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Inside the Huddle:

Title IX and Women's Leadership In Intercollegiate Athletics

Jennifer Lee Hoffman

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Abstract

Inside the Huddle:
Title IX and Women's Leadership In Intercollegiate Athletics

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Educational Leadership and Policy Studies

Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 is credited for increasing women's participation in competitive sports. At the college level, the number of women athletes competing in intercollegiate sports grew from 30,000 in 1972 to 151,000 by 2001 (Women's Sports Foundation 2002). Although there have been dramatic increases in participation, there has been a sharp decline in the number of women leaders and even fewer women of color in leadership positions. In the years following Title IX, the previously separate women's and men's athletic programs combined into one department. By the 1980s these mergers left the women's athletic director position behind, with men assuming control of the combined programs. Under the separate women's and men's department arrangement, women athletic directors led approximately 90 percent of all women's programs. Today women lead less than 20 percent of all NCAA programs (Acosta and Carpenter 2006). The shifts in leadership of intercollegiate athletics after Title IX cannot be ignored. This dissertation investigates Title IX's impact on women athletic leaders and describes their leadership role in the higher education context. This study focuses on two central questions: 1) Why are there so few women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles today? 2) How does Title IX

policy affect women's participation intercollegiate roles? Three arguments from the history of women's leadership in higher education, literature related to women's athletic leadership, and Title IX policy provide a framework to analyze the empirical data. Using analysis of secondary sources, interview data, and institutional documents, this dissertation presents a set of criteria that explain the most likely woman candidate to be selected for a vacant athletic director position in today's combined athletic program model. In addition, the impact of the Senior Woman Administrator role created after the NCAA takeover of the AIAW in the wake of Title IX is analyzed. Finally, four recommendations to address how institutions can promote greater numbers of women to senior level athletic leadership positions are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
List of Figures iii
Chapter One – Introduction
Introduction 1
Research Question 3
The Existing Literature on Women in Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership 4
Method and Structure of Dissertation 6
Chapter Two – Method
Method 11
Dissertation Design 12
Research Method 13
Participants 16
Analytical Perspectives 17
Chapter Three – History
Historical Analysis of Women in Higher Education Leadership 20
Creating A Profession: Four Strategies 25
Before Gender Equity: Coeducation, 1830-1972 27
Responding to *'The Woman Problem':* Women Leaders and Strategies During Coeducation 38
From Coeducation to Gender Equity: Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics 49
Chapter Three Conclusion 56
Chapter Four – Literature
Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership 59
Literature on Women in Intercollegiate Leadership 65
Complex Organizational Barriers 73
Feminist Critical Perspective on Women in Athletic Leadership 84
Chapter Four Conclusion 87
Chapter Five – Title IX
Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics 90
"This is Not Progress": The Unintended Effect of Title IX 91
Title IX's Application in Employment 93
The Legal History of Title IX- From Gender Equity to Proportionality 94
"Title IX Made Me Do It": Reallocation in Athletics 97
Intercollegiate Athletics and Higher Education 101
Chapter Five Conclusion 108

Chapter Six – Inside The Huddle
Inside The Huddle 111
Perspectives From Inside The Huddle 113
Athletic Director Searches 116
What Makes An "Insider" 126
Chapter Five Conclusion 133
Chapter Seven – The Senior Woman Administrator
The Senior Woman Administrator, aka, "The SWA" 135
Defining Generations 137
"The SWA" vs. Senior Associate Athletic Administrator 138
Creating A Path For Women Leaders: More Than Picking Up The Baton 150
Chapter Seven Conclusion 151
Chapter Eight – Conclusion
Conclusion 154
Title IX and Women in Athletic Leadership 156
Positioning Women Leaders for the Athletic Director Chair 157
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research 160
Chapter Eight Conclusion: Inside the Huddle 163
References 165

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number Page

1. The Senior Management Team, "The Huddle" 115
2. The Huddle Reconsidered 125
3. Day-to-Day Operations 128
4. Matrix of Insider Types and Criteria 132

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DEDICATION

To Herbie and David.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

> The inability to envision a certain kind of person doing a certain kind of thing because you've never seen someone who looks like him [or her] do it before is not just a vice. It's a luxury. What begins as a failure of the imagination ends in a market inefficiency. When you rule out an entire class of people from doing a job simply by their appearance, you are less likely to find the best person for the job. (emphasis added; Lewis 2004, 115)

Student-athletes representing their academic institutions in intercollegiate competition are a unique and prominent feature of the United States higher education system. No other country in the world has such an unusual arrangement of competitive sports associated with higher education. However, intercollegiate athletic competition is more than just an elaborate extracurricular activity. Intercollegiate athletics are a visible, public face of universities with an integral influence on the culture and norms of institutions. The public and the higher education community often demand a full athletic program at many colleges and universities. Regardless of size or type of institution, athletics have a key role, elevating the athletic director's power within the campus leadership structure. Today, athletic leaders are increasingly part of the institutional leadership cabinet, participating in decisions that involve the entire institution.

Today there are significantly fewer women than men in athletic leadership roles at the senior athletic administration level. However, it was not always this way. Even before Title IX passed in 1972, opportunity in competitive athletic programs for women students had re-emerged in colleges and universities and it was women coaches and athletic directors that led women's intercollegiate athletic programs. During this period, women's

and men's athletic programs were administered by separate departments. In this separate arrangement, women leaders held 90 percent of the leadership positions in the women's intercollegiate athletic programs.[1] In the years following Title IX, the separate men's and women's athletic programs were moved into the same department, then later combined into one department. This merger left the role of the women's athletic directors behind, with the men assuming control of the combined programs by the early 1980s. Today, at the most visible, prestigious National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I level, women make up only 9.3 percent of the athletic directors (Acosta and Carpenter 2006).[2]

Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 is largely credited for increasing women's high school and college participation in competitive sports in the United States. As a policy, Title IX was never intended to have such a heavy focus on athletics. This legislation was designed to provide equity in access and educational opportunity for women students and to promote and retain women in positions of leadership in education. Yet between 1971 and 2001, the number of women athletes

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[1] By the time Title IX was passed into law, not only was the leadership of women's athletic programs approximately 90 percent women, but about 90 percent of all teams were also led by women head coaches (Acosta and Carpenter 2006).

[2] The NCAA has three competitive Divisions – each characterized by variation in the size and scope of the athletic program and the scholarships awarded to student-athletes. Division I offers the most sports, has the highest standards for football and basketball attendance, offers scholarships to student-athletes, usually from athletic department sources. These programs are also commonly associated with Doctoral/Research Extensive institutions. Division II offers fewer sports per institution, no attendance requirements for football and basketball, offers scholarships that are usually financed through sources common to the general student and the athletic budget is typically financed through the university. Division II programs are commonly associated with Doctoral/Research Intensive or Masters Colleges and Universities. Division III offers no athletic related-financial aid, emphasizes the student experience, and is limited to local and regional competition. Athletic department and personnel are funded just like any other campus department. Division III programs are typically associated with Baccalaureate Colleges. It is important to point out that NCAA Membership and Carnegie Classification are not fixed affiliations. For example in the case of Harvard University, the athletic teams compete at the NCAA Division III level. NCAA membership categories retrieved from http://www.ncaa.org/about/div_criteria.html. See also, http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/index.asp.

participating in competitive college sports has rose from 30,000 to 151,000.[3] Although there have been dramatic increases in participation, there has been a sharp decline in the number of women leaders and even fewer women of color in leadership positions with the most power and authority for decision-making in athletics. Today women lead less than 20 percent of all NCAA programs even though approximately 42 percent of the student-athletes in those programs are women (Acosta and Carpenter 2004).[4]

Research Question

Given the historical precedence of women in athletic leadership roles and the current growth in the number of women college athletes, this dissertation attempts to answer two main questions: **1) Why are there are so few women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles today? 2) How does Title IX policy affect women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles?** Although these questions are stated separately, the issue of Title IX is deeply embedded in the decline of women leaders since 1972. Title IX protects participation for women student-athletes. It does not directly extend any protection to women leaders. However, the shift in leadership of women's athletic programs since the passage of Title IX cannot be ignored. Therefore these questions are stated separately, but integral to one another.

To answer these questions, this dissertation investigates the impact of Title IX on women athletic leaders in higher education and describes their leadership role in the

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[3] From 1971 to 2001 the number of girls participating in high school athletics grew from only 324,000 to just over 2.8 million. At the college level the number of female participants rose from 30,000 to 151,000 in the same time period http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/cgi-bin/iowa/issues/geena/record.html?record=894.

[4] According to the 2002-03 NCAA Gender Equity Report, participation rates are disaggregated by Division I, II, III and within Division I. The participation rates reported by Division are: Division I, 44 percent women, Division II, 40 percent women, Division III, 42 percent women http://www.ncaa.org/library/research/gender_equity_study/2002-03/2002-03_gender_equity_report.pdf.

higher education context. This dissertation presents an examination of the history of women in higher education leadership, the contemporary literature that explains the decline of women in athletic leadership, and how Title IX policy affects women athletic leaders today. In addition, this dissertation presents empirical evidence that contributes to understanding the complex relationship between higher education, intercollegiate athletics, and Title IX policy that affects women's access to athletic leadership roles. The examination of women leaders in athletics today is compared to the history of Deans of Women where women's leadership roles in higher education also declined. The examination of the history, literature, and policy in combination with the empirical evidence leads to an understanding of the internal changes in college and universities brought on by the external force of Title IX. The impact of this policy on intercollegiate athletics provides a lens to understand the tensions in the relationship among the individual leader, her athletic department, and her institution that parallel those of women leaders in other areas of higher education.

The Existing Literature on Women in Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership

The effect of Title IX on women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles in this dissertation is informed by three broad areas of the existing literature: 1) the literature on the history of women in higher education leadership, 2) the literature on contemporary women in athletic leadership, and 3) the literature that explains Title IX policy and it's influence on institutional decision-making related to intercollegiate athletics.

First, historical patterns of women's leadership in higher education begin to explain the question of why there are so few women in athletic leadership roles today.

The historical record provides examples of women in higher education leadership roles since the rise of coeducation in a 'separate sphere' within higher education. The decline of women in athletic leadership roles since Title IX is not just the result of women's access to the men's model of intercollegiate athletics. A historical examination of women in higher education leadership provides evidence that today's dilemmas in athletics are not new. They are the result of shift in higher education from a separate, coeducation philosophy for educating women and administering women's sports to a higher education climate of *gender equity*. The historical record demonstrates that since the rise of coeducation there were declines in women's leadership roles that parallel athletics among Deans of Women. In the Deans of Women example women's opportunity for leadership roles began as a result of coeducation, but later declined as the purpose of educating women students and fears of feminization emerged in coeducation institutions.

Second, the literature that begins to explain the lack of women in athletic leadership roles today is examined using a feminist post-structural lens. This lens is used to examine the two categories of literature that explain the low number of women leaders in athletics (Thorngren and Eisenbarth 1994). These two categories are: 1) the focus on the individual strategies, and 2) the organizational culture and barriers to women's leadership. The literature on personal attributes focuses on leadership skills, degrees earned, mentoring (Radlinski 2003), work-family balance (Acosta and Carpenter 1988; Radlinski 2003), and role conflict (Radlinksi 2003). This body of literature promotes networking, leadership training programs, workshops, recruiting strategies, changes in leadership style, and a commitment to sacrificing personal time to address the lack of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. The literature aimed at understanding

complex social issues and barriers to women's leadership in athletics explores homologous reproduction of male hegemony and gender differentiation (Stagl and Kane 1991; Theberge 1997). This category of contemporary literature explains the lack of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles by examining the barriers to women such as the perceived lack of qualified candidates and the power of the "old boys" network (Tiell 2003).

Third, the literature on Title IX policy and its influence on the relationship between women leaders, intercollegiate athletics and higher education makes an important contribution to understanding women's access to leadership roles. The attention given to Title IX is often focused on interpretation and application of this policy and how it affects men and women participating in athletics. Title IX does not apply to employment, yet the presence of this policy does impact women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. The literature indicates that the impact of this policy is two-fold 1) it does not protect women leaders or promote women students into leadership roles, 2) it tends to focus on intercollegiate athletics instead of the relationship between athletics and higher education and how women's programs are used to reinforce this relationship.

Method and Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation asks two questions: 1) Why are there are so few women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles today? 2) How does Title IX policy affect women's participation in intercollegiate athletic roles? To answer these questions, this dissertation uses two methods – secondary source analysis and qualitative interviews. Three arguments are developed from the secondary source analysis:

1. History of Women in Higher Education Leadership
2. Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership
3. Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics

These arguments form three claims. First, women are not new to leadership in higher education; rather the strategies that were effective in the separate-spheres of the coeducation climate were not effective with the shift toward gender equity mandated by Title IX. Second, without the strategies that were effective during coeducation, individual women were left to overcome organizational and cultural barriers to athletic leadership, which have left women leaders with less access than men to leadership roles. Third, higher education uses women's athletics to counter the commercial, spectator-oriented men's model of college football and men's basketball. This further marginalizes women leaders into the caretaking roles, rather than the decision-making and leadership roles of college sports.

The qualitative interviews presented in this dissertation systematically explore the perspective from women leaders currently in senior athletic administration on the lack of women leaders in athletics, Title IX, intercollegiate athletics, and their institutions. The evidence presented from the qualitative interviews compliment the claims made in the history, literature, and policy analysis related to women in intercollegiate athletics. The empirical evidence provided in these interviews is triangulated with evidence from institutional archives and publicly available documents. The scope of this portion of the investigation is the period of transition of women's athletics from an educational participation model to a competitive, spectator model of athletics just prior to Title IX in higher education - approximately 1960 – to the present. Finally, this dissertation provides

an explanation for why women are not attaining the same levels of leadership in higher education and proposes suggestions to improve women's access to such leadership positions.

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2, *Methods*, describes the methods used to develop the historical argument and analyze qualitative interview and institutional data for this study. The qualitative investigation consists of interviews of women who currently hold athletic leadership positions and interact with today's Title IX issues at the Division I level. The institutional data collection consists of contemporary and historical research and analysis of institutional decision-making related to Title IX using archival and other primary sources, approximately 1960-present.

Chapter 3, *Historical Analysis of Women in Higher Education Leadership*, presents the history that situates the investigation of the lack of women athletic leaders in the historical pattern of women leaders in higher education since the rise of coeducation. This history demonstrates that when women built women-led professions during coeducation their strategies were effective creating leadership roles for women. This chapter provides a lens to understand gendered patterns of control and power in institutional leadership over time. This chapter also serves to situate women athletic leaders in the context of women's leadership in higher education.

Chapter 4, *Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership*, explains the complex social issues and organizational barriers women have encountered during the gender equity period and why individual strategies have been ineffective in helping women retain leadership roles in higher education in the shift from the coeducation era to the gender equity era. This literature presents the personal

attributes and complex social processes that have influenced women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. The analysis in this chapter is informed by feminist post-structural discourse on gender, race, and social class. Chapter 4 demonstrates factors that shape individual women leaders and describes the barriers to women's access in today's intercollegiate leadership climate and culture.

Chapter 5, *Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics,* explains the policy and its application in intercollegiate athletics, including its limited application to women leaders. In addition, this chapter presents an examination of the relationship between athletics and higher education. This examination demonstrates how efforts to cast Title IX as a way to reform the men's commercial, spectator-oriented model of intercollegiate athletics with the women's "educational philosophy" toward sport, only further marginalizes women leaders in intercollegiate athletics.

Chapter 6, *Inside The Huddle,* provides interview- and institution-based data that describe the criteria and search process that contribute evidence that helps explain why women are so underrepresented in athletics leadership roles today. Findings from this data are used to create a typology of categories that explain the most likely woman candidate to be selected for a vacant athletic director position.

Chapter 7, *The Senior Woman Administrator aka "The SWA,"* provides interview- and institution-based data that further explain the impact of Title IX on women's access to intercollegiate athletic leadership.

Chapter 8, *Conclusion*, presents a summary of the findings of the dissertation and makes recommendations for increasing the number of women positioned for in athletic director positions and the Division I level. Finally, Chapter 8 presents the limitations of

the study and suggestions for expanding this study that include components such as sexual orientation, childcare and family responsibility, and assumptions about masculinity in sport and leadership that present additional barriers to women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles.

CHAPTER TWO
Method

> The core of the definition rests on an integral connection between two propositions: gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. (Scott 1999, 42-43)

The focus of this dissertation is to examine why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletics leadership and how Title IX policy affects women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. The complex interaction between the individual woman leader and her educational institution has left too few women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles, especially at the senior administrator and athletic director level. Women athletic leaders are often the only woman at the senior athletic administration at the Division I level. This tends to position them as the only advocate for gender equity, trying to ensure compliance with the policy and counter the perceptions that Title IX adversely impacts men's programs. At the same time these women leaders often face barriers to achieving decision-making roles that impact those programs.

This chapter introduces the research design methods and rationale for this study. Sections included in this chapter are: 1) *Dissertation Design*, which explains the use of a topic-based dissertation format, 2) *Research Method*, which includes a presentation of three arguments developed and the procedures for the individual interviews and document collection and analysis, and 3) *Analytical Perspectives*, which summarize the methodological issues associated with this inquiry and how a critical feminist perspective is used in the analysis of the three arguments and empirical data.

Dissertation Design

This study uses a modified topic-based dissertation design to present the arguments and findings that address the questions why are there so few women in athletic leadership roles and how Title IX policy has influenced the number of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership today. A topic-based dissertation design "divides the work into chapters that best support the rhetorical structure" (Boote and Beile, 2005, 10). The topic-based dissertation design is adapted in this dissertation using separate chapters for the presentation of the historical argument, existing literature on contemporary women's athletic leadership, Title IX policy, qualitative interview findings, and conclusion.

This dissertation presents three arguments based on the history, literature, and policy arguments related to Title IX's influence on the low number of women intercollegiate athletic leaders today. These three arguments situate and frame the empirical findings from individual interviews of women leaders in intercollegiate athletic leadership and institutional documents related to Title IX and women's access to intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. Therefore the dissertation is organized in the following format: Chapter 1, *Introduction;* Chapter 2, *Method*; Chapter 3, *Historical Analysis of Women in Higher Education Leadership*; Chapter 4, *Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership*; Chapter 5, *Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics*; Chapter 6, *Inside the Huddle*; Chapter 7, *The Senior Woman Administrator, aka "The SWA";* and, Chapter 8, *Conclusion.*

Research Method

This dissertation presents three arguments in three separate chapters based on the secondary source analysis: 1) the history of women in higher education leadership, 2) the individual strategies and organizational barriers to leadership today, and 3) how institutions use Title IX policy to counter the commercial, spectator oriented model of football and men's basketball. In the next chapters individual interviews with contemporary women athletic leaders and document analysis of Title IX policy at their institutions are used to 1) answer the question of why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletics leadership roles today and 2) explain the influence of Title IX today.

Three Arguments: Chapters 3, 4, 5

The history of women leaders in higher education provides examples of women in leadership roles since the rise of coeducation and the strategies they used to create professions. However, the strategies women leaders in higher education used prior to Title IX have been ineffective in promoting and retaining more women in athletic leadership. Since the shift toward gender equity, the literature that explains women's individual strategies in intercollegiate athletic leadership falls into two categories: the characteristics and strategies of individual women leaders and the complex social and cultural barriers of organizational structures (Thorngren and Eisenbarth 1994). Title IX policy doesn't protect or promote women leaders. As institutions have used Title IX to counter the commercial, spectator-oriented football model, women leaders have been further marginalized into caretaking roles in athletic departments.

Individual Interviews & Document Analysis: Chapters 6, 7

Using publicly available information, criteria were established for selecting institutions and determining women leaders to invite to participate in the study. Eligible institutions and participants for this study were determined based on the following criteria: 1) the institutional history of women's athletics, 2) successful promotion of women in athletic administration 3) Division I member institutions, 4) Carnegie research extensive classification,[5] 5) women leaders who held role of senior woman administrator (SWA) as required by the NCAA, and 6) women leaders who were mid-career or greater, based on their background in athletic administration and years of service at their institution. Division I is the member category with the fewest number of women administrators at member institutions.[6] Additionally, this Division typically includes, but is not limited to, the large flagship and/or research-oriented institutions (Toma 2003).[7]

First, potential institutions were selected based on their history of women's athletics, contemporary promotion of women in leadership, NCAA, and Carnegie classification using publicly available information. Institutions that were selected have a history of women leaders who fought for a competitive model of women's sports immediately after Title IX *or* in the contemporary period had successfully placed women in power and decision-making in athletics. All institutions selected were NCAA Division I members and Carnegie Research Extensive institutions. From this pool of potential

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[5] At the time of selection this was the Carnegie Classification category description for doctorate granting institutions with very high research activity, //www.carnegieclassification-preview.org/pdf/cc2005.pdf.

[6] "Division I includes the smallest percentage of programs with a female Athletic Director (8.7%). Division II includes 16.9% and Division III includes 27.5%." (Acosta and Carpenter 2004,3).

[7] Division I institutions tend to be associated with Carnegie Doctoral Research Universities – Extensive and institutions that use intercollegiate sport as a vehicle to garner prestige and status. For a full discussion of NCAA Division, I, II, and III, see Chapter One.

institutions, eligible participants were determined based on their years of service at their institution and Senior Woman Administrator (SWA) status using publicly available information. Participants were then recruited using publicly available sources and in accordance with the University of Washington Human Subjects guidelines established for this study.[8] All institutions and participants are confidential.

Five women agreed to participate in the study. Institutions vary by geographic region and conference affiliation. In most cases institutions had both a history of strong, outspoken women leaders and had successfully promoted women to senior associate leadership position. All women in the study hold the title of Senior Woman Administrator and have been at their institution long enough to replace the first (SWA) or are among the generation of women who followed those women leaders who fought for competitive women's athletics at their institution.

Data collection consisted of three phases: 1) investigation of each institution's athletic profile and participants background, using publicly available information collected from institution's website, professional associations, online newspapers, and university library prior to each interview. Next, interviews were conducted with women leaders, followed by investigation of publicly available information found at each institution's archive. Historical research of each institution's athletic leadership background and Title IX policy was conducted using archival and other primary sources from each participant's institution. Other publicly available information such as contemporary newspaper articles and university documents available online were also collected. The time-period under investigation was institution specific, but focused on the

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[8] This study has received University of Washington Human Subjects approval as of November 4, 2005, reference number #05-5655-E/C 01.

rise of women's competitive athletics at or near the passage of Title IX to the present, approximately 1960-present.

Throughout the empirical data collection, interviews were analyzed, documents examined, and coding system initiated to develop themes and concepts to inform data collection. Interview data with participants were transcribed and triangulated with other interviews, observations, and contemporary documents to develop of conceptually dense concepts about women leaders and gender-equity in each institutional case (Strauss 1987, 10). Examination of the data and applying codes was conducted using Patton's indigenous and sensitizing concepts for analysis to identify concepts and begin to develop theory (1980).

Participants

The five women who participated in this study represent a broad range of professional service in intercollegiate athletics and personal experiences that have contributed to their attainment of responsibilities that include decision-making roles at their institution.[9] Each of these women started in intercollegiate athletics as student-athletes, playing competitive sports for their undergraduate institutions, and earning master's degrees in athletic administration related fields. In addition one participant self-identified as an ethnic minority. All hold the role of SWA at their institution. These five women have had institutional responsibilities, conference-level, and NCAA service that have contributed to their career growth.

[9]Due to the highly identifiable nature of each participant, they are described as a collective. However, this study is not interested in the individual characteristics of participants that are under investigation, rather, this study seeks to understand the interrelationships between women leaders, their athletic departments and their institution. Institutions are highly individualized and dynamic in the administration and oversight of intercollegiate athletics.

These women represent four career paths – hired in as the first woman in the combined program, came to the institution as an external hire to replace the first women in the combined program, ascended through the ranks, replacing the first woman in the combined program after her departure, or was elevated to senior woman administrator.

Finally the women in this study represent an "insider" generation – women who have been on the inside of intercollegiate athletic leadership and decision-making. In addition, four of the women in this study followed directly in path of the "re-pioneers" or overlapped with the re-pioneering generation. The women of the insider generation will be replaced by the "next generation" of women leaders.[10]

Analytical Perspectives

An important element of this inquiry is to "bring about change and raise consciousness about the embedded patriarchal practices in higher education" (Bensimon and Marshall 2003, 340). Interview data have been collected from those women in intercollegiate athletics that have successfully attained a leadership position and served in that position at their institution long enough to observe trends in hiring and decision-making at the departmental and institutional levels. The interviews and case study analysis have been guided by "a highly self-conscious approach" (Strauss 1987, 9). Interviews triangulated with case study documents have undergone an intensive examination using a gendered view of the data and development of conceptually dense concepts about the nature of women's leadership in higher education (10).

Analysis of the conceptual arguments and the empirical data explain the gendered nature of intercollegiate higher education using critical post-structural feminist lens.

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[10]A full description of each generation is presented in Chapter 6.

Critical feminist perspective and the convergence of social class, gender, and race in critical race feminism will also inform data collection by examining perspectives from a diverse set of women athletic leaders (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004). The deliberate use of these perspectives is to learn more about how race, class, and gender influence adaptation to male institutional structures in athletics and how these factors influence the campus and broader community support in ways that contribute or distract from women's interest in of leadership of intercollegiate sport. The use of critical feminist perspectives to develop three conceptual arguments and compare them with empirical evidence situate this study in the "historical origins and historical continuities" of women's athletic leadership roles and opportunities in higher education (Denzin and Lincoln 1998, 163-4).

Additionally, the presentation of women's higher education leadership history also serves to locate this dissertation in the wider context of women's interest in other higher education leadership roles today.[11] However, given the historical background of Deans of Women in higher education prominent in this research, analysis of the secondary record will avoid "presentism"- assuming that terms, ideas, concepts and events in the past have a present-day connotation (Kaestle 1997, 127). The secondary sources from the historical record serves to explain how women's leadership opportunity and roles were created before Title IX. This secondary historical record illustrate that

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[11] In January 2005, former Harvard University president, Larry Summers, suggested that biological, "innate differences" between women and men contribute to the lack of women in math and science. (Fogg 2005). However, the secondary historical record indicates that women demonstrated interest and were accomplished in a "women's sphere" of science education at the turn of the century. Later as higher education shifted its emphasis from the arts to the sciences, women's opportunity to participate in science shifted. "It is important to analyze the development of science education in order to understand the formal and deliberate changes American society made for the education of its young men and women" (Tolley 2003, 6).

women are not new to leadership in higher education, just new to leadership within the men's model of higher education leadership.

Finally, important to the post-structural perspective of the data analysis and presentation of the results is the choice of language used to describe the participants and results. First, is the selection of pseudonyms to identify each participant in the presentation of the interview data. A pseudonym can in advertently cast participants in a particular age, ethnicity, or cultural background category. The pseudonyms chosen for this study were selected because they replace each individual participant's name with a pseudonym that captures the names representative of the style of one of the given names from participants represented in the study – they are not direct replacements. Second, the post-structuralist perspective used in the analysis is sensitive sexual orientation and transgendered status even though this is not directly under investigation in this study.[12] Instead the language used to describe the research questions under investigation are highly sensitive to word choice and the inadvertent labeling sexual orientation and transgendered status associated with the terms, "male" and "female." A specific effort has been made to avoid the designations of male and female throughout, with a few specific exceptions unless indicated as a word choice by a participant.[13] Therefore, the social construction of feminine and masculine and how an individual person chooses to display their social constructions of gender are acknowledged by the use of "women" and "woman" for feminine, and "man" and "men" for masculine.

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[12] Sexual orientation or issues of sexual orientation and intercollegiate athletics were not included the interview questions in this investigation.
[13] The most notable exception is the use of the term "male-dominated field" because of its highly salient, common use to describe the fields and professions that women have traditionally had limited access to.

CHAPTER THREE
Historical Analysis of Women in Higher Education Leadership

> Including gender in the analysis exposes the process by which departments dominated by women – education, library science, nursing, social welfare, women's physical education, and home economics – began in the 1900s as separate, unequal institutions, low in status and prestige, as a place to put the rising number of students and faculty. These departments struggled along with little support, only to be terminated some fifty years later when they were no longer useful or if they persevered, they did so without economic rewards, prestige or power. (Nerad 1999, 1)
>
> ....each generation of women had to start anew. (Glazer and Slater 1987, 231)

Title IX is often credited for giving women access to higher education, yet the formal entrance of women in higher education actually began much earlier with the creation of all-female academies in the 1830s (Clifford 1985). The emergence of coeducation was marked soon thereafter when Oberlin College of Ohio opened as the first coeducation institution in 1833. The entrance of women students in higher education varied among normal schools, women's colleges, coordinate colleges, and coeducation institutions (1985). By the 1890s the majority of women college students were attending coeducation institutions (Newcomber 1959). The influx of women students challenged previously all-male institutions and renewed questions about the purpose of higher education for women. Although the purpose of higher education for women and the "proper roles for educated women," is a "debate almost as old as the nation itself" this chapter focuses on the coeducation period from 1890-1972, when women and men were educated in the same institutions but prepared for different roles (Glazer and Slater 1987, 1; Bashaw 2001, 157). From 1890 until the late 1920s "men and women students

proceeded along separate although parallel paths" (Gordon 1990). In the 1930s men and women students began to enjoy a "gender-integrated model" in classroom and social activities but even until the late 1950s, the purpose of higher education for women was still highly differentiated by gender (Horowitz 1987).

Coeducational institutions responded to the arrival of women students at the turn of the century, by initiating specialized roles for women leaders to oversee women students. Concurrently, the professions were expanding and institutions created separate departments, led by women administrators to oversee the "woman problem" (Clifford 1983; Nidiffer 2000). As women leaders began the pioneering work of professionalizing their fields they faced many barriers and they relied on several strategies to sustain their roles in higher education. A "separate-spheres" ideology common to this early coeducation period created opportunities for women leaders to supervise women students (Gordon 1990). Women graduates with advanced degrees found positions within higher education, where outside the academy there was little use for them or their advanced expertise.

By the 1920s women began to experience a backlash in higher education and the purpose of higher education for women shifted. Institutions feared feminization and focused more on preparing women for their duties as wives and mothers. This pushed women students and faculty out of fields such as medicine and science (Gordon 1990; Cott 1987). Women leaders continued to rely on strategies in response to this changing purpose of education for women such as establishing separate departments in home economics and nursing to maintain their role in institutions. These women-specific fields became the "women's work" within higher education (Rossiter 1982, 239). Women

leaders also promoted separate programs for women students in the extra-curriculum and built strong, women-led professional associations within the feminized fields. This was particularly true for Deans of Women and women in physical education who used the gender differentiated purpose of women's education to maintain their roles and continue to serve women students. From the1920-1960s women leaders throughout higher education created separate communities for women even as higher education became less hostile to women students and more gender integrated in many aspects of campus life (Horowitz 1987). Although women students gained more acceptance at coeducational institutions after 1920, women and men students "shared few intellectual or practical interests and did not participate in the same groups and clubs" (Nidiffer 2000, 139). In the years after World War II women were attending higher education in greater numbers than ever, but their proportion decreased sharply after the GI Bill promoted enrollment for returning veterans – who were mostly men. By the 1950s women leaders in higher education saw their leadership roles decline as coeducational institutions focused their attention on the returning GIs and new models of higher education leadership (Eisenmann 2006). These changes in higher education and the later feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s challenged the separatist strategy of Deans of Women and faculty in feminized fields. Coeducation gave way to a gender-combined model of higher education in the classroom and out. This gender-combined, gender equity period, is marked by the passage of Title IX in 1972, which mandated equity for women in educational programs.

Today women make up 44 percent of the student-athletes in Division I college athletic programs but only 9.3 percent of athletic programs are led by a woman athletic

director (NCAA 2003; Acosta and Carpenter 2006). The lack of women in senior level athletics administration and the question of how Title IX policy affects women's participation in leadership roles is not just an issue limited to athletics. A historical perspective on women in higher education provides evidence that demonstrates why there are so few women in senior level athletic administration roles. The low number of women in athletic leadership roles is related in part to the shift toward gender equity after Title IX that mandated access to higher education for women students. This policy and changing purpose of higher education for women, left women leaders without strategies to advance in the leadership structure. The historical record in higher education demonstrates that since the rise of coeducation, distinctly similar cases – Deans of Women and women's athletics – illustrate a rise and fall of women in higher education leadership roles. Although these two examples are from the extra-curriculum, there are several other examples that occurred in the curriculum as well, such as in medicine, science, and home economics that demonstrate the combination of strategies women used to attain leadership positions and adjust to shifts in power that affected women's access to those positions (Glazer and Slater 1987). Throughout the coeducation period women leaders built academic departments, held leadership roles within institutions (although often in feminized roles) and created national organizations beyond their institutions. At other times women leaders have seen their opportunities in higher education decline and even taken over by university or men's external organizations.

The history of Deans of Women and women's athletics presented in this chapter explain how women's opportunity for leadership roles shifted within higher education since the advent of women's access to coeducation from 1890-1972. Specifically, women

in the professions initially enjoyed success in gaining access to higher education, but by the 1920s women experienced a "backlash" in higher education (Gordon 1990). Women responded using a variety of strategies, but the progress made by women in the professions by the first generation of women leaders, "did not continue to ascend steadily through the twentieth century" (Cott 1987, 217). Deans of Women and women in physical education achieved greater success in withstanding this backlash. However, they too met a similar fate when women-led programs and organizations disappeared as institutions combined men's and women's programs during the onset of gender equity.

This chapter is divided into four sections which describe how higher education has influenced and responded to coeducation – educating women and men students together in the classroom and in the extra-curriculum. First, *Creating A Profession: Four Strategies* explains the strategies women have used in higher education to create roles for themselves and respond to the changing purpose of educating women students. Second, *Before Gender Equity: Coeducation, 1830-1972,* describes in greater detail the shifting purpose of education for women and how coeducation institutions responded. Third, *Responding to 'The Woman Problem': Women Leaders and Strategies During Coeducation* describes women leaders in coeducational institutions. Finally, *From Coeducation to Gender Equity: Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics* explains how coeducation was influenced by shifts in social attitudes about women's roles and was affected by the passage of the Title IX of the Educational Amendment Act in 1972 which mandated gender equity in higher education. This chapter, together with Chapter Four: *Literature Review* and Chapter Five: *Title IX*, describe the changes in colleges and universities brought on by Title IX in the gender equity period that impact the

interrelationship between the individual women leader, her athletic department and her institution. The history of women's leadership in higher education provides a lens to understand gendered patterns of control and power in institutional leadership. The presentation of the secondary historical record in this chapter situates the investigation of the lack of women leaders in athletics today in the historical pattern of women in higher education and in the shift from a climate of coeducation to gender equity.

Creating A Profession: Four Strategies

The early women leaders in higher education created new leadership opportunities and faced barriers to leadership roles. One way they addressed both was by creating new professions for themselves and their students. The notion of a profession and the criteria on which to determine a profession first gained renewed popularity with Abraham Flexner's 1910 report, "Is Social Work a Profession?" (Nidiffer 2000). Belief in ideals of professionalism such as public trust given to doctors, lawyers, and clergy was already common. In the Progressive Era, "a renewed interest in professionalism and the drive for professionalization for all sorts of occupations" developed the idea of expertise derived from university training. "Self-regulation and control over entry" also became important criteria for professions" (Nidiffer 2000, 7). The training of experts in university-based programs was not enough. Professions had to develop a "coherent body of literature" that was "scientific rather than journalistic in character" (Glazer and Slater 1987; Bashaw 1999, 162; Flexner as cited in Nidiffer 2000).

Women leaders in higher education were influenced by this Progressive Era ideal and professionalized their positions – by developing self-regulating degree-based training

programs, peer-reviewed research literature, and governing associations. However, despite the culture of professionalism only two career paths were available to women with higher education degrees: 1) women could enter a male dominated profession in an established field or in a feminized subspecialty, or 2) women could enter a traditionally female field (Nidiffer 2000, 8; see also Cott 1987). Regardless of the path chosen, women leaders described in this chapter illustrate four strategies and combinations of strategies that women leaders chose as Deans of Women and in women's physical education and athletics. First described by Glazer and Slater (1987), these four strategies are further developed by Nidiffer (2000, 8):

Strategies Used By Women Leaders
During Coeducation

1. Super-performance – sought status through extraordinary efforts and a willingness to sacrifice traditional relationships.

2. Subordination – accepting a subordinate position within a male-dominated profession

3. Innovation – establishing a new professional field. Often this allowed women to remove themselves from direct competition with male professionals, especially if they took up work or served clients typically neglected by men.

4. Separatism – all-female environments, such as women's colleges where women were senior administrators and faculty members, even in traditionally male disciplines.

During coeducation women leaders used these strategies to create women-led professions in fields such as Dean of Women. These strategies provided an important framework for understanding the decisions made by women leaders in athletics in the climate of gender equity after the passage of Title IX in 1972. The history of women in higher education leadership helps to explain why the passage of Title IX made the

strategies used by the previous generation of women leaders ineffective for gaining access to intercollegiate athletics leadership today. The historical context of women athletic leaders choosing a feminized sub-specialty over a male-dominated profession within intercollegiate athletics during the emergence of women's competitive athletics in the 1970s is significant in explaining the shifts in women's athletic leadership roles instigated by Title IX (Nidiffer 2000, 8; see also Cott 1987).

Before Gender Equity: Coeducation, 1830-1972

This section introduces the Coeducation Period from 1830-1972 that explains how institutions promoted different higher education purposes for women and men students and how women leaders responded. This section is divided into three distinct eras that describe the purpose of educating women students during the rise of coeducation institutions: 1) *Coeducation Begins, 1830-1890*, 2) *Separate Spheres and Professionalizing, 1890-1920*, and 3) *Gender Integration and Professional Innovation, 1930-1972*. During these three eras of coeducation women students and leaders used combinations of the four strategies, as described in the previous section, to create communities within higher education and a power base for women leaders. Although there are were shifts in attitude toward the purpose of higher education for women students throughout the coeducation period, a gender differentiated purpose and role of higher education persisted. Finally, in *The Collegiate Way: The Extra-curriculum and Coeducation* describes the rise of intercollegiate sport within these three eras.Women leaders responded to the purpose of higher education for women with strategies both in the curriculum and in the extra-curriculum throughout coeducation.

The gender equity period from 1972 to the present not only represents a major shift in the purpose and role of higher education for women students, it also represents a change in how women leaders advance in leadership positions. Without distinct differences in the purpose of higher education for women and separate programs for women students, the women-led organizations and institutional departments that once created a power-base for the advancement of women leaders dissolved. Shifts in attitude by women students and the status of women leaders began earlier, but these shifts were solidified by the passage of Title IX.

Coeducation Begins, 1830-1890

Formal higher education in the United States was initially limited to men - beginning with the early colonial colleges. The colonial colleges were open to a select group of affluent youth who lived in residence with professors and prepared for a career in civic administration or clergy. The highly restricted early colonial colleges were established by governments and elite citizens for upper class boys. "College was beyond the reach of most men, for lack of social status, and of all women, by virtue of their sex" (Clifford 1985, 2). [14] It was not until the 1820s and 30s that formal higher education for women emerged. Most notable were all-female academies, Troy Female Seminary and Mount Holyoke Seminary. The first coeducation institution was Oberlin College in the north in 1833 and (Lucas 1994; Nidiffer 2001) Wesleyan Female College of Macon,

[14] "There is little reason to think that higher education was truly exempted from the influence of gender and gender-thinking, even when it was exclusively male in its student body, faculty, administrators, and trustees. If this is true, then gender fundamentally shaped the college and university before women appeared in the institution to threaten to change or challenge or call attention to its sexual nature. Also, then, women's physical presence, or even rumors that females were seeking entry, functioned primarily to move gender from the unconscious to the conscious level of response and reaction, however much that consciousness might be denied." Geraldine Joncich Clifford 1983. "Shaking Dangerous Questions From The Crease": Gender & American Higher Education, *Feminist Issues*, 34(3) 2: 3-62.

Georgia in the south in 1836. [15] State normal schools began in the 1840s and educated women and men together (Ogren 2005).

In the years after the Civil War, pressure increased on established and new colleges to increase enrollments. Women's colleges continued in the northeast but begin to look more like the institutions men attended. The development of coeducation, from the end of the Civil War to the turn-of-the century, varied greatly by region and institution.[16] Mid-west and far west colleges, usually state colleges, were coed in Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, and California (Lucas 1994). Both emerging colleges and struggling colleges opened to women. New colleges and universities particularly in the South and Midwest were also starting and the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 was an important catalyst for expansion in the west and far west. It was under these conditions that coeducation emerged within the land-grant college movement in Iowa in 1855 and Wisconsin in 1863 (Lucas 1994, 156). By 1870, "one-third of American colleges and universities admitted both women and men. By 1890 the proportion of women attending coeducational college and universities reached 70.1 percent (Newcomber 1959, 49).

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[15] Women's academies such as the Troy Female Seminary founded in 1821 and the Georgia Female College of Macon Georgia chartered in 1836. Some were regarded as finishing schools to train young women for life inside the home (Lucas, 1994, 154). Post-Civil War expansion of education for southern white women in the Progressive Era continued. Although white women faced barriers of entrance and were limited to the "separate spheres" of the private domain, black women, lacked access to the political and social movements that propelled white women into higher education. These black women of the south had to overcome larger barriers to even "acquire higher education" (McCandless 1999, 18-19). As coeducation emerged and grew, these African-American students became the "forgotten women" of the south.

[16] "An institution declared unequivocally for or against coeducation. As a general rule, coeducation of men and women had greater appeal in the Midwest and West than in the Northeast and Southeast. Colleges in New England and the Northeast tended to be gender exclusive" (Thelin 2004, 173).

Separate Spheres and Professionalizing, 1890-1920

By 1890, the rapid expansion of higher education made it both practical and necessary for institutions to admit women. Although women students enjoyed more access to education - women students from largely white, middle income families – they rarely enjoyed the same educational experience as the men. Even with access to higher education gaining acceptance, there were concerns at many campuses about the impact that women students would have. It was feared that women would feminize men and the curriculum (Clifford 1985). Women students were often asked to wait for all the men to be seated or segregated into separate sections or divisions of the same course (Clifford 1983, 160). At the University of California, women students were considered outsiders, (known as "pelicans") and ridiculed by Berkeley men in the yearbooks and student newspapers. Women students were often excluded from most campus organizations, such as the *Daily Californian* student newspaper and class offices in the Associated Students of the University of California (Gordon 1990, 71). As a result and in part, due to the "gender distinctiveness" of the separate spheres philosophy of the Victorian popular culture, "men's and women's lives proceeded along separate, although parallel paths" (Gordon 1990, 3-4). This was particularly true in the extra-curriculum, where women students set up their own campus communities, separate from men.

Inside the classroom women performed well. This also prompted protest and concern. Stanford University placed a quota on the number of women that could be admitted. At the University of Chicago separate sections of classes for women were instituted until they became too costly (Clifford 1985). Despite the challenges women

students faced gaining access to the curriculum and campus life, women students persisted. Cott (1987) estimates that in 1890 women earned 35 percent of the undergraduate degrees awarded and "were exposed to the same rhetoric about work and professional status as their male classmates" (Nidiffer 2000, 8). Using the strategies of superperformance, subordination, innovation and separatism, women earned 18 percent of the PhDs in 1930 and held almost one-third of the college and university faculty positions. The influx of women students, combined with the emergence of the professions associated with higher education created opportunities for women to assume faculty roles in higher education during this period (1987). However, as "opportunities for professions were expanding, for women they were circumscribed by a set of prejudices that threw up serious obstacles" (Glazer and Slater 1987, 14). Clifford describes women's entrance into the faculty of coeducation institutions at the "weakest" point, the "positions that could be justified as woman's work" (Clifford 1985; see also Rossiter 1982).

By 1920, the success of women students in the classroom and faculty in the professions, had proved to be a "double-edged sword" (Gordon 1990, 191). The high enrollment of women students, fears of effeminizing higher education from men administrators, and the belief in gender-specific qualities that made women superior in some aspects, but had special needs as promoted by women faculty, contributed to changes in the purpose of education for women (1990).

Gender Integration and Innovation, 1920-1972

In the 1920s, "domination of higher education by technically oriented research institutions and resurgence in male student life successfully contained the threat of

effeminization" (Gordon 1990, 10-11). Institutions curbed enrollment of women students, established separate courses for women students, created barriers to women advancing in professional organizations, and the "surge in women's medical schools and hospitals slipped after 1910" (Cott 1987, 218; see also Gordon 1990; Rossiter 1982).[17] Women made up 47 percent of the proportion of undergraduate students in 1920, but their presence on campus diminished as higher education became more masculine in the 1930s and 1940s and with the GI Bill after World War II (Nidiffer 2000; Newcomber 1959; Eisenmann 2006).[18] By the 1930s, the separate spheres approach to educating men and women in coeducation waned, yet there was still considerable differentiation for men and women in the classroom and campus life. The curriculum was not explicitly separate, but "women-oriented courses of study" and "differences in employment possibilities and future social roles" meant that higher education institutions still supported a form of separate education (Nidiffer 2000, 138). Integrating women students on campus was linked just as much to social activities and dating as it was to their participation in previously restricted campus groups and clubs (Horowitz 1987).

By 1960 more women were attending higher education than ever before, but their proportion of the enrollment was only about 37 percent across all institutions (Eisenmann 2006). At the end of World War II institutions directed their attention to serving veterans and there was confusion about the "curricular advice" for women (Eisenmann 2006).

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[17] In Nancy Cott's discussion of shifting attitudes about women's roles and feminism at the end of the Progressive Era, she notes, "Rather than strictly marking 1920 as the end of an era, we should recognize the surrounding decades as a period of crisis and transition" (1987, 10). The same is true of the roles of women students and leaders on campus.

[18] Although the number of women attending college continued to grow after 1920, their proportion of the undergraduate population in coeducation institutions declined. In 1920 women made up 47 percent of the enrollment, 43.7 percent in 1930, 40.2 percent in 1940, 30.2 percent in 1950 and 35.2 percent by 1958 (Newcomber 1959, 46).

Women had more choices available to them in terms of courses and employment, but institutions were still focused on preparing women to be wives and mothers. The Civil Rights and Women's Movement, brought more change to who attended college, participation in student organizations, and interest in the curriculum (Horowitz 1987). These changes soon resulted in legislative mandates that required access for women and minority groups in campus admissions, academic programs, and extracurricular activities.

The Collegiate Way: The Extra-curriculum and Coeducation

The rise of intercollegiate sport competition coincided with the rise of coeducation. Intercollegiate athletics – spectator-oriented, commercial athletics – became an important feature of the extra-curriculum by 1890. Increased pressure on colleges to attract new students to campus and funding influenced the adoption of the extra-curriculum. Academic clubs, societies, and journals enhanced the curriculum and were a way to attract students to campus. Greek letter fraternities and intercollegiate athletics grew quickly, combating the "dreariness of the classical curriculum and long winters in small, isolated communities" (Porto 2003, 23). In the Progressive Era parents began to "insist on dormitories and the students and alumni want[ed] football stadia and Olympic-size swimming pools" (Clifford 1983; Porto 2003). Rudolf (1990) first described these characteristics of higher education as the collegiate way. The collegiate way "helped establish the philosophic and historical foundations for many of the non-intellectual purposes of the American college" (108). "The collegiate way is the notion that a curriculum, a library, a faculty, and students are not enough to make a college. It is an adherence to the residential scheme of things. It is respectful of quite rural settings,

dependent on dormitories, committed to dining halls, permeated by paternalism. It is what every American college has had or consciously rejected or lost or sought to recapture" (87).[19]

At the turn of the century, society told women not to be "overly competitive" and encouraged particular styles of play or sports such as tennis, golf, and swimming that were less likely to involve contact or "unnecessary exuberance" – especially in an amateur setting (Fields 2005, 3). Yet there are examples where women participated in intercollegiate athletics that was counter to this sentiment. Radke (2002) describes the popularity of competitive women's basketball at land-grant institutions during the Progressive Era. What is interesting about Radke's finding is that in the land-grant colleges, not only did women's basketball thrive, but in one case it out paced the men in popularity to the point that "the women's basketball team made so much money that the men of the campus, hard put for athletic funds, humbled themselves occasionally to the extent of borrowing from the well-filled treasury of the girls' athletic association" (Radke 2002, 285). Not only were the women's basketball games well attended, but women gained "as much recognition as the men's football teams, for their popularity, competitiveness, and exciting games" (289). Despite the popularity for participation by women players and attendance by classmates, women's participation in competitive athletics was replaced with non-competitive sporting activities by the 1920s.

African-American women also participated in intercollegiate athletics during the Progressive Era and later. As was consistent with white institutions, most elite black

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[19] The concept of the residential setting, the influence of peers, individual growth and discipline that prompted growth from "boyhood to manhood" of early male college students is a tradition that continues today (Rudolf 1990, 88).

colleges and universities "abandoned their earlier commitment to women's intercollegiate basketball" (Liberti 1999, 567). While some institutions were dismantling programs others were introducing competitive teams. For the women at Bennett College, athletics complimented the academic mission of contributing back to the black community. "Bennett sought to up hold middle-class standards of refinement and respectability among its students in part to counter lingering stereotypes of African Americans as immoral and uncivilized" (70). This also paralleled the emphasis at white female colleges that women had in upholding the morals of society and the home. Graduates who had played competitive basketball gained jobs teaching and coaching basketball at black elementary schools. Competitive basketball provided an outlet for women to fulfill their duty of giving back to the community and their obligations of maintaining high moral standards. Other parallels over the control of women's athletics were also consistent with the larger women's PE movement at Bennett College. Although competitive basketball was offered at Bennett through 1941, the program eventually followed the women's PE movement and deemphasized competition in favor of non-competitive activities that promoted play-days and "sportsmanship among the colleges" (Liberti 1999, 578).

During the rise of intercollegiate sports from 1890-1920, differences between men and women were addressed early. As more women students were admitted institutions were concerned about "feminization" of the university. Men's sports were used to increase prestige and status of the institution - almost from the very beginning of

intercollegiate athletic competition. Oberlin College used athletics to garner institutional prestige and communicate internal values as early as 1900 (Horger 1996). Concerns over a decline in male enrollment was linked to declines in prestige. Not only did Oberlin attempt to use football as a way to promote its institutional reputation, but also to bolster male enrollment. The Warner Gymnasium was built in 1900, in part to attract more men to the institution. "Male enrollment did increase in those years immediately after 1900...but female enrollment, however, increased just as fast" leading to fears that gains prestige that athletics may have generated would be jeopardized (268).

After the initial introduction and popularity among women, intercollegiate sports developed into gender-differentiated opportunities for men and women after 1930 at most colleges. For men, competitive college athletics grew in popularity among participants and spectators alike. Women's athletics became a recreational, non-competitive activity. It wasn't until the 1950s and 1960s that women began to challenge the gender-differentiated restrictions on women's sport and resumed the competitive, intercollegiate athletics similar to the men's model that was in place since the early 1900s (Cahn 1994; Guttmann 1991; Horger 1996; Hult and Trekell 1991; Liberti 1999; Markels 2000; Radke 2002).

Coeducation Summary

As women students entered coeducational institutions in greater numbers at the turn of the century, institutions feared the effect women would have on the institution. Despite their significant proportion of the enrollment, their success in the classroom, and

building professions, by the Progressive Era women experienced a backlash in higher education (Gordon 1990; Clifford 1983; Nidiffer 2000). "When at the beginning of the century, there was a sudden influx of women students into the university, top-level administrators, began to fear that these new women students would drive men out of the College of Letters and Liberal Arts" (Nerad 1999, 10). Although university Presidents of the Progressive Era "included women in their vision of a new democratic society, their vision was of a traditional woman, simply more cultured, more emotionally mature, and better educated than average" (Nerad 1999, 28). By the 1920s women made up almost half the enrollment of students at coeducational institutions. Institutions limited women in admissions, built separate coordinate colleges, and created segregated classes (Gordon 1990). The emerging university in the inter-war and post-World War II years focused on graduate education and research. The separate-spheres approach to educating men and women faded, but he purpose of educating women continued to be different than men. Even after World War II, the number of women students enrolled in higher education was greater numbers than ever, but the GI Bill further solidified the emphasis on educating men and reducing the visibility of women (Eisenmann 2006). Women remained educated in separate women-specific fields and activities through the end of the coeducation period.

The earliest women leaders in the coeducation period were Dean's of Women appointed to counter fears that enrolling women would feminize male students or the institution. These women leaders in higher education developed a set of strategies that "served a 'client' (women students) largely ignored by men," established new professions within higher education for women, and created options for women students with

advanced degrees that the first generation of women students lacked (Nidiffer 2000, 8). Women students and faculty responded, used separatist strategies to create separate communities and fields throughout the coeducation period. These strategies proved effective, but the initial success was followed by a "period of stasis and/or decline not reversed until the 1960s and 1970s" after coeducation gives way to gender equity in higher education (Cott 1987, 220).

Responding to *'The Woman Problem'*: Women Leaders and Strategies During Coeducation

Universities first responded to the entrance of women students by hiring Deans of Women to oversee the "woman problem" (Nidiffer 2000, 31). College presidents used this term, referring to both the need for institutions to address the "housing, health, and social habits of women students" that required their attention and fear of the feminization women students would have on the institution (2000, 32). In 1892 the University of Chicago hired the first Dean of Women, Alice Freeman Palmer and her associate, Marion Talbot. Although President William Rainey Harper was not an "enthusiast of coeducation" he was "saddled with the charter that mandated the equal instruction of women and men" (Fitzpatrick 1989). Appointing Deans of Women was a reaction to the "woman problem" by higher education, but it also built the foundation for a profession that would later be known as student affairs. Women leaders in other departments such as home economics and physical education also responded to the increasing enrollment and interests of women students in the academy using various combinations of superperformance, subordination, innovation, and separatism to build programs for women students. Although women leaders were initially successful in developing

women-led professions many women experienced a backlash in the Progressive Era. Deans of Women and women in physical education sustained their professional roles, despite their restricted status within institutions, in woman-specific leadership positions for much longer. Deans of Women didn't experience a decline until after World War II when many institutions combined men's and women's programs or did away with women-only or women-led departments (Eisenman 2006). The examples are presented here, Deans of Women and women's physical education and athletic leaders, illustrate the parallels in the strategies to professionalize and the failures that resulted in later years. Other examples also exist in feminized professions such as home economics, education, library science, nursing, and social welfare (Nerad 1999). This history of women leaders and their strategies is helpful in understanding why women leaders in intercollegiate athletics were unable to use these strategies after the passage of Title IX. It is also useful to examine the history of other women leaders to understand that the dilemmas of women leaders in intercollegiate athletics are not unique to college sports.

Although women have had fewer opportunities than men, when stratified by class, aristocratic women have had more access to education, property, and political power than white middle and working class women and women of color (Macralid and Taylor 2004, 128; McCandless 1999, 6).[21] This section highlights the purpose of higher education for women and how Deans of Women and physical education faculty worked within their separate sphere to pursue advanced degrees, develop professional organizations, and

[21] Except where noted most of the sources in this section pertain to the experience of white women students and faculty.

create leadership of separate departments.[22] However, this presentation is representative of a history of white women's leadership in higher education.

Deans of Women

Dean's of Women were first appointed to counter fears that enrolling women would feminize male students and the institution (Clifford 1983; Nidiffer 2000). The early women who served as Deans of Women built a profession for women and set the foundation for what would later become the role of Dean of Students (Eisenmann 2006). Although the leadership roles of these women were limited, within their separate sphere of women's education, the Dean of Women position created an "entry point for women who were unlikely to be hired as full-time faculty" (2006, 134).

The contributions of early women deans in elite private and emerging state universities during the rise of the coeducation movement was part of a three-pronged, turn-of-the-century view of women's education. Marion Talbot argued that:

1. Women were intellectually equal, requiring educationally equal opportunities
2. Women need a community on a coed campus (including resources, buildings, projects), and
3. Movement of women into socially useful professions (Nidiffer 2000, 51).

After the turn of the century women students in higher education had gained greater acceptance in admission at coeducational institutions. Men's and women's lives became "less separate, and more compatible" but few options were available to women students after college (Gordon 1987, 223). Deans of Women held advanced degrees in

[22] Jane Nidiffer cites the "separatism as strategy" of early feminists. With this strategy women leveraged the social and political "separate spheres" to create opportunities for leadership and advancement in women's organizations and within male-dominated institutions.

their own field of study, and they developed an entirely new profession. This created options for women graduates. Cott (1987) notes that organized knowledge is power and early Deans of Women quickly created and organized a knowledge base. Deans of Women established their profession by writing books, conducting research. They also published articles. Young women were encouraged in graduate study and advanced degrees to train them as new deans and expand research in the field. A professional organization, the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) was established in 1916 and the profession continued to build on research and publications (Nidiffer 2000).[23]

Like their sisters in the north, Deans of Women in the south at white institutions held degrees in other fields (Bashaw 2002).[24] Although Deans of Women had advanced degrees, held faculty appointments including the rank of professor, supervised and led other women's programs in the institution, yet their contributions were labeled as "women's work" (Rossiter 1999). Deans of Women often held degrees in areas

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[23] Women deans representing 17 universities, in the Midwest, met in 1903 and by 1916 the National Association of Dean's of Women formed. These first schools included University of Illinois, Wisconsin, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, and Iowa. Also Ohio State University, Indiana University, Northwestern University, Ripon, Carelton, Barnard, Oberlin, Beloit, and Illinois College. (Report of the History Committee of the National Association of Deans of Women, 1927 as cited in Schwartz, 1997; See also Nidiffer, 2000, 2001). The notion of "separate spheres" that white women encountered in predominately white institutions were constrained primarily by gender (race and class were not an issue for the white middle class), but their black sisters to the south, used the formal structures to develop the position of Dean's of Women – a position of power and authority within race, class, and gender spheres in black institutions. Carolyn Terry Bashaw gives some attention to the challenge that black women faced in gaining access to the NADW but the persistent discrimination they faced within the organization and cities that hosted meetings, even into the 1970s. Linda M. Perkins describes parallel organizations formed by Lucy Diggs Slowe in Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of the Self-Determination of African-American Women In Higher Education *Journal of Negro History,* 81, 1 (1996): 89-104.

[24] Katherine C. Reynolds and Susan L. Schramm include race and class more explicitly in *A Separate Sisterhood: Women Who Shaped Southern Education in the Progressive Era* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), although their work does not focus on Deans of Women. Carolyn Terry Bashaw gives some attention to Black Deans of Women in the South in *"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), but it is more a white, Southern counterpart to Jana Nidiffer's *Pioneering Deans of Women: More Than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000).

considered to be feminized fields, and the scope of their leadership was restricted to the women's sphere rather than the greater institutional leadership. Bashaw notes that despite the limits these women leaders experienced on campus and the fact that their research was "lost" within the academic circles of their disciplines, these women made significant contributions to women's organizations and women's causes outside higher education (125-26).[25]

The high point for Deans of Women may have been from 1892-1916 – the period in which women Deans were scholars, often holding faculty and administrative roles reported to the President, and lacked a male counterpart at most institutions (Eisenmann 2006; Nidiffer 2001). In the 1930s the emergence of student affairs departments created a specialized role for educating students outside of the classroom (2006). This also coincided with the growth of Deans of Men. However as late at 1940, 86 percent of Deans of Women still reported to university presidents, but in 1945 "one-third of all institutions lacked a women dean with faculty status and a significant role in policy making" (2006, 133). By 1962, a survey of Deans of Women found that only 30 percent still reported to the president, As Deans of Women lost reporting power to the President, they also aligned more directly with offices of student services rather than holding faculty rank. This change in reporting and faculty status for Deans of Women "isolated (them) from any important power base within the faculty" (2001, 151). [26] Despite the growth in the number of women students in higher education and the leadership of women deans,

[25] Like Schwartz, Bashaw also questions why the history of higher education has neglected to include women, particularly women in the south. Bashaw admits however, that her book lacks the coverage of Lucy Slowe Diggs and other Black women deans and makes the case for a parallel study to include black coeducational institutions of the south (128-130).

[26] This subtle shift is reflective of Joan Scott's (1999) recommendation for locating gender firmly in the analysis of higher education history.

the role of Dean of Women, and the NADW did not persist. As institutions combined the role of Dean of Women and Dean of Men, into Offices of Dean of Students beginning in the 1940s and 50s, women leaders and their legacy were left behind (Eisenmann 2006).

The separate domains for women faculty and students and limited opportunities for women students after graduating, led to a "separatism as strategy" that was important to bringing the first group of women Deans together and later created the foundation the NADW was built on. In later years the rise of Deans of Men and emerging student affairs profession, along with social and political trends, altered the perception and function of Deans of Women. As coeducation gave way to gender equity, Deans of Women were cast as prying old women of a bygone era (Nidiffer 2000). Reorganizations of student personnel positions often eliminated the position of Dean of Women or reassigned women to the "Director of Women's Education" with less responsibility (Nidiffer 2000, 150). However, Deans of Women were not passive bystanders in these changes, there was debate for and against Deans of Women. "Opponents of the position maintained that it set women apart and prevented their full integration into the life of the campus. Those in favor cited the evidence that women students still continued to avail themselves of the services of the dean" (2000, 150).[27]

[27] Nidiffer (2000) also points out that the separate strategy was not steadfast across the board for women in higher education. In later years. "The strategy of creating a separate women's community was not taken up by deans of women appointed after 1920....(undergraduates) had cast off many of the vestiges of the separate spheres....dating and heterosexual coupling became an essential aspect of college life for women....Another reason for the rather dramatically rapid decline of the strong same-sex culture among women was an increasing social uneasiness with the sexual appropriateness of the situation. Concern with lesbianism was hinted at, although rarely stated explicitly" (138-39).

Women Leaders in Physical Education and Athletics

Basketball was first introduced to women in colleges and universities by Senda Berenson in 1893, just a year after it was invented. It quickly gained popularity, but there were immediate concerns from university officials about women's involvement, in particular its effect on femininity, a belief in biology as destiny, separate spheres, fear of unwomanly behavior, and medical concerns (Hult and Terkell 1991, 3). However, women's competitive basketball in the earliest years of coeducation demonstrate interest among women for participation in competitive sports before the emergence of gender-differentiated opportunity in college-sponsored athletics that took hold by the 1930s. Men continued in a competitive, often commercialized intercollegiate model. At most institutions the concerns over women's participation in competitive sports stimulated specific differentiation between the women's and men's game and competition. Women's PE educators and their organizations were often the strongest sources of this concern. While competitive basketball was gaining popularity among men and women, the women's physical educators developed a more conservative model for women's participation.

Women leaders were successful in creating strong professional networks among the women's PE educators and other women leaders such as Deans of Women. These women leaders chose the strategy of creating a feminized subspecialty of physical education based on an educational philosophy of separate-spheres. Women leaders were successful in discouraging strenuous, competitive activity for women students at most institutions. By the 1930s, women participated in physical education and non-competitive

athletics in a model highly resistive to competition with oversight dominated by women leaders in women's physical education (Hult 1994).

From the 1920s to the 1950's women's physical educators promoted a "right kind" of athletic program for women at their individual colleges (Festle 1996). Women's physical educators also had a strong professional network, a body of research, and degree training programs that had placed graduates in high school and college women's physical education programs (Costa and Guthrie 1994). Through the National Section on Women's Athletics (NSWA), women's physical educators continued their "exclusive authority" over women's sports in educational settings (Wushanley 2004, 17).[28] In 1953 NSWA became the National Section of Girl's and Women in Sports (NSGWS) and in 1957 renamed the Division for Girls and Women's Sports (DGWS). By this time the stance against competition had softened a bit from the strictly anti-competitive play-day to a sports day, which emphasized the "right kind" of competition for the new "sportswoman" (Festle 1996). This sportswoman, was a "healthy, vibrant, graceful woman familiar with swimming or croquet....'conducted toward the complete development for the individual for the place she probably will occupy in American society as a wife, mother or career woman'" (1991, 12). The new sportswoman was consistent with higher education's view in the 1950s and 1960s that "collegiate instruction should somehow prepare women for female roles and foster their aspirations strictly within bounds" (Solomon 1985, 191).

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[28] The NSWA grew out of the Women's Division of the American Physical Education Association established in 1885. The Women's Division was a strong voice for women's physical education and opposed to competition (Guttmann 1991). The NSWA continued this stance and became one of the most prominent organizations for discouraging competitive women's basketball. At the college level the NWSA's influence was dramatic and swift. By the 1930s few white institutions offered women's basketball (Costa and Guthrie 1994).

During the rise of coeducation at the turn of the century, early differentiation between men's and women's roles shaped opportunity for women physical education leaders. A consistent message by women against the men's competitive model persisted among women's PE educators until the 1960s when they began entertaining the idea of competition for women in the schools. Even with this shift in thinking from a recreational to a competitive model in the years preceding Title IX, the women's PE organizations and the women who led them, consistently promoted a position of a separate women-led model of women's competitive sport that emphasized the educational aspects of women's sport.

Women Leaders in Coeducation Summary

On campus, the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 expanded both the purpose and the system of higher education, adding state-sponsored education (Nidiffer 2001).[29] Opportunities for women expanded both in the new public "land grants" and also in private women's colleges (2001). Women began attending higher education in greater and greater numbers and by the 1890s women made up almost half of the enrollment of higher education (Newcomber 1959). Initially, the purpose of educating men and women together was a separate spheres ideology – men and women educated on parallel, but separate paths. By the 1920s fears of feminization contributed to changes in the purpose of educating women and access for women students to higher education. This created a

[29] The Morrill Land Grant Acts of 1862 and 1890 set aside land and money to establish agricultural and mechanical education. Congressman Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont suggested that American colleges should, "lop off a portion of the studies established centuries ago as the mark of European scholarship and replace the vacancy...by those of a less antique and more practical value." (Rudolf 1990, 249). See also Lucas (1994) American Higher Education: A History (147). The Morrill Act of 1862 set aside 30,000 acres of land and established 69 "land grant" institutions.

backlash against women and institutions placed limits on their access to enrollment and programs. The German research university model was gaining the attention of faculty who were increasingly interested in developing research rather than guiding the self-development students (Lucas 1994; Rudolf 1990). Graduate and professional schools and the new extra-curriculum became necessary amenities of the modern university campus. By the 1930s and 40s there was less gender segregation of women and men in many aspects of campus life, but a different purpose for educating women remained. Women remained in feminized fields and activities.

Women leaders were impacted by the changes in coeducation too. Women initially entered male-dominated professions, during the rise of coeducation, but women faculty in male-dominated fields faced limits to their advancement in the Progressive Era. Women had developed a set of strategies to navigate these challenges women relied heavily on the strategies of superperformance, subordination, innovation, and separatism to maintain their position in higher education. When examined from the perspective of the strategies that women leaders have taken during the rise of coeducation, Deans of Women "chose the path of a male-dominated profession in an established field (e.g., medicine or academia)" and women in physical education chose "a feminized subspecialty (e.g. pediatrics or home economics)" (Nidiffer 2000, 8). When the strategies of women to professionalize in both of these examples are taken in the context of coeducation, Deans of Women and women in physical education persisted in their positions and professions, within their limited status, after the backlash of the Progressive Era. The persistence of their professional roles after the backlash in the Progressive era is evident in the strength of their professional associations, success in implementing policy

that created the "right kind" of extracurricular activities for women, and for Deans of Women, reporting to Presidents. Deans of Women and women in physical education were able to maintain their roles as the purpose of educating women shifted during the in the coeducation period. However, as gender equity began taking shape in higher education as early as the 1960s, Deans of Women saw the separate strategies used by early women leaders start to breakdown. This breakdown not only eroded women-led professions and associations, but left individual women on their own to navigate the ranks of leadership within higher education. Deans of Women and their position in the male-dominated profession of university administration were vulnerable in the post-World War II years. These women met the same fate as women in the Progressive Era as higher education continued to differentiate the purpose of education based on gender. As institutions combined the roles of Dean of Men and Dean of Women often in the name of efficiency, women often found themselves "dismissed or demoted" as "secondary officers" in reorganized offices of Student Affairs (Eisenmann 2006, 132; Nidiffer 2000, 149). For women in physical education, who would later become the leaders in women's competitive athletics, their role in a feminized sub-speciality of the curriculum provided some shelter from the reorganizations in student services and in part because women were "still pioneering in men's territory" of competitive athletics (Solomon 1985 187).

Finally, during the shift from coeducation to gender equity, women leaders were not in agreement about separate strategies and programs for women, further isolating individual leaders from strong associations and networks of support. Not only were women leaders in intercollegiate athletics not in agreement about the separate strategy option for women, they were "isolated from the support of academic feminists because of

the perceived institutional sexism associated with intercollegiate sports" (Estler and Nelson 2005, 62). With the pipeline created by professional associations and degree granting-programs specific for women dissolved, women students no longer had a clearly defined path to rise up the ranks or a system that guided them up to leadership roles. This was especially true for women in intercollegiate athletic leadership.

From Coeducation to Gender Equity: Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics

The Civil Rights movement brought new awareness of race and gender to the public consciousness and women's participation in sport became part of both policy discussions and institutional decisions. Women's PE organizations continued their quest to maintain control over women's intercollegiate athletic participation, but the strongly gender-differentiated control of women's athletic opportunity was beginning to be challenged. A new generation of women students and women's PE educators supported competitive intercollegiate teams. The philosophy for women's competitive sports shifted from a purely recreational stance and opposition to competition that characterized appropriate female behavior and the purpose of educating women. With these changing attitudes came a shift in the philosophy toward women's college sports, but not a change in strategy. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, women leaders continued to rely a subordinated, separate strategy of women's athletics leadership and governance that left women leaders vulnerable during the changes in the purpose of educating women, change in social climate, and legislative mandates.

From Recreation to Competition: An Educational Approach

Women's physical education leaders created the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) in 1966 to meet the increased demand for competition among women students, but administered it in a very different way than the spectator-oriented, commercial men's college model (Carpenter and Acosta 2001; Festle 1996). In 1967 the CIAW began sponsoring championships for women and in 1970, the physical educators of the CIAW formed the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics For Women (AIAW), (Carpenter and Acosta 2001; Festle 1996).

The CIAW was an organization of women physical educators, but the AIAW, while led by these women, was a national membership organization that institutions joined for women's championship events. Gone were the recreation-oriented intramural and telegraphic meets and play days of earlier years. Women leaders of the AIAW set up competitive intercollegiate leagues, leadership and governance at the institutional and national level, and started establishing revenue streams with corporate sponsorship.

However, the AIAW did not set up this transition from recreational sport to competitive sport patterned after men's intercollegiate athletics. Like the men's National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the National Association for Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), the AIAW conducted championships for women's intercollegiate sports, but continued it's formal affiliation with the Division of Girl's and Women's Sports (DGWS), an association that served interests of women's physical education. The NCAA and NAIA were not formally affiliated with education-oriented organizations (Carpenter and Acosta 2001; Festle 1996; Porto 2003). Women athletic leaders often held

faculty appointments in women's physical education and collectively advocated for a women-led alternative to the men's commercial, spectator-oriented intercollegiate model. Fears of using women's sport to serve institutional interests were especially acute and many women of the AIAW promoted an "education-based" philosophy for women's intercollegiate competition. This philosophy contrasted the men's spectator-oriented competition model. Women leaders were reluctant to leave the power base of the women's physical education department or combine with men's intercollegiate programs over fears that it would significantly curtail their own leadership responsibilities and opportunities.

Leaders of the AIAW maintained their goal of developing an education-based philosophy and leadership model for women emphasizing four guiding principles: 1) voting representatives were to be faculty members, 2) elected student-athletes participated in the decision-making process, 3) minority representation was mandated at all levels of AIAW governance, 4) no distinction made between major and minor sports (Carpenter and Acosta 2001, 212). These four principles are characteristic of the earlier principles women leaders used to develop professions during the rise of coeducation - formalized graduate training programs, a coherent body of research literature, and a professional association. Although the AIAW was part of the extra-curriculum and did develop a research base, the ties to faculty in voting and inclusion of students and minority women were integral in creating the opportunity to prepare future leaders that degree granting programs provided in the recreation model. With these principles, women physical educators leading the AIAW attempted to the raise the status of women's competitive athletics using the same combination of separatist strategies used

by women's professions that were effective in higher education during coeducation.

Women leaders of the AIAW not only based their four principles on the separatist strategy of a commitment to women's control of women's athletics, they used an innovation strategy to distinguish the mission of women's intercollegiate athletics from men's. This mission included four points: 1) fostering broad programs consistent with educational objectives, 2) assisting member institutions in program extension and enrichment, 3) stimulating the development of quality leadership, and 4) encouraging excellence in performance (Wushanley 2004, 16). These principles created a clear distinction in philosophy between women's and men's intercollegiate competition. This gender-differentiated innovation in college athletics and women-led governance model combined separatist and innovation strategies by women leaders to maintain control of women's college athletics. New organizational ties, both through educational networks and institutional affiliation, coupled with a commitment to fostering and cultivating leadership among women characterized successful strategies of women leaders during coeducation.

However, as competition returned for women's athletics in higher education, there was also a shift towards "gender-equity" which signals a significant change to the purpose of educating women. Initially, the women's recreational athletic philosophy from the coeducation period persisted - a commitment to a woman-specific model for women's competitive athletics and strong women-led leadership of that model. The philosophy of a women-led model of gender-differentiated intercollegiate athletics was still prominent even with the concessions made to allow for competition. With overtures by the NCAA and federal gender-equity policy on the horizon, institutions quickly began to challenge

this control. Although the women's PE leaders of the AIAW conceded their strict stance against competition and created championships for women's athletics, the AIAW did not relinquish other core strategies and innovative philosophy of their leadership.

By the time Title IX passed in 1972, women athletic leaders had established their own leadership and oversight of women's intercollegiate, competitive sport through institutional membership in the AIAW. However, the strategies that were effective for women leaders during coeducation were not adequate during the rise of gender equity in higher education. The women leaders in intercollegiate athletics eventually found the same resistance to women in higher education as the women leaders from the Progressive Era and Deans of Women just a generation before. Leadership of women's intercollegiate athletics was absorbed by the men's governance organization, the NCAA in 1982 and the AIAW folded. The AIAW's vision of a separate women-led opportunity for women's athletics officially ended when the AIAW dissolved. However, women's opportunity to lead women's athletic programs had already started to erode with the passage of Title IX ten years earlier.

The NCAA or The AIAW – Who Is To Blame?

The passage of Title IX in 1972 coincided with several important events that demonstrate the complexity and controversy of regulating change in higher education by "forcing educational institutions to make room for women to participate in college athletics" (Boutillier and SanGiovanni 1994). The AIAW and the NCAA battle over the passage of Title IX and women's control of women's intercollegiate athletics began immediately, even before the legislation passed in 1972. When Title IX went into effect

the details of compliance at the institutional level were far from finalized. Institutions were slow to meet or even acknowledge the obligations of Title IX. The separatist strategies maintained by women leaders in previous generations were used by the AIAW to gain resources and acceptance that the law required. However, these strategies were challenged by external politics, policy interpretation, and institutional control of women's programs. The dramatic effect of Title IX on the increase in women's intercollegiate athletic participation and interest in women's sports often overshadows the negative effect of Title IX on women's leadership of athletics. The separatist position held by women's PE educators who emerged as leaders of the AIAW and its effect on intercollegiate sport leadership has been addressed in two contrasting examples. Two perspectives on these events that are framed in two books under almost identical titles cast the conflict of control over intercollegiate sports from two very different perspectives.[30]

In *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports* Mary Jo Festle treats the conflict between the AIAW v. NCAA as a hostile and unwelcome "takeover" of the AIAW by the NCAA. Festle places blame for the loss of women's control of their less commercialized, educational sports model on the men's competitive, spectator-oriented model leadership within the NCAA (1996). Ying Wushanley approaches this conflict from a different perspective and is critical of the AIAWs approach to leading women's athletics within the educational context (2004). In *Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle*

[30] Mary Jo Festle takes the stance that there was an NCAA "takeover" of women's intercollegiate athletics in Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports (1996). Ling Wushanley challenges the position of the NCAA "takeover" in Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle for Control of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, 1960-2000 (2001).

For Control of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, 1960-2000, he directly challenges the pro-AIAW point of view. In the introduction Wushanley notes,

> The conflict between the AIAWs philosophical commitment and the legal and social reality, and the internal conflict and legal and financial dilemma of the AIAW, show that the demise of the AIAW was more than just an "NCAA takeover" (2004, 4).

The characterization of the NCAA takeover and the title of the book are particularly interesting given the positionality of both authors and a few dissenting voices in the AIAW that Wushanley cites in his treatment of the AIAW v. NCAA conflict. What is missing in the discourse of these events is the strategies women leaders developed during coeducation and how these strategies were ineffective with the shift toward gender equity. The historical context of women athletic leaders choosing a separatist, feminized sub-specialty within a male-dominated profession of intercollegiate athletic leadership during the emergence of women's competitive athletics is helpful in explaining the shifts in women's athletic leadership roles instigated by Title IX. The limited dissent within the AIAW, expressed by a few women leaders about the separate, educational approach and the isolation of the challenges women were facing in athletics without the support of academic feminists on campus and the lack of other women-led departments demonstrates that the strategies successful in the coeducation period were not effective in the shift toward gender equity. Moreover, the "takeover" of women's competitive athletics in Festle's analysis is consistent with the backlash against women in science and medicine in the Progressive Era and Deans of Women, post-World War II (Gordon 1990; Cott 1987; Rossiter 1982; Eisenmann 2006). The takeover of women's leadership of women's athletics in the gender-equity period is marked symbolically by Title IX, but was not a battle limited to the leaders of the AIAW and NCAA. Gender equity legislation

forced institutions and departments to make a determination about definitions and boundaries of participation, interest and competition for women-students in a climate that was shifting away from separate education programs for women to mandated access and equity.

Conclusion

During coeducation, higher education leadership positions were defined within the context of a patriarchal system within higher education that promoted a separate set of educational opportunities and social roles for women. Despite William Harper's early opposition to coeducation at the University of Chicago, his high standard of serious scholarship for all faculty, including Marion Talbot as the Dean of Women, influenced the early development of the profession.[31] Nidiffer (2001) speculates that the Dean of Women not only set the stage for the profession of student affairs as Schwartz (1997) indicated, but today's women's centers and women's studies programs can be traced back to the vision by the early women deans who pioneered the role and place for women on campus (152). The "sex-separatist philosophy" that buoyed Deans of Women in the Progressive Era contributed in part to their decline in later years with changing social and political sentiments about women in higher education and the broader American culture (Gordon 1990; Festle 1996). The separate-spheres philosophy that built and sustained women-led organizations such as the NADW, later limited their power as the campus

[31] "Harper's standards for his faculty and students were high. He hired talented scholars and tolerated little non-serious behavior in his students. He made no exception when hiring a dean of women. In this regard, Harper was the first president to break the mold of the "wise and pious matron," expecting that his dean to be a serious scholar and much more than a monitor or mere guardian" (Nidiffer 2000, 41).

climate changed. This parallels the rise and fall of the AIAW.[32] The change in sentiment about educating women and men that eroded the position of Dean of Women and the NADW presents an important place to begin examining the rise and fall of women leaders in intercollegiate athletics within higher education. The historical case of Deans of Women described in this chapter also situates the lack of women leaders in athletics in the context of the history of women leadership in higher education. The "sex-separate" conditions and philosophy useful in the coeducation period were ineffective during the shift toward gender equity. When Title IX mandated equity for women students in athletics the infrastructure and philosophy of earlier eras that built and strengthened women leaders and women's governance of intercollegiate athletics by the AIAW quickly deteriorated. This left women leaders in athletics today without the strength of a women-led profession to sustain them in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Women leaders now must rely on individual strategies to attain leadership in intercollegiate athletics and these efforts have largely failed. With the pipeline created by professional associations and degree granting-programs specific for women dissolved and the leadership opportunities for women students in the AIAW gone, gender equity legislation does not provide women leaders with a pathway to leadership roles.

The individual strategies women have used since the dissolve of women's professions in higher education and the barriers they have faced are described in the next chapter, Chapter 4, *Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership.* This chapter explains the complex social issues and organizational barriers women encountered during the gender equity era and why strategies by individual

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[32] Although rise of the NADW and AIAW occurs at different time points, the decline and collapse of these organizations coincide with similar eras and philosophical tensions.

women leaders have been ineffective in helping women regain leadership roles in higher education.

CHAPTER FOUR
Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership

> We're sort of stuck at that level of discrimination that the educational institutions are comfortable with. (Morse 1992, 199)

> For women, the issue is a bit different. Women student-athletes are graduating in high numbers (66 percent). However, there are far fewer women than men student-athletes receiving athletic scholarships. According to the 1996 Graduation Rate Report, only 33 percent of all athletic scholarships are awarded to female student-athletes (national collegiate athletic association 1996, 622). So while it appears that the women who participate in intercollegiate educational opportunity afforded through a scholarship, the initial pool of women student athletes from which to draw is decidedly smaller than the pool of men. Thus, it is no surprise when a 200-member applicant pool for an assistant athletic director position contains only five women applicants. (Gerdy 1997, 128)

In the late 1960s and early 1970s women's intercollegiate sports moved toward a competitive, spectator model and institutions were administering women's sports programs in a combined department. With the emergence of gender equity, strategies that served women leaders in the coeducation period initially opened new doors for women in athletic leadership in the early 1980s. However, the effectiveness of strategies have deteriorated. When Title IX mandated gender equity for women students on campus, the infrastructure and philosophy of earlier eras that built and strengthened women leaders and women's professional organizations began to erode. Although women's participation grew after Title IX, women's opportunity for coaching, equitable salaries, and decision-making declined sharply from the pre-1972 levels.

According to Acosta and Carpenter (2004), "college women have more athletic teams available to them than ever before" but the proportion of women administrators of

departments that oversee those teams has declined from 90 percent in 1972 to 18.5 percent in all NCAA Divisions today (2-3).[33] Presently there is often only one woman administrator, *if any,* among the senior management of intercollegiate athletic administrative structures (Acosta and Carpenter 2004).[34] In 1981 the NCAA created the role of the *Primary Women's Administrator* (PWA) and in 1989 renamed the role *Senior Women's Administrator* (SWA). At some institutions the SWA is a prominent member of the senior management team in the athletic department. At other institutions there is no SWA or there are no women serving on the senior management team. In some cases the SWA has little or no input on decision-making that affects the department or the institution.

An important pipeline into leadership positions has traditionally been coaching. In 1972 it is estimated that 90 percent of women's college athletic teams were led by a woman head coach (Acosta and Carpenter 2006). In the years immediately following the passage of Title IX the percentage of women coaches plummeted. By 1978 only 58 percent of all women's teams were coached by women. The proportion of women coaches continued to decline until 2001, where it has stayed constant at about 44 percent. The pipeline for coaching has stalled with only 48 percent of all women's athletic teams led by a woman coach today. From 1996 to 2002, 80 percent of *new* head coaching positions of women's college athletic teams were filled by men (Will To Act 2002). Approximately 1,155 women's teams have been added in the past seven years (Acosta

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[33] Acosta and Carpenter 's report includes women's *and men's* programs, in this data. However, when calculating the percentage of *any* women's administrator overseeing women's programs, "17.8% of programs have no female involved in administration at any level" (2005, 23). The actual number of women in athletic administration of women's programs has held steady at approximately 187 since 1998, yet the number of NCAA member institutions has grown from 2510 in 1988 to 3350 today.

[34] For a full discussion of these trends and the historical influences associated with them, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

and Carpenter 2004), yet during this same period opportunities for women to coach women's teams and attain leadership positions in athletic departments has gained little ground. However, not all women leaders experience these trends and shifts the same way. There are far more women in coaching and administration in the NCAA Division II and III programs than the higher profile Division I member institutions.[35]

Finally, as a group, it is even more difficult for women of color to attain these high profile and prestigious positions. In the *2004 Racial and Gender Report Card,* Richard Lapchick asks, "Does everyone, regardless of race or gender, have an equal chance to make and run the team?" Only nine women are athletic directors at the Division I level out of 326 institutions.[36] Women of color are at an even greater disadvantage, where only two women of color lead a Division I athletic program (2005, 37). Collectively and under individual circumstances women's power to lead in intercollegiate athletic programs has declined and the pipelines to these positions have run dry, while women's opportunity to participate in intercollegiate athletics has grown.

Prior to 1972 men's and women's athletic departments were separate, as were the athletic associations and conferences who oversaw their competition. Women's athletic programs were governed by the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) and men's programs were either members of the National Association for Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) or National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

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[35] The National Collegiate Athletic Association is divided into 3 divisions for competition – Division I, II, & III. These divisions are differentiated by standards and philosophies set by the NCAA. For a full discussion of these Divisions, see Chapter 1.
[36] This includes Division 1-A, 1-AA, and 1-AAA as of September 5, 2005, http://www1.ncaa.org/membership/membership_svcs/membership_breakdown.html.
[13] For a full discussion of this takeover see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

However, the AIAW was disbanded in 1981 after a takeover by the NCAA (Festle 1996).[13] Women leaders were left to rely on individual strategies to seek and attain leadership positions in programs that combined previously separate men's and women's athletics. Today both the NCAA and NAIA sponsor women's competition.

When the NCAA established Division I championships for women starting with the 1981-82 school year, the AIAW lost 213 of its 961 institutional members to the NCAA (Wushanley 2004). The financial losses from decreased membership and television revenue that resulted as member institutions moved to the NCAA, forced the AIAW to suspend business operations on June 30, 1982. The governance of women's athletics moved to the NCAA for most institutions.[40]

Almost a year earlier, with the influx of women's programs migrating to the NCAA, the Primary Woman Administrator (PWA) was established in 1981 to create a place for women administrators in the NCAA governance structure. After the NCAA takeover of the AIAW, " the vast majority of administrators running women's athletics programs were women, while the majority of administrators in the NCAA were men" (NCAA News 2005). Creating this designation meant there was a PWA position reserved on most NCAA committees. However, initially the PWA position was not gender-specific. An institution had the option of assigning the role to a man if he was overseeing women's athletic programs and at some institutions this was the case. Later the NCAA revised the definition to limit the role of the SWA to women.

In 1989, the Primary Woman Administrator title was changed to the Senior Woman Administrator (SWA). Today the NCAA's defines the senior woman

[40] The NAIA also began offering women's championships in 1982, however, the NAIA has developed into an association of small-college members, that positions academics over athletics (Estler and Nelson 2005).

administrator as, "the highest ranking female administrator involved with management of a member institution's intercollegiate athletics program" (Sweet 2005). The title and the responsibility has varied since it began, but one of the effects of this role has been a contributing factor to the low number of women in athletic leaderships. Although initially it was an effective strategy for women to gain entrance to the NCAA governance when the NCAA was an all-male organization, the strategy initiated by the NCAA to increase women is patterned after a strategy used by women leaders during coeducation. In the climate of gender equity this strategy of accepting a subordinate position within a male-dominated profession has positioned the SWA as the *only* woman administrator, if any, in the senior management team. According to Acosta and Carpenter, there is an average of 1.21 women administrators in all of the NCAA member institutions. Division I institutions are actually better that Division II or III, with an average of 1.61 women administrators per institution. At the Division I level only 4 percent of institutions do not have any woman in the athletic administration, with 24 percent lacking a woman administrator in Division II and 17% in Division III. By this measurement, Division I institutions have a slightly better record of promoting woman to athletic administration roles. However the subordinated strategy of the SWA by the NCAA has its limits in the gender equity climate. The Senior Woman Administrator is often the *only woman administrator* in the athletic administration structure (NCAA 2006).

This shift from separate women's roles and organizations to combined departments has left women to rely on individual strategies to navigate leadership roles and has contributed to the very low numbers of women in athletic administration roles today. The literature that examines the low number of women in athletic leadership falls

into two categories: 1) description of the individual strategies, and 2) the complexity of organizational barriers women face which includes feminist perspectives (Thorngren and Eisenbarth 1994). The literature on individual strategies focuses on leadership skills, degrees earned, mentoring (Radlinski 2003), balancing work and family (Acosta and Carpenter 1988; Radlinski 2003), and role conflict (Radlinksi 2003). This body of literature promotes individual strategies such as networking, leadership training programs, workshops, recruiting strategies, changes in leadership style, and a commitment to sacrificing personal time to address the lack of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. The literature aimed at explaining the complex social structures and barriers of intercollegiate athletics organizations and governance explores homologous reproduction of male hegemony and gender differentiation (Stagl and Kane 1991; Theberge 1997). This category of contemporary literature also begins to explain the lack of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles by examining the barriers to women such as the perceived lack of qualified candidates and the power of the "old boys" network (Tiell 2003).

In this chapter, the existing literature on the current women in athletic leadership is presented in four sections. First, is the *Literature on Women In Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership*. This section presents a discussion of the individual strategies women leaders use and the organizational contexts they face. Second, *Complex Organizational Barriers* explains two perspectives on the NCAA assuming control of women's intercollegiate competition that women face. Third, the *Feminist Critical Perspective on Women in Athletic Leadership* adopts a poststructuralist feminist view of the individual strategies and organizational culture and barriers to leadership. The *Conclusion* summarizes the

effect of Title IX on women's leadership and how it has positioned women outside the leadership of intercollegiate athletics.

Literature on Women in Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership

There are two broad perspectives in which most literature on women in intercollegiate athletic leadership literature is situated (Thorngren and Eisenbarth 1994). The first focuses on the personal attributes and individual strategies of individual women leaders, asserting that women have been viewed as not having the ability or not perceived as working hard enough to remain interested in coaching and other leadership positions within intercollegiate athletics. This body of literature promotes networking, leadership training programs, workshops, recruiting strategies, changes in leadership style, and a commitment to sacrificing personal time. Thorngren and Eisenbarth are quick to point out that although such programs and strategies are "practical and necessary" they place too much emphasis on the individual to make changes to accommodate the organizational systems (3).

The second category of literature cited by Thorngren and Eisenbarth (1994) is the "complex social issues of sexism, racism, and heterosexism" that unless addressed, "women's efforts to be equally represented…are likely to fail" (5). Thorngren and Eisenbarth suggest focusing efforts on changing society, including the use of Title IX to eliminate and check the bias such as "devaluation, isolation, gender bias, and homophobia" that are faced by female coaches (7). Sport is valued by American society as a tool for leadership development in schools and colleges, yet as Thorngren and Eisenbarth point out, continuing "to allow males to dominate in sport is to continue to

allow sexism to dominate in the schools" (7). Also important to consider is the location of the athletic department and women leaders of athletics in the context of higher education. The literature drawn together in this section develops the dimension of athletic departments within higher education institutions. Extending the layer of complex social issues to their location within higher education institutions provides a richer account of issues of college and university athletics.

Personal Attributes & Individual Strategies

The NCAA started a coaching academy for women to "learn about the fundamentals of coaching, management issues, principles or marketing, networking and media skills" ("Women Coaching" 2004). The NCAA Chair of the committee sponsoring this conference, admits that "most studies have been done with the focus on male administrators….we are seeing women leave the work force – we have ideas why, but not research to support it" (8). More recently the NCAA has initiated the Leadership Institute for Ethnic Minority Females. The program is "designed to address the critical shortage of senior level women of color in athletics administration at NCAA member institutions and conference offices" (NCAA News, 2006). The Institute features a 12-month program of leadership training and skills-development workshops and practical work experiences designed to enhance "job-related competencies" in five areas, 1) Leadership and Administration, 2) Human Resource Management, 3) Finance and Fundraising, 4) Booster, Public, and Media Relationships, and 5) the Inner Game of Leadership. These are both valuable programs, as they mostly likely give participants the essential day-to-day skills. However, with little research informing this conference and

institute, the danger is that women are being groomed to "fit" into the gendered organization (in this case male) of athletics and higher education. This makes them vulnerable to placement in positions of less status, prestige, and power.

In a survey of current women in community college athletic leadership, Radlinski (2003) found that 12.4 percent of all community college athletic directors were women. In this study Radlinski identifies four important career experiences that participants cited as important to achieving an athletic director position in community colleges: 1) master's degree in health, PE, recreation or dance, 2) experience as a high school or college athlete, 3) coaching experience, 4) establishment of a mentor relationship identified the factors that led them to achieving those positions. Radlinski found that "attainment of a masters degree in the field of health, physical education, recreation or dance" is an important qualification for women athletic directors (5). Departments of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance far too often divide across gender differentiated lines, with women clustering in health, recreation, dance and men clustering in PE or kinesiology and exercise physiology as a stepping stone to coaching and athletic leadership. In addition, with the demise of the AIAW, opportunities for mentorship from women leaders in visible, prestigious positions of leadership in athletics are rare. Furthermore, PE departments are perceived as having less academic rigor and too often associated with high numbers of low achieving students.

Parks et al. (1995) examine the paradox of the "contented" working woman in intercollegiate athletics leadership. Building on the theoretical framework of women

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[42] Parks et al. (1995) question whether the description of non-traditional applies to women in athletic administration, due to the merger of the men's and women's athletic programs at many institutions and the fall of the AIAW. "Athletics administration, therefore cannot be characterized as a "non-traditional"

employed in predominately male fields and non-traditional occupations, the authors "focus on the paradox of the contented working woman" (73). Most importantly Parks et al. question whether the description of non-traditional applies to women in athletic administration.[42] Prior to the merger of the men's and women's athletic programs at many institutions and the fall of the AIAW, women led the women's intercollegiate athletic program. Furthermore, women are not new to navigating the "male-model" of organizations. Women are repioneering in intercollegiate athletic leadership in the combined model of men's and women's athletic programs. Consistent with each generation of women "starting anew" Parks, et al. acknowledge the assumptions that create misconceptions about women as leaders when the precedence of women in athletic leadership is ignored (Glazer and Slater 1987, 231).

The Parks et al. (1995) study focused on the early and middle segments of the women's athletic leadership career pipeline, senior associate, associate, assistant and marketing directors, sport information directors, and academic advisors. Using a survey comparing female and male "middle and firstline" athletics administrators on several variables of salary and job satisfaction, men expressed more satisfaction on each subscale than the women. However, both were satisfied with their work, supervisory role, co-workers, and overall variables. Both women and men were dissatisfied with promotion and neutral with pay, even though women earned less than men surveyed in the study.

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occupation for women nor can female athletics administrators be considered "pioneers." However, as a result of the mergers of most women's and men's athletics programs in response to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the workplace is heavily male dominated" (73).

The authors build on the paradox of the contented working woman and suggest that it exists in athletic administration. Women administrators reported comparable satisfaction "despite clear disadvantages with respect to salaries, opportunities for advancement, or both" (Parks et al. 1995). This study raises several points that are important in considering what contributes to interest in leadership among women athletic directors. First, the notion of pioneer status and working in a male dominated field may contribute to job satisfaction. However, as the authors point out, women are not new to athletic administration, just relatively new to working within the combined department that is primarily male-oriented in culture and scope. Second, salary differences may be related to age, experience and other factors such as institutional differences as well as "cronyism." Finally, the career pipeline in athletics has traditionally started with student-athletes who then move to the coaching ranks before migrating to administration. The authors point out that participants who deviated from this pipeline either by not participating in athletics as an athlete or coach or working in a specialized field such as advising may contribute to fewer women entering the athletic administration pipeline (Tiell 2006). Despite controls for gender throughout the analysis, 75 percent of the study respondents were men. This survey raises questions about the effect of the pioneer status and the ghettoizing of women into positions of leadership that are not involved with the leadership of the institution.

Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour (2002) examine the rate of advancement between men and women intercollegiate athletic administrators after the passage of Title IX and demise of the AIAW. In their survey of athletic directors of 157 NCAA member institutions they examine issues of power and sexuality to understand the gendering of

intercollegiate athletic organizations. Athletic directors of both genders across all three NCAA divisions were included in the study. Using the rate of advancement in the organizational hierarchy of athletic leadership as an indicator to understand the gendered nature of athletic leadership, the success ratio was evaluated for men and women respondents. The success ratio was calculated by dividing the NCAA division level of the athletic director's institution by the individual's age at the time of their appointment of their current position. This ratio was used to test "if hegemonic masculinity remains entrenched in intercollegiate athletics" (488). Whisenant, Perderson, and Obenour are clear that the rate of advancement, "supports the assumption that rate of advancement is a valid measure of individual success" (485). The authors also note that assumption reinforces the emphasis placed on personal attributes and individual skills in intercollegiate athletics, rather than recognizing the organizational and structural barriers that promote some individuals over others.

The researchers found the difference in the success ratio between men and women was significant (Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour 2002, 488). When stratified by Division the difference was not as great at the lower profile Division II and III level, but men still had a higher success ratio than women. Not only do Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour apply the concepts of hegemony and hegemonic masculinity in framing advancement in athletic director positions as a way of understanding the gendered nature of leadership in sport, they assert that there is a shift from the "ex-coach" to athletic director model to a climate that draws more heavily on leaders with business skill sets in marketing, development, and strategic planning (487). This observation is an important turn in understanding the skills required of today's athletic leader, but neglects the unique

circumstances that the educational, collegiate setting places on acquisition and application of those skills. This requires a focus on the educational environment rather than business or sport management contexts. For example Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour note that networking and management experience in the lower NCAA division pipeline may improve the success ratio of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership at the higher levels (2002). However, it is not known whether moving from lower divisions to upper divisions is a viable career path for athletic leaders. Given the unique contexts of research, liberal arts, and comprehensive institutions and the specific demands of high and low profile athletic departments, there may not be strong connections for advancement between NCAA divisions.[43]

Benton (1999) investigated the careers of black women in athletic leadership. Using qualitative interviews this study examined the complexity that race adds to the context of decision-making and power shifts in intercollegiate athletics. The women of color in this study reported that the concerns of gender equity were largely due to the effort of white women and therefore the inequities faced by black women do not receive the same type of attention. For black women leaders in this study, there was a perception that black women were inexperienced, not knowledgeable, and not "a true athletics administrator, but one who just wears the title" (89). All women who pursue intercollegiate athletic leadership are not the same. When race and gender are considered

[43] In 2000 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching classified 4-year higher education institutions into Doctoral/Research Universities, Master's Colleges and Universities and Baccalaureate Colleges. NCAA Division I athletic programs are loosely clustered among Doctoral/Research Universities and Division II and III often associated with Master's College and Universities and Baccalaureate Colleges. It is not clear if NCAA Division II and III programs at Master's and Baccalaureate colleges are a pathway to leadership at research oriented, Division I programs. This classification system has since been updated in 2005 but the association between NCAA categories and the Carnegie classification system is still viable. The classification system and 2005 report available online at www.carnegiefoundation.org.

together, the added complexity of race compounds the individual and organizational barriers black women face in balancing power shifts in athletics and between athletics and the institution. Even with advanced degrees, the male-dominated profession of athletic leadership "provides little opportunity for women to advance in general," or for "black women in particular" to be in decision-making roles (91).

Tiell (2003) conducted a literature review of 25 articles related to women in intercollegiate athletic administration, management, and academia that included both individual and organizational factors related to career advancement. Tiell notes two important factors that have contributed to differences between women and men in advancing to athletic leadership positions. One is growth in the athletic department organizational structure and another is differences in perception between women and men regarding the low number of women leaders. Tiell described the changes in the structure of the athletic department from a two person administrative structure to a three person administrative structure between 1980 and 2002.[44] She also cited a 1985 study by Acosta and Carpenter that described differences in the way women and men perceived the reasons for low numbers of women in athletic leadership. Women collectively cited the four most important causes contributing to the diminishing role of females as 1) the old boy's club 2) the weakness of the old girl's club, 3) unconscious discrimination, and 4) the lack of qualified women coaches and administrators. Men, on the other hand, cited 1) lack of qualified women coaches and administrators as their number one reason followed

[44] Tiell cites data from Acosta and Carpenter (2002) to further examine the changes to administrative structures. Administrative structures and athletics organizations have increased in size. Women have made gains in filling administrative positions, but women are still largely absent from the leadership structure. Based on data provided by Acosta and Carpenter, it is estimated that women held approximately 40% of the administrative positions in 1988 and approximately 65 percent in 2002, but 18.8 percent of women's programs do not have a women in the administrative structure (Tiell 2003).

by 2) the unwillingness of women to recruit and travel, 3) the failure of women to apply for job openings, and 4) time constraints due to family duties (Acosta and Carpenter 1985). Tiell concludes that "historical precedent and the 'old boys club' notion has created an image that Caucasian men are more suited to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors" in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. Tiell noted both personal characteristics of individual women and "the value of strategic networks and institutional support for gender equality" as key ingredients for helping women leaders overcome "internal and external barriers" to career advancement among women in intercollegiate athletics leadership roles (2003).

The next section describes some of the sources of the barriers in institutions and governance and the interrelationship between gender and power that are embedded in these barriers.

Complex Organizational Barriers

Today oversight of intercollegiate athletics comes from several sources – NCAA governance, conference affiliation, and institutional oversight. The NCAA organizes member institutions into 3 broad categories – Division I, II, III. The philosophy of each Division illustrates the balance between external constituencies, institutional priorities and the self-development of the student-athlete. Although institutional characteristics are not part of the membership requirements there are athletic program requirements, such as the number of sports offered, awarding of athletic aid, and average football attendance. Division I athletic programs are most often associated with high profile, spectator oriented football and men's basketball programs at research-oriented institutions with a

large undergraduate student body. This is also the Division that offers the most athletic director and senior administrator opportunities, but has the smallest proportion of women in those roles (Tiell 2003).[45] Division II and III have membership criteria and philosophies differentiated by the size and scope of the athletic program, greater emphasis on campus constituents and participants, and are usually offered by smaller institutions with more focus on teaching. Institutions join athletic conferences based on their regional location and NCAA or NAIA member category.

Institutions use campus governance structures to abide by standards set by athletic organizations and conferences at the institutional level.[46] Governance of intercollegiate athletics on campus comes from several general sources – university presidents, university governing boards and faculty committees. These institutional governance structures constitute an additional layer of administrative oversight external to the athletic department administrative structure. Within these competitive membership categories, institutional governance, and department-level oversight structures is a variety of organizational and cultural barriers for women athletic leaders.

Often referred to as the "good old boys network," the organizational barriers to the advancement of individual women leaders extend beyond the athletic department. Thorngren and Eisenbarth (1994) cite devaluation, isolation, gender bias, and

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[45] Tiell cites the 1985 Acosta and Carpenter survey to estimate the number of athletic director opportunities. However, by the September 2005 NCAA breakdown, there are 326 Division 1 member institutions, 287 Division II institutions, and 419 Division III institutions. Given the larger organizational structure of senior management roles – athletic director and senior associate athletic director – at the Division I level, it is likely that there are still more opportunities at the Division I level today.

[46] For example the NCAA is the national association, but institutions also join conferences for athletic competition. Peers in athletic conferences are not always the same set of peers when judged on other standards such as research dollars, enrollment, programs offered etc.

homophobia within intercollegiate athletic departments, but these social and cultural factors can extend beyond the intercollegiate athletic unit.

External Governance: NCAA & AIAW

Washington et al. explore the history of governing bodies of intercollegiate athletics and the interests of their member institutions (2005). The authors examine the NCAA's relationship with the AIAW and NAIA and the "institutional strategies that reconfigured the rules of membership and the terrain of competition." The NCAA takeover of the AIAW in the wake of Title IX marked the beginning of the decline of women's leaders in intercollegiate athletics. The NCAA also encountered huge financial losses. However, Washington et al point out that the NCAA pursued and maintained women's sports to "stake its claim as the dominant voice in all of college athletics" (131). This goal had more to do with "status, control, and money" than a rational, financial model. Today, the NCAA and its member institutions use funds from spectator sports to fund other sports. "From a purely economic argument, the NCAA should divest all of its non-revenue producing events and member schools leaving them Division I men's football and men's basketball" (131). By maintaining non-revenue sports and member institutions, Washington et al argue that the priorities of the NCAA and its member institutions have more to do with Bordieu's concept of cultural capital than a rational, economic capital model. They cite Galvin's assertion that the NCAA is more interested in the symbolic resources of status, control, and identity. Yet, Title IX and its requirements

for compliance in intercollegiate athletics focus specifically on economic components of NCAA member institution programs, rather than on symbolic gestures. In athletics, Title IX mandates equity in three areas: 1) equity in financial assistance; 2) equity in participation, and 3) equity in 13 program areas such as support services, recruitment, publicity, and equipment. Opponents to Title IX have been successful in keeping the emphasis on the economic impact at the institutional level without addressing the economic impact at the NCAA level. In addition, the focus on economics beginning with the NCAA's takeover of the AIAW in the wake of Title IX has distracted the focus away from the gendered nature of governance within the NCAA.

Forman (2001) offers an organizational sociology argument based on the gendering of organizational power that explains why Title IX did not succeed in removing barriers to leadership for women. In her study, Forman examines the battle for control of women's athletics between the NCAA and the AIAW in the years following the passage of Title IX. Forman explains how gendering of organizations in athletics, leads to gendering of organizational decision-making using new institutionalism and resource dependency theories. Furthermore, Forman suggests that the complexity of "gender relations and gendered ideologies" subordinate women to men, but "the consent of both women and men is required to maintain a hegemonic relationship such as gender relations" (6). Title IX is often cited for creating or compounding economic problems in intercollegiate athletics "Many male athletics leaders viewed Title IX not as a women's issue but as an economic issue" (14). However, Forman demonstrates how AIAW under the direction of women leaders threatened the NCAA. The NCAA and its member institutions feared that resources would be redirected from men's programs to women's

programs. Forman's study challenges this notion, arguing that Title IX is not a economic issue, rather it is an women's issue, "For many women athletics leaders, Title IX was and remains a women's issue" (14). Forman's work examines the external governance of the NCAA and AIAW from the perspective of organizational theory and sociology of sport. Her findings underscore how the challenge that women's sport and the AIAW presented to the NCAA was shifted from gender to economics. Forman's analysis of the NCAA's external oversight and institutional leadership since the passage of Title IX explains how the gendering of the external governing association presents barriers to women leaders and contributes to their low numbers in athletic administration.

Institutional Governance & Oversight of Intercollegiate Athletics

Universities are highly decentralized in their governance structures, an "intricate set of checks and balances exists" for most departments (Duderstadt 2000, 102). However, intercollegiate athletic departments often operate with much greater autonomy than other units. "University practices such as affirmative action and equal opportunity are sometimes bypassed in recruiting and hiring coaches" (102). Nowhere is this more evident than in the practices have affected women disproportionately as indicated by the data from Acosta and Carpenter (2006). The decision-makers at the institutional level who attempt to maintain this intricate set of balances and navigate subtle shifts in power are rarely women.

In *The Influence of Athletic Committees,* Becker et al. examine the control of institutional oversight boards and the influences that affect their control of intercollegiate athletics (1986). Eighty-four athletic board chairs were surveyed and found six areas of

board power: (1) policy power, (2) autonomous power, (3) hiring power, (4) business power, (5) academic surveillance power, and (6) NCAA power.[48] Predictions of a board's power was determined in each of the six areas using ten institutional variables:

1. Size of the institution
2. Academic quality of the institution
3. Public or Private
4. Quality of the football program
5. Length of term for board chair
6. Number of terms a board member can serve
7. Number of voting members on the board
8. Proportion of faculty on the board
9. Frequency of regular board meetings
10. Degree to which President controls board appointments

This study presents the combination and complexity of the organizational elements that characterize the oversight of intercollegiate athletics. The six sources of power in the oversight of intercollegiate athletics used as predictors of Board's power begin to explain the sources of power outside of the athletic department that women leaders in athletics must access and negotiate. The gendered nature of athletic control can be both a location for women to become more engaged or can present another organizational barrier outside the athletic department.

Maurer (1999) explored the history of women's athletics and the contemporary influence of Title IX of women leaders in a case study of Northern Illinois University's (NIU) athletic administration and physical education departments. At the time of the study, NIU had women in the 2 most senior leadership positions of the athletic department – an unusual arrangement for any university, but in particular at the Division

[48]Becker et al., (1986) note that at one institution there was both a men's board and women's board, but only the data from the men's board was included in the study, due to the assumption, "that the practices of that board would be more analogous to the joint boards on other campuses" (433). This assumption is probably true. Furthermore, it is likely that there were probably few if any women serving as chairs of any of the board chairs surveyed.

I level.[49] In addition, half of NIU's university administration positions were also held by women. Using qualitative interviews of current and retired pre- and post-Title IX women athletic leaders dating back to 1957, Maurer sought to answer several research questions related to NIU's high number of women in athletic and university administration. Seven themes emerged from the NIU case and were analyzed: (1) personal influences; (2) program expansion/role of competition; (3) barriers to women and program growth; (4) support for women and program growth; (5) Title IX's impact, (6) women in leadership; and (7) Cary Groth as leader of athletics. Maurer finds that "contrary to common perceptions that women have never had the opportunity to compete, the women at NIU were able to compete during the early years" (135). Women's athletics at NIU followed a similar trajectory of early competition, followed by a latent period influenced by the philosophy of women's PE educators, before competition began to re-emerge in the years before Title IX legislation. Maurer also found that from generation to generation, women leaders perceived that program opportunities were increasing but the limits of program expansion were also higher with each generation.[50] Finally, Maurer found that Title IX changed the balance of power over women's athletics from the women's physical education department to the university level. "The pre-Title IX leaders saw the nonsupport of women's athletics as coming from the leaders of women's physical education. As the power base for women's athletics elevated, the barriers to women's growth changed to the level of the perceived power base" (113). Maurer's work

[49] "In Division IA, 94.9 percent of university presidents were white, 3.4 percent were African-American men and two percent were Latino. There were no Asian or Native American university presidents. There were 13 females in this position (11.1 percent)." Richard Lapchick, *The 2004 Racial and Gender Report Card: College Sports, June 2, 2005,* 14.

[50] This is consistent with Bok's assessment of higher education's constant growth and expansion (2003).

is important because it highlights the early interest among women athletes and the power shifts that Title IX influences at several levels of the university. Rather than individual characteristics of the individual woman leader, this study demonstrates that a critical mass of women in making gender-equity policy decisions shifted the power in athletics in a way that benefited women and men in athletics.

Moss (1997) builds an argument that Title IX is an opportunity to advance women's sports and exert more institutional oversight. In a case analysis of a successful Title IX implementation at a Division I institution, the institution's history and context were evaluated to identify how changes brought on by Title IX were integrated into campus governance and how university leaders responded to issues. Using Newcombe and Conrad's (1981) theory of academic change, Moss evaluated the four dimensions of institutional leadership important to successfully implementing Title IX – administrative leadership, facilitative substructures, institutional subsystems, and governmental intervention. Through shared academic governance, women faculty and administrators were able to "formulate policies and plans to change the athletic culture" (87). Women's and men's athletics were changed in a way that even men's minor sports benefited, creating a greater diversity of athletic opportunity.[51] In Moss' study, one of the keys to this successful change was the involvement of women at all levels of governance. "Several women involved with the committee processes over the years have advanced to top administrative posts at the University. To some degree, the President's leadership appointments helped him build a cadre of seasoned female administrators able to assume

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[51] Moss further argues that "Universities are designed to meet the needs of large numbers of people, and compliance helped establish a more universal set of program appealing to a broader segment of the student body" (1997, 98).

top positions" (91). Finally, Moss's study illuminates the context of achieving gender equity in higher education today. Institutional commitment is not enough. There is also a legal standard. This legal standard comes with "standard policy requirements, fiscal accountability, data-driven decision-making, one standard treatment for all sports, and demographic information for shaping future programs" (108-9). Like Whisenant, Pederson, and Obenour (2002), Moss claims these are contemporary business practices applied to athletics yet adapted for the unique complexity of the educational setting. (109). In addition, Moss' findings clearly indicate that involving women in key decisions, such as Title IX compliance, is integral to the advancement of women leaders.

Holdsworth (2004) compliments Moss (1997), but presents a different approach to understanding the dynamic between women leaders and gender equity policy at a Division I institution. Holdsworth evaluates the institutional policy of cutting men's sports to achieve gender equity using political organization theory in the context of higher education. She examines "the interplay of power, agendas, and arenas in intercollegiate-athletics policy development" (122). Four findings from Holdworth are important to the barriers women face in advancing in intercollegiate athletic leadership. First, on the elimination of men's sports teams, gender equity was cited as a "secondary factor, not the driving factor, in the elimination of men's teams" (135). Secondly, coalitions are a normal part of large universities, but these coalitions are only active after policy development. "Experienced institutional leaders may know how to maneuver around these perceived "landmines" to avoid coalition activation until a decision is made" (122). Third, Holdsworth found that both the formal and informal aspects of power influence the selection of a few, key policy developers; however the effect of

formal power is greater" (123). In her study the formal power holders who were involved in policy development were athletics administrators. Holdsworth points out that power was in the formal position of athletic director and that the athletic department held power in relationship to the campus. She defines this as a combination of "position- and resource-based power" common in athletics, especially at the Division I level, that is accompanied by considerable autonomy (124). Finally, Holdsworth indicated that one of her most significant results is the choice of conflict arena for policy development to avoid the "ramifications of developing policy in a more public forum" (125).[52] She found that the culture for policy development formed over time and that many faculty athletic oversight committees were merely a "rubberstamp" (125). Holdsworth notes, "decisions regarding intercollegiate athletics in large, public, Division-I universities are typically made in climates of increased ambiguity due to institutional-, conference-, and national-level issues and challenges" (122). Holdsworth's study demonstrates the complexity of the sources and challenges women leaders encounter in decision-making. This is further compounded when so few women serving in athletic director positions of formal power at the these various decision-making levels. These factors can create misconceptions about gender equity policy, may further influence the number of women in formal and informal positions, and can impact the ability of women leaders to navigate and build coalitions that influence gender equity policy.

Stagl and Kane (1991) offer the theory of homologous reproduction in their assessment of how athletic organizations select the "best" or the "right" person for

[52]Holdsworth goes on to note that "What remains undetermined is whether these norms exist across these universities in other policy development contexts. It may be that the very nature of "big time" athletics departments (including focused external attention) has created a unique, separate of norms for policy development" (2004, 125).

coaching positions. Stagl and Kane build on Kanter's "model of the structural determinants of organizational behavior," opportunity, power, and proportion, to explain the low number of women in athletic leadership positions (49). Stagl and Kane also cite Acosta and Carpenter's finding that there is a "direct relationship between the sex of the person being hired and the sex of the person doing the hiring" (50). Citing Kanter, Stagl and Kane describe how the "right" person or "best" person for the job is known as homologous reproduction – the "dominant group systematically reproduces itself in its own image" – in the case of intercollegiate athletics the "best" person for the position is usually a white male, regardless of qualifications or skills of the rest of the people in the candidate pool.

Stagl and Kane interrogate the use of coaching workshops to improve women's qualifications and skills of women coaches and show that in terms of overall qualifications, women coaches are more qualified than men. These workshops are problematic for two reasons. First, they attempt to use individual strategies to "fix" the individual woman and second, the additional training for women, over-qualifies them, leaving them without positions to apply those qualifications. When this argument is set in the historical context of women in higher education leadership, the dilemma of addressing women's individual characteristics, without addressing systematic barriers reflects why women have not had success in attaining leadership positions of combined programs. During the rise of coeducation women leaders created new professions within the separate sphere, creating a place for women and their advanced training. Using the individual strategy of improving skills in the absence of either a separate sphere within coeducation or deliberate attention to homologous reproduction and other ways gender

signifies power leaves women few options to make inroads in athletic leadership roles. One attempt that borrows a strategy from women leaders in coeducation has been the NCAA's designation of a *Senior Woman Administrator* by the NCAA in 1989.

Feminist Critical Perspective on Women in Athletic Leadership

Bensimon and Marshall (2003) point out that gender is a fundamental category and "policy analysis that proceeds from a feminist critical perspective is alert to the gendering that goes on both in gender-explicit and gender-neutral practices which may advantage men and disadvantage women, even if not intendedly" (338). Acker asserts that even though feminist research recognizes gender of people in hierarchical organizations, the organizations themselves have not been recognized for their gendered nature, usually male (1990). Intercollegiate athletics is a good example of this. There is an assumption that the NCAA, college athletic departments, and teams are gender-neutral organizations. On the surface, competitive athletics value participation based on individual merit and acknowledge gender in terms of strength differences between men and women. Teams are differentiated by gender based on concern for safety and competitive advantage due to differences in physiology and strength. Even though the organization (the athletic department) is conceptualized as a gender neutral, asexual organization, football sets a male gendered standard (Acker 1990). Participation and leadership by women threatens the "gender neutral" structure of football within the athletic department:

> When gender discrimination exists in higher education, "it is often subtle and systematic. Patriarchal perspectives dominate policy development, performance assessment, and interpersonal interactions." (Aleman and Renn 2002, 210 as cited in Hensel 1991, 2; Miller and Wilson 1999, A18)

Armenti (2004) notes "that a women's place in the academy still reflect the 'old norms' and a set of historical beliefs and expectations that remain even as new understandings arise" (214; see also Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). Armenti's discussion of maternity leave policy makes the point further that women struggle in the academy as professors because "how can women realistically balance the intricacies of life within a life course that doesn't belong to them" (223). Her work with women and tenure, supports the critical feminist belief that "educational institutions contribute to gender inequities, play a role in sexism, and do not interrupt patriarchy" (225). She argues that policies such as maternity leave provide the illusion that universities are working toward gender equity but the policies are flawed because "department chairs have the discretion to interpret, implement, and enforce them" (225).

The danger of not acknowledging how gender is embedded in higher education and manifested through competitive, spectator sports is particularly problematic for women leaders in intercollegiate athletics. When "feminine" is not acknowledged or clearly defined,

> notions of the feminine tend to rely on stereotypical visions of women as morally superior, innately more caring, giving, or selfless than others. This can reinforce the view that it is women's natural role to clean up after others, emotionally as well as in other ways. (Fletcher 1999, 14)

Fletcher argues that assumptions and stereotypes about women as morally superior, "typecast them as naturally suited for certain jobs and not others" (1999, 15; see also Scott, 1996). This is especially true in intercollegiate athletics, were women collect in the assistance roles of athletics, such as in academics advising, event management, and compliance rather than in oversight and decision-making roles of senior administration or

athletic director (Acosta and Carpenter 2006). The feminist poststructuralist view rests on the assumption that gender is socially constructed (in addition to being historically constructed) and that power is embedded in organizational structures.[53] Historian Joan Wallach Scott proposes that gender is a proxy for the interrelationships of power between people - gender is a "primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott 1996, 169). However, gender must not be acknowledged alone. It must be "redefined and restructured in conjunction with a vision of political and social equality that includes not only sex but class and race" (1996, 175). Intercollegiate athletics is dominated not only by social constructions of gender, but also of social constructions of race and ethnicity. When race is acknowledged in intercollegiate athletics it is usually in the context of black men, leaving out black women and women of other ethnicities altogether. "Black women have pointed to the false universality of mainstream feminism, which has tended to ignore, or negate, black women's experience (Macralid and Taylor 2004, 102).[54]

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[53] Universities have always used gender in socially constructed ways. During the rise of coeducation gender was used to legitimize institutions and increase prestige through expressions of men's and women's athletics. Men's athletics were used to communicate power and prestige through competitive, spectator-oriented football. Women's sports were recreation oriented, free from competition. See Chapter One of this dissertation.

54 Macralid and Taylor quote, Imelda Whelehan, "Feminism seemed to refer only to the needs of white women, and civil rights only addressed the oppression of black males" in *Modern Feminist Thought: From Second Wave to 'Post-Feminism'* Edinburgh, 1995), 109.

Conclusion

> ...our athletics programs did not evolve independently from, but rather within, the university. They have been shaped, in part, by the policies and practices, the financing and governance, of the university itself (Duderstadt 2000, 87).

This chapter has introduced a feminist poststructuralist lens to examine the gendered nature of individual strategies and organizational barriers important to the question of why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletics today. The literature described in this chapter, analyzes the lack of women in athletic leadership from two main perspectives: the personal attributes and complex social issues of athletic and institutional governance that contribute to limiting women's attainment of positions in athletic leadership. However, the use of a poststructuralist lens must be attentive to more than just gender. Race is also a limiting factor in the lack of women athletic leaders. Benton's work underscores the fact that when an individual's race and gender are considered together the low number of women athletic directors is much more complex than just a lack of women in leadership positions (1999). The interaction between the individual woman athletic leader and her institution is further compounded by the loss of women-led professions and strategies in the coeducation context described earlier.

With the women-led professions and strategies dissolved, women have been left to individual strategies to overcome organizational barriers. However, the complex and gendered interrelationship between women athletic leaders, their athletic departments, and the institutions is more than just an issue of developing the right individual skills to over come these department and institutional barriers. Intercollegiate sport is embedded

in the educational context, fitting into organizational structures and drawing heavily on the norms and values of individual institutions in higher education. Furthermore, "changes in the organization of social relationships always corresponds to changes in the representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way" (Scott 1999, 42-43; see also Macralid and Taylor 2004, 129). The ways in which women leaders have navigated institutional barriers has changed over time. Initially the PWA and SWA was an effective route to gaining access to NCAA governance and institutional decision-making, but it has not provided an avenue to introduce more women into the administrative structure or to the athletic director chair.[55] Today most women collect in the caretaking roles of intercollegiate athletics rather than in the decision-making roles.

Maurer's work highlights the variation between generations of women athletic leaders and how Title IX has also contributed to this complex interaction between the leader and her institution. This complex interaction between the unique characteristics of the individual and the complex gendering of context of leadership in athletic governance in *educational* institutions has left too few women in decision-making roles. The U.S. higher education system is a complex, competitive collection of colleges and universities. Yet intercollegiate athletics is a "significant, but overlooked, aspect of the American university" (Toma 1999, 89). The low numbers of women athletic leaders in educational settings is further overlooked by the impact of Title IX policy and how it disrupts and reinforces the relationship between athletics and higher education. Sexism in educational

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[55] In 1984 21.4 percent of all Division I institutions, lacked a woman in the athletic administration, today it is only 3.8 percent (Acosta and Carpenter 2006). With the introduction of women's sports into the NCAA in 1982, the NCAA initiated the PWA. In 1984, 21 percent of the Division I institutions lacked a woman in the athletic administration, that number held steady at approximately 20 percent until 1992 – 3 years after the NCAA clarified that the SWA refers to a woman. By 1992 it was down to 14.6 percent.

settings impacts women leaders in intercollegiate sport in a distinctive way and is exemplified by the lack of women in leadership positions. Like higher education, intercollegiate athletics is complex, patriarchal, and highly competitive. The relationship between athletics and higher education and the influence of Title IX Policy will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
Title IX and Women Leaders in Athletics

> Many would agree that power within college athletics has generally rested with male coaches, particularly those in revenue sports and with male administrators....although these groups still have most of the power and still are the dominant force in college athletics, there has been some shift in power during the last 25 years. (Mahoney 1999)

Few policies in higher education garner as much attention as Title IX from campus leaders, students, parents, government agencies, and members of the public. The co-authors Edith Green (D-OR) and Patsy Mink (D-HI) were joined by advocate Birch Bayh (D-IN) to sponsor this legislation to ensure women equity in medical and law school admissions. The attention directed at Title IX today in the press, on campus, and in the legal courts is both praise for the opportunities given to women and criticism for opportunities taken away from men student-athletes. In addition, Title IX has been proposed by some as a strategy to realign the commercial, spectator-oriented model with institutional educational values (Porto, 2003; Suggs 2005; Lazerson and Wagener 1996). In the less prominent discourse about the effect of Title IX on women's leadership roles the focus is on women in intercollegiate athletics instead of the larger issue of influences of women's leadership within the context of higher education.

This dissertation asks two questions, why are there so few women in athletic leadership roles today and what is the influence of Title IX on women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership? This chapter explains what is known about the policy's influence on women's leadership in intercollegiate athletics, the policy's

influence on the relationship between athletics and higher education, and how it impacts the participation of women in athletic leadership. This chapter is divided into five sections: 1) *"This is Not Progress": The Unintended Effect of Title IX*, details the composition of women in intercollegiate participation, coaching and leadership since Title IX; 2) *Title IX's Application in Employment*, explains the limitations of the law for protecting and promoting women in staff, coaching, and administration; 3) *The Legal History of Title IX – From Gender Equity to Proportionality*, presents the history of interpretation and the challenges that explain how this law has developed and is interpreted today; 4) *"Title IX Made Me Do It": Reallocation in Athletics*, presents how Title IX is applied in athletics and why it is blamed for the loss of men's participation opportunity in athletics. 5) *Intercollegiate Athletics and Higher Education,* describes how Title IX is proposed as a solution for controlling intercollegiate athletics and why this further positions women outside of leadership and decision-making in intercollegiate athletics.

"This Is Not Progress": The Unintended Effect of Title IX

While Title IX is seen by some as an opportunity to advance women's sports and exert more institutional control, it is largely viewed as legislation that takes away opportunity from men's teams to make way for women's teams. The strength of this policy for creating participation opportunities for women students simply does not apply to employment of women administrators. One of the unintended effects Title IX is its indirect influence on who has access to participation in leadership roles and who

monitors implementation of the policy for women students.[56] The scope of this legislation is limited to increasing and protecting participation opportunity and support for women's athletic programs in schools and colleges, not enforcing the promotion of opportunity for women in athletic leadership.

According to a 2002 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) news article it was found that, "by almost every measure, the effort to bring ethnic and gender diversity to key positions in intercollegiate athletics has failed" (NCAA News, 2002).[57] Data from the 2001-02 academic year indicates that only 31 of the 305 Division I athletic programs were led by women. Conversely, the number of women coaching men's teams is rare. According to Myles Brand, President of the NCAA, "The numbers for black women are even worse. There are only three African-American female athletics directors and only 165 black women who are head coaches at non-HBCUs." Quite simply he stated, "this is not progress" (Brand 2003). As a result, there are 16 NCAA-funded

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[56] However, since the passage of Title IX in 1972 the number of women leaders overseeing women's intercollegiate sport has declined from 90 percent to 18.5 percent overseeing combined men's and women's programs across all three NCAA divisions – and only 9.3 percent of Division I level programs are led by a woman today (Acosta and Carpenter, 2006).

[57]Ethic Diversity among the most prestigious positions in athletic leadership is equally abysmal. In 2002 there were only 29 black men in athletics director positions in 836 programs (all divisions). This figure excludes historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) excluded. In that same year the umber of black Division I head football coaches, excluding HBCUs was only three. In 2003 Myles Brand notes "Excluding historically black colleges and universities, there are only 29 African-American males in athletics director positions in all divisions. Out of nearly 14,000 head coaching positions in all divisions -- again, excluding the HBCUs -- there are but 737 African Americans….In head coaching positions, there has been some progress in Division I men's basketball, with more than 90 African Americans in top spots, but in football, there are only four black head coaches at non-HBCUs. Since 1979, there have been almost 400 head coaching vacancies in Division I-A football. Black coaches have been selected for only 21 of those positions, with 15 of the hires coming after 1990. There never have been more than four Division I-A black head football coaches at any one time." Among the most prestigious and visible programs such as men's football and men's and women's basketball the numbers for Hispanic coaches is also not favorable. "As of 2002, only 38 Hispanic coaches were among the more than 2,500 head coaches of men's teams, and just 38 were among the almost 3,000 coaches of women's teams. Most of those were in soccer, baseball and tennis" http://www.ncaa.org/news/2002/20020916/active/3919n09.html.

programs to develop candidates among ethnic minorities and women for positions in intercollegiate athletics, leadership, visibility, and prestige (2003). [58]

Title IX's Application in Employment

Title IX has limited application in employment. Although equal opportunity applies to both men and women in employment, the law specifically notes coaches and tutors, suggesting that the law offers some protection to gender discrimination at the staff level. The law simply does not reach far enough into intercollegiate athletics to extend to women leaders. Its application rests squarely on protecting student-athletes and in a limited capacity athletic department staff. On October 29, 2002 Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, was renamed, the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act. Still widely known as "Title IX" this legislation provides 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 educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. (Carpenter and Acosta 2005, 3)

Title IX's application to gender discrimination in employment is flanked by two other non-discrimination statues, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Gaal, Glazer, and Evans 2002). Title IX applies to coaching such that an "educational institution cannot discriminate against student-athletes of a particular gender by denying them coaching comparable to that provided by the opposite gender"

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[58] According to Myles Brand director of the NCAA, among the 16 programs, to improve ethnic and gender diversity "the most recent initiative is the NCAA Coaches Academy, designed specifically to improve diversity among head football coaches in Division I-A. I expect that effort, with assistance from the Black Coaches Association and the American Football Coaches Association, to yield results." In promoting these programs diversity among football coaches highlighted in a way that makes it appear to be a more troubling problem than the lack of women (including women of color) in athletic leadership, http://www.ncaa.org/news/2003/20030707/editorial/4014n34.html.

(544). Women coaches have not been successful using Title IX, Title VII, or the Equal Pay Act in the courts to resolve pay disparity claims. Given these legal constraints, Title IX offers little protection to women athletic leaders.

The Legal History of Title IX – From Gender Equity to Proportionality

To better understand the relationship of this policy to the low number of women in senior athletic administration, it is important to understand the history of challenges to Title IX as it applies to intercollegiate athletics. When Title IX went into effect on June 23, 1972, athletic programs were not specifically mentioned in the wording of the policy. Nonetheless, Title IX quickly raised questions among leaders of men's and women's intercollegiate athletics. The NCAA – the men's athletic governing organization - did not hesitate in its challenge to the interpretation of Title IX's application in athletics. This was the beginning of many challenges to Title IX and its interpretation and application in intercollegiate athletics (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

Shortly after the NCAA's challenge, the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) further clarified how Title IX applied to athletics in its guidelines published June 19, 1974. The guidelines stated that, " although few athletic departments *directly* received federal funding, sports *would* be covered by Title IX" (Festle 1996, 166). In this same year, Senator John Tower of Texas introduced to congress an amendment to the Education Amendment of 1972 that would "exempt coverage under Title IX any sports that do or may provide gross receipts, noting that the purpose of his amendment was to preserve the revenue base of intercollegiate activities [so that] it will provide the resources for expanding women's activities in intercollegiate sports" (United

States Commission on Civil Rights 1980, 7). However, the Tower amendment was unsuccessful; exempting revenue-producing sports unacceptable. As a result Title IX applied to all athletic programs operated by federally assisted educational institutions (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

However, by 1979 many institutions were still out of compliance and HEW, via the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) again issued a final policy interpretation on December 11, 1979. This policy interpretation provided a framework for "resolving complaints and provided a definitive statement of the responsibilities under Title IX of institutions receiving financial assistance," including language directed specifically to intercollegiate athletic programs (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1980, 7). Later, two court cases *Grove City College v. Bell* (1984) and *Cohen v. Brown* (1996), challenged and clarified how Title IX should be applied to intercollegiate athletics (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

On February 28, 1984, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Grove City College v. Bell* that Title IX only applied to programs within an institution that *directly* benefited from Federal funds. Under this interpretation Title IX did not apply to intercollegiate athletics. The *Grove City* court found that "program" was interpreted as a subunit of the institution and only those subunits were subject to Title IX jurisdiction. The *Grove City* decision eliminated the OCR's jurisdiction in intercollegiate athletics and eliminated Title IX compliance with women's athletic programs. "Within weeks of the decision, scholarships for female athletes were canceled at several colleges across the nation, women's teams were slated for termination at others, OCR complaints were closed, and lawsuits were dismissed" (Carpenter and Acosta 2005, 121; Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

In 1988 congress intervened after *Grove City* and passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act, reinstating Title IX's application to the entire institution, not subunits within institutions. The term 'program' "correctly applies to the entire institution, not merely the subunit that actually receives federal funding" (126). This clarification meant that an institution's intercollegiate athletics program must comply with Title IX. With a reversal of *Grove City* women began turning to the courts more aggressively to gain the equity in participation Title IX covered (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

In 1996, *Cohen v. Brown* established proportionality as the "safe harbor" for Title IX compliance without exemption for financial difficulties and excluded "relative interest" (Lazerson and Wagener 1996; Carpenter and Acosta 2005). In *Brown,* the court found in favor of the plaintiffs, citing the 1979 OCR guidelines for achieving gender equity in athletics. The "three-prong" test as it is known, requires that institutions 1) provide opportunity for athletic participation in numbers "proportional" to the undergraduate enrollment, 2) demonstrate a history of continued program expansion for the underrepresented gender, and 3) demonstrate that the interest and ability of the underrepresented gender have been effectively accommodated. In addition, the court deferred to institutional academic freedom in university affairs in how the three prongs are achieved. *Cohen* rebuked the idea of "relative interest" to achieve compliance. The court recognized that a "lower rate of participation in athletics reflects women's historical lack of opportunities" (2005, 143). What also resulted from *Cohen* was that institutions could cut a men's team as a "permissible means of effectuating compliance with the statute" (Kaplin and Lee 1998, 201). Cohen gave proportionality a "safe harbor" and cutting men's teams a permissible means to achieve it. As a result, Title IX is often

blamed today for cutting men's opportunity to provide for women's opportunity. Yet the evidence of cuts to men's opportunities in the current and historical literature states otherwise (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

"Title IX Made Me Do It": Reallocation in Athletics

When women student-athletes continued to demand more athletic opportunity in the 1980s, their only choices were options based on the men's model. By this time intercollegiate athletics had developed into a sophisticated and distinctly male gendered enterprise. The AIAW and women's athletic conferences were gone. Separate women's athletic departments under the oversight of the men's program had been combined into one program. Women who had been "Director of Women's Athletics" were assigned a new title in the combined department administration. These changes in the financing, coaching, and scheduling of women's practices and competitions began to disrupt the resources and institutional perspective on men's and women's intercollegiate athletics. With the women's leadership and funding structures dismantled coupled with little change in the model of men's athletics only so many resources were available. This left athletic departments ill prepared to quickly construct an infrastructure for the expanding interest in women's athletics. In the 1990s with successful legal enforcement of Title IX, quick solutions to accommodating interest and complying with Title IX left some men's programs forced to "share" or give up resources and opportunity (Elliott and Mason 2001; Anderson and Cheslock 2004).

The ways that Title IX compliance can be achieved using the 'safe harbor' of proportionality can take many different forms and combinations: Institutions can add

entire women's teams; Institutions can limit or reduce spots on men's teams and offer the maximum number of women's roster spots (known as roster management); or schools can cut a men's team. These are all options that address the nature of Title IX compliance. These same strategies are also often directly linked to the economics of supporting a men's and women's intercollegiate athletic program. Adding women's teams to comply with the law is costly. After the *Cohen* ruling athletic departments addressed Title IX program requirements by making economic cuts in one program area to fund another. Title IX became increasingly known for both giving opportunity to women and taking it away from men. The intense focus on Title IX in this period has "diverted attention from the escalating costs of football as the primary threat to men's Olympic sports" (Estler and Nelson 2005, 53).

When examined broadly, aggregate data show that most institutions add women's programs rather than dropping men's programs. Anderson and Cheslock (2004; 2006) provide current evidence and Thelin (2000) adds a historical perspective that examine these claims more closely and identify factors that contribute to programs being added or cut – men's or women's. Also prominent in this literature is the impact of football and how it is related to program changes (Mahoney 1999). Yet as mentioned before the people in a position to make programmatic policy decisions and frame the public comment about them are often male athletic directors. Cutting a men's program and citing Title IX's economic consequences is a common occurrence.

In *Good Sports? Historical Perspective on the Political Economy of Intercollegiate Athletics in the Era of Title IX 1972-1997*, Thelin presents evidence of the financial strain that institutions experienced, including athletics (2000). By carefully

examining historical data Thelin provides evidence that the addition of women's programs after Title IX was not contributing to the financial problems in athletics. Rather the "revenue shortfalls and inability to curb expenses in spectator sports such as football and men's basketball" were directly responsible for non-revenue men's sports losing financial support (394). Non-revenue men's sports were particularly vulnerable to cuts in the late 1970's - well before women's programs were incorporated into the men's athletic department. The NCAA championship model did not go into effect until 1980 when the AIAW dissolved.[59] In addition, from 1984-1988, when *Grove City* was in effect, "minor" men's programs were also highly vulnerable to budget cuts (Carpenter and Acosta 2005). Yet during *Grove City* Title IX did not apply to intercollegiate athletic programs.

Anderson et al. (2006) and Anderson and Cheslock (2004) address the complex claim that Title IX promotes cutting men's programs is to make way for women's programs. Using secondary data from EADA reports and other institutional data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), and the Chronicle of Higher Education, these authors examine participation, financial, and institutional data to determine the relationship between Title IX and cutting men's sports. Anderson et al. (2006) examine several factors that influence an institution's choice of athletic offerings between 1995-96 and 2001-02. Factors include: institutional identity (linked with athletic success or not), changing preferences of students, institutional wealth and conservativeness, and structural constraints. In Anderson and Cheslock (2004) their

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[59] Thelin provides several examples of the timing of cuts, prior to 1980. Interestingly *Blair v. Washington State University* was filed in 1979 by a group of women's program coaches and women student-athletes alleging violation of the State Equal Rights Amendment. (Hoffman and Kotila 2004).

"results reveal that institutions were more likely to add female teams or participants that to cut male team or participants in order to move closer to compliance between 1995-1996 and 2001-2002" (310). In addition, this data, aggregated to include all NCAA divisions, indicates a "slight increase in teams and athletes for men and a much larger in crease in both for women" (310). In Cheslock and Anderson (2004), the authors comment on the perception of the "troubling loss of athletic opportunities for male athletes" (as cited in the Commission Report 2003, 22) in relationship to their findings that:

> Between 1995-96 and 2001-02, men's athletics actually grew slightly, on average, in contrast to earlier periods (GAO 1999). This difference likely reflects the relative prosperity enjoyed by institutions of higher education during the late 1990s. Although some specific sports like wrestling and gymnastics declined over the period, other sports gained in terms of teams and athletes. This suggests not an overall loss of athletic opportunities for men, but a reallocation of opportunities from some sports to others. Perhaps this reallocation reflects that certain non-revenue men's sports are falling out of favor of those who shape athletic departments, and the focus on Title IX and the arms race as explanations for these declines may be misplaced. (22-23)

Anderson et al. (2006) report that when using adjusted data, disaggregated by NCAA Division, D-IA institutions show more progress in achieving compliance with proportionality than Division II and III institutions. Although institutions at the Division I level are making more progress in achieving gender equity, Anderson et al. (2006) also n note that the improvements even at this level may be much slower than previously thought. Even at institutions where the undergraduate enrollment approaches 50 percent, "non-compliance is still as high as 68-83 percent in 2001-2002" (246).

While there have been shifts in participation and resources from men's non-revenue sports such as wrestling, gymnastics and swimming to women's sports, there

have also been very small shift in resources from men's revenue sports like football and basketball to women's sports (Mahoney 1999). From 1989 to 1993 expenses for men's non-spectator-oriented sports such golf and swimming grew only by $322,000 (331). Expenses for football at the Division I-A level during this same time period increased 29.53 percent, "almost 1 million dollars per year" (331). According to Mahoney,

> Although the percentage of the budget that went to women's sports did increase dramatically during the same period (52.36 percent), the total dollar increase in Division I-A women's sport team budgets ($570,000) was still only slightly more than half the dollar increase in expenses for football alone. (331 as cited in Fulks 1994; Mahony and Pastore 1998)

These persistent budget inequities in women's sports combined with high rates of non-compliance at all levels (Anderson et al. 2006) signal that Title IX, despite its controversy has still not had its intended effect on intercollegiate athletics (Wushanley 2004; Zimbalist 2001).

Intercollegiate Athletics and Higher Education

The discourse on Title IX's failure to promote women from participation to leadership roles tends to focus on intercollegiate athletics instead of the larger issue of influences of intercollegiate athletics within in the context of higher education. The lack of women athletic leaders in intercollegiate athletics is influenced by the commercial nature of the relationship between intercollegiate athletics and higher education and how Title IX both disrupts and reinforces this relationship.

Universities have always been commercial in nature, but that commercialization has increased over the past 30 years. This rise in commercialization in higher education is

coupled with shifts toward gender equity since Title IX.[60] In *Universities and the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education*, Derek Bok (2003), a former university president, defines commercialization as, "efforts to sell the work of universities for a profit" (3). "Profiting from teaching, research, and other campus activities," such as innovations in computing software, medical technologies, outsourcing course instruction with adjunct faculty, and selling the universities brand in the form of the athletic logo on cups, t-shirts, and license plates, are all cited as examples of the entrepreneurial character of higher education today (3). Entrepreneurial ventures in higher education do not always result in increased revenues and there are other costs as well. Even so, institutions "sell" their products and services. Institutions at all levels sell these assets to garner prestige and power often associated with high profile research-oriented institutions.[62] This section describes two important elements of the role of athletics and its relationship with higher education – the collegiate ideal and the amateur ideal – that are used to mitigate this commercial relationship between athletics and higher education.

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[60] This is not to infer that these changes are interdependent, higher education is a tremendously dynamic institution. Rather commercialization and gender equity have occurred with several other simultaneous changes.

[62] For example, the University of Michigan has an annual budget of "$3 billion and an additional $3 billion of investment assets under active management" (91). In addition to educating students and conferring degrees, the University of Michigan's investments include: healthcare at university-sponsored medical centers, ownership in a managed-care corporation, insurance company, continuing education, and conducts federal research and development projects, in addition to athletic entertainment from Wolverine athletics. See Duderstadt, James, *Intercollegiate Athletics and the American University: A University President's Perspective.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Collegiate Ideal

Higher education in the context of four-year colleges and universities is a highly competitive enterprise. Institutions compete with one another for the best faculty, brightest students, and more resources to meet the never-ending financial needs for research and education (Bok 2003; Duderstadt 2000). These institutions rarely settle for static programs, low achieving students, or mediocre faculty performance (Toma 2003). Attracting and retaining the highest achieving students is an integral function of undergraduate and graduate admissions; accomplished experts are pursued for vacant teaching and research appointments. Universities hire top faculty away from peer institutions, students compete for the limited number of positions on athletics teams at the most prestigious institutions, and national research centers and extra-curricular facilities, such as state of the art recreation centers are built to recruit and retain these exemplary faculty and students.[63]

Toma (2003) expands Rudolf's notion of the collegiate way, illuminating the role of intercollegiate athletics in this tradition. Today, the collegiate ideal is the foundation for how Americans relate to higher education. The collegiate nature of residential institutions plays a role in: 1) building community, 2) enhancing status, and 3) acquiring resources. It is this "combination of community and campus culture associated with the residential, academic student experience" that characterize the collegiate ideal" (5). Large

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[63] "Judging from the amount of money that's going toward these projects, colleges are realizing that it's a major component of what students want, and that they have to offer these things or they'll be behind the times and students will go elsewhere" (Reisberg 2001). Recreation centers and student centers together are powerful marketing tools for institutions. "The essence of the modern student center is to be a recruiting instrument…it is the principal highlight of the standard college tour, along with the fitness center" (Lewis 2003). However, the promotion of sophisticated student centers and recreation facilities to attract students to a college or university is not a new strategy (Clifford 1983).

research institutions use spectator sports as a surrogate for the more intimate community-building activities traditionally found on smaller residential campuses (Toma 1999, 82). Toma (1999) points out that the academic, intellectual component of the collegiate ideal is a critical piece. Institutions use the collegiate ideal – the norms and values characterized by the residential experience, student activities, and close relationships with faculty mentors – to mitigate this highly competitive intellectual environment for those within higher education and to temper the academic characteristics for a broader audience, raising the profile of institutions and generating resources.

Institutions also use the collegiate ideal – a set of norms and values characterized by the residential experience, student activities, and close relationships with faculty mentors – to mitigate this highly competitive environment for those within higher education and to connect with those outside higher education. Intercollegiate athletics is often criticized for conduct inconsistent with the educational mission of these institutions, but the decision making by athletic leaders often parallels those of leaders in academic and administrative departments. Furthermore, intercollegiate athletics is one of the primary vehicles institutions use to communicate the collegiate ideal.

Amateur Ideal

One way that institutions communicate this status and legitimacy is through intercollegiate athletics – especially the spectator sports of football and men's basketball. "Spectator sports provide a widely understood public forum on which institutions can claim status" (Toma 2003, 6). Yet without the compliment of other men's and women's

sports to support another important component, the amateur ideal, communicating and enhancing status and legitimacy of the institution through sports fails.

Most intercollegiate competition – teams not competing in spectator sports - focus on the "self-development of the participants" (Toma 2003, 21). For most student-athletes participating in intercollegiate sports such as tennis, golf, soccer, and lacrosse the focus is on the participants, not spectators, institutional prestige or entertainment. These contests occur without much notice except by a handful of highly interested friends and family and very little attention by media or other institutions (22). Yet the highly commercial and professionalized spectator sports rely on the amateur ideal that is exemplified by these intercollegiate sports that garner only modest attention from the institution. Without sports like women's soccer and men's water polo that exemplify the amateur perception of all college sports, the men's football and basketball spectator sports would be seen as they really are - events that generate revenue, status, and prestige in a commercial, professionalized setting (Toma 2003).

Summary

Although Toma's argument describes large, research institutions with Division I spectator sport programs, the components of the collegiate ideal and the institutional drive to increase status and legitimacy is not limited to sport, nor is it a new tactic (64).

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[64] "Institution building has always been a hallmark of American higher education – the name of the game in fact. It is a rare institution regardless of its mission and market that is not attempting to become more prominent – and not only on the academic sides of the institution. For communities, social institutions like universities are cultural landmarks, so building a great university provides evidence of their achievement and merit, particularly relative to their neighbors. So, at a minimum, institution building means keeping up with peer institutions in the state or neighboring states. However, institution building can also lead to emulating the most prominent institutions nationally and hoping that outsider come to recognize that accomplishment. This occurs not only in academic fields, but also in collegiate life. Since collegiate life has always been associated with the most prominent institutions – after all what could be more collegiate than

In Shaking Dangerous Questions From the Crease, Clifford (1983) raises examples that demonstrate an early concern over effeminization with respect to higher education. Clifford notes a New York Times article that concluded, "sentiment and virile Anglo-Saxon conservatism have kept the university masculine for nearly a century" (163). Concern that admitting women would "destroy its virility" was paramount in higher education at the turn of the century. Colleges strived to maintain a particular enrollment of men and women in the early 1900's. This practice continued until the Depression forced colleges to reconsider women's enrollment based on a need for tuition (65).

Title IX impinges an external force on institutions – via federal mandate - that surfaces important issues about the relationship between athletics and higher education. Public policies assert external control of higher education institutions as suggested by Thelin (2000). Title IX,

> Drew into question a fundamental tenet of pubic policy and institutional practices in American higher education; namely the commitment of colleges and universities to under take self-regulation via voluntary association leading to exemption from strict federal regulation. Its implications extended beyond athletic departments to include athletic leaders. Even though intercollegiate athletics is an extracurricular activity, seemingly far from the essential academic missions of colleges and universities, the topic is both conspicuous and useful for understanding colleges and universities.....*it shows how a college's athletics policy can tell much about its educational philosophy, and it shows how historical analysis might contribute to public policy deliberations.* (emphasis added, Thelin 2000, 407)

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the Ivy League? – it is important for institutions on the rise to build both the academic and collegiate aspects of the campus. Institutions interested in their own advancement – and all institutions seem to be – understand this quirk in the American conception of higher education and act accordingly" (Clifford 1983).

[65] A significant development in coeducational institutions was the addition of "men's courses." In part this was a response to the presence of women. Colleges that relied too heavily on women for raising enrollments confronted the possibility of becoming, *de facto*, a women's college. One remedy was to establish a quota on women. Mrs. Stanford set the limit at 500 a figure that remained for over three decades; during the 1930s, when tuition dollars were hard to come by, the number was raised by resorting to the principle of a ratio of male to female students (159).

Title IX influences internal organizational decision-making structures, forcing changes in intercollegiate athletics that are "a struggle for the soul of the institution" (Maxon cited in Thelin 1994, 203). Intercollegiate athletics is a visible, public face of the university and one of the major components of leadership and decision-making that influence and reflect the culture and norms of the institution.

The collegiate ideal and amateur ideal help create a close relationship between athletics and higher education. However, this arrangement is disrupted by gender equity policy. Higher education institutions use commercialized sport to increase their status and legitimacy as evidence of merit. Men's football and basketball are the primary vehicles to communicate this evidence of merit. Yet it is ironic that today the existence of women's sports is integral to the unique balance between athletics and higher education while at the same time gender equity policy is disruptive to this balance. These opposing factors are further impacted by institutional governance and outside professional organizations and athletics conference affiliations.

Using Title IX and the educational philosophy associated with women's sport serves to counter the commercial, spectator-oriented model of college sports exemplified by BCS bowl games and the Final Four basketball tournament. Furthermore, it leaves the "women's" educational model of intercollegiate athletics symbolized by Title IX to clean up the seemingly corrupt, commercial enterprise of men's football and basketball. However, given the important role both of these sports play in legitimizing institutional status and prestige, women are often left in the perimeter roles of compliance, advising, and athletic training, rather than engaging in the decision making that affects the relationship between athletics and higher education.

Conclusion

Title IX policy has reinforced the "institutional ties between sports and schools" (Birrell and Cole 1994, 104). Intercollegiate athletics exist because of higher education (Bok 2003). Although viewed by many as part of the extra-curriculum, intercollegiate athletics, especially men's football, is a highly professionalized, extension of the university. However, attempts by athletic departments to act independently of the institution, such as recognizing student-athletes as student employees or student-athlete unionization are met with resistance (Zimbalist 2001). The rise of women's sports in intercollegiate athletics has served to further reinforce the "collegiate ideal" that embraces amateurism and the educational tenets of college sport (Toma 2003). American higher education institutions use the concept of the collegiate ideal to temper the professional nature of college sports. Intercollegiate athletics, especially spectator sports at research extensive institutions, are a "prominent component of the collegiate ideal" (5). Yet, "without a meaningful academic program, the collegiate ideal is an empty concept" (6). Title IX policy has brought in women's teams that highlight and reinforce the educational aspect of intercollegiate athletics that women leaders were striving for prior to the passage of Title IX. However, women leaders have often been left to carry the institutional responsibility of Title IX that benefits the entire program. Women leaders have fought for the gender equity that has benefited women students and institutions that left them out of the athletic and institutional decision-making of this policy.

Title IX does not directly promote opportunity for women in athletic leadership. The scope of this legislation is limited to protecting participation opportunity and support for women's athletic programs in schools and colleges. However, this legislation has

indirectly contributed to the lack of women leaders and has had a profound impact on the women leaders who are responsible for ensuring women's athletic opportunity that remain. While Title IX is seen by some as an opportunity to advance women's sports and exert more institutional control, it is largely viewed as legislation that takes away opportunity for men to make way for women. When this policy has been successfully implemented, it is usually because there is a critical mass of women in the key decision-making at all institutional levels – from the athletic department through the university administration. It is crucial that women serve in positions of formal power to counter misconceptions about gender equity policy and ensure that the policy is applied consistently and fairly. Finally, gender is a fundamental category in analyzing organizational policy and structures. The strict adherence to proportionality required by Title IX, obscures the male standard of intercollegiate athletics and the lack of women in decision-making roles.

In the next chapter the viewpoint of women leaders in the role of the Senior Woman Administrator on the question of why there are so few women in athletic leadership and what is the influence of Title IX is presented. Examining the effect of Title IX from the vantage point of women athletic leaders is important for two reasons: 1) Title IX requires compliance which has created opportunities for women participants, yet has contributed to the decline of formal positions for women athletic directors, and 2) Title IX has been used to shift the conversation of injustice against women's sport to men's non-revenue sport (Mahoney 1999). The two consequences of this legislation have converged – decreasing the numbers of women leaders and shifting the conversation – to limit the focus and role of women leaders who do remain. This section will further

unpack how this legislation affects women in the context of intercollegiate athletics in higher education. When men's athletics, football and men's non-revenue sports such as wrestling, are threatened, gender equity is blamed. Calling attention to gender equity requirements distracts the discourse away from budgets and program expansion in football and men's basketball (Mahoney 1999). Although this is not atypical of how higher education operates, it leaves the few women that remain too far and too few to add commentary that will be heard or valued to the decision making and power structures of the individual institutional and collective higher education gender equity conversation.[66]

[66] Acosta and Carpenter's report details the evidence that demonstrates that the same gender equity policy that has stimulated growth for women athletic opportunity has hindered women's efforts to lead that growth. "The absolute number of female athletic directors is 187 up by 11 from 2002. There were 171 in 2000 and 188 in 1998. Thus, in the past 6 years, because there has been an increase in the number of programs for female athletes but the absolute number of female athletic directors has remained static, there has been a loss in the presence of a female voice in the athletic directors' offices of NCAA schools" (2004, 3).

CHAPTER SIX
Inside The Huddle

"My experience in athletics was probably unique,
but then I guess every woman's is."

Melanie, senior associate athletic administrator & SWA

Three arguments have been presented that examine the question of why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletic leaders today and how Title IX affects women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles.[67] First, women are not new to leadership in higher education; the strategies that were effective in the coeducation climate were not effective with the shift toward gender equity and mandated equality after Title IX was passed into law in 1972. Second, without the strategies that were effective during coeducation, individual women were left to overcome complex organizational and cultural barriers to athletic leadership, which offered women leaders less access than men to leadership roles. Three, higher education uses women's athletics to counter the commercial, spectator-oriented men's model of college football and men's basketball. This further marginalizes women leaders into the caretaking roles, rather than the decision-making and leadership roles of college sports. However, these arguments do not fully explain the interrelationship between the women leader, her department, and her institution. Therefore, data from qualitative interviews are presented in this chapter to systematically explore the perspective of women leaders currently in senior athletic

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[67] A full discussion of each of these arguments in presented in Chapters Three, Four, and Five of this dissertation.

administration on Title IX, intercollegiate athletics, and their institutions. The research question, *why are there so few women in athletic leadership today?,* is addressed in this chapter. The second question, *how does Title IX policy affect women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles*, is addressed in the next chapter, Chapter Seven, The Senior Woman Administrator.

The institutions for this study were selected for their history of women's leadership in athletics, contemporary success with advancing women to positions of leadership, and the institution's NCAA Division I affiliation and Carnegie classification status.[68] The institutions are varied in geographic region and conference affiliation. From this pool of potential institutions, participants were selected on the basis of their senior staff/senior management team role, senior woman administrator designation, and relationship with or preceding the "re-pioneering" generation. Five women athletic administrators agreed to participate. A poststructuralist feminist lens is used to understand the evidence presented that helps explain why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletic leadership.[69] The empirical evidence provided in these interviews is triangulated with evidence from institutional archives and publicly available documents from other sources. Findings of this study are used to develop a typology of categories that explain the most likely woman candidate to be selected for a vacant athletic director position. The four sections of this chapter are presented in the following order: 1) *Perspectives From The Inside The Huddle*, explains the analogy for the huddle used in

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[68] For a full description of these categories, see Chapter One of this dissertation. NCAA membership categories retrieved from http://www.ncaa.org/about/div_criteria.html. See also, http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/index.asp.

[69] Gender is socially constructed and power is embedded in organizational structures. For more on the post-structuralist view of women in athletic leadership see Chapter Four – Contemporary Literature on Women In Athletic Leadership, of this dissertation.

this analysis. 2) *Athletic Director Searches*, presents data from participant interviews. 3) *What Makes An "Insider"?,* explains the typology of woman athletic leaders created from the analysis. 4). *Conclusion, s*ummarizes the findings of this chapter.

Perspectives From Inside The Huddle

Although the Division I level has the fewest number of women in athletic director (AD) positions, this is the NCAA category with slightly more women in athletic administration than the other NCAA member categories (Acosta and Carpenter 2006). The administrative structure for athletic administration varies by institution. The administrative structure is also dynamic, adjusting to changes in staff and budget. At the Division I level, there is usually an athletic director, an executive athletic director and/or a senior management team of senior athletic administrators. Next in the ranks are associate athletic directors and assistant athletic directors. Although these administrative structures tend to be very flexible at the Division I level the organizational structure below the senior administration has grown substantially in recent years. Services are more differentiated and these units usually develop a staff within themselves. Today, assistant and associate athletic directors manage units in compliance, advising, athletic training, sports information, facilities and event management, development, and in ticketing and marketing. Among these units, the external area is the power area – whether at the department, conference or NCAA level, senior associate administrator management experience in the external area is the stepping stone from the senior associate level to the athletic director position.

At the Division I level, the administrative team of senior athletic administrators and the AD can vary from a group of 3 to a group of 5-6. Institutions in this study represented this range. As noted in Chapter Two, Method, the women who participated in this study are among this group involved in decision-making at their institution and hold leadership roles at their institution.[70] The department administrative structure, the title of associate or senior associate athletic director, and role of senior woman administrator (SWA) situates each woman in this study as members of the senior management team. This senior management team is the core of the department leadership. Being inside this core of the department leadership is described with the analogy of the "huddle." Football shapes the athletic department and the NCAA in powerful ways (Ester and Nelson 2005). This sets a standard for the programs and promotes more men with experience playing the game and managing football programs into the leadership role of the department. Not only does football set a spectator-oriented program standard, but institutions also use this standard to garner prestige and support for the university. Therefore, this standard cuts across the athletic department senior management team, the department, university and external constituents; in doing so, it creates a mostly male "huddle" of the senior athletic leadership team.[71] The huddle and the context of the senior team situated in the athletic department and institution is depicted in Figure 1. In this diagram, the senior management team is located in the most inner circle. This inner circle shows the senior management of the athletic department,

[70]Due to the highly identifiable nature of each participant, they are described as a collective. However, this study is not interested in the individual characteristics of participants that are under investigation. Rather, this study seeks to understand the interrelationships between women leaders, their athletic departments, and their institution. Institutions are highly individualized and dynamic in the administration and oversight of intercollegiate athletics.

[71] For a full discussion of the relationship between athletics and higher education and how higher education uses men's and women's sports, see Chapter Four, Title IX of this dissertation.

the athletic director – AD, the Senior Associate Athletic Director – SR AD, and the woman senior associate athletic director who also holds the title of SWA – SR-AD/SWA. The middle circle is the athletic department, and the outer circle represents the athletic department within the context of the campus.

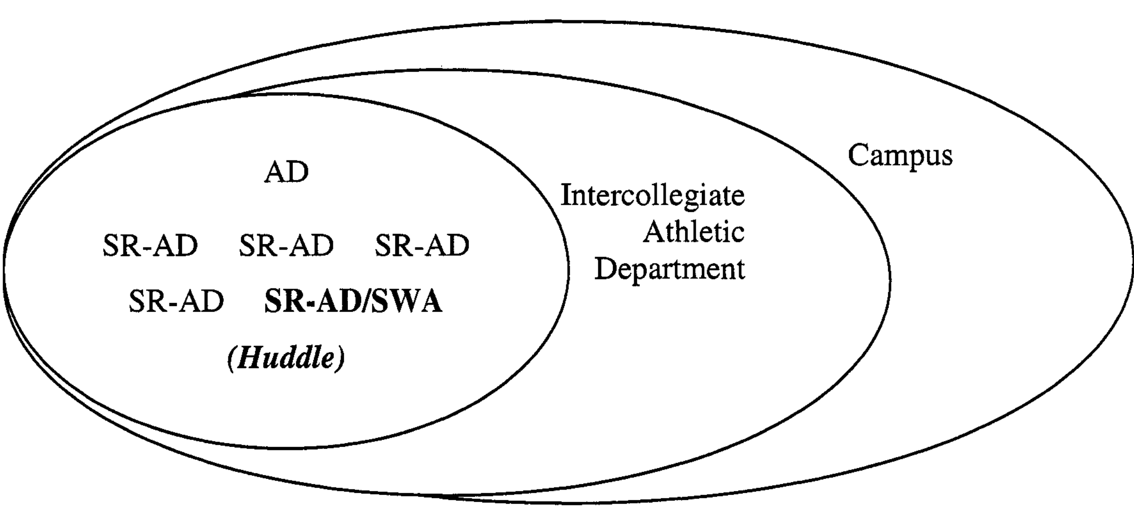

Figure 1: The Senior Management Team, The "Huddle"

The old boys network is a term commonly used to describe homologous reproduction (Stagl and Kane 1991; Tiell 2003). This "old boys network" that cuts through the senior management team, department and institution. The analogy of the huddle represents homologous reproduction of male hegemony and gender differentiation in intercollegiate athletics.

The five women in this study who are inside this "huddle" of senior leadership are identified by the pseudonyms Beth, Karen, Melanie, Kim, and Chris. Each of these

women began their in intercollegiate athletics careers as student-athletes, playing competitive sports for their undergraduate institutions. Later, they earned master's degrees in athletic administration-related fields. One participant self-identified as an ethnic minority. All hold the role of senior woman administrator (SWA) at their institution. These five women have had institutional responsibilities, conference-level, and NCAA service that have contributed to their career growth. Women can be "pulled up" to the senior team in four ways: 1) by internal promotion to senior associate athletic director, 2) as an associate with the SWA appointment, 3) external hire into the senior associate role, or 4) an external hire as an SWA. Internal promotion or external hires may or may not be accompanied by the SWA role. Women in this study took diverse paths to present senior administration roles. From these reference points, the participants shared their perspectives on the search process, the role of the SWA, and athletic leadership in higher education. Each woman is on the "inside" of the huddle and all are involved in decision-making at their institution and reporting to athletic directors. Their descriptions of athletic departments and the athletic director search process gives depth and structure to the "old boys network" within the senior management team, department and institution that prevent most women from advancing to the athletic director chair.

Athletic Director Searches

Together, the women in this study have observed a total of twelve athletic director searches at their institutions. In addition, the participants contributed information about searches they had participated in as candidates at other institutions. Furthermore, participants shared the experiences and insight of colleagues who had been candidates in

the athletic director search process at other institutions. Women in this study discussed several elements that describe the skills needed by athletic leaders and the homologous reproduction that contributes to the "old boys" network of athletic leadership.

Although there was some variation in the athletic director search process described by participants at the Division I level, there are four main characteristics presented in this section: 1) *The President's Role*, explains that athletic directors are selected by university Presidents, and 2) *Candidate's Prior Experience*, successful candidates are usually athletic directors at another Division I athletic program, 3) *Search Committee Beliefs*, search committee beliefs about women candidates, and 4) *Search Firm Involvement,* search firms are more common, but may not be value added in creating the most qualified pool of potential candidates the search process.

President's Role

The search process for an athletic director among in an institution can proceed in several ways, usually determined by the institution's president. A president may direct a search committee to generate a list of candidates or finalists. The president may work with a select group of close confidants to generate a group of finalists. In recent years, the use of a search firm has become common. How the search committee and search firm figure into the process can be minimal or more integral, it varies by institution and president. However, in the end, it is the president who will make the final decision and select the athletic director. "It is always the president's decision. I mean there has always

been a search committee per say (at my institution)...but basically I mean, it's the president's decision" (Chris, interview March 2006).

Candidate's Prior Experience

Athletic Directors at the Division 1-A level are responsible for departments of close to 200 staff and budgets in the range of $40-60 million dollars.[72] The time dedicated to fundraising and managing football at these institutions is significant. The criteria for serving as an athletic director falls into three main categories: prior athletic director experience, managing money and raising money, and managing coaches. The size of candidate pools can be substantial. According to public information at 4 institutions that spanned 1976 to the present, applicant pools ranged from 30-40 applicants per search. At Kim's institution the applicant pools have been very big and narrowed down to a list of about 6-12 candidates. In the two search committees that she was a member of at her institution only sitting ADs were in the pool of finalists. She said it is common "because the position is an athletic director" (interview, February 2006).

Chris noted, "It is obvious, the major route to being an AD right now is in the external area, marketing, promotions, and fund-raising. Bottom line" (Chris, interview, February 2006). At Karen's institution, she noted that there are two criteria in the search for the current athletic director that are generally agreed upon as important. She said the campus community wanted "two main things. They would like somebody who has some type of experience in athletics, whether it's been at the AD level, senior associate or associate, that way they know, kind of coming in what they are walking into. But the

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[72] At the start of the 2005-06 school year there were 326 Division 1 member institutions (NCAA 2005). Within Division I schools are further differentiated by Division 1-A, I-AA, and I-AAA. The most prestigious and programs with the largest budgets and national attention are in the Division 1-A category.

biggest thing has been fundraising" (Karen, interview Febraury 2006). Beth concurred, "ADs do two things. They raise money and manage people" (Beth, interview February 2006). Melanie describes more specifically that managing money in the external area includes budgets and negotiations, especially television financing, she stated that, "The ADs make all of the decisions on TV and finances" (interview, February 2006).

In terms of managing coaches, Beth explained that raising money and managing football in particular go hand in hand,

> You have to do both. Football is as big a deal that people think it is - it's huge. So you have to manage it and basketball....you have to manage (football) and spend time with (football) *and* you have to raise money. I don't think one is exclusive of the other, I think you have to do both. (interview, February 2006)

However, prior athletic director experience, fundraising, and managing coaches are not the only criteria for selecting an athletic director. The successful candidates at the Division I-A level have specific experience in the external area at the Division 1A level. This is the level with the largest, most visible football and men's basketball programs. All participants explained that it is very common for men who have been ADs at Division I-AA and I-AAA, have trouble moving up to the athletic director chair at the Division 1-A level. Men that were athletic directors overseeing smaller programs changed jobs, accepting a senior associate role within a bigger program as a way to gain experience. Kim comments on several examples of this,

> (AD) had been applying for Division IA jobs and hadn't gotten any and he felt it was maybe because he hadn't been at IA yet....The former AD at (D1-AAA school) just did the same thing. He just went to (DI-A school) in the (senior associate level) to get Division IA experience. (interview, February 2006)

Search Committee Beliefs

The composition of the university search committee is consistent across institutions and over time. These committees themselves can vary in size from very, very small or upwards of 40 members from the university administration, faculty, alumni, student representatives and athletic department personnel. However, the participants indicate that search committees haven't always believed that women can do the job. In some instances, they noted that there is *disbelief* that a woman can do the job. In other instances, women are included in the group interviewed, but not considered serious contenders for the jobs. Karen explained what a colleague shared about how a search committee reacted to a woman candidate at her colleague's institution. Her colleague was on the AD search committee and had an experience with how the search committee viewed the woman candidate,

> My friend was on the search for an AD and they brought up all these men and then they had a woman on the list. The president of that school leans over to her and says, 'she's a woman, do you think she can handle the boosters, and yuck it up with them?' They never would ask that question of a man. Never in a million years would that be broached....If this is going on in this search, how many other searches, when they bring up a qualified woman, (are they asking themselves) "well can she handle it" Well if she can't handle it, why the hell do you have her on your list anyway? Her credentials are either that she has done a good job or she hasn't done a good job. (interview, February 2006)

Karen questioned whether search committees have an understanding of the skills needed to the job or could even visualize a woman in the position of athletic director.

Chris recalled the athletic director positions she had applied for earlier in her career. At that time, she found that she was among a group of women who were always asked to interview, but never selected to fill the athletic director position. "I applied to

some AD jobs and was a finalist. We used to joke there was a group of us all applying for jobs at the same time and every pool has a woman, a minority, and 2-3 white guys, one of whom gets the job" (interview, February 2006). Chris didn't believe that the search committee had any real impact on the pool of candidates for men or women, "My own personal opinion is in most cases, the search committee is just a veneer. It all comes down to who the president really wants" (2006).

Karen discussed another example in which qualified candidates self-selected out of particular searches because they feel that it is too difficult for women at a particular institution. Karen explains, describing responses by colleagues at other institutions, "if it was a certain school, they couldn't do it, because they will never hire a woman there" (interview, February 2006). Chris is also more selective, but for a different reason. When she was applying for jobs, she was unwilling to go just anywhere, however men are much more mobile, even if they aren't successful at their last institution. "Women don't generally have that opportunity - you have your shot and if you fail, that's it for you...actually the number of women ADs at our level has gone down. It's not what it was ten years ago" (interview, March 2006). Melanie echoed this, "We are just rehashing the same ADs. We are just moving them around. Its all the men, they can even get fired and they pop up somewhere else, as opposed to taking a chance with a woman."

This combination of search committee beliefs about candidates and their impact on women candidates to participate in the search process, limit the number of women at the senior associate athletic director level, limit who is in the applicant pool, or limit who is among the finalists. This translates directly into fewer women being named as athletic directors.

Search Firm Involvement

Finally, in recent years it has become more common to use search firms to conduct the search for institutions, a key element in this is the solicitation of applicants. Generally, participants in this study do not consider search firms to be helpful to the institution or to women applicants. Other than offering confidentiality and intermediary services, the participants in this study did not believe search firms created the best candidate pool overall or help advance women. Melanie notes, "Search firms are doing it all. That has really changed the face of this whole thing" (interview, February 2006). Chris agrees and added,

> More and more schools are using search firms for various reasons. I'm kind of skeptical about them. I don't think we are hiring better ADs because we are using search firms. Several search firms are headed by former ADs who were not very successful. The search firm process has pretty much been a perpetuation of the old boys network in my opinion. (interview, March 2006)

This introduction of search firms in recent years has contributed a new layer of complexity to the old boys network and extended the potential barrier to women beyond the campus. This creates an additional layer for potential woman candidates with which to contend.

Search firms, in an intermediary capacity, help protect the confidentiality of the applicant pool in the early stages. Only a few finalists are known when the details of the search are often made public. Karen said in describing the search to hire her institution's most recent AD, "There were some very, very good candidates in there and I think one of the things is that, they tried to keep it quiet so that the good candidates didn't get scared off and leave" (interview, February 2006). It may be an added incentive for potential

candidates, but there is a limit to the sense of confidentiality the search firm can create. According to Kim, "The biggest role the search firm played, was the mediator. So that [a candidate] can look someone in the face and say well I haven't talked to [that institution]. I talked to a representative, but I didn't talk to [that institution]. So it just allows for a more discreet process, which people appreciate." Protecting candidate confidentiality is very important, but the addition of the search firm into the process can be a deterrent for some potential woman candidates

Karen explains how the firms themselves can be a deterrent for some potential woman candidates, "I called, probably two of my girlfriends that are senior associates to apply for (her institution's last AD search). (But when) the search firm came in, they wouldn't do it. They just felt it was too good old boy." Search firms, particularly the ones headed by former ADs, are scouring their network and encouraging potential candidates to apply. Given that an important criteria for being an athletic director is previous athletic director experience, search firms contribute to the problem of men becoming ADs more often than women. Men ADs who leave one institution, even if they had a poor job performance, are likely to get a job somewhere else. Institutions recycle sitting and former athletic directors at this level rather than drawing someone from the senior associate level, especially a woman. However, having the title and responsibility of senior associate athletic director or athletic director is simply not enough to be a successful candidate in the athletic director search process.

The complexity of the criteria and skills needed to become an athletic director combined with how the search process is conducted sheds further light on the depth and dimension of the old boys network that prevents women from gaining access to the

athletic director chair. The experience specific to the external areas of fund raising, budget, and contract negotiations at the Division I level frame the criteria for making it as a finalist. Successful candidates at the Division I-A level athletic director positions rarely come from Division I-AA or I-AAA programs. According to Beth,

> ...look at the person who wrote the job description, most of the time its white males, so most of the time that's who's going to get the job, is the white male. That certainly has been true. Athletics always has been and always will be a very white male dominated environment....it is just the nature of what we do, white males have had more opportunity for leadership roles, they've had more opportunity to do everything, so most of the time they are going to be the candidate. (interview, February 2006)

The use of search firms has compounded the problem of recycling ADs. To become an AD the most likely candidates have prior athletic director experience. The assistance with the process and confidentiality the search firm provides create an additional layer to the old boys network.

However, what is really missing from the search process – the committees, the firms, and particularly the presidents who select athletic directors - is a firm of understanding of leadership within intercollegiate athletics,

> Every AD I've worked for has come out of the external area. Some have been better than others, but if you look at the external area, a lot of those folks, don't have day-to-day experience managing staff. They are out on the road glad-handing or whatever, (with) sponsors and donors and all that kind of thing. That's probably one of the biggest shortcomings that I've seen that ADs have. They (Presidents) hire these external people and assume they can do the rest. If your experience is mostly internal, they don't assume you can do the external, which is nonsense. Raising money and that type of thing is no different than anything else we do. Yes, you have to have some decent interpersonal skills, but you have to be well organized, you have to be able to manage your staff. You develop a plan, you work the plan, you revise the plan and you move forward, its not rocket science. But presidents seem to think that these external people are some kind of magicians and they are not. They pull rabbits out of hats.

> They can make their fund-raising numbers look to be anything they want them to look to be. So I think that's the unfortunate part, I think presidents as a whole, are really naive about athletics. They assume these external people can do all the other things that go into being an athletic director but they don't assume that of the internal people. I think because of that athletics has been shortchanged in the leadership dynamic. (Chris, interview February 2006)

The heavy reliance on the external skills demonstrated only by managing football and raising money in combination with athletic department leadership are deeply embedded in athletic departments, institutions and the search firms. From the findings of this study, a clearer description of the "huddle" and the sources that create an "old boys network" look more like this:

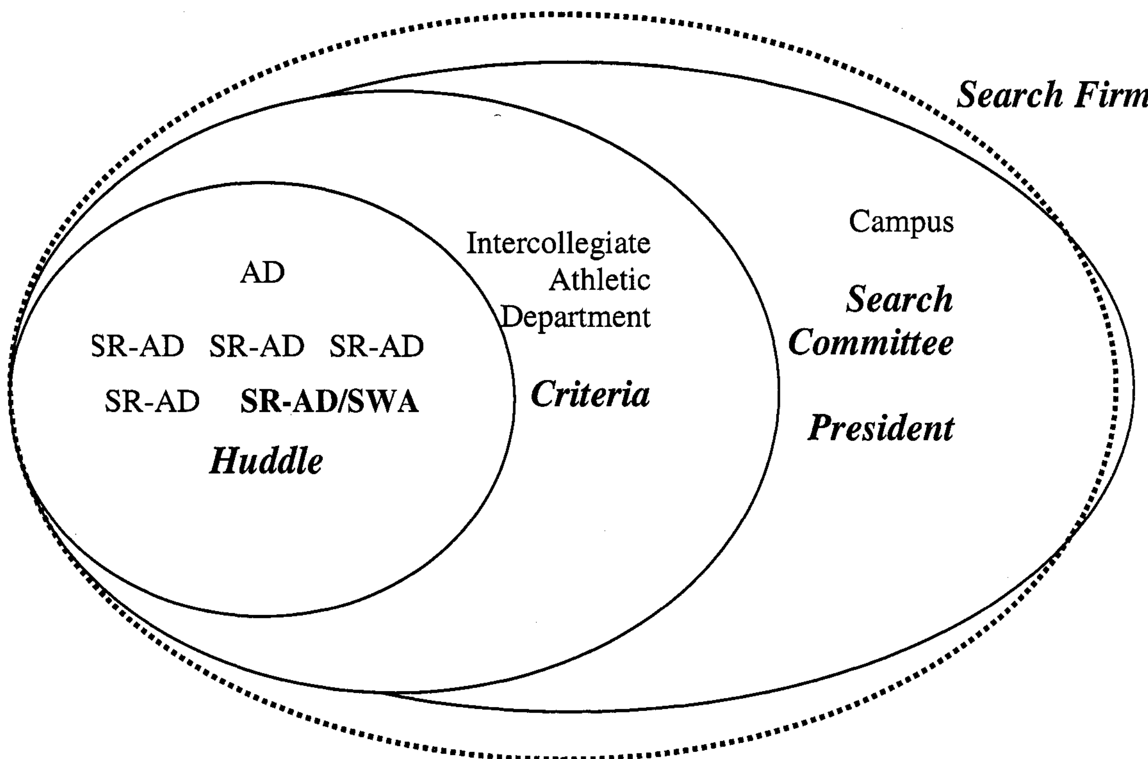

Figure 2: The Huddle Reconsidered

In Figure 2 the components of the athletic director search process further define and describe the idea of the old boys network. In addition, the search firms adds another layer, a dimension that is external to the institution, yet it creates additional component of complexity that women must deal with in the huddle of athletic leadership.

For women leaders, several factors impede their participation in the selection process and disadvantage them as a candidate. These include: the lack of recognition of transferable skills for athletic department leadership, inability to gain athletic director experience, the search committee and president's understanding of the necessary skills, and the search firm's involvement in generating a pool of candidates. The most qualified women applicants in a pool of potential candidates either are not in the search process or are not recognized.

The next section presents a typology of criteria that further differentiates the range of women leaders on the "inside" of this huddle and among those women who is most likely to be selected as an athletic director.

What Makes An "Insider"

The women in this study are all "insiders" – participants were specifically chosen for their status as women on the senior management team. However, there are specific insider criteria that further differentiate women who are at the senior associate level. These criteria provide a framework to understand which skill set is most important for being selected as an athletic director as expressed by the observations of the women in this study. These insider types help explain why individual efforts to break the "glass sneaker" of the old boys network from the senior associate level is not enough. Women

leaders must garner experience in specific areas to move from the senior associate level to the athletic director chair. This section has three sections that explain the responsibilities and criteria at the senior associate athletic director level: 1) *Insider Responsibilities*, explains the internal and external functions and of athletic leadership, 2) *Insider Criteria,* describes the five key components of senior associate athletic director leadership, and 3) *Insider Types*, describes 3 categories of women leaders within senior administration based on the Insider Criteria. Together these three components help differentiate which women are most likely to be selected as an athletic director during a search.

Insider Responsibilities

Within the hierarchies and organizational structures of intercollegiate athletic departments, day-to-day responsibilities and decision-making generally fall into two categories – internal operations and external operations.[73] The specifics of each category vary somewhat by institution, based on the administrative structure and unit, personnel, and institutional reporting. Internal operations generally refer to issues of student-athlete welfare (advising, compliance, conduct issues), university service, and conference and NCAA requirements (NCAA certification, committee service). External categories generally refer to promotions (ticketing, marketing), development, budgeting, and university administration. The external area is the "power" area – whether at the department, conference or NCAA level. The external area is the stepping stone to the AD chair and a major part of an ADs day-to-day responsibility.

[73] The designations of internal and external are consistent with how universities organize the senior administration.

Table: 1 Day-to-Day Operations

Internal Operations *"everything an athlete touches every day*	**External Operations** *"the reality is (this) still holds a lot of the power"*
Advising and Academics	Marketing & Promotions
Athletic Training	Alumni Relations
Compliance & Conduct	Development & Fundraising
Event Management & Facilities	Budget and Contract Negotiations
Equipment & Locker Rooms	Ticketing
Strength & Conditioning	Media Relations

Insider Criteria

Candidates with Division I administrative experience in the position of senior associate level or the current sitting athletic directors are most likely to be named athletic director. Within this group of potential candidates, the ones with the most experience in the external areas of the department related to five specific areas are the candidates most likely to be positioned for the athletic director job. These five areas are: 1) managing coaches, 2) oversight with football and men's basketball, 3) sitting at the decision-making table, 4) direct contact with university presidents, and 5) leveraging other power sources.

Five Insider Criteria From Interviews

1. Managing coaches – responsible for hiring and evaluation of head coaches

2. Oversight with football and men's basketball – supervise team operations, work directly with head football or basketball coach, or a have specific responsibility with football

3. Sitting at the decision making table – part of the senior management team that make decisions that effect the entire department; bring issues to this table; this may include representing the athletic department at university level decision making of an internal or external nature

4. Direct contact with university presidents – work with university president's at the institution, conference, or NCAA level, in particular over issues of an external nature

5. Leveraging other power sources – strong network of colleagues and contacts within the institution; conference or NCAA committee service

All of these criteria specifically relate to activities or paths that position senior associate athletic directors at the decision-making table. The internal and external responsibilities further differentiate women leaders into insider types.

Insider Types

All of the women in this study are insiders – they were specifically chosen based on their combinations of job titles and roles within their athletic department to give the "best" example of women who have followed the re-pioneering generation of women's athletic leaders and achieved positions of leadership and decision-making in athletics. Furthermore, based on the kinds of leadership experience and skills any one of these women could be an athletic director at the Division I level, some participants spoke of participating in searches, instances where they were asked to become candidates for specific national searches, or had colleagues suggest that they should be applying for

athletic director positions. However, even within this highly capable, well-prepared group of women positioned at the senior athletic administration level, there is variation in the amount of "insider" status each one possesses that affects the likelihood of becoming an athletic director from a pool of candidates.

Five criteria emerged from the interviews that further define and clarify insider status and the experience needed to advance to the athletic director chair. The five criteria are managing coaches, oversight with football and men's basketball, sitting at the decision making table, direct contact with university presidents, leveraging other power sources. The three insider types at the institutional level for women are defined as: True Insiders, Power Insiders, and Departmental Insiders:

Three Insider Types

1. True insiders manage coaches, have significant responsibility with football and men's basketball and work with university presidents. May have "Other Power Sources" but this is not a contributor to their insider status.
2. Power Insiders may have contact with football or university presidents, but their insider status draws more heavily from their management of coaches and "Other Power Sources."
3. Department Insiders may have responsibilities in the other four areas, but they draw most heavily from "Other Power Sources" category and their SWA designation gets them "at the decision making table."

True Insider. These are women who manage coaches, have oversight with football and men's basketball, sit at the decision making table, and have direct contact with university presidents. Women in this category have strong networks of colleagues within their institution and have served on NCAA and conference level committees, but do not need these sources of power to achieve true insider status. True insiders are

integrally involved in the decisions at the nexus between the leadership of the institution and the leadership of the athletic department that are external in nature.

Power Insider. These are women who possess the same skill and overall level of job responsibility as the True Insiders, but lack overall consistent, significant involvement in 2 key areas – direct oversight of men's football and men's basketball operations and contact with university presidents. Power insiders leverage other sources of decision-making, which make them highly valuable to their institution and offer them significant experience in leadership in intercollegiate athletics outside of their institution. However, given the significant role that football plays in creating a climate of homologous reproduction in intercollegiate athletics administration and the role university presidents play in forming the old boys network in terms of hiring, power insiders are involved in decision-making, but positioned just outside the nexus between the institution and the athletic department. Rather, the power insiders sit at the nexus between the internal operations of the department and the services of the institution or between the internal operations of the department and the conference and NCAA.

Departmental Insider. These are women who are "insiders" because they meet the minimum criteria of being an insider – they sit at the decision-making table. However, women leaders in who are departmental insiders, rely more heavily on the SWA designation to get them to the table. The unintended effect of using the SWA title leftover from the coeducation period, shuffles these women leaders into the care-taking responsibilities of the department. Departmental insiders also leverage institutional, conference, and NCAA service and contacts more heavily. These sources of power outside of the athletic department also make them valuable around the decision-making

table, particularly in the context of internal operations. However, these experiences are not integral to the external operations of budgeting, development, football, and work with university presidents.

Insider Criteria / Insider Type	Manage Coaches	Football & Men's Basketball Oversight	Sit at the Decision-making Table	Work with University Presidents	Other Power Sources
True Insiders	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Power Insider	✓		✓		✓
Department Insider			✓		✓

Figure 4: Matrix of Insider Types and Criteria

Although women in this study represent all three insider types based on the five criteria, each woman in this study is fluid in her representation of these categories. At times women in this study have gone through periods where they had roles or opportunities in at least one other insider type. To be an "insider" women must sit at the decision making table. There are institutions where there are no women represented in the senior administration; women athletic leaders at these institutions could be categorized as peripheral administrators – not meeting the minimum criteria of having a seat at the

decision-making table. These women may or not be the SWA and but may have responsibilities consistent with assistant or associate level athletic directors. These women are staff of the athletic department, but outside of the decision-making and outside of the pipeline to the athletic director chair.

Finally, insider status alone, even among the true insiders, is not enough to position women for the athletic director chair. For women to become athletic directors they must have insider responsibilities in the external area of their institution as a true insider and break through the complexity of the "huddle" – the old boys network of athletic leadership. These two dimensions – the huddle and degree of insider status together influence why there are so few women athletic directors today.

Conclusion

The women in this study worked for a total of 16 different athletic directors at these five institutions over the course of their careers. The women in this study all were highly complimentary of all the men athletic directors for whom they had worked; "lucky," "fortunate," "supportive," "understanding" – were all adjectives used to describe these men. However, Kim was able to identify an important tension women leaders face, when they are the only woman at the decision-making table, "Even with the men that I've worked for here, that have been unbelievable, open, wanting genuinely to help me and other women succeed as a goal, there is still a point where they hold back" (interview, February 2006). When she is working with other women, Kim notes she is respected as a colleague, "where the ADs never see me in that role. The whole gender issue really exists, it's there" (2006). Chris echoes this sentiment when she describes opportunities

she's had to work with more women, "It's a blessing to me, actually, it's prolonged my career. I'd probably be retired by now if it weren't for that" (interview, March 2006).

The convergence of the search process and the insider criteria for an athletic director explained by the women in this study begin to give shape and dimension to old boys network in athletics that cuts across the entire institution. In addition, this clarification of the old boys network contributes to understanding homologous reproduction in athletic leadership. Finally, the insider criteria explains the variation among women leaders who are inside the huddle of athletic leadership. However, the evidence presented in this chapter does not explain the impact that Title IX has had on women as insiders or how this has impacted the dimension and shape of the old boys network. This will be presented in the next chapter, Chapter 7, *The Senior Woman Administrator, aka "The SWA"*.

CHAPTER SEVEN
The Senior Woman Administrator, aka "The SWA"

> When the young women tell me, their goal is to be the SWA, I tell them no, that should not be your goal, your goal should be to be an athletic director or an associate senior athletic director, not necessarily to be an SWA, hopefully that role will go away someday.
>
> *Chris, Senior Associate Athletic Director & SWA*

> If that title (SWA) did not exist, I wonder how many people would be an associate or would be a senior associate. I can look here for example in my own area I'm one female and there are 7 or 8 others. You can't tell me you can't find a qualified woman that couldn't sit in those exact same chairs.
>
> *Karen, Associate Athletic Director & SWA*

This dissertation asks two questions about the external forces brought on by Title IX that create tensions in the relationship between the individual leader, her athletic department, and her institution. Homologous reproduction has been cited as an important factor understanding why there are so few women athletic directors today (Stagl and Kane 1991; Tiell 2003). The previous chapter presented specific examples from the athletic director search process that further define homologous reproduction in terms of the old boys network and the range of insider status criteria that determine which women are most likely to be positioned for the athletic director chair. However, the dimension and texture of the old boys network and insider status of women leaders do not fully explain why there are so few women athletic directors today. The impact of Title IX policy is not explained in the analysis of the huddle that represents the old boys network

in Chapter Six. Therefore, this chapter examines the evidence that explains the impact of Title IX on women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Understanding these two elements together creates a clearer picture of this dilemma and the most effective recommendations to address the question of, how does Title IX policy affect women's participation in intercollegiate athletic roles?

This chapter addresses the transition that occurred in the period when women's athletics shifted from an educational participation model to a competitive, spectator model of athletics after the passage of Title IX. In particular, this chapter will focus on the development after the development of the Senior Woman Administrator (SWA) role initiated by the NCAA in 1982. Title IX policy does not directly promote or offer protection for women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. However, this policy has had an important effect on disconnecting the pipeline of women's leadership as women's and men's athletic programs combined.[74] Specifically, evaluating the analysis of the SWA role and the parallels to Deans of Women presented in Chapter Three, are important considerations in the impact of this policy. The analysis in this chapter is divided into the following sections: 1) *Defining Generations*, 2) *The "SWA" vs. Senior Associate Athletic Administrator*, and 3) *Creating a Path For Women Leaders: More Than Picking Up The Baton*. Recommendations for advancing more women from the senior associate level to the athletic director level will be presented in the next chapter.

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[74] For a full discussion of how this pipeline was disconnected by Title IX, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

Defining Generations

Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, there are roughly three generations of women leaders: 1) the women that were in athletic administrators during or shortly after Title IX passed, 2) the contemporary generation of senior associate athletic directors, and 3) the women at the assistant and associate athletic director level today. The women in this study represent an "insider" generation – women who have been on the inside of intercollegiate athletic leadership and decision-making since 1982, the year the NCAA initiated the SWA role. In addition, the women in this study followed in the path of the "re-pioneers" -- the generation of women who fought for Title IX legislation and for the most part resisted the combining of the men's and women's programs in intercollegiate athletics after Title IX passed[75]. The women of the insider generation will be replaced by the "next generation" of women leaders, the early- and mid-career women that are at the assistant and associate level today. Therefore, these generations are further designated in this study as:

Re-pioneers. Fought for Title IX and equity on campus for women's sports and opened the door for the insiders. Some women of this generation paid a heavy price for their outspoken views, while others succeeded in gaining access to leadership in the NCAA and at the director level in Division I institutions. Most women of this generation that were early career during when Title IX passed, were often the first SWA at their institution. Many of these women mentored and prepared the next generation of women leaders at their institutions, "passing the baton" to the insider generation.

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[75] Glazer and Slater (1987), see also Parks et al. (1995) in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

Insiders. Represented by the women in this study. They followed directly in the path of the re-pioneer at her institution or her career overlapped with that generation of women leaders. These women were either the first SWA or the replaced the SWA of the re-pioneering generation. Insiders are part of the management team of the institution's athletic department, reporting to the athletic director.

Next Generation. The women currently poised in the pipeline that could become the next generation of women at the senior administration level in intercollegiate athletics. These women are early- or mid-career at the assistant or associate level today. Although there is some slight variation by institution, the schools represented in this study have had no more than two women at the senior associate level since the passage of Title IX – a repioneer and an insider.

"The SWA" vs. Senior Associate Athletic Administrator

The Senior Woman Administrator – "The SWA" is an artifact reminiscent of the separate sphere, coeducation period of higher education.[76] Created in 1982 by the NCAA, the first school year the NCAA offered women's championships, this is an important point of reference and a role that has had tremendous impact on women leaders in intercollegiate athletics. Both the NCAA takeover and the SWA designation can be traced back to the passage of Title IX. By this time, most institutions had combined the separate men's and women's athletic departments into one program. Under this "combined" arrangement the men's program director assumed leadership of athletic department and the women's program director was assigned a title of associate or

[76] See Chapter Three of this dissertation for a full discussion of the coeducation period in higher education.

assistant athletic director. It is the examination of the SWA designation in the combined model that explain the impact of Title IX on women in intercollegiate athletic leadership more clearly than the limited protection against gender discrimination in employment or salary discussed in Chapter Five.

Initially, the SWA designation was an effective strategy for women to gain entrance to the NCAA governance when the NCAA was an all-male organization. In particular, the SWA role gave women access to university presidents in two important ways in the early years of the designation - at the NCAA convention and in NCAA athletic certification. Under the old convention style, delegates attended the NCAA convention and legislation was voted on from the institution's delegation on the convention floor. Delegates included university presidents, athletic directors, the faculty athletic representative (FAR) and the SWAs. This convention and voting style gave women high contact with university presidents in important decision-making opportunities. According to Melanie, "When we used to have NCAA conventions, I got to know our presidents very well, because we'd sit there and got to vote together and all that, plus being a senior woman administrator, that really helped in terms of getting to know the president" (2006). This contact with university presidents during this era was important for networking and for creating opportunities for women to be seen in leadership roles by other high-ranking decision makers and administrators.

Not only was the SWA title helpful in getting to know the president at the institution, but it also afforded the opportunity to meet other presidents as well. The NCAA certification process and convention formats created more opportunities for the SWA to work with several university presidents.

> The women in my era, we got to know the presidents, because of the conventions and the old convention styles and [NCAA] athletic certification. A lot of us were on those early certification teams that went out that were headed up by presidents. I got to know 4-5 presidents just through that, so you knew them one-on-one. (Chris interview, March 2006)

Chris also noted that the NCAA athletic certification is also quite different today, "they've changed that process now...that has all changed" (2006). These changes impact networking for women among university presidents and reduce the opportunities presidents have to see women as leaders in athletics. Melanie recalls how helpful those experiences were for her early in her career,

> As a young woman, got to sit there and we knew everybody. We'd see faces and really get to know each other, and took a vote on each one. Now the convention, I didn't even go last year. [A former AD] called me the other day because he is doing a lot of consulting and stuff and [an institution] is looking for an AD, DIAA or AAA, [and said], "I just really need some young, energetic up and coming [candidates]." I don't know them anymore. It's sad. (interview, February 2006)

This role initiated by the NCAA wasn't solely to increase women in NCAA governance. It also gave women a role at the institutional level, "My generation in particular, in the early and late 80s, [there were] a lot of hires" (Kim interview, February 2006). However, this mainly occurred because women's sports were not viewed very highly, but that has changed. According to Karen, initially the men athletic directors weren't interested in oversight of women's athletics,

> [When] the NCAA took over women's championships, athletic directors didn't want anything to do with women. Here is where the SWAs came in, [he men ADs said] "here you take the these teams." Then what started to happen was, "we like these women's teams." They are good students, [current AD] loves our women's teams. (interview, February 2006)

Today, the SWA role, patterned after the subordinate strategy used by women leaders during coeducation, has lost some of its initial benefits. In the era of gender equity, this strategy of accepting a subordinate position within a male-dominated governance structure initially created more opportunities for women leaders, but in recent years the role has posed several dilemmas for women athletic leaders. First, it has positioned the SWA as the *only* woman administrator, if any in the senior management team. Second, the SWA is an important position for Title IX oversight. Third, women leaders are positioned in caretaking units, but this in combination with the SWA role, can limit their access to the AD chair. Fourth, the SWA is seen as an advocate for women in the department, which creates a fine line for the SWA to navigate. The designation of the SWA at the NCAA governance level has created a highly inconspicuous, intricate web of conflicting roles that women in senior athletic administration must navigate at the institutional level. The advocacy responsibility and perception, oversight of student-athlete welfare, and the responsibility for Title IX oversight, combined with the effect of creating complacency after one woman is named, further inhibit the individual efforts of women leaders to advance in intercollegiate athletic administration. However, simply doing away with the role is not something the women in this study see as a solution for infusing more women into the leadership pipeline or structures.

Since the combined arrangement under NCAA governance in 1982, there have been a total of 16 athletic directors and 8 senior woman administrators (SWAs) among the five institutions in this study. Athletic director tenure periods range from an average

of 11 to 5 years since Title IX passed in 1972.[77] The length of time for senior woman administrators in these institutions parallel those trends since the SWA role was initiated in 1982. However, the difference between the turnover in athletic directors and the turnover in SWAs at each institution, is that since 1982, of the 16 athletic director searches none of them have been internal hires – athletic directors have left other posts as senior associate athletic directors or athletic directors at other institutions when there has been a vacancy. SWA roles have most often been appointed from within an institution. Although the athletic directors that the SWAs in this study have reported to throughout their careers are rather stable, the women leaders in those departments have been even more stable and less mobile than the athletic directors at their institutions.

The SWA – The Sole Woman Administrator?

The senior woman administrator designation has positioned the SWA as the *only* woman administrator, if any, in the senior management team. More specifically, it is usually a white woman, a situation with which many institutions are satisfied. This complacency is described by Melanie, Kim, and Beth, "If there is one woman on the senior administration team, then "I think at a lot of schools, they are happy" (Melanie interview, February 2006).

> Here's the worst part, heaven forbid we have two women at the senior level. I've filled my SWA role, I got that done. Now I can go out and hire these males my African-American or white, because I've got my SWA role. Oh my goodness, two? Rarely, in any athletic department do you have two high level females and where you see it is if the AD is female, then you see it. (Kim interview, February 2006)

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[77] Among the five institutions in the study, athletic directors averaged, 10, 11, 11, 6, and 5 years at each institution since the passage of Title IX.

> I think of a lot of institutions, [say] ok, we've got our one woman, that's all we need. Where people should be looking to number one hire the best people available, number two to have diversity in their staff, because it strengthens all of us. But there is sure a heck of a lot of institutions, that you don't see that kind of diversity, you have the one woman, and ok, we've fulfilled our commitment now, we've got our one woman, let's move on. (Beth interview, February 2006)

The SWA designation also makes women vulnerable to changes in athletic directors. Institutions have the choice of hiring another woman into the senior administration from the outside or assigning the role of SWA to the next highest-ranking woman in the organization. If there is a change in athletic directors, they may bring in their own SWA. All three of these scenarios are common. What results is a shifting a few women around from institution to institution, keeping only one woman on the senior management team, rather than pulling more women into the senior team. Melanie pointed out that even as shifts occur at an institution, the positions at the top are relatively stable. Women in senior associate athletic director positions have not been as mobile – either by choice or not being selected as athletic directors. However, it is not uncommon now for an athletic director to bring additional staff with him, including a senior woman administrator. If there is a vacancy Melanie said, "hopefully, [a woman] gets pulled up [into senior administration], but he could just be bringing his woman [SWA] too" (interview, February 2006). This is coupled with the fact schools can just give the SWA role to the next highest woman without elevating her to senior administration; therefore, the requirement has been fulfilled. "That's why at lot of places, when the SWA leaves, they are just elevating somebody internally…instead of going out and trying to find one of the top women administrators in the county" (Beth interview, February 2006).

Designating the SWA role initially created a place at the table for women, but it now has created an integral role that can only be filled by a woman. This has created a situation where women at the senior level are only seen as SWAs – not senior associate athletic directors.

The SWA and Title IX

Institutions are responsible for compliance with Title IX, but the often has SWA has the responsibility of bringing Title IX issues to the attention of the department. Although SWAs are not individually responsible, the woman with that SWA designation often works under the direction of the institution's EEO office to monitor Title IX and supervise the institution's NCAA gender equity plan. The women in this study did not have to fight directly for Title IX issues, largely because the biggest battles had been fought by the previous generation. However, being the only woman on the senior management team and the SWA responsibility of being watchful of gender equity issues, contributes to the complexity of leadership roles for women. Karen expressed how it is not as difficult today as it was for the generation before her,

> I mean it was tough going - my generation, I felt it to a certain degree, but [predecessor]'s generation, really felt it. They really fought the battles, but it wasn't easy. It's still not easy. Still people don't want to hear it. In some ways though I've changed because, women athletes are having the most terrific experience they can have. (interview, February 2006)

Even though it is better today in terms of Title IX compliance and equity for women student-athletes at the institution in this study, it is still not easy. There are some issues for women student-athletes that the role of SWA is the designated point of oversight.

However, being the only woman at the table creates an additional obligation for women leaders. Beth spoke of the burden of having to make tough decisions or raise issues,

> We are not all going to like each other, but I'm at least going to get my point across. Sometimes, I feel like, I should have done, more. I did this and I did this, you get frustrated, because you are caught between that I don't always want to go to work and fight a conflict battle day in and day out, but I also don't let all these people down that are looking up to you. Because guess what, there is only one of you. (interview, February 2006)

Being the only woman and feeling the obligation to carry the burden of gender equity is subtle but draining for women leaders,

> You know after you spend so many years that you are the only woman, no matter, all the people I've always worked with have been good people, but its a grind, it wears on you, because you are usually the person with a different point of view or so you are always playing these mental games, should I speak up, should I keep quiet, how important is this? Is this worth fighting about? (Beth interview, February 2006)

Kim spoke of instances of being the only woman on the senior team and the only person with a different perspective. Even though the athletic directors and other administrators on the senior team are very supportive of gender equity and respectful of differences in her department, there is a palpable effect of gender,

> I think it is very unconscious because I did see it in [former AD] and [another former AD]. Even though, I would say things and they would say, 'that is so not true' and I'm like, alright, whatever, I'm not saying that because I'm a woman, I'm saying that because that is what I see… maybe it is because I'm a woman. (interview, February 2006)

As the SWA role has evolved, the responsibility has shifted from the obvious Title IX issues to subtle differences within the overall program. Although all members of the

senior staff are responsible for Title IX compliance, including the athletic director, the SWA position still assumes a lot of this responsibility.

> I used to be quite a crusader, and it hurts you professionally, [but] it is my responsibility. It came up just the other day we were talking about a program [issue]. [I said], "we have an equity issue here." It is my job to do that, the problem is you have to have good working relationships, because otherwise you get pigeonholed and I've seen it. It has happened to me as sort of the rebel, the person carrying, it's hard. It's a burden for women to carry it and they shouldn't [have to] carry it. (Chris interview, February 2006).

Even though the burden of fighting for Title IX compliance has not been the same for the insider generation that it was for the repioneering generation, the responsibility of the SWA role while being the only woman at the table has created a narrow path for women leaders who want to advance. If a woman is too vocal about Title IX she is seen as only concerned about women's issues if she is not speaking up enough about Title IX then she not fulfilling her SWA responsibility.

The SWA as Compliance Director

Women leaders are hard pressed to avoid the caretaking units such as academic support and compliance within the athletic department, but responsibility for these areas can advance woman leader into the senior team as the SWA. Once designated with that role, the caretaking units can direct women on a career path as far as a senior associate athletic director, but not to the athletic director role. In this sense, the SWA may increasingly disadvantage women leaders as individuals if athletic departments are highly compartmentalized in how responsibilities are designated among the senior staff. Chris noted that the SWA role combined with supervising other department units, makes it more difficult for women to advance. "I think it can be a disadvantage, depending on how

you are pigeon-holed in your institution. For example, if your only experience is overseeing women's sports or in the traditional women's roles of academics or compliance or something like that, it can be a disadvantage" (interview, February 2006).

Kim was aware of this, when her department asked her to oversee academics during her department's reorganization,

> Our assistant AD for academics left and they asked me to take over academics. I fought them like crazy. I did not want to do it, because I just thought, you might as well put me in my coffin in terms of my career path, because women don't become ADs very often and nobody becomes an AD from the academic area. You're putting a skirt on me is what you are doing. (interview, February 2006)

The analogy of the "skirt" is a powerful symbol. This signals that the work of caring for athletes in the department is only the domain of women and therefore, caretaking work of the department does not prepare or promote advancement into leadership.

Karen also worked in academic support and explained how this can develop into a career in advising, whereas compliance has been a path to more decision-making roles as SWAs for women.

> I think when you are in academics, you stay in there because you truly, you really like that. When you go into compliance, you'll notice a lot of SWAs, a majority will oversee compliance in manner or form, or they have come up through the ranks in compliance. Of the ten women that I was on (the NCAA) committee with, at least seven of them did compliance directly, came up through compliance, or oversee compliance. (interview, February 2006)

Although compliance is seen as less as gender-specific work, it is not a viable path for athletic leadership preparation or advancement. However, compliance in combination with the SWA role only creates short-term advancement for women leaders. Beth noted the increase of women administering or overseeing compliance since the rise of the

SWA. "What's happened in the last decade, the last 15 years, more and more SWAs are doing compliance, they are not necessarily at the decision-making table" (interview, February 2006). Chris also cited an example of the trap that compliance can create for anyone who wants become an athletic director,

> We had a young woman who had worked with us as an intern and she worked with the NCAA and she was in compliance. We had a compliance position open and she took that position and actually I advised her to really think about it...it's real easy to get pigeon-holed into compliance. For both males and females. If you look at whose getting athletic director's jobs, its not compliance people. (interview, February 2006)

Beth pointed out specifically why compliance creates a difficult path to the athletic director chair,

> Women that are in compliance aren't going to be ADs...you might get some of the management over here in compliance, but you're not managing coaches. Most of them will have compliance and they are overseeing some Olympic sport coaches. You got to be at the table for TV negotiations, you got to be at the table for making important business decisions. You've got to be at the table looking at facilities. (interview, February 2006).

The SWA role and responsibility for compliance *will* position women at the decision-making table, but not in the important external areas of managing money and coaches related to men's football and basketball that are essential for advancement.

"My SWA" – The Senior Woman ***Advocate***

The role of the SWA is often seen as an advocate for women student-athletes and staff and promoted as such by the NCAA. This is another delicate balance to navigate for women athletic leaders. Too much advocacy for women and women's programs by a woman athletic leader, especially when framed in terms of Title IX is viewed negatively. "Crusading" as Chris described it, limits a woman's advancement within an institution's

athletic leadership. However, the need for providing a safe haven and an open door for anyone in the department who has a question or a concern that might relate to a women's issue is still needed. Chris noted, "as new people are coming in from other institutions, that have had different experiences as coaches of women's sports they see me as their advocate and I really didn't appreciate that until we started to have some turnover in our coaching positions." This is true not for only women student-athletes, coaches, and staff, but for men who coach women's teams or work with women student-athletes. According to Kim,

> For whatever reason if it is sexual, we have quite a few female coaches, but we have quite a few male coaches that supervise female students, they don't know how to address that either, so they will come to me. Staff members that are female and are having a problem with their supervisor who happens to be a male, or is it a higher level than they are, equal to me or lower than me, they would come to me. (interview, February 2006)

Navigating the territory of creating a source of women's advocacy and providing a safe place for mentoring and problem solving, while still being taken seriously as a senior associate athletic administrator, is a difficult one. Chris, Melanie, and Karen all spoke to this issue:

> Earlier in my career, problems came up and you want to solve all the problems well, it took me longer than it should have, but it didn't take me long to figure out, you can't solve everybody's problem, so I focus on how I can help people deal with their own issues and to attack them and present them and talk about them and those kinds of things. But they say things like "my SWA" like I'm a possession of theirs so its a phenomenon I can't even say I understand. (Chris interview, February 2006)

> What I despise, is being introduced as the senior women's administrator. I want to be the senior associate director of athletics. I don't want to be a senior woman administrator, and that clarification is not clearly out there. The other day we had an event and men's basketball coach said, "here's (colleague), senior associate administrator." They don't even know what a senior woman administrator is but ...its always on everything, so they get

> up at their banquets and they say, "I want to thank [Melanie], our senior woman's administrator." But I'm not, I'm your senior associate AD. (Melanie interview, February 2006)

Karen just avoids using the term when she can, "I think that is why the senior woman administrator title, a number of women don't use it. I rarely use it because it pigeon holes you" (2006). While there is definitely a need for an advocate and a safe place for women student-athletes and staff, balancing the caretaking role of the SWA and the leadership role on the senior management team creates a complicated position for women leaders. The SWA role creates a symbol and perception of women only as caretakers, rather than as decision-makers.

Creating A Path For Women Leaders: More Than Picking Up The Baton

"Unfortunately, if you're a woman in athletics... you have to do it better than anyone else."

Karen, senior associate athletic administrator & SWA

With each generation of women leaders left to break new ground, combined with the demands of leadership in intercollegiate athletics, there are few individual resources available to maintain the pathway for the next generation of women leaders. The analogy of the huddle is useful to describe women athletic leaders and the barriers of the old boys network. The analogy of passing the baton in a relay race is useful to describe the breakdown from one generation to the next since the decline of the separate-spheres and women-designated professions in higher education. There was a brief window between the repioneering generation to the insider generation in which the baton was passed at some institutions more easily from one woman leader to the next. According to Melanie,

> I definitely think that is over. I have no idea who will take my spot. Back then it was very clear who was going to take over. It was very clear. You don't see that now.....There was so few of us back then, I was it. I was [her predecessor's] assistant. (interview, February 2006)

For women who have the ambition to move to the senior associate level, two problems converge – there are more women in the assistant and associate ranks and they are more distant from the women in the senior associate level roles. At Melanie's institution, their department struggles with this dilemma for all of their staff, but she is particularly concerned about the loss of the connection between generations of women,

> There are 5 of them, but I can't mentor (them all). Before, it used to be obvious, there was one woman and she was going to move here. Now there are 5 of them and I have to spread it out....I can't take one over the other....I can't pick between one of them because then I'm treating one unfairly. (interview, February 2006)

However, handing off the baton, especially through the SWA role, from one woman to one woman is not enough. With the growth of athletic departments and organizational structures there are more women than ever positioned in the assistant and associate ranks.

Conclusion

If senior associate athletic director role is the stepping-stone to becoming an athletic director, then the women in this study are well positioned with both the skills and leadership experience required for the job of athletic director. However, the SWA role complicates the distribution of external area responsibilities essential to being selected as an athletic director. The shift toward the internal, caretaking responsibilities initiated in part by the SWA role creates a real dilemma for this designation. Two women in this study characterize this dilemma in a striking way. All of the women interviewed for this study are part of the insider generation, but, two women in the study are unique because

they have sustained their status as true insiders for most of their careers.[78] For different reasons and circumstances, both women have been involved with the highest level of management in the athletic department at their institution, even as changes in staff and organizational structures have occurred. It was at different points in their careers that they leveraged the SWA role to ensure that seat at the table and ward off threats to their true insider status. Both attribute their initial insider status to athletic directors and university leaders who took an interest in them early on or recognized their status within the department and "pulled them up". This positioned them to remain in those insider seats and continue to move up by giving them opportunities for learning skills and meeting the people that would reinforce their status in those roles.

Kim notes out that later in her career, without the SWA designation that insider seat may have been compromised when there was a change in athletic directors. She notes,

> In the first year [of a previous AD's] tenure, [the AD] made a lot of changes in the department...and I was promoted to SWA....There is no doubt in my mind that I would not be a senior associate, it I wasn't a woman, no doubt. Not under the leadership that was here formerly. (interview, February 2006)

For Kim, she was part of the department's leadership team, but she was at the associate level. Without the SWA designation, she would have lost her insider status. Under the new department structure with the change in athletic directors, she would not have been promoted to the senior associate level. This is an important promotion because it positioned her to work with football and university presidents that she otherwise would not have had. These contacts and responsibilities combined with her previous insider

[78] For a full discussion of the variation in insider status, see Chapter Six of this dissertation.

work set her up to be a strong athletic director candidate if she chose to apply for those positions. Without the SWA designation it is uncertain whether she would have achieved senior associate level status and experience critical for becoming an athletic director.

Kim's example is particularly poignant. It underscores the fact that individual women are much more vulnerable to circumstances around them, regardless of their job responsibilities. This that can greatly impact their access to opportunities that would position them to be recognized as strong candidates in an athletic director search. The SWA designation is an inadequate tool to create a sustainable pool of qualified women candidates. To advance more women to the senior associate level and increase the pool of potential athletic director candidates will require several simultaneous initiatives that distribute the burden of building a sustainable, renewable path for more women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. The results from the analysis provide some rich examples for how institutions and organizations can bring an end to the "pioneering" necessary for each successive generation of women leaders and make women less vulnerable to administrative change. These recommendations include institution-based strategies and association-based strategies. Recommendations that address how organizations can position greater numbers of women for the athletic director chair are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT
Conclusion

> As a girl, when I watched men pass the pigskin, pitch the curveball, perfect the jumpshot, I understood that they were playing war. What I didn't understand was that it wasn't just a stupid ball in they held in their hands, but the whole world being tossed from man to man – like a game of keep away. From me. (Dixie Gibbs in *Balls)*[79]

In the years following Title IX, the previously separate men's and women's athletic programs moved into the same department, then later combined into one department. This merger left the position of the women's athletic director behind, with the men's leadership assuming control of the combined programs by the early 1980s. Today, at the most visible, prestigious National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I level, women make up only 9.3 percent of the athletic directors (Carpenter and Acosta 2006; Lapchick 2003).

However, this merger was more than just a combining of programs to comply with the law. Women student-athletes and a few of their mentors wanted the facilities and resources to pursue their sport at the highest level. Many women wanted a women-led

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[79] Dixie Gibbs is a character in the fictional story of the sweetheart of the star high school and college quarterback who becomes his wife as he embarks on a career of college football coaching. *Balls* by Nancy Kincaid, Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1998. In a particularly pointed example, Nancy Kincaid captures the theme of respect in a powerful way. "It was not by accident that God created the world in the shape of a ball. I came to understand that early. All the men in my life imitated God in this way by making small worlds of their own out of balls. I never know boys who dreamed of building skyscrapers, or campaigning for justice or making music, or scalpeling into human flesh to repair hearts. Nothing like that. The boys I knew dreamed of one thing – balls. Getting them across the goal line, pitching them over the plate, sinking them into the hoop, putting them into the hole. As a girl, when I watched men pass the pigskin, pitch the curveball, perfect the jumpshot, I understood that they were playing war. What I didn't understand was that it wasn't just a stupid ball in they held in their hands, but the whole world being tossed from man to man – like a game of keep away. From me."

and women-controlled model of women's intercollegiate sports. The women of the re-pioneering generation, regardless of their perspective fought for women's athletics and many paid a heavy price. These women had to "repioneer" – create a new model for women's college sport and women's leadership on their campus. Although they were brought into the model of the spectator-based men's program and given the role of SWA – it was not enough to promote women into athletic director positions. Women in the repioneering generation of Title IX rarely achieved insider status.

Intercollegiate athletics is a highly complex social institution with an equally complex reaction to gender and ethnicity (Stagl and Kane 1991; Tiell 2003). Women's participation has exploded since Title IX passed into law, but women leaders have been highly vulnerable to the spectator-oriented leadership model and have yet to achieve a critical mass or integral role of leadership within it (Estler and Nelson 2005). Unlike other examples of sport, intercollegiate athletics is embedded in the context of higher education and highly sensitive to the interrelationships between athletics and higher education.

This chapter summarizes the arguments and empirical data that help explain why there are so few women in intercollegiate athletics leadership today and presents recommendations that emerge from the investigation and limitations of the study. Therefore, this chapter is organized as follows: 1) *Title IX and Women in Athletic Leadership*, summarizes the three arguments that underlie and inform the empirical investigation, 2) *Positioning Women Leaders for the Athletic Director Chair*, presents four recommendations based on the empirical investigation, 3) *Limitations and Suggestions for Future Study*, evaluates the limits of the study and the direction for

continuing this line of inquiry, 4) *Conclusion: Inside the Huddle*, presents the significance of taking a post-structuralist and higher education view of women's leadership in intercollegiate athletics.

Title IX and Women in Athletic Leadership

This dissertation asks two questions about the influence of Title IX on women leaders that create tensions in the relationship between the individual leader, her athletic department, and her institution. First, why are there are so few prominent female intercollegiate athletics leaders today? Second, how does Title IX policy affect women's participation in intercollegiate athletic roles? Three arguments begin to address these two questions and provide a framework to evaluate the perspective of women leaders today:

1. Historical Analysis of Women In Higher Education Leadership
2. Existing Literature on the Current Status of Women in Athletic Leadership
3. Title IX and Women Leaders In Athletics

Together, these arguments make three claims. First, women are not new to leadership in higher education. The strategies that were essential in the coeducation climate were not effective with the shift toward gender equity and mandated equality after Title IX. Second, without the strategies that were effective during coeducation, individual leaders were left to overcome organizational and cultural barriers to athletic leadership alone; this left women leaders with less access than men to leadership roles. Third, higher education uses women's athletics to counter the commercial, spectator-oriented men's model of college football and men's basketball. This further marginalizes

women leaders into the caretaking roles, rather than the decision-making and leadership roles of college sports.

Positioning Women Leaders for the Athletic Director Chair

Women have yet to advance to the athletic director chair in substantial numbers, particularly at the Division I level. The path to the senior associate level in athletic administration has narrowed to the internal area of day-to-day operations for women. In addition, the connection has deteriorated between the insider generation and the next generation of women leaders. The SWA designation has created a climate where having only one woman at the senior associate level further limits the pool of potential women candidates who are positioned to advance to the athletic director chair. To widen the path to the senior associate level and reconnect the handoff between generations, a multilevel, holistic approach that simultaneously changes perceptions of athletic leadership, particularly in the minds of search committee members and university presidents, is needed. Opportunities that position women at the decision-making table must be differentiated between institutional level, conference, and NCAA levels. Across all these levels women must gain access to responsibility with football and basketball operations and issues that position women leaders with university presidents. To change perceptions of athletic leadership and promote more women to the athletic director position, four suggestions are presented:

1. Create athletic department reporting structures and conference responsibilities that position women at the decision-making table with university presidents and oversight of football and men's basketball.

Higher education and athletic departments are highly fluid organizations. Responsibilities at the senior associate athletic director level should be based on the strengths of the individuals occupying those positions and reporting lines that provide the most consistency to student-athletes and coaches in the entire program. Continuous attention must be paid to insuring that men and women at the senior associate level have both a balance of internal and external program responsibilities. In addition, women must assume significant and substantial opportunities with university presidents at the conference and NCAA levels and they should contribute to the management of football and men's basketball at the institutional level. The SWA is a leveraging point for women to chairing football and basketball coaching searches, representing the athletic department at campus meetings with Deans and Vice-Presidents (future university presidents), and at institutional, conference, and NCAA activities that involve university presidents.

2. Reduce the reliance on search firms to generate the pool of the most qualified candidates.

University Presidents select athletic directors from among a group of finalists that emerge from a search process. The use of search firms has grown in popularity to provide confidentiality for candidates and provide institutional support to staff the search. Presidents and search committees must be educated about the tradeoffs between the veil of confidentiality that protects interested candidates and the homologous reproduction to

which these firms contribute. If used, search firms should not be relied on exclusively to generate the list of potential candidates or contact applicants. The use of other trusted intermediaries until the details of the finalist pool are made public to supplement institutional resources and staffing to provide the same confidentiality. Independent groups such as NACWAA, the NCAA's Office for Diversity and Inclusion (ODI), and conference level SWAs and other liaisons should be relied on more often to suggest the most qualified potential applicants and work directly with candidates during the confidential application stage. Off-site interviews and smaller search committees can also promote candidate confidentiality.

3. Educate university presidents of the roles and demands of intercollegiate athletic leadership and the skills necessary to meet these demands.

University presidents choose the athletic director. However, women in this study felt that university presidents are not universal in their understanding of the complexity of athletic leadership and the skills required to manage high profile coaches and raise money. University presidents must be educated about the role and relationship between athletics and higher education presidents and the skills required to raise money and manage coaches. In addition, the athletic department is highly complex, and the criteria to successfully accomplish these tasks this should not be limited to demonstrated experience only in the external area. By ignoring leaders in the internal area who possess the same and equally viable skill-set necessary for those two components, an entire group of potential finalists are either not in the pool or seriously considered.

4. Continue offering leadership programs specific to women that foster skill development, but include specific programming for early career women at these seminars to interact with senior level women athletic leaders.

Given the deterioration between generations of women leaders at the institutional level, the women-led, women-specific leadership institutes are still important for the development of early career women leaders. Leading athletic organization is too complex to simply expect that skills and professional development for any future leader can only be acquired on-the-job. Women at the assistant and associate level are too distant in the organizational hierarchy and women at the senior associate level cannot be expected to mentor all of the women on her staff. However, existing programming at the national conference level, such as the HERS Institute and NCAA Leadership Institutes, can be fostered across generations. Early career leaders need opportunities to learn from women currently in the field, but more importantly, the insider generation needs opportunities to get to know these women so that they can actively "pull them up" whether by nominating them for open positions or conference and NCAA-based committees in each of the five areas integral to insider status. Intergenerational, facilitated programming should be designed to help women leaders plan career paths and give next generation women leaders NCAA and conference level work with university presidents, strategies at the campus level for assuming responsibility of managing coaches, and oversight of football at their home institution.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study has focused on a specific set of barriers to the dilemma of women in athletic leadership – the interrelationships between women leaders and their

administrative units and their institutions, and the influence of Title IX policy on these interrelationships. This research has looked at three influences – historical, individual skills and organizational barriers, and the relationship between athletics and higher education that shuffles women toward caretaking roles rather than decision-making roles. However, several important elements have not been examined directly, but are integral to these themes.

This research has not addressed the element of sexual orientation and transgendered status, childcare and family responsibility, and assumptions about masculinity in sport and higher education that present additional barriers to women's participation in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. These are important considerations in the examination of why there are so few women leaders today. However, these issues are deeply embedded in this work in three ways. First, this research is sensitive to social constructions of gender hat are translated into proxies for power in access to leadership positions. The sensitivity to ethnicity and gender in the post-structural perspective is also extended to sexual orientation in how women and men are presented in this dissertation, but homosexuality and lesbianism are not directly addressed in the question of why there are so few women leaders and the impact of Title IX policy. This is an issue that warrants further investigation.

Second, childcare and family responsibilities, choices, and tradeoffs that predominately fall to women were raised by participants in each interview, but not developed in this analysis. Regardless of marriage or partner status, family responsibilities are integral to the questions under investigation and are important locations to continue this research. Coaching in particular used to provide an important

stepping stone to athletic leadership, but with the transformation of women's sport to the spectator-oriented model, the combination of coaching *and recruiting* required to be successful at the Division I level is particularly problematic for women trying to balance family responsibilities. This effect of Title IX policy has been investigated within the coaching ranks (Drago 2005). The impact of Title IX on the promotion of women coaches into athletic administration is not clear.

Third, the disconnection of women's physical education from the feminist movement in the 1960s resonates in subtle ways today. The fear of women athletic leaders to be seen as feminists and the reluctance of academic feminists to view sport only as a culture of masculinity warrant a contemporary investigation (Estler and Nelson 2005).

Finally, this research has not included the view of potential women leaders of the next generation, who are in the assistant and associate points in the pipeline, nor has it brought in the view of women who are student-athletes today about their perceptions of the athletic leadership pipeline. This view from the top does not incorporate the perspective from the next-generation of women leaders. Important in understanding the low number of women athletic leaders today is the socialization as athletes that the repioneering and insider generations experienced. As young athletes and in their early careers, women leaders of the repioneering and insider generations learned to "play with the boys" – for many of them there were few opportunities for these women to play sports during their childhood with other girls. Chris described this," I spent my youth playing with the boys and then, when I was coming through, if you were a woman interested in sports, there was really only one thing for you to be and that was a PE

teacher. That's how we all started out, actually that's how most of the men started out, too" (February 2006). The women of the repioneering generation first were often the only girl on the block playing sports, then they were the only woman in the room leading sports. From a very early age they learned how to be 'the one' or 'the only' woman.[80] The Insider Generation grew up playing with boys as children, but later had teams of they're own in college on the cusp of Title IX. Still, they too were often accustomed to being the only woman in their department or at their level. Beth noted, "You got to be at the table for TV negotiations, you got to be at the table for making important business decisions. You've got to be at the table looking at facilities...When I...was (on NCAA) men's committees. I couldn't get them to go shopping with me, they played golf, I had to play golf. If I was going to be with them, I had to be with them. You gotta be at the table if you are going to be an AD." This significant aspect of women in athletic leadership is important to investigate further with the Next Generation – the socialization from early in childhood of learning to "play with the boys." It isn't known if the access gained by Title IX to highly competitive all-girls teams in childhood and high school in combination with men as coaches, creates a standard in sports by which the early career women of today are left unprepared for being the only woman around the table.

Conclusion: Inside the Huddle

> University athletics became, particularly with the 1920s, a form of public entertainment, which is not unknown even in the 1960s, even in the Ivy League. Once started, university spectator sports could not be killed even by the worst of teams or the best of de-emphasis; and few universities sought seriously after either. (Kerr 2001, 12)

[80] Chris used these terms to describe women in athletics, but also in reference to university leadership.

> Reducing Title IX to a fight between men and women or between federal bureaucrats and higher education overlooks the legitimate desires of women athletes to be treated equally. (Lazerson and Wagner 1996, 52)

During the rise of coeducation, women leaders used the strategies of superperformance, subordination, innovation, and separatism to create women-led professions within higher education. These strategies served women leaders well until the gender equity era instigated by the women's movement, by mandate with the passage of Title IX. Across the campus many women's departments and organizations combined with the men's organizations or were re-organized under men's programs. In athletics, the takeover of the AIAW by the NCAA after Title IX led to the senior woman administrator (SWA) role. The effect of the SWA has been creating a single slot for women inside the athletic leadership model, based on a standard in intercollegiate sports created by college football over 100 years ago. However, women have only had access to this athletic leadership model since 1982. Given the breakdown between generations of women leaders in the shift from coeducation to gender equity and how institutions use the spectator-oriented sport of football to garner power and prestige, waiting for another generation of women to come up through the ranks is simply not enough to create more opportunity for women to rise to the senior administration level. It is this level, the senior administration team of athletic directors and senior associate athletic directors that comprise the core of athletic leadership – the huddle.

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