over however many years? Doubt it. I think it's physiological.

Student athlete two felt that there was a skill difference between men and women, but she thought it could work to her advantage.

SA2: *I always wanted to train with men's teams but here at State College we are actually separate but even if they weren't there I think I wouldn't have as much of a base you can say behind me knowing that we have a men's team.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean by a base behind you?*

SA2: *Just like teams across the nation have a women's and men's team and the programs that have both women and men teams do a lot better just in general.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think that is?*

SA2: *Um, I don't know. I guess it's just, I'm not sure if it is the masculine side of just excelling in sports and excelling in all that. I don't know but that's how the trend has been.*

Interviewer: *When you say you wanted to train with guys what was the reason for that?*

SA2: *Um my club team was like that and knowing you can keep up with the guys for a certain set makes me feel better personally.*

Interviewer: *So it's a way to push yourself?*

SA2: *Yeah.*

For these participants, the skill difference between men and women was “natural” and women would never be as skillful or able to compete with the men. Title IX was seen to ignore such “natural” difference.

Interest Levels. Along with skill differences, the sub-theme of interest levels was central to some participants' discussions of Title IX. Several of the participants believed that men and women have different interest levels when it comes to athletics. Furthermore, certain participants felt that Title IX is trying to create interest levels that are just not there for women.

Four different participants mentioned that they believed men are more interested in sports than women. Head coach two was one of those participants. As the coach of what is considered a revenue producing sport, this coach felt the pressures of having a high number of men wanting to participate in his sport.

HC2: *One tangible affect for us that people don't understand is that there is a tremendous interest beyond high school for guys to want to at least try to play college [name of sport coached] and we have to cut.*

He went on to back up his claims of a high interest level in sports for men by recalling literature that he had read on the topic.

HC2: *I just know the research I've read on it says that yes across the board statistically there are more guys are still more interested in participating in sports at the college level or as a college student not necessarily at the college level than women. I think that percentage is something like 50% to 35%. So that might be just a biological factor or it might be part the argument that they didn't have as many opportunities in high school so the interest is growing and we need to keep meeting the needs and the interests and maybe that's the case.*

Community member one also felt that men are inherently more interested in athletics than women. During the discussion he often suggested that he felt men have a much stronger interest to pursue athletics than women. He first mentioned this during a conversation on why he thought proportionality did not work.

Interviewer: *What did you think about that?*

CM1: *Well I think it's way off base because proportionality it doesn't work. To say to me that men should have the same interests as women and women should have the same interests as men, it's not real. And any study will tell you the only extracurricular activity in secondary schools and colleges where there are, where there is greater male participation than female is athletics. Everything else from student government to theatre to music, there are more women. Let's take cheerleading, ok, what if you really apply proportionality to cheerleading it doesn't work. 97% of the females that cheer would not be able to cheer because there's not an equivalent number of men that want to do it. So proportionality doesn't work. It doesn't work.*

Interviewer: *So do you believe that men are just more interested in sports than women?*

CM1: *In terms of numbers I do believe that because I have hard data that proves that. And I spoke in front of the President's Council, President's Committee for equality in athletics and this was exactly my approach, after 35 years in the tennis business and tennis is a sport that has been gender equitable in terms of opportunities for a hundred years. And even at that, I have statistics locally, regionally, and nationally that prove there are more men over the last thirty years, even though the gap has been narrowed, even in the last three or four years there are more men that participate in this sport that has forever been gender equitable in terms of opportunity.*

He went on to further explain his reasons for believing that proportionality does not work.

CM1: *And proportionality does not work because we are not all created with the same interests. A perfect example of that, and I might have the numbers wrong but conceptually its not wrong, if you want to look at the interest in sports in its most pure form, let's look at intramurals and across the country you will find, I think it's almost four to one the number of boys that participate compared to girls. Okay, if you want to go a notch different from that go to DIII schools where there's no glory, no scholarship, there's just playing for the pure love of playing and again I think you will find it's two and half or three to one, men to women that participate. That's the real measure right there.*

Community member one later expressed again his reasons for believing women are not as interested in athletics as men.

CM1: *However, there is a statistic out there that shows that girls tend to lose their interest, I'm speaking collectively now not individually, they seem to lose their collective interest in athletics as they get into college and you know I can't cite exactly that study but I do know from tennis there is a tremendous drop off in women's participation in the eighteen and under category compared to the sixteen and under category. Girls get to college and they have more interest in sorority and things of that nature than they do in sports.*

Community member one isn't the only person who felt that women lack the interest in athletics that men have. Former student athlete one also believed that women are not as interested in athletics. She, like community member one, revealed her thoughts on this while speaking about proportionality. However, for this participant, the topic of proportionality arose during the question of how she first heard about Title IX and how it was explained to her.

FA1: *The proportionality based on the number of females and males at the school there has to be that many athletes. So if State College was 49% male, which I think it was at the time, and 51% female then 51% of the girls had to be playing in a sport.*

Interviewer: *Do you think that made sense?*

FA1: *Um, no because I don't think there is the same interest from females at that level as males. You can look at something as simple as club and intramural sports. I mean that's like the purest form of sport. They are not getting any recognition. They are just playing for the love of the game and I would say there are far more males participating in intramural sports than there are females.*

College student one agreed with the previous participants. He also felt men were more interested in athletics than women. He believed Title IX should be changed because of the different interest levels. He also added that it doesn't matter to him if they increase women's sports in colleges or put them on television because he would not watch.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything unfair about Title IX?*

CS1: *Unfair? (pause) I think it could be reworked maybe.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

CS1: *They could do studies on Title IX and its affects. It could be reworked. I don't know in 1972 how extensive the research was but if you look at the proportion of males to females who participate in competitive physical activities or sports, I would say there's more males. I don't know. I could be totally wrong but whichever the case is whether it's males or females it's kind of, I think it's unfair to make it all equal when it's not equal.*

Interviewer: *What isn't equal? The level of interest or...*

CS1: *Right the level of interest and just to make it equal to kind of balance both sides.*

Interviewer: *So they are trying to create interest in women's sports?*

CS1: *Yeah.*

Interviewer: *So what do you think about that?*

CS1: *That's fine. I like that. I like, (pause), the one thing is like I said, I wouldn't watch it if it's on TV or obviously I haven't gone to any events here at State College.*

The final participant who mentioned the difference between the interest levels for men and women in athletics was community member two. This perception arose when the question "Do you think there's anything unfair about Title IX" was asked.

CM2: *Over the years you see more and more young girls involved in athletics where they weren't before. You know it takes years and years to see the fruition of the institution of Title IX in what 1972? It takes a couple of generations to see what's going to happen. Now will the interest in women's athletics increase to that of men? I don't think that will ever happen but the interest in women's athletics has increased substantially but will as many people go see a girls basketball compared to a men's basketball...no that will never occur even if you played for the next hundred years. Even if you took the number of women's opportunities and decreased the number of men's opportunities in half I still don't think the interest would be there in watching a women's athletic event over men's.*

Along the same lines of men having a greater interest in athletics, there was one participant who believed that all Title IX does is legislate interest; that is, the law is trying to create interest where there is not any. This participant repeatedly stated that he thought this was the case. Head coach one strongly believed that interest should drive the sports that are offered, not a law. The question "What is your understanding of the purpose of Title IX?" provoked his first response on this topic.

HC1: *If people are interested in it, they are going to attend it. And again I think there are some programs that I have a lot of respect for like Purdue women's basketball program, the Tennessee program, UCONN, those things to me you haven't legislated interest. Whatever they have done in their marketing scheme, people are interested in that product. I just don't think that the simple fact that the law says that we have to dump this amount of money in that you have to do that. I just don't, no business would be run that way. It would go under.*

He then went on to say that certain sports should not be offered just so a university can say that the sport is a part of their athletic program. He felt that some of the sports at the university where he coaches are pointless because in his opinion, there is no interest in them.

HC1: *I don't think we should have, for example, football here just because we always have had football. I think there needs to be an interest level that people want to come and see football. Same thing with field hockey....I don't think we should have field*

hockey just because legislation says we need field hockey. Are people generally interested? That's the other part about it. Some of the sports in the Midwest, particularly the women's sports, they don't have they don't really recruit in [state the university is located] or the Midwest because they don't play those sports here. You know so we are spending an inordinate amount of money traveling across the country because there's no interest in this area so a lot of times this doesn't make sense to me.

Interviewer: *What sports are you thinking of?*

HC1: *Like softball, we don't have that or I don't know if we have anybody from....I think that is maybe that's just with the coaches background and where she's from in California. Is field hockey a sport in [state the university is located]?*

Interviewer: *In a few high schools.*

HC1: *So, you know to me again it's just we're trying to keep our numbers up and there may or may not be an interest in it. I think you need to look at attendance too to justify interest in the program. It just slays me that some sports want to play their contests at [name of basketball arena] because the men do but you walk in and there's fifty people there.*

Head coach one also felt that Title IX was not only limiting opportunities for men because the government is trying to legislate interest for women, but he believes schools are losing money due to the law.

HC1: *The things that they changed even here, I saw I guess even in the high school settings now where they are varying the Friday night basketball times. I'm hearing the administrators complain that now they are losing revenue because they are not getting the turnout on the crowd on the Friday night or Saturday night when the traditionally would have the boy's games. Again it goes back to interest. If people are attending those games, the women's games you know what that's great. You probably should vary them but when you are losing money because people aren't interested in going to see that product why force them or make them be interested if they are not interested?*

While there were participants who believed women did not have the same interest in athletics and that the law was trying to create interest, there was one participant who felt this could not be farther from the truth. Head coach three strongly tried to convey his belief that women are just as interested in athletics as men. The question "Do you recall how you heard about Title IX?" was the first question that allowed for him to voice his feelings about women and their interest in athletics.

HC3: *Back then Title IX was silly. Women don't have that level of interest in sports you know and they're still saying that today. It doesn't matter how dramatically women's participation number have gone up, people will still tell you that schools can't afford it. I don't think the discussion on Title IX has changed one bit since 1972.*

Interviewer: *Do you have any idea why that might be? Why people haven't been open to the idea of women in athletics?*

HC3: (pause) *People by and large are afraid of change. Um, you know I think women's roles in society have changed dramatically, certainly in my lifetime...female participation in athletics when I was a kid growing up wasn't something that was necessarily encouraged. Um and in some cases it was probably actively discouraged. It certainly wasn't supported like male participation in sports was. So the fact women might be interested in competing, might be interested in sports, might be...have athletic ability. I think that was really a different idea for a lot of people. You know new is bad, change is terrible and anything different is awful you know. People are afraid of change.*

He then went on to explain why he felt that women are just as interested in athletics as men.

Interviewer: *Do you think that Title IX has affected women?*

HC3: *Oh, I think so. Absolutely. One of the things I get into with people about Title IX a lot of times is that women just aren't interested in sports. We get contacted by over a thousand kids a year...women you know high school seniors, juniors who are interested in playing women's [name of sport coached] at State College. That number far exceeds the number of men that ever contacted us about playing men's [name of comparable sport] here.*

Dedication of Women to Their Sport. Along the same lines, another participant believed that women just do not work as hard as the men; that is, they are not as dedicated to their sport as men. Community member one discussed this:

CM1: *What has happened is there are so many opportunities for women; with scholarships many of them are not being filled and some of them are being filled by people that are not as dedicated as someone who may not be getting a scholarship over on the other side because of the numbers. And we know why that is. It's because you have the big sport of football that takes this many and all of that but the result of that is that there is a certain set of women that recognize they don't have to work as hard as they might have to if the number of scholarships were limited. And again please don't misinterpret this there are many, many and most female athletes are as totally dedicated as their counterpart men athletes are but because it's a little easier to get it's not true all the way down I believe.*

Interviewer: *So would you say that some of them feel spoiled and a sense of entitlement?*

CM1: *Yes. And I don't think it's a matter of entitlement as much as it is if you have to achieve this up here to get a scholarship then you are going to work to get up there, but if you only have to get to here then some people will only do what has to be done. I don't really think it's a matter of entitlement. I think it's in some people human nature. You do what you have to do to accomplish what you want to accomplish.*

He went on to say that...

CM1: *If you only have two scholarships you have a lot of people who are really working to climb that bar. If you have eight scholarships then you don't have to work as hard.*

And again it would be very, very easy to misinterpret what I am saying. It would be very, very easy but it's as simple as if a teacher is going to give out in a class only 15% A's...pretty tough to get an A. But if that same teacher is going to take 30% of the class and give out A's it's only half as difficult to get an A and it's the same thing, okay. It's the same thing. So there's good and I really prefer to accentuate the good but there's also bad. I can cite a particular college where the men's team had fewer than half of the number allotted scholarship by the NCAA. In a course of a year they had about a 97% attendance at practice. Their counterpart women's tennis team was looking at about a 65% attendance rate on practice. Therein is the emphasis on the point I am making.

Community member one went on to say that women are also not as dedicated to their sport. He offered an example from his own personal experiences with his children and their dedication to the sport of tennis.

CM1: *Here's the perfect example, here's a perfect example, my son from the time he was six years old probably spent an average of three hours a day on the tennis courts till the time he was nineteen. It was the primary focus of his life. It was his passion. It was his absolute total passion. It was his identity. That's not to imply that he totally neglected everything else. You don't get into State College if you neglect everything else. But this was his priority, okay. On the other hand, my daughter, she really liked tennis. She probably played four hours a week. My daughter got an opportunity to play in college. My son did not. He got his opportunity taken away.*

For this participant, women were not as dedicated as men to their sport and for him Title IX is unfair because it is taking away opportunities from men who are truly dedicated and would give 100% to their sport.

These examples demonstrate that to some Title IX meant the differences between women and men are ignored. Some felt there are biologically-based skill differences that legislation cannot change. Others felt that women and men “just differ” in their interest in and dedication to sport, that people “just aren't” as interested in watching females play sport, and/or that the law is trying to create interest among women in athletics. However, one individual believed women are just as interested in athletics as men and noted that he constantly had to combat others' belief that they are not. Regardless of which side of the debate the participants were on, it is clear that for some Title IX meant differences between females and males are ignored. While some saw biology as the source of such differences, others had no explanation.

Football as the Benefactor and the Problem – or Beneficiary?

The sport of football was often mentioned during the discussion of what Title IX meant to them. Football was discussed without any prompting from the researcher. Participants'

believed both that football was Title IX's "best friend" and that football should be completely removed from the equation when considering compliance via proportionality.

Football Benefits Women's Athletics. During his interview, head coach two mentioned that he believed football could be Title IX's "best friend" because if the university is using the proportionality prong, it automatically gives women eighty-five roster spots for women's athletics.

Interviewer: *Do you feel [name of sport coached] get a lot of the heat because of Title IX because there are so many men on your team?*

HC2: *Yeah, back when this all started though I was at a coaches meeting and one of the coaches who was really pretty insightful said you know football will be Title IX's best friend because however many scholarships [the sport] have there is no equivalent sport so, so the Title IX proponents will want to keep football as part of the equation. Cause I've read letters and talked to people who say if you just eliminate football from the equation since there is no comparable sport then it becomes relatively equal after that. But as long as football is part of the equation, and I'm not arguing one way or the other, but as long as it is part of the equation then they're going to be like right now it's eighty-five to nothing before you start counting scholarships cause we have eighty-five scholarships.*

For this participant, he believed that keeping Title IX in the equation when attempting to gain compliance via proportionality was a good thing for everyone involved. He stated that women benefited because automatically they were at a deficit in terms of roster spots, so the university would have to add women's teams in order to be in compliance.

Head coach two's feelings about football being the best friend of Title IX was somewhat shared by student athlete one who did agree that there are benefits to having football as part of an intercollegiate athletic program. Student athlete one felt the effects of football first hand. She believed that football is a benefit to women's intercollegiate sport because it does make the athletic department carry a few women's sports to create equal numbers. However, she still felt they did not need to carry such a large roster.

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX and why?*

SA1: *Like what do I think what is it?*

Interviewer: *Yeah.*

SA1: *Well it pretty much says that girls and guys should have equal playing fields when it comes to sports. So it's pretty much that the same amount of athletes should compete, men and women, but because of football there's more women's sports because football has 120 guys on the team so it gives women maybe two or three more sports. So it just equals out the number of participants.*

Interviewer: *Do you think that's a good thing?*

SA1: *I think it's a very good thing because I'm kind of biased towards football cause I think it's stupid how they have 120 guys on a team, probably 85 guys have full scholarships and hardly any of them, maybe sixty of them will play regularly. And I just don't understand why they have to give everyone scholarships when like in my team...we have eighteen scholarships for the whole team and there's forty girls on the team. So no one has a full scholarship. People just have to like split so I don't know it kind of angers me sometimes.*

Interviewer: *So do you think the athletic department favors football is that what you are trying to say? Or do you think....*

SA1: *It's not that they favor football. It's just a sport you have at college so because you have football you're going to have this many people on it. And they have like a...I think it's an NCAA rule that the number of scholarships they have to give so it's like you can't really get around it. It's just like something you have to deal with.*

Football as the Problem – or Beneficiary? Not all believed that football was the “best friend” of Title IX. Head coach four did not believe this. In fact, she felt that football teams should have smaller rosters.

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX and why?*

HC4: *Uh I don't know if I have a full definition of Title IX in my mind right now to really do a good job of that for you. (pause) I believe that as much as things can be equal it should be but I don't think that men's sports should be punished in an unjust way. I was glad to see men's football roster be scaled back from whatever it was 120, 110 whatever it was maybe it was 105, maybe they kept...now I think it's 80 and you wonder why it had to be 105 all those years. I think it was a great thing to scale that back. I don't think it's fair to put the number of football in the count because they need more for a football team than they do for a volleyball team. I think there has to be some way of fairness in terms of trying to make equal numbers. I think there has to be some formula that keeps that in perspective.*

Head coach four was not the only participant who believed that one of the problems with trying to equal the playing field is the high number of participants on the football team. Student athlete two also felt that football was consuming a large part of the budget and scholarships.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything about Title IX that needs to be changed?*

SA2: *Yeah they need to revamp it somehow. I've been thinking about that recently and I don't know how they could change that but something about football needs to be weighed somehow.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean by weighed?*

SA2: *Like they get so many scholarships because they do need a big team on the field but swimming wise you can only take seventeen swimmers. I don't know how many people you need for football but it's a lot more. I don't know if they need all that many. They have the defensive and offensive team or whatever so obviously they do need more athletes on their team but scholarship-wise they are sucking up all that money that could*

be going towards maybe smaller teams like a swim team that might need a little more help.

Interviewer: *So would you say that the athletic department or NCAA should make like changes to the way football is because right now they are required to have 85 scholarships you think?*

SA2: *Yeah something about football because there's not a women's sport team that's that big. Yeah I don't know...I know football gets the most amount of football coverage but is that because they are getting those 85 scholarships? I don't know.*

Community member one also felt football needed to be scaled back. He noted when asked if anything about Title IX should be changed that...

CM1: *At a college do I think we should examine the culprit, football, yes and no. You can say whatever you want to say about football. Guess what, State College, how many people, how many more calls do you think admissions are getting because of [name of former university basketball player] and State College football this year. Like it or not, football is going to get more attention for a university than tennis is, men or women. That's a cold hard fact of American life so football should have more. Do I think they need 85 scholarships, no. I think it's wasteful to have 85 scholarships and the reason there's more parity in football today than there was twenty-five years ago is because the scholarships were cut from 105 to 85. There'd be even more parity if you cut it from 85 to 66. So, you know I defend the football but I think you do have to address it by reducing the number of scholarships and do apply them to other areas of interest.*

He later went on to state that he did not believe that football should be taken out of the equation when figuring out if a university is in compliance using the proportionality prong of Title IX.

Interviewer: *Okay so I kind of want to stay on football for a second, do you think that football should be in the Title IX equation?*

CM1: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think that?*

CM1: *I'm not for taking it out of the equation because I think as soon as you take it out of the equation then it in my opinion makes it more of its own entity and its own business. I think we have to be careful about that. I think at many major universities you've got the tail wagging the dog and I don't think you want that football program to be bigger than your institution. So I think it should be in the equation. I don't have a problem with football being in the equation. I have a problem with the fact. I don't believe they need 85 scholarships. If there can be "non-scholarshipped" athletes in other sports why can't there be in football?*

Others felt that football should be taken out of the equation all together. For example, head coach two was the first participant to mention removing football from the equation. While he did mention that football could be Title IX's best friend, he wondered what it would be like if

football was removed from the equation. He briefly discussed it when asked if there was anything about Title IX he would like to see changed.

Interviewer: *Would you like to see anything about Title IX changed?*

HC2: *I'd be curious to see at this point in time, now that we've gotten through the first phase of it and it's been accepted, how would it be if football were not part of the equation at this point, if it were taken out of the equation. If football playing schools if football was taken out and said ok because now that might help, it might provide some opportunities. I don't think it would take away anymore opportunities for females but it might provide a few more opportunities for men. And as long as we are meeting the needs that's the key.*

Former student athlete one felt that Title IX should be completely removed from the equation due to the fact that there is not a comparable female sport that is as large as football.

FA1: *I think that football needs to be removed from the equation.*

Interviewer: *Why?*

FA1: *Because we don't have a counterpart to football. Girls do not. What do they have 83 scholarships?*

Interviewer: *85.*

FA1: *Oh super. 85 scholarships...*

Interviewer: *Do you think they need 85 scholarships?*

FA1: *No. I don't think they needed a trip to Hawaii either. I think football needs to be removed from the equation and I...because of Title IX it says that since football has 85 scholarships somewhere on the girls side we need to be giving 85 scholarships. You know we don't have girl's football so I, that part is not fair because there's not a counterpart. I think if some of there scholarships were taken from them they could have been used in the smaller sports and I don't know the nuts and bolts of like how many tennis scholarships men's tennis had or wrestling. I don't know that but I know that it wasn't as much as we had...the girl's team. I think it was very minimal. I don't know if there was anyone on a full ride. It was broken up.*

Interviewer: *How many scholarships did the women's team have?*

FA1: *I can't remember. We had something ridiculous. I can't even remember. I wasn't on scholarship. I want to say we had something stupid like seven or eight.*

Interviewer: *For eleven girls?*

FA1: *Yeah. But don't quote me on that I don't know exactly. I think it went up when the guys were gone. I think it went up by one or two. There were girls on our team that were on full rides.*

Interviewer: *Kind of going back to football, what about those people who say that the athletic program is funded primarily by student fees and Miami is mostly women and football is getting that money so they should be considered into the equation?*

FA1: *I don't know if I've heard that before. Um well because it doesn't make sense because there is no counterpart for women for football. That's just you know kind of crazy.*

Community member two felt strongly that football should be removed from the equation. His rationale was the same as former student athlete one's reasoning – there is no comparable female sport. He mentioned removing football from the equation in his final remarks about his overall impression of Title IX.

Interviewer: *What do you believe about Title IX?*

CM2: *I believe Title IX um (pause) let's see was a, has good intentions and has gotten a lot of good things done for the equality in women's sports at the expense, however, of decreasing participation and scholarship activities for men. So in light of that my whole opinion is that they should be able to accomplish what they want to accomplish differently. It can be done but I think it needs to be done differently so not to hurt the already existing men's sports.*

Interviewer: *How do you think implemented differently?*

CM2: *Um, probably if you just excluded football from the equation I think it could be done completely...it would be uh...everything else would be equal, if you just excluded football.*

Interviewer: *Why should you exclude football?*

CM2: *It's its own entity. There's no female equivalent of it. And for the most part, I've never studied Title IX in depth other than my graduate studies, um for the most part have a counterpart in the female arena where football does not. On top of that, football has the largest number of participants also. So I think if you could exclude football from the equation I think everybody would be happier. I think, I don't know you'd have to look at it from the female perspective but since it's in the equation now it really has hurt men's athletics in general at the expense of increasing opportunities for women. If you could increase opportunities for women and keep the opportunities for men then I'd say yeah fine. That's the situation that should exist but it doesn't because of finances.*

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything about Title IX that needs to be changed? If someone came to you and said change this, fix it, do whatever you want with it?*

CM2: *I'd take football out of the equation. You know would that satisfy all the proponents of Title IX I don't know. Would it satisfy many, I think, I think a lot of proponents I don't know to what degree would say I would be okay with that if we took football out of the equation because the women's opportunities would be the same in every other sport. You could equate those, financially you could equate those, and make football a separate entity. You'd have to look at it and see if it was feasible to take football out from a financial perspective. Not only is it the most expensive sport and have the most participants, but everybody knows it illuminates the school and the school does benefit from a marketing standpoint. State College applications skyrocketed in the last couple of months. Why? Because of their football program.*

Interviewer: *Overall, what is your impression of Title IX?*

CM2: *Um, (pause) a good thing uh that has some negatives as well. Overall, it's a, overall I'd say it's a plus but its pretty close to be a wash.*

Interviewer: *Why a wash? What do you mean by that?*

CM2: *Because of the negatives. Because of the negatives. If it could be an all positive what a happier world this could be, but it's not. It brought negatives with it which is*

unfortunate. Again if you take football out I think you have a winner but again I don't know legally how you do that.

Football was seen both as beneficial to women's intercollegiate sport and as a problem for it. Furthermore, for some, Title IX was seen as a threat to football (although no one directly stated this) – so much so that they argued that football should be “removed from the equation.” In sum, it was clear that for many of the participants in this study football was readily associated with Title IX. When these individuals think about Title IX, the role of football is one of the main perceptions that they associate with.

Opportunity Gained and Lost

Title IX meant opportunity. Every study participant mentioned the opportunity that Title IX created – or took away – when speaking of it. This theme is comprised of seven sub-themes: increased opportunities for women, benefits for women, loss of opportunities for men, squad/roster management, creating sports just for opportunities, a development tool, and a financial problem.

Increased Opportunities for Women. Some of the participants believed Title IX was responsible for increasing athletic opportunities for women. For the most part, these individuals stated that Title IX was positive because it increased the number of opportunities available for women.

For example, while head coach one had few positive things to say about Title IX, he did believe that one good thing has come from the law.

HC1: *The good part of it is I think it has put some women's programs jump started and got them going and you know I think the one that stands out most for me is the women's soccer program and the success that they've had recently and the attention. So from that standpoint I think it's been good.*

Head coach two's feelings about the effect Title IX has had on women are in agreement with head coach one.

HC2: *I think it's obviously been positive, the interest, the building the number of opportunities for participation. I think it's been positive.*

Head coach four also felt that the increased athletic opportunities for women were a good thing. She felt that women's athletics are now able to hold championships because there are enough teams playing the sport.

HC4: *You see the women having their own ice hockey nationals...ten years ago there weren't any ice hockey teams. So you can see in so many different realms and areas that*

the opportunities have increased, the championships are there, and I see the scholarship dollars that have increased and I think that's a big one.

Former athlete/head coach felt that the opportunities that women have gained in athletics were invaluable and made people realize that women can be athletic.

FA/HC: *I think that's it's important to start building female sports because females can be just as athletic if not more so in some respects than men.*

Interviewer: *How do you think they can be more so?*

FA/HC: *Um, I guess (pause) just looking at the different, the different sports I mean we got....it gives you more variety I guess. Like we've got...you don't really see men's volleyball teams very often or field hockey or things like that so I guess it's just more variety and um you know girls can be competitive and can be strong and can be powerful and coordinated and all of those things. I think that sometimes that gets overlooked for male strength.*

Former athlete/head coach went on to speak of the opportunity she gained while participating in collegiate athletics.

FA/HC: *I think it's given women a lot more opportunities to have sports in schools. I know for us it's given us a lot of opportunity because before we were a varsity sport, and now actually I think we are the only one again, but you know [name of sport] couldn't be a part of the varsity program for that sport in a school. They were all strictly club sports. So that opened a big door and actually boosted the whole [name of sport] and collegiate [name of sport] division in the country.*

Former athlete one agreed with the former athlete/head coach. She attributed her opportunities off the court to Title IX.

FA1: *I believe that I couldn't have been doing anything I am doing today or anything I have done in the past without it. I'm thankful that you know in 1972 it was brought about.*

Former athlete one added that Title IX had enabled her to play collegiate tennis.

FA1: *Giving us opportunities to play, to excel, um you know to play for me and most people in my sport college is the ultimate, playing college tennis and it's um it's the highest level you are going to get to. So, it's given me great opportunities.*

Community member two discussed the opportunities that women have gained because of Title IX. He believed that Title IX did not just give women a chance to continue their athletic career, but it gave them a chance to gain scholarships to college as well.

CM2: *So from a residual affect I would say the same thing has happened for women's sports is that it's at least enlightened people to, there weren't necessarily as many opportunities for women, now there are more. It's given them, if a girl can go to college*

on a scholarship just like a kid from maybe an undesirable background and get a college education then you know she then can have an academic opportunity she didn't have as well, not just participation in sports and have a career in whatever else. So I think the residual affects, you have enlightenment of the public and also some female can have academic opportunity as well.

In sum, study participants consistently viewed Title IX as a tool that helps increase females' participation in athletics. This was a central meaning of Title IX for all, whether they saw the law as positive or not.

Benefits for Women. The chance to participate in sports in college was not the only opportunity that participants in this study believed Title IX provided. External rewards such as scholarship money, athletic apparel, travel, and so forth were all mentioned as opportunities that women have gained because of Title IX.

For head coach four, two of the greatest benefits that women have gained are scholarships and mode of transportation. When asked how Title IX has affected women, head coach four's immediate response was about travel conditions.

HC4: *It's made it the way it should be. You can be on a nice bus with air conditioning and study or sleep when you are going on a trip instead of being crammed in an eight-passenger van. I mean I can give you many examples like that but I think it has definitely improved for opportunities. You see the women having their own ice hockey nationals...ten years ago there weren't any ice hockey teams. So you can see in so many different realms and areas that the opportunities have increased, the championships are there, and I see the scholarship dollars that have increased and I think that's a big one.*

Head coach four also mentioned how Title IX has personally impacted her and the benefits she sees as a result of Title IX.

HC4: *I don't have to drive vans till four in the morning coming back from [another university in conference] and uh since I'm at the older end of coaching that's a good thing because I probably would kill my team now cause it's harder for me to stay awake. I mean when I was in my 30's I could drive till three in the morning and it wasn't a problem. Should we have to? No. I mean I am very grateful no coach has to drive that long after a full day and coaching an emotional game. I mean that was, when you look back on that, did we really do that? I hope the university had a lot of insurance and I remember in Notre Dame had a couple of vans turn over and girls killed. And the more that sort of thing started happening, the more schools have forbidden vans now. Yeah but I've been grateful for that. I've been grateful that I've been a part of awarding young women aid. I graduated the year before aid was given in AIAW and then NCAA and it's been an absolute pleasure to giving these scholarships out to kids that really deserve it and really work for it. I think that's been a real big plus. Um, I've really enjoyed being able to not tell my team they have a food limit or to walk in a hotel and hear them say*

gosh this is really nice instead of going to the Knight Stand with the purple curtains and the purple bedspreads all the time. You know it's really nice to provide the women with that and people my age aren't bitter about that...it's really exciting. My alums all the time will say boy that's awesome that you guys have that or you get three pairs of shoes this year instead of one? I mean that's been a real thrill for me and Title IX has provided that because they've provided the opportunity because they've forced the athletic directors to give the money. I think it's been pretty wonderful and it's affected me in a pretty positive way.

Head coach four later mentioned that she felt that athletes at the university were having a great experience.

HC4: *The athlete's at State College are experiencing some of the best times they've ever had at State College.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

HC4: *Funding. Travel, the extent of the travel, we're going further on our spring trips, out of season trips. Per diems are at the highest it's ever been per kid. It's very nice.*

She then went on to discuss how her program has benefited from Title IX.

HC4: *We have a nice locker room....hand made wooden lockers, carpeted, new white board. It's easier to recruit when you have a locker room like that because [another university in the conference] has one. There are nice facilities out there that if you can't show the same facilities, not that you want your recruit to make their decision based on that but you'd be surprised on how that affects kids. It's helped us a lot in our recruiting because we travel more extensively, we can go out of region.*

Student athlete one was also offered her opinion on how Title IX has helped to enhance her program.

SA1: *When I first came to State College we only had fourteen full scholarships for women and now we have four or five more which helps out because we are able to recruit better girls because we actually have money to give them. It helps out the team as a whole because you have increased your team and chances of winning the [conference name] conference championship.*

Former athlete one also briefly spoke of the benefits of being a female athlete at this point in history.

FA1: *When we went on spring break we flew. We had head to toe clothes, everything you could think of.*

Former athlete/head coach recalled the benefits her sport received when they were changed from club to varsity status.

FA/HC: *We gained more university sport as far as funding other resources like the tutoring and strength training and all the stuff that's open to the rest of the varsity sports, um, and that helped us to excel through the ranks of [name of sport] and have become one of the powerhouses in [name of sport].*

College student two also felt that there were external benefits outside from participation opportunities that women received due to Title IX.

Interviewer: *How do you think Title IX has affected women?*

CS2: *I think that probably more girls stayed with sport longer from young into older ages because there are more teams available, there are, there's more money scholarship money available in college than there used to be. I would say that general participation numbers probably have gone up or stayed up from before particularly the last thirty years and more scholarship dollars has been awarded to women for athletic reasons not just academic reasons.*

In conclusion, study participants believed the opportunity to participate and compete in athletics was not the only benefit of Title IX. External benefits, such as transportation, athletic apparel, scholarships, and travel were also seen as a result of Title IX and were viewed as positive side effects.

Developmental Tool. According to some of the participants, another meaning of Title IX was that it provided women with the opportunities for development that men had been receiving for years in athletics. In other words, sport participation was believed to be a context for development, specifically, the development of leadership, teamwork, goal-setting, and cooperation.

Administrator felt very strongly that athletics were a developmental tool that should be enjoyed by both men and women. He spoke about it at length throughout his interview. The first time administrator mentioned it was during a discussion of what his day entails as an administrator at the university. In so doing, he discussed his ideology and philosophy of intercollegiate athletics.

ADM: *On a philosophical level, um I really view athletics as a developmental tool, and our coaches that should ideally be the experts at using this athletic curriculum to maximize the development of our students.*

Interviewer: *How do you think they should maximize it? How do you view it as a development tool?*

ADM: *Um, (pause) well there's a lot of different ways um I think there's very few aspects of society where a group of people can come together, strive toward a shared vision of success or achievement, because of the value of sport in society literally face daily scrutiny at times and adversity. And uh to cooperate within a highly competitive and intense public venue and environment. And I think that if that is handled*

appropriately and facilitated appropriately I think it can be developmental for the students in terms of all kinds of values and attributes from leadership development to management and cooperation, competitiveness, and that sort of thing.

Later in the interview, administrator was asked “So, how do you think that Title IX has affected women?”

ADM: *Well all of those attributes we were talking about. I think, it’s really interesting to me, I think that the leadership skills, the cooperation skills, the competitiveness, the self-assuredness, all the types of skills you would hope would develop and be facilitated in an athletic curriculum. I think all of those things are learned and developed through athletics regardless of gender so it certainly applies to women as well as men.*

Finally, administrator gave his opinion of how he viewed Title IX.

ADM: *It has done some significant good in terms of the experience. I work in athletics. I wouldn’t work in athletics if I didn’t believe it was developmentally good for the participants and so to provide more opportunities regardless of gender certainly validates what I think is important. So I think it is exceptional.*

Head coach three was in agreement with administrator. He also believed that athletics provided an opportunity to learn skills, regardless of gender, that would be beneficial for individuals throughout their lives. His thoughts came after a discussion on how women had been affected by Title IX.

Interviewer: *So do you think that Title IX has had a positive or negative affect on women?*

HC3: *I think very positive.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

HC3: *Very positive. Well I think it gives them a chance to compete, it gives them a chance to participate. It gives them an opportunity to enjoy the same benefits in athletics that men have enjoyed for years. They’re learning the same things, leadership, teamwork, goal-setting. They’re learning to compete. (Pause) If the mission of State College is education, and it is alright then by extension isn’t our mission one of education? You know so why shouldn’t we be providing the same educational opportunities, experiences, benefits for women that we are for men? It’s the mission of the university. You know these kids....why do you think State College spends the money they spend on intercollegiate athletics? You think they really want to win a conference championship that badly? No. You know it’s nice when you do that...they spend that money because they believe in the educational benefits of intercollegiate athletics and intercollegiate competition. These kids down here are supposed to be learning something so how can you not allow women the same opportunities to learn as you allow men?*

Interviewer: *What do you think these women and men in athletics learn while playing sports here?*

HC3: *Well we just talked about it. I think learn to compete. I think they learn teamwork. I think they learn what it means to set goals and to work very, very hard for your goals. I think they learn to overcome difficult situations, difficult circumstances. I think it provides them an opportunity to work within a group toward a common goal. I think it gives them an opportunity and it tests them to rise to the occasion. You know there's a part of my job that tells me I'm supposed to help these kids, help provide things for these kids and make their lives better you know but there's another part, maybe I should say easier, there's another part of my job that says I'm supposed to make their lives more difficult and I'm supposed to challenge them and to test them. And that's where you learn things. I think the things that they learn here are going to stand up for them throughout the rest of their lives and honestly I believe much more so than anything they are going to learn in any classroom on this campus because I believe the lessons learned through intercollegiate athletics are real. You know algebra is kind of a theoretical thing, at least to me it is, you know but the stuff they are learning down here...that's real stuff. That's real. That's what gets them through the day you know.*

Community member one had a similar view about intercollegiate athletics. Earlier he had mentioned that he believed athletics were important to an individual's development and that a person learned the meaning of hard work while participating in athletics or another extracurricular activity.

Interviewer: *When you say sports are critical to a person's development along with academics, what do you mean by that? What does a person gain from that?*

CM1: *Well, I shouldn't say just sports, extracurricular I mean to include extracurricular's not just sports, just because I have an interest in sports you may have an interest in music, okay and the fulfillment that you get from an extracurricular activity whether you are doing it just casually and recreationally or whether you are doing it on a competitive basis, it's really what the world is all about. I mean stick your nose to a grind stone and do the very best you can at something and that carries over into everything, whether you're a trumpet player, whether you're a tennis player, whether you're a gymnast, or an ice skater, knowing what it takes, experiencing that little extra, the persistency of it all, what it takes to be the best that you can be carries over into everything that you do. So I think it is absolutely essential in the development of a person.*

Finally, college student two offered an opinion on how she believed athletics enriched a person's life.

CS2: *Sport a lot of time serves as a stress relief or a way to help you cope with negative life events. It gets you more socially involved with people that you otherwise may not have met. It helps you build teamwork and responsibility and I guess kind of skills you can use across your life. Respect of authority, maybe having authority over people being a captain or a coach or something, um I just think overall there are a lot of those kind of little aspects that you would walk away with that even if you never came back to sport again you can always use a leadership skill or a cooperation skill.*

According to some, the skills an individual learns and character building that takes place while participating in sport should not be limited to males. A diverse group of study participants believed that the skills learned in athletics are vital and should be experienced by everyone in order to fully develop as a person. Title IX means that this opportunity is there.

Loss of Opportunities for Men. The addition of opportunities for women was not the only type of opportunity that was mentioned. Most of the participants in this study felt that Title IX was either directly or indirectly responsible for the loss of roster spots or sports available for male athletes at the collegiate level. They offered personal stories and anecdotes to back up their belief that Title IX decreases the number of opportunities men have to compete in collegiate athletics.

Head coach one felt strongly that Title IX was limiting the opportunities that men had to participate at the collegiate level. His problem with the law stemmed from the fact that he could no longer have as many men on his roster as he would have liked, so from his perspective limits opportunities.

Interviewer: *Can you expand more on how you think Title IX has affected men?*

HC1: *What the fact that they are eliminating opportunities?*

Interviewer: *On anything. Overall how you think it has impacted men.*

HC1: *Um, well I think that's it's...in our, well all I can speak from really is our program. I look at it as a few years ago we used to be able to carry however many kids who wanted, if you had kids interested in playing, if you had the funds available you could carry certain kids. I can't do that anymore and from a competitive standpoint some of those kids would eventually become pretty good players in the program. It's just that they were not going to be immediate players. So to me it has definitely eliminated opportunities for them.*

Student athlete one expressed her feelings on how being a member of an eliminated sport would sadden her.

SA1: *It just kind of makes me upset because I would be so upset if my team got cut from my school because it's gone. It's not going to come back. It's gone forever like all the records you had and success you had is kind of just forgotten because they just drop the team.*

While she was in favor of Title IX, she did think eliminating men's sports was unfair and went on to share why she believed this.

SA1: *I think it's if you look at it in the way that men's sports are getting cut I think it's unfair toward men sometimes because women's sports don't get cut it's just the men's sports. So I think that's the only thing that is unfair.*

Student athlete two had similar views as student athlete one on the elimination of sports. She felt that if the elimination of non-revenue sports continued, then smaller children would not be compelled to participate in the sports growing up because there is not a chance to participate at the collegiate level.

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX and why?*

SA2: *That's a hard question. I really think there is some middle ground and it somehow needs to be readjusted a lot of men's teams are being cut across the nation that really shouldn't be and swimming is one of those sports that are really being pushed to the wayside, especially for men. There conference is on the verge of disintegrating and I feel bad for those people because and not only for those people but for everyone in high school and swimming in general because there's just going to be the PAC-10 and the BIG-10 which have those stand out swimmers who are extremely good and have the possibility of going to the Olympic trials but what about that next step just below that which is the [university conference name] and I think swimming in general for young kids at the age of six it's going to be decreased. It's not going to be as big of a sport.*

Former athlete one was also frustrated with Title IX because she felt it was taking away opportunities from men who deserved to be participating in athletics at the collegiate level. Her frustrations were due to the fact that her brother was an intercollegiate athlete whose team was eliminated from the university. She felt very personally connected to Title IX and felt that she had experienced both the positive and negative aspects of the law. She believed the negative aspects were due to the misinterpretation of the law.

Interviewer: *What do you believe about Title IX and why?*

FA1: *What do I believe about it? I believe that it's good. I believe that I couldn't have been doing anything I am doing today or anything I have done in the past without it. I'm thankful that you know in 1972 it was brought about. I don't like how it's been misinterpreted lately. I don't like how it's giving me and my teammates and every other girl **huge** opportunities, I mean enormous opportunities and not (pause) having my brother and my friends and my other teammates, I got the guys too, there not getting the same opportunities as I am. I feel like it's totally doing the opposite of what it was intended to do. And I don't know how or when it started getting misinterpreted but it has to be mended somehow because it is flat out reverse discrimination when you're telling me that I can play because I'm a girl but my brother can't because he's a guy.*

Interviewer: *Can you elaborate on what you mean by misinterpreted?*

FA1: *Misinterpreted. Pretty, let me think...misinterpreted. Pretty much how you know, I don't know who or when it started with the whole I don't know if it was feminists or girl*

power or if they got obsessed with the idea or got on this kick where they wanted to find some sort of loophole but it's not fair how it has been interpreted lately.

Interviewer: *So when you say that obviously you are disappointed that you are able to get all these opportunities and your brother wasn't able to have that but some people would argue that well it's your turn, men have had it for this long. How do you feel about that?*

FA1: *Yeah I, you know, it's my turn. I don't think it's a give and take thing. I want the guys to have the same opportunities as me. Yes they had it great for a long time and whatever, male dominance and blah, blah, blah, but you know it's just time when we make an attempt for everybody to be on the same level and the same page.*

Later, our discussion turned to how she felt Title IX has affected male athletes.

Interviewer: *How do you think Title IX has affected men?*

FA1: *I think it's affected them negatively in recent years.*

Interviewer: *How so?*

FA1: *How so? They are not having the same opportunities that I am and that's what Title IX was developed to do, to give everyone the same opportunities. It's affected them terribly you know. Terribly if you are in a low revenue sport, soccer, tennis, wrestling, swimming you know. We don't have huge attending at those you know. They're not publicized, they're not bringing in any money but the fact of the matter is that they are the cheapest sports to run. So they are cutting the cheapest sports.*

Community member one also agreed that Title IX was responsible for men not having opportunities to participate in collegiate athletics. He felt that Title IX was hurting men's athletics because it was reducing men's participation to the interest level of women, which in his opinion, is not as high as men's interest.

CM1: *Title IX is just another form of affirmative action which in my opinion doesn't work. You throw it out there, you give everybody opportunity, and whoever takes the opportunity, you go with it. But the current administration of Title IX is restricting men's activities in sports to the interest levels of females and that's wrong. That is wrong.*

He then gave an example on how he thought the law was restricting the participation of men.

CM1: *But the fact of the matter is if the interest level is there you accommodate. If it's not there you don't try to invent it. And certainly you don't try to take the other side of it, meaning the men, and reduce them to this interest level. That's wrong.*

Interviewer: *Do you think that's what Title IX does?*

CM1: *It's exactly what it does.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think that?*

CM1: *Because it's been proven. It's actually been proven. Basically, let's take a school that is 50/50 population men and women. The way Title IX is structured right now with proportionality is this let's say that State College is 50/50 which they are not. State*

College is 55 women / 45 men, now things lean heavily in favor of the women. But let's assume they are 50/50 and let's say there are 200 athletic positions available for men in all of their sports. Then Title IX says there must be 200 positions available for women. Okay, that's what Title IX says. Now if the women can only 180 of those positions, Title IX reduces the men to 180. That's wrong. That's restricting the men to the interest level of the women. Even if I agree with proportionality, there's no way anyone can agree with the administration of Title IX that reduces the men just because the women can't fill there spots. It's wrong.

Our conversation then turned to how Title IX has impacted women. During that discussion, community member one switched the conversation back to the effects it has had on men.

Interviewer: *Do you feel there are any other positive or negative aspects Title IX has brought to women's sports?*

CM1: *In anything political the negative comes up when somebody is 100% one way or the other way. I am very, very opposed, as you know, I am very opposed to the current administration of Title IX but yet I understand, I understand the female side and the men's side. And I am not opposed to things that make sense okay but there are some people that simply say no the perfect example is the one I gave you before. Two hundred spots for men, 200 spots for women. One hundred eighty spots get filled by women the men are reduced to 180, okay. That was one of the issues brought up to the Commission, the President's Commission, and it was voted down. How could anybody say, how could anybody who is truly being fair say yes the men and the women have the same number of spots but if the women can't fill it then the men have to be reduced accordingly. Logically that is not fair, and anybody that is in favor of that is just in favor of something that we are so pro this side that we don't care about the consequences on the other side and that's a real negative because in some cases it's drawn a hard fast line and I don't think in anything that's good. There's always gray area. As much as I am on this side, I am in favor of eight scholarships for women's tennis? You're dang right I am. You're darn right I am okay. Am okay with only four and half for men? I'm okay with that. I could care less about the scholarships; give the kids the opportunity to play. That's what I'm concerned about. I recognize that football takes 85 scholarships and 120 positions. I recognize that okay and fine I don't care. I don't care if all the non-revenue men's sports don't have any scholarships. Balance it out by giving an equal number of scholarships to the women. I could care less. Fine if that's what you want to do but don't take the opportunity away from the men just because you have a football team. I'm not about scholarships. I'm about opportunity to play. When my son played for State College they had two scholarships that they divided amongst ten people. He could care less. All he wanted was to be on that team. They traveled; they slept four people in a room. They didn't care. They only wanted to be on the team and have an opportunity to play. The women have this, fine. I understand. I understand the economics of it and God bless them okay but don't take this opportunity away.*

Finally, as the interview was coming to a close, community member one's closing remarks were about the loss of opportunities with which men had to deal.

Interviewer: *Overall, what is your impression of Title IX?*

CM1: *Well again, the law as it is written and stated is a wonderful law. It's very logical. The application of it aimed only at sports using proportionality has been an absolute and total disaster. It has taken a group of young men and it has dramatically limited their opportunities for no reason other than they are men. It's the only reason, the only reason. That is a failure. It's a failure. Just like any other kind of proportionality or what do you call it...it doesn't work.*

Community member two was another participant who believed Title IX was responsible for the elimination of men's sports at the collegiate level. His feelings about the elimination of sports became clear when the conversation was about how Title IX had impacted women. He felt that it had been very positive for women. However, he thought there were negative aspects that could not be ignored. In fact, it was the negative aspects that sprung to mind whenever he heard of Title IX.

Interviewer: *Now that you are a father of two young girls are you happy about Title IX that they can possibly have this opportunity?*

CM2: *Uh, yes, yes. At the same time whenever I think of Title IX, I don't think negatively toward women or women participation in sports. What's negative about it is that it's decreased opportunity for men. If it was able to achieve its goal without decreasing participation for men I think I would be much happier about it. I wouldn't have a negative um a negative you know opinion about Title IX.*

Interviewer: *Kind of going off that, how do you think Title IX has affected men; can you elaborate more on that?*

CM2: *Well it's given them a, when they hear Title IX, or those that know, those that know what Title IX is and there are a lot people that don't know what it is, um that they have this negative connotation to it because they know it has eliminated wrestling programs and soccer programs as the intercollegiate level and for that matter even decreased opportunities for men in football.*

College student one offered yet another rationale for why the elimination of athletics is bad for male athletes.

Interviewer: *Okay so how do you think Title IX has affected men?*

CS1: *Has affected men? Um, (pause) I think it's probably cut down on more, it's probably cut more sports programs on for males than it has for males. I'm sure females its gone increased while males have decreased so obviously it's probably um taken the interest out of males in continuing to play the sport they wanted to play.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean by decreased the interest of males?*

CS1: *Well let's say I came to school here and the soccer team got cut, the sports soccer team got eliminate or any sport, I probably wouldn't want to play because maybe the*

competition at the club level is not um it's not up to par and transferring is such a hassle and things like that.

Interviewer: *So it's kind of decreased the interested in your ability for men to continue on with their sport?*

CS1: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *So how would you characterize the effects for men?*

CS1: *How would I characterize? Um, I don't know. I would say it's been detrimental to males in physical activity and to obtain scholarships at universities...probably a lot harder, a lot more competition because there's less of them.*

College student two was also upset with the elimination of men's sports in colleges and universities. She discussed her feelings about why the loss of men's sports was a part of Title IX three different times.

CS2: *I think that my only frustration with Title IX has been that it seems like male sports suffer because female sports need extra attention or extra money or extra space. And I kind of wish that wasn't the way it is. But I think that the way it is written the law is a good idea. I think it's amazing. It's done huge things in the past thirty years and made strides for women on the playing field that wouldn't have been available otherwise clearly, but I think that at the same point at the expense of male sports was not the original idea but that's what it's turned into and I think that's disappointing.*

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX and why?*

CS2: *Um, I believe it is useful. I believe I am glad that we have it. But I also believe that in some ways it hinders male sport or the inclusion of certain male sports because what they tend to cut are smaller teams or teams that don't make any money which is pretty unfortunate because what we end up doing is keeping huge teams like the football team and the basketball team when if you cut those we can afford two more girl's teams and all of these guys sports but that's not really the way that America works so I understand that. I guess that's what I believe that overall it's completely worthwhile and it's a good thing but it's kind of at the expense of certain other sports too.*

CS2: *I also think that some men have been disadvantaged by it. Like I said, soccer players here or wrestlers here or I don't know, cross country got cut at our school so that they could make a girls field hockey team I think. So those boys were clearly disadvantaged by quote unquote taking their sport away so that girls could play but it wasn't their fault that there wasn't a girl's program there to begin with. So I kind of just felt like they suffered by not being able to participate in the sport of there choice because women wanted to participate as well on an equal ground. It kind of seemed like they were giving up a lot.*

While there were numerous individuals who felt Title IX was negative due to the opportunities that they believe men have lost, there was one individual who felt that these effects were not necessarily negative.

Interviewer: *How do you think Title IX has affected men?*

FA/HC: *(Sigh) Overall I don't, and I don't really I guess know, but I think Title IX hasn't had a huge negative impact on men's sports. I know some schools have to make decisions on whether to keep some sports or drop some sports so yes some men's sports are lost through the process and obviously nobody, nobody wants that but just how budgets lie it just might not be in the cards to have that many teams. So those sports I guess you can say were negatively affected but I think that men's sports still get great support from their universities. I think that they still get media attention. They still get money. They still get the athletes. So I don't think it's hurt men's sports any overall. Um you know I think if anything it's given them more credibility that they've I guess if you want to say survived Title IX in their universities.*

Interviewer: *What do you mean by more credibility?*

FA/HC: *Um, I don't know if that's the right word. Maybe showing their strengths, you know that they are going to have to fight for things. Not that they didn't before but I think it's going to push them to keep excelling, to keep you know proving that they are a viable sport, an important sport, a strong sport um maybe even more. Kind of like lighting a fire just to stay.*

Interviewer: *Would you categorize these affects as positive or negative?*

FA/HC: *I think it's positive. I think you keep everybody on their game.*

For most of the individuals who participated in this study, Title IX meant a loss of opportunities for men to participate in athletics on the collegiate level. At the same time, most, but not all, also stated that while they thought the law itself was good, its interpretation or application was problematic. The examples above illustrate that some participants are very passionate about their objection to Title IX and this appears to be due to their feelings that it has affected them personally.

Squad/Roster Management. The elimination of teams is not the only way some of the participants feel men are losing opportunities to participate in collegiate athletics. Several of the participants spoke about something they termed *squad* or *roster management*. By this they meant the athletic department requiring a women's athletic team to maintain a high number of athletes on the team while capping the number of male athletes on a team in an attempt to achieve proportionality.

The first person who discussed squad management was administrator. He said it is something that he has had to deal with in his position at the university.

ADM: *One of the byproducts of Title IX is what is referred to as squad management. And squad management means that coaches of women's sports try to have as large a number of participants as possible and coaches of men's sports have caps on how many participants they can have. If caps had been in place when I was in school I probably wouldn't have had a place as a walk on to participate. So from the men's standpoint it is*

difficult because there may be fewer opportunities for walk-ons within sport. For women's coaches, a lot of women's coaches will tell you that um keeping more students than they necessarily may want on their team can create morale problems or it is harder to manage in terms of all the personalities or give them the proper attention that they would want to give. So, whether both of those scenarios are unfair or not, I don't know if I would categorize it that way, but that is probably the one criticism I hear from our coaches of an indirect outcome of Title IX.

Head coach one gave a perspective about roster management from someone who has to deal with it on a regular basis.

HC1: *And I look at even in our sport in particular...I am capped at the number of kids that I have to keep and I have to call kids in here every fall and tell them they are no longer to participate in [name of sport coached] because I am not allowed to because of the rules and regulations of Title IX...roster management issues. So, um I'm not a real big fan of it (laugh).*

He then went on to express how he feels about having to tell men that they can no longer be a part of a his team, at least on the collegiate level. He also stated his opinion on the difference between his sport and the comparable women's sport.

Interviewer: *Has Title IX impacted you personally?*

HC1: *Yeah, yeah well yeah.*

Interviewer: *Can you elaborate on it?*

HC1: *Yeah I look at the makeup of my team. Again I have to call kids in my office here and tell them they can't play anymore. Kids I would keep. I've had kids that have been tremendous where I would say program kids, that's probably the difference too. I hear from the women coaches all the time that we can't keep girls on our team just because they want to be around it. You know, they want to play, they want money, scholarships, I have 11.7 scholarships per roster of 32. [Name of comparable women's sport] has 13 scholarships for a roster of 19. What is that? That to me again doesn't make sense. But yeah where it impacts me is I've got, I'll probably have umpteen kids a year who would just love to wear a State College uniform, sit the bench for four years, practice everyday, and say they were a part of something. And that I can't do that or allow a kid to do that to me is a crime.*

Head coach three had a different outlook on roster management. After discussing how women should be allowed the same benefits as men, the researcher asked head coach three about his opinion on roster management.

Interviewer: *What do you think about sports having to put a limit on the number who can participate?*

HC3: *I think that should be a coach's decision not a university decision. Um, that's what I think about that.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think coaches should be able to make that decision?*

HC3: *Well it's the coaches team isn't it? You know the coach is the one who has to manage those players and manage that team on a day to day basis. The coach is the one that best understands if he or she has the resources to manage you know a particular number of players. In fact, we are required by the university to keep 26 players on our roster right now. All of the men's teams have roster caps that they can't exceed. All the women's teams have roster minimums that they can't drop below. That's to keep the numbers high. Um and that, those don't necessarily reflect participation interest. We could easily keep over 30 players on this team, however in my opinion it would be better if our roster were reduced down to 24 as opposed to 26.*

Interviewer: *Do you find it hard to maintain those 26 women?*

HC3: *It's not hard to maintain in terms of interest. You know we could probably double our numbers easily. We have the level of interest to do that but when you talk about the student athlete experience and trying to provide a good student athlete experience it's the same as uh, I think you kind of need to look at it the same way State College looks at class sizes. Almost all of the classes State College are capped aren't they? (mmhm) You know and they do that because they want those students to have a good experience in that class. They believe that educationally they're going to benefit from smaller class size. Well educationally these kids will benefit from a smaller roster size. So I think that from a women's point of view it's diluted of the experience. I'm not sure if that's the right word but it dilutes the experience for them. It stretches us thin. It's hard for us. We need another coach in order to make this work?*

Head coach four felt that roster management was not as big of an issue that other coaches (of men's teams?) believed. She believed the number of athletes placed on the roster was still a coach's decision, although she stated there are certain sports that feel more pressure to carry a large number of athletes.

Interviewer: *I've heard from other coaches this thing called roster management when they have to maintain a high level and men can't go above a certain level...do you feel that is a problem in your program? Do you have a problem keeping women on your team? As many as you can?*

HC4: *No and coaches still have a decision in that. Like I try to keep 17, 16, 15 and that helps pretty much. We give 12 scholarships. So I'm saying I'm going to have five walk-ons on my team that want to be here and are happy. And if they can't be happy then I won't keep them. That's not hard for me. Now the university has to give me the money to put them in uniform, to travel and feed them, and if they are willing to do that then I'm happy to do that. The more bodies the less they get hurt. If women's basketball or another program doesn't want to carry that many maybe they'll just carry fifteen or fourteen or thirteen...I don't know if we've ever been reprimanded for not carrying enough but it's been highly suggested that we do. [Name of coach] with swimming carries maybe forty. He has a hardship over there and he wants to start not carrying as many. Well that might be an issue that he has to talk to the athletic director about but because I'm only in my own sport I don't know what other coaches challenges are but now that you brought that up I can see where that would become a negative cause I can't imagine one swim coach and an assistant managing 20 swimmers...I mean 40 swimmers*

and I think only 18 can compete in the MAC so you have to start cutting down. I think that would be hard on team chemistry and on kids in general and on the coaches. So I can see where that might be a kind of negative arrow in that direction if women have to carry too many but if we don't do that then the men's swim team would be very, very small. And so it's kind of a trade off in trying to really work as a team and roster manage so everybody's happy but I do think there's a few coaches that really carry more than they should have to.

Student athlete two's illustrated head coach four's point. In her experience on a collegiate team, she has felt the negative aspects of roster management. However, her experience suggests that it is not just men that are hurt by roster management. In order to help boost the number of athletes allowed to be a part of the comparable male team, she believed that the female team of which she was a part was encouraged to carry a larger than ideal number of athletes.

SA2: *So they don't want as many male athletes, they don't want 30,000 male athletes and only a few female athletes so it is helping the women's sports but in terms of [her sport] I know we have to have forty athletes, forty female athletes to have a certain number of male athletes so it balances out. And every, I believe it is every single female athlete we have over forty then the men's team is allowed to have one more...at least that's how the [sport] arena goes. But um yeah I don't know what else...*

Interviewer: *So how do you feel about that? Having forty women, do you think it's too much on a team, enough...*

SA2: *Yeah we had a big problem on that this year. I think our coach wanted to boost our men's program because there was an idea that the team was going to get cut along with other teams like I know what wrestling and men's soccer teams have been cut and I don't even know the other sports that were cut four years ago or three years ago. But he wanted to boost our men's program because they had a possibility of being cut from State College so we had 52 [athletes] on our team which was ten more [athletes] than any other [sport] team in the United States so it was the biggest [sport] team in the United States and our men's team was pretty big this year and they were really happy about it. They did really well at their [name of conference] championship but um I think forty is a good number, I guess I could say that's a pretty good number because we have probably 36 [athletes] or 34 [swimmers] and six [athletes] so that's what it's going to be next year and you realize that 52 [athletes] this year was too much. So...*

Interviewer: *What do you mean by way too much?*

SA2: *Um, in terms of people [practicing]. I had six [practicing] in my [space] which is unheard of and just the communication between the coach and the [athlete] was a little lacking this year. And um those numbers, it just got really distracting and unorganized. It was almost like a production when we went to our training trip out in Hawaii this year, we were really lucky to go to Hawaii but it was just we had to make sure everyone was there. It just took so long just to get everything arranged. Especially this year at our [name of conference] championship not many people [did] as well as they wanted to. There were only a few good times. They were basically good times but not many people*

got um like lifetime bests or anything and they realized 52 [athletes] is quite a bit and it's not really going to work out.

Interviewer: *How many coaches do you have?*

SA2: *Well we have a head coach, an assistant coach and then a [sport] coach.*

Interviewer: *So basically there's two coaches for all of the [athletes] then?*

SA2: *Exactly.*

Interviewer: *So do you think your lower times possibly were because of the coaches not being able to spend as much time individually?*

SA2: *Yeah generally so...yeah we all put in the same if not more effort than previous years. It just ended up being like that because of the amount of [athletes]. We had some graduate assistants, girls that graduated last year that helped out on an occasional basis but it really didn't help us as much. A smaller team size would have helped us.*

Interviewer: *So do you think, do you harbor kind of ill feelings I guess towards the men's team or the coaches who were trying to help them so they all did really, really well but it kind of sounds like you guys suffered...*

SA2: *Yeah we did...I don't even know. We talk about this a lot within the women's team and the men's team students and the athletes. I think there's a medium ground there that can be achieved just the fact of trying to find it. I think next year even if we have those forty [athletes] instead of 52 we had this year, I don't think there program is going to be hurt as much because the men's [name of conference] conference is a little different than any other conference in that there's a lot of stand out [athletes] that they need. You can only take seventeen [athletes] to the championship which is part of NC2A eligibility or rules...only seventeen [athletes] so that means some [athletes] aren't even going to go to that meet. So in a way it could be, we could be detracting from the possibilities that they have of those [athletes] who are on the bubble of going to [name of conference] or not but I don't know if that's really going hurt them in if we have only forty. Forty is such a big number. I think 52 it did help their team and is kind of I guess you can say the men's team really showed that they have the capability of going even further than they have done so far and they shouldn't be cut. So maybe they this year was a good stepping stone not only for us helping them like I think that's so minor but for them doing so well.*

In sum, Title IX for some study participants meant squad/roster management, and on the surface, was seen as negative for men's athletic opportunities. However, when taken together these examples show that squad/roster management affects more than just men and men's sports. Women's athletics can suffer as well as attempts are made to bolster the men's programs. Regardless of sex, squad/roster management can hurt the opportunities men and women have. Creating Sports Just for Opportunities. This sub-theme of opportunities deals with the belief some study participants had that women's intercollegiate sports are not created out of interest but in an attempt to reach Title IX compliance via proportionality. Some of the participants felt that this was one of the side effects of Title IX and they did not agree with it.

Head coach one discussed creating sports just for opportunities during a discussion of whether he would like to see anything about Title IX changed.

HC1: *Whatever the interest level is, whatever the needs of the particular university are, as long as those needs are being met then I don't....what you don't want to see is it's not what it was intended for when you create a sport just to have more opportunities and then you are having trouble finding enough people who are interested in that sport. If we were to create a crew team, a female crew team where are we going to do that number one? We'd have to go out to the lake to do it. Where we going to find people, where are we going to recruit them to do it, just to make it you know so that we can have more men. That seems disingenuous to me and not what it was intended to for.*

Head coach four also mentioned the increase in creating more female varsity sports teams. However, head coach four felt that the money to create those teams could be better spent somewhere else.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything unfair about Title IX?*

HC4: *I probably don't study as much as it would have helped you if I had to answer that question....(pause)*

Interviewer: *Just that you see on a day to day basis in the [name of sport coached] program, in the athletic department in general?*

HC4: *I don't think so. I don't really think so. The one thing that has me shaking my head is if Title IX makes State College have the same number of female athletes as they do male athletes. So if you are going to keep football in the equation and we don't have as many female athletes they will want us to keep adding sports. So now the equestrian club team wants to become a team, the dance team wants to become an athletic team...well, that takes more money. Well, at State College we still don't have enough money to pay coaches salaries compared to other schools. So I think it's unfair if they force us to add more teams when we really aren't where we want to be with the first 17 teams we have. Does the make sense? That to me would be unfair.*

Head coach one believed that the discussion to create women's varsity sports, such as a crew team or an equestrian team, are ridiculous because he believes that women at his university do not have a huge interest in such sports. In responding to a question about what effects Title IX has had on women he stated...

Interviewer: *So do you think these affects for women have been mostly positive, mostly negative, kind of a little bit of both?*

HC1: *Um, I think it's been for the most part positive. The only part that I see is negative is when we, when we start cutting and eliminating the opportunities for the men. In trying to do, it's always it's always the shield is always that we can't afford to do this but if we don't do this then we're going to get sued. Yeah I just, I don't know. There was so talk about forming a crew program or an equestrian team and the interest obviously wasn't there, we don't have people beating down the doors do crew here. So why would you do that and cut sports. I just don't understand it.*

College student one had a somewhat similar view. He believed that programs should not be created for women. If a woman wants to play a sport in college she should go to a school that offers that program.

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX and why?*

CS1: *What do I believe? I don't know what do you want me to say?*

Interviewer: *What are your beliefs about it?*

CS1: *Um I don't particularly like it because if a girl wants to, if a female wants to play basketball somewhere she should go somewhere she should go to you know a school that has the program available not just put this program in place to make more programs available to women. Um I know that all I can think about is women's NCAA basketball you see the same basketball Connecticut and Tennessee in the finals like all the time, I don't know where I'm going with this but I guess I don't really feel its necessary.*

For some in this study, Title IX meant creating intercollegiate women's sports just to comply with the law, not because of women's interest. This was a concern and negative effect of Title IX for some of the participants in this study. They felt that this strategy was disingenuous and not the intent of Title IX. In fact, one of the participants believed that sports should not be created for women even if there is interest. If a woman wants to participate in athletics she should go to a university that already has her sport of interest in place.

In conclusion, each of the participants mentioned some form of opportunity when discussing Title IX with the researcher. Participants' belief that Title IX meant opportunities (either increasing or limiting) was central to their perceptions of the law. Some felt strongly that Title IX increased opportunities for women, were in favor of Title IX, and believed it should continue to be enforced. Others strongly felt Title IX itself limited opportunities for men and thus was the problem. These individuals believed that the law should be reexamined, changed, and/or eliminated. As is presented in the next sub-theme, still others indicated that while they thought the law itself was good, the way it was being interpreted and applied was wrong because they believed it decreased athletic opportunities for males.

The Problem is Not the Law, It's...

The fourth theme that emerged from analysis of the interviews focuses on participants' explanations of *why* men's non-revenue sports are being eliminated. This theme does not refer to the loss of opportunities for men's collegiate athletics but study participants' *reasons why* men's sports are cut. Their views on who or what is responsible for the elimination of these sports

varied greatly and included: the law has been misinterpreted, universities just waited too long, financial reasons, and multiple factors.

Law Has Been Misinterpreted. Two of the study participants discussed how Title IX had been administered. Both of these individuals believed Title IX as written is a good law. Nevertheless, they felt that the law has been misinterpreted and is now unfairly taking athletic opportunities away from men.

For example, former athlete one mentioned that she believed that Title IX is a good thing for women but somewhere along the way it got away from what it was intended to do. She discussed her feelings in response to the question, “What do you believe about Title IX and why?”

FA1: *I don't know how or when it started getting misinterpreted but it has to be mended somehow because it is flat out reverse discrimination when you're telling me that I can play because I'm a girl but my brother can't because he's a guy.*

Interviewer: *Can you elaborate on what you mean by misinterpreted?*

FA1: *Misinterpreted. Pretty, let me think...misinterpreted. Pretty much how you know, I don't know who or when it started with the whole I don't know if it was feminists or girl power or if they got obsessed with the idea or got on this kick where they wanted to find some sort of loophole but it's not fair how it has been interpreted lately.*

Later in the interview, former athlete one was asked what she would like to see changed about Title IX and again she mentioned the way it has been interpreted.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything about Title IX that needs to be changed?*

FA1: *Yes!*

Interviewer: *What would you change about it?*

FA1: *I would change how it's been interpreted. Um, of course I love the idea of equal opportunity and being able to compete and play, girls and guys. I don't....my dad will be able to tell you detail how it should be changed. I just think people need to, they need to remember what it was intended for. I think that's it. They just need to remember what it was intended for. And what they are doing now is the exact opposite. It confuses me.*

Community member one had similar feelings to former athlete one. He felt that Title IX is being misinterpreted because, in his opinion, it is only being applied to athletics and the proportionality prong does not work.

Interviewer: *What do you believe about Title IX and why?*

CM1: *What do I believe about it? I believe the law as it is written is 100% correct. I ask this question, why should it be mandated only to sports. The second question I ask is why should we use proportionality as a measure. That's what's wrong with Title IX, not the law. How can anyone argue with a law that says there shall be no sexual discrimination in any school activity, but the administration of Title IX is reverse in it's*

current application and mandate structure is reverse discrimination against the men. When State College in 1999 cuts sixty three men's positions and zero positions, how can you not tell me that is not sexual discrimination. I mean, yet there's no court in the land that will interpret that because of precedent that has already been set. So, I believe firmly in Title IX by definition. I do not believe it should be segregated only to one activity, sports. What about the female that wants to get into an engineering school and she can't if it's not applied over here in academics. Isn't that more important than sports.

Community member one later in his interview also mentioned why proportionality does not work, thus why Title IX is being misinterpreted.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything unfair about Title IX?*

CM1: *Yes. The proportionality is unfair and the fact that it is directed only at sports. If you really want Title IX in its purest form then you should look at the entire universe of offerings at an institution, through everything in there because again going back to the law, no sexual discrimination in any school activity. Okay so let's go look at State College for all the student activities, now if you want to apply proportionality then it's fair because you're using the entire universe. We all man or woman have an opportunity to do these things okay. But to apply it only sports, proportionality doesn't work. There has to be a better way and a better way is to do it at the level of interest.*

Two different participants also offered their reasons for why this university eliminated sports. Head coach one felt that the reason men's teams were eliminated at this university was because of Title IX. He did not believe that it was due to financial limitations or anything money related. His response came after being asked about the media's role in how he perceives Title IX.

Interviewer: *Do you think the media has impacted the way you view perceive Title IX? You said earlier that you see the people on T.V....*

HC1: *No. No because I live it. I mean I live it everyday. I've got a pretty good understand of the implications of it. I sat through, I watched coaches lose their jobs here through the guise of budgetary reasons but really it was Title IX, the compliance of Title IX. The fear of lawsuits and the witch hunts and things like that. So I see it and no it really hasn't done a lot.*

College member two also believed that Title IX was the reason that the men's sports were eliminated.

Interviewer: *Do you think there could have or should have been anything done to prevent those sports from being eliminated?*

CM2: *They were locked in you know. You're locked in to a law that there's no, there's nothing a university could do to change it on their own. It's a law. So even if Miami University came up with a better solution they wouldn't have been able to carry it out because it's federal law. There's probably people out there with great solutions but until*

the law changes you know universities aren't on their own to create their own laws to try and make it work.

Universities Just Waited Too Long. Believing that Title IX was being misinterpreted was not the only reason the participants gave for why some men's sports are being eliminated. There were individuals who thought that the loss of opportunities was not Title IX's fault. They believed that the blame can be placed on individual universities who, they alleged, did nothing to gain Title IX compliance until it was too late. Because it was too late, the only way for the university to then gain compliance was to eliminate some men's sports teams.

Head coach three was very adamant about the fact that Title IX was not responsible for the loss of any opportunities for men. He believed that if universities had begun working toward compliance when the law was enacted, there would not be any problem.

Interviewer: *So, what do you believe about Title IX?*

HC3: *I believe Title IX is absolutely the right thing to do. I think it's unfortunate that you know it's come to the point that it has where we have to fight about this in the courts. It think it's very unfortunate that universities that are supposed to be on the cutting edge of social change um you know and are supposed to be supportive of equal rights for anyone whether it was equal rights for men and women or minorities you know for you know gender based....universities typically lead the fight against any type of discrimination at all and the fact that universities in this respect have led the fight against Title IX in many respects I find that to be very hypocritical and very disappointing.*

Interviewer: *Why do you think it's hypocritical?*

HC3: *Well because they're talking one game and playing another. Um you know if you truly believe that women should have equal opportunity in intercollegiate athletics as men then why do you have to wait to get sued or the threat of a lawsuit in order to provide those opportunities. You can't talk about something and then not back it up. The only way most universities in this country have backed it up is by holding a gun to their head.*

Head coach three also offered his reasons for why he thought this university felt it had to eliminate men's sports.

HC3: *Title IX has forced universities to make decisions, you know financial decisions, based on how much money they can put into intercollegiate athletics. Very often it has resulted in fewer opportunities for men but that's not Title IX's fault necessarily. Those are choices that universities made and the universities made those choices along time ago back in 1972 when they chose to ignore Title IX. This is the thing that kills me about State College and most other universities when it comes to Title IX. Title IX has been around almost 30 years. It had been around for 25 years when all of this started. And these schools are throwing their hand up and saying oh my god, what are we doing? You can't just jam this down our throats. Baloney. Title IX's been around for 25 years,*

you've been ignoring it for 25 years. You know what happens when you ignore problems? Generally they blow up in your face. These schools were just hoping these problems; this Title IX would just go away. But it didn't and it blew up in their face. So I don't, I don't see it being Title IX's fault that men's programs are discontinued. I think that's just bad planning and irresponsible leadership on the part of many of these universities.

Head coach four felt that the sports at this university did not have to be eliminated. She felt that if there was better planning and more foresight, then none of this would have happened.

HC4: *I don't think those sports at State College had to be canceled. I think had the athletic directors here had done their job then in the '70's and '80's there would have been enough money and enough equality at least closer to the goal to where those men would still be part of our program. Those coaches wouldn't have lost their jobs.*

She later went on to discuss what she thought could have been done to prevent the elimination of those sports.

Interviewer: *What do you think could have been done?*

HC4: *I think perhaps the upward administration could have provided two or three fundraisers in the athletic department to increase fundraising. I think before that even happened there should have been more of an advanced fundraising plan and strategy with very skilled people in those positions. I think before that happened we could have been part of the State College plan because they have a huge development each year I believe. They set a goal for five years to raise money for the university. State College athletics could have been part of that plan. I think a lot of things could have been done but when we got into that crisis mode things started to happen but I guess that's human nature. Once we got in that crisis mode a lot of things started to happen and if those things could have been done sooner and athletic directors could have had foresight, even if they were older athletic directors and could have tried to see the whole picture of what's fair and what was not I don't think we would have ever had to drop men's sports and I feel very strongly about that.*

Head coach two also felt that Title IX was not to blame for the way the law is currently being applied to collegiate athletics. He felt the elimination of men's teams is a university decision and not Title IX's fault. In addition, he discussed that men are not really losing opportunities all together. He said there may be fewer spots but men still have the opportunity to try out for those spots.

Interviewer: *So kind of going off of that, how you think Title IX has affected men? Obviously you cannot have as many walk-ons as you would like...how do you think it has affected other sports as well?*

HC2: *I think number one there's a general awareness because you look at it and you're probably not as a person you're not going to say it'll never affect my life directly. I don't care. I think everybody has to at least look at it and say well I may have a daughter*

someday that is given an opportunity or I may have a son someday that doesn't have....what we can't say though it's because of Title IX or because of women's sports that I had to cut guys. It's not, that's a university decision. We could have kept those programs if we wanted to try and be able to fund those and come up with additional women's programs. So it's not their fault, it's not the women's fault that this is happening and I think that's the part that I try and make sure people understand. No one, I'm cutting you because that's a university decision. I'm not going to blame Title IX and women's sports because this happened. But it is an effect, it is a direct effect.

Interviewer: *Do you think anything about Title IX is unfair?*

HC2: *Uh, (pause) I think as a measuring tool it probably and the way it's being interpreted and the way it is being applied is probably, the application of the law and which it is, it's a law. There's a lot of laws you don't agree with but you've got to comply with them. So to say that not everyone gets treated equally but as long as you have equal opportunity, I think that's what people are looking for. And that you wanted to be treated fairly so even the guys who get cut had a chance. They had a chance and if they were better than guys on the team then it's not like we have none, if we had no spots for walk-ons that'd be different if I said I can't have any walk-ons because then that becomes unfair. It's just it's a matter of opportunities and even next in the fall if you are in school you can try-out when classes start. Then the chances of making it aren't very good because it's going to be hard for us to cut somebody who's on the team you're going to have to be, you're going to have to show us a lot in one short practice. So whether that's really fair or not I don't know but again guys who are a part of the team and who end up getting cut even though they are a part of the team at least they had an opportunity. So it just becomes one of those.*

These examples illustrate that for these individual's, Title IX was not responsible for any male athletic opportunities that might have been lost since its enactment in 1972. These participants felt that the universities were to blame for any reduction in sports for men. They believed that colleges and universities had more than thirty years to increase women's opportunities. Since they did not do so when they had the chance, universities felt they had to eliminate some men's sports.

Financial Concerns. Certain participants believed that financial concerns or limitations were the reason that sports were eliminated at universities. These individuals felt that Title IX put pressure on schools to create equality in athletics for men and women, and due to this pressure, universities felt compelled to eliminate men's sports because they could not economically afford to keep them.

Administrator believed that the decision to eliminate sports was not as simple as Title IX made the university eliminate men's sports teams. He felt that it was both opportunity and financially driven.

Interviewer: *Do you think it was a good idea to get rid of those three sports or do you think there could have been another way?*

ADM: *Yeah I don't know. I wasn't here at the time. I can't really define the context. I don't know if it was resource driven or opportunity driven. Well I probably know it was a combination of those two. I don't know the extent to which the opportunities were offered at that time but when I see that they cut three men's sports then it leads me to believe their participation percentages were not consistent with the way they should be defined. At the same time, it had to be somewhat resource driven because you can easily match those participation numbers if you increase the other opportunities. So to answer your question, I probably don't know enough about the context to have a perspective on it one way or another. I think it's unfortunate, very unfortunate though whenever opportunities are cut.*

In addition to believing universities waited too long to respond to Title IX, head coach two also felt that men's programs were being eliminated because of financial constraints in athletic departments. He stressed that any opportunities that men have lost are not due to Title IX itself.

HC2: *It's unfortunate that we couldn't fund the teams that because had we kept the teams that were eliminated, the men's teams that were eliminated we would have had to add some women's teams and it just became a financial thing. So you know from their perspective if it's wrestling, if you are a wrestler, if you are a men's soccer player then you look at that and say that was bad for me. That is bad for my program. My program's gone; it doesn't exist anymore. But that's not really...it became a financial thing more than taking sports. You can't say it was Title IX's fault. It wasn't. It wasn't. Because you know Title IX is just a small, the way it works with in terms of athletics is just a small, small part of the Title IX as it exists. But it became obviously one of the most visible ones. So you know I think it's been good. I think it's leveled the playing field so to speak.*

Head coach two also stated that he did not think Title IX was to blame for the elimination of men's teams at this university. He believed it was completely resource driven.

Interviewer: *Do you think it was a good decision to eliminate those sports?*

HC2: *(pause) It was a decision that was made at the highest levels of the university and it was not...it was simply an economic decision. We cannot afford to fund as many teams as we are currently funding and they became proportionally...you hate to see something eliminated that is a big part, wrestling was a program that had been here for a long time. How can we have a women's soccer program and not a men's? So it's unfortunate that things like that happened. Golf was the other one. Golf has paid for itself. Golf gets no dollars from the university. Golf raises all its own money. So that's evidence that it wasn't necessary just the proportionality thing...it was an economic decision. I think that drove it more than anything else. They didn't ask me what I think....if I don't like it here, I need to go someplace else. If it were my sport I probably would have gone someplace else (laugh) cause I'd have nothing to do.*

College student two discussed her belief that universities need to re-budget or reallocate their money in order to avoid having to eliminate any men's athletic teams.

Interviewer: *Do you think anything about Title IX needs to be changed?*

CS2: *(pause) I think I would like to see the way we budget things changed so no male teams are cut so female teams are added. But at the same time I guess I do see that as realistic and I don't think that anything within the law itself is necessarily stating cut men's teams and everything will be fine. I don't think that was ever the intention. I think the intention was equality of opportunity for women and so I don't see anything in the law that needs to be changed. I just think administration may want to look at it differently or look at it in an equality perspective and see what we can do to not disadvantage men and not disadvantage women and try to make everyone equal.*

College student two went on to describe her understanding of university finances.

Interviewer: *Do you think there's anything unfair about Title IX?*

CS2: *I wish there was a way that we could keep all the men's sports we had previously and add women's sports because I think that was the main idea of Title IX. But at the same time realistically funding doesn't work that way like we're not going to get two million dollars more in funding on the budget just because we need to add women's sports like that's not going to happen. We just need to cut money from somewhere to make it work and I understand why they'd rather not cut five positions on the football team and they'd rather take out the entire soccer team. It's probably just a little easier but I do see that as a disadvantage.*

College student two also questioned the way the university funded the athletic program. She felt that perhaps the sports could have been kept if the university gave the athletic department a larger budget.

Interviewer: *What do you think could have or should have been done to prevent the cuts that happened?*

CS2: *I think that clearly not all State College departments are on the same great big bank account but at the same time State College has a lot of money and I don't always agree with the way we spend it, building more bell towers is hardly necessary. We do have enough money. We make three million dollars a year in parking tickets. So it seems we could come up with the money somewhere if we chose to across the school. Keep the men's teams that we have and add money to the budget to make women's teams. We could have even it up appropriately but the athletic department was given the money or the opportunity to do it. So that's sad. I guess fund raising of some sort to get all the teams back that we used to have and add female teams would be a positive thing.*

Interviewer: *Do you think the athletic department didn't have the money or were they not willing to reallocate the money?*

CS2: *There's always an allocation of money question I guess because you can get rid of the football team and have 85 scholarships more and you know use the money and it takes a lot of money to run a football team but at the same time they make money back for*

us. But 85 scholarships is an awful lot so if we are going to talk about the reallocation of money get rid of the football team or get rid of the basketball team because we're only talking about 15 guys there and seven/eight scholarships and that money can be given toward women or to allow more women to come or to men's tennis team back.

Allocation of money is always an issue I guess but things really could have been kept how they had been going before if extra money had been coming in. Then we wouldn't have to deal with the reallocation of money. I just think the way that the athletic department handled it was probably the best they could do at the time I imagine.

The comments of these participants indicate that they believed that funding is the reason that certain men's sports are eliminated at some universities and it is not Title IX's fault.

Multiple Factors. One participant's rationale for why sports were eliminated at this university was not based on one thing. Community member one felt there were a combination of factors that combined led the university to eliminate certain sports.

Community member one stated that Title IX was not directly responsible for the elimination of sports but he does not think it was due to budgetary reasons either. Earlier in the conversation, he also mentioned that he believed this university was in compliance with Title IX prior to eliminating men's sports, so his belief was that the university did not want these sports around.

CM1: *The administration at State College hid behind Title IX. Title IX was the excuse for that administration to cut back on sports. That was the excuse and it's being used across the country as a crutch. We have to do this because of Title IX. So Title IX is being a scapegoat, but without a Clinton mandate to be in compliance by the year 2000 none of these universities even start to look at it this way. So indirectly no it wasn't Title IX. But it was the ability for President [last name of State College president] and his administration to cut back.*

CM1: *I do think that but whether, if you were to ask me for a solution and again I offered solutions. I'll offer one, I'll get into one solution that I offered in a minute, but yeah I think again if you are looking at a business and as a businessman I've gone through this as every businessman has and you run into some financial situations you tighten the belt, sometimes you peel off certain divisions and get rid of them. Sometimes you have to cut certain jobs and get rid of them but mostly you tighten up here, you tighten up there and you'd be surprised how finely you can sharpen the pencil if you really, really take a look at it. Ok so I think they could have come up with that dough somewhere even if it's a different allocation of student funds, even if it's raising the student fees by \$5, even if it's taking about every fifteen years they do a big annual fundraiser which raises a lot of money okay allow people to specifically say we want this donation to go to athletics...they've never done that before. I think they're doing it now. So you come up with \$450,000 overnight. So I do think there were a lot of things that could be done. I proposed something that was I thought very logical. I'm in the*

recreation business. I'm in the camp business. I proposed that the university go into the camp business themselves rather than farming it out and allowing people like myself to come in and do the tennis, somebody else to come in and do the hockey, and somebody else come in and do that baseball, but do a huge camp program with all of the sports, with music, with academics, with the whole thing. Fill that campus up all summer long with about fifteen or twenty different extracurricular camp activities. Number one you fill up the dorms; you raise some money that way. You keep people working. You mostly promote your school and your cash flow. I made a proposal in three years with a conservative projection, in three years there'd be half a million dollars cash flow. \$450,000 the cut...boom. They don't want to hear anything about it. They didn't want to hear anything about it. So, I believe there were and there are solutions because in business whenever you are confronted with something you come up with a solution because you have to, you have to. Too often in a state funded institution or a government institution of some sort either we tax more or we...you don't dig hard to find the solution. That's what I think. And I don't think I think first of all they took the easy way out...they didn't have to take the easy way out. But I do think the administration wanted to go that direction. Matter of fact, I have real obviously strong opinion about that and I can't say it's factual because you can't get inside someone's head but the bottom line is they didn't care about finding a solution.

This section described the ways these participants rationalized the elimination of sports at this university and schools across the country. Certain participants refused to believe that anyone should blame Title IX because in their opinion, if the universities had done their job and paid attention to the law none of this would have happened. However, there were participants that felt if Title IX did not exist than the universities would not have to face issues such as proportionality or the pressure to make the athletic playing field equal for men and women. Regardless of which side of the debate the participants fell on, for these individuals their rationalization of why the sports were eliminated at this university and universities across the country appeared to reflect their opinion of Title IX. If they did not blame Title IX for the elimination of athletic teams, they appeared to be in favor of the law. However, if the participant blamed Title IX for the elimination of men's athletic teams then it seemed as though they were not in favor of the law.

In summary, this chapter described the four main themes that were uncovered while analyzing the data, which are differences between females and males are ignored, football as a benefactor and problem, opportunity gained and lost, and the problem is not the law, it's.... Each of these themes was comprised of various sub-themes that discussed the different perspectives that participants had surrounding Title IX.

The first theme was differences between men and women are ignored and it discussed that the feelings surrounding what the participants viewed as biological and/or physiological differences, such as skill differences, differences in interest levels (interest for men, interest for women, legislated interest), and differences in dedication and willingness to work hard emerged.

Theme number two, football as a benefactor and problem, revealed the very different perceptions surrounding football and Title IX. Some participants viewed it as the best friend of Title IX because women's athletics were guaranteed eighty-five roster sports due to the large number of men on the football team. While others believed that football should not be included in the formula when considering compliance via the proportionality prong because football does carry such a large roster and there is not a comparable women's sport.

Opportunity gained and lost was the third theme, which addressed the varying perceptions of how Title IX has affected collegiate athletics. Every participant discussed opportunities that were either created or eliminated due to Title IX, and the sub-themes that were generated within this theme were increased opportunities for women, benefits for women, loss of opportunities for men, squad/roster management, creating sports just for opportunities, a development tool, and a financial problem.

The final theme that of this study was the problem is not the law, it's....which dealt with the multiple rationales the participants believed were responsible for the elimination of men's collegiate athletics teams. These rationales were the law has been misinterpreted, universities just waited too long, financial reasons, and multiple factors. While these rationales were very different, they all reflected the beliefs that participants had surrounding Title IX and its impact on athletics.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine perceptions of Title IX among a select group of individuals who were part of a university community recently affected by this legislation. Through interviews with head coaches, community members, current and former student athletes, college students, and an administrator, insight was gained into what the law means to these individuals and why they believe what they do about Title IX. Such an understanding is absent in the current research surrounding Title IX, as much of the extant research literature has focused on legal issues surrounding Title IX and whether it is beneficial or detrimental to athletics from an objective perspective.

Participant perceptions were categorized into four themes. The first theme, *differences between females and males are ignored*, involves participants' belief that males and females are "just different" when it comes to sport and for some, these differences are based in physiological and/or biological distinctions between men and women. That is, they believed that these differences are innate or "natural" and Title IX did not take them into account.

Football as a benefactor and problem, the second theme, encompasses the differing opinions about the relationship between football and Title IX. Some of the participants felt that football should be viewed as Title IX's "best friend" because women's intercollegiate athletics automatically receives 85 roster spots. Others believed football should be removed from the equation when considering compliance via the proportionality prong because there is no comparable women's sport in terms of numbers; otherwise, men's sports are unduly punished.

The third theme was *opportunity gained and lost* and dealt with the participants' perceptions of whether the law has increased or decreased opportunities for men and women. While all believed that Title IX increased the number and quality of females' sport opportunities (as well as educational and developmental experiences), some also discussed their belief that males' sport opportunities are limited or decreased by this legislation.

The fourth theme, *the problem is not the law, it's...* focuses on the participants' beliefs that Title IX in itself is not responsible for changes in men's collegiate sport. It also includes the other reasons why men's collegiate athletic teams have been eliminated at some universities.

Each of these themes reflects what Title IX meant to these individuals. In this chapter, these themes and the findings are interpreted and the limitations of the study, implications for practice, and suggestions for future research are discussed.

Men's Sports More Valued than Women's Sports

Throughout each of the themes in this study, while the participants did not always directly state it, most suggested that men's sports were more important than women's sports. Analysis of the interviews revealed that even though the participants believed athletics for women could be beneficial, men's athletics were more important. That is, the loss of opportunities for men appeared to be of much greater concern than the increased opportunities women have to participate in athletics. For example, head coach one mentioned how Title IX is negative for men while being asked a question about the effects of this legislation on women. He stated that Title IX is positive for women; however, he also felt it becomes negative when men's sports are eliminated.

Former athlete one also made statements that were consistent with putting men's athletics ahead of women's athletics. She commented about the huge opportunities she felt she received due to Title IX, but then stated the law is reverse discrimination because while she was able to play because she was female, her brother could not play because he is male.

She also stated that she felt that men should have the same opportunities as women. When she was asked what she thinks about the argument that it is now women's turn to get athletic opportunities, she remarked that she did not understand why everyone could not participate and that she wanted the men to have the same opportunity she felt she had received.

Statements from head coach one, former athlete one, and others likely suggest that they believe men's athletics are more important and valuable than women's athletics. This belief is consistent with the concept of the sport-media-commercial complex that Messner (2002) argues is in control of what the public perceives as important in regards to athletics. At the core of the sport-media-commercial complex is what Messner describes as the center of sports which include men's professional and collegiate football, basketball, baseball, and hockey. Since these are the sports that most of the public view on television on a regular basis, read about in the papers, and so forth, it is reasonable to believe that these are the sports that most Americans would place the highest value upon and see as important.

In regards to this study, the sports at the center, as well as some of the non-revenue male sports, are the sports most of the participants valued and believed were important. The individuals who participated in this study seemed not to be concerned with the women's sports that had been added to the university. Their main concern was the eliminated men's sports and the roster/squad management that they felt stifled men's opportunities in collegiate athletics. Study participants agreed that Title IX had benefited women, however, they felt the negative effects it has had on men's sports far outweighed any good it had done. They connected this belief to personal experiences they had had, or the experiences of friends or family. For example, while former athlete one felt that Title IX was beneficial for women and stated that she "couldn't have been doing anything I am doing today or anything I have done in the past without it. I'm thankful that you know in 1972 it was brought about," she also felt that the law should be reworked and that it is not doing what it was intended to do. She discussed this in the context of witnessing her brother lose his opportunity to compete at the same university. So, while she benefited, her brother's lack of opportunity at this particular university was more important to her than her own opportunity to compete and play her sport.

Former athlete one's sentiments are also congruent with the sport-media-commercial complex hypothesis as discussed by Messner (2002). Even women who are self-described benefactors of Title IX argued for men's athletics. It appeared that some of the women in this study had reservations about getting scholarship money, athletic equipment, and the like if they believed their opportunities came at the expense of men's.

These perceptions reproduce ideologies that exist about gender and sport. Men's sports are still valued more than women's sports for most of these participants. Men participating in sport are thought to be more competitive, athletic, and fun to watch. Community member two addressed this while discussing if there was anything unfair about Title IX. While recognizing interest in women's sports has increased, he finds it inconceivable that interest in women's sports will ever match that of men's. Thus, he believes it is wrong to eliminate men's sports since there is such a tremendous interest in watching them.

This is just one example to illustrate the belief that men's sports are what the American people want to watch. However, the question then becomes why are these the sports that, according to community member two, people want to watch? Perhaps this is because these are the most televised sports. During their seasons – and increasingly in the off-season – it is very

easy to find a football game, major league baseball game, or an NBA game on the television. In fact, it is not at all uncommon to have multiple games of the same sport on various television channels. However, while things are changing slightly, it is harder to find a women's professional soccer game or a women's softball game on the television. While the WNBA has provided a more prominent platform for women's basketball, those games are not on television nearly as often as NBA games are. Thus, men's sports dominate the airwaves and people's perceptions of excellence.

The valuing of men's athletics can also be seen when participants spoke about football and basketball. There was little challenge to the domination of these sports at the State College. In fact, some wanted football to be "taken out of the equation" arguing that "this is only fair" given that there is no comparable women's collegiate sport. While such an argument may seem reasonable on the surface, clearly it also serves to protect football from scrutiny and potential changes. In addition, even when participants spoke of the difference in marketing between the sports, they avoided saying anything negative about the men's sports, especially football and basketball.

For example, student athlete one felt that the athletic department could promote her sport more by creating posters that have the team's schedule on it, much like most of the men's teams have. Track, she said, gets very little support, in part, because "we don't really have big PR behind us." Student athlete one was quite disappointed that her team did not receive certain marketing extras that other teams receive. However, she did not begrudge high profile sports such as football or basketball for receiving the lion's share of the marketing.

Similarly, former athlete one indicated that few athletes came to watch the tennis team play, even though many athletes lived near the tennis courts. She attributed this to the paucity of marketing of her sport and to the lack of "high action such as slam dunks." Interesting, she commented that the team wore short skirts in a way that suggested it could have, or should have, drawn the interest of men.

This is again consistent with Messner's (2002) notion of the sport-media-commercial complex which defines certain bodily performances as "high impact" and thus of value. It also reinforces certain gender stereotypes associated with sports. By suggesting that wearing short skirts is a reason that people should come watch the sport, former athlete one is taking away from the athleticism of these women. By framing these female athletes as objects for people to

gaze upon, she is also perpetuating the stereotype that women are not as athletic and the only reason to watch their sport is to stare at their bodies.

There was another way that some of the participants in this study showed that they valued male athletics over female athletics. During the discussion on Title IX they mentioned different male athletes' names. Their discussions centered on how they felt these male athletes have benefited the university. These athletes, they claimed, boosted enrollment at the university and gave the university extra positive publicity. They seemed to believe that men's athletics were more important to a university because they could bring recognition to the university.

College student one's comments exemplified this. He named a couple of prominent male athletes who now play professional sport as persons who promoted State College, making it more attractive to prospective students. There was no mention of women having a similar impact on the university. Thus, from this perspective, men's athletics are viewed as an asset to the university and should be treated as such.

Yet another way that the individuals in this study suggested that men's sports are still more important than women's sports was by suggesting that universities should not be creating sports just to create opportunities. A number of participants indicated that if women want to participate in athletics, they should be allowed to. However, women should go to a school that has the sport they are interested in. Many of these participants believed the university should not feel compelled to create this sport just because there are women who want to participate.

However, not a single person mentioned that the men interested in the sports that were cut at State College should go to a different school that has those programs. The participants believed that the school should continue to offer those programs because it is unfair to deprive men of the opportunity to participate in them. For these reasons, it appears that study respondents placed more importance on men having the opportunity to participate in sport.

Overall, most of the participants' interviews suggested that they place more importance and value on men's athletics. This was shown in the way they changed the subject from women's sports to men's sports, the way they spoke about the negative effects of Title IX on men, their belief that men's sports are what the American public want to watch on television, the belief that male athletes can draw attention to a university more than women's athletics, and the suggestion that women should go to a school where their sport is offered but a university should create a sport for men if there is interest. All of these notions are consistent with Messner's

(2002) concept of the sport-media-commercial complex and continue to reproduce the ideology that men's athletics are more important.

Those in Leadership Positions Continue to Blame the Victim

Some of the participants who believe men's sports are more important than women's sports are persons in sport leadership positions—coaches and an administrator. This may be problematic as those who believe that Title IX is responsible for the elimination of men's programs at the collegiate level, that women are not as interested or dedicated to sports, and that the law is merely legislating interest for women in sport, may find support for these notions from sports leaders.

As Staurowsky (1996) notes, some feel that men are the victims of a women's movement to legislate their way into the world of sports. This practice of blaming the victim takes the group that would generally be considered to be advantaged (men) and recreates the scenario so that men become victims of both women and a law that leaves men appearing vulnerable and powerless.

In this study, a number of sports leaders blamed the victims through stating things such as women are not as interested in sports as men and universities have to create programs just because of the law, therefore, men are the ones suffering due to Title IX. They continued to express their feelings by mentioning the elimination of programs for men, the creation of programs for women to just have another sport at the school not because women are interested in the sport, and the difference in the number of men and women who want to participate in collegiate athletics. They felt that all of the scenarios were responsible for men losing opportunities to participate in collegiate athletics. The blaming the victim scenario is successful only if it is able to create a panic about the viability of men's sports and whether or not men's athletics will continue to be eliminated. This panic was able to be perpetuated at State College because as head coach one put it, "from a recruiting standpoint people were worried about, well is your sport next." This fear of "is my program next" is what continues to keep the blaming the victim scenario in tact.

If administrators, head coaches, community members, and so forth feel that women are the victimizers of men in this scenario the individuals they teach, coach, and otherwise influence may pick up on these feelings. Since these sentiments are coming from people in positions of power and authority, they may be thought to be accurate and truthful which could cause those

whom they influence to form similar opinions. The cycle may be repeated and women may continue to be labeled as victimizers. Thus, the blaming the victim scenario is maintained (Staurowsky, 1996), and the sport-media-commercial complex (Messner, 2002) is perpetuated because there is not a visible outcry to create more women's sports or to put women's athletics on television.

Rationale for Beliefs

What helped shape the beliefs study participants had about Title IX or why did they believe what they did? There are a few explanations; however, it cannot be assumed that these explanations can be generalized to all head coaches, student athletes, and college students.

The first reason why some of the study participants felt positively toward Title IX and women in athletics may be that a number of the study participants have sisters or daughters who participated in sports – or they themselves benefited and/or were benefiting from Title IX legislation. That is, they were able to see firsthand, the benefits females receive from sport involvement.

Head coach two stated his appreciation for new athletic opportunities that Title IX created for his daughters. (His daughters were in high school during the early years of Title IX.) At the same time, he expressed an initial fear that Title IX would result in his “locker room [being] taken over by women coaches. “

For him, even though the addition of women's athletic teams created a new dynamic in the athletic department, he felt that as long as people were prepared to compromise and maintain an open mind about these new teams, everything could work out fine. His position as the father of girls may have contributed to his feelings of understanding and compromise that he had about women's sports.

The administrator also had similar feelings about women's participation in athletics due to his sister participating in sports. He indicated that seeing his sister play high school sports around the time Title IX was created impacted, positively, his views on women's participation in sport.

Personal experiences also had a negative effect on some study participants' views of Title IX. The perceptions of former athlete one and community member one were related to the loss of opportunity of a male family member. Both of these individuals felt that Title IX was

negative because it was eliminating opportunities for men and they had witnessed the effects first hand.

Former athlete one felt that while she was given opportunities due to Title IX, the loss of opportunity that her brother suffered was more important to her and it did more to shape her opinions of the law. She did not think that a law which gave her an athletic opportunity while denying her brother one in the same sport was fair.

Likewise, community member one felt that Title IX was negative because his son lost his opportunity to participate in collegiate sport at this university. This was a bigger issue for him than his daughter having an opportunity to participate at the same university. He admits that the law as it is written is correct; he feels that women should be able to participate in collegiate athletics. However, he does not think these opportunities should come at the expense of men's athletics; a fate he feels befell his son. His comments make it very clear that the elimination of his son's sport from State College affected his feelings toward Title IX.

The Participants' Struggle Within

Throughout this study, there was an obvious struggle for some of the participants to reconcile their feelings toward Title IX. They had strong, often seemingly contradictory, feelings about Title IX. They perceived it as very beneficial to women; most of them mentioned that it is hard to argue with equality for men and women. However, some of these same participants were angry over the elimination of certain men's teams and that anger made it hard for them believe that Title IX is just.

For example, head coach four was extremely appreciative for what Title IX has provided for her. She spoke about how she no longer has to drive vans late at night for her team, she can now provide scholarships to the women, the athletic gear the women receive, and so forth. Nevertheless, she was saddened that some of her male colleagues had lost their jobs and that there were men's sports that were eliminated at this university. It is issues like this that show evidence of a struggle within for some of the participants.

Similarly, college student two struggled to reconcile her feelings about Title IX. She commented on the tremendous benefits she thought women had gained since the passage of Title IX. She admitted that she felt Title IX was responsible for her being allowed to participate on the men's football team in middle school. Thus, she had experienced the benefits of Title IX first hand. However, she also sympathized with the men on the teams that had been eliminated.

She stated that Title IX had disadvantaged men by taking away the sport of their choice so that women could participate “on an equal ground.”

This complexity and struggle is not necessarily evident to the readers of this study since the transcripts are not provided in their entirety (Silverman, 2001). When the transcripts were dissected and placed into themes, the complexity of the interview was lost and the internal struggle for some of the participants became unnoticeable to the reader (Silverman, 2001). This tends to happen in qualitative research since it is necessary to keep the complete transcripts confidential in order to keep the participants identities a secret. Regardless, there is a definite struggle that some of the participants have within that complicates how they perceive Title IX. It would be hard to classify most of the participants in this study as either completely for or against Title IX because of their internal debate over their feelings about the law.

Clarifications

Throughout the interviews some of the study participants discussed beliefs and feelings about Title IX and its impact on sports teams that contradict the reality of this legislation. In this study, a number of participants argued that women lack interest in sports. However, the immediate increase in girls’ and women’s participation in athletics after Title IX was passed (a five-fold increase from 32,000 participants to 163,000 participants) (United States General Accounting Office, 2001) seems to indicate that it was lack of opportunity—not lack of interest—that limited women’s involvement in collegiate athletics for years. Yet, the notion that men are naturally more interested in sports than women is strongly endorsed by a number of participants in this study. At the same time there were a few who challenged this idea.

Head coach three noted that he has coached both the men’s and women’s team of the same sport, and he has seen more interest from women than men. He stated that the number of women who contact him because they are interested in playing the sport he coaches far exceeds the number of men who have contacted him about playing that same sport at State College. Despite the lack of data to support the claim that women are not as interested in sports or as dedicated to their sport as men, many study participants discussed these beliefs as if they are known and share facts.

Opportunities were a central theme for each of the participants in this study, with many claiming that men were losing opportunities to participate in athletics across the board. However, data from a recent United States General Accounting Office (2001) study challenge

that statement. As Table 1 illustrates, there has been an increase in the number of women and men participating in collegiate athletics. Between 1981 – 82 and 1998 – 99, women have seen a much larger increase in collegiate roster spots. Still, men experienced an increase of 11,688 spots. It is noteworthy that women’s roster spots in 1998 – 99 were less than three-quarters of the roster sports men held nearly two decades earlier (see Table 1).

Furthermore, some of the participants stated that men’s non-revenue sports were in danger of facing elimination all over the country. However, men’s soccer (+1,932 participants), indoor track (+2,037 participants), volleyball (+246 participants), and golf (+42 participants) all experienced increases in their programs between 1981-82 and 1998-99 (United States General Accounting Office, 2001). As these data show, there are still non-revenue men’s programs being added across the country.

Along the same lines, some study participants believed Title IX was unfair because men’s sports were the only ones being eliminated. However, it is worth noting that some women’s teams have been eliminated since the creation of Title IX. Between 1981-82 and 1998-99 there were decreases in women’s gymnastics (-683 participants), field hockey (-229 participants), and fencing (-171 participants) (United States General Accounting Office, 2001).

Finally, some study participants claimed that Title IX is directly responsible for the elimination of men’s athletic teams. No where in the law does it state that men’s programs should be eliminated in order to create women’s programs or to meet the proportionality prong of Title IX. The law requires that institutions create equal opportunities for men and women in all facets of education. Universities make the decision about whether to eliminate or add sports to their athletic departments.

Limitations

While this study shed light on some issues concerning title IX, there were limitations that need to be addressed, many of which are concerns for both quantitative and qualitative researchers. In positivistic research it is believed that the facts and findings of studies are fixed and universal. Specific methods of data collection and analysis are used in order to increase the likelihood of this. In such research replication of findings by additional studies is sought and seen as an indication of the reliability of the results (Silverman, 2001). In contrast, qualitative researchers argue that there are many truths and different individuals are presented with different realities and situations which may influence their truth and perspectives of the phenomena being

studied (Silverman, 2001). Therefore, for the qualitative researcher, results of this study cannot be generalized across the population – in the case of this study, cannot be generalized to or seen to represent what all administrators, student athletes, head coaches, and community members believe about Title IX. What qualitative research lacks in generalizability, though, is made up for in the depth and breadth of understanding that is gained of a particular context and phenomena at a particular point in time (Silverman, 2001).

Another factor that must be kept in mind in interpreting the results of this study is the selection or recruitment of participants. The individuals who were recruited to participate in this study were individuals who varied in their position within or relationship to the State College community. That is, individuals were sought who would represent the broad constituency of a university community (i.e., current and former students and student-athletes, coaches, administrators, parents of student-athletes, and individuals who resided in the community in which State College is located). Further, within this parameter, individuals who had existing awareness of Title IX and previous experience participating in sport were recruited. This process of purposive sampling is consistent with the procedures of much qualitative research. Rarely is a random sampling technique used (Thomas & Nelson, 2001).

By selecting individuals with different relationships to and roles within the university community study participants also were at different stages of their lives. This diversity in the study participants enabled the researcher to explore similarities and differences in the perceptions of Title IX and resulted in the four themes describing what Title IX meant to these individuals. This study does not assume that all head coaches, administrators, student athletes, former athletes, community members, and college students feel the way the participants in this study do, nor does it assume that the perceptions in this study can be generalized to represent other members in this community or in collegiate communities across the United States.

Another consideration in interpreting the results of this study has to do with the race of study participants. They were all white or Caucasian. While there is little diversity at State College and in the surrounding community, there is more diversity than is reflected in this study. The researcher's time constraints and personal contacts may have inhibited the inclusion of a more racially diverse sample.

One reason race may affect an individual's perception of Title IX has to do with the differing life chances and experiences of different racial groups in the United States. For

example, some African Americans view athletics as a way to gain power and equality in society and perceive sport as a possible avenue for upward mobility (Carrington, 1986). However, a major consequence of this is that “young blacks are encouraged towards attempts at ‘making it’ through athletic participation, rather than through the pursuit of other occupations that hold greater potential for meeting the real political and material needs of both themselves and their people” (Edwards, 1973, p. 44). The centrality of sport in the lives of some African Americans could lead to racial differences in beliefs and feelings about Title IX and any other legislation that addresses issues of discrimination and equal opportunity.

Another possible reason why a difference in opinion could occur between African Americans and Caucasian Americans about Title IX is due to external perceptions surrounding race. The stereotype that Caucasian Americans are more intelligent and African Americans more athletic still exists in our society (Sage, 1998). Due to these stereotypes, coaches, student athletes, and college students may view the role of African Americans in sport differently. This could translate into African Americans gaining more roster spots on athletic teams because of the stereotype that African Americans are more athletic than Caucasian Americans. This may well influence an individual’s perceptions of Title IX.

The quality of the interview methodology used in this study was also dependent on the researcher’s skills of interviewing. While the researcher conducted practice interviews and made every attempt to ask follow up questions to understand what the participants believed, the researcher is a novice at interviewing. In addition, a common critique of interviewing is that the questions sometimes influence the answers that the participants give (Silverman, 2001). While the researcher attempted to avoid this, certain topics and responses may not have been discussed if the original question was not asked.

While the researcher informed each of the participants that their name, university affiliation, and the sport they coached would not be used in the results of this interview, social desirability could have guided certain participant’s responses to the questions. The participants might have been afraid that if their name were connected with statements about Title IX the university could respond negatively.

Finally, the researcher’s own biases, experiences, and opinions of Title IX certainly informed the topic and conduct of this study. However, the researcher’s awareness of her biases

and the fact that two other researchers were involved in the process of data analysis and critical reflection helped minimize the effects these had on the research process and the results.

Implications

The results of this study offer the reader a better understanding of what different individuals in the same community believe about Title IX. These findings illustrate that while Title IX has aided women in their quest for equality in athletics, there are still a number of concerns about perceived disadvantages to men. The latter seems to be of primary importance to individuals in this study.

In a study of sport in Australia, Bryson (1987) says that sport is defined as something men (and boys) do; that men, by and large, control sport—even women’s sports teams and organizations; that when women are not excluded from sport, they are largely ignored; and that women’s efforts and accomplishments, in sport, are trivialized. Most of these patterns appear to hold true for this study.

The increase in women’s sport participation has likely had an important impact—few would conclude that sport should be off-limits to women. Thus, it appears that participants in this study differ from Bryson’s finding concerning the definition of sport. However, during times when schools claim that athletic resources are in short supply, and when athletic departments consider ways to address gender equity, women’s sports are blamed for the athletic program decisions universities make. In the face of budgetary decisions, many participants in this study would likely suggest cutting women’s sports and/or leaving men’s sports intact. This devaluation of women’s sports seems to illustrate Bryson’s statement that women athletes are ignored and/or trivialized. Thus, although women are included in sport far more than in the recent past, their performances are not considered or celebrated in ways comparable to men’s.

This study also suggests there is a belief in equality, at least among these community members. For many, their belief in equality was grounded in meritocracy—the most talented should be the most rewarded. Moreover, they often expressed a belief—which they took to be fact—that women are not as athletically talented as men. For some, this was a result of innate, physiological differences that work to men’s advantage. Others thought this was a result of socialization (which, curiously, was thought to have a biological basis). These factors include ideas such as women are not as athletically skilled as men; women are not as dedicated to sport as men; and women are not willing to work as hard as men. Whatever their reasons, the belief in

men's superiority allowed participants to strongly endorse gender equality while simultaneously questioning women's increased sporting opportunities. In other words, fairness, for these participants, does not require men and women to receive like resources. Rather, since men are believed to possess traits required for athletics through "natural processes," fairness requires a distribution of resources that takes into account presumed gender differences.

Few participants considered the perceived differences in men's and women's abilities to be a result of decades of advantages that men have received, and continue to receive. If they had, they might have thought that Title IX was necessary and an appropriate way to redress decades of neglect of women's sports, which continues to this day.

State College, like many universities, relies on student fees to fund athletic programs. At State College, most of the students are female. Interestingly, no one in this study—not even coaches or the administrator—thought it was important to give women athletic opportunities commensurate with their population on campus. That is, although women, as a group, contribute more through student fees than men, no one challenged the distribution of funds for athletic programs on this basis. Rather, Title IX—whether well-intentioned or not—was viewed by many as a law that ignores men's "natural talents" in an effort to enhance opportunities for "less talented women." Few thought full equality—full inclusion—in sport was warranted.

Future Research Directions

This study was an important starting place for investigating the perceptions about Title IX. While this study was able to bring some clarity to this question, there are still gaps that future research could examine. As previously stated, this study was not racially diverse nor did it contain a large number of subjects. Future research could conduct studies with participants from more racially diverse backgrounds or focus on the experiences of women and minorities and their perceptions of Title IX. Studying a more racially diverse sample could offer insights into how a group that has been the victim of other types of injustice and stereotypes, feels about Title IX. It could also illuminate how a group that is often described as athletic feels about a law that is thought of as solely applied to athletics. In addition, studying solely women or men could generate more insight into how different genders perceive the law. Furthermore, using more subjects could generate different results and more data to work with.

It would also be beneficial to examine the perceptions of Title IX at different universities. It would be valuable to research the different perceptions within a collegiate athletic conference,

between collegiate athletic conferences, as well as between divisional levels (DI, DII, and DIII). Since things like scholarships are not an issue in Division III schools, it would be interesting to see if there is a difference in perceptions between the individuals who attend or work at Division I and Division III universities. Given that there are not eighty-five required roster spots for football at Division III universities, it would be interesting to see if there would be the same discussions about football and Title IX at these universities. Also, since football does not take up so many roster spots, it would be interesting to see if there were the same issues surrounding opportunities for men and women in collegiate athletics, such as increased opportunities for women and loss of opportunities for men.

Along similar lines, researching specific groups' perceptions could reveal insights into how the perceptions surrounding Title IX are perpetuated. For example, a study could examine how those in leadership positions (i.e., head coaches, administrators, and / or professors) perceive Title IX. By revealing their personal and/or professional beliefs about Title IX, one could explain how certain beliefs about the law are transferred from leaders to the individuals they are in charge of. This is important to be aware of because the perceptions of Title IX are not the only belief being transferred to these individuals. Those in leadership positions could also be revealing their beliefs about gender roles and power to the individuals they supervise, which may lead to the reproduction of gender stereotypes and power relations. By researching this topic, universities could discover a way to address the reproduction of gender stereotypes in their university, both in and out of sport.

Future studies about Title IX are important because they not only reveal what people perceive about the law but what they think about women's athletics, men's athletics, gender roles, power relations, and so forth. From this study it is obvious that there are many different viewpoints on Title IX and women in athletics. Further research would provide insight into what various segments of the population believe and what it will take to remove trivializing notions Title IX and women in sports.

Summary of Study

The purpose of this study was to reveal "*What are perceptions of Title IX in a university community recently affected by this legislation?*" While initially the focus of the study, the analysis of the conversations with the participants revealed not only their beliefs and feelings about Title IX but also how they viewed women in athletics, the value placed upon men's

athletics, and the gender roles that some participants still believed women and men should fit into. While the perceptions of Title IX varied between participants, study results indicate that there are still a wide range of beliefs concerning women and men in athletics. All of the participants believed that Title IX has benefited women in athletics; however, differences existed when it came to whether this was justifiable, whether men's opportunities were being eliminated, and the role Title IX played in the perceived loss of opportunities.

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Appendix A
Coach Request

Coach (Last Name),

My name is Amanda Paule, and I am a master's student in the PHS department. I am currently working on my thesis which deals with community perceptions of Title IX. I was hoping that you would allow me to interview you. I believe that your perspective as the head coach of the (team name) will be unique and add a great deal to my research. The interview would only last approximately 30 - 45 minutes. Please let me know if this is something you would be interested in and then we can work out a time to meet that is convenient for you. I would greatly appreciate your help with this. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Amanda Paule

Appendix B
Student Athlete Request

Name,

My name is Amanda Paule, and I am a master's student in the PHS department. I am currently working on my thesis which deals with community perceptions of Title IX. I was hoping that you would allow me to interview you. I believe that your perspective as a member of the (sport) will be unique and add a great deal to my research. The interview would only last approximately 30 minutes. Please let me know if this is something you would be interested in and then we can work out a time to meet that is convenient for you. I would greatly appreciate your help with this. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Amanda Paule

Appendix C
College Student Request

Name,

My name is Amanda Paule, and I am a master's student in the PHS department. I am currently working on my thesis which deals with community perceptions of Title IX. I was hoping that you would allow me to interview you. I believe that your perspective will be unique and add a great deal to my research. The interview would only last approximately 30 minutes. Please let me know if this is something you would be interested in and then we can work out a time to meet that is convenient for you. I would greatly appreciate your help with this. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Amanda Paule

Appendix D Interview Questions

The appendix contains the list of questions that guided each of the interviews.

Interview Schedule

The purpose of this interview is to find out your opinions and understanding of Title IX. Your name will be left out of the analysis and results so please be honest with your responses.

Socio-demographic Information

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? Name, age, where you grew up, year in school, major?
2. How many years have you lived in Oxford?
3. Do you attend or work at Miami University?
4. Do any members of your family work at or attend Miami?
5. Did you ever or do you currently participate in any organized sport?
 - a. If so, which sports?
 - b. If not, why not?
6. Have you ever attended a sporting event at Miami?
 - a. If so, which ones?
 - b. If not, why not?
7. Have you ever heard of Title IX?
8. How did you hear about Title IX?
9. What do you believe about Title IX and why?
10. What is your understanding of the purpose of Title IX?
11. How do you think Title IX has affected women? Why do you think this?
12. Do you see the effects for women as positive or negative? Why?
13. How do you think Title IX has affected men? Why do you think this?
14. Do you think the effects for men are positive or negative? Why?
15. Do you think there is anything unfair about Title IX?
16. Do you think anything about Title IX needs to be changed?
 - a. If so, what needs to change, how would you change it, and why?
17. Has Title IX impact you personally?
 - a. Was it in a positive or negative way?
18. How has the media shaped your views on Title IX?
19. Were you in Oxford/Miami University when Miami changed the makeup of their athletic department to gain compliance with Title IX?
20. What did you think about the changes?
21. What do you think has been the impact of this decision on men's and women's sports?
22. What do you think could have or should have been done to prevent the cuts at Miami?
23. Overall, what is your impression of Title IX?

Appendix E
Abbreviations of Participants

ADM: Administrator

HC: Head Coach

SA: Student Athlete

FA: Former Student Athlete

CS: College Student

CM: Community Member

FA/HC: Former Student Athlete and Current Head Coach

Appendix F

Description of Participants

Administrator

Administrator was raised in a family that encouraged sports. He participated in athletics at the collegiate level. He started as a walk on and eventually earned a scholarship. He received his master's degree and then began coaching the sport he participated in during college. During this time he became an administrator and also earned his doctorate. He has been at State College for a year and a half. Administrator was not at State College when three sports were eliminated.

Head Coach One

Head coach one was from Indiana and participated in athletics through college. He played his sport at State College, and then participated in his sports' professional league for three years. He became a college coach, and has been the head coach of State College for eight years. He is the father of three boys, all of which participate in the sport he coaches. Head coach one was at State College when the university cut three men's teams.

Head Coach Two

Head coach two has been a coach at State College for years and is in his fifth year as the head coach of his sport. He grew up in Indiana and participated in a professional league for his sport. Since he began coaching at State College, his two daughters and son have all graduated from State College. Head coach two was at State College when three men's teams were eliminated.

Head Coach Three

Head coach three is originally from Ohio and played multiple sports growing up. He participated in his sport throughout his college career and has coached both men's and women's teams for his sport. He helps sponsor the youth league of his sport for the town. Head coach three was at State College when the men's sports were eliminated.

Head Coach Four

Head coach four is originally from Ohio and grew up with ten brothers and sisters. She said sports were encouraged in her family, and she participated in her sport through college. She has been a coach at State College for twenty years. Head coach four was at State College when three men's teams were eliminated.

Student Athlete One

Student athlete one is from Illinois and is a member of the track team. She is a senior at State College and is pursuing a health studies major with a minor in nutrition. She has lived in the town for four years, but was not there when the sports were eliminated.

Student Athlete Two

Student athlete two is from Ohio and is a member of the swim team. She is a junior at State College and has lived in the town for three years. She was not enrolled in the university when State College eliminated three men's teams.

Former Student Athlete One

Former student athlete one is from Ohio and graduated from State College in 2003. She is from a family of four children (three girls and one boy). She was not a student at State College when the elimination of certain men's sports occurred; however, she has a brother who was a part of one of the eliminated teams.

College Student One

College student one is from Ohio and is a sport studies major at State College. Both of his parents, as well as his sister, attended State College in the past. He played baseball growing up, but did not continue playing in college. He is a fourth year student and was not enrolled at State College when three sports were eliminated.

College Student Two

College student two is from Ohio and participated in a variety of sports growing up. She is a senior at State College and also has a younger sister attending the university. She did not attend State College at the time of the elimination of three men's sports.

Community Member One

Community member one is from Michigan. He is currently the owner of a large tennis, swim and fitness club. He has four children (three girls and a boy), all of which attended and graduated from State College. His son was a member one of the eliminated men's teams at State College.

Community Member Two

Community member two is originally from California. He participated in athletics through college, and he is currently a coach of one of the high school teams. He has lived in the

community for almost two years and was not present when the three teams were eliminated from State College.

Former Student Athlete and Current Head Coach

Former Student Athlete/Current Head Coach is from Ohio. She is the oldest of three children and has participated in her sport since she was four. She participated in the sport at State College and is currently one of the coaches of her former team. She has been in the town since 1998, so she was at the university when three sports were eliminated.

Appendix G

Definition of Title IX

The appendix lists some of the responses the participants gave when asked “What is your understanding of the purpose of Title IX?”

CS1: *I would say the purpose of Title IX is to get more women involved in physical activity. That's what I would say.*

CM2: *The original purpose was to make sure women had the same opportunity as men to earn athletic scholarships and participate in intercollegiate athletics and I think it's done that. It's increased that.*

FA/HC: *(sigh) My understanding is that Title IX was put into place to, I don't know how correct this is or not actually, but to, to help I don't want to say force but kind of...have schools reevaluate maybe is a better word their position in athletics and what kind of teams they are having and try to more equally balance out male sports versus with female sports and just trying to get a more level playing field even as far as just numbers and dollars in sports...all of the sports.*

CS2: *To allow women the same opportunity in sport that men have always had. To even the playing field.*

FA1: *The purpose is to create equal opportunities for men and women in athletics, schools, and activities.*

HC4: *My understanding, and I don't know if it's correct, is that it was meant to help give women equal opportunity to participate in sports that they like and to make sure there are enough sports available for them and that the equipment issue and the opportunity to compete and the opportunity to eat is equal for men and women. You know that they have all the same advantages and they don't have to be luxurious but they have to be fair.*

SA1: *The purpose is just to give men and women equal opportunities to play sports, to I guess it's to get scholarships, to have money to be able to participate equally.*

HC2: *It's to avoid discrimination based on sex for any in any area but it became most obvious, most measurable in terms of athletics, in terms of sports teams.*

CM1: *The purpose of Title IX was aimed at academics to make sure that there was equal opportunity for both genders. That was the original purpose for Title IX. To say that if you want to be a medical student you should have the same opportunity as a female to get into that medical program as I do as a male, okay, or if you want to get into that engineering program or if I want to get into a music program which has more females in it than men. That is my understanding.*

HC3: *I think the purpose of Title IX is to provide women the same opportunities that have been provided to men for years. It's very simple. I don't see anything very complicated about it and really you can you not...how can a school, now think about it, how can a school like [name of university] where 56% of the enrollment is female and the athletic department comes from where? It comes from the student general fee that you and every other student at this university pay. Ok so if 56% of the campus is female and 56% of those student general fees that goes toward intercollegiate athletics come from women how can you not justify providing 56% of the opportunities, 56% of the financial support back to those people who are paying the bills.*

Table 1

CHANGES IN INTERCOLLEGIATE PARTICIPATION BY GENDER - 1981-1999

	1981-1982	1998-1999	Change in Number of Percentage	Percent Change
Female	90,100	162,783	+72,683	81%
Male	220,178	231,866	+11,688	5%

-GAO Report- *Four-Year Colleges' Experiences Adding and Discontinuing Teams, 2001*