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ABSTRACT
This paper outlines some of the issues related to equal opportunity for wosen in sports, gives examples of some situations that might have to be reassessed, and discusses sone of the alternatives that are being proposed. Emphnsis is placed on: the edncational value of sport; attitudes toward woren in sport; the legal mandate for equality for women in noncompetitive programs; what constitutes eguality for women, in competitive athletics; single sex teams vs. ixed teams in competitive athletics; the funding of competitive athletic programs; separate-but-equal administrative structures in athletic and physical education defartments, and governing associations; and what constitutes equality for women employees in sports. (HJM)

# WHAT CONSTITUTES EQUALITY FOR WOMEN IN SPORT? <br> -- FEDERAL LAW PUTS WOMEN IN THE RUNNING -- 

# PREPARED BY THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN 

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## THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF SPORT

Host people bolieve, to some extent at least, that there is a complementary relationshlp between a healthy $m$ Ind and a healthy body. Throughout the ages many phllosophers have malntained that vigorous physlcal activity bullds character and develops citizenship. as well as contributing to physical well-being. But, according to sports Illustrated, thls reasoning has not been applled equally for women and men:

Sports may be good for people, but they are consldeted a lot gooder [slc] for male people than for female people. 3

The Victorlan Image of women as physically weak led most early educators to downplay physical actlvity for women. It was the women's colleges .- Vassar, Wellesley, Goucher -- which first encouraged wormen to engage in vigorous exerclse, apparently on the theory that women could do their best mental work only if it were balanced by physical activity. Also, the founders of these colleges felt that it was necessary to disprove clalms that women did not have the physical abllity or stamina needed for a college education. ${ }^{4}$

Sport and athletic programs for women have traditionally focused on Instruction and Ilfetime sports. In general, competitive athletic programs have grown out of physical education programs. Much of the tradition for men in sport and athletic programs, however, has been tled to competitive a<hletic programs. Although these two traditions are not necessarlly contradictory, they have of tentimes led to the development of programs for women and men which are strikingly different. This paper attempts to address issues of concern to people interested in sport, no matter what their specific orientation.

## ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN IN SPORT

Athletics is a sensitive issue for many people. Because athletics reflect cultural norms, they have tended to perpetuate sex stereotypes and myths about what is "rlght" for men and what is "right" for women. Ken are "supposed to be" strong and asgressive, both physically and emotionally, while women are "supposed to be" weak and passive. Yomen have not been encouraged to particlpate in athletics at least partly because the tralts assoclated with athletic excellence -- achievement, self-confldence, aggressiveness, leadership, strength, swiftness -are of ten seen as being in "contradiction" with the role of women. As a Connecticut judge stated in a 1971 decision that denied women the rlght to participate on a cross country team:

The present generation of our younger male population has not become so decadent that boys will experlence a thrlll in defeating girls in running contests, whether the girls be members of thelr own team or an adversary team... Athletic competition bullds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow.... 5

Jack Scott, former Athletic Director at Oberlin College, camented on the attitude towards women in athletic circles:

As any male athlete knows, there is nothing worse than being called "feminine" when he makes a mistake in athletics, especlally in a contact sport....[M]ale athletes from 12 -year old klds to 36 -year old professlona! football players have had tears brought to their eyes by that kind of "condemnatlon. 16

In contrast, comparing a female athleto to a man is seen by many as the highest compliment. When the coach of Mickl King, one of the finest divers in the world, wanted to compllment her:
[He]...made the remark that she dives like a man.... So quite clearly, what Micki King did was dive correctly; and this was labeled the 'masculine way.י"7

Attitudes such as these are difficult to overcome. Sometimes women compare the discrimination that they have faced in sport to the discrimination that blacks have faced. Althoigh these two types of discrimination are obvifusly not identical, there are sone slmilarities. Just as men's teans have refused to compete with wornen, white teams once refused to compete wlth blacks.

Hyths die slowly. Although some socleties have encouraged women in sport more than others, there have always been vigorous women. The great bull-leaplng acrobats of the Minoan culture were women. Etruscan and Spartan momen and men tralned together. Egyptlan and Greek legends credit women with the inventlon of ball games. Henry vit complained of the expense of keepling Anne 8 cileyn in archery equlpment. 8

The attitudes that people have about momen in sport influence the total athletic opportunities that are avallable to women - the funding of thelr programs, the adequacy of their facilites and equlpment, the employment conditions of thelr teachers and coaches, etc.

## THE LEGAL MANDATE FOR EQUALITY•FOR WOMEN STUDENTS IN SPORT

The legal mandate for equal atifietic opportunity regardless of sex comes from title ix of the Education Amendments of 1972. The key section of Title 1 X , which became effective on July 1, 1972, reads:

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 ariy educatlonal program or actlvity recelving Federal financlal assistance. 9

All educational institutions which receive any federal money are covered by the anti-discrimination provisions of title IX. Virtually every college and university receives some form of federal financlal assistance. Although there are some exemptlons from non-discriminatory admissions, Title $1 X$ requires all educational Institutions to provide equal opportunlties to their students regardless of sex once they are admitted.
-
The Implications of Title ix for the issue of equality in sport (as well as for a varlety of other issues) are considerable. 10 Interestingly, although the Education Anendments Act was halled is Iendmark education legisiation, the sex discrimination prohibitions were generally lgnored by the press and little noted by the educatlonal commanity.

Title ix empowers the government to withdraw funds, debar institutions from eligibility for future funds and to bring sult against institutions which discriminate agalnst students or employees on the basis of sex. The enforcement provisions of Title ix are patterned after those of Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination against the beneficlaries of federal monies (students) on the basis of race, color or natlonal origin. Title IX (IIke Title VI) is enforced b: the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Charges of discrimination may be brought by writing to the HEW Secretary, specifyling the nature of the discrimination.

Although (as of April 1974) the Implementing regulations were not issued, Title ix has been in effect since July 1972. HEW's office for Civil Rights, which has Jurisdictlonal power over title ix, had not fully decided (as of Aprll 1974) exactly how Title ix would apply to some aspects of sports and athletic programs. Cespite this, a number of complaints of sex discrimination in sport and other areas have already been filed. For example, women students have filed complaints of sex discrimination agalnst the University of Michlgan and the University of Wisconsin concerning the athletic and sports programs.

Prior to the enactment of Title $1 x$, charges of discrimination in sports programs could only be brought under the Equal Protection Clause of the fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Perhaps the most common challenge under the fourteenth Amendment has been by women who were, prohibited from participating on "male" teams by the rules or regulations of an athletic conference or assoclation. If In most tnstances, there were no parallel female teams. In all probability many future complaints of sex discrimination in sport will be brought under both fitle ix and the Fourteenth Amendment.

The existence of state laws, or rules and regulations of an athletic association, which permit or require Jifferent treatment based on sex is not a defense to charges bro:ght elther under ilitle ix or the fourteenth Amendment. In accordance with the concept of federal supremacy, the obllgation to comply with federal law supercedes' the obligation to comply with state law or regulations of private assoclations (such as athletic assoclations or conferences).

Federal law does not presume to dictate what specific philosophy or practices an i-stitution must follow concerning sport. This is an educational decision which belongs to those who formulate educatlonal pollcy at an

Institution. Federal law does regulre, however, that once a philosophy or practice is determined, it be applied equally regardiess of sex and that it not have a disproport Tonate Impact on one sex.

It would be equally legal, for example, for a college to have no competitive athletic program whatsoever or to have an extensive competitive athletlc program, so long as the pollcles were applled equally regardless of sex.

Many aspects if sport at the college level -- especially male competive athletics -- are coming under increasing scrutliny and criticism. For example, the American Council on Educatlon has recently sponsored a prellininary study of the educational, economic, legal, moral, political, and sociologlcal aspects of intercolleglate athletics in an effort to identify problem areas and formulate recommendations to alleviate these problems. chalienges and questlons to the philosophy and operations of college athletic programs are coming from a varlety of sources and can be expected to lead to signlficant changes. Certalinly some of these changes will be caused by an effort to ellminate discrimination against women in sport.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES EQUALITY FOR WOMEN IN NO:Z-COMPETITIVE PROGRAMS?

Non-competitive and instructional programs In general include programs in which participation is not based on skill. This would, for example, include all physical education and instructional classes, recreational opportunities and most iniramural and club sports. 12

Olscrimination in non-competitive (as well as competitive) programs is widespread. To some extent at least, this is a potential problem area on virtually every coeducational campus in the country. To lliustrate the pervasiveness of the problem, each of the following sections begins with actual examples of how discrimination might manifest itself on campus. Although the examples are real-ilfe, the institutions at which they occurred are not named. 13

## INSTRICTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND MIXEO PHYSICAL EOUCATION CLASSES

- At a prestigious private institution the women's and men's physical education departments were separate and the instructional courses avaliable to female and male students varied considerably. For example, women could not take wrestling and men could not take self defense or volleyball.
- At a southern state university female students could not take coaching courses for credit, with the result that they were not "quallfled" to coach teams.

Many physical educators and women's groups argue that there is no justification for single-sex non-competitive or instructional programs. Under Title IX, the lack of duplicate faclilites (such as locker rooms and bathrooms) could not be used as a reason for excluding one sex or the other. Bathroom and locker room space may have to be reallocated, but in any event Title IX would not require women and men to undress in front of one another or to share the same bathroom at the same tlme.

Because of different interest patterns between women and men, it is likely that some instructional classes will continue to be made up prlmarlly of members of one sex. However, women's groups are urging institutions to take care to assure that classes which are primarily male not receive preference over classes which are primarily female in such areas as facilities and equipment, scheduling of classes, or teacher competence.

Kany college physical education majors are preparing to become elementary or secondary school physical education Instructors and/or coaches. In some Institutions the credentials that women can acquire In college for this job are more IImited than those a male can acquire. For example, women may be prohibited from taking coaching courses either at all or for academic credit. Or a semester of a "male" sport (such as flag football) may be required as a prerequisite for a coaching course. The result is that, upon graduation, she is not "qualified" to coach teams and is effectively borred from a common career ladder - - that from physical education instructor, to coach, to head of the athletic department, to mid-level administrator, to principal. Policies which prohlbit one sex from taking courses which develop their skills would have the lingering effect of limiting future job opportunitles and would be a violation of Title IX.

Some women's groups are stressing that institutions be on guard not to offer courses which might have the effect of discriminating agalnst women. For example, if an institution offered coaching instruction only for predoninately male sports, it might leave itself vulnerable to criticism and charges from women's groups.

- At an Ohlo liberal arts college women majoring in physical education must take a service course each term. There is no slmilar requirement for men.

Some institutions have different requirements for majors in physical educatlon for thelr female and male students. A different number of courses may be required of female and male students, a different grade polnt average may be required for graduatlon or graduation with honors, the selectlon of courses required or offered may be different, etc. Whatever the difference, it seems clear that such sex based differentlations violate Title ix.

## REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION

- At a Pennsylvania college women must show proficiency in two sports in order to gradiate. Men need only to show proflclency in one sport.

Different requirements for graduation for female and male students may take a varlety of forms.

- Men, but not women, may be able to exempt required physlcal education courses by taklng a skills test.
- Male, but not female, varsity athletes may be exempted from physical education classes.
- Men, but not women, may recelve aciademic credit for particlpating in intercollegiate athletlcs.
- Women, but not men, may be able to fulfill their physical education requirement by taklng su.h courses as square dancing, bowling or archery.

Whatever the form of the difference, it is clear that such sex-based differences are a violation of itle lX.
Institutions which allow students to exempt their physical education requirements by excelling on a fitness test may well be faced with a dilemma. For reasons of physlology and training it is likely that male students will In general score higher on these tests than female students. A test which falled a disproportlonately iarge number of women might be found discriminatory under tifle lix.

## INTRAMURAL PROGRAMS

- At a major state university, women were prohlbited from paritcipating In any of the five team sports in the "All Campus Division Program." They could only compete in the individual or dual sports.

It is common for intramural programs to provide more opportunities for men than women, regardless of the interest of wonen In particloating. Many women's groups stress that strong intramural programs for worien can serve an "affirmative action" function .. that is, they can provide women with the opportunity to develop athletic skills that they did not develop earlier because of lack of facilities, tralning or encouragement.

## RECREATIONAL OPPORTUHITIES

- At one Ohlo Institution a woman could not use the handball courts unless a male signed up for her.
- At a large midwestern universlty, the intramural pool was specifically reserved for "Faculty, Administrative Staff and Male Students" for approximately two hours each day. That is, this was a time for men only.

Providing different or greater recreational or lelsure sport activities for members of one sex might prompt charges of sex discrimination. Students might challenge this under Titie ix, while employees might challenge the practice as a discriminatory fringe benefit under employment legisiation.

## What constitutes equality for homen in competitive athletics?

The disparitles between opportunitles for women and men lin competitive athletics are often even more pronounced than the disparitles in non-competitive athletics. Although these differences exist for a variety of reasons, it appears that they will be closely examined in determining if an institution is complying with the requirements of Title IX.

In general "competitive athletics" refers to athletlc teams for which selection is based on competitive skill. This might include programs at the varsity, Junior varsity, freshman, or (In some Instances) the intramural and club level. As used in this paper, the term competitive athletics includes the activitles that are commonly referred to as intercolleglate athletics.

## PHYSTOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETKSEN THE SEXES

It has sometimes been argued that vigorous physical activity renders women sterile or otherwise damages them. This bellef, as well as a number of more subtle myths, has certalnly been disproven. These myths include the following:

MYTH Participation in athletics might damage a woman's reproductive organs. In fact, many gynecologists believe that vigorous activity improves the muscular support in the pelvic area. The uterus is one of the nost shock resistant internal organs and considerably more protected than male genitalia.

MYTH Athletic activity causes menstrual problems and impedes menstrual regularity. In fact, the reverse appears to be true.

MYTH Women can't reach reak performance during menstruation. In fact, al though there is a great deal of variability among women, women Olymplc athletes have won competitions and broken records during all stages of their menstrual cycles.

MYTH - Female bones are more fragile than male bones. In fact, they are on the average smaller, not more fragile.

MYTH Women are more likely to be injured in sports. In fact, the injury rate per participant is lower for giris than boys in both contact and non-contact sports.

MYTH Females should nor play contact sports because they might damage their breasts. In fact, medical and athletic authorities argue that breast protectors could be designed for women, Just as varlous protective equipment has been designed for men's organs.

MYTH Women who engage in strenuous athletics develop bulging muscles. In fact, given the same amount of exercise, the development of bulging muscles depends primarily on the amount of amount of exercise, the devel
male hormone a person has.

Before puberty, males and females are nearly identical in their physlcal ablities. Tests of strength, muscular endurance, cardlovascular endurance and motor performance show few differences between the sexes up to this age. Beyond that age, however, the male becomes considerably stronger, possesses greater muscular and cardiovascular endurance and is more proficient in almost all motor skills. These differences increase in magnltude with time, and the female tends to plateau between the ages of ten and fourteen. According to Dr. Jack Wilmore, however:

Recent evidence. . . indicates that these differences may be more of an artifact of soclal or cultural restrictions imposed on the female efther at or just prior to the outset of menarche, than, a result of true blological differences in performance potentlal between the sexes. 15

A major physiological difference between adult women and men is that men on_the average are larger and heavier than women. The average woman, on the other hand, is more flexible and has better balance. Women in sport polnt out that most sports emphasize and reward traits in which men tend to excel.

Averages can be misleading. Although a superbly fit adult female may be at a real disadvantage competing with a superbly fit adult male In athletic contests which depend primarily on speed and strength, she might well outperform an average male. In the words of Dr. Thomas E. Shaffer:

> ...whlle there are very significant sex-related differences between males and females, it should be born in mind that there are undoubtedly greater differences between the third and the 97 th percentile in each sex than there are differences between the average female and the average male in terms of phrsical performance. 16

In other words, all men are not superior to all women in all athletic skills. There is a good deal of cierlap In ability between the sexes, so that a sizable number of wonen outparform a number of men.

## FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT

- At an Ivy League college the women's crew team was given Inferior equipment because the coach of the men's team did not belleve that women could handle the newer, better shells. At another eastern college, the crew coach authorlzed the use of funds designated for both the female and male teams to purchase a shell designed for men only, rather than for a shell both sexes could readily use.
- When the new gym was bullt, the old gym was "retired" to the women.

Generally there are great differences between the facilltes and equipment avallable for women's and men's competitive athletics, even for the same sports. For example:

- The women's teams may get the "left over" equlpment from the men's teams or they may get the old equipment when the men's teams get new equipment.
- Uniforms may be provided for the male team only, or the uniforms for the male team may be more elaborate.
- The women may have inferior gym or locker room facllities.
- The equipment for the male team may be of a higher quallty or they may have more "backup" or practice equipment.
- Equipment (such as practice unlforms, tennls rackets) may be provided for male, but not female, teams.

All of these practices are likely to be challenged under fitte ix. Many institutions are beginning to evaluate the equlpment and facllities to assure that there is no disparity based on sex.

## PROVISION OF MEDICAL AND TRAINING FACILITIES AND SERVICES

- The university health service provides team doctors for varsity athletics for men, but not women.
- At a private eastern university, members of the male football team ate at a "training table" which featured high proteln food. No similar provisions were made for any female athlete.
- At a west coast state university, certain insurance programs are avallable to men athletes only.
- A woman athlete who injured her knee could not use the ultrasonic machine avallable for therapy of male athletes.

An institution which provided such differential services (including insurance coverage) to male, but not female, 3 thletes would leave itself vulnerable to charges of sex discrimination under title ix.

## SCHEDULING OF GAMES AND PRACTICE TIMES

The women's varsity basketball team at an ex-women's college had difficulty practicing because they were allowed to use the gym only when the men's teams did not want to use it.

The women's swimming team at one elite eastern school had to practice on week nights after dinner because no other time was made available for the women to practice.

Routinely giving priority to teams of one sex in scheduling of games or practices might well be considered a violation of fitle ix. For example, all of the following may be called into question under the law:

- Assigning male teams to the most desirable seasons of the year and times of day to compete and/or practice.
- Allowing male teams longer practice sessions, at the expense of practice sessions for female teams.
- Giving varsity teams priority use of facilities if there are substantially more men than womer itit compete at the varsity level.

To resolve these probiems, fenale and maie teams could, for example, alternate days (with the women using the facillties on Monday and Wednesday, the men on Tuesday and Thursday and both on Frlday and Saturday). Likewise, they could alternate "desirable" ard "undesirable" times (so that, for example, nelther team always played on a weeknlght or a weekend).

## AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FOR TRAVEL AND PER DIEM ALLOWANCES

- In ordar to pay for travel to athletic events, the members of the women's teams had to sell candy bars and hold bake sales, whlle the men's teams traveled by chartered bus at the university's expense.
- The women's teams had to pay for their own transportation and meals, whilis the university footed the bill for first class air fare for the men's football team.

Often, in part because of strikingly different funding mechailisms and levels for women's and men's sports, there are wide discrepancies in the opportunitles that female and male teams have for travel. Often the per diem allowances for men are considerably higher than those for women. Indeed, In some institutions, the women have no per diem allowance.

Using different standards and providing different opportunities and amounts of travel money for feniale and male teams is coming under increasing challenge. Some people are proposing that all (or predominately) male teams and all (or predominately) female teams travel together, and compete at the same institutions on the same days so that travel costs are simultaneously shared and minimized.

## ATHLETIC SCHOLARSHIPS

- If a woman accepted an athletic scholarshlp, she was automatically banned from many competitive intercollegiate athletlcs.

Until the spring of 1973, the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) had a stirict pollcy forbidding female competitors in intercollegiate athletics from accepting any financial aid that was based in whole or part on athletic abllity. This policy grew out of a concern that the provision of scholarships or other financial assistance specifically designated for athletes created a strong potential for abuses which could be detrimental to both the student and the quality of the institution's athletic program for women. Homen saw the problems with athletic scholarships for men and tried to avold the same problems in women's intercollegiate athletics by banning scholarships entirely. The different positions of the wamen's and men's athletic associations on the issue of scholarships are illustrative of the different approaches and traditions in women's and men's athletics. The AIAK pollcy was changed largely in response to a sult (Kellmever, et al, V. NEA et ala) brought by female tennis players at Marymount College (florida) who protested being denied the right to participate in the presilgious AlAW-sponsored intercollegiate competition because they were recipiepts of athletic schalarships. Now the Alaw no longer prohibits female athletes from accepting athletic scholarships. In large part because thls prohibition has been lifted, a number of institutions now offer women athletic scholarships. 18

Athletic scholarships may come from a variety of sovices; the impact of ritle ix may vary according to the source of income. For example, it seems clear that scholarships which come from general unlversity funds, student actlvity fees, etc. must be awarded in a nondiscrininatory manner. That is, they could not provide different amounts or types of aid, limit eligibility, apply differerit criterla or otherwlse discriminate on the basis of sex. These scholarships would have to reflect the interest and carabllities of the student-athletes, regardless of sex. I9 Although the Title ix requlations are not yet out (as of April 1974), they miaht allow an institution to offer singlesex scholarships for "affirmative act lon" purposes -- that is, In an effort to overcome the effects of past discrimination. However, scholarships which are administered by a group cutside the institution and which the university in no way endorses, approves, lists or perpetuates can be limited to one sex.

A celated issue to that of scholarships is the avallability of student employment. Providing different employment opportunities or options for female and male athletes or referfing them differentially to lobs on the basls of sex would undoubtedly be deemed a violation of Title 1 x , as well as of other legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in employment.

## RECRUITING ATHLETES

- The regulations of the Assoclation for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women state that some "recruitment practices may be contrary to educational objectives" and clearly forbid subsidizing campus visits of prospective student athletes. The regulations of the National Colleglate Athletic Association, on the other hand, permit the institution to subsidize recruiting athletes in a varlety of ways.

The practices surrounding recrulting male college athletes have perlodically erupted in scandal over the years. There is Increasing concern over recrultment practices at present because, according to the Nery York Timas (Yarch 10, 1974), they are becomlng more like a "frenzled slave market" as more and more athletc departments run In the red. Because of the cost and the pressure, forty-one colleges have dropped football In the past ten years.

The issue of sex discrimination doss not rest on whether or not recrulting is desirable, it rests on equality. for example, if an Institution fecls that recrulting student athletes is not desirable, it may wish elther to use the prassure for equlty to de-omphasize recrulting for males, or to begin recrulting famale athletes with the same Intensity that they have been recrulting males.

## MEDIA COVERAGE OF SPOR'S

- In some stadiums, women are not allowed In the press box, with the result that they cannot adequately cover games.
- Women at a prestigious western university protested so-called "honey shots" of women spectators at sports events. The women sald that they nelther wanted nor needed "the defense of their physical attractlveness by [the] sports Information director or the medla."

Women at a number of Institutions have raised the issue that women's athletics have not received sufficient coverage in university publicatlons (press releases, bulletlns, newspapers, ete.) or that the publlc informatlon office of the institution provides services for men's, but not women's athletics. It seems clear that such unlver-slty-sponsored or funded publications or services are bound by the unfversity's obligation not to discriminats on the basls of sex.

## THE SELECTION OF SPORTS AND LEVELS OF COMPETITION

- A large midwestern university spent over $\$ 2,600,000$ on its men's Intercollegiate athletc progron. There was no comparable program for women's intercollegiate athlatics. In fact, no university money whatsoever was officially spent on women's Intercolleglate athletics.
- At a formerly all-female college, men compete in five sports (with an annual budget of $\$ 4,750$ ), while women have three sports (with a $\$ 2,060$ budget).

A competitive athletic program of ten includes sports at the varsity, Junlor varsity, freshman and occasionally the intramural or club level. The level of competition offered is expected to vary according to the sklli level of the particlpants and opportunitles for competition. However, because fewer women generally participate in competitive sports, their opportunlty for competition at varlous levels is $\mid$ imlted. As part of an "laffirmative action" or "remedial actlon" program concerning women's athletics, an institution might both encourage its own women students to participate in athletics and encourage other institutions to develop competitive sports programs for women, so that the women at a given instlitution would have greater options for competition.

Some people are recormending that Institutions conduct periodic student surveys to deterinina the sports in which members of each sex would desire to compete, the appropriate levels of competition, and whether teams should be single sex or mixed. They argue that these assessments would provide institutions with guldance concerning the most appropriate way to expand opportunitles as women become more involved in competitive athletics. They further argue that these surveys should be conducted yearly (perhaps using data processing cards at registration) so that the athletlc opportunities for women students are responsive to changing interest patterns. Dpponents of this plan, however, say that such a survey would be difficult and expenslve to administer and that it poses a governance problem. They also fear that they would be forced to change the athletic opportunities avallable for men if male students were simllarly allowed to play a major role In determining what athletic opportunlties were avallable to them.

## THE CALL FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR WOMEN'S ATHLETICS

Women's groups are saying that Institutions should take affirmative action to overcome the effects of past discrimination in competlive athletics. Already there have been a number of changes in the athletic opportunities avallable to women in educatlonal institutlons. Several states have passed state laws to open up athletic opportunlties to women. Others have expanded the opportunttles avallable to women in response to pressure and complalnts from civil rights groups and women's groups. In addition, a growing number of institutions are conducting studies to determine the adequacy of the athletic opportunlties that are avallable to women.

Women's groups argue that it is not enough simply to expand the athletic opportunlties for women somewhat. They. are urging institutions to take affirmative steps to encourage women to avall thenselves of the avallable opportunitles for competitive athletles. They stress that institutions should use thelr facilities and services to the fullest to assure substantial participation by women in competitive athletics.

## GOMPETLTIYE ATHLETICS: SINGIE SEX TEAMS YS, MIXED TEAMS

This issue is as complex as lt is controversial. A number of organizations have taken stands on it, often for very different reasons. The questlon of "coed teams" has generated more publictty and more court action than per" haps any other issue concerning women in sport.

Often people ask if the fact that a sport is a "contact sport" can be used to justify prohlbiting women and men from playlng on the same team. Those who oppose coeducational contact sports generally base thelr opposition on a concern fcr, the physical safety of the women or on tho lde; that women and men should not be forced into "contact" sltuations. 20 Advocates of coeducatlonal contact sports point out that competlive athletics are, by thelr very nature, closely supervised, and medical experts and physical educators say that the woman who ls capable of making a competitive team is no more susceptlble to injury than a man who is capable of making a tean. Also, there appears to be no legal basis under Title ix for differentlating between contact and non-contact sports.

Parhaps it would be helpful to outline some of the factors that one might consider in evaluating which structure -mixed (coeducatlonal) teams, single sex teams or some comblnation of the two ... is most likely to provide equal opportunlty in competitive athletics for both women and men.

In evaluating these structures, Institutionsmay find it nolpful to keep In mind that the Impact of a policy or practice must fall equally on both sexes.

In other word's, does the policy have a dlsproportionate effect on one sex or the other?

## SHOULD ALL TEAMS BE COMPLETELY COEDUCATIONAL?

To some, complete integration of the sexes in all sports would appear to be toth the most simple and the ieast discriminatory solution. Upon closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that, because of differences in tralning and physiology, such an arrangment would effectively ellminate opportunitles for women to play in organlzed competitive athletics. For these reasons, thls alternative would not appear to be in line with the principle of equal opportunlity.

SHOULD THERE BE TWO TEAMS FOR EACH SPORT: ONE FEMALE, ONE MALE?

One way in which an Institution might attempt to be In compllance with Title lx would be to operate parallel male and female single sex teams (without discrimination in services, facilities, equipment, ete.) for each sport. However, a major problem with thls approach is that "separate-but-equal" has been generally considered Inherently unequal since the supreme court outlawed racially segregated education In 1954. In general, the only times that "separate-but-equal" has been considered acceptable when sex discrimination was involved has been in issues related to privacy (such as the use of bathrooms, locker rooms, dressing rooms, etc.). opponents of the "separate-but-equal" approach have also criticized it because it does not allow the superior female athlete to compete on the male team (which might well be the team with the hlghest ability level). Moreover, thls alternative might be prohlbitively expensive.

Advocates of this alternative maintain that applying the "separate-but-equal" principle in competitive athletics can be justified for sex discrimination (but not race discrimination) because there are general physical differences between women and men (but not between blacks and whites). They malntaln that women's athletics are different from men's athletics, even when the game they are playing is the same. (As an example of this, they cite the different strategies and skllis that are involved with women's and men's tennis.) Superior women athletes could not "move up" to the men's team, so that the women's team would not be undercut by losing its best athletes.

A major advantage of the separate-but-equal team approach is that, because the two teams can operate in unlson In many areas, this approach might be a fast and effectlve way to rectify some of the current imbalances in resource allocation and spectator interest. For example, a method of scoring modeled after that used in the Olympics has been suggested by a number of people as a way to capltalize on the "two tean" concept. Under this, female teams would compete against female teams and male teams agalnst male teams (alternating the game order, since the second game is generally the "star attraction"). The scores of the two contests would be totaled to determine the winning scinool. For example, if a school's women's basketbali team won 80 to 60 and the men's team losi by 55 to 70 , then the school would have won the competition by a ilve point margin (135 to 130). Proponents of this approach polint out that having the two teams travel and compete together would minimize travel expenses and provide an incentive for those involved with women's and men's athletics to work together more closely.

Should there be two predominately single sex teams, with a provision allowing the "underdog sex" to "compete upq"

Thls Idea has been suggested as a way to provide the superlor female athlete with a chance to "compete up" (that is, compete for a positis: on the men's team). Thls mechanism would work in the following manner: Assume that there are "separate-butequal!" teams for women and men. However, the sklll level of one team (for example, the men's
team) is considerably hlgher than the sklll level of the other (women's) team. Therefore, In thls case, women could "compete up" but men could not "compete down." The result of thls alternative would be two teams.- one team which would be substantlally male (but officlally open to elther sex) and one team open to women only, 21 (Of course, nelther team could be favored in terms of facilities, opportunlties, etc.) Thls sltuation would be analagous in some ways, to the opportunlty that nembers of the junlor varsity team of ten have to try out for the varslty, while the reverse is not permitted.

Although thls approach might provide the superior female athlete with the opportunity for the ilghest level competition, it has been criticized as adminlstratively unwleldy and too complex to be workable. In addition, some women fear that this practice would have the effect of skimiling off the best playars from the women's teams. Oppo= nents of thls approach also polnt out that, although the woman who makes the men's team is likely to be one of the best players on the women's team, she is not likely to be one of the best players on the men's team.

SHOULD THERE BE THREE TEAMS: ONE YEMALE, ONE MALE, AND ONE MIXED? ${ }^{22}$

Proponents of this "three team" approach maintaln that it offers the best features of both the single sex and mlxed approaches. They argue that it would provide opportunlties fur students who want to compete on single sex teams, as well as mixed teams. In addition, they malntaln that this alternative would provide the most students with the opportunlty to participate in competitive athletics. They argue that, If competitive athletics is an important part of the educatlonal experience at an instltution, as many students as posslble should have the opportunlty to participate in them.

On the other hand, those who oppose thls approach polnt out that having three teams for a sport could be prohibitively expensive. They also malntaln that having three teams would dilute the avallable athletic talent and result in medlocre athletic contests. In addition, they say that it would be difficult to flnd other Insitutions with simllarly structured teams to compete agalnst, since this approach would require a rather large particlpation rate. Also, women's groups fear that, unless there is a requirement that the mixed team be fifty percent female, It would becone in effect a second all mete team.

## IF THERE IS A SINGLE TEAM FOR A GIVEN SPORT, SHOULD IT BE SINGLE SEX OR MIXED?

The concept of "separate-but-equal" teams is complicated by the fact that women and men often have different Interest patterns. Generally instltutions offer different competitive athletics for women and men based on the assumption that they have different interests. For example, an Institution might offer fleld hockey for women and football for men. Assumling equal opportunity, this sltuatlon poses no problem untli a woman tries out for the football team or a man trles out for the field hockey team. The Institution is at this point faced with deciding whether it is in the interest of equal opportunlty to allow the member of the opposite sex to try out for the "single sex" team.

Many people argue that not aliowing the person to try out for the team mouid infringe on his or her individual rights. Others counter that the effect of this "open door" pollicy could well be discriminatory: that is, while a good many men might qualify for the "women's" field hockey team, few (if any) worren would qualify for the "men's" football team. They argue that the effect of this two-way open door pollcy would be to provide substantlally more competitive athletic opportunities for more men than women and that, if men were allowed on the "women's" fleld hockey team, the "women's" team might eventually be predominately male.

In trying to resolve this difflcult situation and assess whether Integrating the single sex team would be discriminatory or in line with equal opportunity, an institution might examine the overall pattern of competitive athletic opportunitles offered to women and men. An Institution might, for example, declde to provide one fall sport for each sex -- field hockey for women and football for men. (Thls assumes that roughly equal facllities, opportunlties, etc, are provided for both teams.) 8ased on this decision, the unlversity might refuse women the opportunlty to particlpate on the football team and refuse men the opportunlty to particlpate on the fleld heckey team (especially if opening up both teams would have the effect of displacing a signlficant number of women but few, if any, men).

The above reasoning assumes that there are roughly comparable female and male teams and programs for simllar sports (e.g., fleld hockey/football) in a glven season. If these "equal" opportunltles do not exist, the argument for keeping a team single sex does not apply. In fact, some people argue that, if there is not sufficient interest to have separate teams for the same sport, then the Institutions must open up the one team it does have to both sexes on a competitive basis.

## SHOULO TEAKS BE BASED ON HEIGHT AND WEIGHT?

Although thls structure does not offlclally depend on sex, the helght/welght categorles (certalnly the categorles at the extremes) would be virtually single sex. For competitive athletics, this structure has been critlclzed because:

- It might give the lllusion of nondiscrimination, whlle at the same time perpetuating discriminations especially if prlority were given to the larger helght/welght teams (which would generally be all male).
- It would require too many separate teams to be administratively feasible and it would therefore be prohlbitively expensive.
- Some persons clalm that there are valid physical differences (such as muscle mass) between the sexes, even batween women and men of the same helght and weight.

Although this arrangement is probably not practical or desirable for all competitlve athletics, a number of people malntain that it would be a viable option for intramural, non-competitive and instructlonal programs.

## WHAT OTHER ALTERNATIVES ARE THERE?

In the July 1973 Issue of $\underline{M s},^{2}$ magazine, Brenda Feigen Fasteau, a lawyer for the American fivil Liberties Union Women's Rights Project, Identifies several other options, all of which she finds unacceptable: 23

- A system Invoiving abllity-determined first and second-string teams. She finds thls inequitable because it would probably result in two all or predominately male teams, with no increased opportunlties for women.
. A first-string team that is sex-integrated and a second-string all-female team. This might be criticlzed for discriminating against men.
- A first-string tean based on abllity with a second-string team that was evenly divided between women and men. Fasteau does not favor thls approach because It would have the result of favoring boys by virtually assurling them one and a half out of the two teams.
- A quota system requirling half females and half males. Thls system, she feels, would cause a varlety of problems, among them "intrateam ostracizing of the [women] who dilute the overall performance and Interteam exploltation of the 'weaker sex' by members of the opposing team."

There is considerable disagreement among physical educators, legal experts and women's groups about what is the best approach to thls difficult and complex problem. other alternatives not mentioned here may evolve as the issue is studied more closely and as varlous approaches are put into practice. Women's grisps are stressing that it Is especially Important to look at the results and effects of policies,as well as the pollcies themselves, to determine if there is equal athletic opportunity for women.

## COMPETITIVE ATHLETICS: THE FUNDING OF PROGRAMS

The issue of funding is central to the issue of equality. Although there may not be a one-to-one relationship between the amount of money expended and equal opportunity, it seems certaln that funding levels and mechanisms whll need to be studied in evaluating the degree of Inequity for women in sport.

Some women's groups are pressing for an "equal expenditure" standard. Using this principle, institutlons would be required to spend the same amount of money per student or per participating athlete for females and males. They argue that this is the best way to make certaln that women and men have equal opportunlties. In contrast to this point of view, some athletic assoctations argue that revenue producing sports should be partlally or totally exempt from the requirements of Title IX.

Perhaps the crux of the problem concerning funding women's Intercolleglate athletics is that, with a finlte amount of money avallable for intercolleglate athletics; providing more equal funding for women's teams may mean that Institutions cannot afford to continue to fund men's teams at high levels.

The Issues Involved with the funding of programs -- where the money comes from, how much is allocated and what it is used for .. are both complex and closely interrelated. The following out ilnes some of the important areas.

- At a western state unlversity the men's athletic program Is funded as a Ilne item In the regular budget. The women's program, however, must compete with the chess club to recelve student activitles fees.
- At one large state Institution, only $\$ 5,000$ of the $\$ 68,000$ ralsed by student feas for athletics was allocated for women's programs, even though about 50 percent of the student body was feriale.


#### Abstract

The sources of funds for athletles vary greatly from campus to campus; of ten the sources of funds for women's and men's athletics on the same campus are dramatically different. Although this sltuatlon makes providing equal opportunlty a more complex issue, it is doubtful that havine different sources of funding for women's and men's competitive athletics is in itself a violation of Title lX, provided that such funding does not have a disproportionate effect on the basis of sex In terms of programs, facllities, etc, 24 if the athletle programs for women and men are funded in different ways, the burden to prove that this complex funding pattern does not discriminate on the basis of sex is likely to lie with the institution.


The funds for intercollegiate athletics may come from such diverse sources as a line item in the Institution's budget, student activitles fees, revenue generated by athletic events, the athletic department (which is generally all male), the women's or men's physical education department, or from fund ralsing activities. (In addition, of course, funds for the support 0 : Intercolleglate athletics may also be "hidden" In the institution's budget in a number of ways -- malntenance on the stadium, practice gyms and fields; health care provided by the unlversity health service; salarles of coaches or tralners; giving athletes special consideration for scholarshlps or student employment; and so forth.) A study of the "Status of funding of Women's Intercolleglate Athletics" (Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, October 1973) found that the most frequently mentioned "best" funding source was a line allocation from the school budget. However, only 25 percent of the programs recelved funding from this source. A far larger proportion ( 41 percent) depended on student actlvity fees. Those that were funded from these fees in general expressed a high degree of dissatisfaction becausa of a lack of consistency and security In funding from year to year.

In addition to its inconsistency (especlally if allocation is governed by the student government), using student activity fees differentially for women's and men's athletics may pose a problem with students. Since this money is designated for student activities, its allocation can expect to come under fire from women on campus when it does not fund women's athletics at a reasonatle level, compared to the men's program. At one state Institution, for example, women students protested the allocation to man's athletics of 86 percent of the $\$ 115,000$ earmarked for athletics. At other Institutlons, women are protesting having their, tudent actlvities fee "automatlcally" buy them entrance to men's Intercolleglate athletic events. (This money is then treated as "revenue" from these sports.)

## THE SOURCES OF FUNDS: REVENUE PRODUCING SPORTS

Athletic organizations and some university representatives argue that revenue producling sports (such as football and basketbali) should be exempted from the requirements of Title IX either entirely or to the extent that any revenue produced is used to perpetuate that sport. 25 they argue that, even though these teams are all-male, they are In a class by themselves. They fear that certain sports revenues would decrease if the fund raisers couldn't promise tha funds would be spent on the teams they had traditionally supported. They feel that this would cause a particular problem in colleges where revenues from one sport support other competitive sports as well, Women's groups contend that such exemptions would perpetuate the status guo. They polnt out that the effect of allowing revenue to be retalned for the expenses of a particular team would have a substantlal discriminatory effect, For example, members of a men's basketball team might have their unlforms and travel expenses covered, whlle members of the women's basketball team might have to pay for their own unlforms and travel out of their own pockets (as indeed many wo en athletes now do). In addition, some women's groups maintain that, if revenue producing sports are exempted in some way from the requirenents of title lx because they resemble business activitles more than educational programs, these sports do not belong on a college campus in the first plafe.

It is not yet clear what position HEW's office for civil Rights will take on this issue. It might be helpful to examine what might happen in two different fact situations.- i.e., when a sport runs in the red and in the black: $26^{\circ}$

- When a Competitive Sport Makes a Profit: Assume that the Income from a sport was $\$ 500,000$ and that the total cost of malntalning that sport was $\$ 450,000$. This leaves a profit of $\$ 50,000$. (1) If revenue producing sports were exempted totally, this $\$ 50,000$ could be used In in any manner whatsoever. (However, If this $\$ 50,000$ profit were funneled back to the college for general expenses or for other sports programs, it would probably be subject to the same nondiscrimination requirements as other general institutional funds.)
(2) If revenue sports were exempt only to the extent that they are self-financing, the Institution would be required to use only the profit $(\$ 50,000)$ in a nond iscriminatory manner. (For example, excess revenues from male Intercollegiate athletics could not be used to support only other male sports -. a practice that women's groups charge is common.) (3) If revenue producling competitive athletics were not exempted at all, the entire $\$ 500,000$ would have to be used in a nondiscriminatory manner.
- When_ a Sumpetitive Sport Buns in the Red Assume that the Income from a sport was $\$ 100,000$ ard that the total cost of malntalning that sport was $\$ 175,000$. This rasults in a $\$ 75,000$ deficit. Also assume that the institution followed the common practice of underwriting this deficit, (1) Even if revenue producing sports were totally exempt, the instituticin would probably be under consiterable pressure to include the $\$ 75,000$ subsidy of the sport In their assessment of female and male athletle opportunlties. (2) If revenue producing sports were exempt only to the extent that they are selffinanced, the institution would undoubtedly be required to Include tils $\$ 75,000$ sub= sidy in evaluating equal opportunity. (3) If revenue producing competitive athletics were not exempt at all, women's groups argue that the entire $\$ 175,000$ would have to be accounted for in a nondiscriminatory manner.

The above examples are considerably more simple than actual funding situations. In most institutions the cost of malintaining revenue producing competitive athletics is interwoven into a varlety of budget categorles... the malntenance department, the physical education and/or athietlc departments, capltal expenditurus (for stadiums, etc.), equipment, etc. Separating out the extent (In dollars and cents) to which a given sport is supported by an institution is no simple task.

In addition, it would be necessary to deflne what expenses would be Included in the "self-financed" definition. for example, would finds for athletic scholarshlps be treated llke salaries and included in this definition of "self-financling""

One flnal point to keep In mind is that, no matter what position the government takes on the issue of revenue producing sports, ${ }^{2}$ il institution could not differentially allow teams of one sex or the other to engage in revenue producing sports: 27

## YHE SIZE OF THE BUIGETS

- At a large state university in the northwest, women's sports received only nine-tenths of one percent of the institutions twh millon dollar athletic budget $(518,000)$, even though over forty percent of the undergraduate students were women.
- At a major state university, over 1300 times as much was spent for men's Intercolleglate athletics than for women's.

[^0]- At a prlvate New England College the budget for the male (but not the female) teams Included funds for travel. The women had to thold bake sales, sell Christmas trees and seek donations in order to fund their travel.

Women in competitive athletles commonly report that their budgets do not cover (or do not cover adequately) a varlety of ltems that are covered In the men's budgets. Cxmmonly cited as examples of thls are inequities in illocations for travel, equlpment and uniforms, as well as for scholarshlps and recruftment.

Problems in this area are related to the fact that of ten competitive athletic programs for women and men are adminlstered separately, recelve very different per student or per sport allocatlons, and recelve thelr money from different sources. Some women's groups are concèrned that instltutlons will attempt to Justify differences In the use of funds for female and male athletles because they are run by separate departments or receive their funds from different sources. The implication of having separate administrative mechanisms or budgets for women's and men's athletics is that it would be essentlal for the parallel departments to coordinate their budgets very closely. (It is also not clear whether or not Title $1 X$ wlll allow two separate administrative structures to exist.)

## "separate-but-equal" administrative structures in athletic and <br> PHYSICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS, AND GOVERNING ASSOCIATIONS

- At a large midwestern football power the men's sports programs are controlled by the athletic department while the women's programs are under the ausplces of the physical education department.
- At a western state university the women's athletic department is an administrative subsection of the men's department.
- Men's Intercollegiate athletlcs are governed by the National Colleglate Athletic Association whlle women's Intercollegiate athletics are governed by the rules of the Assoclation for Intercolleglate Athletics for Women (which lis a division of the olvislon for Girls and Women's Sports of the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation). The rules of these two organizations vary conslderably,

Federal policy does not mandate specific adminlstrative structures for athletics; it is rightfully the perogative of an institution to establish Its own mechanisms for Implementing its philosophy concerning sport, What the government does require, however, is that the phllosophy concerning sport be applied equally for women and men and that the implementing mechanisms not have a discriminatory impact on one sex or the other.

The maln structural problem in sports and athletics revolves around the "separate-but-equal" question. It is not uncommon for an institution to have distinct departments or divisions for women's and men's competitive and non-competitive athletles --or to have a department for men's athletics only (with women's athletics handled by the women's physical education department). Also in general women's and men's competitive athletics are governed by different associations with different rules, regulations and policies.

The pros and cons of "separate-but-equal" administrative governing structures are complex. There are sincere debates concerning whether the principle of equal opportunity would best be served by having one single integrated structure for both sexes, or by separate structures for each sex. Proponents for separate structures argue that merging them would mean that women would lose whatever control they now have over women's sports. They argue that merger would mean "submerger" (1.e., that men would more completely dominate the nature of sport for women, whlle women would stlli have no control over men's sports). Advocates of integrating the two structures argue that combining the two structures would give women's athletics a welcome boost and would force institutions to promote women, as well as men, to positions of responsibility. still others argue that, while there is no justiflcation for separate structures regarding non-competitive programs, slagle sex structures and governing assoctatlons should be permitted for competitive athletics to the extent that single sex competitive athletics are permitted. Many of the arguments concerning "separate-but-equal" single sex teams can be applied to this situation as well.

In many instances women have had little influence at the pollcy making level even in their own programs because they are sparsely represented (If they are represented at all) on boards of directors, athletic counclls and other decision making bodles. Some women ln physical education say that the meager role they play in making decisions
concerning women in sport has a discriminatory impact that outwelghs that of unequal salaries and discriminatory promotion policles.

Some institutlons have been reticent to challenge policles or practicles mandated by athletic conferences or assoclation, even though they have a discriminatory Impact on women. Although athletic conferences and assoclatlons are not dircctly prohibited from discrimination under title ix, institutions cannot rely on conference regulatlons as an excuse or rationale for discriminatory practices in their athletic and sports programs. Institutions must provide non discriminatory programs regardless of conference rules and regulatlons. For example, the differentlal assoclation or conference requirements for each sex concerning eligibility for financial ald or for particlpation In intercolleglate sports do not absolve the institution from the obllgation to treat the sexes equally.

Many educators and women are fearful that institutlons might automatically follow the practlces of the male assoclations and conferences when they adopt unlform standards and policles to cover both sexes. They urge institutlo's to use thls opportunlty for reevaluation to ensure that new uniform pollcies are indeed nondiscriminatory and are in line with the educational phllosophy of the college.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES EQUALITY FOR WOMEN EMPLOYEES IN SPORT?

The legal basis for providing equal employment opportunlties for women in sport is well established. 28 Federal laws and policy forbld educational institutions from discriminating agalnst employees on the basis of sex in hiring, upgrading, salarles, fringe benefits, tralining or all other conditions of employment. ${ }^{29}$ Institutlons which violate these statutes and regulations face losing federal monies, having federal funds delayed, being debarred from receiving federal monles in the future, and possible court action.

Discrimination agalnst wamen physical educators and coaches has, perhaps more obviously than any other employment discrimination, a dual impact. In addiclon to discrimination against the woman employee, the woman student suffers as well because many physical activities have traditionally been segregated by sex in the past. For example, sex discrimination in employinent In sport often meass that women students are denied the benefits of adequate coaching, inctruction, and other athletic opportunlties.

The following examples of employment discrimination are not intended to be exhaustive. Instead, they are Intended to illustrate some of the uilque ways in which employment discrimination against women in sport occurs.

## HIRING

> - A woman who had worked for several years in the women's physical education department applled for an opening on the men's athletic staff. Thoush qualified for the Job, she was not even considered. Instead, a recent male graduate was hired.

In the past many physical education and athletic programs have followed a pollcy of hiring only women to teach or coach women and only men to teach or coach men. It is becoming Increasingly clear that there is no legal Justification for this policy, 30 of course, the right of privacy of both employees and students would be protected (l.e., women and men would not be required to use the same bathroom or locker room faclities at the same time). The lack of these facllitles could not be used as a Justiflcation for excluding one sex or the other.

## LENGTH OF APPOINTMENTS

- The men in the athletic department are given 12 month appointments, whlle the women can only negotlate 9 month contracts.

While an institution might have legitimate nondiscriminatory reasons for negotiating contracts of different lengths with different employees, offering different conditions or optlons on the basis of sex would undoubtedly be Judged Il legal.

## SALARIES AND COMPENSATION

- A woman was pald half of what a male was pald to officlate in the same game.
- At a me!or midwostern unlverilty the men's athletic director is pald $\$ 10,000$ more than the women's athletic director, even though they perform essentlally the same work.
- Coaches at a state unlversity in the south are pald to coach the men's teams. The coaches for the women's teams are not pald to coach; they are pald as physical education Instructors only, and coach (without compensation) in addition to thelr full-\&ime teaching responsibllities.
- The wonen's basketball coach at a small New Jersey state college is paid considerably less than her male counterpart.
- The male coaches, but not the fenale coaches, receive extra duty pay and/or "release time ${ }^{1}$ to coach.

All of these examples are variations on the same theme: women are pald less to coach or teach women than men are to coach or teach men.

The law mandates equal pay for equal work (which is generally defined In terms of the sklli, effort and responsiblilty involved). Judging equal pay is a relatively simple matter when evaluating two people officlating at the same game and performing the same tasks, 31 similarly, it is not difflcult to compare a female and male tennis coach (who perform the same functions for the female and male teans, respectively). It is somewhat more diffleuft to compare an Individual male football coach to an individual woman tennis coach, however. it is not clear whether the government enforcement agencles will make such comparisons. However, Tf male coaches as a group are consistently pald at a higher rate than women coaches as a group, the question of a pattern of discrimination arises.

## OPPORTURITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT, PROMOTION AND TENURE

- Preference for the positlon of athletic director was given to candidates who had risen through the ranks of the football coaching staff .- a career ladder from whlch women were excluded.
- The women's athletic director ls an associate professor, whlle her male counterpart is a full professor.

Many women charge that they are shit out of opportunlty for advancement In the athletle hlerarchy before they even get started. For example, it is a common practlce to require candidates for the position of athletle director to have experience coaching football (or to give preference to those candidates who have this experience), Women, however, have been excluded from football coaching Jobs. Such a promotlonal or hirling patternmight be judged illegal, unless the institution could prove that women had not been excluded from these positions in the past. This practice might also be challenged on the basis of whether or not experlence in coaching football is essential to performing the duties of an athietic director. In no event, however, could qualifled women be denled on the basis of sex tife opportunity to be members of the football staff in the future.

In addition, many woman have a lower rank than their simllarly qualifled male countergarts who do essentlally the same work. One would expect this sort of inequity to be resolved as a part of the campus affirmative action plan.

## AVAILABILITY OF SUPPORT SERVICES AND BENEFITS

- Whlle the momen's athletic director is alded by one student assistant for 15 hours a week and has about 200 square feet of work space, the male athletic director has an assistant, a civll service bookkeeper, a business manager, five secretarles and a sulte of offices.

Lack of sufficlent support services can perpetuate discrimination agalnst women in sport. For example, athletle programs and student Interest in these programs do not develop partly because of inadequate support services. At the same time, the small size of the program and lack of student Interest are used to justify the continued Inadequate supporit services. It is clear that the mandate for equal athietic opportunlty calls for breaking this cycle by providing sufficient services so that the sport program for women might develop.

Also, the principle of nondiscriminatlon applles to opportunlties for research, opportunities to attend confer ences and professional meetlngs, etc.

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there is no simple answer to the question, "what constitutes equality for women in sportf" the issues are COMPLEX AND MANY OF THE PROBLEMS ARE NOT EASILY RESOLVEO. THERE IS A STRONG MANDATE FROM FEDERAL LAW, ADMINISTRATORS; PHYSICAL EDUCATORS, WOMEN ATHLETES AND WOMEN'S GROUPS, HOWEVER, FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE, EQUITY DEMANDS THAT WOMEN BE GIVEN A "SPOKTING CHANCE:".

## FOOTNOTES

'Although (as of April 1974) the implementing regulations for the legislation prohibiting sex discrimination among students (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972) had not been issued, the law has keen In effect sinde July 1972.
${ }^{2}$ George H. Hanford, A Report to the American Council on Education on An Inquiry Into the Need for and Feasibillty of a National Study of intercolleglate Athletics (March 22, 1974), p. 49.
'Blll Glibert and Nancy Williamson, "Sport is Unfalr to Women," Sports lllustrated, May 28, 1973, p. 90.
"Betty Spears, "The Emergence of Women In Sport,"In Women's Athletics; Coping With Controversy, ed: Barbara J. Hoepner (Oistrict of Columbla: Amerlcan Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1974), pp. 27-28, 38-39.
${ }^{5}$ Hollander v. The Connecticut Interscholastle Athletic Conference, Inc., No. 12-49-27 (Conn. Sup. Ct. 1971).
${ }^{6}$ Jack Scott, "The Masculine Obsession in Sports," in Wonen's Athletles: Coplng With Controversy, ed: Barbara J. Hoepner (Olstrict of Columbla: Amerlcan Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1974), p. 84.

7 scott, p. 85.
8Marjorie loggla, "On the Playing fields of History," Ms., July 1973, p. 63.
9Pub. L. No. 92-318, Tlite 1X, $\oint 906(\mathrm{a}), 86$ stat. 373, June 23, 1972.

[^1]12In some instances, intramural or club sports may be defined as competitive, rather than non-competitive.
$13_{\text {This }}$ format - -rhat is, beginning each section with actual examples of how discrimination might manifest itself on campus --Is followed throughout this paper.

14xathieen M. Engle, "The Greening of Girl's Sports," Nation's Schools, September 1973, p. 29; and Interview with Or. H. Royer Collins, Nation's Schools, September 1973, p. 30.
${ }^{15}$ Jack W. Wilmore, "Strength, Endurance and Body Composition of the Female Athlete," paper presented at the American Medical Assoclation's 15 th Natlonal Conference on the Kedical Aspects of Sports, Anahelm, Callfornla, December 1, 1973.

16 thomas E. Shaffer, "Physlological Considerations of the Female Participant," in Women and Sport: A National Atsas rch Conference, ed: Dorothy Harris (State College, Pennsylvania, 1972), p. 330.
i7there may, however, be some problems in the differences between the eligibility requirements specifled by the governing assoctations or conferences for female and male athletes. For a brlef discusslon of this, see "'Separate-8ut-Equal' Structures" later in this paper.
${ }^{18}$ for a llsting of institutions which offer athletic scholarships to women, see Nancy Parson's article, "Sports Scholarships for Women," In the March-April 1974 Issue of The Sportswoman.

191t seems likely that a universlity could not, for example, meet the nondiscriminatory requirements of title ix simply by opening up all varsity football, varsity basketball and heavywelght wrestilng scholarships to momen because such a policy would effect ively exclude women.
${ }^{20}$ some people maintaln that having women and men compete in contact sports would Infringe on their privacy rlghts. Counsel for the New York Clty Board of Higher Education concluded, however, they did not belleve that participation in contact sports would violate a person's right of prlvacy.
${ }^{21}$ In some Instances (for example, the balance beam and some other gymnastic events), this situation mlght well be reversed.
${ }^{22}$ rhe arguments for and agalnst allowing women to "compete up" that were outlined earller would apply here as well
${ }^{23}$ fasteau favurs separate teams, even if the oftstanding female athlete does not have the opportunlty to compete at the highest level.
${ }^{24}$ Some women's groups argue that, even If separate sources of funding (or separate structures) are allowed for competitive athletics to the extent that they are single sex, there is no justification for such differences In non-competitive or instructional athlet le programs.
${ }^{25}$ These revenues might come from gate recaipts, concesslons at the stadium, televiston contracts, or money from booster's clubs.

26 we stress that these interpretations are, at this point, speculative. They are included only to give some Idea of the possible Interpretations of the law.
${ }^{27}$ Until recently, the women's athletic assoclation prohibited charging admission at women's athletic events.
${ }^{28}$ for a copy of a chart (prepared by the Project on the Status and Education of Women) that outlines Federal Laws and Regulatlons Concerning Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions, write to the Public Information Offlce, offlce for Clvil Rights, Department of Health, Educ ind Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20:01.
${ }^{29}$ Ex natlonal oring or which do not have federal contractors. Antle VII of the 964 civil Rights Act pronibits all employers, even those national orlaln. The Equal pay of the Educali. The equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibits all employers from sex discrimination in salaries. Titte ix institution that receives federal fuids.
${ }^{30}$ ritile VII of the 1964 civil Rights Act permits an employer to limit a job to one sex only if sex can be proven to be a "bona fide occupational qualificatlon" (bfoq). The courts have interpreted this exemption very narrowly: for example, acceptable bfoq's are "lingerle fliter" and "rest rocm attendant" (provided the attendant is in the rest room while it is in use).
${ }^{31}$ None of the anti-discrimination legislation prohibits differences in pay based on a bona fide senlority or merit system, provided the systen is not discriminatory on the basis of sex or any other prohibited ground.

## RESOURCES

## BOOKS AND REPORTS SPECIEICALLY EOCUSLNG ON WOMEN_IN SPORI (Many have extensive bibliographles.)

Gerber, Ellen W., et al. The Anerican Homan In Sport. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1974. (Avallable for $\$ 8.85$ from Addison-Hesiey, Reading, Mass. 01867.)

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Peterson, Kathleen, et al., eds. Women and Sports: Conference Proceedings. Macomb, llilinois: Western lllinols Universlty, 1973.

## SIUDIES OE THE STATUS OE WOMEN IN SPORI (MOSt of these reports are unpublished.)

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Allocation of University Resources to Athletic Programs on the Basis of Sex lat the University of callfornia at Los Angeles). March 20, 1972. (For details, write to John Sandbrook, office of the Chancellor, Campus Affalrs Olvision, UCLA, 2244 Murphy Hall, 405 kilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Californla g0024.)

Brown's Women Athletes'. Alumni Monthly, March 1973.
Burns, Eunice L, et al, Report of the Compltee to Study Intercolleglate athletics for Women lat the University of Mlchlgan). November 1, 1973.

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Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Publle Schools. In Search of the freedom to Grow: Report of the Physical Education/Athletics Task Force. April 2, 1973.

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"The Growth of Women's Sports." Hamline University Bulletin. Aprll 1973.
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## MAGAZINES FOCUSING ON HOHEN IN SPORI

The Sportswoman, published bimonthly, is avallable for $\$ 4.50$ a year from Jensen-Fane Publications, 6150 Buckingham Parkway, Culver CIty, CA 90807.

WomenSports, putlished monthly, is avallable for $\$ 8.00$ a year from WomenSports, 1000 Elwell Court, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

ASSOCIATION FOR IHTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS FOR WOMEN PUBLICATIONS (Avallaite from American Assoclation for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Publications-Sales, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

AlAW Handbook. $\$ 1.50$

AlAl Oirectory: Charter Kember Instltutions. $\$ 2.00$
Phllosophy and Standards for Girls and Women's Sports. $\$ 2.00$.
Guidelines for Intercollegiate Athletle Programs for Women. 10 s

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Boring, Phyllis Zatlin. "Glrl's Sports: A Focus on Equallty." NJEA Review. (Avallable for 50s from New Jersey Education Assoclation, 180 W . State St., Trenton, New Jersey 08609.)

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"Special Issue: Revolution In Sports." Natlon's Schools. September 1973.

## IN ADDITION:

There is now a Center for Women and Sport. (The Sports Research Institute, College for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, White Bullding, Universlty Park, Pennsylvanla 16802). Directed by Dr. Dorothy V. Harris, the Center was formed to expand research interests in all areas relating to the female involved in physical activity.

The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) has developed a "sports klt" focusing on the Title IX regulations and other Issues. For a kit, send $\$ 2.00$ to WEAL, 799 National Press Bullding, Washington, 0.C. 20004.

For information concerning recent legal developments concerning women in sport, contact the Women's Rights Project of the Amerlean Clull Libertles Union (22 East 40th Street, New York, New York 10016) or refer to back issues of the Yomen's Rights Law Reporter (180 University Avenus, Newark, New Jersey 07102).

The Project on the Status and Education of homen of the Association of American Colleges began operations in September of 1971. The Project provides a clearinghouse of information concerning women in education and works with institutions, government agencles, and other associations and programs affecting women in hagher education. The project is funded by the carnegie Corporation of New York, the Danforth Foundation, and the Exxon Education Foundation. Publication of these materials does not necessarily constitute endorsement by AAC or any of the foundations which fund the Project.


[^0]:    Although they may have once had some validity, the reasons most often given for funding women's athletics at a low level often do not hold up under scrutiny. it has been shown that, given encouragement and ample opportunity, female students become interested in athletic programs. They practice seriously and strenuously. Glven ample support and publicity, women's sports can create as much spectator Interest as men's sports. For example, girls' basketball in lowa is a major sport, and outdraws boys' basketball.

    Disparlties between the budgets for women and men are a central concern when evaluating an institution's athletic program. These disparities may take the form of differences in elther the total amount of money spent on women's and men's sports or the amount of money allocated per sport for women and men. A recent study reported in the Journal of Heal th. Physical Educat Ion and Recreation (October 1973) found that the average annual budget for all of women's athetics at institutlons was $\$ 8,905$ (or about a dollar per student). However, the average "optimal" budget for women's athletics was $\$ 21,600$, well over twice the actual budget. In comparlson wl the budgets of many men's athletic departments, even this "higher" figure seems modest indeed.

    It is likely that women's sports wlll requite considerable budget increases to provide falr opportunities to women students, especially when new programs are beling "geared up." However, it is unlikely that women's competitive sports wlil require, in the near future, the identical funds that men's competive sports now require. AccordIng to the New York times (March 15, 1974), nlne out of every ten college athletic departments (which are generally all or predeninentlymale) run at a deffelt - a deficit which is usually covered by unlversity operating funds. The Nat lonal Colleglate Athletc Assoclation (NCAA) estimates that the current annual deficit of its members is almost Ifty mlllion dollars.

    The issue of equa) opportunlty for women can provide an opportunlty to assess the total athletic program (for both women and men) in light of the goals and objectives of the institution.

[^1]:    $10_{0}$ ther areas that title ix can be expected to influence are: nondiscrimination in admissions and the award of fellowshlps and financlal ald, equal job opportunities for female and male students, flexible programming and part-time opportunlties, sex-stereotypling in textbooks and the carriculum, the equalization of student rules which are different for women and men, sex-typed counseling, honorary socletles which admlt one sex only, and women's studles programs, and so forth.
    ${ }^{11}$ for example, giris in Nebraska, Minnesota and Indtana have recently established their right to Join the allmale golf, tennis, cross-country track and cross country skling teams when there were no paraliel teams for women. [Brenden V. Independent Schol Oistrict 742, 342 F.Supp. 1224 ( 0. MInn. 1972): Reed. . Nebraska School Actlvitles Assoclation, 341 F.Supg. 258 (0. Neb. 1972); Haas v. South Bend Community Sctrool Corporation, et al., No. 10715309 (Indlana Supreme Court, 1972)]. Rulings in lllinols and Connecticut, however, have gone the other way [Bucha $v$. Illinois HIgh School Association, 351 F.Supp. 69 (N.D. 111 , 1972) and Hollander V. The Connecticut Interscholastic Athletic Conference, Inc., No. 12-49-27 (Conn. Sup. Ct. 1971). Hollander was settled by agreement with U.S. District Judge, and the Interscholastic Athletic Association will amend its regulations to permlt females to compete in nioncontact sports when no team progran exists for females.] The state of Pennsylvanla is suing the Pennsyivania Interscholastic Athletic Assoclation under both the Fourteenth Amendment and the state constitution for falling to offer female athletes the same opportunities and experiences as male athletes. (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Pennsylvanla Interscholastic Athletic Association.)

