FEMININITY AND ATHLETICISM: TITLE IX AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

By

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Title: FEMININITY AND ATHLETICISM: TITLE IX AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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Professor Ellen Herman

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex at any educational institution that received federal funding. Intended to focus on unfair admission practices, Title IX became known for improving the treatment of female intercollegiate athletes. However, the intricacies of implementing federal standards of gender equality presented substantial challenges, and colleges and universities confronted the ideological intersection of femininity and athleticism in different ways. The University of Oregon administration remedied cases of overt discrimination, most notably in facility access, but acute inequities persisted. Becky Sisley, the first and only Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics for the University of Oregon, served as the driving force for changing athletic policies for women athletes. In extensive interviews, former female athletes corroborated this struggle for recognition. Archival evidence shows the University of Oregon administration increased funding for women's athletics during the 1970's. However, the Women's Intercollegiate Association survived on a meager budget and remained

autonomous until the Athletic Department combined men's and women's athletics in 1977. The merger, and Sisley's resignation shortly thereafter, hindered any further attempts for reaching true equality. Title IX presented a paradox for women's athletics: an expansion of equality for female athletes, but a decline in autonomy for coaches and administrators of women's athletics. Discrimination against female athletes persists at the University of Oregon and there is just cause to explore gender equality in all aspects of higher education.

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A thesis may appear to be an individual endeavor. Yet, to complete a task of this magnitude, one must rely on the support of many people. This project was keenly dependent on the willingness and generosity of others.

I must first acknowledge the work of University Archivist Heather Briston for her foresight to collect and preserve women's intercollegiate athletic history.

Secondly, I admire the eagerness and generosity of my oral interviewees to share their memories: Becky Sisley, Peg Rees, Elayne Logan Currie, Karen Meats, Monique Trainor Rutledge, and Diane Smith. Some of my interviewees were amused that their college years were not only of interest to a stranger, but also had become history. However, every female student-athlete builds upon the foundations of previous athletes, and their contributions to gender equity remain priceless.

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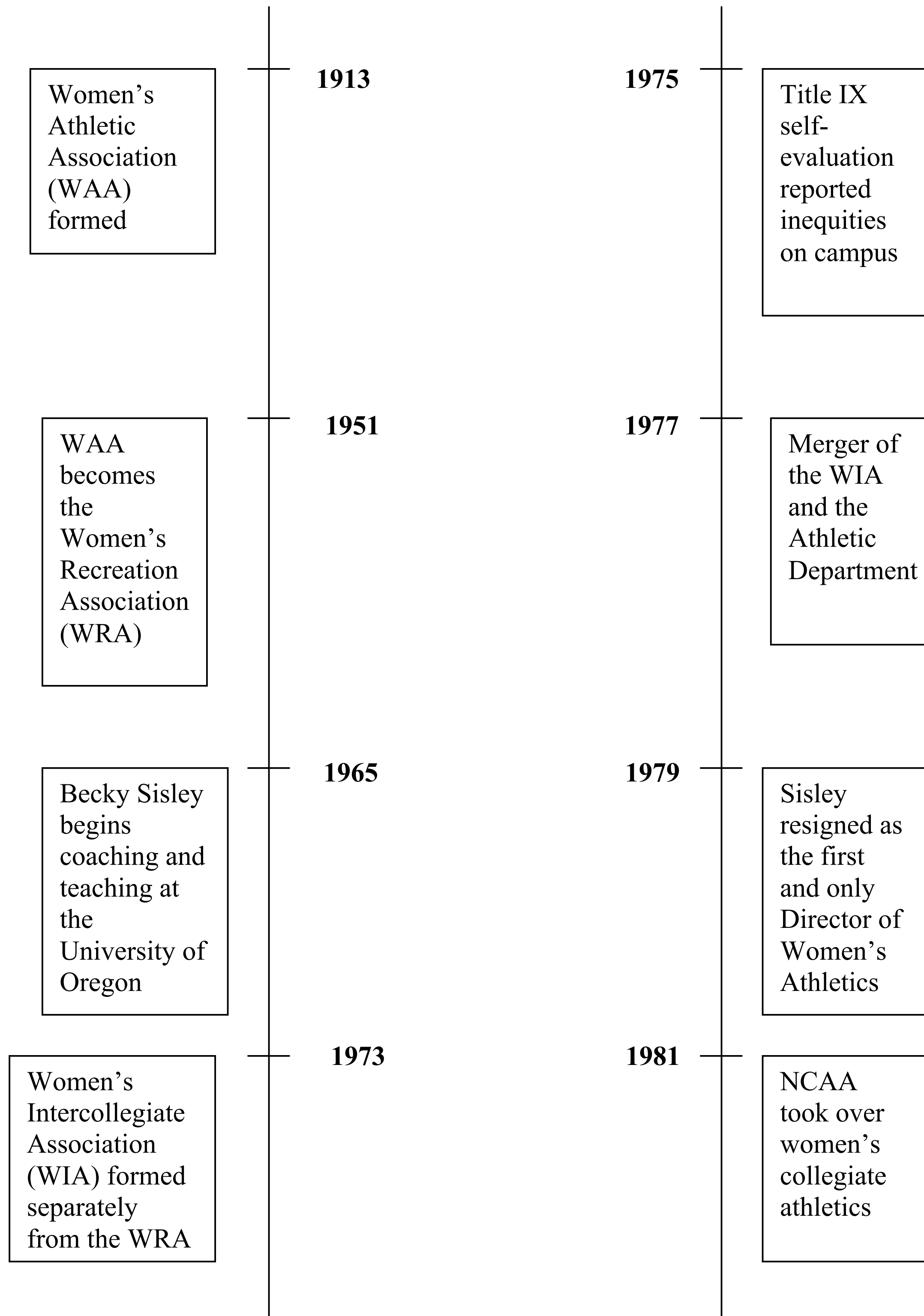
TIMELINE OF WOMEN'S ATHLETICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON



INTRODUCTION

A History of Discrimination: The Legacy of University of Oregon Women's Intercollegiate Athletics

> There may be worse (more socially serious) forms of prejudice in the United States, but there is no sharper example of discrimination today than that which operates against girls and women who take part in competitive sports, wish to take part, or might wish to if society did not scorn such endeavors.[1]

On May 7, 2011, over 200 former female student-athletes finally received formal recognition with a varsity letter for their contributions to University of Oregon women's intercollegiate athletics. These women represented the over 1,700 women athletes who competed at the University of Oregon from the mid-1940's through the 1970's. Beginning in the 1981 season, female athletes received varsity letters. The honorees were treated to a lavish banquet, reminisced about cherished memories, and commiserated that it took over three decades to receive acknowledgment for their hours of dedication. Friendships cultivated years ago—on the track, the softball field, or on campus—were reinvigorated for one weekend. This event was a milestone in the history of gender equity in athletics. The current opportunities for female athletes are forever indebted to the women who competed for the love of the game in the era before Title IX. My mother, Carol Hoffman Goss, was one of them. She competed in field hockey for the University of Oregon, and I am proud to see her recognized by the university she proudly represented for three years.

Women's athletics at the University of Oregon has changed dramatically since collegiate sporting opportunities for women began in the 1890's. In 1913, informal organizations at the University of Oregon evolved into the Women's Athletic Association

(WAA). This organization offered opportunities for female athletes to compete in field days against other local universities. Field hockey, under the tutelage of the legendary coach Janet Woodruff, was the most organized sport. In 1951, the WAA became the Women's Recreation Association (WRA) and offered a wide variety of sports, including basketball and swimming. Opportunities for female student-athletes expanded during the 1960's, culminating in the creation of the Women's Intercollegiate Association (WIA) in 1973. Led by Becky Sisley, the first and only Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, the WIA grew rapidly with leverage from Title IX. Passed in 1972, these amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in colleges and universities that received federal funding, including in athletics. The University of Oregon competed in regions classified by the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW). This organization, founded in 1971, provided the first comprehensive governing body for women's athletics in the United States.

For four short years, a woman administered women's athletics at the University of Oregon, and female athletes held leadership opportunities in an organization devoted to them. Becky Sisley was a dedicated leader, advocate, and voice for gender equity on behalf of all female student-athletes at the University of Oregon. The WIA, and its predecessor, was administered through the Department of Physical Education. Yet, in 1977, the Athletic Department merged with the WIA, subsequently reducing autonomy for both female athletes and athletic administrators. The merger of athletics at the University of Oregon reflected a national pattern in intercollegiate athletics during the 1970's. Pushed out of leadership positions, disenfranchised women no longer held

powerful jobs in combined athletic departments. This trend continued at the end of the decade when the National Collegiate Association (NCAA) took over the national administration of women's athletics in 1981.

Title IX presented a paradox for women's athletics: an expansion of equality for female athletes, but a decline in autonomy for coaches and administrators of women's athletics. The law stated:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.[2]

Originally focused on discrimination in any form at an educational institution, the law became infamously associated with intercollegiate athletics. In a pamphlet entitled "Why Title IX?" the U.S. Office of Education succinctly argued that "sex discrimination and sex-role stereotyping, whether overt or covert, direct or indirect, function to deny the equal educational opportunity guaranteed by the law."[3] The application of Title IX to intercollegiate athletics defined sports as an educational activity, and therefore made it subject to legal consequences if specific regulations were not satisfied. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare enumerated areas of compliance in 1975 and federal agencies such as the Department of Education and the Office of Civil Rights still review the stipulations to this day. In 1976, a University of Oregon task force completed a required self-evaluation report, identified numerous inequities, and proposed ways to remedy them. Women's athletics faced many obstacles to reaching gender equity in the years that followed.

Ambiguously worded, Title IX presented several questions regarding the improvement of women's intercollegiate athletics, and the subsequent impact on men's intercollegiate athletics. In *Sex Discrimination Law in Higher Education: The Lessons of the Past Decade*, Ralph Lindgren concluded the law "allows some separation and differentiation of arrangements and alternatives, provided that overall equality of opportunity and proportionality of resources are maintained."[4] This variability prompted each university to interpret the law based on their existing athletic opportunities for men and women. The administrators had "flexibility in deciding how equal opportunity in athletics will be provided."[5] Consequently, various iterations of gender equity in athletics developed across the country. In 1978, the Department of Health, Education of Welfare proposed three methods of Title IX compliance.

1. The numbers of men and women participating in intercollegiate athletics are substantially proportionate to their overall enrollment; or
2. Where members of one sex are underrepresented in the athletics program, whether the institution can show a continuing practice of program expansion responsive to the developing interests and abilities of that sex; or
3. The present program accommodates the interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex.[6]

The variability for compliance produced distinctive relationships between men's and women's intercollegiate athletics at each university. According to my oral interviewees, discussed in the methodology section, the University of Oregon currently claims compliance under the second method by adding new intercollegiate teams for women beginning in the 1980's. However, the legacy of women's intercollegiate athletics at the University of Oregon is a paradoxical story of improved gender equity, but a loss of autonomous leadership.

Purpose of Study

Gender inequalities were and continue to be ubiquitous in American society; yet, the effects of discrimination in athletics were so profound they caught the attention of Bil Gilbert and Nancy Williamson as quoted in the epigraph. The male dominated structure of intercollegiate athletics presented challenging circumstances for female athletes during the 1970's. Nevertheless, the passage of Title IX induced a marked increase in female participation in athletics.

Figure 1: Intercollegiate Sports Participation[7]

	1971-1972	1981-1982	1986-1987
Men	172,447	157,404	171,361
Women	31,852	69,096	82,979
M/F Ratio	5.5	2.27	2.04

While this table presents important aggregate data, it does not tell the story of individual women, or the obstacles they faced during college. Based upon my own familial connection to the University of Oregon, I explored the history of Title IX and the ramifications of Title IX on women's intercollegiate athletics at the University of Oregon. Athletics, for both sexes, have been a strong component of the legacy and history of the University of Oregon. No other scholarly work has explored the story of these specific female student-athletes or the institutional changes that Title IX brought to the organization of athletics at the University of Oregon. The women who lived through this time deserve to have their story preserved. Their legacy will provide a framework to understand the future steps needed to achieve equality for female athletes.

Research Questions

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare's framework for Title IX delineated specific methods for quantifying equality. Yet, how did Title IX affect women's intercollegiate athletics for University of Oregon student-athletes and administrators? Title IX affected each group differently: expansion of opportunity for female student-athletes, yet a decline in leadership opportunities for coaches and administrators of women's sports. Consequently, how were female student-athletes treated on campus, and how did this treatment compare to male student-athletes? Interviewees spoke to the obvious changes on campus such as improved facility usage, transportation, and uniforms. Yet, everyone referred to a persistent inequitable view of the value of women's sports. The prevailing attitude classified female athletes as secondary to male athletes. Distinctive philosophies of sport classified female athletics on an academic model, while men's sports focused on the entertainment, or business models. The University of Oregon dealt with Title IX in specific ways, but how did the story of Title IX at the University of Oregon compare with the national trends during the 1970's? The 1977 merger, the loss of women's coaches and administrators, and the remediation of overt forms of discrimination were all recognizable patterns across the United States.

Literature Review

Research about Title IX is a burgeoning field because the effects of the law are relatively recent. Other scholars have examined the effects of the federal law for women's intercollegiate athletics, but they focus on the national story or examples other than the University of Oregon. Kevin White, author of "An Appraisal of the Women's

Intercollegiate programs, and the relationship to men's athletics at Big Ten Intercollegiate Athletic Conference institutions before and after Title IX implementation," drew conclusions based on statistics rather than personal interviews in his thesis written a decade after the passage of Title IX. Additional scholars, such as William Brooke, author of "Assessing the impact of Title IX and other factors on women's intercollegiate athletic programs, 1972-1977: a national study of four-year AIAW institutions," followed this pattern. Quantitative data provides a framework for understanding inequities in budgets, participants and employment statistics. However, how did these constraints and obstacles affect the lives of female student-athletes? This question is central to the specific story of University of Oregon women's intercollegiate athletics.

Secondary sources provided context for understanding how the University of Oregon reconciled its existing athletic program with new regulations, as well as the broader implications of Title IX for female athletes. Primarily the work of Welch Suggs, author of *A Place on the Team*, provided the historical background of women's athletics, the history of the AIAW, and discussed the paradoxical effects of Title IX for gender equity progress. Additional compilations, such as *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports*, framed issues of femininity, athleticism and the implications of gender equity.

Methodology

The case study model relies heavily on primary sources. First, newspaper articles found in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*, *Register-Guard* and the *Oregonian* provided chronological and situational information. Supplemented by articles from popular magazines (*Sports Illustrated*, *Ms.*) and journals (*Journal of Health, Physical Education*

and Recreation), a common framework was established for the events at the University of Oregon. Files held by the University of Oregon Special Collections and Archives offered specific administrative information. Oral interviews were conducted with five former athletes and a former coach, director, and administrator. Peg Rees, Diane Smith, Elayne Logan-Currie, Monique Rutledge, and Karen Meats provided information about their experiences as University of Oregon female athletes during the 1960's and 1970's. The interviewees competed in field hockey, volleyball, basketball, softball, and track and field. Becky Sisley began her career at the University of Oregon in 1965 and during her tenure she coached field hockey, softball, and basketball, instructed physical education classes, and served as the first and only director of women's intercollegiate athletics. These six interviews do not represent the entire range of experiences for former female student-athletes at the University of Oregon**,** when over 1,700 athletes competed. Nevertheless, the interviewees provided unique stories and insight into the inequities of the 1970's. No oral interviews were conducted with former male student-athletes or coaches, but newspaper articles and files in the archives provided ample documentation of the dominant male sentiment about women's sports. The combination of primary and secondary sources identifying national trends and local events ultimately intersected with interviews adding dimension and depth to this narrative.

Chapter Preview

The origins of change in women's athletics began in the 1960's. Chapter 1, "A Struggle to Be Heard: Pre-Title IX Female Athletes at the University of Oregon" discusses the obstacles for female student-athletes prior to the passage of Title IX. For example, the *Oregon Daily Emerald* rarely reported on women's games. Karen Meats, a

five-sport athlete, remembered few spectators at their events, but a strong camaraderie amongst the athletes. Women's athletics fought for attention and recognition, while maintaining a high level of competition and pride. Meanwhile, the student body questioned the validity of spending student money on athletic programs, and ignited a controversy between the ASUO and the university administration.

After the passage of Title IX in 1972, women's intercollegiate athletic opportunities drastically improved. Inequities in facilities, transportation, tutoring, coaching staff, and uniforms were identified in the University of Oregon's self-evaluation report. The budget disparities were the most apparent form of discrimination. Chapter 2, "The Cost of Gender Equity: Women's Intercollegiate Athletics and Title IX at the University of Oregon (1972-1978)" examines the structural and organizational changes related to Title IX. Conditions improved for women's athletics, and the creation of the Women's Intercollegiate Association (WIA) enabled leadership opportunities for female students and coaches. Yet, the 1977 merger with the Athletic Department hastened this expansion of rights and prompted the involuntary decline of the WIA.

The chain of events at the University of Oregon fits within a larger discussion of femininity and athleticism. Chapter 3, "Changing the Definition of Femininity: The Effect of Title IX on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics" provides context for the ambiguity associated with Title IX. Additionally, specific University of Oregon events described in the preceding chapters correspond with philosophical discussions and popular stereotypes of female athletes during the 1970's. While the legacy of women's intercollegiate athletics at the University of Oregon may follow national patterns, the

history remains distinct and inherently dependent on the specific individuals who dictated the opportunities for female athletes.

CHAPTER 1

A Struggle to be Heard: Pre-Title IX Female Athletes at the University of Oregon

"If you want to find out just how much your college thinks you are worth, take a look at the athletic budget."[8] (Mary Allen, president of the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students)

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the University of Oregon sponsored limited athletic opportunities for women. With a small budget and an even smaller staff, the Women's Recreation Association tried to do its best. Meanwhile, the Athletic Department increased funding, upgraded its facilities, and became a larger presence on campus. The rapid growth of one group, contrasted with the unnoticed efforts of another, characterized the relationship of men's athletics to women's athletics throughout the country. The pre-Title IX years at the University of Oregon were comprised of blatant discrimination, disbelief that women could compete, and a galvanization of the strength of the men's athletic department.

The University of Oregon was not isolated in its overt and covert discrimination towards female athletes. Articles in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* operated with noticeable assumptions and prevalent stereotypes about female athletes. Karen Meats, a five-sport athlete at Oregon during the 1960's, corroborates this discrimination. The inequality manifested for all female intercollegiate athletes in apparent denials for facilities access, trainers, and uniforms. More subtle discrimination came in the form of media obscurity, and derogatory references to female athletes, undercutting their accomplishments. Furthermore, the leadership of the athletics franchise, as well as the University, perpetuated male domination and the denial of female agency for intercollegiate athletics.

Not until the passage of Title IX could female administrators use legal leverage to advocate for better opportunities for female athletes.

A useful understanding of athletics can be drawn from the *Oregon Daily Emerald*, which succinctly covered many areas of campus life: sports coverage, Associated Students of the University of Oregon (ASUO) budget issues, the Athletic Department, University administration, and opinion pieces written by students. The *Oregon Daily Emerald*, written by college students, reflects the sentiments of this demographic in regards to athletics and gender equity. The articles also suggest the direction given to them by their editors, reflecting the priority of certain news stories, especially about intercollegiate athletics teams.

The *Oregon Daily Emerald* reported on women's athletic competitions in sparse terms. If a women's game was covered, the author usually referred to a final score, but left out athletes' names. However, this practice changed between 1969 and 1972. The two sports with the most coverage were field hockey and softball. Field hockey existed at the University of Oregon for several decades prior to Title IX. Janet Woodruff brought the sport to Eugene from the east coast in the 1920's. In addition, there were some mentions of women competing in track and field, swimming, skiing, bowling, gymnastics, and rally squad. Bowling and skiing were co-ed club sports and therefore the meager budgets were doled out to men and women alike. Additional intramural competitions were provided through the Women's Recreation Association (WRA). The WRA was housed in the physical education department, and the staff administered the sporting competitions.

1969

Budget

A significant source of funding for male and female athletic programs came from student incidental fees. The distribution of this money in 1969 ignited debate about the best usage of student fees and how to provide the most opportunities for each student. In 1969, "each University student [paid] $75 per year into the fund."[9] The ASUO fiscal committee distributed the money amongst different student organizations, including the Athletic Department and the Women's Recreation Association. Each group proposed a detailed budget request that the Senate reviewed and adjusted. The final budget allocations were approved or denied by the ASUO President, the University President and the State Board of Higher Education.

The spring of 1969 found the ASUO Senate portioning out $1.17 million, and the Athletic Department was one of the largest recipients. The Senate recommended the 1969-1970 budget to allocate $249,000 to the Athletic Department, and $4,700 to the WRA.[10] However, on May 13, 1969, the ASUO Senate passed an amendment to the budget which affected many items, including athletics in two manners: "Athletic Department: eliminating a requested $249,000 request but supplying a $100,000 reserve should the department not break even or make profits,"[11] and "WRA and Recreation Council: eliminating WRA as a separate item, putting it under Recreation Council. The Council's budget now stands at $25, 215."[12] These changes reduced the percentage of student money funneled to athletic programs to allow funding for academic student programs, such as a new ethnic studies department. The changes to the WRA were not

reported on, however the effect on the athletic department prompted considerable discussion during the spring of 1969.

The *Oregon Daily Emerald* covered the ASUO Senate meetings, where students questioned the value of the athletic department, in comparison with other educational programs. They debated the merits of sports entertainment, engaging themselves in a national debate about the direction and priority of intercollegiate athletics. In early May, the senators detailed their plan to reduce athletic department funding:

> [Senator Tom] English spoke in defense of the changes. 'This budget is designed to reflect a change in the ASUO. We can't fund educational innovations, minority students programs, the health service and the athletic department at the same time,' he said. Backers of the amendment agreed with English, saying they would like to 'help the athletic department find other sources of income.' 'We're not selling the athletic department down the river,' English emphasized. Sen. Ed Kamp, fiscal committee chairman, disagreed. 'The object of the amendment quite simply will be the elimination of the athletic department as we know it.' Senator Dave Hytowitz said that the athletic department could earn money through gate receipts, TV coverage, selling athletic cards, and donations. Several times, senators turned to the idea of making the athletic department self-supporting, thereby releasing funds that 'would further benefit University students.'[13]

The Athletic Department expressed grave concern over the potential loss of funds for their program, and the loss of priority at the university. The organization received a substantial proportion of student incidental fees, outdone only by funding for the Erb Memorial Union. Prior to the Senate's amendment, the Athletic Department would have received 21% of the total student incidental fee fund. The Senate's proposal to cut funding implied the possible elimination of football, the flagship sport of most universities. While the Oregon Ducks struggled through many seasons, the program garnered alumni support and funding. The construction of Autzen Stadium finished in

1967, vastly improved the facilities at Hayward Field. In fact, most of the home games were played in Portland because Hayward was no longer adequate. The large capital investment in the new stadium depleted the coffers of the department. The concerns of the athletic department were well founded. In fact, "one of the primary reasons a major university gave up football was that it had no choice once the athletic fees were made voluntary as a result of student protest. And 151 senior colleges have given up football since 1939."[14] The Athletic Department lamented the ASUO Senate's decision and hoped the University administration and the president would maintain funding for the program.

Funding for the Athletic Department skirted massive cuts due to unforeseen events involving the president of the university. After President Flemming left in 1968, Charles E. Johnson served as the interim president. Continual conflicts between the students, the ROTC, and the administration led to overwhelming stress for the new president, who died in a suspicious car accident on the McKenzie River Highway after commencement. Robert D. Clark planned to take over the presidency at the end of the summer of 1969. Between the departure of interim President Johnson and the arrival of President Clark, Ray Hawk, former Dean of Men, served as interim president for the University of Oregon. Over the summer, he "reversed the ASUO Senate budget priorities," thereby funding the Athletic Department.[15] He justified his actions by citing the importance of the athletic department to the university: "the Athletic Department has been part of the University for 74 years. We cannot deny them funds because a particular group of students wants to sink the Athletic Department."[16] Furthermore, Hawk stated: "The students (ASUO leaders) wanted to get the money from the Athletic Department.

As a responsible administrator, I could not take money from that department."[17] After the arrival of President Clark, Hawk received a promotion to become Dean of Admission. Amongst his roles, Hawk now oversaw the Athletic Department. Hawk would later become the Vice President of Administration and Finance, thereby increasing his power over funding for programs including the Athletic Department. The actions of administrators, like Hawk, exemplify the priority of men's athletics and the influence of the Athletic Department. Because Hawk superseded the interests of the student body and other educational programs, the ASUO filed a lawsuit against the university for overstepping students' ability to determine where and how their incidental fees would be allocated.

In the realm of athletics, not all sports were given adequate budgets. While the Senate and the administration feuded over the amount of funding for the Athletic Department, the WRA received less than 2% of the funding allocated for men's sports. The potential decrease in funding for the athletic department garnered attention from senators, administrative staff, and community members. Compared to the furor over the Athletic Department, no one discussed the potential reorganization and loss of autonomy. The WRA survived on a fragile budget and the ASUO viewed the program as unessential. This division between male and female sports is well documented. However, there also was a division between varsity and club sports, which usually differ dramatically in terms of funding and support.

Club sport athletes faced similar budgetary discrimination. Bruce Howe, coach of the men's rugby team, chastised the ASUO Senate for allowing a drastic decrease in proposed budget funding from $20,000 to $3,000, which he criticized as "ignorance of

the values of such a program."[18] Howe championed the camaraderie associated with club sports, both on the team and with teams from opposing schools. Even though club sports did receive $20,000 in the end, the bias against club sports affected the entire program. The budget constraints affected other club sports, such as bowling. Coach Lou Bellisimo resigned because of frustrations of low funding. Bellisimo lamented:

> Although the budget has been getting tighter and tighter,' he said, 'I requested and received $715 last year. I requested $1200 this year because of the added teams scheduled–the addition of the UC Davis Invitational Tournament and the formulation of the Pac–8 Northern Division Tournament. We are scheduled to receive fifty dollars. If I had requested the actual amount spent it would be at least one–third higher. My boys always pay out of their own pockets.[19]

The frustrations of club sports resembled the struggles of the WRA, as both organizations were subordinate to the athletic department. In addition to describing the dire monetary situation, for a reigning championship team, Bellisimo provided insight into the life of a coach: "Like all other club sports we coach without pay, he continued, 'and I certainly have no complaints or regrets. However, I could spend the time with my family."[20] However, club sports received enough money in the 1969-1970 budget enticing Coach Bellissimo to return.[21] Coaches for women's athletics were also unpaid faculty members who taught in the physical education department. Becky Sisley, who will factor greatly into the Title IX story as the director of women's athletics, coached field hockey and softball while simultaneously teaching physical education classes.

Representation of Athletic Females in the Media

Coverage of women's sports was, at best, minimal. This discrimination underscored the general impression of women's sports as unimportant. When the *Oregon Daily Emerald* devoted an entire section to football every Friday, the value of men's

sports was apparent to the students and other readers. Meanwhile, women's sports coverage would appear as two or three sentences, filling up the space between articles about men's sports and advertisements (usually promoting engagement rings). The media further demeaned the value of female athletes by focusing on recognizable feminine traits such as beauty or physical appearance.

Female competitors were not considered to be true athletes and if they showed a particular affinity for sports there was an excuse for this exceptional behavior. In a brief article about a track meet in April of 1969, the author referenced a competitor from Portland State. In the assessment of her athletic prowess, the author wrote: "Tara Sheldon, a Portland State student who was recently crowned Miss Tall Portland, went 5-7 1/4" in the high jump to break the NCAA and American record for women in that event."[22] Implicit in this account are two messages: Ms. Sheldon is a beautiful woman capable of winning a more important competition–Miss Tall Portland. Secondly, her height enabled her to excel in the high jump, but this accomplishment was minor. While this example involves a female athlete from another university, this article appeared in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* and typifies the general perception of female athletes.

The photographic coverage of men's sports showed the players in active shots, while women were rarely shown in athletic settings, thereby classifying female athletes as exceptions. In fact, in all of 1969, only one picture of a female engaging in any sport appeared in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. Not related to any WRA-sponsored programs, the photograph showed a group of girls huddled together during a powderpuff football game. Despite the presence of female student-athletes in the WRA, the picture, taken during Homecoming, showed women playing a feminized version of football. The

accompanying description portrayed the "sorority sweethearts" against the "dormitory darlings."[23] Interestingly, the author of the article included the names of two females who scored touchdowns during the game. While some articles about softball and track identified some athletes, it was not a common practice in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. In most articles, no names of female athletes appeared thereby removing any personal attachment to their athletic feats. In the powderpuff piece, the identification of females was not a threat because it was a one-time event reserved for Homecoming celebrations. Furthermore, "powderpuff" connoted an informal display of female athleticism and thereby demeaned the genuine athleticism of WRA student-athletes.

Competition

The importance of athletic competition stemmed from the president of the university because he set the tone for the institution's identity: athletics or education. Before President Clark arrived in the fall of 1969, the *Oregon Daily Emerald* covered his opinions on several items related to the University. Clark remarked: "athletics have a place at institutions of learning because they satisfy the desires of young people to 'gather together in a ritualistic experience, a mass catharsis.'"[24] However, it is unclear if Clark targeted his statement only towards men, or whether he believed the beneficial experience could and should be enjoyed by both sexes. Nevertheless, Clark recognized the necessity for college-age students to engage in sports as a way of balancing the stresses of university academics.

Despite the lack of support for women's athletics, the teams were highly competitive and found great strength in working together. Karen Meats, who attended the University of Oregon from 1964-1968 and played 5 different sports, reminisced about

her close connections with her teammates. When asked about her favorite memories of playing in college, she did not recall a specific game or competition, rather she replied: "we really had a very high level of camaraderie that I would not have known anywhere else… there is something about a collective energy in a group of people all trying to achieve the same goal."[25] This "collective energy" was fostered through the competition, as well as the dedication of the coach. The structure of the WRA fostered a strong identity for female student-athletes. Meats fondly recalled her field hockey coach: "the ability to, or the opportunity to play for Miss Woodruff, or Janet Woodruff, it was really something else."[26] Furthermore, the group of athletic women allowed "the programs [to be] controlled and conducted by women and provided many leadership opportunities for students."[27] Besides camaraderie, the women excelled in their competitions against other universities.

Field Hockey, under the direction of two highly qualified and inspirational coaches, Janet Woodruff and Becky Sisley, became the hallmark of the Women's Recreation Association. The University of Oregon team was a formidable competitor in the Pacific Northwest. Yet, the brief notations in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* provide an unemotional and dull account of the games. For example: "Oregon's field hockey team won four of five matches recently in the meet at Victoria B.C. The Ducks defeated Linfield 3-0, tied Washington 1-1, blanked Puget Sound 2-0, edged Pacific Lutheran 1-0 and topped Oregon State 1-0. Oregon competes in the Pacific Northwest Collegiate Field Hockey Conference."[28] Despite the strong season of the field hockey team, and other WRA teams, an overall assessment of the fall sports teams was not given in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. In contrast, men's fall sports for 1969 were given a full-page spread

detailing the escapades of the football team, the cross country team, and their newest addition, Steve Prefontaine, and a brief mention of club sports "showing greater activity on all fronts, [which] proved that minor sports have their place in the University's athletic picture."[29] A winning season was not a prerequisite for garnering attention in the article; the football team did not impress fans during the 1969 season. The dominant qualification for extensive publicity was being male. A victory for any male team resulted in praise, sometimes in multiple articles about one game. In contrast, the women's softball team proved to be exceptional during the spring 1970 season. For example: "Oregon's undefeated women's softball team claimed its fifth straight win Monday with a 25-10 decision over Oregon College of Education…Next home game is 3:30 p.m. on May 13 on Gerlinger Field. Opposition will be provided by a women's intramural team composed of graduate students in physical education."[30] If a men's team were undefeated, the news coverage would most certainly provide detailed accounts of the team's success, and include portraits of the top athletes. This double standard caught the attention of the US Office of Education. "A Student Guide to Title IX," presented the ironic relationship: "A victory for a boys' team may make front page headlines in the school newspaper. A victory for the girls' team may be buried in a small column in the last page, or perhaps not even reported at all."[31]

1970

Concerns about the allocation of student incidental fees, and the funding of the athletic department persisted during the 1970-71 season at the University of Oregon. These common anxieties continued throughout the pre Title IX era and only became

heightened after the federal legislation mandated equality for the sexes. The budget of the Athletic Department continued to expand, while the WRA received a pittance.

Budget/Athletic Department

After the student incidental fee controversy in 1969, the Athletic Department began looking for new funding sources and expanded its dependency on external resources. Preliminary budget figures indicated the Athletic Department requested $260,000 from the University of Oregon and was recommended $211,000. The WRA requested $9,800 and was recommended $6,000.[32] Compounding the effects of capricious funding sources, "enrollmen [sic] lids placed on the University by the state legislature, the budget faces a potential $141,764 deficit before even getting off the planning board."[33] It is not surprising that the program looked externally to find money.

Catering to alumni desires was an activity exclusive to male sports. Former female student-athletes did not extend such offers to promote the women's program at the university. While athletes such as Karen Meats remember team camaraderie, the male athletes promoted the expansion of revenue sports such as basketball and football. In fact, the 1970 football season added a game to draw in more money for "the collegiate athletic coffers, which are rapidly being depleted due to rising costs."[34] Further ideas for increasing revenue at football games included "a possible television contract, concessions, contracts, and the selling of beer at football games."[35] Norval Ritchey, an administrative assistant, and later the Athletic Director, argued the increase in funding was necessary to stay competitive, and to please alumni donors. In order to secure this funding, coaches were responsible for listening to the alums; much like an elected representative is called upon to listen to his or her constituents.

The Athletic Department dotingly catered to the wishes of the alumni donation base. The baseball coach, Mel Krause, instituted regulations for hair length and prohibited facial hair. The impetus for enacting such changes began with the alums. Krause recalled:

> I was doing some grant–in–aid work early this summer,' Krause recalled, 'and out of approximately 50 calls, some 10 people questioned the Athletic Department policy pertaining to hair. They were concerned to the point that they weren't too happy about giving money to us. And they showed resentment to extremely long hair. I'm concerned that we're only going to survive as long as we have grant–in–aid money. If grants–in–aid drop, baseball will be one of the first programs to feel it.[36]

The reliance upon alumni funds propelled this comical yet genuine concern about the length of hair. Yet, this accommodation of capricious alumni concerns promoted "a cyclic bind: [programs] are forced to be self-supporting; therefore they must attract spectators; therefore they must win; therefore they must attract the best athletes; therefore they must keep up with the Joneses across the nation; therefore if one institution does 'it,' so must all the others who are on the treadmill."[37] In order to keep up with this spiraling demand, the Athletic Department became a business.

This constant focus on securing external sources of funding and providing entertainment for the fans characterized the philosophy of men's sports. Women's coaches focused on teaching the talented females who came to the university for academic reasons, while the men's coaches sought to create winning teams by hand-selecting the top athletic talent. Even Norval Ritchey, emphasized the frenetic atmosphere of the Athletic Department after he became the Athletic Director. In order to "'maintain a good recruiting program, we must have this money. The success of our teams is determined by how well we recruit. If our program becomes a winning one–

which it certainly appears to be becoming–we'll get additional income through gate receipts, TV exposure, etc., and this will help us to be become even more self-sustaining.'"[38] However, bringing in new talent did not always guarantee a winning team. In a letter to the editor of the *Oregon Daily Emerald*, Iain More, a graduate student in the physical education department, observed "the athletic program is a business, a nationwide business with you as the consumer and the athlete as the goods. At Oregon it would see that the dividends are low!"[39] The frustration of More explained the incidental fee debate because a large portion of students' money went towards the Athletic Department, but what did the students get in return? Furthermore, each student paid the same amount of money, yet men's sports received a substantially higher percentage of the funding than women's sports.

Publicity

In the 1970-71 sports season, the WRA received substantially more publicity than years past, mainly because they explicitly demanded more attention. However, the brevity of the articles remained the discriminatory standard. In contrast, two star male athletes got into legal trouble during the season, and received more publicity for their wrongdoings than the women did for their display of competitive athleticism. First, Stan Love, the star basketball player known for his tough, aggressive playing style, committed crimes during the 1970-71 school year. He "was charged with assault and battery, pleaded innocent to the misdemeanor charge, served up $100 bail and was released…[additionally] Love was of three Oregon athletes arrested May 11 in Oakridge when he was taken from a boxcar and charged with unlawful train riding."[40] Secondly, the football player Bobby Moore, now known as Ahmad Rashad, was suspended from the

team due to "missing team practices but [also because] of the junior athlete's arrest in Portland Tuesday night for allegedly 'entering a motor vehicle with intent to steal.'"[41] These men committed illegal acts, but they received significant media attention.

While the male athletes garnered attention for anything they did, the women had to fight for even basic coverage of their games. Billie Jean King remarked "'it's always been that way. The press plays up the men, assuming that women players are of minor interest.'"[42] King's comment described the world of professional tennis, but her sentiments applied to the amateur athletes at the University of Oregon. The few sporadic sentences covering women's athletics indicated the low level of recognition given to female student-athletes. Furthermore, when Carol Grieg, secretary of the WRA, asked the *Oregon Daily Emerald* for increased publicity about women's sports at the University of Oregon, her request was met with surprise.

> Liberated women arise…the world is yours to claim for a song, a little cash and a burned out bra. And for all you frustrated females who mourn the loss of your womanhood to we male chauvinists…there is yet an outlet for your despair, and its perfectly legal…the second oldest profession as it were–athletics. Seriously folks, this is no laughing matter. The WRA (sounds like a depression economic program but it really stands for Women's Recreation Association) provides athletic programs for all women coeds. We were unaware until recently of the WRA's existence. Carol Grieg, executive secretary of the association came up to the office requesting some press coverage of girls' athletic events…and we're happy to oblige. Daphne Duck (Donald in drag?) represents both intramural and intercollegiate athletic programs. Sadly some of the intramural programs have already begun and have escaped notice in the paper…Aside from intramurals, the most significant contribution of the WRA is in the area of intercollegiate athletic competition for girls. To be sure, the Oregon field hockey team doesn't draw like varsity football–but there are persons who claim the action is just as furious. Intercollegiate programs include the aforementioned field hockey, volleyball, bowling, swimming and gymnastics.[43]

Ignorance of the existence of the WRA by a sports writer for the *Oregon Daily Emerald* typifies the attitude towards female student-athletes on campus. These women were invisible, of no consequence, and their actions, seemingly unfeminine, were not reported on with great detail. Any inclusion of women's athletics acted as filler to ensure full-page coverage of the *Oregon Daily Emerald* sports section pages. Despite the commitment of the writer of the article to discuss future competitions, reporting remained scant and brief. For example, "the Oregon women's 'A' volleyball team defeated OSU in an intercollegiate contest Thursday, 15-8, 15-11. The match was held in Eugene. The 'B' team dropped both its matches."[44] This three-sentence article appeared on Monday, October 19, 1970 on a page with two full-length accounts of a football match that occurred on Saturday. The volleyball match had occurred on the previous Thursday, but the results were not reported on Friday, because of the dedication of that edition to a preview of the upcoming football game. Furthermore, events of historical significance were reported with an air of nonchalance. For "the first time in intercollegiate swim meet history, women will compete in the same meet with men. Women's events, matching Duck and Viking [Portland State] squads, will be interspersed between the men's races."[45] Co-ed meets and competitions would become more normal due to the regulations of Title IX, but in 1970, this event was not legally mandated, and therefore noteworthy.

Despite some expanded coverage of women's sports, the headlines of the articles remained derogatory and demeaning. The requisite coverage of the powderpuff football appeared once again in the fall of 1970. This time the article included a picture with the underlying caption: "it was a wet day for football–any kind of football–including the

'powder puff' variety. It was sorority vs. sorority on the girls' p.e. field Thursday as these dripping ladies of the girdiron (sic) huddled, played and cheered. Needless to say, the score didn't matter– who was keeping track?"[46] Once again the image of a female playing powderpuff served as a non-threatening example of female athleticism.

The *Oregon Daily Emerald* demeaned the competitive women of the WRA through gender specific and juvenile terminology. Karen Meats remarked "we were called 'miss' in the papers, if we made the papers. It was always 'miss this' and 'miss that.'[47] This pattern of feminizing athletic competitions held even in female-only sports, such as softball. A May 25, 1970 article was titled "Gal Softballers win." This blatant and purposeful inclusion of the word 'gal' begs the question of why this qualifier is necessary. Softball was and continues to be an inherently female sport. The addition of the feminine term resonates with the tension between femininity and athletics. Conversely, the football team was never referred to as "Boy Footballers" because the word football connoted a masculine sport. This double standard continued even in non-revenue sports such as swimming. A January 15, 1970 article characterized the results of the coed meet as "Men wallop PSU, but mermaids fall." The overt characterization of female athletes as not athletic, but a fantasy creature classifies their competition as an imitation or a sham. Abby Abinanti wrote an article in 1971 entitled "The Communications Media and Women in Sports," an article in the *Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation*. Abinanti deduced that "traditionally men's sports writers have helped to erode the values of men's sports and created a mockery of women in sports whenever they have thought to include women in sports pages."[48] Players were also referred to as "duckling" in sports coverage. The term not only implies a juvenile

status, but a diminutive classification. Female tennis players were referred to as "ducklings."[49] However, the term 'ducklings' was not only reserved for female athletes. It also applied to junior varsity male teams, including baseball.[50] The implication of this term to describe athletically immature males, who are waiting to be on the elite team, and women's sports in general, was another sign of discrimination in popular culture.

Competition

The WRA consistently competed at a high level throughout the pre Title IX era. The 1970-71 season once again saw exceptional talent from the field hockey and softball teams, and a strong post-season effort by the volleyball team. Individual athletes in skiing and gymnastics also won competitions. For example, "Carol Levine meanwhile, whipped a field of 24 competitors in the Skiesta at Ashland for her first place trophy."[51] On one occasion the "Oregon's women's softball team rapped 11 hits en route to a 7-1 shellacking of Oregon State last weekend as JoAnne Nusem twirled a three-hitter for the Webfoots."[52] Meanwhile the field hockey team maintained its competitive reputation. "According to Carol Grieg of the Women's Recreation Association, the game was an exceptionally rugged one, matching two very well balanced teams with a high skill level."[53] Overall, the female athletes competed exceptionally well, even without adequate funding or a budget designed to entice new talent. Based upon the tenets of the AIAW of equal opportunity for each player, and on the priority of academics, the coaches at the University of Oregon molded the talent of women who played because they loved to do so.

This philosophy produced impressive results with little recognition from the rest of the student body. For example, the volleyball team did so well during their season

they qualified for "the national championship tournament February in Lawrence, Kansas. Providing enough money can be raised for travel expenses, the team will make the trip."[54] Despite being exceptional athletes, the women were forced to consider not attending nationals because they could not raise the travel funds. The university did not recognize the value of the team, either for their athletic talent, or the opportunity for capitalizing on the attractiveness of a school that rewarded athletic women. One student advocated for the team in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*:

> Since there are no funds in the Athletic Dept. available for this activity, the women have been trying to raise the money needed for the trip by soliciting contributions and through a bottle drive. The ASUO has donated $300 and advanced an additional $500 towards the trip. At present they have obtained about half of the estimated $1,800 necessary for the trip. Anyone wishing to donate further to the fund is asked to send their contributions to the UO Development Fund–Women's Volleyball Team.[55]

Even the sports writer who was originally ignorant about the existence of the WRA gave some publicity to the plight of the volleyball team. "At last word the ladies were planning to attend–the only obstacle being the money required for transportation and living expenses." [56] Despite the initial struggle, the team eventually raised enough money to attend nationals. The extra cost to attend nationals almost equaled one-third of the total budget for all of the WRA sports.

1971

The 1971 school year produced two significant changes for the Athletic Department and the WRA. Distancing them from the ASUO student incidental fee as a source of funding, the Athletic Department fully instituted athletic fee cards as a means of fundraising, a practice they tried the prior year. The WRA received more money than

in previous years; nevertheless the amount was lower than they proposed. Janet Newman, a member of the track and field team, wrote articles for the *Oregon Daily Emerald* about the WRA, and eventually the WIA hired her as a publicity officer. Nevertheless, articles written by Newman began to appear in the fall of 1971. Women's sports now had an advocate at the *Oregon Daily Emerald*.

Budget

Amidst a three-part critique of the men's athletics by physical education graduate student Iain More, the Athletic Department received significantly less money from the ASUO. They proposed a budget of $254,000, which constituted "28 per cent of the total projected student incidental fee monies for next year."[57] The fiscal committee proposed a recommended budget of $210,000 for the Athletic Department and $10,000 for the WRA.[58] In contrast to the controversy surrounding the men's program, an emboldened WRA advocated for a significant increase in funding. "Karla Rice, WRA adviser, explained that the $16,046.75 total for 1971-72 recreational and intercollegiate competitive activities was necessary because of increased travel expenses, club uniforms, and administrative salaries for an expanded open recreation program."[59] The program did not receive its desired amount, but did get an increase to $10,000.[60] However, once again, the Senate amended the budget, reducing funding for the Athletic Department to "$100,00 by the ASUO, with a $50,00 reserve fund,"[61] a plan similar to the amendments of 1969. Consequently, "to make up for the decreased funding under the new budget, the AD will charge students for athletics cards, for those who want them, on a yearly basis."[62] The Athletic Department cultivated a new relationship with the student body by limiting attendance to those who wanted to attend games. In the fall of 1971, athletic

card applications were included in back-to-school materials. The advertisement read: "When you're hot…YOU'RE HOT! The ducks are smoking and if you plan to get in on them you will want to make your commitment for an athletic pass when you pay your fees."[63] The limitation of students at male sporting events increased the popularity of this new commodity and the desirability of attending the games. In contrast, women's sporting events remained free until the 1977-78 season.

Meanwhile, several responses were published to More's criticisms about the value of the Athletic Department. Bill Landers, the Director of Public Relations of the Athletic Department, argued, "The athletic programs are not uncomfortable with this concept of winning. Over–emphasis on this facet of the game can, of course, corrupt the program. We do not feel this is the case at Oregon and we believe that our programs are in harmony with the objectives of the University."[64] However, in the previous year, Ritchey advocated the necessity of winning in order to preserve the program for future years.

Publicity

Stan Love, the men's basketball player notorious for aggressive behavior, on and off the court, finished his season in March of 1971. In a full-page expose John Anderson presented an image of a reformed player. "Thanks for the memories Stan," recalled his dirty style of playing, but intimated that basketball reformed him. Even Love himself credits the sport for his newfound maturity. The most striking revelation in the article was Love "admits that he thinks about little but basketball."[65] Instead, "with the professional player draft slated for March 29, that's the number one thing on Stan's mind right now."[66] This article revealed the double standard of the student population: praise for an athlete who engaged in several illegal activities and did not view academics as a

priority, but still garnered considerable attention. In contrast, no articles were devoted to an individual female athlete, detailing their rise to fame and future athletic plans. In fact, not one article about female student-athletes appeared in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* from February till the end of April of 1971, despite several teams competing during this time.

Janet Newman ameliorated the status of women's athletics in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. Writing from her own perspective as a female student- athlete she clearly articulated the value of women's athletics. In the article "Fourth place volleyballers pace WRA sports scene," Newman recalled the achievements of all the WRA teams in the prior year. In addition, she included the philosophy and reality of women's athletics:

> Unlike competitive sports for men at Oregon, the women's sports program has limited funds, no scholarships to entice prospective athletes, no recruiting programs, no publicity bureau and in most cases, little interest from the public. But the enthusiasm is there and the women are willing to put in the time and effort for personal satisfaction and fun.[67]

For the first time, a clear argument for the value and worth of women's sports was articulated in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. The gradual increase in notoriety and influence on campus would only intensify with the passage of Title IX in 1972.

The advent of Title IX legislation provided leverage for gender equity and intensified the struggles and frustrations of female student-athletes and coaches. Steve Smith concluded in 1971: "the girls, it seems, have developed a highly complex athletic association designed to coordinate intercollegiate, intramural and special interest athletic programs for women."[68] Despite the fact that the women created this association several decades before, the women capitalized on their endeavors with the aid of Title IX. The University of Oregon faced serious inequities and was legally obligated to change its ways.

The tensions between the Athletic Department and the ASUO represented a growing discontent among the student body about the value of athletics in comparison to academic initiatives. The pressure to constantly update the program and its entertainment value increased between 1969 and 1971. Meanwhile, the WRA struggled to obtain necessary funding in order to provide a strong program for all of the female student-athletes. In 1977, the merger between women's intercollegiate athletics and the Athletic Department irrevocably altered the nature of women's athletics and propelled them into the burgeoning debate of athletics versus academics.

CHAPTER 2

The Cost of Gender Equity: Women's Intercollegiate Athletics and Title IX at the University of Oregon (1972-1978)

Less than a decade after the Women's Intercollegiate Athletics (WIA) was created at the University of Oregon in 1973, it was taken over by the Athletic Department in 1977. Amidst the drastic changes associated with Title IX, the University of Oregon followed the national trend of combining the athletic departments as a streamlining and cost saving measure. Yet, how did the Women's Intercollegiate Athletics reach this point of a merger? Since the creation of the WIA by University of Oregon President Robert D. Clark in 1973, female athletes displayed a high level of competition and perseverance. Despite miniscule budgets during its existence, the WIA, a member of the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), experienced significant growth and development under the leadership of the Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, Becky Sisley. Teams routinely had winning seasons, attended national championships, and represented the University of Oregon with great pride. In fact, in 1975, Sisley noted in an article in the *Register-Guard*, the University of Oregon was the "'only school in the country which sent girls to every national meet last fall.'"[69] While Title IX brought notable and equitable gains in funding, scholarships and recruiting, coaching staff, and overall boosted the status of female athletics at the University of Oregon, the involuntary absorption of the women's program into the Athletic Department hindered further growth of the program by a female leader, and reinforced pervasive gender stereotypes towards women competing in sports.

Perception of Women in Sport at the University of Oregon

Gender specific stereotypes about women's athletics at the University of Oregon were perpetuated through popular culture. Title IX came on the heels of a growing awareness and recognition of female athletes. Once thought to be damaging to the female reproductive system, fitness and recreation were finally socially acceptable endeavors for women. In the 1960's, "the American Medical Association, which had warned for years that strenuous competition might be harmful to girls, finally reversed itself and recommended more vigorous activity."[70] Despite the ability to compete in sports, many women wanted more recognition. In an article appearing in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* about the women's gymnastics team in 1973, the opening line encapsulated the knowledge and attitude of the general student body: "Women's collegiate sports get next to no publicity, little funding and small fan support…"[71] The same frustrations were discussed almost two years prior in the article by Janet Newman. The 1973 article profiled two women gymnasts preparing for a regional championship to be held at the University of Oregon. Despite the high level of competition displayed by the gymnastics team, the team members expressed disappointment. Jeanine Navarra, the author of the article, implored the reader to understand the position of the athletes: "Men don't give women athletes much recognition and Linda feels it's probably because 'they don't know we exist.'"[72] This illustrative statement by gymnast Linda Stuber highlighted the campus attitude about female athletes stemming from institutional and societal inequities against women's intercollegiate athletics.

The University of Oregon volleyball team also suffered from low public interest. An article appearing in the Register Guard in October of 1978, the opening line once

again set the precedent: "It's rare that the University of Oregon volleyball team can draw as many as 350 fans and have most of them on their feet cheering at the end of just the first game."[73] Attendance at women's sports at the University of Oregon was considered to be non-important. Thus, the media portrayal of female student-athletes was commensurate with the public's opinion and beliefs. The women did not deserve the amenities of the men because they were not true or equal athletes. Title IX focused on bringing heightened public awareness of women's sports, by eradicating discrimination and inequitable practices.

Title IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 specifically prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex at any educational institution receiving federal funds. The concise law stated:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.[74]

Led by Representative Edith Green of Portland, Oregon in the United States House of Representatives, the law aimed to equalize educational opportunities for both sexes. Explaining the importance of this law, Green stated that at the time "it was perfectly legal to discriminate in any education program against girls or women."[75] This landmark legislation effectively restructured several policies and procedures at schools across the United States: counseling, admissions, housing, and employment, to name a few. Striking changes occurred at the intercollegiate athletic level. Eventually the law affected

several areas: the structure of the athletic department, funding, facilities, marketing, scholarships and the number of teams and athletes.

After the passage of Title IX on June 23, 1972, universities were unsure about the real impact of the legislation. The ambiguity of the law left most schools wondering exactly how and to what extent the new law would be applied in athletics. Therefore, from 1974 to 1975, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) drafted and finalized "Regulations on Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Sex." In a subsection titled "Equal opportunity," ten areas were enumerated:

> (i) Whether the selection of sports and levels of competition effectively accommodate the interested and abilities of members of both sexes;
> (ii) The provision of equipment and supplies;
> (iii) Scheduling of games and practice time;
> (iv) Travel and per diem allowance;
> (v) Opportunity to receive coaching and academic tutoring;
> (vi) Assignment and compensation of coaches and tutors;
> (vii) Provision of locker rooms, practice and competitive facilities;
> (viii) Provision of medical and training facilities and services;
> (ix) Provision of housing and dining facilities and services;
> (x) Publicity.[76]

These areas of examination, commonly referred to as the "shopping list" or "laundry list" served as a rubric to identify inequities on university campuses across the nation.

Initially, the University of Oregon administration and Athletic Department viewed Title IX with anxiety. On June 25, 1974 in a *Oregon Daily Emerald* article entitled "HEW requires equal programs: Varsity football women?" Mary Don noted, "men's and women's teams would have equal access to sports facilities as well as equivalent coaching staff and travel needs."[77] This article was written after HEW drafted preliminary regulations for public review. While Don's article talked about the national scene, an article appearing on July 2, 1974 offered a view on how the law may affect the

University of Oregon. David Frohnmayer, the special assistant for legal affairs to the president of the University pressed for more discussion regarding the law. Frohnmayer said: "in the area of intercollegiate athletics, implementation of the guidelines will force a fundamental rethinking of some basic but conflicting social values."[78] These "conflicting social values" caused havoc in the eventual merger of the Athletic Department with the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic program. Controversy commonly occurred and continues to persist when schools try to incorporate total equality for their male and female sports programs. However, "Title IX does not require equal spending. The law required equitable accommodations."[79] This idea of "equitable accommodations" framed the rubric University of Oregon Title IX Task Force (1975-76) used in its self-evaluation report.

Self-Evaluation

The implementation of Title IX required several steps at the University of Oregon, which inevitably led to the combination of the two departments as a simple way to comply with the law. The most significant step was the systematic self-evaluation conducted in 1975-76 at the University of Oregon. Comprised of faculty, administrators, sports directors and students, the evaluation examined inequities across the campus. The most numerous were in intercollegiate athletics. Required by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the self-evaluation aimed to "evaluate in terms of sex discrimination its current policies and practices … modify any policies or practices which do not meet the requirements of the Title IX regulation; and take whatever remedial actions necessary to eliminate the effects of past sex discrimination."[80] The report was due by July 21, 1976. The self-evaluation was the first step towards compliance,

mandatory by July 21, 1978. This document provided the best snapshot of the status of women athletes at the University of Oregon during the 1970's.

Overall, the University of Oregon lacked equitable practices in the realm of women's athletics. Not unlike many other universities, the women's program paled in comparison to men's athletics. The results of this self-evaluation report were made public and were reported on in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*. The evaluation examined several campus areas, including the athletic "shopping list," and provided recommendations for identifiable gender equity issues. It was reported out "of the 85 recommendations made by the committee, 38 concerned the physical education and athletic departments."[81] The 38 recommendations only concerned women's athletics. In summation, the report focuses on "an increased number of athletic facilities for women, a larger staff of coaches and personnel for women's sports and a scholarship program for women athletes."[82] In these three areas, progress was achieved as a result of the merger in 1977, which forced many of these issues to the forefront in comparison to the men's program.

Publicity

Budget constraints limited the ability of the WIA to promote and advertise the sports. The Title IX Task Force Committee found disparities in the area of publicity between the men's athletics and women's athletics programs. Most notably in the communications with potential high school students:

> The women's program annually distributes a flyer in which both general and specific information about the entire Women's Intercollegiate Athletic program is contained. The men's athletic department does not disseminate a general descriptive publication; instead, coaches of individual

> intercollegiate sports in the men's program annually send out letter to prospective student athletes.[83]

The Task Force recommended, "all publications … contain a statement which makes reference to the fact that opportunities for participation in intercollegiate athletics programs are available to both men and women at the University."[84] Publicity was important to gaining new athletes from high school; however, it was not necessary in order to find great talent. Peg Rees, the last female three-sport athlete (volleyball, basketball and softball) at the University of Oregon, did not know the WIA existed when she came to school in 1973 as a freshman:

> It was New Student Week freshman year; I was walking from the area of the library towards the dorms. School hadn't started. Karla Rice, the volleyball coach, for some reason was standing in a doorway of Gerlinger when I walked by, and I am 5' 10", which for my era was pretty tall, and she said—it was probably about 3 in the afternoon– 'Do you play volleyball?' I said yes, which was kind of a lie. I had played in P.E., which was 9 on 9 … but I had never competed in it. And she said 'We have a team here on campus and we are meeting at 5 o'clock tonight' and she encouraged me to come.[85]

While Rees' story is inspiring, informal recruiting was not a sustainable practice. As a result from Title IX and the self-evaluation report, in 1975 the athletic department created "a sports information director post in the news bureau that [would] handle both men's and women's sports publicity."[86] Developments such as these were precursors to a combined department. A major part of publicity was the opportunity to hold events where spectators could enjoy the game. Even more important was the name recognition and accessibility of certain venues, such as McArthur Court, commonly referred to as Mac Court.

Facilities

After the Final Regulations and the Self-Evaluation Report, Women's Intercollegiate Athletics benefited from a more equitable distribution and use of facilities, The Title IX Task force recommended "facilities should be scheduled so that 'key' or 'popular' or 'convenient' times for practice or competition are divided equally between men and women."[87] The University of Oregon first allowed the women's basketball and volleyball teams to use McArthur Court in 1977. Previously, those teams practiced and competed in the gym in Gerlinger Annex. The softball team practiced on the field behind the library and competed at Amazon Park. Other women's sports used rooms in Gerlinger Gym and the Annex. The University of Oregon, like many other universities, in order "to meet the need for more facilities for the expanded women's program"[88] allowed for previously male only facilities to be used by both sexes. Consequently, the recognition and health of the female athletes greatly benefited from Title IX.

In an appendix to the Title IX Task Force Report, two female athletes testified during a public hearing about the dangerous conditions they faced. The women addressed the danger level of certain facilities:

> According to two students, the women's basketball floor is constructed of wood over a cement base, a composition which has resulted in jammed knees, sprained ankles, and shin splints, and which has required knee surgery for at least five students. The softball practice field, located next to the library, is also dangerous, according to the two students, because of ditches in the ground caused by application of lime to the field during band practices.[89]

In addition to the questionable conditions of the gym in Gerlinger Annex and the softball practice field, the women's field hockey team encountered literal hills of their own. The field hockey team practiced on the field between University Street, the cemetery,

Gerlinger Annex, and Gerlinger Gym. The team had their home games at South Eugene High School. In a field hockey scrapbook documenting the team from 1973-1977, a full-page spread with pictures, documented the dangerous conditions of the field. The unknown author wrote:

> After a lot of gripping about the unsafe condition of our practice field, something was done to try and remove the 'hills.' Practice was moved inside while work was done. The grass was taken up, small sections at a time. Dirt was then put in to try and level out the ground. The grass was put back in on top of the new dirt.[90]

While the conditions of Gerlinger Field slightly improved, Title IX enabled the team to use other facilities. On some occasions the field hockey team hosted their home matches in Autzen Stadium. Diane Smith, varsity field hockey 1972-76, remembers:

> I remember how cool it was to actually get to play some games at Autzen Stadium, and how much different it was to not have the mud to contend with, to not have to splash around in the mud, and of course the difference between the astroturf and the grass at that time. That seemed like a big deal to be able to all of a sudden be playing a couple of games at Autzen.[91]

This memory signified the changes occurring in women's athletics. More importantly, it implied just how novel it was for women to play where the men played.

Despite the equalization in facilities usage, the new procedures were met with frustration from men's athletics. In an article in the *Oregon Daily Emerald*, a reporter notes the national resentment against women getting to use the facilities. Going against the status quo would be an obstacle because "'when boys have had virtually all of the money and facilities, sharing will be difficult,' said Dr. Norma Raffel of the Women's Equity Action League."[92] In 1977, the women's and men's track and field teams competed in the first dual meet ever at Hayward Field. Men's coach Bill Dellinger expressed anxiety about the length of the meet. Dellinger "was concerned that [the meet]

would stretch the meet as long as five hours. He feels that would be a kiss of death for dual meets in Eugene, which he thinks became so popular partly due to the fact former Coach Bill Bowerman insisted they be run off in less than three hours."[93] The addition of female athletes to sporting competitions threatened the tradition and heritage of men's athletics. In addition to facilities, Title IX also mandated equal opportunity funding. The funding disparity at the University of Oregon was enormous.

Budget

A large portion of the research surrounding Title IX implementation at universities focused on the budgets of women's athletic programs. Allen Guttman, author of *Women's Sports: A History*, bluntly stated, "That the inequalities between men's and women's programs were obscenely gross is undeniable."[94] In addition to anecdotal evidence, Guttman also introduced quantitative data. "The average expenditure on women's sports for the NCAA's Division I was $27,000 in 1973-74 and $400,000 in 1981-82."[95] A similar amount of funding is found in the AIAW schools. William Brook examined AIAW institutions in his thesis "Assessing the impact of Title IX and other factors on women's intercollegiate athletic programs, 1972-1977: a national study of four-year AIAW institutions." In his statistical analysis he found "forty-three colleges (of 219) were funded above $8,000 in 1972-73 while 168 colleges received budgets which exceeded that amount in 1976-77."[96] This analysis of total budget does not include salaries. The increase in budgets resulted from pressures to comply with Title IX.

Similar statistics described the budget disparities at the University of Oregon. For the 1976-1977 season, the WIA's "budget was one-thirteenth the size of the men's athletic department."[97] The 1975-1976 budget for the WIA calculated to one-seventeenth,

therefore the budget improved, however minuscule the progress. A timeline of the WIA budget is attached as Appendix A. For comparison purposes, the following chart identified increases in the WIA budget. The FTE statistic is of note. FTE is an acronym standing for full-time employment. A full-time employee receives a value of 1.00, a half-time employee receives a .50. Therefore, the FTE data reflected the prevalence of GTF coaches and other coaches doubling up their duties.

University of Oregon
Department of Intercollegiate Athletics
<u>Data Reflecting Affects of Title IX on Women's Athletic Program</u>
Prepared 12/8/78 [98]

	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79
Total Budget	186,128	248,583	424,598 (excludes trainer or other support services)
Scholarship Allocation (incl. reserves and contingencies	-0-	11,340	73,878
Total FTE	6.3 (incl. 1.6 trainers)	7.96 (incl. 1.45 trainers)	9.98 (no trainers)
Increase from previous year		1.63	2.02
Team Travel Support	31,850	42,780	78,200
Increase from Previous Year	(> $582 less)	(10,930)	(35,420) (major increase in per diem allowance)
National Championship Allocation	29, 600	21, 400	50,000

As described in Chapter 1, women's athletics received funding from the Incidental Fee Commission (IFC) and from the administration. Because the WIA was a part of the Physical Education Department, the program was subject to student and

academic affairs protocol. Throughout the 1970's, the budget of the WIA was subject to the discretion of the IFC and ASUO. In addition to program fees, and coaches' salaries, the WIA had to forecast the number of teams to attend nationals, and all of the associated costs. The forecast was not always correct. Peg Rees recalled a time when the volleyball team had qualified for nationals, but the WIA did not have adequate contingency funding to send the team.[99] The program relied on IFC funds, but budget proposals did not always produce good results. Earlier in 1975, the commission proposed to give significantly less money: only $20,000, when the WIA asked for $198,000.[100] The vote was eventually overturned. However, as women's athletics gained prominence and asked for more money, the ASUO raised similar concerns to those in 1969 and 1970 about the growth of the Athletic Department.

Nationally, Title IX produced fear about how to appropriate new funds for the women's programs without "sacrificing" men's athletics. In 1975, an article in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* about facilities usage documented the anxiety: "college coaches and athletics directors have vigorously opposed the new rules on grounds they will kill off athletics for men if already scarce funds must be shared for women's programs."[101] This fear was very present at the University of Oregon and several ideas to increase overall funding were shared. The most prominent and the biggest failure was a bill for state aid in 1977. Athletic Director John Caine said he was "…doubtful they can come up with funds equal to the nearly $1 million the bill would have provided."[102] After the bill failed to pass, the university administration was forced to explore other alternatives, such as cutting non-revenue sports.

Scholarships and Recruiting

In addition to budget concerns, scholarships and recruiting were contentious issues. The AIAW believed first and foremost that an athlete was a student. In 1973, the AIAW produced a white paper regarding scholarships and recruiting. On the matter of the value of sports, officials made it clear that "programs in an educational setting should have these objectives as primary goals. Political, economic, or entertainment goals may be positive in nature, but may also obliterate the intrinsic reasons for participation."[103] Therefore, when scholarships were first administered to female athletes at the University of Oregon, they were grants-in-aid. Sisley explained that "national guidelines specify that only tuition scholarships can be given to women athletes, while schools are allowed to include room, board and books as well for men."[104] The differences on scholarships between the AIAW and the NCAA would prove to be an obstacle for Title IX compliance at the U of O.

Women athletes did not primarily attend universities based on their athletic ability, a tenet of female sports that AIAW administrators wished to maintain. The attitudes regarding scholarships and recruiting stemmed from a fundamental philosophical difference between male and female sports. Sisley pointed out that scholarships were not necessary for success: "'We have had good performances in the past without scholarships,' recalling that Oregon sent all of their women's teams–except basketball–to national finals last year."[105] Nevertheless, in discussions about scholarships, the University of Oregon Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics reached a consensus in 1974 to allow scholarships for female athletes. Some salient points were raised regarding the principles behind these awards. Russ Pate, a doctoral candidate in

exercise physiology in 1974 (masters in 1973) who co-coached the women's track and field team as a GTF strove to define "the purpose for scholarships is for individual aid, not for the purpose of producing winning teams."[106] The group reached a similar consensus: "to consider first priority as need, second priority academic and athletic ability."[107] In contrast, male athletes were given full-ride scholarships based on athletic talent. These ideas were paralleled in further AIAW materials regarding recruiting.

In addition to resistance towards scholarships, coaches initially avoided recruiting. In 1978, the women's volleyball coach, Chris Voelz, was in her first year as the University of Oregon head coach. In regards to recruiting, Voelz agreed "that other schools may be ahead in recruiting, but she says she is interested more in the athletes individually. 'Our intent is not to buy bodies, but to award achievement,' she claims."[108] Similar policies existed in women's athletics at other universities in Oregon. At Portland State: "'I'm not in favor of buying athletes,' declares Dr. Marlene Piper. All the buying and hustling is not part of a college education and I hope we in the women's field can keep that element out of it.'"[109] The pressure to recruit new talent distracted coaches and players from academics and the enrichment of the student-athlete. However, because Title IX required equality, women's sports were forced to conform to the pre-existing male model. As a result, beginning in the 1980's "women were more likely to have chosen their school because of its sports program, and… that increasingly professionalized sports participation tended to diminish their commitment to the classroom."[110] The decrease in education was exactly the direction women's athletics wanted to avoid. While recruiting and scholarships were forced upon women's athletics, they represent the discontinuity between male and female philosophies of sport.

Philosophical Differences

The examination of tangible inequities and subsequent changes shows gradual improvements for female student-athletes. Yet the intangible quality of philosophical differences about the role of sports resulted in discord with regard for the future of women in the athletic department. Despite the material changes for women's athletics, the core of the program was based on the philosophy of the AIAW and the WIA. For one, skill was prioritized over entertainment in women's sports and this was a matter of pride. In the previously mentioned article about the gymnastics team, the author noted, tellingly: "unlike male team sports, women gymnasts don't have a crowd cheering them on, or a captain calling the shots, or anyone to blame for making a wrong move. All they have is their skill, training and experience."[111] University of Oregon female athletes used their expertise to compete at a high level. Athletic talent aside, education was of utmost importance. In an article from the *Oregon Daily Emerald*, Sisley says "'I am a professional educator. And I'm not going to alums for money and be dragged into the win-or-else trap.'"[112] Sisley's comment directly countered the sentiments of Athletic Director Norv Ritchey and baseball coach Mel Krause in Chapter 1. In contrast, Chris Voelz, the varsity volleyball coach wrote a Competitor Contract for each of her athletes to sign. One of the provisions states: "a conscientious competitor is also a conscientious student."[113] Stan Love's dismissal of his education and focus on professional sports in Chapter 1 exemplified the philosophy of male sports, whereas, the philosophy of women's sport placed education as the top priority.

The focus on education by coaches of women's sports was represented at the national level. William Brooke's thesis confirmed this argument. He collected data from

219 schools out of the total 689 AIAW schools at the time. One area he surveyed examined "Male/Female Directors Compared on Philosophy of Athletics." He provided choices: "Business or entertainment," "Education," "Both" and "Other. From his results, he concluded "for 1972-73, the female director-coordinators favored the characterization 'Education' by 77.7 percent, while 11.5 percent selected 'Both'"[114] Brooke re-surveyed the schools and discovered "for 1976-77, the percentage of women who selected 'Educational' decreased by 17.5 percent while those who selected 'Both' increased 21.6 percent."[115] As the athletic programs were merging around 1977, the differences in sports philosophies became apparent, and of notable concern for the women. At the University of Oregon, Becky Sisley attempted to maintain education as the number one priority:

> Whereas some men's sports–besides being an educational experience for the athletes–emphasize entertainment and produce revenue. WIA emphasized an educational experience with no intent to entertain to produce revenue. Our emphasis is on providing a quality competitive program within a sound educational framework. When we go on trips we attempt to mingle with our opponents and to learn about the area.[116]

These vast differences in sports philosophy would prove to be an important matter in the development of the new combined Athletic Department.

Coeducational Athletic Department

The 1977 merging of the Athletic Department and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic, prompted by a drive to streamline staffing and an effort to be Title IX compliant, led to a dissolution of power and leadership for the WIA.

The discussion of a coeducational athletic department began in earnest several years prior, in 1973. The idea began with a proposal to the University Student-Faculty Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics by Jane Aiken, a student member. Aiken argued

that "the present system of separate athletic departments for men and women is partly responsible for student hostility toward funding the Athletic Department with student incidental fees…The formation of a single athletic department would help athletics in general at the University."[117] The meeting prompted considerable discussion amongst the members. "Wendell Basye, professor of law, noted that at the Pacific-8 Conference meeting he attended in December, 'everybody had started talking about women's problems in intercollegiate athletics.' Basye said funding is the main problem facing women's athletics."[118] The committee continued to work on the proposal through 1973. Vice President of Finance and Administration Ray Hawk heavily pushed for the merger as a way to easily comply with Title IX. However, even "University Pres. William Boyd…admits that a merger isn't essential to fulfill the requirements."[119] Nevertheless, in 1975, when the Task Force Committee began their deliberations, he said: "'I'm sure a consolidated athletic department will eventually be established,' he said. 'It's inevitable.'"[120] It is no surprise that the impending merger at the University was met with resistance from female players and coaches alike. The organization that supported their endeavors faced irrevocable change. With the retirement of athletic director Norval Ritchey, there was an opening for a new head. However, in the same *Oregon Daily Emerald* article, he clarified who would be the leader of the Athletic Department in this inevitable merger. "Hawk said the new athletic director 'could conceivably be a woman' but finding a woman with the necessary experience in the business and promotion of big box-office athletic competition 'isn't very likely.'"[121] The rhetoric chosen for Hawk's justification, with obtuse reference to "big box-office competition" is in direct contrast with the sports philosophy of women expressed at the local and national level. With

those job qualifications, it is no wonder that a woman could not be chosen to be the new Athletic Director. At the campus level, the new athletic director, John Caine, in 1976, responded to merger criticism: "' I'd like to make it clear that we are all for women's athletics at Oregon. We just don't want it to ruin men's athletics."[122] The choice of a man to oversee the entire athletic department caused concern for women's athletics.

Already in 1975 Sisley identified a conflict of ideology: "'our major concern is combining (with the AD) is whether the women would still have a voice in the running of their programs. The men's programs are off on such a different tangent,' said Sisley, 'that we'd like to keep them separate.'"[123] In the new merged department, the male athletic director and the director of intercollegiate athletics would be one in the same. As a result, Sisley became the Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, but now had to pass items by John Caine and Ray Hawk. Today, Becky Sisley remarked: "it goes back to this philosophy difference and the rules differences. That is what Title IX created, this huge dilemma that you have to follow the same policies and procedures. So what do you do? You've got to do what the men do."[124] The combination of the two philosophies of sport brought much frustration for female athletes who were now judged based on the male model. Women continued to be marginalized even in the name of progress and equality.

The merging of athletics occurred nationwide in the 1970's. In Brooke's analysis of AIAW universities, he discovered: "of the 211 colleges that supplied data for this problem area, 54.5 percent, or 115 colleges, had combined the two programs under one athletic department by 1976-77. Only 49 colleges had reported such a merger in 1972-73."[125] Despite the majority of schools combining the two programs, Brooke also

provided additional analysis about the attitude towards merging at the campus level and the national governance level. An overwhelming "84.6 percent of the female director-coordinators wished to retain governance of their programs under the AIAW while 45.7 percent of the male director-coordinators preferred that the AIAW adopt the guiding principles of the men's organizations while retaining governance."[126]

Similar frustrations are found in the Title IX implementation process at the University of Michigan. The men's and women's athletic departments merged in 1974 with conflicts arising due to different sports philosophies. David Diles examined the history of the University of Michigan in his thesis "The History of Title IX at the University of Michigan Department of Athletics." The male athletic director, Don Canham "opposed the merger of men's and women's athletics, and advocated that the women's program fall under the direction of the Department of Physical Education." [127] However, the merger went through and produced anxiety over the outcome for men's intercollegiate athletics, especially for non-revenue sports. Administrators were worried that "women's programs would inherit the problems that plagued men's programs, and lose control over their programs."[128] Across the country, women athletes and coaches resisted the disintegration of their programs as a result of blind adherence to the male athletics model of governance and administration.

Conclusion

Undeniably, Title IX brought changes to University of Oregon women's athletics. Budgets increased, facilities were shared more equitably, and publicity improved. Overall Title IX increased gender equity to standards never seen before. However, the changes were not as progressive as some had originally hoped. In 1976, Becky Sisley

said in regards to Title IX progress "'I won't say substantial [progress], but there have been changes.'"[129] The underlying sentiments of Sisley, Rees and Smith, as expressed in their interviews, can be summed up in this way: "although Title IX has forced changes, it has not wrought miracles."[130] In 1980, another self-evaluation examined the progress of gender equity. Many problems had not been taken care of, and simple items were still left to accomplish. Examining the changes that occurred between 1972 and 1977, the work done from 1977 to 1980 left a lot to be desired.

The plateau of gender equity in athletics at the University of Oregon was a direct result of the merger. Athletic administrators were complacent and any presence of a leading voice for women's athletics slowly dissolved into the department. When Becky Sisley retired in 1979, her replacement, Julie Carson, was bestowed a new title: "Deputy Director of Intercollegiate Athletics." The previous title "Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics" ceased to exist. The women's program was literally being subsumed into the athletic department, and the women had to function and play just like the men. The work completed by the AIAW and coaches across the country to establish a new way of approaching athletics, namely focusing on the education of the student first, fell away to accommodate big box office demands and expectations. Female coaches lost autonomy and the power to uphold the tenets of female athletics, while student-athletes enjoyed new amenities. This ironic results was, and continues to be the paradox of Title IX.

CHAPTER 3

Changing the Definition of Femininity: The Effect of Title IX on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics

The passage of Title IX in 1972, and the subsequent controversy over the expansion of women's athletics, prompted a national discussion of what it meant to simultaneously be a woman and athlete. These two terms were not synonymous, as man and athlete appear to be interchangeable. To understand this dichotomy, several factors are important: the history and founding principles of women's athletics, the relationship between a woman and athletics during the 1960's and 1970's, and the divide between women's sports and the feminist movement. Title IX also raised questions about the meaning of equality and equity, words with different connotations, especially when applied by different sexes. This groundbreaking legislation originally focused on ending discrimination across the educational system, but it also successfully prompted a significant debate about what it meant to be an athletic woman in the 1970's.

Title IX and the subsequent regulations created a system of separate but equal for intercollegiate athletics. While many universities across the country merged their athletic departments subsequent to the passage of Title IX, men's and women's sports teams remained separated under the guise of being equal. Yet, this effort to equalize male and female athletic opportunities drastically changed the governing structure opportunities for female athletes and administrators. The ideological viewpoint of separate, but equal prompted philosophical discussion of what these terms meant.

Quite simply, the ambiguous terminology of Title IX stemmed from the vague definition of equality, and the common interchangeability of this term with equity. While

the two terms may appear to be compatible, the slight difference in definition produced varied results in universities, including Oregon. Equality implies conditions are exactly the same, while equity implies comparability or just circumstances. Consequently, the interpretation of equity allows for some differences, which arise from personal convictions and definitions of what is okay for a particular group of people. Therefore, equalization of resources as opposed to equitable distribution of resources produces different results. While terms such as equality, and equity appear to be simple words to understand and laudable ideological concepts, the application of these terms to the complex bureaucratic structures of higher education rendered complicated results.

In the October 1974 edition of *Ms.* magazine, author Ellen Sudow highlighted the ambiguous nature of Title IX in the proposed HEW regulations, and the uncertainty about compliance. Sudow noted: "measuring this 'equality' seems impossible under the regulations since they specifically state that equal opportunity in sports does not require 'equal aggregate expenditures for athletics for members of each sex.'"[131] This ambiguity expressed at the governmental level was reflected in the popular opinion: if the federal government legislated equality, how would institutions reconcile their existing standards without any specific requirements or framework for what equality meant in practice? The University of Oregon administration, like many others, faced this dilemma.

Furthermore, the regulations that served to frame specific areas of Title IX regulation also served to create an inequitable measuring structure. Several areas of the regulations, such as scholarships, were not applicable to women's intercollegiate athletics at the time. Yet women's programs were being measured against the standards of male sports. This paradigm pushed several female athlete advocates to ask: why compare and

contrast women's policies with the men? Should the concept of equality allow for comparison of the best attributes of both programs? Title IX created an interesting paradox of equality as defined by the federal government and perpetuated by the courts. Mandated to provide equality of opportunity, college presidents and athletic administrators decided what a viable definition of equality or equity meant for their institution.

Female Sports Organizations

Controversies over the semantics of terms such as equality and equity created differing interpretations of the future of women's programs. Despite the common backgrounds of the female coaches and administrators, "factions emerged–those who would 'masculinize' women's sports versus those for a feminist alternative without competition, scholarships and championships."[132] The history of women's athletics provides a framework for understanding the vast gap between both programs during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Organizations for women's athletics took on many different forms since the turn of the 20th century. A few included: National Women's Basketball Committee (1905), Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (1923), National Section on Women's Athletics (1927) (a section of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation), National Section for Girls and Women's Sports (later the Division for Girls and Women's Sports) formed in 1957. Within AAHPER, the Division for Girls and Women's Sports acted as the national governing body for female student-athletes. However, the gradual expansion of opportunities prompted the "DGWS [to create] the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) in 1966 to conduct national championships."[133] The

organization could not handle this task alone, and so the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) formed in 1971. In addition to facilitating national championships, the AIAW had an executive board comprised of representatives from all nine regions. These board members defined the future of women's athletics and its standards and procedures.

While athletics competition can be entertaining, the leaders of the AIAW advocated for the educational qualities of sport, as complementary to a university education. The members of the AIAW "believed that the focus of women's intercollegiate athletics should continue to be on the individual participant in her primary role as a college student."[134] This emphasis on education, not entertainment, was not groundbreaking in the 1970's. A long-standing tradition of education and athletics had been evident for decades. Welch Suggs, in his book *A Place on the Team*, described the foundation of women's athletics through "Mabel Lee, one of the most important governors of women's sports in the 1920s, [who said] 'The field of men's athletes is full of sorry instances of this mad worship at the shrine of technique. Now that women's athletics are developing so rapidly all over our land, let us caution our leaders to hold fast to the ideals of worthy citizenship even at the expense of fine technique.'"[135] Athletics should provide an arena for physical prowess, and the opportunity to improve one's self through learning.

The focus on education, while associated with female athletics, was not completely absent in male athletics. Concern about the growing entertainment value of sports became noticeable several decades ago. Suggs includes an example from 1929.

> The Carnegie Foundation published Bulletin 23, the first systematic critique of college athletics and its relationships to educational goals. In the words of the foundation's president, Henry S. Pritchett, investigators were supposed to ask, 'What relationship has this astonishing athletic display to the work of an intellectual agency like a university?' and 'How do students, devoted to study, find either the time or the money to stage so costly a performance?'[136]

The leaders of women's athletics attempted to avoid the transformation of an educational experience into an entertaining spectacle.

From the DGWS to the AIAW, the leaders and creators of women's athletics emerged from the academic field of physical education. With an emphasis on education from their training and jobs, the female coaches and administrators of women's athletics provided the same framework on learning while they served as coaches. They encountered obstacles in establishing women's athletic programs. A nationwide survey of physical educators in 1971 revealed anxiety about increasing athletic opportunities for women. The study, conducted prior to Title IX, highlighted the general consensus regarding the future direction of women's athletics. The majority of the physical educators expressed concern that women's athletics would mimic men's athletics, and "female respondents cited as possible detriments recruitment procedures, athletic scholarships, and decreased concern for health and scholarship of skilled players."[137] Female administrators wished to retain power over their programs and dictate their growth and development. In comparison, "male respondents suggested to ameliorate what many considered an overemphasis on interscholastic/intercollegiate competition. Some called for a return to 'amateurism' and discontinue of 'big-time' sports programs completely."[138] In a decidedly different stance than an athletic department, the responses from male physical educators revealed a noticeable disconnect between the values and

attitudes of educators and that of high-profile coaches. The male-dominated athletic department operated under the interpretation that “equality for women [meant] that women would be given the perks and the rewards that come from playing and winning. For the women, equality meant the right of self-determination.”[139] The AIAW provided a legitimate governing body for females to control their future. However, “the women were continually asked, what do you women want? When their answers did not agree with the men’s philosophy of how athletics should be conducted, the reaction was, you women just don’t understand athletics.”[140] This attitude that male sports were superior persisted throughout the 1970’s, until the NCAA took over the AIAW in 1981. The takeover was far from a combination of philosophies and goals, rather the NCAA and its male leaders forced the women to concede. As the organization fell to the NCAA, so did the name recognition of this former organization. Even in its prime, an author in the *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* asked: “Everyone knows the name or at least the initials of one of the organizations governing intercollegiate athletic competition for men. How many could answer a similar question about the women’s programs?”[141]

The history of the relationship between athletics and education provides some insight into the philosophical emphasis on academics. Physical education opportunities for women were provided through the women’s physical education program at colleges and universities. Therefore, female physical education instructors and professors provided the majority, if not all, of the opportunities for women. Naturally, when formalized intercollegiate athletic competitions were provided, the coaches were the same physical education instructors. One limitation to these coaches was the lack of

official training as a coach, or even in the sport itself. However, the lack of formalized coaching, and the lack of opportunities for instructors to learn sports, necessitated the hiring of anyone who had talent or volunteered for the job. Typically coaching came on top of the full-time instructor or professor jobs. Coaches were busy and extremely underpaid. One unintended consequence of the Title IX expansion of sports has been a marked decrease in the number of women coaching women's sports. Whereas an overwhelming majority of teams were coached by women prior to Title IX, by "2004, only 44 percent of women's teams" had female coaches at the national intercollegiate level. [142] Similar results occurred at the University of Oregon (Appendix B). The decrease can be linked to the NCAA takeover, and the increased level of competition and compensation of women's sports. Opportunities for trained male coaches trumped the structure of female physical education teachers coaching women.

Equality

The seminal article "What is Equality," by Christine Grant, explored how the concept of equality during the 1970's became ambiguous and problematic. Grant served as the first and only women's athletic director for the University of Iowa. Throughout her article, published in 1977, Grant implied that equity was a stepping-stone to equality, and therefore equitable standards and practices should be celebrated but also be considered for improvement. Furthermore, Grant discussed the nature of comparability, which implies "there may be strong similarities or samenesses, [but] there is also the implication that differences may exist."[143] Grant does not explore the concept of "comparable worth," but her argument supports the idea that men and women doing equal work, in this case athletics, should be given equality of opportunity. Grant's

analysis was written before the NCAA takeover of the AIAW, and therefore her opinions are based on the dual governing bodies for intercollegiate athletics. Her analysis is key to understanding the foundation of the debate about equality v. equity and the roles of organizations and institutions in producing fair results.

Grant systematically details the discriminatory implications of Title IX for students, coaches and administrators. Grant provided a laundry list of recommendations similar to the 1975 HEW regulations. The length of both lists highlighted the complexity of achieving equality in intercollegiate athletics due to the breadth of components directly and indirectly affecting students, coaches, and administrators. Grant conclusively recognized the, "intent of the Title IX Regulation with regard to intercollegiate athletics is to have equality in some instances and equity in others."[144] Grant explored the ease of adding new athletic opportunities, or modifying existing structures, but the difficult task came with resource allocation amongst all teams, coaches and support staff. For example, the HEW regulations implied equitable scholarships because equality would result in a significant decrease of football scholarships, as well as the decrease of the monetary value of some of the awards, acts no institution would dare undertake.[145] However, scholarships were not originally part of AIAW practice and so the forced adoption of this practice for women's athletics highlighted the dominance of the male model. The philosophical argument for not giving scholarships stemmed from the educational model. "Many female administrators viewed the awarding of scholarships as a critical change for women's college sports. They had built their paradigm around the idea of providing the best experiences to women who were already enrolled." However, in order to try to reach equity, women's athletic programs were forced to offer

scholarships. When they did, it quickly became apparent that the amount of funding provided for women's athletics paled in comparison to men's.

Title IX did not reconcile the apparent fallacy of mandating separate, but equal teams, while allowing unequal funding. The crafters of Title IX did not appear to have taken into consideration the vast philosophical differences, and impenetrable obstacles to achieving equality. Therefore, through legal precedent, Title IX ambiguously dictated equality and equity in a seemingly haphazard manner. Similarly, "Title IX has not mandated equal aggregate expenditures for the male and female programs,"[146] and therefore allows for large budget disparities. Grant observed:

> To achieve the optimal level [individual expenditures v. institutional expenditures] may necessitate the curtailment of many current male programs, and although institutions may agree that escalating the women's programs to male level is not financially possible (or educationally sound), the same institutions are making no move to effect any curtailment of male programs. Until they do, it would appear that women are left with no alternative but to attempt to escalate their programs to achieve equality.[147]

The irony of Title IX was that the expansion of opportunities brought additional encumbrances. Grant discussed the obstacles to funding and concluded, "that unless state legislatures are willing to assist, the administration may have no option to repeat the basic error and ask that women's programs also be self-supporting."[148] The University of Oregon administration proposed legislation to the Oregon State legislature for additional state funding for women's athletics. The proposal died in committee hearings and never reached the floor for debate. However, when this bill did not come to fruition, the added pressure on maintaining revenue sports, i.e., football and men's basketball increased. To compensate, female and male non-revenue sports were dropped: field hockey (1980),

baseball, men's gymnastics, and women's golf (1981), causing intense controversy over the intent of Title IX.

New Wave Athleticism

The expansion of female athletics necessitated consideration of equality in sports and how this would fit with the framework of the feminist movement. Subsequently, a spectrum of equality in women's athletics emerged, mirroring the spectrum of feminist theories. For example, some coaches and athletes advocated co-ed contact sport as a display of true equality. The prospect of official athletic competition between the sexes meant, for them, that women had finally reached parity. Some athletic feminists advocated that women be able to try-out for male teams, but one potential method to be compliant included only allowing one female on the team but not allowing her to compete. The probable denial of equal playing time for women on predominantly male teams hardly promoted female athleticism. The process of "integrating teams on an 'ability only' basis could result in a new form of exclusion for women players. It would effectively eliminate all opportunities for them to play in organized coached competition."[149] The effective removal of women's athletics was not the intent of Title IX, and administrators of women's sports wanted to avoid tokenism. Furthermore, "the question of social cost to the woman choosing to engage in an 'out' or 'unfeminine' sport, that is, a sport not yet common to women athletes has not recently been assessed…there is much data to show active antagonism to the idea of females competing on male teams, that is, against male athletes."[150] The ramifications of competitive female athletes on a predominantly male team did not advance the spirit of Title IX. Other feminists advocated for separate but equal teams in accordance with the federal

regulations. These teams promoted female agency and the success of a distinctive women's sports philosophy. However, this ideology implied an inherent difference between males and females, and led to the perpetuation of male dominance in the athletic world.

Rationale for Discrimination

The discrimination of female athletes stemmed from antiquated concerns over the effects of exercise on a woman's constitution; and disbelief that woman could handle strenuous and competitive exercise. These ideological beliefs, expressed through limited sports opportunities, affected the physical, mental and emotional wellbeing of every women, athlete or not. Based on physical tests, and supporting popular opinion, the exclusivity of sports by gender persisted. Joan Hult, in "Separate but Equal Athletics for Women," argued in 1973 "in at least two very important attributes for skilled performance–muscular strength and power–there is a definite difference between male and female."[151] Therefore, women and men should compete separately. Yet, her argument lends itself to view women as inherently weaker, and lowered expectations for athletic capability. Hult argued her interpretation of women's weakness "is a fact not built upon our culture (although certainly our culture has negatively influenced participation and development of high levels of performance among women in sports) but upon psychological differences between male and female."[152] Based on these considerations, Hult proposed working on equalizing factors between separate men's and women's sports. In a egalitarian approach, Hult deduced: "the programs cannot expand to provide both quality programs and opportunities for large numbers of girls and women to participate if various groups confuse the issue of striving for a few women on men's

teams."[153] Hult recognized the potential detriment to progress by feuding groups who could not decide on a strategy to increase athletic opportunities for female athletes. Furthermore, the separation of athletes by sex allowed for separate administrations to dictate the future of their respective athletes.

Physical educator Eleanor Metheny deconstructed the differing worth of athletics for men and women in her article "Relative Values in Athletics for Girls." Written in 1955, the article examined the manner in which girls from other countries were encouraged to compete, while American girls were discouraged. Metheny eliminated the persistent physiological conditions, as exemplified through Hult, arguing that the biological differences "provides little if any basis for differentiating between the sexes in relation to the nature of those performances and the values accruing from them."[154] Therefore, the biological considerations aside, Metheny argued:

> The values which girls derive from athletic participation are determined less by the nature of the activity than they are by the total situation in which the experience of participation occurs. The outcomes of athletic competition for girls can be evaluated only in relation to the conditions which determine the situation encompassing the competition and against a background of the most prevalent attitude about women at that time and in that place.[155]

For women's intercollegiate athletics, the value of athletic competition was determined through the coaching, the personal attitude of the individual competitor, and the overall perception on the university campus of female athletes. Each oral interviewee from the University of Oregon recalled the admiration and influence of their coaches, most namely Janet Woodruff and Becky Sisley.

Thomas Boslooper, a theologian, examined the connections between women's level of fitness and their mental state in his article entitled "Physical Assertiveness," and

his book *The Femininity Game*. Boslooper concluded the level of physical activity directly affected the mental faculties of a woman, as noted through his own research and counseling sessions with patients. He deduced:

> On the one hand, I discovered that women who suffered from various kinds of emotional problems had what I came to call a *negative physical orientation*. They lacked satisfying physical activities, were unrealistic about their physical strength, had had unfulfilling experiences in physically competitive activities, or had been hurt physically or sexually abused by someone at some time, and so had come to characterize various forms of physicality as a denial of femininity.[156]

Boslooper discovered exactly the alternative to be true in those women who had positive association with physical activities– they possessed a positive and more accurate self-concept and enjoyed physical activities. Based upon his hypothesis, Boslooper offered a bold thesis. "Physical education and sports as now constituted in the schools and colleges and universities of the United States, with imbalance of physical activities between males and females, is one of the greatest contributing factors to the emotional distress of both men and women, and especially women, in our country."[157] To develop the assertiveness of women, Boslooper advocated contact sports. He asserted, "there can be physically assertive activity between females and females and between females and males that is nonsexual and nonhostile in nature."[158] In fact, Boslooper stressed the development of positive contact sports between the sexes as a non-threatening way to relieve stress and latent fears. However, until the 1960's and 70's, few contact sports were allowed for women, and even fewer were supported by society. Boslooper attributed this phenomenon to "a failure to realize that girls and women too have aggressive and assertive drives in need of wholesome expression."[159] In contrast, "contact sports have been developed for boys and men because of a recognized aggressive drive that needed

wholesome and recreative expression."[160] In 1969, President Robert D. Clark echoed similar sentiments about the importance of sports for college students. Boslooper's conclusion extended beyond the realm of intercollegiate sports and focused on the needs of all women to competitively use their minds and bodies.

Femininity and Athleticism

The feminist movement of the 1960's and 1970's opened up several avenues for women, but there was a disconnect between expanding opportunities for females, and for female athletes. Athleticism was not generally seen as an expression of femininity, because of the historical association between masculinity and sports. Furthermore, in the 1960's and 1970's, the idea of a female as an athlete was not celebrated in mainstream society. In fact, "at the start of the 1960s, most people still regarded athletics for women as being all about fitness, not competition."[161] Graceful sports such as cheerleading, gymnastics or ice-skating were promoted, because they were considered feminine. In spite of the superficial similarities of expanding woman's rights, the feminist movement and the expansion of female sports developed somewhat separately.

Sport necessitated, as it does today, the use of physical attributes in order to compete. However, these qualities have been exclusively associated with males. The athletic ability of women prompted skepticism about their femininity. The Olympics, the pinnacle of athletic ability prevented women from competing in many events, and it is only since 1984 that women have been able to compete in the marathon. The elite female athletes came under serious scrutiny, subjected to the Barr Sex Test. Beginning in 1968, "women of all nationalities lined up for doctors to determine their femininity and receive certification. Inherent was the notion that athletic women were so masculine that they

might not be real women."[162] Validation of femininity was based on a thorough physical examination of the athlete's body. The officials updated the test to a cheek swab, and recently the test was stopped; yet questions about femininity still arise at modern elite sporting events. The test was not administered to male competitors, and questions of genuine masculinity were not as common. In addition to physical examinations, female athletes were perceived to be homosexuals for several reasons. On the surface, a muscular woman was not thought of as attractive to a male and her athleticism was considered an obstacle to marriage. Furthermore, the affinity for exercise and adoration for fitness prompted discussions of their motivations for engaging in such activities. In the search for an answer to this concern, some concluded that athletes must be lesbian. Nancy Bailey, author of "Women's Sport and the Feminist Movement," concluded "underlying issues of homophobia are the political ideologies of heterosexism that go unnoticed, promoting misogyny and keeping the patriarchal system alive."[163] The complexity of this relationship between femininity and athleticism prevented them from becoming synonymous terms.

Hollis Elkins described the gap between promoting athletics and promoting feminism in her article "Time for a Change: Women's Athletics and the Women's Movement," and argues athletic women were categorized as separate women. Written in 1978, Elkins purported women athletes routinely engaged in unfeminine activities, and were therefore seen "as 'different' from nonathletic women."[164] Not only were these women classified as a different type of women, their femininity was questioned, even rejected to the point where they were considered not to be a woman anymore. Athletic women cross the normal gender barriers and compete in sports, an arena historically

exclusive to females. Athletics and femininity were antithetical ideas, and consequently, the parallel feminism movement does not generally support the expansion of athletic opportunities for women during the 1970's. Elkins concluded that because these two ideological constructs were oppositional, "women athletes and physical educators have had to continually prove their femininity in some way because they were physically active."[165] The simple act of engaging in exercise coincided with masculinity, instead of femininity. In addition to this separation of the sexes by physical activities, the context of the feminist movement may have contributed to the segregation.

Elkins conceded the priorities of the feminist movement did not include those of equalizing athletics, although the overall impact of the feminist movement benefited all women, even those who were athletes. Intercollegiate opportunities competed with "the ERA, abortion, equal pay, equal credit or the right to work."[166] The political climate at the University of Oregon in the 1960's and 1970's included the Vietnam War, conflict with the ROTC, and free speech issues, all of which may have overshadowed female athletic equality. However, other authors cite the positive effects of athletics, including boosting self-confidence, identity, positive body image, and leadership, all qualities that would boost the effectiveness of the women's movement. Despite the apparent discord between the two ideas, Elkins concluded the two are indeed interconnected: "Title IX, state ERA's, and legal battles over female participation in Little Leagues and high school sports are results of the impact of the women's movement."[167] To reconcile this issue, Elkins suggested dialogue between the two groups to recognize their interdependence.

The spirit of dialogue fits the model of female athletics espoused by Nancy Bailey, author of "Women's Sport and the Feminist Movement." Bailey observed

differing philosophies between athletics and feminism. While "competition is fundamental to sport, a cooperative model is espoused by feminism."[168] However, later in her article, Bailey characterized the development of the AIAW as cooperative. In fact, the creation of the organization was "surrounded by a sport environment in which male hegemony prevailed, [and] the founding mothers were able to design, create, and implement a working organization that met their needs and goals."[169] Therefore, the goals espoused by the AIAW and the WIA focused on the value of cooperation. The relationship between athletics and feminism cannot be reduced to this polarization.

Media and Femininity

To counteract the difficult intersection of femininity and athleticism, Cathy Small proposed an alternative. Small asserted: "it is difficult, if not futile, to ascribe a feminine aura to an institution so thoroughly steeped in male heritage."[170] The history of sports is so closely linked with the expression of masculinity; so female athletes should not waste their time attempting to change the status of athletics. Therefore, Small bluntly offered a new relationship of feminism and sports: "what a woman does is feminine."[171] In other words, a female athlete is feminine, based upon the fact that she is a woman. Instead of her activities defining her perceived sex, Small purported a woman is a woman because she born that way. Despite the societal and cultural associations of masculinity and athleticism, there was room for females to assert their femininity, which included all their activities and hobbies.

In addition to the historical construction of sports as a uniquely masculine endeavor, media attention fueled the underlying assumption that athletes were not feminine. When female athletes discussed the balance between femininity and

athleticism, they were "professionally recognizing that this is not so, and that physical activity might, in some way, affect one's sexual identity."[172] Therefore, Small argued, "the case for inaction is clear on the subject of femininity and women's sport. Women athletes should be encouraged to dismiss this line of public questioning. As educators, we should further discount this issue as an appropriate subject of professional debate."[173] The scant media attention given to female athletes invariably asked about their marital status, domestic life, and socially acceptable feminine activities such as beauty pageants. In 1973, Billie Jean King observed this media tendency in an interview for *Ms.* magazine. Despite her success in tennis tournaments, King remarked:

> There is a terrific double standard with sports reporters. They ask me when I'm going to retire and raise a family. Do they ask a baseball player that? They ask me about my abortion. Do they ask a football player if he's had a vasectomy? That's none of their business, although I'll answer any question, even if I resent it. But do they ask male athletes all about their domestic lives?[174]

Individual players from this era gave accounts of how this struggle affected their own self-identities, and their approach to the choice of woman or athlete. Anne Roiphe, author of several books on feminism, recalled her own experiences playing field hockey as a young girl, lending a personal touch to the struggle between femininity and athleticism. Roiphe identified as an athlete and expressed contempt for any identification as a typical female, because she "didn't want to metamorphose into one of those artificial, hobbled creatures like my mother, who wobbled on spike heels, watching the runs in her nylons, clanking with jewelry, instead of dripping as I was with honest, salty sweat."[175] The emphasis on working hard and finding the limits of physical exertion were common themes throughout my interviews. Athletics offered an opportunity for "developing one's

body in concert with the mind, the ancient Greek ideal."[176] Each interviewee expressed a fondness for exercise and fitness. Therefore, the development of athletic opportunities for women coincided with the acceptance of "physical prowess and the aggressive, competitive instincts that go with are thought as exclusively masculine qualities"[177] as also being feminine. This new definition of athleticism required the acknowledgement and cessation of derogatory terminology associated with female athletes.

The legal requirements for equal opportunities in athletics, and the competing ideas of the relationship between femininity and athletics, forced each university to face several decisions in their compliance process. Despite the differing interpretations of equality, and the direction for women's athletics, a point of central focus was the end of discrimination against female athletes. The continual development of athletics provided an opportunity for rethinking how athletics were to be governed and the purpose of providing opportunities for young women. One such conception of this organization was "not in imitation of men, but in full realization of themselves."[178] However, while this view seems to be in concert with the values for female athletics as a whole, it did not become a full reality. As previously discussed, the outcome of Title IX legislation created a paradoxical equality and discrimination for women's sports.

CONCLUSION

The Title IX Paradox

The legacy of Title IX for the University of Oregon is indeed contradictory. The ambiguous law created controversy and exacerbated pre-existing stereotypes of femininity and athleticism. Conditions improved for female student-athletes in terms of overt discrimination, facilities usage equalized, the department received more money, transportation improved, however, the value system of male domination persisted even in the face of federal legislation. Once the women's program became a formidable threat, the merger occurred as a method for the Athletic Department to control the future of female student-athletes. Since 1977, the number of female coaches has declined, as well as the existence of a dedicated voice for gender equity in the Athletic Department. In a prophetic letter about the merger from Joanne Hugi, a member of the WIA Advisory Council, she observed, "I do not believe that a well planned structure or kind words from the administration can change the reality of where the power and voice of Oregon athletics will be located." Unfortunately, Hugi's prediction remains true in the 21st century. The current iteration of an advocate for female student-athletes splits her time with other Athletic Department administrative responsibilities. Furthermore, her doctoral dissertation about intercollegiate athletics recommended the removal of football in determining gender equity calculations. She rationalized "with football out of the equation, teams have an equal playing field. Institutions can now provide an equal number of scholarships for men and women in all sports, which will promote unity rather than separatism."[179] This policy recommendation separates a male sport from all the others, and contradicts the ideology of equality of opportunity.

The history of Title IX at the University of Oregon and all of the foundational work by female administrators, coaches, and athletes is slowly slipping away. These individuals were part of a larger movement to equalize the playing field, so to speak. Yet, acute discrimination persists at intercollegiate level, and the fight for gender equity has not ended. Almost four decades ago, Title IX stimulated a national movement for athletic equality. Now, it is the responsibility of each university, including the University of Oregon, to advocate for the end of discrimination and gender equity in all areas of education including intercollegiate athletics.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

WIA, 1976-79[180]

Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Budget Summary University of Oregon, Department of Physical Education

The WIA Program was initially part of the Women's Recreation Association. The figures listed the following six years indicated the amount of funds allocated for the interest groups which comprised the intercollegiate athletic program.

1967-68 $3,750	1970-71 $5,135
1968-69 $3,550	1971-72 $7,714
1969-70 $4,320	1972-73 $13, 714 (incl. $2,000 Nat'l)

The WIA Program was officially separated from the Women's Recreation Association in September 1973.

1973-74	IFC	$23,500 (included inequities added and $5,468 for Nat'ls)
	Personnel	17, 353
	Total	$40, 353
1974-75	IFC	$ 37, 974 (included $5,631 for Nationals)
	Adm. Travel	1,342
	Personnel	42, 728 (actual, no OPE)
	Total	$82, 044
1975-76	IFC	$ 94, 583.50 (included $29, 323 for Nationals and $3000 contingency)
	Personnel	49, 724 (actual, no OPE)
	Adm. Travel	2, 174
	Total	$146, 481. 50
1976-77	IFC	$ 85, 127 (no contingencies through IFC)
	Personnel	97, 536 (allocated as of September 1, 1976)
	Adm. Travel	2, 105 (includes OPE)
	S & S	1, 360
	Total	$186, 128

Appendix B

1973-74 Women's Athletics[181]

	F/H	VB	Bowl-Fall	Bask	Bowl-Winter	Gym	Swi	Golf	SB	Ten	T/F
HC	F	F	M	F#	F#	F	F	F	F	F	M/M #
Asst. Coach											

Graduate Teaching Fellow

2010-2011 Men's Athletics[182]

	Base	Bask	XC	FB	Golf	Tennis	T/F
HC	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Asst. Coach	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Asst. Coach	M	M	M	M			M
Asst. Coach	M	M	F (vol.)	M			F
Asst. Coach				M			M
Asst. Coach				M			M
Asst. Coach				M			M
Asst. Coach				M			F
Asst. Coach				M			F
Asst. Coach				M			F

2010-2011 Women's Athletics [183]

	AT*	Bask	XC	Golf	Lac	Tennis	Soft	Soccer	T/F	VB
HC	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	M	M
Asst. Coach	F	M	M	F	F	F	F	M	M	F
Asst. Coach		F	F	M (vol)	M		M	F	M	F
Asst. Coach		F	F (vol)				F (vol.)	M (vol.)	F	
Asst. Coach									M	
Asst. Coach									F	
Asst. Coach									F	
Asst. Coach									M	
Asst. Coach									M	

* Acrobatics and Tumbling is not recognized by the NCAA.

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