SHARP CENTER | WOMEN'S SPORTS FOUNDATION

THE DECADE OF DECLINE

Gender Equity in High School Sports

With Policy Recommendations By The National Women's Law Center

October 2012

RESEARCH REPORT

SHARP Center for Women & Girls
Sport | Health | Activity | Research | Policy

Foreword and Acknowledgments

This study is the second in the "Progress Without Equity Research Series." It reports on historical changes in the provision of athletic opportunity in U.S. high schools and is intended to provide educators and policymakers at the national, state and local levels with new and accurate information. The report is authored by Don Sabo, Ph.D., Professor of Health Policy at D'Youville College, Buffalo NY, and Philip Veliz, Ph.D., Research Fellow at the University of Michigan.

SHARP, the Sport, Health and Activity Research and Policy Center for Women and Girls, was established in 2010 as a new partnership between the Women's Sports Foundation and University of Michigan's School of Kinesiology and Institute for Research on Women & Gender. SHARP's mission is to lead research that enhances the scope, experience and sustainability of participation in sport, play, and movement for women and girls. Leveraging the research leadership of the University of Michigan with the policy and programming expertise of the Women's Sports Foundation, findings from SHARP research will better inform public engagement, advocacy and implementation to enable more women and girls to be active, healthy and successful.

Located at D'Youville College, The Center for Research on Physical Activity, Sport & Health's mission is to design, conduct and disseminate cutting-edge research on the links between physical activity, sport and health. It operates as an organizational catalyst for interdisciplinary research projects that foster education, policy development and public health initiatives. It also specializes in getting knowledge "off the shelf" and into communities, schools and media, where it promises to impact people's lives.

The National Women's Law Center provided relevant evidence-based policy recommendations for future planning and action. We gratefully acknowledge the leadership and expertise of Neena Chaudhry, Senior Counsel and Director of Equal Opportunities in Athletics, and Katherine Gallagher Robbins, Senior Policy Analyst—both at the National Women's Law Center—who wrote the policy recommendations, and Nancy Hogshead-Makar, Senior Director of Advocacy at the Women's Sports Foundation, who provided valuable input.

We are indebted to the Office for Civil Rights and the Department of Education for gathering and dispersing the data that made these analyses feasible. Special thanks are owed to Deborah Slaner Larkin and The MARGARET Fund for its continued support of this project and the advancement of gender equity in sport. We are grateful to Sr. Denise Roche, president of D'Youville College, and the continued commitment to the Center for Research on Physical Activity, Sport and Health.

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NATIONAL WOMEN'S LAW CENTER
EXPANDING THE POSSIBILITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Our first research report was entitled "Progress Without Equity" because the findings showed that, while high school girls made gains in athletic participation between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, the trend toward greater gender equity flat-lined between 1999-2000 and 2005-06. We wondered whether this slowdown was temporary or the beginning of a decade-long shift toward expanding gender inequality. We waited for the Department of Education to release the 2009-10 Office for Civil Rights Data Collection, which, like the preceding data set for 1999-2000, represented a large cross-section of U.S. public schools. These OCR data were then merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD), which are collected by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). This report summarizes analyses from these two merged data sets across a 17-year time span. The research design employed both a matched nationwide sample of high schools across the decade of the 2000s and cross-sections of U.S. high schools during the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years1.

Several key questions guided our analyses. Did girls' share of high school athletic opportunities increase, decrease or remain constant between the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years? Was the trend toward or away from greater levels of gender equity during the 2000s? How did schools with greater or lesser economic resources fare in relation to the provision of athletic opportunities to boys and girls? Were there differences in the provision of athletic opportunities to girls and boys in urban, rural, suburban and town schools? How did states and geographic regions compare in relation to the achievement of gender equity in school sports? How did race and ethnicity related to shifting allocations of athletic resources in U.S. schools? Finally, with regard to gender and high school sports, should the 2000s be understood as a decade of inclusion or exclusion.

This study is compelling because the 2000s comprised a period marked by economic uncertainty, increased struggles over economic resources, the erosion of academic performance in secondary schools, increases in obesity and its related diseases, and escalating healthcare costs. In addition, 2012 marks the 40th anniversary of Title IX, a bipartisan law that has guided and spurred efforts to create gender equity in sports and secondary education.[2] The text of the statute appears below.

> "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…"

Title IX challenged assumptions about traditional men's sports and the provision of athletic participation opportunities, in which male coaches and administrators made the key decisions and controlled the resources. Rather than looking at the expansion of girls' sports as a potential growth sector, many athletic directors and coaches defined gender equity as a zero-sum scenario; i.e., they asserted that girls' gains would amount to boys' losses. The findings in our previous report debunked such claims, and this report produces updated analyses intended to highlight the extent of gender equity during the 2000s. This report is intended to aid parents, educators, coaches, athletic administrators, legal advocates and policy makers in determining how much farther we must go to achieve equity.

RESEARCH DESIGN, SAMPLES AND MEASURES

This study utilized two longitudinal data sets in order to answer key research questions about how the allotment of athletic opportunities in U.S. high schools has changed in the decade between 1999-2000 and 2009-10, and to provide a snapshot of how the numbers of participation opportunities have changed during the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years. The first longitudinal data set used to assess the allocation of athletic opportunities during the decade between 1999-2000 and 2009-10 draws on a matched sample of 7,254 public four-year high schools that participated in the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) during both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years. Every public high school that offered grades 9 through 12 that had matching school IDs[3] in the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 CRDC data collection was included in the analysis, regardless of whether or not these schools provided interscholastic sports. Appendix A provides descriptive statistics for both the matched sample and the population of public high schools offering grades 9 through 12 to display the representativeness of the matched sample.

The second data set allows for a detailed summary of the amount of change in participation opportunities between 1993-94 and 2009-10 by examining the trends across the samples of four-year public high schools that participated in either the 1993-94 (n = 4,566), 1999-2000 (n = 12,030), 2005-06 (n = 7,774) or 2009-10 (n = 9,769) CRDC data collection. Every four-year public high school that offered interscholastic sports was included in the analysis (1994, n = 4,260; 2000, n = 10,676; 2006, n = 6,472; 2010, n = 7,615). Appendix A provides descriptive statistics for both the sample of high schools used in the analysis and the population of four-year public high schools to demonstrate the level of representativeness of the four samples used in the trend analysis.

Sources of Data

For this study, the data gathered by the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) were merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD). By merging data from both these sources, the researchers were able to generate statistics based on nationwide samples and at the same time examine links between individual school characteristics (e.g., enrollment size, school economic resources, type of

community and geographic region) and athletic participation. See Appendix B for a summary.

Some Strengths of the Office of Civil Rights Data

The Office for Civil Rights Data Collection offers access to reliable information based on information gathered from individual schools, in each state. In contrast, the National Federation of State High School Associations (NFSHSA) reports statistics that represent state totals rather than information that pertains directly to individual schools.

An additional strength of the OCR Data Collection is that all U.S. public high schools are required by federal law to participate. The resulting sample, therefore, has a high degree of representativeness. In contrast, the NFSHSA relies on the voluntary participation of school officials to report information.

The OCR data collection instructs school administrators to record each instance of participation across all sports and not the number of athletes in a school. This means that we also avoid the common and misleading practice that equates instances of participation among girls and boys to the numbers of "participants" in the school. Consistent with the OCR's survey protocol, we define and measure athletic participation as the number of athletic opportunities that a school provides to the entire student body. For instance, 100 students in Jackson High School may have participated in one or many sports, thus tallying to 120, 160 or 200 or more "athletic participation opportunities" provided during the year across seasons and multiple sports.

Main Measures

Three key measures of the extent of athletic opportunity in each high school were used in the analyses: (1) the number of athletic participation opportunities, (2) the number of athletic teams and (3) the number of sports. We describe and compare the provision of interscholastic athletic opportunities of U.S. boys and girls across the time frame. We examine how the provision of athletic opportunities varied by geographic region (i.e., Northeast, Midwest, South and West) and by the type of community in which the school was located (i.e., urban, suburban, town and rural). Finally we tested whether the extent of economic resources within a school were tied to gender differences in the provision of athletic opportunities.

Consistent with the definitions used in our first report (2011), we measured the extent to which each school provided three types of athletic opportunities to its female and male students: (1) the percentage of athletic participation opportunities within

and between the female student body and male student body, (2) the number of sports provided to boys and girls and (3) the number of female-only and male-only sport teams. The extent of athletic participation opportunities was determined by taking the total number of participation opportunities among girls (in all the different sports that each high school provided during the school year) and dividing by the total number of girls who were enrolled for the academic school year. The same procedure was followed among the boys.[4] (Details appear in Appendix C.)

An "athletic opportunity" is defined as a situation or condition within a school that allows a young person to participate in some type of athletic activity.[5] As in the first report, we also measure and analyze variations in three types of athletic opportunities: (1) the numbers, percentages and ratios of athletic participation opportunities provided to female and male students; (2) the numbers of sports provided for girls and boys; and (3) the numbers of teams provided by gender. We emphasize that it is the first measure, athletic participation opportunities, that is the most valid measure of athletic opportunity.

The same rationale and measurement procedure holds for counting and recording the extent that high schools provide athletic participation opportunities across the female and male student bodies. The Office for Civil Rights Data Collection guidelines for the school officials who recorded the athletic participation rates enacted this logic and procedure with this instruction:

> "Number of participants. Enter the number of students who participate in (1) male-only teams and (2) female-only teams. Count a student once for each team he/she is on. For example, a student should be counted twice if he is on two teams."[6]

Gender equity ratios were calculated for each of the three measures above. A ratio provides information about the proportion of one set of numbers to another. During an election year, for example, pollsters set out to measure the ratio of registered Democrats to Republicans in a particular voting district. For example, if there are 3,000 Democrats and 4,000 Republicans in "Cambria County" then 3,000 is divided by 4,000 to produce a ratio of 0.75, which translates to "for every three Democrats there were four Republicans. If there were 4,000 Democrats and 4,000 Republicans, then the ratio would equal 1.00. The gender equity ratio allowed us to measure the proportion of athletic opportunity among girls in relation to boys. When the gender equity ratio falls below 1.00, it means that girls were allocated fewer opportunities than boys. Conversely, if the gender equity ratio exceeds 1.00, it means that girls were given more opportunities than boys.

Finally, we gathered information about high schools themselves, including: (1) sex composition, (i.e., the number of students who are female and male within schools), (2) federal lunch enrollment (i.e., percentage of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunches), (3) geographic region[7] (i.e., location in the Midwest, Northeast, South or West), (4) type of community[8] (i.e., rural, suburban, town or urban) and (5) school size (i.e., the number of students per high school).

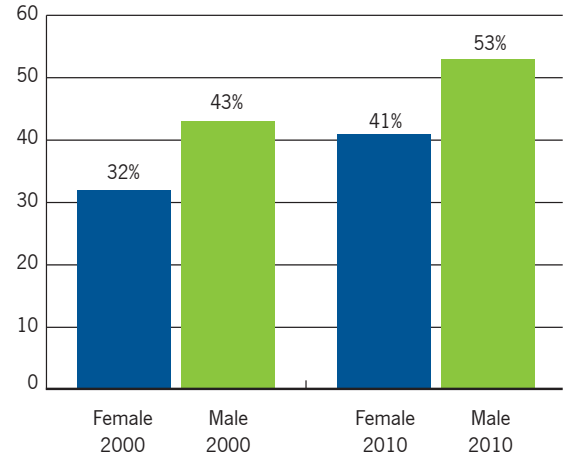
RESULTS

The findings below depict the provision of athletic opportunities in the U.S. from a variety of vantage points. The measurement procedures used for each of the Tables below are detailed in Appendix C.

Section One: The Provision of Athletic Participation Opportunities by Gender, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10

The findings show that while both girls and boys gained athletic opportunities across the decade, boys made more gains. Table 1 shows that the percentage of athletic opportunities among girls increased by 9 percentage points (from 32% to 41%), whereas percentage among boys moved up from 43% to 53% (a 10% increase). Athletic participation opportunity expanded across the decade, but boys' allotment grew more than girls. Simply put, by 2009-10, 53 athletic opportunities were administered for every 100 boys, compared with 41 for every 100 girls. While more girls and boys were involved with interscholastic sports than ever before in American history, the gender gap persisted (11%, 12%) across the decade. In short, while both girls and boys gained athletic opportunities, girls remained way behind boys in the number of athletic opportunities allotted to them.

Table 1: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



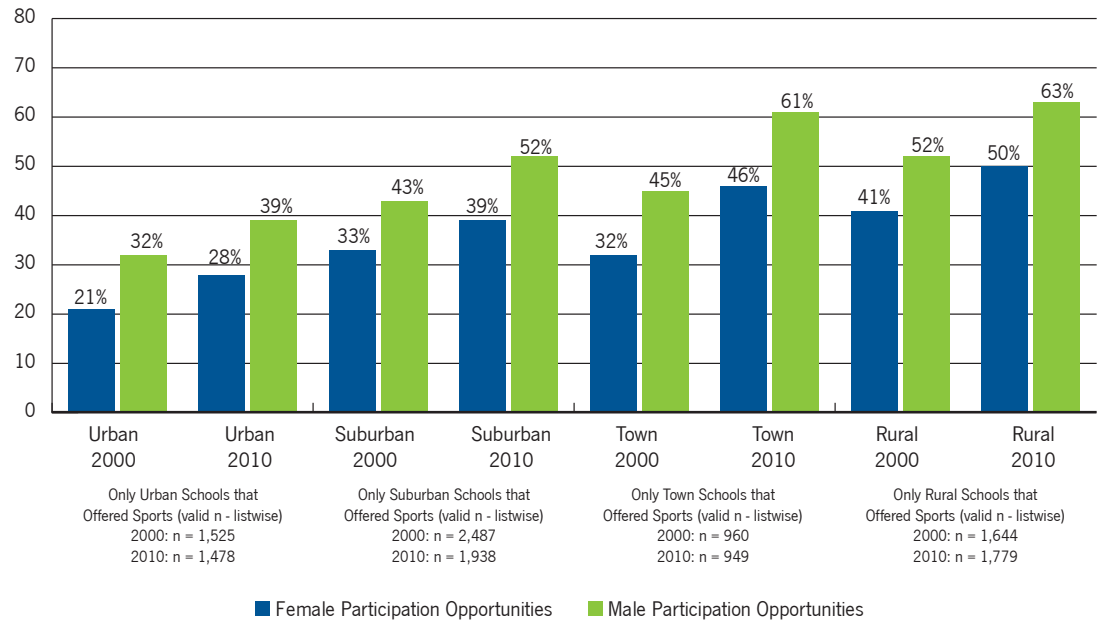
Athletic Participation Opportunities and Type of Community

The results in Table 2 depict how the provision of athletic opportunities to girls and boys shifted in schools across four types of communities. Three trends are documented. First, schools in urban, suburban, town and rural communities increased the number of athletic opportunities allotted to their students. The largest growth of opportunity occurred in schools located in towns, where male and female participation rates grew by 16% and 14%, respectively, across the decade. Rural schools had the highest rates of athletic participation opportunities by 2009-10 (63% among boys and 50% among girls), while urban schools reported the lowest percentages (39% among boys and 28% among girls).

The comparisons across the decade depicted in Table 2 reveal that, while the gender gap in athletic participation opportunity persisted at 11% in urban schools, it grew from 10% to 13% in suburban schools, 13% to 15% in town schools and 11% to 13% in rural schools. By 2009-10 boys received disproportionately more athletic opportunities than girls in all community settings.

Finally, the evidence debunks some public opinion that "equal opportunity" in sports means a zero-sum game. There is absolutely no evidence that boys somehow lost athletic opportunities as a result of girls' gains in

Table 2: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by the Type of Community Where the School is Located, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



sport. Except for urban schools, where the gender gap remained constant, boys' access expanded more than girls' access did. Sons are being privileged, daughters are still being shortchanged.

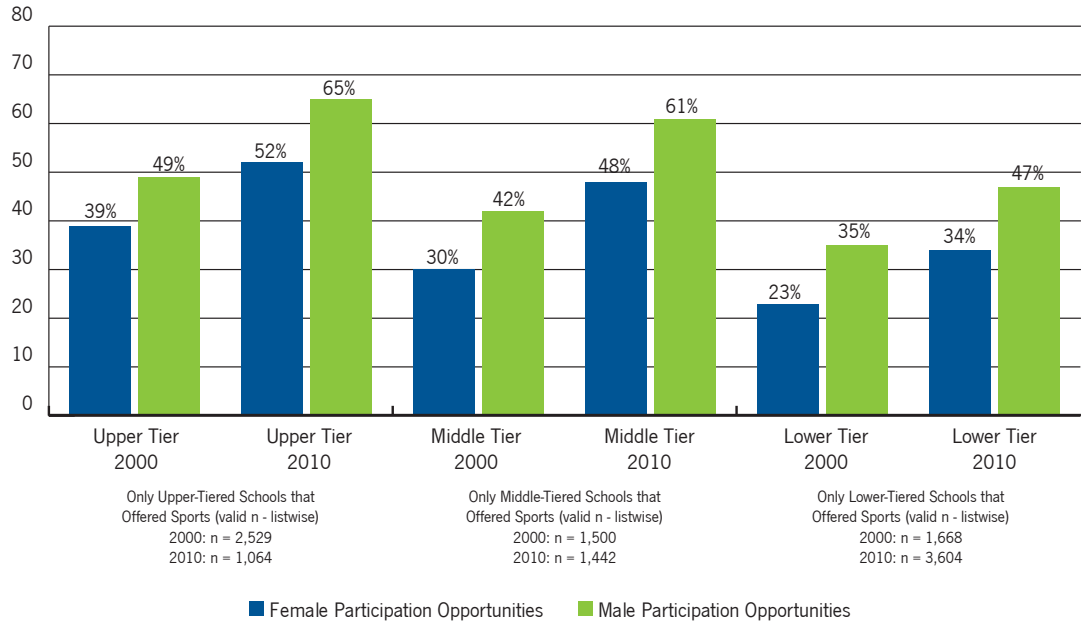
Athletic Participation Opportunities and School Economic Resources

The decade of the 2000s was marked by recession, unemployment, domestic and global economic uncertainty, the collapse of the housing market, declining consumer confidence, and the continued shrinking of the middle class. These large-scale social and economic conditions impacted communities and school districts differently.

While some thrived amidst the decline, others were hard-strapped to pay the bills and provide educational resources. Given this economic context, we expected that the provision of athletic opportunities would vary with school economic resources across the time frame. The percentage of students eligible for the federal free and reduced lunch program (FLE) was used as a proxy measure for a school's economic resources.[9] Schools were divided into three subgroups in order to advance the analysis; i.e., upper-tier (12.39% or lower FLE), middle-tier (12.5%-24.9% FLE) and lower-tier (25% and higher FTE)[10]. Several findings can be distilled from Table 3.

First, the upper-tier schools provided more athletic participation opportunities

Table 3: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



for both girls and boys than middle- and lower-tier schools. These differences were evident both at the start and the end of the decade. Second, despite differences in economic resources across the schools, the percentage of both boys and girls given athletic participation opportunities increased. Furthermore, it was middle-tier schools that generated the highest increases in athletic participation opportunities across the decade for both boys (a 19 percentage point increase, from 42% to 61%) and girls (an 18 percentage point increase, from 30% to 48%). However, a clear gender gap exists. Stated simply this meant that by 2009-10, middle-tier schools provided 61 athletic opportunities for every 100 boys, compared to 48 per 100 girls.

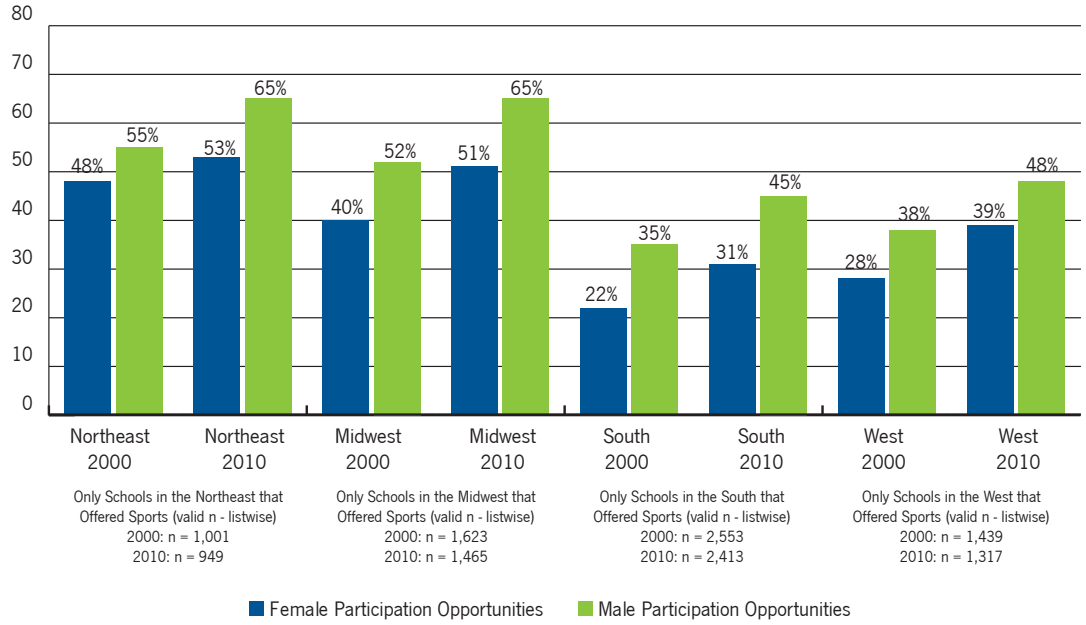
Third, boys were afforded more athletic participation opportunities than girls regardless of the economic viability of the school. Indeed, the gender gap persisted across the time frame in the upper-tier, from 10% to 13%, and from 12% to 13% in both the lower-tier and middle-tier schools. Perhaps most revealing is that, while the number and percentage of girls' athletic participation opportunities increased across the decade in all schools (despite their levels of economic resources), gender inequality increased as well. In short, while girls during 2009-10 participated in greater numbers than girls at the beginning of the decade, their share of total athletic opportunities decreased across the decade when compared to boys' share. During a decade of expanding athletic participation opportunities across U.S. high schools, boys received more than girls, and, despite the level of economic resources, back-peddling on gender equity was the rule not the exception.[11]

Athletic Participation Opportunities Across Geographic Regions

One might approach the findings depicted in Table 4 (on following page) with several questions in mind. In what region of the country do high schools provide the most opportunities for children to get involved with sports? Where can I find the same athletic opportunities for girls and boys? And there are legal and ethical perspectives: are the schools in my region treating girls and boys equitably?

Upon reviewing the results in Table 4, one observes that boys garnered substantially higher percentages of athletic participation opportunities than girls did across all four geographic regions. Boys' disproportionate advantage was also evident at the beginning and the end of the decade. Indeed, although schools created more athletic opportunities for both boys and girls across the 10-year time span, boys received disproportionately more opportunities than girls did. Athletic opportunity was lowest in the South. During 1999-2000, for every 100 boys in

Table 4: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



Southern schools, 35 athletic opportunities were provided, whereas 22 opportunities were allotted per 100 girls. Indeed, boys were allotted disproportionately more opportunities than girls in all four geographic regions and across the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years. Schools in the Northeast provided the greatest percentage of athletic opportunities and, also, the least disparity between boys and girls. By 2009-10, for example, the comparative percentages of athletic participation opportunities among boys and girls in Northeastern schools stood at 65% and 53%, respectively.

The geographical picture depicted in Table 4 reveals geographical inequity along gender lines. Northeastern and Midwestern schools did a better job at generating sports opportunities than their Southern and Western counterparts. Closer scrutiny of the results shows that Western schools should be credited because they narrowed the gender gap in athletic participation opportunities across the decade (from 10% during 1999-2000 to 9% during 2009-10), whereas the gender gap increased from 7% to 12% in the Northeast, from 12% to 14% in the Midwest, and from 13% to 14% in the South.

Section Two: Changes in Gender Equity, 1993-94 Through 2009-10

The results in this section depict how gender differences in the provision of athletic participation opportunities shifted during recent history. In order to complement our previous report (2011), we examined several years of cross-sectional data to analyze trends in gender equity among four-year public high schools between 1993-94 and 2009-10[12]. Accordingly, our previous report showed that while athletic opportunities for girls increased between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, progress toward equity basically flat-lined between 1999-2000 and 2005-06. One big question for this study, therefore, was whether schools did a better or poorer job meeting girls' athletic needs during the latter part of the decade. The evidence discussed below confirms the second outcome.

Two basic statistics were used to measure changes across the time frame. First, a "gender equity ratio" was calculated by taking the total number of athletic opportunities provided to girls and dividing by the number of girls enrolled in each school, then repeating the calculation among the boys in each school. A ratio was then generated in order to compare any difference. The step-by-step procedure for generating this statistic is in Appendix C. A ratio of 1.00 would mean that girls and boys received equal athletic opportunities. Ratios below 1.00 indicate fewer girls than boys were provided opportunities. The results in Figure 1 clearly show that the bulk of girls' gains occurred between 1993-94 and 1999-2000.

Second, we calculated percentages in order to compare the athletic participation opportunities provided among girls and among boys. The total number of female participants on all teams in each school was divided by the number of girls in the school. The same calculation was performed among the boys in each school. Finally, the average percentages across all the schools were calculated for each gender.

Figure 1: The Gender Equity Ratios for Athletic Participation Opportunities, 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06, 2009-10

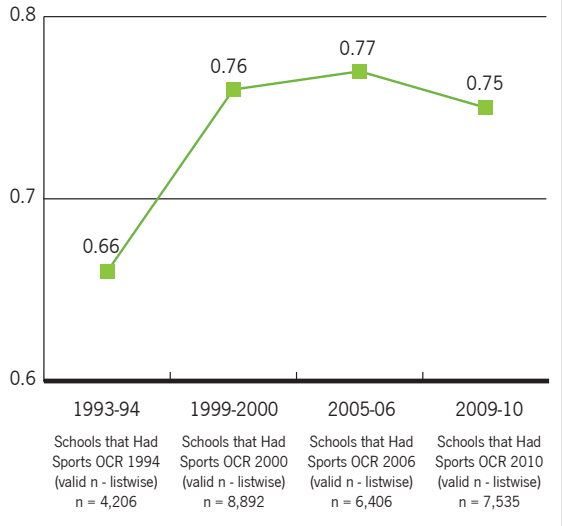


Figure 2: Athletic Participation Opportunities, Percentages per 100 Students, Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender

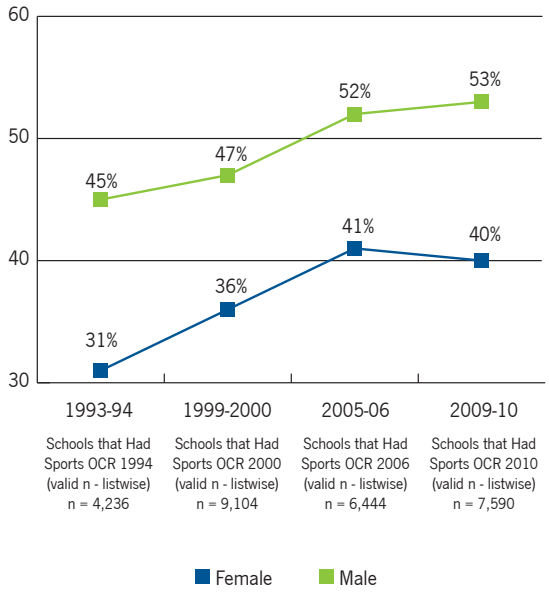


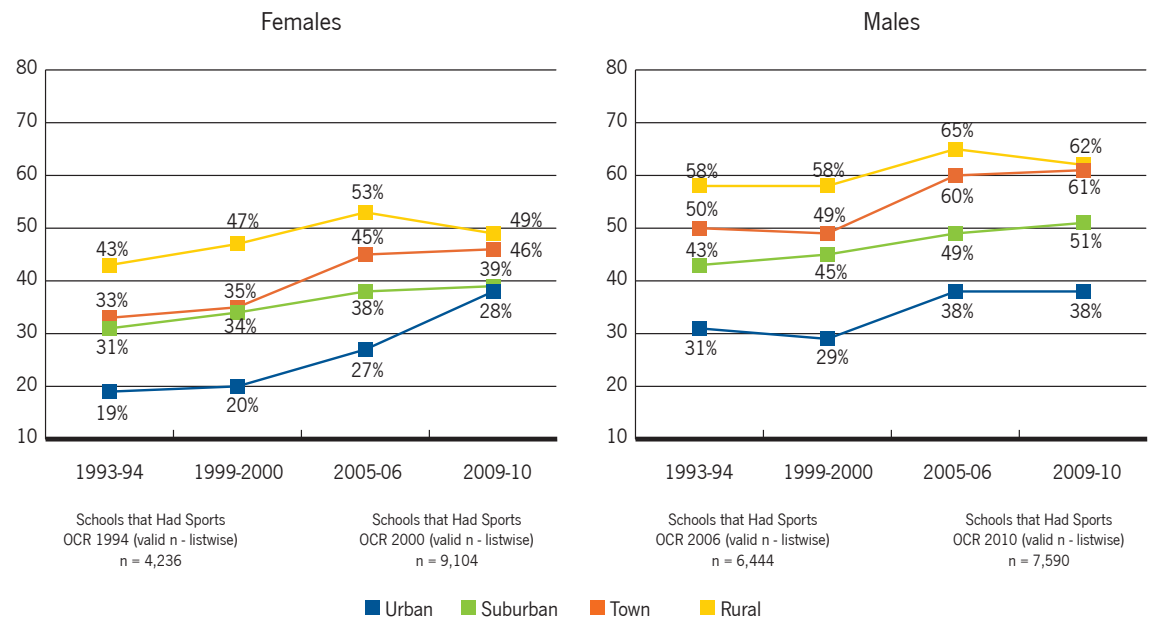
Figure 2 expresses the extent of athletic opportunities among girls and among boys as percentages. The "45%" result for boys during 1993-94 means that 45 athletic opportunities were provided to every 100 boys within a given high school. For that same school year, 31 athletic opportunities were provided to every 100 girls within a given high school. The trend ticked slightly upward between 1999-2000 and 2005-06, increasing 5 percentage points (from 36% to 41%), but then registered at 40% during 2009-10. The respective percentages among boys shifted from 45% to 53% across the whole decade. Overall, boys not only got a larger percentage of athletic opportunities than girls, but boys' share inched upward across the time frame. During the 16 years under study, the opportunity gap between the sexes went from 14% to 13%—registering just a 1 percentage point cumulative gain for girls. A "gender inequality status quo" seems to have taken root around 2000 that continued to favor boys and discriminate against girls.

Did gender inequalities persist across all types of communities, levels of school economic resources and geographic regions? Did some schools do better than others in moving all their student-athletes toward parity?

The results in Figure 3 (on following page) show that, when compared with girls, boys enjoyed higher percentages of athletic opportunities in all communities—urban, suburban, town and rural. By 2009-10, for example, rural schools generated 62 athletic opportunities for every 100 boys, compared to just 49 opportunities for every 100 girls. Urban schools, in comparison, produced the lowest percentages of athletic opportunities within their female and male student populations. In addition to these differences, an astute reader can calculate and compare the net gains that girls and boys made across the decade. Regardless of the community in which the school was located, boys gleaned more net gains in athletic opportunities during the 2000s than girls did.

Schools with greater economic resources offered their student-athletes more opportunities than their less-affluent

Figure 3: Athletic Participation Opportunities per 100 Students, Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender and Community Type



counterparts. See Figure 4 on following page. Upper-tier schools provided the largest share of both girls and boys with athletic opportunities across the historical time frame. During 2009-10, for example, athletic participation among upper-tier school girls was 51%, compared to 48% and 34% in the middle-tier and lower-tier schools, respectively. The disparities between boys' and girls' percentages with athletic participation opportunities were evident during each school year and in each school regardless of its level of its economic resources. Two conclusions are supported by the evidence: (1) schools with more economic resources delivered the most athletic opportunity, and (2) gender inequality persisted across economic divisions. Simply put, whatever the level of economic resources available within the school, girls received fewer opportunities when compared to boys.

Finally, the provision of athletic opportunities varied markedly across geographic regions. Several observations can be gleaned from Figure 5 (on following page). Northeastern and Midwestern schools provided the most athletic opportunities per 100 students among both boys and girls between 1993-94 and 2009-10. Boys' opportunities in the Northeast and West dipped 4 percentage points between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 but increased thereafter.

By 2009-10, in every region, boys were provided between 9% and 14% more athletic opportunities than girls. The gender

Figure 4: Athletic Participation Opportunities per 100 Students,
Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender and School Economic Resources

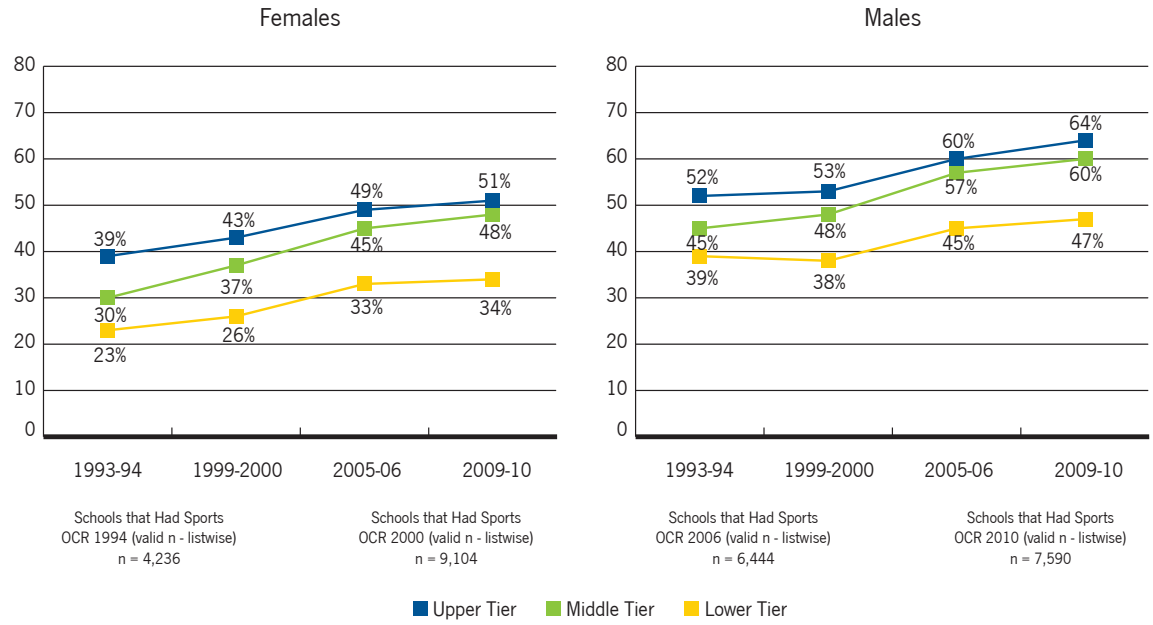
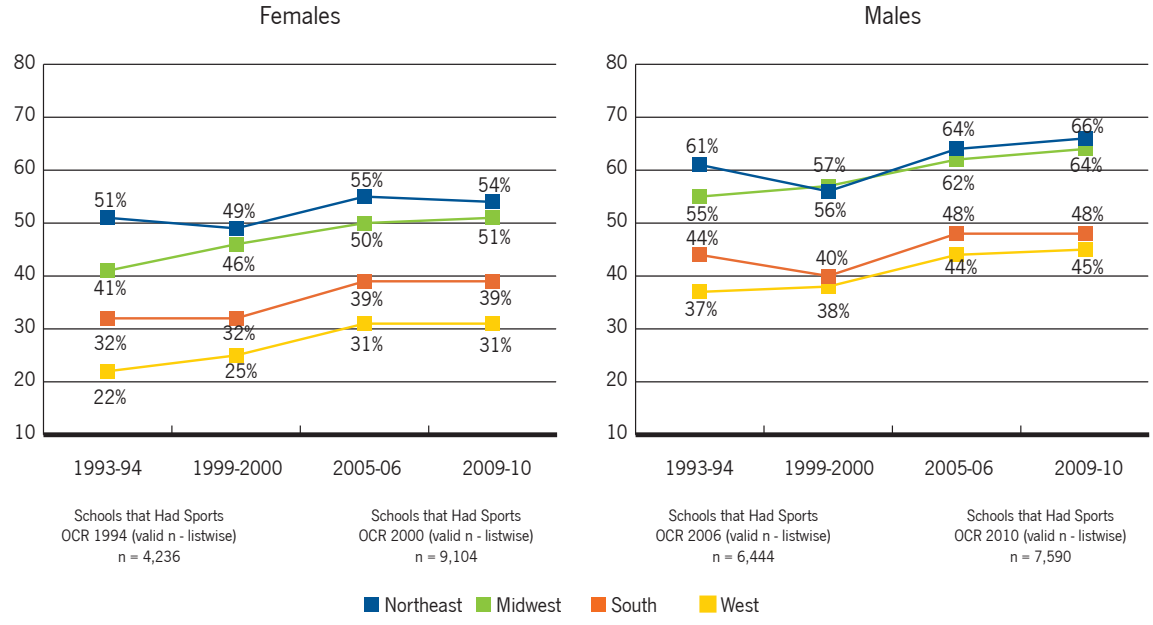


Figure 5: Athletic Participation Opportunities, per 100 Students,
Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender and Geographic Region



gap in Southern high schools at the end of the period was 14 percentage points (45% for males and 31% for girls during 2009-10). Furthermore, the only region in which girls' share of athletic participation opportunities increased during the new millennium was in the Midwest, moving from 46% to 51% between 1999-2000 and 2009-10. Girls' gains either stalled or dipped between 2005-06 and 2009-10 in the Northeast, South and West. Advocates for girls' sports across the nation will be dismayed to find that the gender gap in athletic opportunity widened in every geographic region during the period.

In summary, by the end of the time period the weak trend toward greater gender equity visible between 1993-94 and 2005-06 had reversed itself. The year 2005-06 appears to be a tipping point for the expansion of girls' opportunities in interscholastic sports. As Figure 2 documents, girls' overall chance at athletic participation opportunities inched forward from 1993-94 to 2005-06, but subsequently dipped to 40% by 2009-10, resulting in a 4-percentage-point net gain across the 2000s (from 36% to 40%). See Figure 2 on page 14. Boys' share of athletic participation opportunities not only remained higher than that of their female counterparts across the time frame, but also boys logged a 6-percentage-point net gain (47% to 53%) during the 2000s.

Section Three: Changes in the Number of Sports and Teams by Gender, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10

School leaders make decisions about the number of athletic teams to offer during the year. The findings below provide some insight into how gender played into these decisions during the 2000s. We caution that athletic participation opportunities are a more valid measure of opportunity in sport than either the number of sports or teams. For example, one athletic director might create two hockey teams, one for boys and one for girls, each with a with a 20-player roster. The additional teams would increase both girls' and boys' involvement equally. Another athletic director may offer softball for girls with a 16-player roster in order to "balance" junior-varsity football for boys with a roster of 41 players, which could either induce or disguise gender inequity within the school. With such caveats on rather than under the proverbial table, tracking trends in the number of sports and teams available to girls and boys can offer some useful information to educators, policymakers or parents.

The Number of Sports Provided to Girls and Boys

The years between 1999-2000 and 2009-10 saw an increase in the average number different sports and teams provided to girls and boys across the time frame.[13] On average, boys edged out girls during both 1999-2000 and 2009-10. See Table 5. While the average number of sports increased across the decade for both boys and girls by over 26%, the gender gap remained basically constant. In short, there was no change in the relative provision of sports between girls and boys.

A more nuanced picture of gender disparities in the number of sports offered by schools emerges when type of community is entered the analysis. See Table 6. In both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years, the gender gap was strikingly uniform across urban, suburban, town and rural communities, with boys being allocated an average of 0.4 to 0.5 more sports than girls. At the same time, as Table 6 shows, the

Table 5: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, 1999-2000 through 2009-10

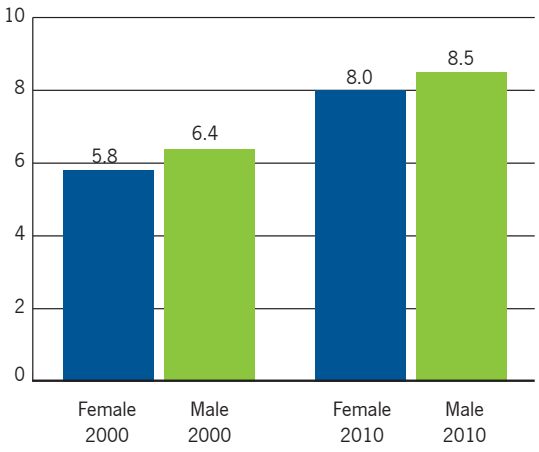
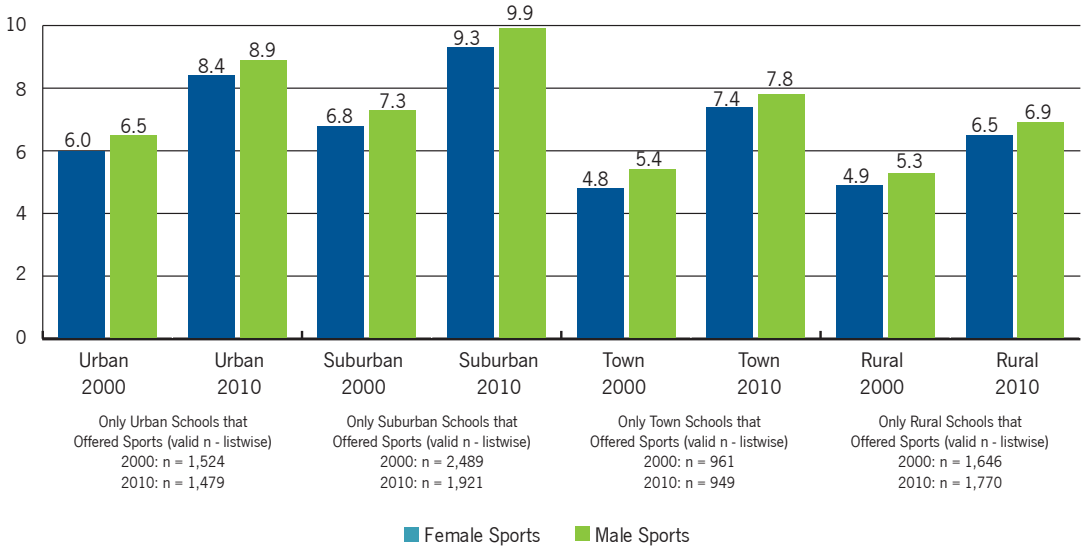


Table 6: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by the Type of Community Where the High School is Located, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



number of sports varied markedly across urban, town and rural schools—increasing in all communities during the decade, and by 2009-10, suburban schools offered the highest number of sports to both boys and girls.

The same 0.4 to 0.5 average difference between the numbers of sports provided to girls and boys also issued across schools with different economic resources. See Table 7. These results also suggest that schools with more economic resources were able to provide the greatest increases in the number of sports for their students. And yet, by the end of the decade, across the upper-tier, middle-tier and lower-tier schools, the gender gap persisted. A summary of changes in gender and high school sports during the 2000s could read "expansion but no equity."

Finally, the results illustrated in Table 8 (on following page) are consistent with those discussed above. The number of sports grew in all four geographic regions across the decade. The largest increase occurred in the South, although schools there averaged the lowest number of sport offerings at the end of the decade. Northeastern schools ended the decade with the highest average number of sports for both boys and girls. However, males in every region maintained their average half-sport edge throughout the 2000s. In short, expansion without equity prevailed throughout the country and the decade.

Table 7: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 through 2009-10

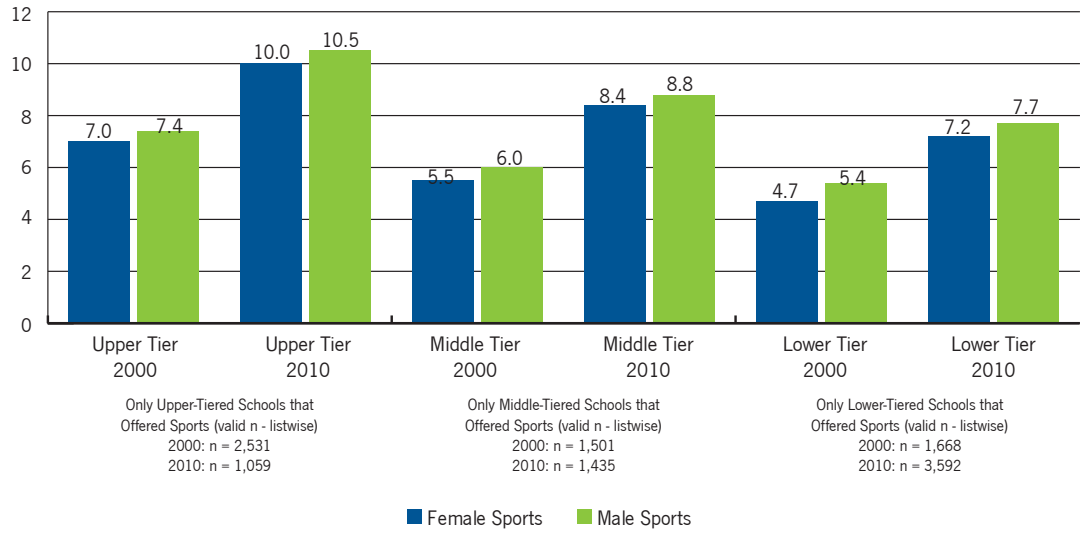
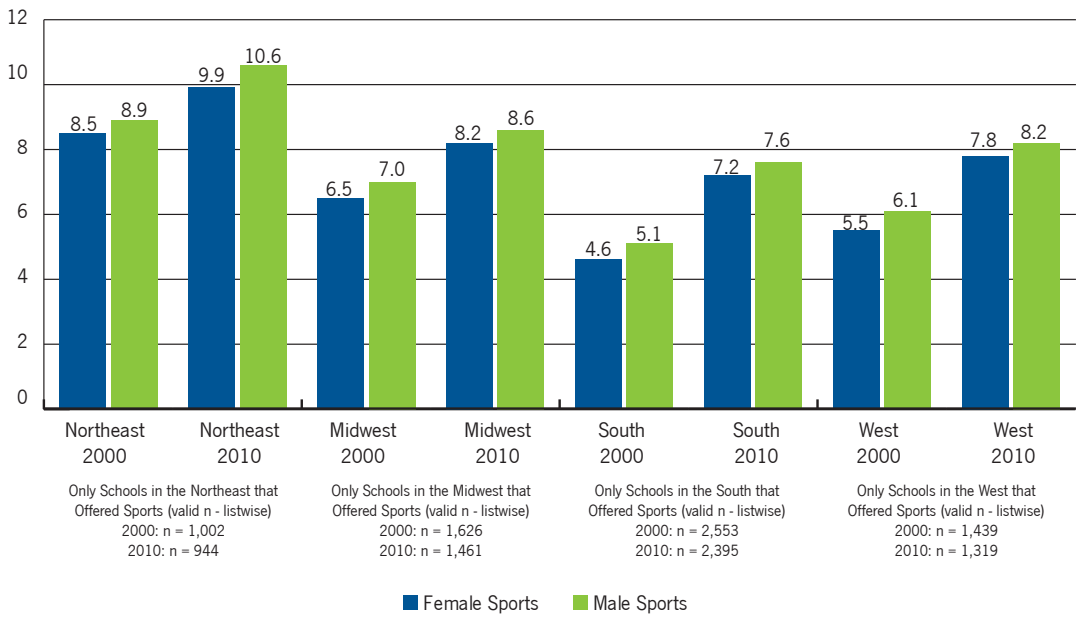


Table 8: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



The Number of Teams Provided to Girls and Boys

The number of female-only and male-only athletic teams increased during the 2000s. The average number of teams among girls went from 10.9 in 1999-2000 to 14.3 during 2009-10. The averages among boys were 12.3 and 15.6, respectively. See Table 9. While the average number of teams across the country increased, the gender gap remained basically the same.

A similar long-term increase in the number of teams occurred within urban, suburban, town and rural communities. By the end of 2009-10 suburban schools averaged the highest number of teams for both boys and girls (n = 19.1 and 17.5, respectively), followed by urban schools, town and rural schools. Perusal of Table 10 (on following page) shows that it was town schools

Table 9: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, 1999-2000 through 2009-10

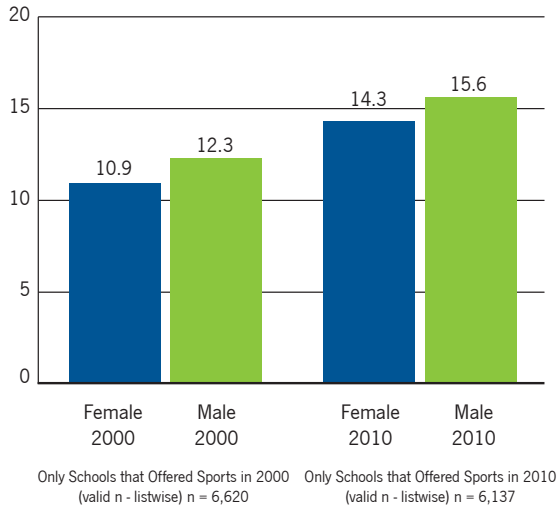
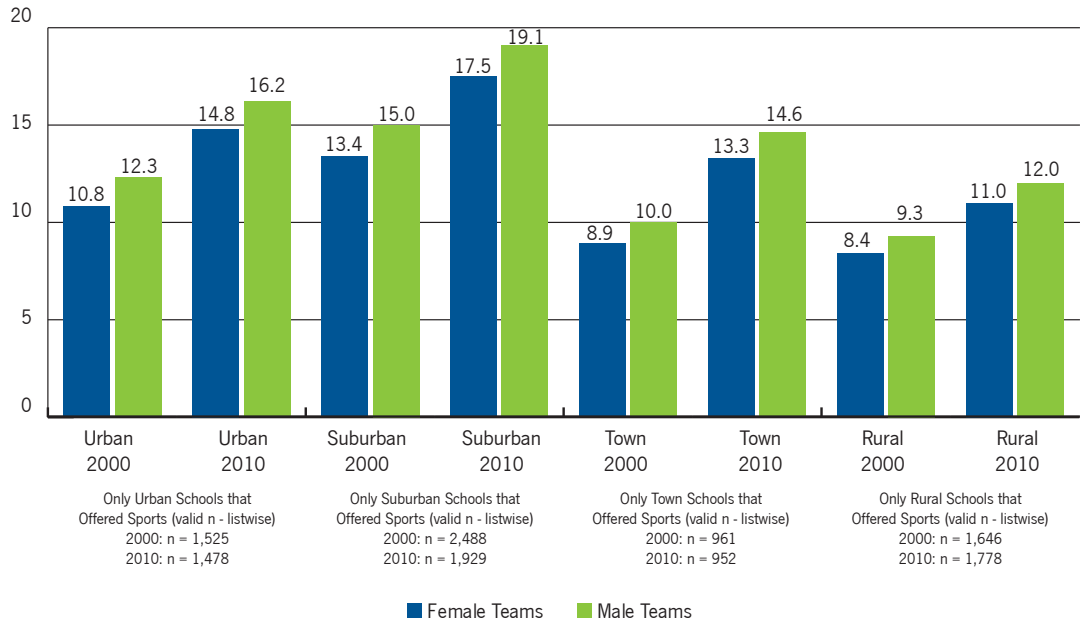


Table 10: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by the Type of Community Where the High School is Located, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



that registered the largest increases in the number of teams for both boys and girls across the decade—an average increase of 4.6 more teams for boys and 4.4 teams for girls. The corresponding average long-term gains in rural schools were only 2.7 and 2.6 teams, compared to 3.9 and 4.0 in urban schools, and 4.1 teams for both boys and girls in suburban schools.

The economic resources within the school appeared to exert an influence on the number of teams schools offered their boys and girls. While the average number of teams for both boys and girls was higher at the end of the decade—across the spectrum of schools based on economic resources—it was the wealthier schools that registered the highest average number of teams at both the beginning and end of the 2000s. For instance, it was the upper-tier schools that added the most teams across the decade for both boys (+6.3) and girls (+6.1). See Table 11 on following page. The respective average increases in the middle-tier schools were +5.3 for boys and +5.5 for girls. In lower-tier schools, the corresponding increases were +4.1 among boys and +4.2 among girls. These results strongly suggest that economic disparities have meshed with gender bias in ways that influence the provision of athletic teams in U.S. high schools. While discrimination against girls in sport has marked much of the history of interscholastic sports in the United States, girls in schools with fewer economic resources are being particularly disadvantaged when it comes to the provision of athletic teams.

Table 11: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 through 2009-10

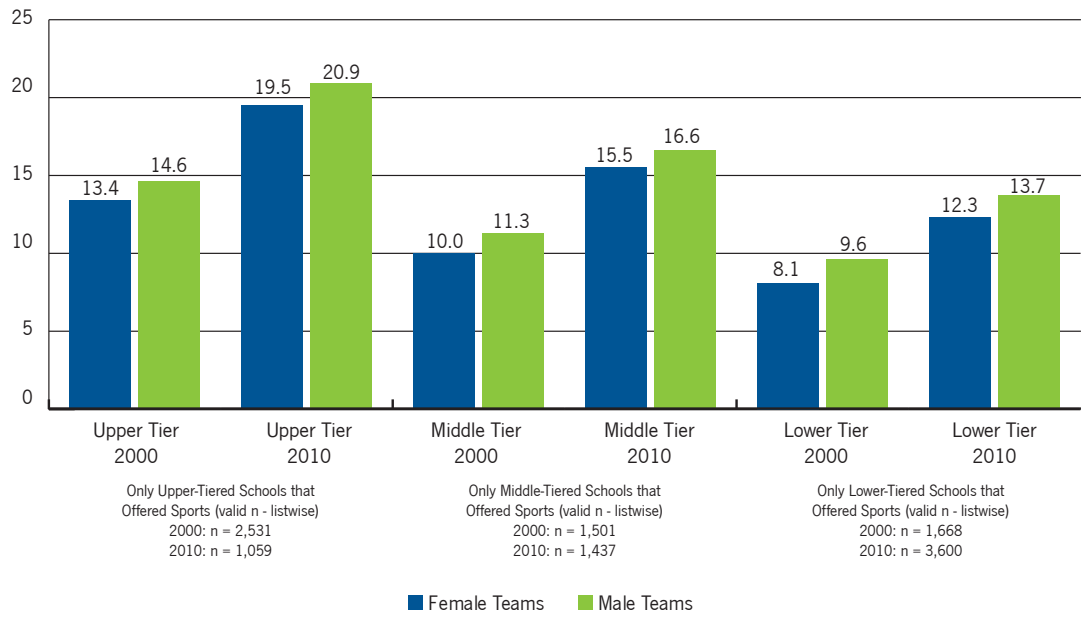
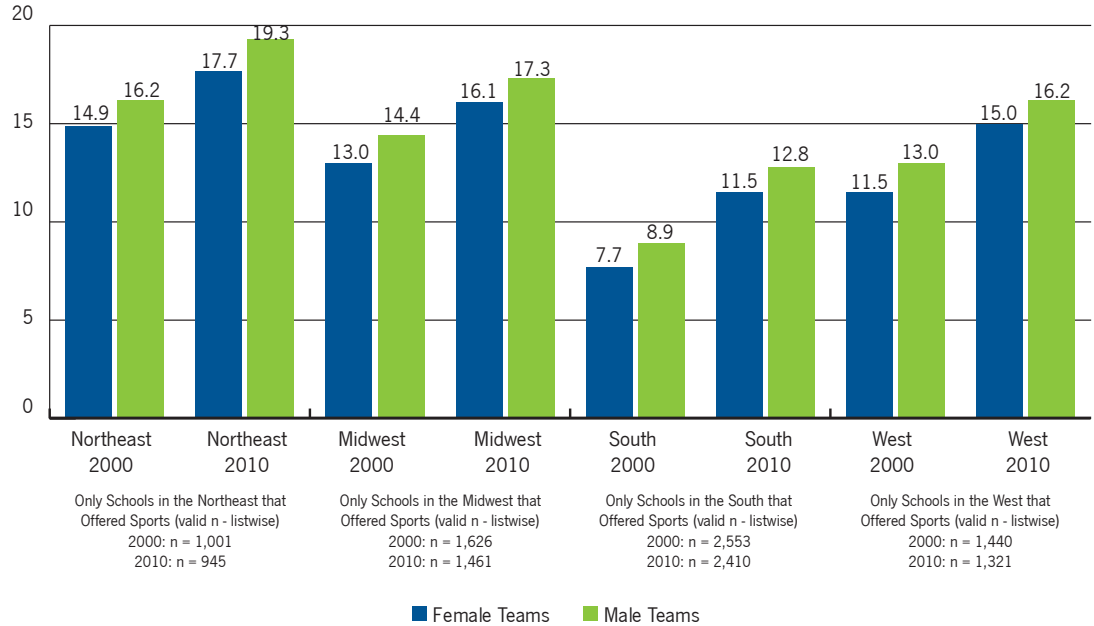


Table 12 documents long-term increases in the number of teams for both girls and boys in every geographical region. Northeastern and Midwestern schools ended the decade with the largest average number of teams, followed by Western and Southern schools.

Table 12: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 through 2009-10



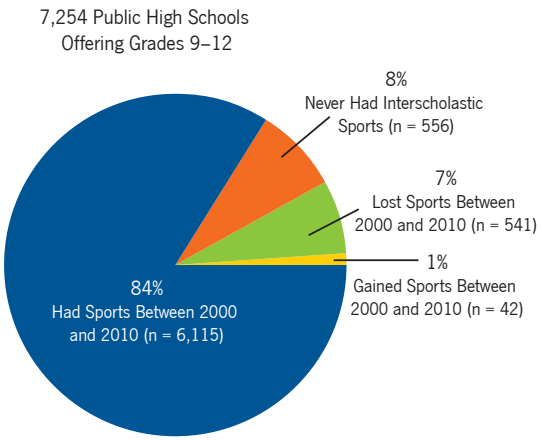
On average, boys were consistently provided more teams than girls in every region throughout the decade. Southern schools added the most teams for both girls and boys—an average of 3.8 and 3.9, respectively. And yet, in the Northeast and South, girls actually lost ground to boys. The bottom-line conclusion supported by the data is that, despite overall increases in the number of teams across the decade, there was no measurable progress toward greater gender equity.

Section Four: Tracking the Decline of High School Sports Programs

In a reflective article on the 40th anniversary of Title IX, journalist Alana Glass asks, "Where would women be without sports?"[14] Today it is just as unimaginable to envision high school sports without the presence of girls or boys. It is even more unthinkable to picture American high schools and their surrounding communities with no interscholastic sports at all. What would secondary education look like if sports programs became the exception rather than the rule? How might the elimination of more athletic programs impact school dropout and suspension rates, academic performance, school violence, youth physical activity levels, obesity risk, and the long-term health of adolescents?

The above questions were set into motion by some early findings we uncovered that showed a decline in the number of high school sports programs across the United States. In order to measure the changes in the rates at which schools offered interscholastic sports from 1999-2000 through 2009-10, we tracked a matched representative sample of the same schools across the decade. See Pie Graph 1. The findings showed that 8% (n = 556) of U.S. high schools during the decade had never offered sports, while 7% (n = 541) of schools had lost or dropped their sports

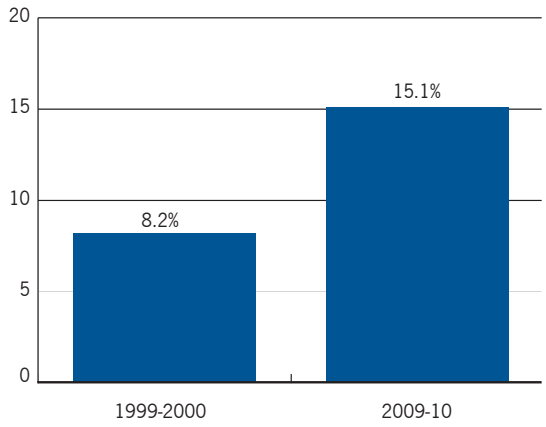
Pie Graph 1: The Percentage of All U.S. High Schools That Never Offered Sports, Started To Offer Sports, Offered But Lost Sports, and Continually Offered Sports, 1999-2000 and 2009-10



programs at some point after 1999-2000. Less than 1% of schools (n = 42) added sports during the decade, whereas most schools (84%, n = 6,115) had offered sports throughout the decade.

We also gauged the percentage of U.S. high schools that offered no sports programs at the beginning and end of the 2000s. The results showed that, whereas 8.2% of schools offered no sports during 1999-2000, the percentage nearly doubled by 2009-10, rising to 15.1%. See Table 13.

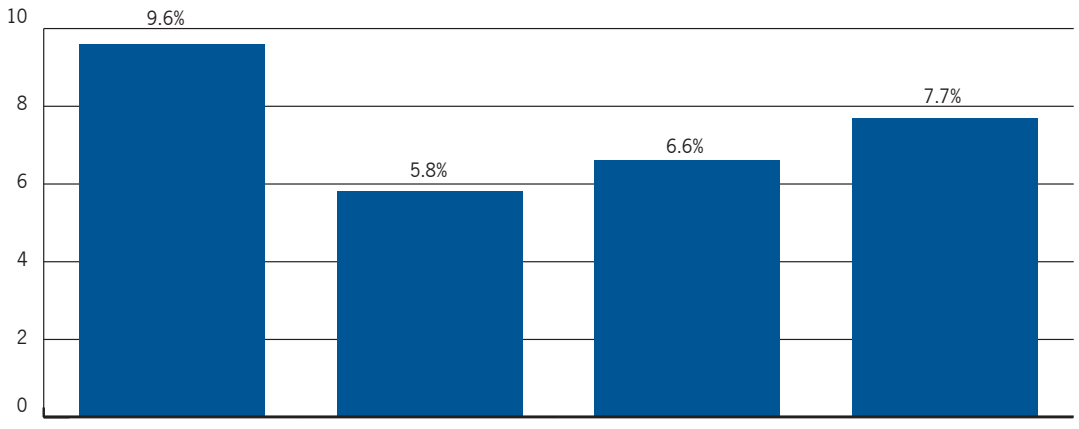
Table 13: The Percentage of High Schools That Did Not Offer Interscholastic Sports, 1999-2000 and 2009-10



n = 7,254 Schools (2000 and 2010)

The upward trend in the number of schools that dropped sports programs seems to be related to community type. Table 14 reveals that, between 1999-2000 and 2009-10, 9.6% of urban high schools dropped interscholastic sports, compared with 5.8% of suburban schools, 6.6% of town schools and 7.7% of rural schools. Additional findings suggest that schools with fewer economic resources were more apt to drop interscholastic sports during the time frame. Table 15 (on following page) shows that while 8.2% of lower-tier schools dropped sports, 5.9% and 5.6% of the middle- and upper-tier schools did so.

Table 14: The Percentage of High Schools That Dropped Sports, by Type of Community, 1999-2000 and 2009-10



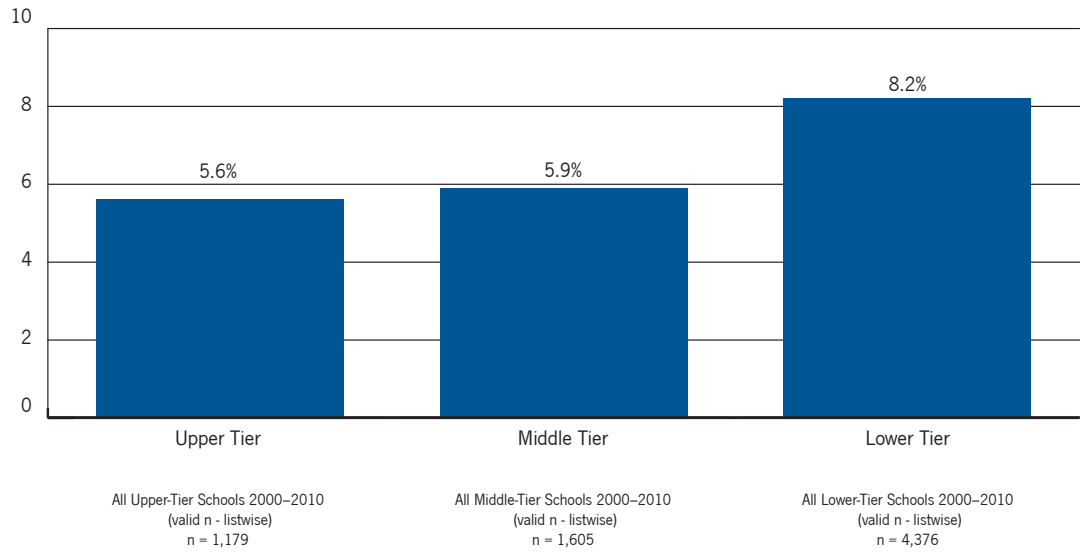
All Urban Schools 2000–2010 (valid n - listwise) n = 1,897

All Sububan Schools 2000–2010 (valid n - listwise) n = 2,244

All Town Schools 2000–2010 (valid n - listwise) n = 1,112

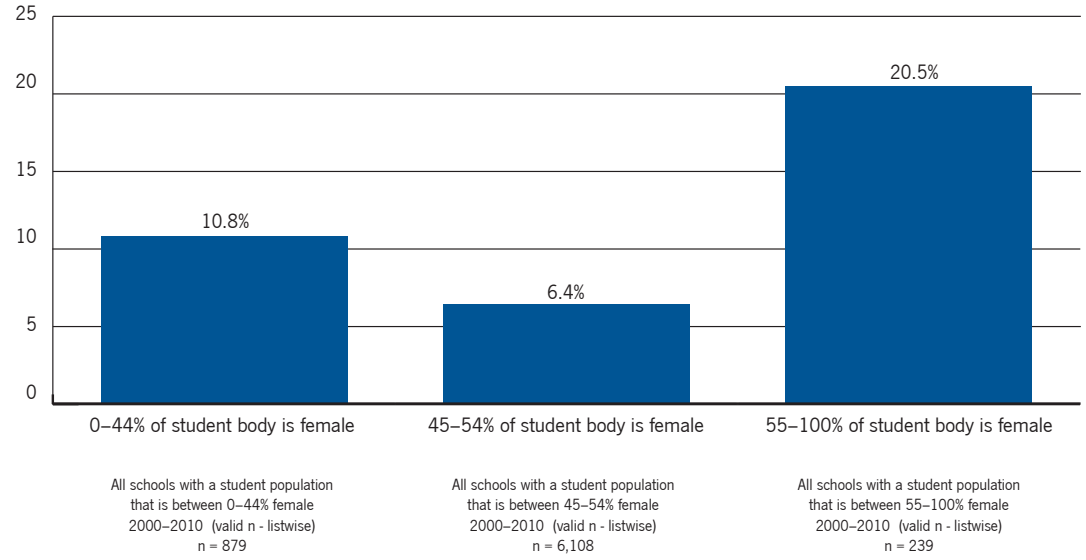
All Rural Schools 2000–2010 (valid n - listwise) n = 2,001

Table 15: The Percentage of High Schools That Dropped Sports, by the Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 and 2009-10



We also examined whether the gender composition of a student body might be related to the extent that U.S. schools dropped sports between 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The findings in Table 16 show that 20.5% of schools where girls were between 55% and 100% of the student body dropped sports during the decade, compared with 10.8% of schools where boys were a clear majority of students. These differences

Table 16: The Percentage of High Schools That Dropped Sports, by the Percent of the Student Body That Is Female, 1999-2000 and 2009-10



suggest that schools with male majorities are less likely to drop sport programs than schools with female majorities. The difference may also reflect stereotypical and misleading beliefs that sports are somehow more important for the healthy development of boys than girls.

How might race and ethnicity fit into the trend toward attrition?[15] The highest drop in sport programs across the 2000s occurred in schools in which whites have the lowest rates of enrollment. See Table 17. This finding may be owed to the ways that economic conditions, race and ethnicity, and gender merged to reflect and reproduce wider institutional inequalities. Schools with larger enrollments of racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to be situated in communities and school districts that, in turn, possess fewer economic resources than predominantly white schools based in more affluent communities.[16]

The above findings suggest that, when closely tracked, athletic programs in schools with fewer economic resources, urban locations, fewer whites and larger female enrollments may be on a path toward attrition.

Finally, Table 18 (on following page) depicts the real and projected percentage of public ninth- to 12th-grade high schools in the United States that would no longer offer any interscholastic sports by 2019-20 if the drop-rate established between 1993-94 and 2009-10 should continue through to 2019-20. Assuming that the number of U.S. high schools remained constant between 2009-10

Table 17: The Percentage of High Schools That Dropped Sports, by the Percent of the Student Body That Is White, 1999-2000 and 2009-10

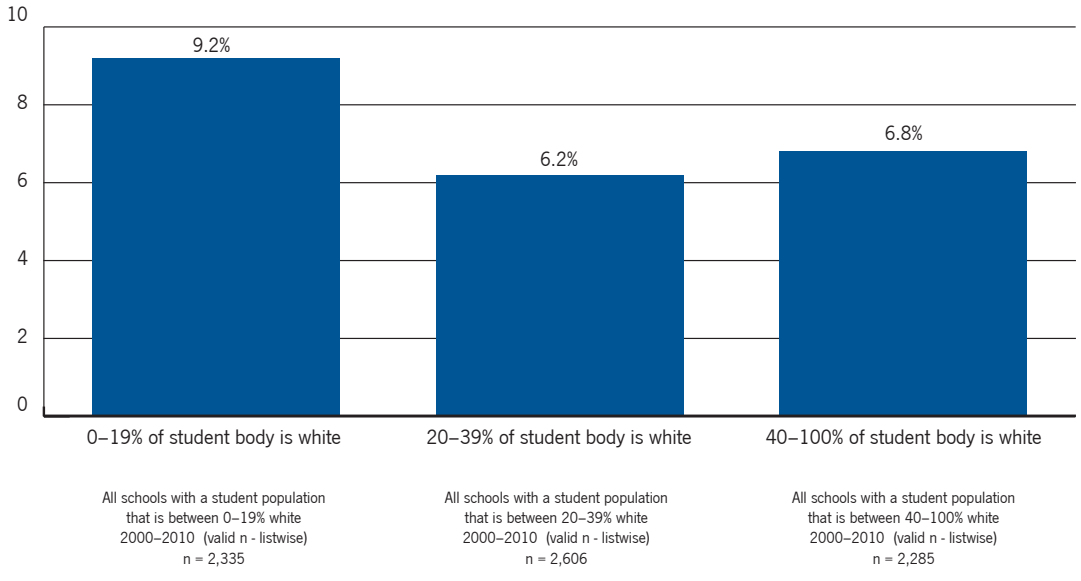
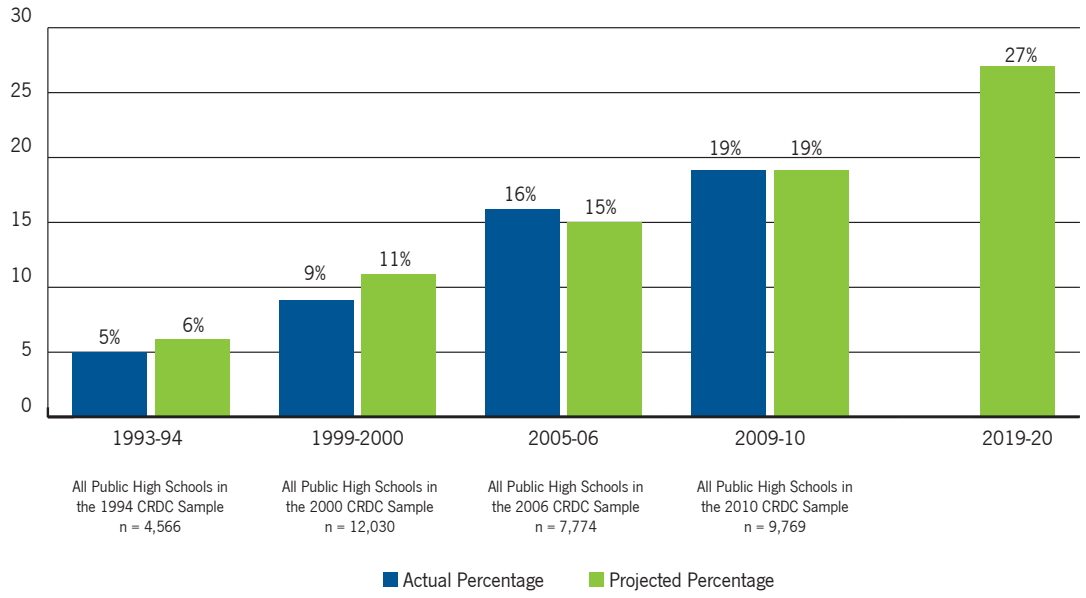


Table 18: The Actual and Projected Percentages of U.S. High Schools Not Offering Interscholastic Sports Between 1993-94 and 2019-20



and 2019-20, we estimate that 27% of U.S. public high schools, a total of 4,398 schools, would be without any interscholastic sports programs. When translated into sheer numbers of adolescents, an estimated 1,658,046 girls and 1,798,782 boys would not have any school-based sport activities to participate in by the year 2020. The projected number amounts to a total of 3,456,828 young Americans.

It is fair to assume that many of the schools that eliminate interscholastic sports programs have fewer economic resources and, concomitantly, student bodies that come from working-class or poorer communities where families and children are already disproportionately disadvantaged. These are the same members of our society who cannot afford "pay for play" sports opportunities for their daughters and sons, equipment, uniforms or fees that allow entry into commercial programs. Where will the "would-have-been" athletes find opportunities to be physically active, learn sport and absorb the life lessons that participation can often provide? Are policymakers, public health planners and educators asking questions about how the growing absence of high school sports in America is impacting academic achievement, dropout rates, delinquency rates or suspensions? Sadly, it appears that across the decade of the 2000s, school leaders have not only failed to provide gender equity in high school sport, they may also be unaware of the pace of atrophy within interscholastic sports.

Section Five: State-by-State Comparisons of the Provision of Athletic Opportunity, 1999-2000, 2009-10

This section depicts state-by-state and regional changes in three types of athletic opportunities for each gender between 1999-2000 and 2009-10. We encourage readers to review the charts and distill their own insights. The first two columns of Tables 19 (on following page) show the 2009-10 gender equity ratios for athletic participation opportunities, followed by the amount of change in the ratio since 1999-2000. Columns three and four present similar statistics for changes in the number of sports across the decade, and columns five and six show changes in the number of teams.

The gender equity ratios presented in the first two columns of Table 19 show, for example, that just one state (Alaska) ended the decade with a greater proportion of athletic participation opportunities among girls than boys. Some overall progress was made during the decade, but it fell far short of gender equity. The Northeast was the only region to register a general decline in athletic participation opportunities among girls across the decade (-0.15), with six of nine states (66%) exhibiting negative gender equity ratios. In comparison, larger percentages of states in other regions logged positive gains across the decade; i.e., 75% of Midwest states (n = 9 of 12), 76% of Southern states (n = 13 of 17) and 92% of Western states (n = 12 of 13). By the end of the decade, however, there is no sign of gender equity in athletic participation opportunities in the nation.

Many states reported increases in the number of sports and teams across the decade, and this seems to bode well for gender equity. Many of the gender equity ratios in columns three (number of sports) and five (number of teams) of Table 19 are higher than 0.90, which denotes somewhat comparable opportunities for boys and girls. And yet, we caution, that the numbers of sports and teams do not directly measure the extent or growth of athletic participation opportunities.

The percentages presented in Table 20 (on pages 30-31) yield another picture of how girls' and boys' shares of athletic opportunities changed across the 2000s. The results are depicted by geographic

Table 19: State-by-State Comparisons: Change in the Gender Equity Ratios Across High Schools between 1999-2000 and 2009-10

	Participation		Sports		Teams			Participation		Sports		Teams	
	Gender Equity Ratio: Participation Opps. 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Gender Equity Ratio: Sports 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Gender Equity Ratio: Teams 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000		Gender Equity Ratio: Participation Opps. 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Gender Equity Ratio: Sports 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Gender Equity Ratio: Teams 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000
Northeast	**.83**	**-.015**	**.96**	**-.019**	**.93**	**-.016**	**Midwest**	**.78**	**+.025**	**.95**	**+.008**	**.93**	**-.005**
Maine	.90	-.080	.97	-.065	.94	-.086	Wisconsin	.80	+.007	.93	-.016	.92	-.024
New Hampshire	.96	-.156	1.00	-.205	1.00	-.213	Michigan	.80	-.073	.97	-.093	.98	-.089
Vermont	.95	+.111	.99	+.059	.99	=.000	Illinois	.77	-.002	.99	-.016	.96	+.022
Massachusetts	.88	+.025	.94	-.066	.93	+.002	Indiana	.77	+.042	.95	+.003	.90	-.022
Rhode Island	.83	-.013	.99	+.025	.92	-.004	Ohio	.74	+.028	.89	+.018	.86	-.006
Connecticut	.79	-.059	.91	-.080	.87	-.075	Missouri	.77	+.087	.94	+.039	.90	+.023
New York	.83	+.009	.94	-.004	.91	-.012	North Dakota	.78	+.159	.87	+.056	.89	-.026
Pennsylvania	.80	-.016	1.00	+.028	.98	+.018	South Dakota	.94	+.135	1.00	+.104	1.00	+.021
New Jersey	.79	-.014	.93	+.003	.88	+.007	Nebraska	.77	+.163	.96	+.053	.95	+.055
South	**.69**	**+.055**	**.94**	**+.035**	**.91**	**+.010**	Kansas	.79	+.052	.93	+.031	.91	+.006
Delaware	.79	-.059	.95	‘+.100	.92	+.076	Minnesota	.85	+.161	1.06	+.180	1.02	+.183
Maryland	.77	+.002	.98	+.020	1.00	+.034	Iowa	.76	-.040	.95	+.078	.92	-.014
DC	.69	+.181	.98	+.042	1.02	+.201	**West**	**.80**	**+.083**	**.96**	**+.029**	**.96**	**+.056**
Virginia	.77	+.036	.95	+.044	.96	+.037	Idaho	.75	+.105	.91	+.062	.98	+.004
West Virginia	.76	+.040	.96	+.068	.89	+.027	Montana	.94	-.027	1.03	-.017	1.06	-.007
North Carolina	.66	+.040	.90	+.065	.88	+.027	Wyoming	.93	+.220	.92	+.042	.95	+.007
South Carolina	.61	+.007	.93	+.040	.87	+.028	Nevada	.77	+.048	.96	+.011	.95	-.116
Georgia	.58	-.017	.89	+.010	.83	=.000	Utah	.81	+.233	.92	+.125	.90	+.067
Florida	.85	-.019	.99	-.083	1.01	-.216	Colorado	.84	+.094	.95	+.004	.95	+.011
Kentucky	.78	+.124	.97	+.112	.97	+.142	Arizona	.74	+.074	.90	-.024	.94	+.034
Tennessee	.61	+.065	.93	+.059	.83	+.014	New Mexico	.80	+.051	1.00	-.110	.98	+.033
Mississippi	.58	+.074	.92	+.102	.82	+.001	Alaska	1.82	+.960	1.63	+.780	1.93	+.977
Alabama	.60	+.048	.91	-.020	.85	+.005	Washington	.84	+.044	1.05	+.019	1.13	+.136
Oklahoma	.77	+.125	.96	+.070	.93	+.079	Oregon	.81	+.180	.98	+.084	.97	+.106
Texas	.65	+.133	.98	+.045	.90	+.035	California	.75	+.033	.94	+.027	.90	+.033
Arkansas	.63	-.014	.99	+.010	.95	+.015	Hawaii	.84	+.587	.97	+.053	1.02	+.334
Louisiana	.53	+.078	.81	+.098	.77	+.080							

Table 20: State-by-State Comparisons: Average Number of Teams, Sports and Percentage of Athletic Opportunities Across High Schools Between 1999-2000 and 2009-10

	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	% of Athletic Opps.: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	% of Athletic Opps.: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Sports: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Sports: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Teams: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Teams: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000
Northeast	**65%**	**+ 6%**	**53%**	**+ 2.8%**	**11**	**+1.13**	**10**	**+ .86**	**19**	**+ 2.06**	**18**	**+ 1.83**
Maine	65%	+12%	60%	+ 5%	8	+ 1	7	+ 1	13	+ 2	12	+ 1
New Hampshire	58%	+ 7%	56%	+ 2%	10	+ 3	10	+ 2	18	+ 6	18	+ 4
Vermont	72%	+ 9%	68%	+ 8%	9	= 0	9	= 0	15	- 1	15	= 0
Massachusetts	69%	+ 6%	59%	+ 4%	11	+ 1	10	+ 1	20	+ 3	19	+ 3
Rhode Island	49%	+ 2%	40%	+ 1%	10	= 0	9	= 0	16	+ 1	19	+ 5
Connecticut	67%	+ 8%	54%	+ 3%	11	+ 1	10	= 0	20	+ 2	17	= 0
New York	75%	+ 6%	62%	+ 2%	12	+ 1	11	= 0	22	+ 1	20	= 0
Pennsylvania	55%	+ 5%	44%	+ 2%	9	+ 1	9	+ 1	16	+ 2	15	+ 2
New Jersey	63%	+ 5%	50%	+ 3%	11	+ 2	10	+ 2	22	+ 3	19	+ 3
South	**45%**	**+ 6.8%**	**31%**	**+ 6.4%**	**8**	**+ 2.12**	**7**	**+ 2.29**	**13**	**+ 3.27**	**12**	**+ 3.22**
Delaware	54%	+ 11%	44%	+ 7%	11	= 0	10	+ 1	17	- 2	16	= 0
Maryland	43%	+ 2%	33%	+ 1%	8	= 0	8	= 0	12	= 0	12	= 0
DC	33%	- 10%	22%	- 1%	8	+ 1	7	= 0	8	- 1	7	= 0
Virginia	49%	+ 4%	38%	+ 5%	10	+ 1	10	+ 1	15	+ 1	14	+ 1
West Virginia	45%	+ .5%	34%	+ .3%	7	+ 1	7	+ 1	14	+ 3	12	+ 3
North Carolina	47%	+ 6%	31%	+ 5%	9	+ 2	8	+ 3	13	+ 2	12	+ 3
South Carolina	47%	+ 6%	29%	+ 4%	6	+ 1	6	+ 1	12	+ 3	10	+ 2
Georgia	38%	+ 6%	22%	+ 3%	8	+ 2	7	+ 2	13	+ 4	11	+ 4
Florida	30%	+ 15%	23%	+ 13%	9	+ 6	9	+ 6	13	+ 8	13	+ 8
Kentucky	49%	+ 9%	38%	+ 10%	8	+ 1	7	+ 2	13	+ 2	13	+ 3
Tennessee	38%	+ 6%	23%	+ 5%	7	+ 2	7	+ 2	10	+ 2	9	+ 2
Mississippi	43%	+ 1%	25%	+ 4%	6	+ 1	5	+ 1	10	+ 3	8	+ 3
Alabama	44%	+ .3%	25%	+ 1%	6	+ 1	5	+ 1	9	+ 1	8	+ 1
Oklahoma	65%	+ 10%	50%	+ 11%	6	+ 1	5	+ 2	9	+ 2	8	+ 3
Texas	48%	+ 9%	32%	+ 10%	7	+ 3	7	+ 3	16	+ 5	14	+ 5
Arkansas	40%	+ 4%	26%	+ 1%	6	+ 1	6	+ 1	8	+ 2	8	+ 2
Louisiana	43%	+ 1%	23%	+ 4%	5	+ 1	5	+ 1	8	+ 1	7	+ 2

Table 20: State-by-State Comparisons: Average Number of Teams, Sports and Percentage of Athletic Opportunities Across High Schools Between 1999-2000 and 2009-10

	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	% of Athletic Opps.: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	% of Athletic Opps.: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Sports: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Sports: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Teams: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000	Number of Teams: 2009-10	Change Since 1999-2000
Midwest	**65%**	**+ 6.9%**	**51%**	**+ 6%**	**9**	**+.79**	**8**	**+ .87**	**17**	**+ 1.17**	**16**	**+ 1.49**
Wisconsin	67%	+ 5%	53%	+ 3%	9	+ 1	8	+ 1	18	+ 1	16	+ 1
Michigan	59%	+ 3%	48%	+.1%	10	+ 1	9	+ 1	16	+ 2	16	+ 1
Illinois	64%	-.2%	49%	+ 2%	9	= 0	9	= 0	22	= 0	21	+ 1
Indiana	51%	+.4%	39%	+ 1%	10	= 0	9	= 0	19	+ 1	17	+ 1
Ohio	59%	+ 9%	43%	+ 6%	8	+ 1	8	+ 1	15	+ 1	13	+ 1
Missouri	58%	+ 4%	41%	+ 4%	7	= 0	7	+ 1	16	+ 1	14	+ 2
North Dakota	104%	+ 28%	79%	+ 26%	7	= 0	6	= 0	13	= 0	12	= 0
South Dakota	92%	+ 19%	82%	+ 22%	5	+ 1	5	+ 2	9	+ 1	9	+ 2
Nebraska	68%	+ 13%	53%	+ 16%	7	+ 1	7	+ 1	16	+ 2	15	+ 3
Kansas	76%	+ 24%	61%	+ 22%	7	+ 3	6	+ 3	15	+ 6	13	+ 6
Minnesota	69%	+ 1%	58%	+ 6%	11	- 1	12	+ 1	24	- 6	25	= 0
Iowa	95%	+ 21%	72%	+ 13%	8	+ 1	8	+ 1	18	+ 4	16	+ 3
West	**48%**	**+ 6.7%**	**39%**	**+ 7%**	**8**	**+ 1.39**	**8**	**+ 1.54**	**16**	**+ 1.81**	**15**	**+ 2.28**
Idaho	64%	+ 9%	48%	+ 9%	6	+ 1	6	+ 1	13	+ 2	12	+ 2
Montana	80%	+ 14%	76%	+ 16%	5	+ 1	5	+ 1	8	+ 2	9	+ 2
Wyoming	84%	+ 17%	72%	+ 15%	5	+ 1	5	+ 2	9	+ 3	8	+ 3
Nevada	54%	+ 8%	39%	+ 6%	5	- 3	4	- 2	9	- 7	8	- 6
Utah	79%	+ 20%	65%	+ 25%	8	+ 3	7	+ 3	14	+ 4	13	+ 4
Colorado	58%	+ 10%	48%	+ 10%	9	+ 2	9	+ 2	19	+ 5	18	+ 5
Arizona	45%	+ 2%	33%	+ 5%	9	+ 2	8	+ 1	18	+ 3	16	+ 2
New Mexico	49%	+ 8%	41%	+ 6%	7	+ 1	7	+ 1	14	+ 1	13	+ 1
Alaska	40%	+ 9%	41%	+ 11%	4	= 0	5	+ 1	7	= 0	9	+ 1
Washington	52%	+ 2%	44%	+ 2%	8	+ 1	8	+ 1	14	- 1	15	= 0
Oregon	56%	+ 9%	44%	+ 11%	7	+ 2	7	+ 2	15	+ 2	14	+ 3
California	39%	+ 4%	29%	+ 4%	9	+ 1	8	+ 1	18	+ 1	16	+ 2
Hawaii	53%	+ 35%	45%	+ 40%	15	+ 13	14	+ 13	21	+ 17	22	+ 19

region and for each state (plus the District of Columbia). The first and second columns report the differences between the percentages of athletic participation opportunities allotted to each gender respectively.[17] Here a plus sign (+) indicates a percentage point gain in athletic participation opportunities, while a minus sign (-) means a percentage point decline across the timeframe, and an equal sign (=) means no change occurred. The findings in columns three and four show the average increases in the number of sports across the decade for boys and girls. Finally, the next two columns present the average increase in the number of teams for boys and girls.

First, we compared regional changes in the number of states in which the proportion of girls' share of athletic participation opportunities increased more than boys during the 2000s. The same tally was done among the boys. We also counted the states where boys' and girls' percentage shares of athletic opportunities remained the same during the decade.[18]

Across the country, boys' share of athletic participation opportunities increased more than girls' did in 29 states (57%) and remained the same in five states (10%). See Table 21. Girls ended the decade with a higher percentage gain in athletic opportunities than boys in just 17 states (33%). In short, when all the changes across the decade are accounted for, girls' overall share of athletic participation opportunities remained lower than boys' share. Inequity remained the status quo.

Table 21: A Summary of Regional Changes in the Percentages of Boys' and Girls' Athletic Participation Opportunities Between 1999-2000 Through 2009-10

	The Number of States Regional and National Totals				
	Northeast	**Midwest**	**South**	**West**	**National**
Boys' Share of Opportunities Increased More Than Girls' Share Did	9	7	10	3	29
Girls' Share of Opportunities Increased More Than Boys' Share Did	0	4	7	6	17
Girls' and Boys' Shares of Opportunities Remained the Same Across the Decade	0	1	0	4	5
Total Number Of States	**9**	**12**	**17**	**13**	**51**

The findings in Table 20 also show that, during the 2000s, high schools in the Northeast added an average of 1.13 sports for boys and 0.86 sports for girls. By 2009-10 boys were allotted 11 sports for every 10 sports for girls. The increase in the number of sports for girls was somewhat higher than for boys in the other three geographic regions, however, boys still ended the decade with more sports than girls on average in the Northeast, Midwest and South. In Western schools, girls and boys averaged eight sports each. The state-by-state changes in the number of sports by gender between 1999-2000 and 2009-10 are summarized below:

- The average number of sports added was the same for girls and boys in 36 states.
- The average number of sports added for girls was higher than boys in 10 states.
- The average number of sports added for boys was higher than girls in five states.

The last two columns in Table 20 show long-term changes in the number of teams by gender and geographic region. First, boys averaged more teams than girls in each region—registering a one-team advantage across the nation. While the number of teams between boys and girls remained the same in the South, girls averaged more teams in the Midwest and West.

In the Northeast, however, the average number of boys' teams increased by 2.06 compared to an increase of 1.83 among girls. A summary of the shifting allocation of team opportunities across the decade appears below.

- The average number of teams added was the same for girls and boys in 24 states.
- The average number of teams added for girls was higher than boys in 19 states.
- The average number of teams added for boys was higher than girls in eight states.

These above results show that while girls made gains in the number of sports across the decade, boys' gains either remained the same as girls or increased more than girls in 41 states. When the same figures are tallied for the number of teams, boys' gains were similar or greater in 32 states. In short, the results belie the "zero-sum" claim that gains in girls' sports lead to losses in boys' sports.

Finally, Table 22 (on following page) provides state-by-state rankings of three different measures of the provision of athletic opportunities across U.S. high schools. Readers can review and assess state rankings of girls' percentages of athletic opportunities, boys' percentages, and finally, the gender equity ratios for each state.

Table 22 State-by-State Rankings: Percentage of Athletic Opportunities and Gender Equity Ratios Across High Schools Between for the 2009-10 School Year

Percentage of Athletic Opportunities (Girls)		Percentage of Athletic Opportunities (Boys)		Gender Equity Ratio: Athletic Opportunities	
South Dakota	82%	North Dakota	104%	Alaska	1.82
North Dakota	79%	Iowa	95%	New Hampshire	.96
Montana	76%	South Dakota	92%	Vermont	.95
Iowa	72%	Wyoming	84%	Montana	.94
Wyoming	72%	Montana	80%	South Dakota	.94
Vermont	68%	Utah	79%	Wyoming	.93
Utah	65%	Kansas	76%	Maine	.90
New York	62%	New York	75%	Massachusetts	.88
Kansas	61%	Vermont	72%	Florida	.85
Maine	60%	Minnesota	69%	Minnesota	.85
Massachusetts	59%	Massachusetts	69%	Washington	.84
Minnesota	58%	Nebraska	68%	Colorado	.84
New Hampshire	56%	Connecticut	67%	Hawaii	.84
Connecticut	54%	Wisconsin	67%	Rhode Island	.83
Wisconsin	53%	Oklahoma	65%	New York	.83
Nebraska	53%	Maine	65%	Utah	.81
Oklahoma	50%	Idaho	64%	Oregon	.81
New Jersey	50%	Illinois	64%	Michigan	.80
Illinois	49%	New Jersey	63%	Wisconsin	.80
Idaho	48%	Michigan	59%	Pennsylvania	.80
Colorado	48%	Ohio	59%	New Mexico	.80
Michigan	48%	New Hampshire	58%	Kansas	.79
Hawaii	45%	Colorado	58%	Connecticut	.79
Oregon	44%	Missouri	58%	Delaware	.79
Delaware	44%	Oregon	56%	New Jersey	.79
Washington	44%	Pennsylvania	55%	Kentucky	.78
Pennsylvania	44%	Delaware	54%	North Dakota	.78
Ohio	43%	Nevada	54%	Maryland	.77
Missouri	41%	Hawaii	53%	Virginia	.77
Alaska	41%	Washington	52%	Oklahoma	.77
New Mexico	41%	Indiana	51%	Nebraska	.77
Rhode Island	40%	Rhode Island	49%	Nevada	.77
Nevada	39%	Kentucky	49%	Illinois	.77
Indiana	39%	New Mexico	49%	Indiana	.77
Kentucky	38%	Virginia	49%	Missouri	.77
Virginia	38%	Texas	48%	Iowa	.76
West Virginia	34%	North Carolina	47%	West Virginia	.76
Maryland	33%	South Carolina	47%	California	.75
Arizona	33%	West Virginia	45%	Idaho	.75
Texas	32%	Arizona	45%	Arizona	.74
North Carolina	31%	Alabama	44%	Ohio	.74
South Carolina	29%	Mississippi	43%	DC	.69
California	29%	Maryland	43%	North Carolina	.66
Arkansas	26%	Louisiana	43%	Texas	.65
Mississippi	25%	Arkansas	40%	Arkansas	.63
Alabama	25%	Alaska	40%	Tennessee	.61
Tennessee	23%	California	39%	South Carolina	.61
Florida	23%	Tennessee	38%	Alabama	.60
Louisiana	23%	Georgia	38%	Mississippi	.58
DC	22%	DC	33%	Georgia	.58
Georgia	22%	Florida	30%	Louisiana	.53

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that while girls' comparative share of athletic participation opportunities increased between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, progress toward gender equity slowed and, perhaps, even reversed direction during the 2000s. A protracted retreat from the legislative mandate of Title IX unfolded across the decade. Between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, the gender gap in athletic participation opportunity shrunk from 14% to 11%. Subsequently, the 11% difference persisted through 2005-06 only to widen to 13% by 2009-10. See Figure 2 on page 14. This overarching trend in the provision of athletic opportunity was also evident across all types of community, degrees of school economic resources and geographic regions.

While the numbers of sports and teams provided to boys and girls increased across the 2000s, here again, the gender gap persisted. On average, U.S. schools provided boys with about a half-sport advantage (or 0.5) over girls across the decade, and boys began and ended the 2000s with an average one- to two-team advantage over girls. Male privilege in high school sports proved to be both pervasive and resilient. Differences were also found between the number of sports and teams provided by suburban, urban, town and rural schools. The gender gap in sports and teams remained in all these communities. Similarly, while schools with greater economic resources provided more athletic activities than their less economically viable counterparts, boys consistently ended up with more sports and teams than girls did across the entire economic spectrum. The "have" schools averaged more sports and teams than the "have not" schools, but girls got comparatively less on average than boys did within each respective school economy. Stated more academically, male privilege within schools transcended economic disparity across schools.

The decade of the 2000s can be understood as an era of lost opportunity in several ways. Generally, whether they know about Title IX or not, most Americans endorse equal opportunity for girls and boys in sport.[19] Parents want their daughters and sons to be treated fairly in all areas of school life.[20] Indeed, there seems to be an "illusion of equality" among many Americans, an unspoken assumption that girls have finally "made it" in sport and that gender equality is either a reality or nearly so. The assumption of progress, however, is not confirmed by the facts and a lot of parents seem unaware that Title IX applies to high school sports as well as college sports. In the meantime, many school leaders fail to meet the expectations and needs of the girls in their communities.

The results show that girls were not afforded the same expansion of athletic opportunity as boys, which means that educational leaders failed to grow sport as much as possible. The failure to create gender equity in sports and the fact that more schools are abandoning athletic programs entirely may be signs of a more pervasive decline in America's capacity for national and global leadership. While researchers have increasingly documented favorable educational gains associated with sport, many schools are cutting programs and turning their backs on girls in sport.[21] While public health planners warn about the costs of treating chronic illnesses linked to rising obesity rates and teen pregnancy, athletic programs that help to reduce risk for these outcomes are being defunded or dropped. Economists and political scientists are quantifying women's growing contributions to national economic development and the U.S.'s competitive stature in the global economy.[22] And yet, at the same time, girls are being short-changed in high school sports—an educational launching pad for college-going behavior and academic achievement once in college.

Proponents of interscholastic sports in general may worry about the growing number of schools that no longer offer interscholastic sports. The near-doubling of the percentage of schools that no longer offer interscholastic sports during the 2000s is sobering. Future research is needed to understand what social and economic factors are feeding this atrophy. To the extent that the decisions to drop interscholastic sports were partly related to the economic downturn of the 2000s, several questions emerge in relation to our other findings. First, why is it that a larger percentage of urban schools (9.6%) dropped sports programs than rural (7.7%), town (6.6%) or suburban (5.8%) schools? Second, schools with the least economic resources and highest percentages of racial/ethnic minorities were more apt to shut down sports programs. Why might this be the case? What are the impacts on attendance, retention, suspension rates, academic performance and graduation rates? And finally, just why is it that the highest rate of sport program elimination occurred in high schools with predominantly female enrollments?

Across the United States, many school districts have faced dwindling federal and state aid, increased costs and layoffs. Communities are deciding on hard-times budgets, and school administrators are making do with fewer resources. As the recession and slow economic recovery played out in American schools and communities across the 2000s, a new wave of gender inequalities seems to have emerged. One sociological tenet contends that, during times of economic hardship, social inequalities tend to grow more marked rather than diminish. This dynamic may be

playing out with regard to gender equity in high school sports.

Here is a specific incident from a Northeastern suburban school. Due to budget cutbacks, the school leadership eliminated both the boys' and girls' hockey teams. However, the boys' team was reinstated at a subsequent school board meeting. During a staff meeting that followed this move, the Assistant Superintendent was queried about the ethics of the decision by a female staff member. She pointed to the girls and their parents who were being pushed out at the expense of the boys, and she expressed concerns about Title IX and possible legal problems. He replied, "Wait and see if anybody notices. This is what we're doing." The availability of the Office for Civil Rights Data Collection enables researchers and policymakers to take notice.

Finally, this research study has limitations. First, the validity of the Office for Civil Rights Data Collection relies on the accuracy of school officials who report the data. The effectiveness of gathering, handling and communicating athletic participation data vary across schools and districts. For the purposes of this study, the data were cleaned to eliminate schools that appeared to have made errors with regard to reporting the number of participation opportunities, sports, or teams. Second, more detailed and multivariate statistical analyses have been conducted by the researchers that confirm the trends described in this report; i.e., boys' gains between 1993-94 and 2009-10 and the flat-lining of athletic opportunities among girls after the year 2000. These statistical models are not detailed in this report, but the results are available upon request to the authors. Third, the constructed data sets used in the analysis are not entirely representative of the population of four-year public high schools in the United States. Although there are marginal differences between the population of public high schools and the sample of public high schools used in this study on key school-level characteristics (i.e., Percent White and Percent Female), the sample of public schools used for this analysis tends to under-represent smaller schools and schools located in towns or rural areas. Fourth, due to restrictions placed on the 2010 CRDC data collection, the number of participants in each school is rounded to the nearest round number (e.g., 12 participants are rounded to 10 participants). The 1994, 2000 and 2006 CRDC data rely on unsuppressed data in relation to the number of participants (e.g., 12 participants will equal 12 participants).

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In Collaboration with the National Women's Law Center

This research report and its predecessor (Sabo & Veliz, 2011, Progress Without Equity) provide evidence-based, longitudinal analyses of the provision of athletic opportunities to U.S. high school boys and girls. These reports document how gender differences in participation in school sports programs have shifted between 1993-94 and 2009-10, as well as how athletic opportunity varies by type of community, school economic resources, particular states and geographic region.

The Decade of Decline: Gender Equity in High School Sports presents important data on trends in girls' and boys' participation in high school sports between 1999-2000 and 2009-10. Based on the information from this report, the National Women's Law Center offers the following policy recommendations:

1. **The Office for Civil Rights should strengthen its enforcement of Title IX at the secondary school level.** This report shows that, despite increases in the numbers of overall athletic opportunities provided to boys and girls between 1999-2000 and 2009-10, the gender gap in participation opportunities grew. Indeed, girls received disproportionately fewer opportunities than boys in all community settings (urban, rural, town and suburban), across all geographic regions and levels of school economic resources. While zip codes may predict the likelihood of a sports opportunity, in all cases girls have fewer opportunities. These findings suggest that 40 years after Title IX, high schools across the country are still not providing girls with equal opportunities to play sports. The Office for Civil Rights of the United States Department of Education (OCR), the primary federal agency charged with enforcing Title IX, must vigorously enforce the law to ensure that girls receive the opportunities and benefits to which they are entitled. The OCR should initiate proactive compliance reviews of secondary schools on a large scale and must continue to be proactive in educating and reminding schools about their obligations. In addition, it must be vigilant in ensuring that resolution agreements resulting from individual complaints are fully implemented by schools in a timely fashion.

2. **Federal policymakers should require high schools to publicly disclose gender equity data about their athletics programs.** Given the widespread lack of compliance with Title IX, it is particularly important for

communities to have information about how their schools are treating boys and girls in their athletics programs. To that end, federal policy makers should require secondary schools to publicly disclose gender equity data on the numbers of boys and girls playing sports and expenditures by team, among other information. There are bipartisan bills pending in Congress that would require high schools to make these data available to the public on an annual basis, just as colleges have been required to do since 1994. The OCR could also expand the information it collects from high schools pursuant to its Civil Rights Data Collection, which includes only participation statistics.

3. **Urban schools, in particular, should redouble their efforts to increase the numbers of athletic opportunities that they provide to girls.** This report reveals that all schools continue to shortchange girls when it comes to allocating athletic participation opportunities. Urban schools provide the lowest percentage of opportunities for girls as compared to rural, town and suburban schools. Urban schools also tend to have larger populations of girls of color, whom research shows are less physically active, have higher rates of obesity, and are less likely to participate in sports outside of school than white girls. It is particularly important that urban schools expand opportunities for their female students so that girls of color are given the same opportunities to reap the physical, academic and social benefits of playing sports as white girls. All schools should be conducting regular assessments of girls' interests to ensure that they are complying with Title IX (see 2010 Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Clarification: The Three-Part Test—Part Three[23]), and they should pay particular attention to increasing the representation of girls of color among their athletes.

4. **All schools should have Title IX Coordinators and should regularly conduct Title IX self-evaluations to ensure that they are complying with the law.** The good news from this report is that even during the recent economic downturn, most high schools across the country were able to increase athletic opportunities for their students. The bad news is that girls continue to get the short end of the stick in terms of their share of these valuable opportunities. Schools must commit to treating girls fairly. They must have Title IX Coordinators, as required by law, and make sure that everyone in their communities knows to whom and how to complain if they have concerns. They must have the legally required processes and procedures in place to regularly monitor girls' interests and allow students to request additional teams or

sports. And they should not sit back and hope that no one notices their inequities, but rather should proactively evaluate their programs to make sure they are complying with the law.

5. **Additional research is warranted to examine the identified trend of schools dropping sports departments.** Research supporting the positive long-term health, leadership, education and employment benefits from playing sports is growing rapidly,[24] yet more schools are choosing to forgo athletics for all students. It is important to identify the reasons behind this trend and to investigate possible methods by which it can be reversed.

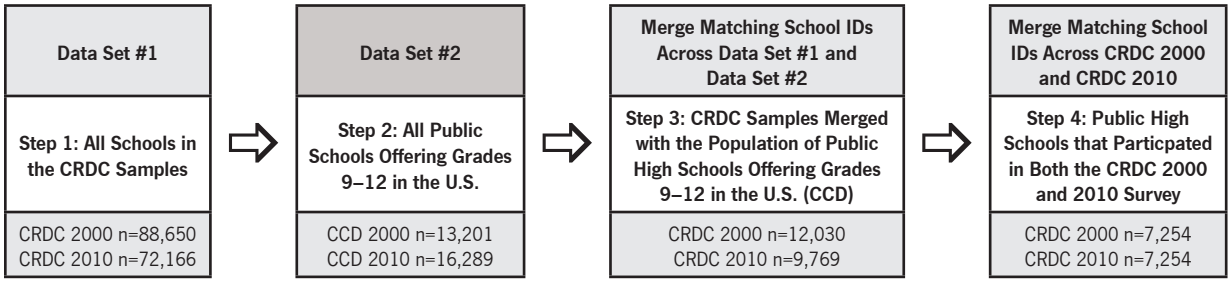
6. **Additional research is warranted to examine what factors contribute to the varying numbers of athletic opportunities and participation gaps by gender, community setting, level of school economic resources and geographic region.** This report details wide variations in the numbers of athletic opportunities provided to girls and boys by community setting, a school's level of economic resources and geographic region. It also highlights that girls continue to receive disproportionately fewer participation opportunities regardless of these school characteristics, and that these gaps not only persisted but also increased in many areas over the time period examined in the report. Further research is warranted to explore what factors affect the allocation of participation opportunities. For instance, do schools with large participation gaps tend to have football? What factors might explain the lower numbers of opportunities provided to students living in the South and West?

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Population and Samples

The sampling designs, school characteristics and sample sizes for both the samples appear below. See Section A and B.

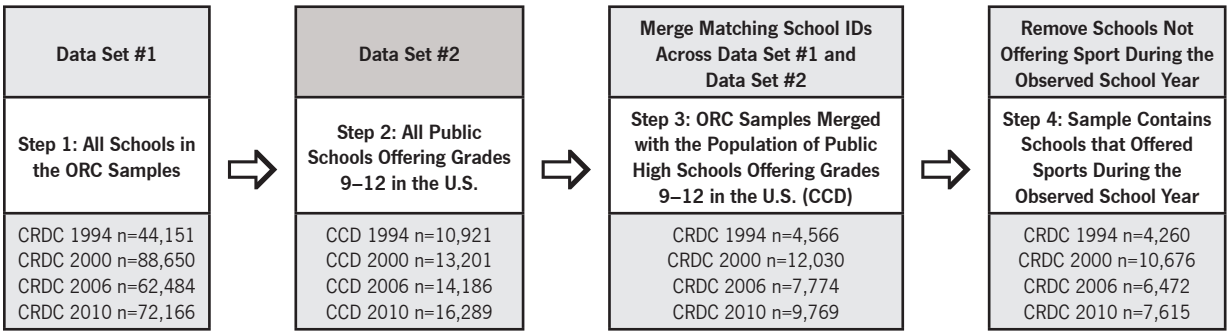
Panel Design



School Characteristics for the Population of High Schools Offering Grades 9–12 and the Contructed Longitudinal Sample

Population of High Schools Offering Only Grades 9–12 is Highlighted in Grey				
	1999-2000		2009-10	
	N=13,201	n=7,254	N=16,289	n=7,254
White	69%	67%	59%	58%
FLE	28%	21%	43%	35%
Female	42%	43%	48%	48%
Urban	21%	24%	24%	26%
Suburban	30%	38%	24%	31%
Town	17%	14%	17%	15%
Rural	32%	24%	36%	28%
Northeast	14%	14%	15%	14%
Midwest	29%	24%	28%	24%
South	34%	37%	33%	37%
West	23%	25%	25%	25%
Total Enrollment	**863**	**1,148**	**786**	**1,171**

Trend Design



School Characteristics for the Population of High Schools Offering Grades 9–12 and the Contructed Cross-Sectional Sample

Population of High Schools Offering Only Grades 9–12 is Highlighted in Grey								
	1993-94		1999-2000		2005-06		2009-10	
	N=10,921	n=4,260	N=13,201	n=10,676	N=14,186	n=6,472	N=16,289	n=7,615
White	73%	67%	60%	72%	64%	60%	59%	56%
FLE	20%	22%	28%	21%	35%	27%	43%	34%
Female	na*	50%	42%	43%	48%	49%	48%	48%
Urban	20%	28%	21%	18%	23%	25%	24%	23%
Suburban	22%	24%	30%	31%	30%	34%	24%	30%
Town	30%	26%	17%	17%	12%	10%	17%	15%
Rural	29%	22%	32%	35%	35%	30%	36%	32%
Northeast	15%	14%	14%	16%	15%	12%	15%	15%
Midwest	30%	23%	29%	31%	29%	25%	28%	23%
South	33%	47%	34%	35%	33%	40%	33%	40%
West	22%	17%	23%	19%	24%	22%	25%	22%
Total Enrollment	**837**	**1,090**	**863**	**981**	**893**	**1,123**	**786**	**1,071**

*The CCD data does not disaggregate students by gender in the 1993-94 data collection.

Appendix B: Design and Data Analysis

Data for this analysis draw from two sources. By merging these two national data sets, the researchers were able to detect and analyze how athletic opportunities varied across geographic region, type of community and schools' economic resources. The first source of data comes from the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC)[25]. Four cross-sections of elementary and secondary public schools collected during 1994 (n = 44,151), 2000 (n = 88,650)[26], 2006 (n = 62,484) and 2010 (n = 72,166)[27] were merged to create a larger data set to analyze changes in the number of different sports, athletic teams and percentage of athletic opportunities that U.S. public high schools provided to girls and boys. Moreover, two of the largest cross-sections were used to create a panel of schools that participated in both the 2000 CRDC and 2010 CRDC collection to examine changes within the same schools over this 10-year period. Only administrators at high schools were asked to respond to questions that dealt with the number of different sports offered to girls and boys, the number of athletic teams offered to girls and boys, and the number of girls and boys who participate on teams throughout the school year. The analyses for the trend and panel designs are restricted to high schools that offered grades 9–12 to both girls and boys during the four time periods, resulting in a sample of 34,139 high schools (1994, n = 4,566; 2000, n = 12,030; 2006, n = 7,774; 2010, n = 9,769).

The second source of data comes from the Common Core of Data (CCD) that is collected annually by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). The CCD gathers basic demographics on all public U.S. elementary and secondary schools. To help supplement the CRDC data, CCD data were merged to determine each school's geographic location (i.e., whether the school is located in an urban, suburban, town or rural area), the percent of students who are eligible for free lunch, gender composition (i.e., number of students who are female and male) and the number of students enrolled during the school year. The CCD was collected during the same time periods as the CRDC data. The CCD data[28] that was merged to create the final data set includes the data files from the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years.

Appendix C: Summary of Measurement Procedures for the Tables in this Report

Table 1: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided Girls and Boys, per 100 students, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. In each school, the number of participation opportunities (i.e., the total number of female participants on all teams in the school) among girls was divided by the total number of girls in the school. Likewise, among boys, the number of participation opportunities (i.e., the total number of male participants on all teams in a school) allotted to boys in each school was divided by the total number of boys in the school. The average percentage across all the schools was calculated for each gender.

Table 2: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by the Type of Community Where the School is Located, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The CRDC data was merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD) in order to determine the type of community in which each school was embedded (i.e., urban, suburban, town and rural). The number of participation opportunities (female participants on all teams) provided to girls was determined for every school within each community subgroup. For each school, the number of participation opportunities (female participants on all teams) among girls was then divided by the number of girls in the school, yielding a percentage. The average percentages among urban, suburban, town and rural schools were then calculated. The same procedure was followed among boys.

Table 3: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The CRDC data were merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD) in order to determine the percent of the student body that was eligible for free or reduced price lunch. The percent of schools' student body eligible for free or reduced price lunch is calculated by taking the total number of students who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch within a school then divided by the total number of students who are enrolled in that school. This percentage is then recoded to have three categories that represent different (proportionate) levels of the student body who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch; i.e., 0% to 12.49% (Upper-tier – Low-Poverty School), 12.5% to 24.9% (Middle-tier – Moderate-to-Low-Poverty Schools) and 25% and

higher (Lower-tier – Moderate-High-Poverty Schools). The average athletic participation opportunities for girls and boys among upper-, middle- and lower-tier schools were then calculated.

Table 4: The Percentage of Athletic Participation Opportunities that U.S. High Schools Provided to Girls and Boys, per 100 Students, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The CRDC data was merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD) in order to determine the geographical region in which each school was located and, subsequently, sub-grouped schools in their respective geographic region (Northeast, Midwest, South and West). The number of participation opportunities (female participants) provided to girls was determined for every school in the states (plus the District of Columbia) that comprised the geographic region. For each school, the number of participation opportunities among girls (female participants) was then divided by the number of girls in the school, yielding a percentage. The average percentages among schools in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West were then calculated. The same procedure was followed among boys.

Figure 1: The Gender Equity Ratios for Athletic Participation Opportunities, 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06, 2009-10. The gender equity ratio was calculated by taking the percentage of athletic participation opportunities provided to girls (i.e., the number of female participants within each school divided by the total number of females within each school) divided by the percentage of athletic participation opportunities provided to boys (i.e., the number of male participants within each school divided by the total number of males within each school) in each school. The ratios were then averaged across the entire U.S. sample. If the gender equity ratio equals 1.00, then equal numbers of participation opportunities were provided to girls and boys. When the gender equity ratio falls below 1.00, it means that girls were allocated fewer opportunities than boys. Conversely, if the gender equity ratio is above 1.00, it means that girls were given more opportunities than boys. For instance, if the gender equity ratio is .60, this means that girls were allocated 40% fewer athletic participation opportunities when compared to boys. Further, if the gender equity ratio is 1.10, this means that girls were allocated 10% more athletic participation opportunities when compared to boys.

Figure 2: Athletic Participation Opportunity, Percentages per 100 Students, Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender. In each school, the number of participation opportunities (i.e., the total number of female participants on all teams in the school) among girls was divided by the total number of girls in the school. Likewise, among boys, the number of participation opportunities (i.e., the total number of male

participants on all teams in a school) allotted to boys in each school was divided by the total number of boys in the school. The average percentage across all the schools was calculated for each gender for the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years.

Figure 3: Athletic Participation Opportunities per 100 Students Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender and Community Type. The percentage of athletic participation opportunities among urban, suburban, town and rural schools were calculated for each gender for the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years.

Figure 4: Athletic Participation Opportunities per 100 Students, Between 1993-94 and 2009-10, by Gender and School Economic Resources. The percentage of athletic participation opportunities among upper-tier, middle-tier and lower-tier schools were calculated for each gender for the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years.

Figure 5: Athletic Participation Opportunities, per 100 Students, Between 1993-1994 and 2009-2010, by Gender and Geographic Region. The percentage of athletic participation opportunities among schools located in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West were calculated for each gender for the 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2005-06 and 2009-10 school years.

Table 5: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only sports in each school was determined and an average among all schools was calculated. The same procedure was followed among boys. Accordingly, sport is a global measure that includes all teams associated with a particular sport. For instance, a school that has girls' volleyball (e.g., J.V. volley ball and varsity volleyball), girls' basketball (e.g., freshmen basketball, J.V. basketball and varsity basketball) and girls' tennis (varsity tennis) provides three sports for females (note - this school also provides six athletic teams for females).

Table 6: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by the Type of Community Where the High School is Located, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only sports in each school was determined and averages were calculated among all schools within urban, suburban, town and rural communities. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only sports among boys.

Table 7: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Extent of Economic

Resources, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only sports in each school was determined and averages were calculated among upper-tier, middle-tier and lower-tier schools. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only sports among boys.

Table 8: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Sports Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only sports in each school was determined and averages were calculated for schools located in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only sports among boys.

Table 9: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only sports teams in each school was determined and averages were calculated among all schools within urban, suburban, town and rural communities. The same procedure was followed among boys. Accordingly, athletic teams are a more precise measure that includes the number of teams associated with various sports. For instance, a school that has girls' volleyball (e.g., J.V. volleyball and varsity volleyball), girls' basketball (e.g. freshmen basketball, J.V. basketball and varsity basketball) and girls' tennis (varsity tennis) provides six athletic teams for females (note—this school also provides three sports for females).

Table 10: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by the Type of Community Where the High School is Located, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only teams in each school was determined and averages were calculated among all schools within urban, suburban, town and rural communities. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only teams among boys.

Table 11: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only teams in each school was determined and averages were calculated among upper-tier, middle-tier and lower-tier schools. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only teams among boys.

Table 12: The Average Number of Female-Only and Male-Only Teams Provided by U.S. High Schools, by Geographic Region, 1999-2000 Through 2009-10. The number of female-only teams in each school was determined and averages were calculated for schools located in the Northeast, Midwest, South and West. The same procedure was followed to calculate the number of male-only teams among boys.

Pie Graph 1: The Percentage of All U.S. High Schools that Never Offered Sports, Started to Offer Sports, Offered But Lost Sports, and Continually Offered Sports, 1999-2000 and 2009-2010. The number of schools that never offered sports was determined by highlighting responses from school administrators in the CRDC survey that their school did not offer interscholastic sport for both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years. The number of schools that lost sports since the 1999-2000 school year was calculated by flagging schools that indicated offering sports during the 1999-2000 school year, but reported that they did not offer interscholastic sports during the 2009-10 school year. Conversely, the number of schools that gained sports since the 1999-2000 school year was calculated by flagging schools that reported having no interscholastic sports during the 1999-2000 school year, but then indicated that they offered interscholastic sports during the 2009-10 school year. Finally, the number of schools that continually offered sports was calculated by identifying schools that indicated that they offered sports during both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years.

Table 13: The Percentage of High Schools that Did Not Offer Interscholastic Sports, 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The percentage of schools that did not offer interscholastic sports was calculated by examining the number of schools indicating no interscholastic sports during the 1999-2000 school year, and then examining the number of school indicating no interscholastic sports during the 2009-10 school year.

Table 14: The Percentage of High Schools that Dropped Sports, by Type of Community, 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The percent of schools that dropped sports (i.e., lost sports since the 1999-2000 school year) were calculated within urban, suburban, town and rural communities.

Table 15: The Percentage of High Schools that Dropped Sports, by the Extent of Economic Resources, 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The percent of schools that dropped sports (i.e., lost sports since the 1999-2000 school year) were calculated within schools that were classified as an upper-tier, middle-tier and lower-tier school during the 2009-10 school year.

Table 16: The Percentage of High Schools that Dropped Sports, by the Percent of the Student Body that Is Female, 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The CRDC data were merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD) in order to determine the percent of the student body that is female. The percent of schools' student body that is female was calculated by taking the total number of female students divided by the total number of students who are enrolled in that school during the 2009-10 school year. This percentage is then recoded to have three

categories that represent different levels of the percent of females within schools; i.e., 0% to 44% (majority male), 45% to 54% (equal representation of males and females), and 55% to 100% (majority female). The percent of schools that dropped sports (i.e., lost sports since the 1999-2000 school year) were then calculated within each of these three categories.

Table 17: The Percentage of High Schools that Dropped Sports, by the Percent of the Student Body that Is White, 1999-2000 and 2009-10. The CRDC data were merged with the Common Core of Data (CCD) in order to determine the percent of the student body that is White. The percent of schools' student body that is White was calculated by taking the total number of White students divided by the total number of students who are enrolled in that school during the 2009-10 school year. This percentage was then recoded to have three categories that represent different (proportionate) levels of the percent of students who are White within schools; i.e., 0% to 19% (Low Percentage of White Students), 20% to 39% (Moderate Percentage of White Students), and 40% to 100% (High Percentage of White Students). The percent of schools that dropped sports (i.e., lost sports since the 1999-2000 school year) were then calculated within each of these three categories.

Table 18: The Actual and Projected Percentage of Public High Schools Not Offering Interscholastic Sport, 1993-94 Through 2019-2020. The actual and projected percentage of public high schools not offering interscholastic sport was calculated by aggregating the percentage of schools offering no interscholastic sports within each of the 50 states (plus the District of Columbia) for the 1993-94 (n = 51), 1999-2000 (n = 51), 2005-06 (n = 51) and 2009-10 (n = 51) school years. Further, in order to create the projected percentage of public high schools not offering interscholastic sport for 2020, an OLS regression is used to estimate the predicted percent. Accordingly, a variable for time (i.e. 1994 = 0, 2000 = 6, 2006 = 12, and 2010 = 16) and the percent of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (mean centered) are used to estimate the predicted percentage of schools not offering sports for 2020 (i.e., 2020 = 26). The following are coefficients from the OLS regression: intercept ($b = .057$, $p<.001$), percent eligible for free or reduced-price lunch ($b = .112$, $p = .110$) and time ($b = .008$, $p<.001$).

Table 19: State-by-State Comparisons: Change in the Gender Equity Ratios Across High Schools Between 1999-2000 and 2009-10. For each of the 50 states in the United States (plus the District of Columbia) three gender equity ratios were calculated in order to compare the amount of athletic opportunities provided by high

schools to girls and boys across the time frame. The three gender equity ratios measure the number of teams, the number of sports, and the percentage of athletic participation opportunities. In each instance the number of opportunities allotted to girls was divided by the number provided to boys, producing a ratio. As above, when the gender equity equals 1.00, this indicates an equitable allocation of athletic opportunities between girls and boys. When the ratio falls below 1.00, it means that girls were allocated fewer opportunities than boys. Conversely, if the gender equity ratio is above 1.00, it means that girls were given more opportunities than boys.

Table 20: State-by-State Comparisons: Changes in the Percentage of Athletic Opportunities, and the Numbers of Sports and Teams, Between 1999-2000 and 2009-2010. The same calculations were done here as presented in Table 19. Here, however, the differences in the number of sports, number of teams, and the percentage of athletic opportunities between 1999-2000 and 2009-10 were calculated in order to compare changes in the number of additional (or reduction) of teams and sports created for girls and boys across the 10-year time frame. The respective differences were also calculated to measure overall increases and decreases in the gender equity ratio with regard to participation opportunities.

Table 21: A Summary of Regional Changes in the Percentages of Boys' and Girls' Athletic Participation Opportunities Between 1999-2000 through 2009-10. A tally was made of the results presented in Table 20 across all states and within geographical regions. The number of states in which the proportion of girls' share of athletic participation opportunities increased more than boys during the 2000s was counted. The same tally was done of cases where boys' opportunities increased more than girls. We also counted the states where boys' and girls' percentage shares of athletic opportunities remained the same during the 2000s.

Table 22: State-by-State Rankings: Percentage of Athletic Opportunities and Gender Equity Ratios Across High Schools for the 2009-10 School Year. For each of the 50 states in the United States (plus the District of Columbia) the percentage of athletic opportunities allotted to girls, the percentage of athletic opportunities allotted to boys, and the gender equity ratio for the percent of athletic opportunities is rank ordered from highest to lowest.

ENDNOTES

1 Longitudinal studies allow researchers to make observations and analyze changes across a time period. The analysis of the 1999-2000–2009-10 data constitutes a panel study, while the analysis of the four cross-sections between 1993-94 and 2009-10 used a trend design. For a discussion of longitudinal research designs see Babbie, E. (2008). The Basics of Social Research, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

2 Amid the rancorous battles between Democrats and Republicans that have marked recent U.S. politics, it is useful to note that Title IX received bipartisan support when passed by Congress in 1972. See Susan Ware (2011). Game, Set, Match: Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports (University of North Carolina Press).

3 The Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) and the Common Core of Data (CCD) provide the same unique National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Numerical Code that is assigned to all public schools in the United States. This numerical code, or school identifier, that each school is assigned (and does not change from year to year) by the NCES makes it possible to match and merge schools that participated in both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 CRDC data collection.

4 The CRDC asked school administrators to report the total number of sport participants for each sport during the school year. This means that some students were counted more than once if they participated in more than one sport (e.g., a student would be counted once if she is on the volleyball team and twice if she also plays basketball).

5 See Sabo, D. & Veliz, P. (2011). Progress without Equity: The Provision of High School Athletic Opportunity in the United States, by Gender 1993-94 through 2005-06. See www.womenssportsfoundation.org/home/research/articles-and-reports/school-and-colleges/the-provision-of-hs-athletic-opportunity-in-the-us-by-gender-1993-94-through-2005-06

6 This question comes from the survey used in the Civil Rights Data Collection.

7 Regional divisions (U.S. Census Bureau): Northeast – New England, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; Mid-Atlantic – New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey; Midwest – Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio; West North

Central – Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa; South – Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana; West – Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, Hawaii. For our analysis, we included the Mid-Atlantic region in the Northeast and the West North Central region into the Midwest.

8 CCD collection for the 1999-2000 and 2005-06 school years defined eight geographic regions where schools could be located. "Large City" and "Midsize city" were combined to represent high schools located in urban areas. "Urban fringe of a large city" and "Urban fringe of a midsize city" were combined to represent high schools located in suburban areas. "Large Town" (population ≥ to 25,000 located outside a metropolitan CBSA or inside a micropolitan CBSA) and "Small Town" (population 25,000 ≥ to 2,500 and located outside a metropolitan CBSA or inside a micropolitan CBSA) were combined to represent schools located in towns. "Rural, outside CBSA" and "Rural, inside CBSA" were combined to represent schools located in rural areas. It should also be noted that the CCD collection for the 1993-94 school year only had one geographic category for rural areas, but did have similar categories for urban, suburban and town areas. Moreover, the CCD collection has expanded the number of subtypes for urban, suburban, towns and rural areas over the years. For instance, there were only seven subtypes for the 1993-94 data collection, while there are 12 subtypes for 2009-10 data collection. All subtypes are recoded to represent urban, suburban, towns and rural areas according to the CCD's definitions.

9 The percentage of students who qualify for free and reduced-price federal lunch programs can be used as a basic measure of economic resources available to a school. Researchers in education have identified factors that ameliorate the validity of this indicator, but we side with those who believe that it holds a modicum of validity. We also realize that more exacting research needs to be done that examines links between school economic resources and the provision of athletic participation opportunities.

10 Although the NCES (The Condition of Education: http://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_pcp.asp) establishes a measure of school poverty suggesting

that a low-poverty school is one in which 25% or fewer students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches and a high-poverty school is one in which 76% or more students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches, the current study divides schools into three economic categories to capture an equitable proportion of schools that fall within each tier for both the 1999-2000 and 2009-10 school years.

11 The educational disadvantaging of women is a key component of patriarchal societies that began as early as the second millennium B.C., persisted through Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and continued during the Protestant Reformation, seeping into modernity. The provision of education both reflected and reinforced both class privileges and male privilege within western societies, and remnants of these more trenchant patriarchal conditions are evident today. See Gerda Lerner (1993). The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-seventy. New York: Oxford University Press. We view the exclusion of girls in interscholastic sports as an educational disadvantage, and we recognize the conflation between gender and class inequalities at play in relation to the allocation of athletic opportunities in U.S. schools.

12 Progress Without Equity (2011) is a trend study that examined three cross-sections of four-year public high schools that offered sports in 1993-94, 1999-2000, and 2005-06. In order to extend the results from the previous report, we use the same study design in this subsection of the report to track whether gender equity has improved or deteriorated between 2005-06 and 2009-10.

13 For this analysis we counted female-only and male-only sports.

14 Alana Glass, "Title IX at 40: Where Would Women Be Without Sports?" Retrieved May 23, 2012, www.forbes.com/sites/sportsmoney/2012/05/23/title-ix-at-40-where-would-women-be-without-sports/

15 Here we caution that variations in opportunity and resources that are viewed as pertaining to race and ethnicity in the United States are often attributable to differences in socioeconomic status.

16 Kozol, J. (2005). The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America. New York: Random House.

17 Again, the percentage of girls provided with athletic participation opportunities was calculated by dividing the total

number of reported participation slots filled by girls across all teams by the number of girls in the school. The same calculation was done among the boys.

18 Readers should keep in mind the previous findings that show that only one state achieved gender equity in athletic participation opportunities (Alaska) when reviewing the numbers.

19 The results of a recent Mellman poll of more than 1,000 U.S. citizens, conducted by the National Women's Law Center, showed that approximately 80% of men, women, Democrats, Republicans, independents, and people with and without children all supported Title IX. See Memorandum from The Mellman Group on Title IX to Interested Parties (June 14, 2007), available at http://action.nwlc.org/site/MessageViewer?em_id=2721.0

20 Sabo & Veliz (2008). Go Out & Play. See http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/home/research/articles-and-reports/mental-and-physical-health/go-out-and-play

21 A growing body of research confirms links between adolescent participation in school sponsored sports and educational achievement. Sports participation has been found to elevate adolescents' grades (Fejgin, 1994; Eccles & Barber, 1999, Lipscomb, 2007; Fox, Barr-Anderson, Neumark-Sztainer & Wall, 2010), enrollment in AP courses (Pearson, Crissey & Riegle-Crumb, 2009), commitment to graduating high school (i.e., not dropping out) (McNeal, 1995), educational aspirations and educational attainment (Otto & Alwin, 1977, Fejgin, 1994), attending college (Sabo, Melnick & Vanfossen, 1993, Eccles & Barber, 1999), and graduation from college (Spreitzer, 1994). Contact the authors for full citations.

22 The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership (November 2009). See http://www.in.gov/icw/files/benchmark_wom_leadership.pdf

23 United States Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Clarification: The Three-Part Test—Part Three (April 20, 2010), available at http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-20100420_pg4.html

24 Kaestner, R. and Xin X. Title IX, Girls' Sports Participation, and Adult Female Physical Activity and Weight, Evaluation Review, 2010, 34: 52-78; Stevenson, Betsey, Title IX and the Evolution of High School Sports," Contemporary Economic Policy, October 2007, 25, (4): 486-505 [Lead Article]; Stevenson,

Betsey, Beyond the Classroom: Using Title IX to Measure the Return to High School Sports, Review of Economics and Statistics, May 2010, 92 (2): 284-301.

25 CRDC data has been collected in 1994, 2000, 2002, 2004 and 2006. The surveys are distributed during the specified years, but asks school administrators to report on the pervious school year (i.e., CRDC data from 1994 has information pertaining to the 1993-94 school year).

26 The Civil Rights Data Collection for 2000 collected information on all public schools in the United States during the 1999-2000 school year.

27 The Civil Rights Data Collection for 2010 collected information on 85% of public schools in the United States during the 2009-2010 school year.

28 CCD Data can be found at the following website: http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/ccddata.asp

SHARP Center for Women and Girls
1136 Lane Hall
204 South State Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1290

www.SHARPcenter.org