

Beyond X's & O's:

Gender Bias and Coaches of Women's College Sports

Letter from the CEO

The Women's Sports Foundation was founded more than 40 years ago by Billie Jean King to serve as the collective voice for women's sports. Since our inception, we have been conducting evidenced-based research on a variety of subjects, recognizing that data drives public debate, action and policy, which can lead to greater access, opportunity, leadership and gender equity for women's sports.

Despite the dynamic growth of college sports and the expanding female participation, spurred in part by the passage and enforcement of Title IX, this growth is not replicated in the workplace. Females hold less than 23% of all coaching positions across all NCAA sports. In 1972, before the incorporation of women's sports into the NCAA, more than 90% of the coaches of women's teams were women. By 2014, only 43% of the coaches of women's teams and less than 3% of the coaches of men's teams were women. This not only represents a historic shift, but also is especially alarming as women's leadership in other sectors, such as business, law and medicine, is higher than 23% and growing.

- The intent of this study was to determine what has contributed to this downward shift. Do female coaches of college women's sports have a more difficult path to hiring, promotions, and pay increases than their male counterparts?
- Is there more of a reluctance on the part of female coaches to raise questions about discrimination or Title IX that has been described in lawsuits, discussed at conferences and portrayed in media coverage; and, if yes, is it because they fear they will lose their jobs?
- Is there a subtle, and/or not-so-subtle, gender bias around the intersection of sexual orientation and racial or ethnic backgrounds that contributes to the decline of women coaches?
- Are there double standards in the handling of athlete/parent complaints when the coach is female versus male?
- Is there an association with discussions around gender bias in academic institutions, especially in traditionally male-dominated disciplines like STEM, and those being raised around women's sports leadership?

With this study, we now have data-driven research that confirms there is gender bias in the intercollegiate women's sports coaching workplace. The bias exists and is specifically directed at coaches of women who are female, rather than all coaches of women's sports.

This study also revealed that both male and female coaches of women are more likely to discuss discrimination and Title IX issues with their departments but hesitate to speak with campus leadership. A reversal of this could lead to more campus-wide, interdisciplinary solutions to gender bias rather than the current "siloeing" of sports from the larger campus.

This study answered many of the questions mentioned above, but a significant number remain:

- Is the growing popularity of women's sports and the greater resources and higher salaries allocated to them why men now view coaching women's sports as a viable profession?
- Was this shift facilitated because many more men are in hiring positions and can ease this career choice for men?
- Are there differences in gender bias by sport, level of experience, or NCAA division?

Our plan is to follow up with additional research to answer questions this study raised as well as to look at gender bias around other leadership positions. Importantly, there are systemic issues that this research uncovered that can lead to policy changes. We encourage policymakers and administrators to read the report and the detailed policy recommendations, which we believe will foster nondiscriminatory work environments for female and male coaches in intercollegiate athletics.

This report is the result of male and female coaches' and administrators' input, expertise and experience. These extraordinary leaders remain as passionate about women's sports and women's leadership today as they did when they were competing, coaching and in administration positions. Importantly, our personal and professional appreciation goes to Don Sabo, Ph.D.; Marjorie Snyder, Ph.D.; and Donna Lopiano, Ph.D., who have worked hours, days and months from conception to completion...and recognize that this is still a work in progress. The Women's Sports Foundation has the privilege and responsibility to push for social change around gender equality in sports. We are honored to work in collaboration with so many talented women and men who share our vision of a culture that values all peoples' talent, expertise and leadership potential.



Deborah Slaner Larkin
CEO, Women's Sports Foundation

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Authorship

This report was authored by Don Sabo, Ph.D., Philip Veliz, Ph.D., and Ellen J. Staurowsky, Ed.D.

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About the Women's Sports Foundation

The Women's Sports Foundation exists to enable girls and women to reach their potential in sports and life. We are an ally, an advocate, and a catalyst. Founded by Billie Jean King in 1974, we strengthen and expand participation and leadership opportunities through research, advocacy, community programming, and a wide variety of collaborative partnerships. The Women's Sports Foundation has positively shaped the lives of millions of youth, high school and collegiate student-athletes, elite athletes, and coaches. We're building a future where every girl and woman can #KeepPlaying and unlock the lifelong benefits of sport participation. All girls. All women. All sports. To learn more about the Women's Sports Foundation, please visit www.WomensSportsFoundation.org

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Executive Summary

Today there are more women athletes and women working in college sport than ever before, a function of the overall growth and popularity of athletics within American culture and the economy of higher education. Ironically, despite the expansion of college sports, women are underrepresented in significant leadership roles (Ware, 2011). Women make up approximately 23% of all head coaches at the college and university level, and even among the ranks of head coaches of women's teams, they are a minority at 43% (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

To date there has been little systematic evaluation of gender relations and differential treatment of women in the coaching workplace. This nationwide online survey was designed to generate facts and analysis of the workplace experiences and views of both female and male coaches of intercollegiate women's sports. This research is unique in that nobody has heretofore assessed male coaches of women's teams and made comparisons with female coaches. Results reported here are based on the responses of a nationally representative sample of 2,219 current coaches of women's sports who work at schools across the spectrum of college sports. An additional nationwide sample of former coaches of women's sports (N=326) participated in the survey. This report includes descriptive statistics in order to illustrate basic findings and subgroup differences, and analytical statistics were used to test hypothesized differences between subgroups such as female and male coaches.

The key findings generated by this study appear below.

- 1. Men Said to Have More Professional Advantages than Women.** About two-thirds (65%) of current coaches felt that it was easier for men to get top-level coaching jobs, while three-quarters (75%) said men had an easier time negotiating salary increases. More than half (54%) believed that men are more likely to be promoted, to secure a multiyear contract upon hiring (52%), and to be rewarded with salary increases for successful performance (53%).
- 2. Potential Retaliation and Less Pay.** Thirty-three percent of female coaches indicated that they were vulnerable to potential retaliation if they ask for help with a gender bias situation. More than 40% of female coaches said they were "discriminated against because of their gender," compared to 28% of their male colleagues. Almost half (48%) of the female coaches and just over a quarter of the male coaches (27%) in the study reported "being paid less for doing the same job as other coaches." Twice as many female coaches as male coaches felt their performance was evaluated differently because of gender (15% versus 6%).
- 3. Female Coaches Have Less of a Voice than Male Coaches.** While 65% of female coaches agreed that they could voice opinions openly in their department, 35% disagreed. Just 36% of female coaches indicated they were "fully involved with the decision-making process" within their athletic departments.
- 4. Gender Differences in Job Security and Fair Treatment.** Thirty-six percent of female coaches and 27% of male coaches agreed that their job security was "tenuous." More female coaches (46%) than male coaches (36%) reported being called upon to perform tasks that were not in their job descriptions. While 5% of male coaches believed that male coaches were "favored over female coaches" by management, 31% of female coaches believed so. Just 35% of female coaches felt men and women "are managed in similar ways," compared to 61% of male coaches.
- 5. Gender Bias and Title IX Still the "Third Rail."** While some female and male coaches were hesitant to speak up about gender bias and Title IX inside their athletic departments, even more expressed reservations about doing so with university officials outside of the athletic department. Overall, 31% of female coaches and 20% of male coaches in this study believed that they would "risk their job" if they spoke up about Title IX and gender equity. LGBTQ female coaches were the most apt to fear raising concerns about Title IX and gender equity, with 34% believing they would risk their jobs if they spoke up.
- 6. Unequal Resources Between Men's and Women's Teams.** About one in three (32%) current female head coaches and 19% of current male head coaches believed that men's sports received more resources than women's sports. Less than half (46%) of female coaches and 58% of male coaches believed that men's and women's teams were treated equally.
- 7. Some Racial Discomfort Expressed.** Eighty-two percent of white coaches felt comfortable expressing concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination, while 62% of black coaches shared that sentiment.
- 8. Concerns About Homophobia Remain Visible.** Among head coaches of women's teams, 15% of female coaches and 9% of male coaches reported that they found a "noticeable level of homophobia" among

some of their colleagues. Similar numbers found it “difficult to speak up” about homophobia within their athletic departments. More LGBTQ coaches (29% male and 21% female) believed that their athletic department hampered them from speaking up about homophobia than heterosexual coaches (9% males and 14% females).

9. **Intersections Between Gender Differences and Sexual Orientation.** While 78% of heterosexual female coaches and 84% of LGBTQ female coaches indicated it is “easier for men to get top-level coaching jobs,” just 32% of the heterosexual male coaches and 57% of the LGBTQ male coaches did so. Among female coaches, 78% of heterosexual and 96% of LGBTQ minorities believed that men had an easier time negotiating salary raises. In contrast, just 33% of heterosexual male coaches and 57% of LGBTQ male coaches believed that.
10. **Claims of Reverse Discrimination Found Among Male Coaches.** A larger percentage of male coaches (40%) than female coaches (12%) believed that they had not gotten a coaching job because of their gender. Moreover, an analysis of written comments provided by the survey respondents revealed that many male coaches believe that female candidates for coaching

positions are being afforded preferential treatment in the hiring process and, whether they are qualified or not, being offered jobs over “better qualified” men.

The findings, when taken in their totality, suggest that while many women coaches perceive gender bias, fewer of their male counterparts (even ones who work in women’s sports) recognize it. Workplace gender bias is also less pervasive among current coaches of women’s sports than their former counterparts. We conclude that progress toward gender equity has been made, yet it remains more an objective than a reality.

The survey results here provide an evidence-based framework critically assessing the “state of professional play” in the workplace of coaching women’s sports. A list of policy recommendations appears at the end of this report in order to help coaches, athletic administrators and academic administrators to better utilize college sports as an institutional vehicle for equitable participation and opportunity. The policy recommendations are also aimed at college presidents and chancellors, without whose support and leadership, the creation of meaningful change in the women’s sports workplace is likely to be impeded.



Introduction

Athletics have been a central element within U.S. higher education. Partly spurred by the passage and enforcement of Title IX, women's intercollegiate sport mushroomed during recent decades, and women's programs grew on many campuses (Cheslock, 2008). As more women's teams came into being, organizational niches for coaching and administrative positions emerged on many campuses. But have women's sports been fairly accommodated on U.S. campuses? Have women achieved professional advancement and fair treatment in the male-dominated workplace of college sports? Do the coaches of women's teams enjoy comparable professional status and resources to those of coaches of men's sports? This research report tackles one facet of this question by examining how the coaches of women's sports are faring within the historically male-dominated workplace of intercollegiate athletics.

Gender bias is a form of favoritism that elevates one gender over another. Gender bias has nothing to do with biological differences between the sexes, but rather, how men and women or "masculinity" and "femininity" are defined or viewed within a particular culture or institutional setting. Historically, prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices have emerged within American workplaces, such as higher education or corporate management, in ways that enacted sexist beliefs about the superiority of men over women (Barsh & Yee, 2012). Simply put, gender bias has been partly sustained by basic sexist assumptions that men are better at sport and coaching than women.

A set of complex issues threads through the graphs and numbers in this report. We had to be mindful of the historical marginalization of women within sport at large, but at the same time, to assess and evaluate current workplace conditions between women and men in intercollegiate sports. Two overarching research assumptions guided much of this evaluation of gender bias in the intercollegiate sport workplace. First, if workplace conditions are such that both male and female coaches of women's sports express similar views of professional opportunity, resource allocation or treatment by management, then this would indicate that coaches' experiences derive mainly from the secondary status that women's sports programs have in relation to men's sports programs. In contrast, if significant attitudinal differences were found between female coaches and male coaches of women's sports, this would strongly suggest that gender bias per se exists primarily in relation to women in the workplace of women's intercollegiate sport.

Acosta and Carpenter's (2014) research solidly documents the secondary status of women in the workplace of college sports. Less than 23% percent of all coaching positions across all NCAA sports are held by females, and there is virtually no other employment sector in which the percentages are so low for women. They document that, while women's presence expanded in medicine, law and business, they lost ground in coaching. The gender ratios in coaches of women's sports have shifted historically. In 1972, before the incorporation of women's sports into the NCAA, more than 90% of the coaches of women's teams were women. By 2014 only 43% of the coaches of women's teams and less than 3% of the coaches of men's teams were women. In addition to these employment demographics, lawsuits and conversations at coaching conventions, as well as sporadic media coverage, reveal subtle and not-so-subtle gender bias in an array of areas; e.g., a preference for hiring women in heterosexual marriages, a double standard in the handling of athlete/parent complaints, a reluctance to raise questions about discriminatory practices affecting female athletes or the coach's ability to construct a successful program for fear of discontinuation of employment, salary differences between male and female coaches, provision of equitable benefits and longer-term employment agreements, and thwarted efforts to reform athletic program environments that do not foster gender equality or equal respect for male and female athletes.

Like many other U.S. workplace environments (e.g., law, medicine, teaching, management) gender relations in intercollegiate athletics are complex and a work in progress. This nationwide survey was conducted to generate facts and evidence-based analysis of the views and experiences of both female and male coaches of women's sports. Moreover, we recognize that gender relations within the coaching profession may be further influenced by the intersections among race, ethnicity, LGBTQ status, NCAA division level and professional experience.

Why assess the workplace of women's college sports at this time? Women's sports are a growing sector of the larger billion-dollar marketplace of college sports. Very little is known about work conditions within women's sports, and concomitantly, the lack of knowledge limits understanding and the potential for reform where it is needed. Title IX also mandates gender equity in educational institutions and programs that receive federal funding. Without facts and evaluation research, it is impossible to assess the extent that athletic departments within higher education are measuring up to the law

and the vision of equal opportunity that it embodies. And finally, the media sometime highlight controversial cases of firings, contentions of gender bias, and lawsuits that occur within women's sports. In contrast, levelheaded and evidence-based analyses of labor issues, gender equity within the coaching profession, and solid assessments of women's experiences across sport programs in higher education are not being done. This study intends to fill the need for solid information and insight.

Beyond X's and O's is a nationwide survey designed to generate facts and an analysis of the workplace experiences among coaches of intercollegiate women's sports. The researchers sought to achieve five key objectives: 1) to document the workplace experiences and views of coaches of women's sports, 2) to identify and assess employment issues faced by women in collegiate coaching, 3) to educate policymakers, coaches and administrators about barriers and opportunities women coaches face in the workplace, 4) to produce an empirical foundation for a better understanding of how intersections among gender, race/ethnicity and LGBTQ status influence real and perceived workplace conditions, and 5) to help policymakers and administrators to better understand and foster nondiscriminatory work environments for those who coach women in intercollegiate athletics.

There are several contexts in which we examined gender bias among coaches of women's intercollegiate sports. First, we assessed the extent that women coaches experience gender bias compared to their male counterparts inside both women's sports and intercollegiate athletics at large. Second, we examined whether men who coach women's sports also feel professionally marginalized in relation to coaches of men's intercollegiate sports. Third, we identified ways that sexual orientation, race/ethnicity and institutional characteristics interface with coaches' workplace perceptions and experiences. Finally, we sometimes compared the views of current coaches and former coaches of women's sports in order to assess possible shifts in attitudes and workplace conditions.



Design and Methods

This report is based on two nationwide online surveys. Multiple strategies were deployed across educational institutions and coach organizations in order to recruit a nationally representative sample of current coaches of women's sports across intercollegiate sports and NCAA divisions I, II and III. About eight percent of the final sample coached at NAIA, NJCAA and other institutions. Potential respondents were identified and invited to fill out an online survey. The bulk of the questionnaire consisted of "read and click" items, but at the end of the online questionnaire, coaches were invited to type any thoughts, reactions or comments. We received many written comments from respondents that informed both our statistical analyses and intellectual understanding of what coaches were thinking and feeling. Most of this report is based on the quantitative results of the survey, but we also sometimes quote coaches' comments in order to deepen readers' understanding of coaches' views and workplace experiences.

The final sample of current coaches was $N = 2,219$. An additional set of strategies identified and recruited a national sample of former coaches of women's sports ($N = 326$). This research report focuses primarily on the workplace experiences of current coaches, but when appropriate, we also discuss results from the former coach sample in order to compare and contrast attitudes and experiences, albeit generally, across and between the two coach samples. A technical summary of our methods



and statistical analyses appears in Appendix B. For further clarification, please contact the principle investigators.

This Women's Sports Foundation report includes a number of policy recommendations formulated by Donna Lopiano, Ph.D., in consultation with a national policy advisory group. The report and related materials will be widely distributed to coaches, athletic directors and other key stakeholders through the Women's Sports Foundation's extensive network and via our project partners, conferences, websites and social media.



A Demographic Profile of Coaches of Women's Sports

The analysis of basic demographic information supplied by the survey respondents yields the following profile. Table 1 breaks out the coaching positions of the sample. Most respondents were full-time head coaches (77.5% of current coaches and 57.1% of former coaches), while 11.5% of current coaches and 23.9% of former coaches were full-time associate head coaches or full-time assistant coaches. They worked across the spectrum of NCAA governance associations and competition levels, and

their employment terms spanned between a few to more than 30 years, with 64.4% of current coaches and 62.3% of former coaches serving between four and 20 years and 28.6% of current coaches and 31.3% of former coaches coaching 21 or more years. The modal age subgroup among current coaches was 31-40 years old (32.9%), while the modal age subgroup among former coaches was 41 to 50 years old (24.8%). See Tables 1 through 4, below and on following pages.

Table 1: Coaching Status

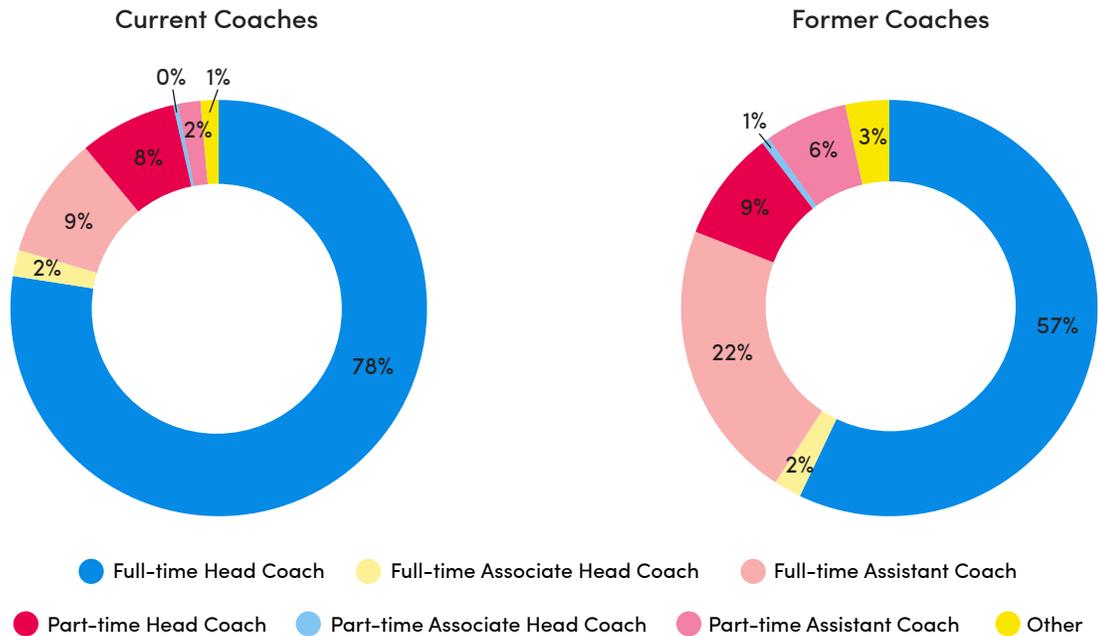


Table 2: Division Status

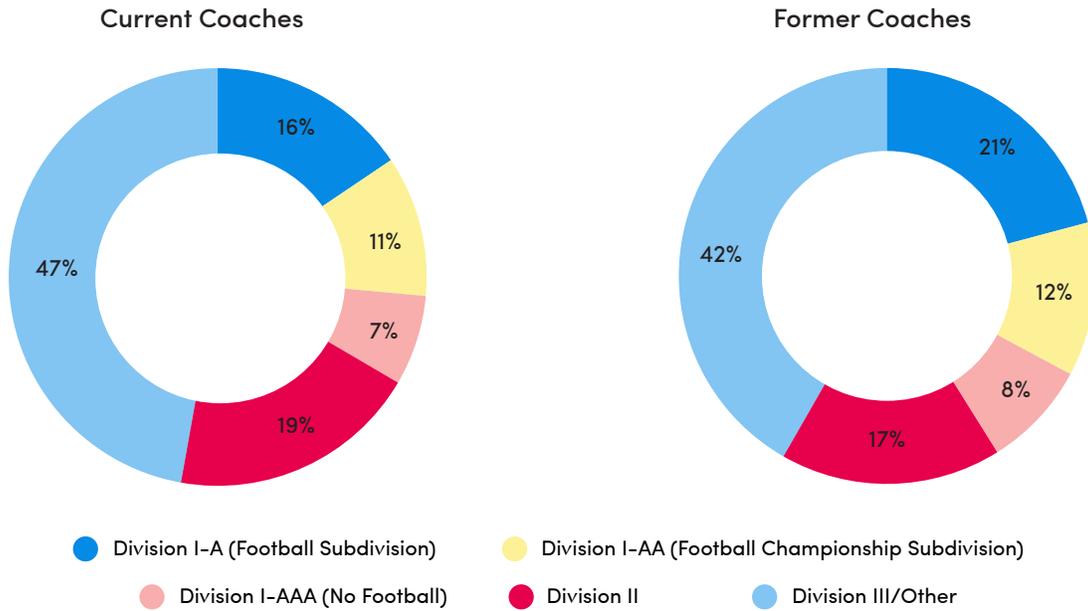


Table 3: Number of Years as a Coach

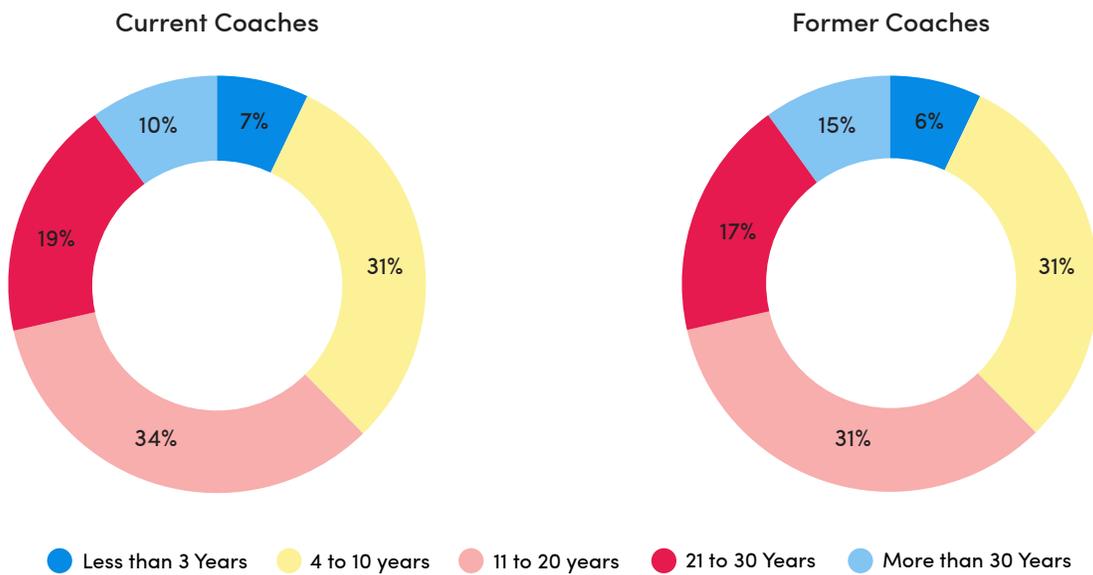
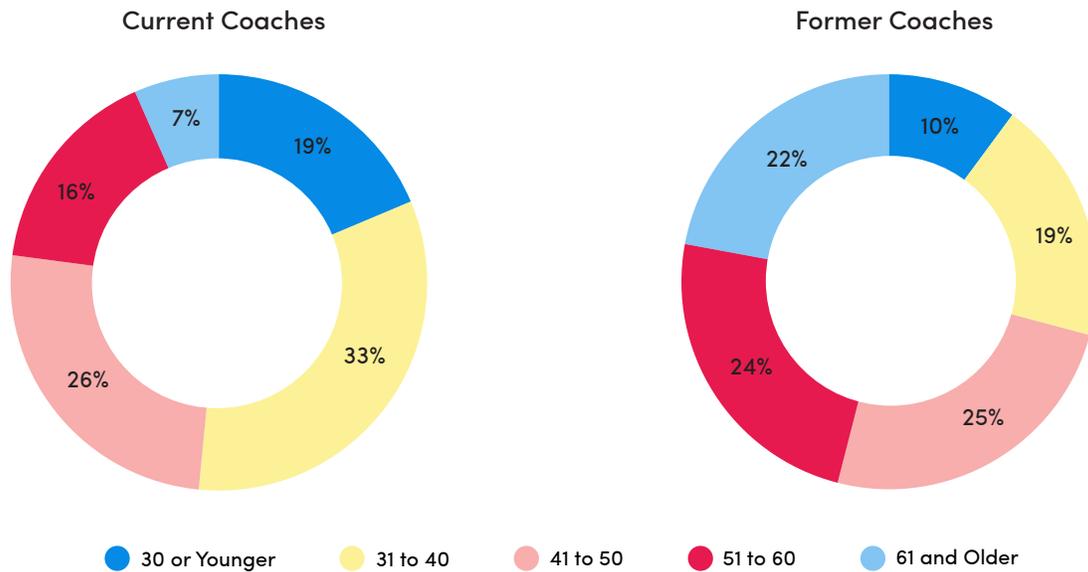


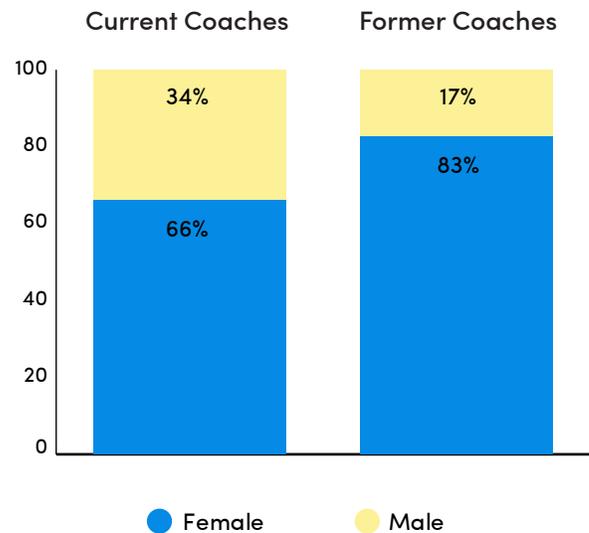
Table 4: Age of Coaches



The results point to a more nuanced portrait of coaches of intercollegiate women’s sports. First, 66% of current coaches are females and 34% were males. Ninety percent of both female and male current coaches were white, with black and “other” racial/ethnic respondents representing 5% of all coaches. In addition, the percentages of racial and ethnic minority coaches are remarkably similar between the former and current coach samples, with about 10% of both subgroups being black and/or other racial minorities. In contrast, with regard to sexual orientation, half of the current female coaches and 34% of the current male coaches identified as heterosexual. Just 16% of current female coaches described themselves as LGBTQ, while one percent of the male coaches did so. The comparisons show that former coaches of women’s sports were more likely than current coaches to be females (83% and 66% respectively) and to identify as LGBTQ (41% and 17%, respectively). See Table 5 to the right and Tables 6 and 7 on following page. We caution that it is unclear whether the different percentages actually reflect historical changes in hiring practices and staff composition or simply derive from unique characteristics of the coaches who chose to fill out the online questionnaires.

Respondents were asked to report their salaries. First, current female and male coaches revealed similar income levels. Approximately 42% of both female and male coaches reported annual salaries between \$50,000 and \$100,000. See Table 8 on following page. Among former coaches, more male coaches (38%) reported \$50,000–\$100,000 salaries than female coaches (26%), and with a higher percentage of low-level salaries among women than men (65% versus 55%, respectively). While

Table 5: Gender Composition Among Current and Former NCAA Coaches



it is difficult to estimate given the limitations in our data, the distribution of earnings between former and current coaches (for both genders) appears to be basically consistent (particularly if inflation across decades is taken into account). Furthermore, no major differences were evident in the reported salaries among white, black and

Table 6: Racial Composition Among Current and Former NCAA Coaches

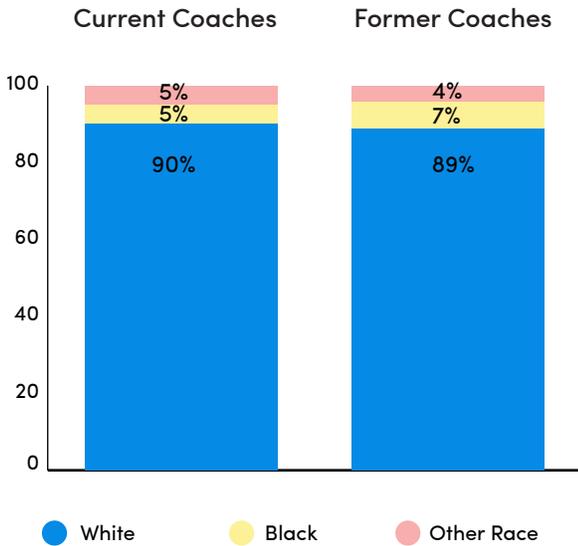
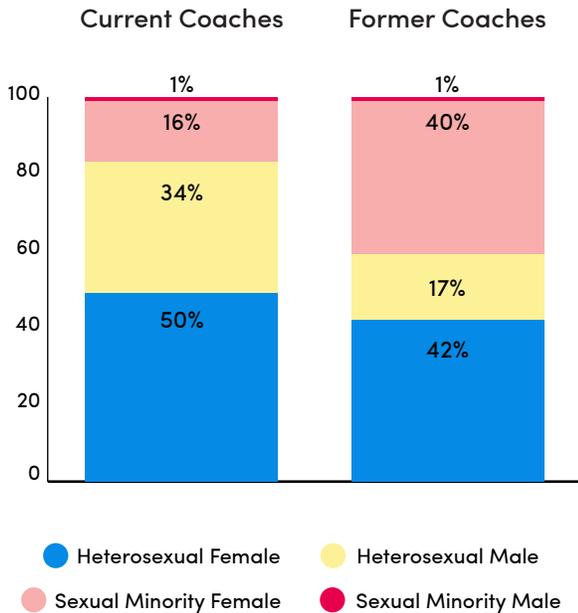


Table 7: Gender and Sexual Orientation Composition Among Current and Former NCAA Coaches



Hispanic current coaches. See Table 9. In contrast, about two-thirds (64%) of white former coaches reported making below \$50,000 per annum. None of the Hispanic former coaches reported making \$100,000 or more. Finally, among current and former coaches, across almost all

Table 8: Gender and Income

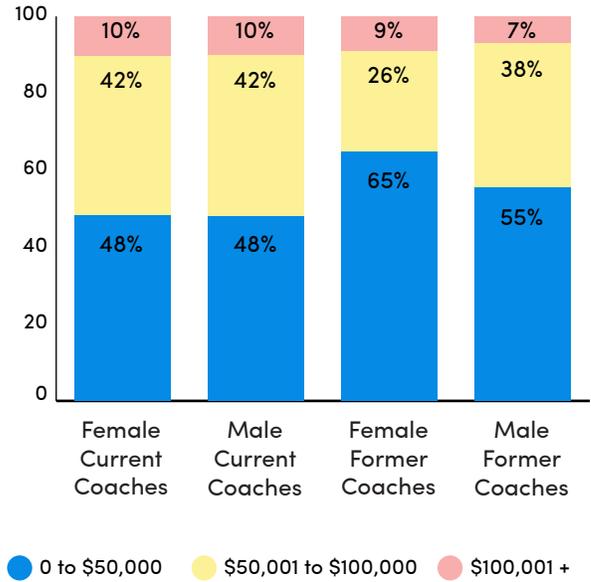


Table 9: Race and Income

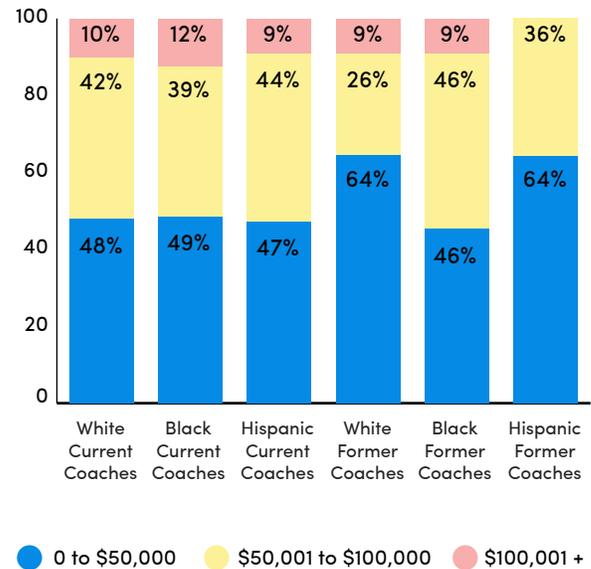
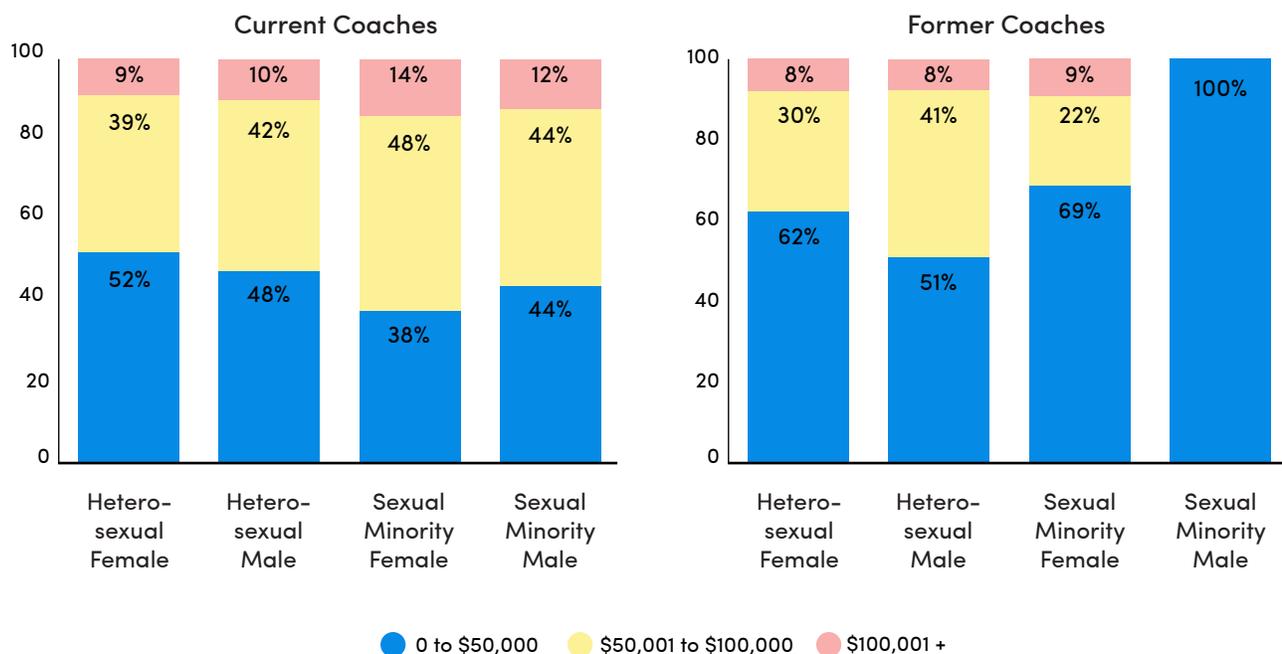


Table 10: Sexual Orientation and Income



sexual orientation categories, the most common salary range indicated was \$50,000 or less. The only exception to this was among current female coaches who identified as LGBTQ, with the modal response being between \$50,001 and \$100,000. See Table 10 above.

Race and Ethnicity, Sexual Orientation

The respondents across the sample are distributed fairly equally across governance associations and competition levels with respect to gender, race/ethnicity and sexual orientation. The only exception is among current and former coaches who are Black—this group has more coaches in NCAA Division I schools when compared to other races (50.5% and 50%, respectively). See Tables 11, 12, and 13 on following pages. Tables 14 through 16 (on pages 13 and 14) show considerable variation in gender, racial and sexual orientation across several of the most popular women’s sports in the NCAA. Field hockey, lacrosse and softball have the highest percent of female coaches among current and former coaches (ranging between 86% and 100%). Basketball and cross-country/track have the largest percentages of black coaches when compared to different types of sports; between 13% and 18% of current and former coaches. Finally, softball and field hockey have the largest percentages of sexual minority females when compared to different types of sports; between 67% and 35% of current and former coaches in these sports identified as a sexual minority female.



Table 11: Gender and Division

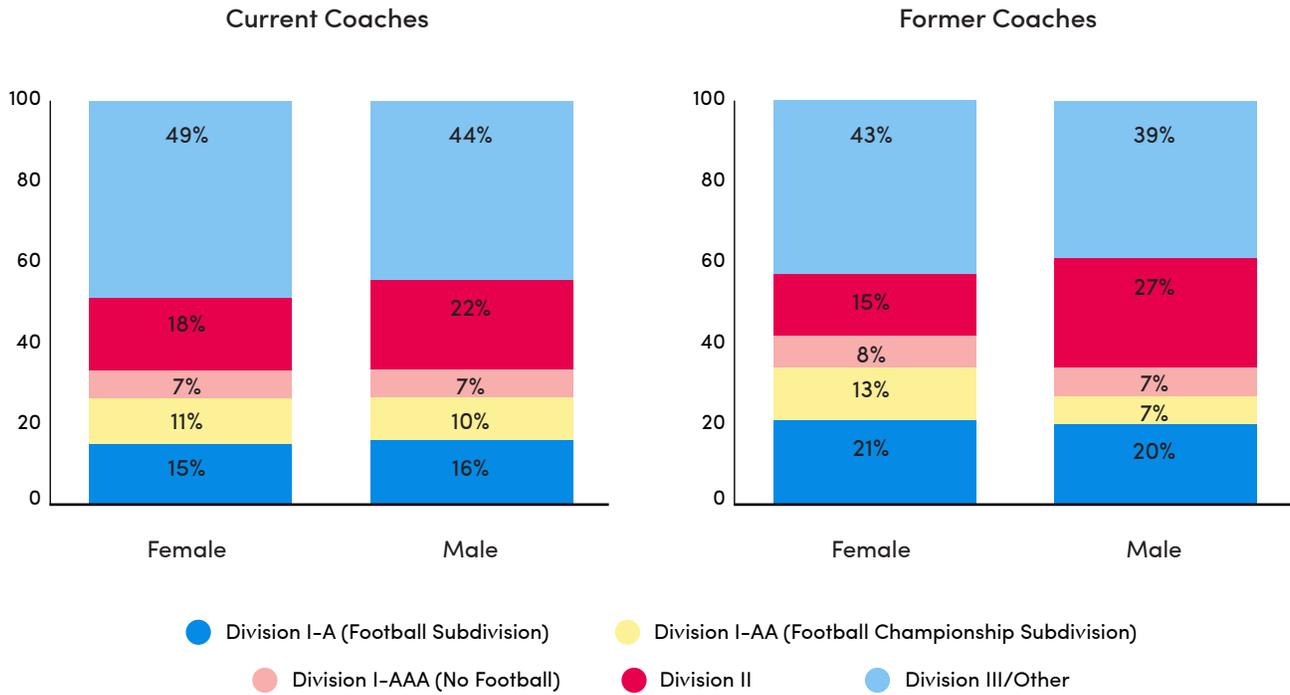


Table 12: Race and Division

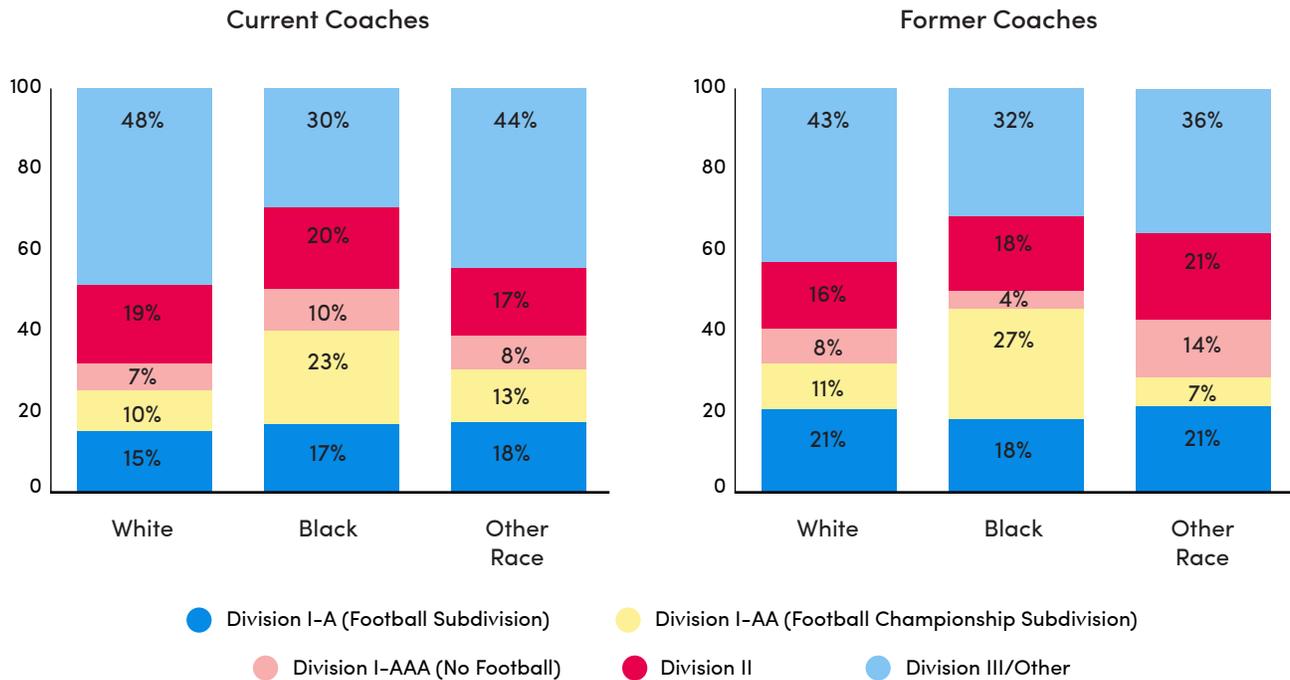


Table 13: Sexual Orientation and Division

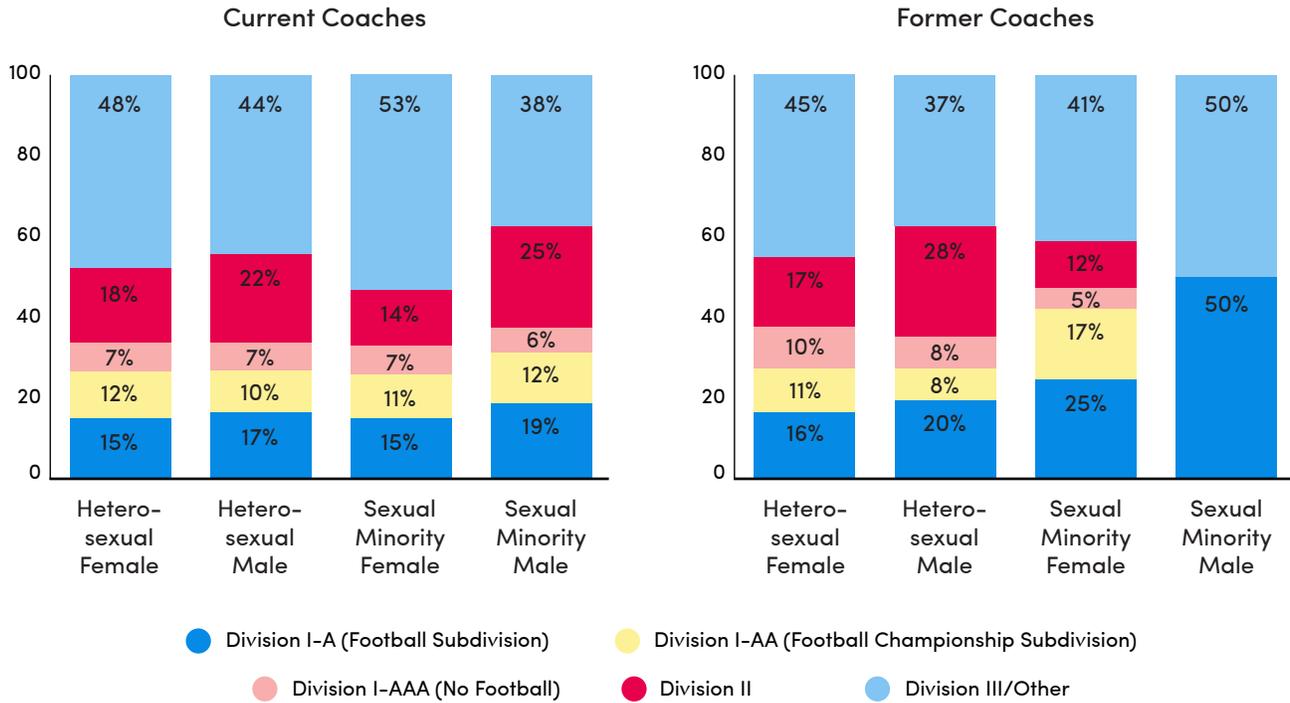


Table 14: Gender and Sport Type (8 Most Popular)

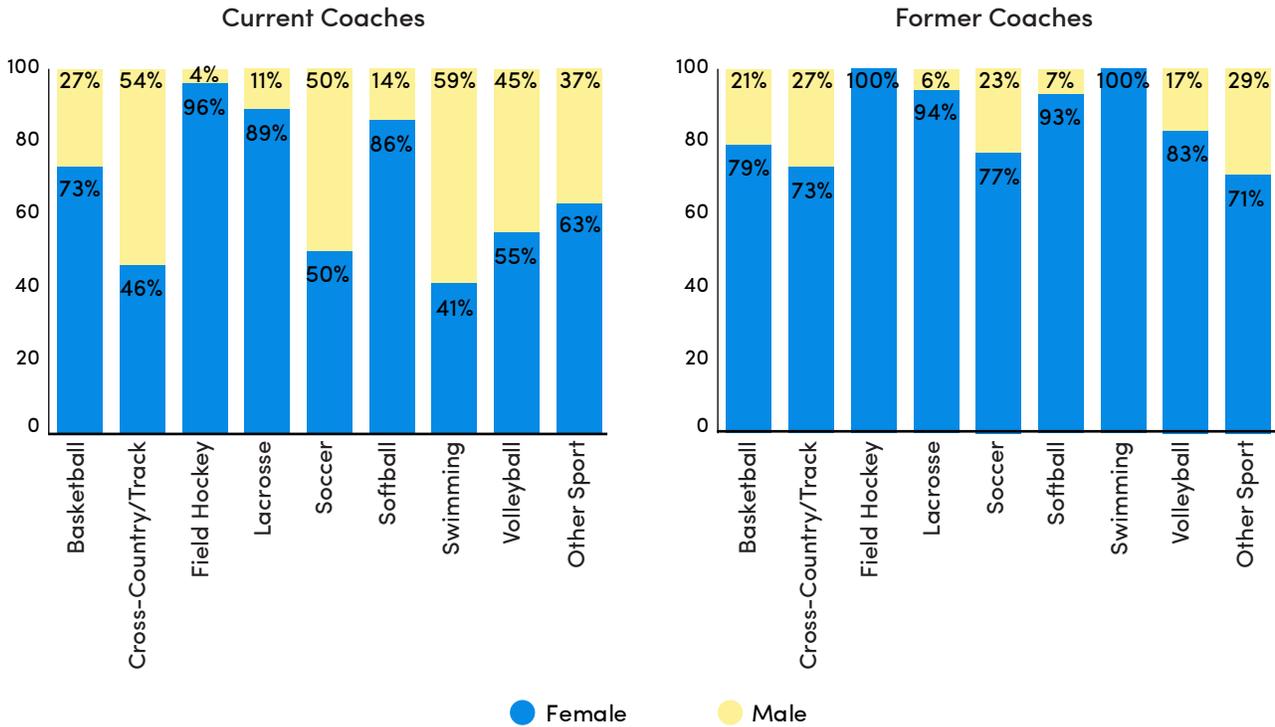


Table 15: Race and Sport Type (8 Most Popular)

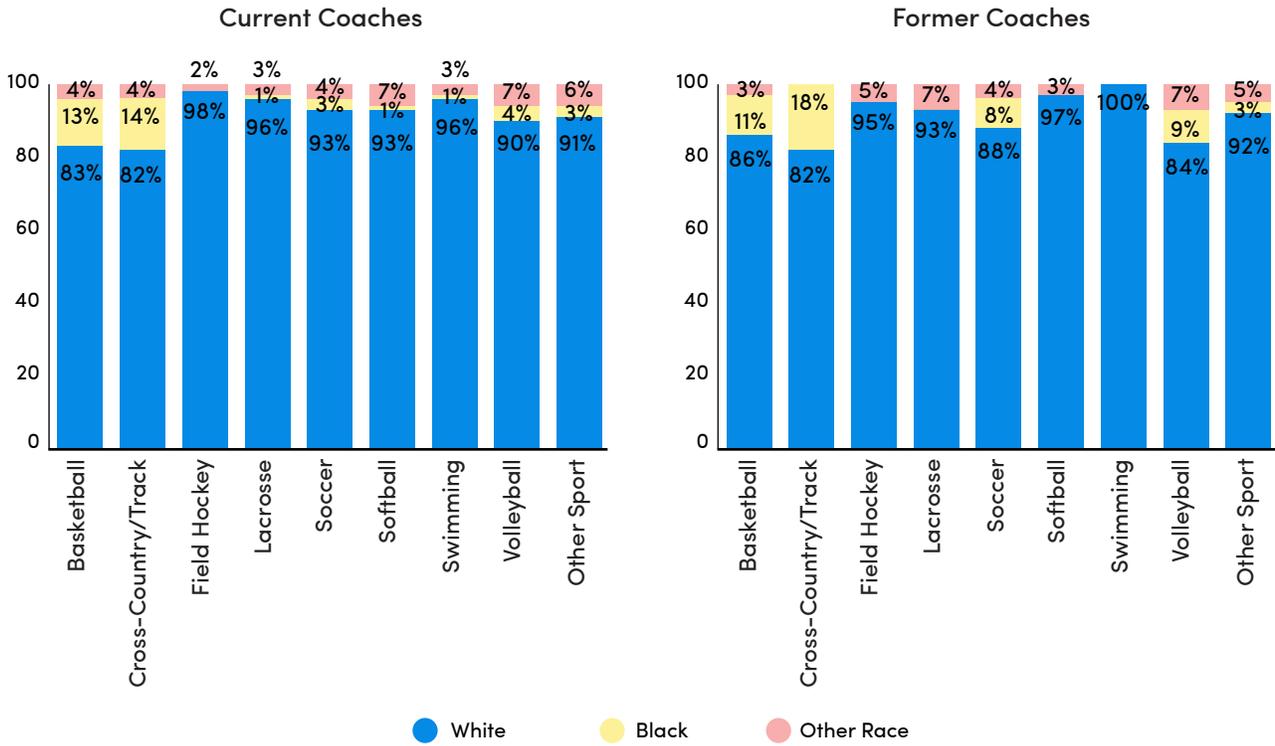
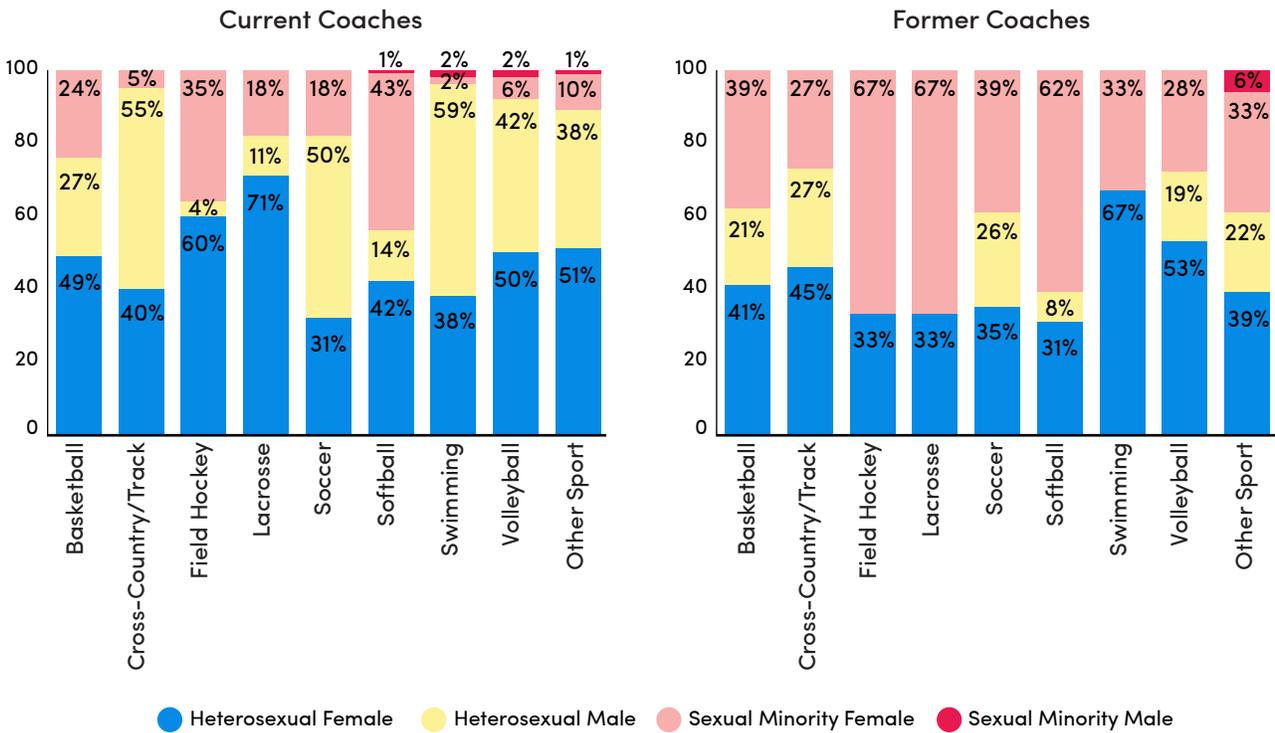


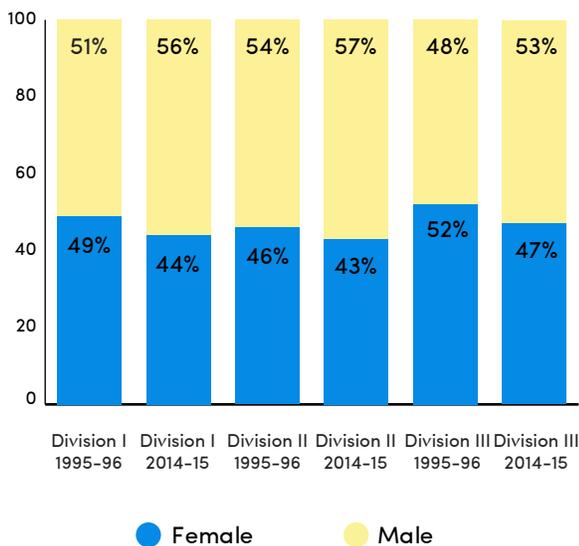
Table 16: Sexual Orientation and Sport Type (8 Most Popular)



NCAA Data on Head and Assistant Coaches Among Females and Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 1995–2015

In order to assess historical variation among coaches of women’s sports and to see if the samples used for this study are consistent with other valid sources, we conducted secondary analyses of data from the NCAA (2015) Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search (a database that has complete counts of NCAA coaches by gender and race).¹ With respect to the gender distribution in women’s sports, the percentage of female coaches (head and assistant coaches) declined slightly between 1995 and 2015. See Figure A. It should also be noted that only minimal increases were detected in the percentage of female coaches in men’s sports between 1995 and 2015. See Figure B. Larger increases were found in the percent of minority coaches (i.e., non-white) within both women’s sports and men’s sports. See Figures C and D on following page.

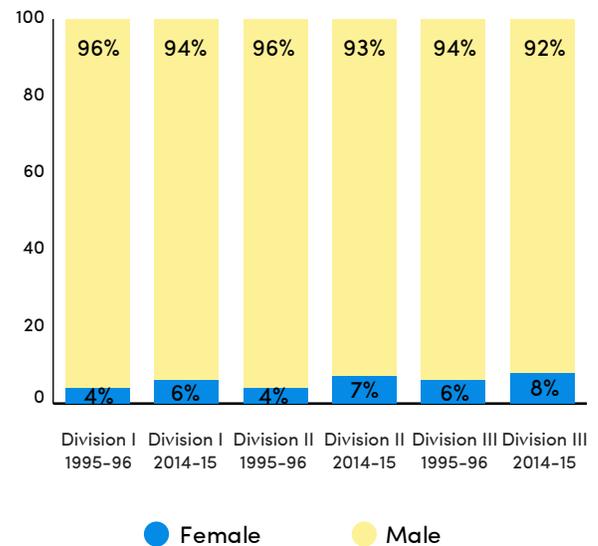
Figure A: Gender Distribution of NCAA Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Women’s Sports Between 1995–96 and 2014–15



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

¹ The National Collegiate Athletic Association generates a large reservoir of data collected from its constituents. The value of this asset is limited, however, because researchers have not utilized these data for program assessment and/or social scientific purposes.

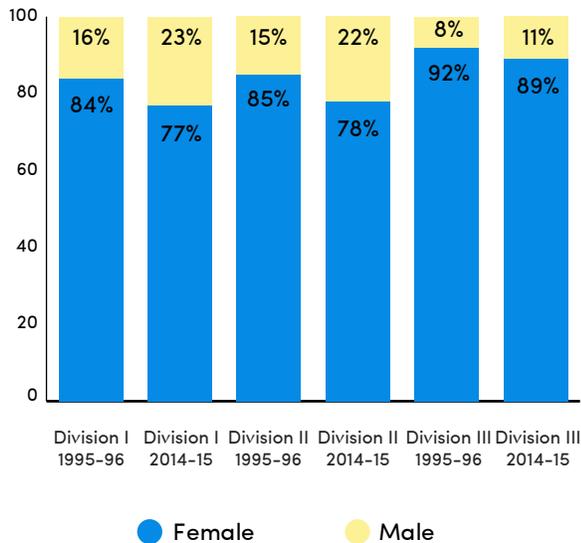
Figure B: Gender Distribution of NCAA Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Men’s Sports Between 1995–96 and 2014–15



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

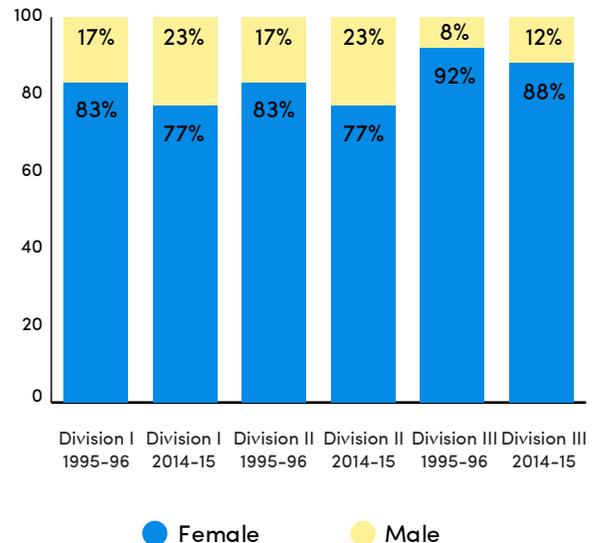


Figure C: Racial/Ethnic Distribution of NCAA Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Women's Sports Between 1995-96 and 2014-15



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

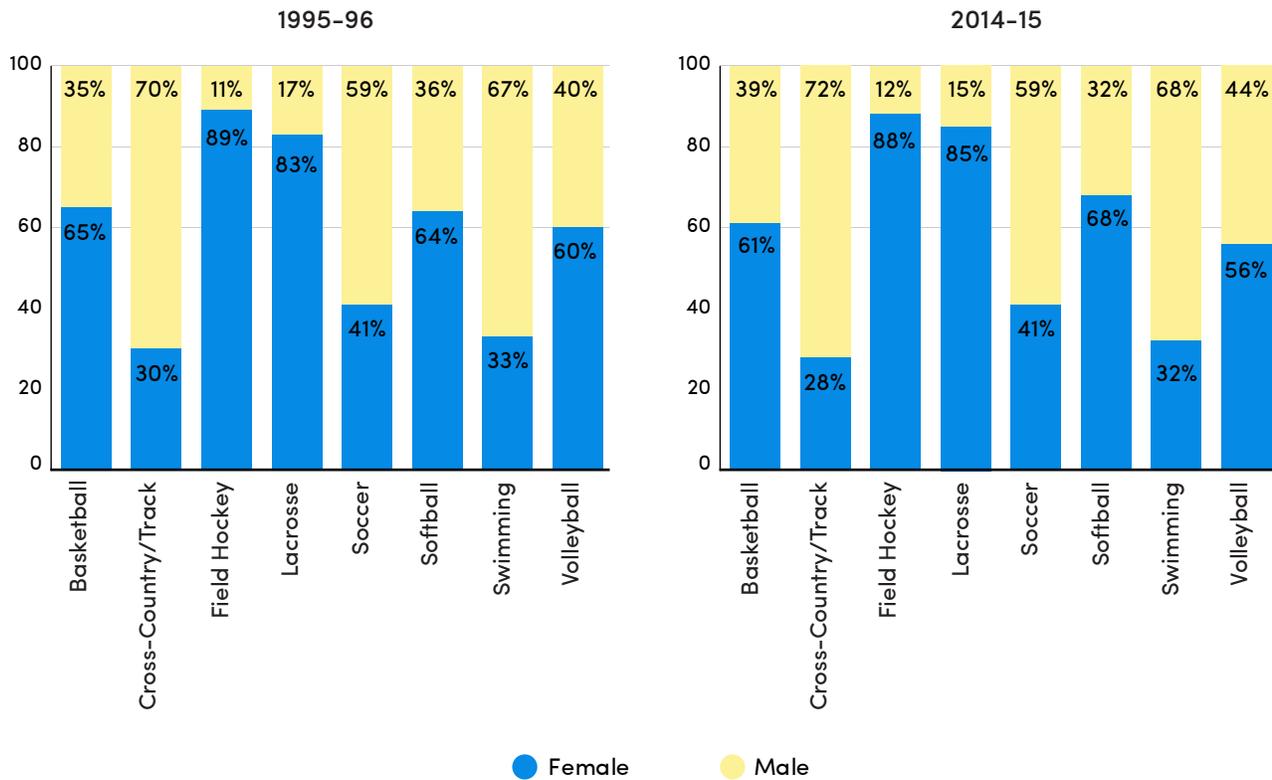
Figure D: Racial/Ethnic Distribution of NCAA Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Men's Sports Between 1995-96 and 2014-15



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

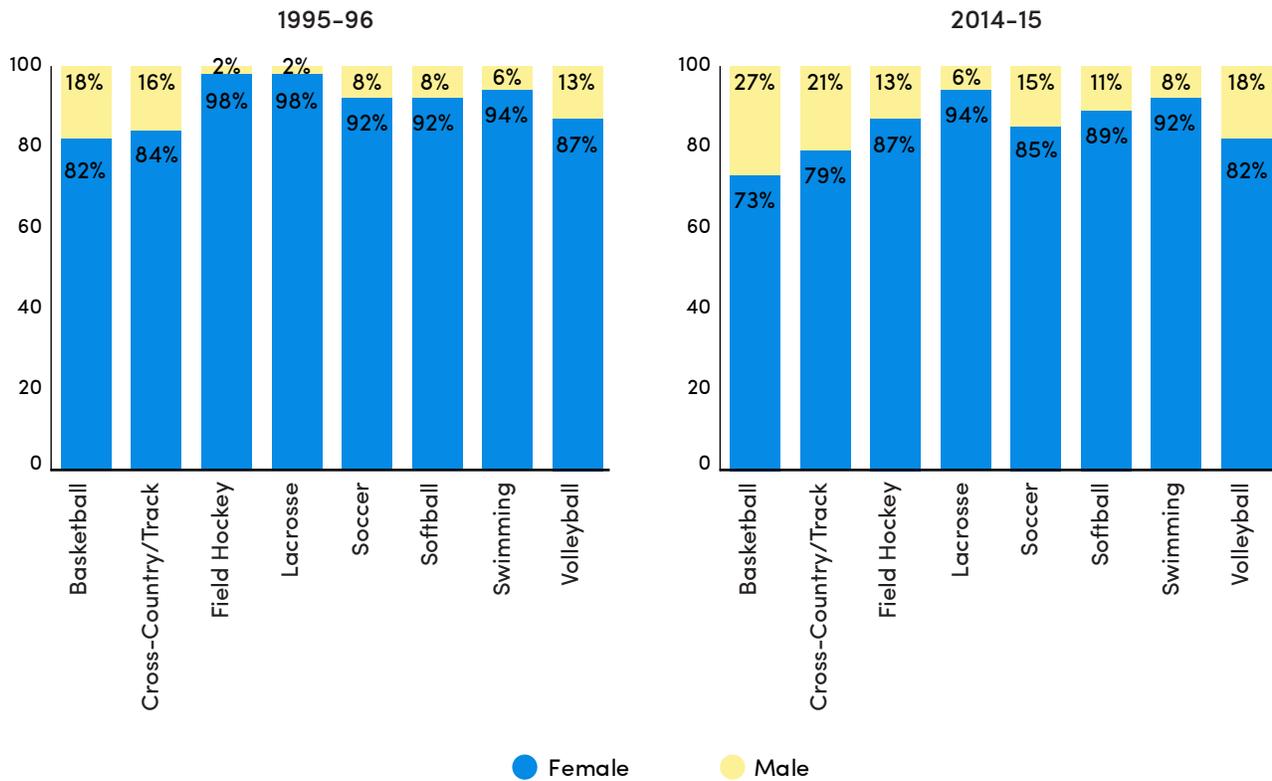
Finally, Figures E and F (on following pages) show considerable amount of variation in the percentages of females and males, and whites and non-whites, across eight of the most popular sports in the NCAA. It should be highlighted that field hockey, lacrosse and softball have the highest percentage of female coaches, while basketball and cross-country/track have the largest percentages of minority coaches (i.e., non-white coaches).

Figure E: Percentage of Female and Male Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Women's NCAA Sports (8 Most Popular); All Divisions



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

Figure F: Percentage of White and Non-White Coaches (Head and Assistant) in Women's NCAA Sports (8 Most Popular); All Divisions



NCAA (2015). *Sport Sponsorship, Participation and Demographics Search* [Data file]. Retrieved from <http://web1.ncaa.org/rgdSearch/exec/main>.

Departmental Leadership Power: Who Decides?

Those with authority and status in a workplace typically hold the power to make key personnel decisions. Most current coaches (73%) indicated that it was a male athletic director who hired them, while fully 76% reported that their current athletic director is a male. Similarly 80% of former coaches reported they had a male athletic director

in the last institution they worked at, and 75% indicated that a male athletic director had hired them at their final institution. These results document men's current and enduring administrative authority within college sport administration.

Concerns About Title IX and Gender Equity

The passage of Title IX by the U.S. Congress in 1972 was intended to eliminate sex discrimination in higher educational institutions that received federal financial assistance. As efforts to reform collegiate athletics continued, the NCAA pushed back with a vigorous lobbying campaign against Title IX's implementation. The opponents of gender equity in sports later received a legal boost in 1984 from the *Grove City v. Bell* case, which eroded Title IX's ban on gender discrimination by limiting its reach to just specific programs receiving federal funding, rather than entire institutions receiving federal funds. With the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act in 1989, however, Congress restored Title IX's legal influence by making it plain that all institutional programs and activities were covered by Title IX, regardless of which portion of the institution received federal funding. Yet Title IX remains a relatively underdeveloped civil rights law, and few cases have been brought under its athletics mandates.

Meanwhile, athletic participation rates among girls and women kept climbing, and the legal and social forces seeking gender equity in sports pushed forward (Sabo & Ward, 2006). Though often muted or ignored, the struggles between gender equity advocates and opponents of Title IX in college sports continue to stir. Though Title IX applied more narrowly to sex discrimination, it amplified previous civil rights legislation aimed at curbing racial and ethnic discrimination, and later, legal efforts to protect the civil rights of gays and lesbians in the workplace and larger society (Ware, 2011). Given the historical and legal relevance of these social and legal trends, we examined whether coaches of women's sports were

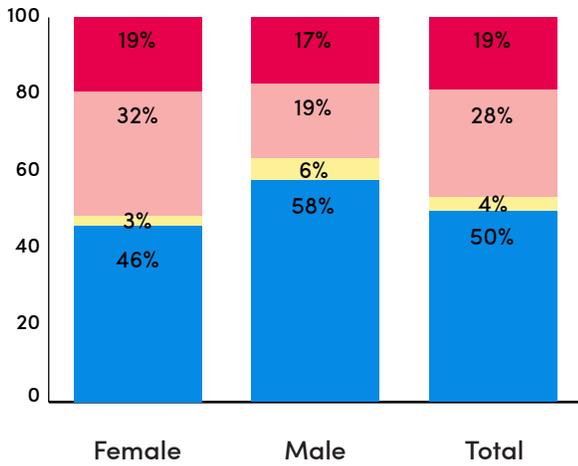
comfortable addressing concerns about gender equity, race and ethnicity, or sexual orientation in their athletic departments and on campus.

Perceptions of Gender Equity

The respondents were asked whether "women's sports and men's sports were treated equitably by their institution" in relation to allocation of resources. (Here they were also specifically instructed "not to consider football" in their assessments.) Less than half (46%) of female coaches and 58% of male coaches indicated that "men's sports and women's sports receive equitable resources" on their campuses, while just 3% and 6% reported that women's sports got more resources than men's sports. See Table 17 on following page. In contrast, about one-third (32%) of the female coaches and 19% of male coaches indicated that men's sports receive more resources than women's sports. In comparison, 58% of former female coaches and 41% of former male coaches thought men's sports more resources than women's sports. See Table 18 on following page.

Another question related to Title IX assessed the respondents' beliefs about how female and male coaches perceived management practices in their institution with regard to employment issues. Did they believe female and male coaches are managed "in the same ways" or that one gender was favored over the other? We also measured how LGBTQ coaches weighed in on this item. Table 19 (on following page) shows how female and male coaches responded to these questions. Two central findings jump out of these tables. First, significantly larger

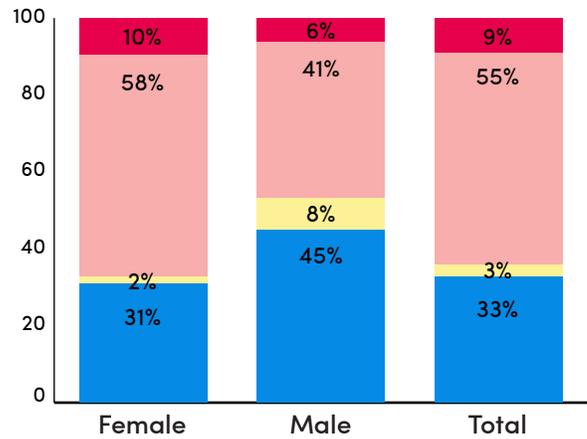
Table 17: Current Coaches' Perceptions of Resource Allocation Between Men's and Women's Sports, by Gender



- Men's sports and women's sports receive equitable resources
- Women's sports get more resources than men's sports
- Men's sports get more resources than women's sports
- Don't know

Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2 x 4). $p < .001$

Table 18: Former Coaches' Perceptions of Resource Allocation Between Men's and Women's Sports, by Gender



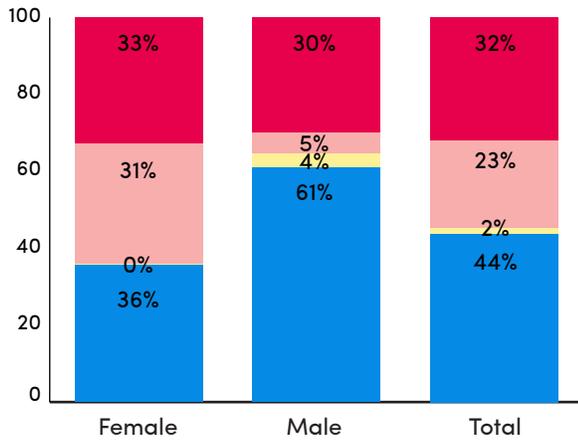
- Men's sports and women's sports receive equitable resources
- Women's sports get more resources than men's sports
- Men's sports get more resources than women's sports
- Don't know

Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2 x 4). $p < .001$

percentages of male respondents believed that men and women coaches are “managed in similar ways” (61% and 35%, respectively). See Table 19 on following page. Put another way, just 5% of male respondents felt that “men coaches were favored over women coaches” compared to 31% of female respondents. In short, significantly more female coaches perceived gender bias than their male counterparts. A similar pattern of gender differences emerged across the heterosexual and LGBTQ coaches in which, regardless of sexual orientation, larger percentages of male coaches than female coaches believed that “men and men coaches are managed in the same ways.” See Table 20 on following page. Stated another way, while roughly one-third of heterosexual and LGBTQ female coaches (28% and 36%, respectively) felt that “men coaches were favored over women coaches,” less than 5% of their respective male counterparts did so.



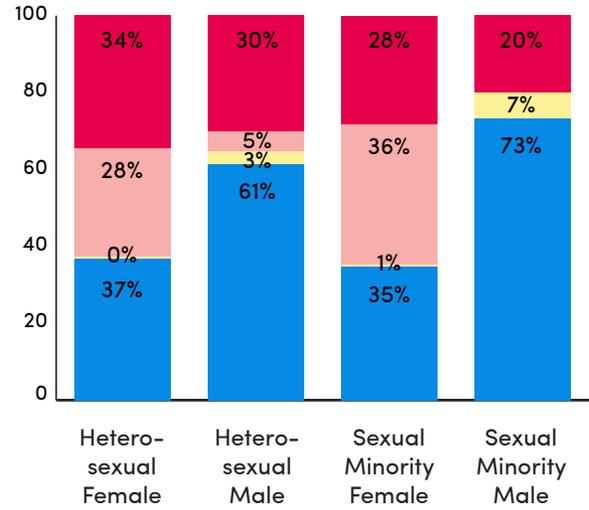
Table 19: Current Coaches' Perceptions of Management Practices, by Gender



- Men coaches and women coaches are managed in the same ways
- Women coaches are favored over men
- Men coaches are favored over women
- Don't know

Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2 x 4). $p < .001$

Table 20: Current Coaches' Perceptions of Management Practices, by Gender and LGBTQ Status



- Men coaches and women coaches are managed in the same ways
- Women coaches are favored over men
- Men coaches are favored over women
- Don't know

Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2 x 4). $p < .001$

Comfort Levels Raising Concerns About Gender Bias and Title IX

How did the coaches respond to questions about their comfort levels with raising concerns about gender equity and Title IX on campus? The results in Table 21 showed that the majority of coaches expressed comfort addressing concerns about gender equity or Title IX, but appreciable numbers did not. One-third of women coaches (34%) disagreed that they felt comfortable taking concerns about gender equity to departmental administrators. Along these lines, even more female and male coaches expressed reluctance to raise gender equity concerns with campus administrators than with their athletic department administrators. The disparity raises the question why more coaches may seem to expect more professional repercussions for raising gender equity concerns within the workplace at large compared to their departments. Perhaps the most startling finding depicted in Table 21 is that 31% of female coaches believed that they would “risk their job” if they spoke out about Title IX and gender equity, compared with 20% of male coaches.

Table 22 (on following page) shows the same results as Table 21 but for former coaches. Notably, when compared with current coaches, larger percentages of former coaches indicated they did not feel comfortable raising concerns about Title IX or gender equity either in their departments or on campus. Somewhat more former coaches than current coaches also indicated that their job could be endangered by speaking up about Title IX and gender equity.



Table 21: Current Coaches’ Comfort Levels Around Expressing Gender Equity Concerns, by Gender

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	81%	66%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	74%	58%	***
I feel I would risk my job if I spoke up about Title IX and gender equity.	20%	31%	***
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation for fear it would be seen as a weakness.	12%	27%	***

*, .05, **, <.01, ***, <.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 22: Former Coaches' Comfort Levels Around Expressing Gender Equity Concerns, by Gender

	Former Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=42) Agree	Female (n=225) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	57%	43%	non-sig.
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	55%	43%	non-sig.
I feel I would risk my job if I spoke up about Title IX and gender equity.	38%	38%	non-sig.
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation for fear it would be seen as a weakness.	43%	41%	non-sig.

*,.05, **,<.01, ***,<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Finally, Table 23 breaks out the current coaches' comfort levels raising concerns by gender and sexual orientation. Review of the results shows that, regardless of sexual orientation, males and females responded differently. Compared with female coaches, higher percentages of both heterosexual and LGBTQ males indicated they felt comfortable raising gender equity concerns in their

departments or with campus administrators. More women coaches than men coaches felt they would risk their jobs by speaking up about Title IX and gender equity. LGBTQ female coaches registered the highest percentage of coaches (34%) who agreed that speaking up about Title IX and gender equity could jeopardize their jobs.

Table 23: Current Coaches' Comfort Levels Around Expressing Gender Equity Concerns, by Gender and LGBTQ Status

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=531) Agree	Heterosexual Female (n= 842) Agree	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Agree	Sexual Minority Female (n=308) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	81%	69%	79%	61%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX.	73%	60%	71%	56%	***
I feel I would risk my job if I spoke up about Title IX and gender equity.	21%	28%	14%	34%	***
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation for fear it would be seen as a weakness.	12%	25%	0%	30%	***

*,.05, **,<.01, ***,<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x2)

Comfort Levels Raising Concerns about Race and Ethnicity

Seventy-seven percent of current female coaches and 86% of current male coaches felt comfortable going to departmental administrators with “concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.” See Table 24. In contrast, just 30% of the current female coaches and 16% of current male coaches were comfortable doing so with campus administrators outside the department of athletics. While our survey was not designed to identify the specific sources of coaches’ comfort or discomfort levels processing concerns about race and ethnicity, it is remarkable that such a smaller percentage of coaches would not feel comfortable discussing these concerns outside the department of athletics. Are athletic department leaders more amenable to dialogue around racial and ethnic differences or concerns than central academic administrations? This appeared to be the case

at the University of Missouri, in the wake of the 2015 racial conflict and student demonstrations there. There might also be “chain of command” considerations at play in some departments where staff members do not want to go around their supervisors.

Table 25 lays out the same sets of results for former coaches, who were significantly less likely than their current coach colleagues to feel comfortable raising racial and ethnic concerns. The comparisons suggest that, progress toward more open dialogue around race and ethnicity has unfolded across generations of coaches. Put another way, the current workplace is more receptive to open engagement around racial and ethnic concerns than in the past. Finally, we suggest that readers compare these statistics with those in the preceding section Title IX. The comparison shows that more coaches find it easier to talk about racial and ethnic issues than gender and Title IX issues.

Table 24: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Were Comfortable Expressing Concerns About Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, by Gender

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	87%	77%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	80%	70%	***

*,.05, **, <.01, ***, <.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 25: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Were Comfortable Expressing Concerns About Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, by Gender

	Former Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=42) Agree	Female (n=225) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	67%	54%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	57%	52%	***

*,.05, **, <.01, ***, <.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Furthermore, additional analyses revealed that fewer former coaches than current coaches felt comfortable raising concerns about doing race and ethnic discrimination both with department of athletics leaders and campus administrators. These differences suggest that the current coaching workplace is more receptive to open engagement around racial and ethnic concerns than in the past.

Did coaches of color express similar levels of concern about racial and ethnic discrimination as their white counterparts? The findings in Table 26 show that more whites reported being comfortable going to departmental and college administrators than coaches from racial minorities. Note that the percentages of coaches who felt comfortable raising concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination were much higher among current coaches than their former counterparts. See Table 27.

Concerns about Sexual Orientation and Homophobia

Respondents were queried about their comfort levels with addressing issues of homophobia and sexual orientation. Table 28 on following page breaks out the same set of findings but across gender and sexual orientation. Fifteen percent of female coaches and nine percent of male coaches agreed that there is a “noticeable level of homophobia” among some of their colleagues. Similar numbers indicated that it can be difficult to speak up about homophobia (16% and 9%, respectively). While substantial percentages of female coaches (64%) and male coaches (75%) indicated they were comfortable going to campus administrators outside their departments, this means that 36% of female coaches and 24% of male coaches were not comfortable doing so. These latter numbers echo the earlier finding that many

Table 26: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Were Comfortable Expressing Concerns About Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, by Race and Ethnicity

	Current Coaches			sig.
	White (n=1,575) Agree	Black (n=90) Agree	Other Race (n=84) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	82%	62%	67%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	74%	63%	74%	***

*, .05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (3x2)

Table 27: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Were Comfortable Expressing Concerns About Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, by Race and Ethnicity

	Former Coaches			sig.
	White (n=1,575) Agree	Black (n=90) Agree	Other Race (n=84) Agree	
I feel comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	56%	56%	55%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination.	54%	56%	27%	***

*, .05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (3x2)

Table 28: Current Coaches Views of Sexual Orientation and Homophobia Issues, by Gender

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
My Department of Athletics hampers coaches from speaking up about homophobia.	9%	16%	***
There is a noticeable level of homophobia among some of my department colleagues.	9%	15%	***
I have considered leaving coaching because of sexual orientation discrimination	3%	5%	*
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about sexual orientation.	76%	64%	***

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

coaches were ill-disposed to raise concerns about Title IX and gender equity outside their athletic departments.

Table 29 breaks out the findings by gender and sexual orientation. Larger percentages of LGBTQ coaches of both sexes than their heterosexual counterparts detected a “noticeable level of homophobia” among department colleagues. Just 56% of LGBTQ females felt comfortable raising concerns about sexual orientation with campus administrators, while larger percentages of both

heterosexual and LGBTQ male coaches (76% and 79%, respectively) and heterosexual female coaches (68%) were comfortable doing so. It is also noteworthy that somewhat larger percentages of LGBTQ females and males than their heterosexual counterparts felt that their athletic departments hampered discussion about homophobia. Twice as many LGBTQ male coaches (29%) considered leaving the profession as LGBTQ female coaches (13%). Only 2% of heterosexual females and males did so.

Table 29: Current Coaches Views of Sexual Orientation and Homophobia Issues, by Gender and LGBTQ Status

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=531) Agree	Heterosexual Female (n= 842) Agree	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Agree	Sexual Minority Female (n=308) Agree	
My Department of Athletics hampers coaches from speaking up about homophobia.	9%	14%	29%	21%	***
There is a noticeable level of homophobia among some of my department colleagues.	9%	12%	21%	21%	***
I have considered leaving coaching because of sexual orientation discrimination	2%	2%	29%	13%	***
I feel comfortable going to administrators on my campus outside the athletic department with concerns about sexual orientation.	76%	68%	79%	56%	***

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x2)



The Issue of Reverse Discrimination

The struggle to ensure equitable gender relations in the American workplace is a work in progress. Inside higher education and college athletics, the pace of debate and reform have moved forward across decades rather than months or years. One issue that surfaced periodically is reverse discrimination, which occurs when members of the historically dominant majority group (e.g., men, whites) are impacted by policy or actions that have been designed to provide opportunity to members of the minority or subordinate group (e.g., women, persons of color). None of the questionnaire items were designed to capture respondents' views on this issue, but many coaches (mostly white males) brought up the issue in their written comments. Their contentions and insights testify to the complexity of reform in the workplace of women's sports. An array of representative comments from current coaches is below. All the comments that were coded as "reverse discrimination" were made by white, heterosexual, male coaches.

"As a male coaching a female sport, I feel like I don't have a very good chance to move up in my profession because of the big push to hire females. I feel it is easier for one of my current players to get a head coaching position before I do. I agree

that females deserve to coach and that they are considered for coaching positions. The problem that I have is that more female coaches are being hired as head coaches with no experience in the coaching profession and male assistants looking to get head jobs are overlooked."

"I'm a white male and I can't get the job because they have to hire a female or a minority. This is not right. The best candidate should be hired regardless of race or gender."

"There have been women's basketball head coaching vacancies that I have wanted to get, and although I am a highly successful coach...I have not even been interviewed for those positions. All have been filled by females with far less experience and success."

"...I did not receive appropriate consideration for several head coaching positions which then hired much less qualified (as far as years of experience) females before I finally accepted my first head coaching position."

"I have been passed up for coaching jobs at other institutions so they can hire younger females with less experience."

"But time and time again the big jobs pass me by and many of them have told me exactly why. They need a female to fill the spot. They won't say it on paper, but after the interview is over or in passing, it is becoming a concerning mantra."

"I would do much better off professionally if I was a minority, handicapped, homosexual."

"'They don't want a male' is a pretty common phrase when looking at jobs. I understand it may seem glib for a white male to be complaining about equality but it's frustrating to not be considered for a job due to being a male."

"As a white male I am very often overlooked for coaching positions because the administration chooses and/or is pressured to hire a woman and/or minority. This is discrimination hidden behind the phrase 'not the right fit' in the name of 'equality.'"

Several male coaches showed empathy and support regarding the need for more women in coaching yet, at the same time, conveyed a sense of frustration. For example:

"(Especially for women in certain sports) jobs are easier to obtain, promotions are more easily handed out, more is done to retain women coaches. I understand this is because there are less women than men but it is still a discrimination against men. But I do understand that probably across the board men have more opportunities."

"As a man who is an assistant coach for a women's sport, I have a concern about being able to secure a head coach position. It's good that many universities are seeking to place women in head coach roles, but I fear that a less qualified woman would get a head coach job over a man. As we seek equity for women, I hope it doesn't swing so far that men in certain coaching roles are discriminated against."

In addition, other coaches emphasized the fact that their individual situation was owed to the fact that women's sports overall are marginalized and devalued in relation to men's sports, which have more resources and administrative support on campus.

"As a male coaching a female sport, I think gender biases the hire process in my sport in favor of female coaches....I also think that women's sports at my current and previous universities were greatly underfunded (under-supported) in comparison to male sports..."

"I don't feel like I've been discriminated by my administration because I'm a man, rather because I coach women—which is to say my team has been treated less well on the basis of gender."

We suggest that the above views and sentiments speak to the complexity and sometimes charged nature of gender relations and reform in the collegiate coaching workplace. It should also be noted that while some of the comments male coaches made concerning reverse discrimination seemed imbued with frustration or anger, the majority of communications seemed either observational or intended to be helpful. There is further irony here given the fact that men now hold the majority of coaching positions in women's sports. We also wonder about the extent that some male coaches may be reacting to the overarching marginalization of women's sports in relation to men's sports—an institutional reality that often bars both sexes from entry and professional parity.



Perceptions of Professional Advantage

Twelve basic questions were used to “assess the existing opportunities across the coaching profession” in women’s sports programs by indicating “how easy or difficult it is” for current male coaches and female coaches to achieve an array of advances or benefits. For example, when asked whether it was “easier for men or women to get top-level coaching jobs,” the response options included “easier for men” or “easier for women” or “not much of a difference.” The initial results summarized in Table 30 show some overall patterns of coaches’ views of 12 different facets of perceived professional advantage. The general findings show that half or more of current coaches indicated it was easier for men to get top-level coaching jobs (65%), to negotiate salary increases (73%), to be promoted (54%), to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring (52%), to influence decision-making in the department of athletics (56%), to influence allocation of fiscal resources in the department of athletics (53%) and to be awarded salary increases for successful performance

(53%). In contrast, clear majorities of the current coaches felt that there was “not much of a difference between female and male coaches” with respect to “receiving fair professional evaluations” (63%), to “secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring” (63%), to “participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics” (70%) and “to receive a fair administrative handling of complaints brought by student-athletes” (66%).

While the above findings provided some useful information, further analysis made us realize that this initial profile could also be incomplete if not misleading. What if female and male coaches of women’s sports saw men’s professional advantage differently? So we compared the viewpoints of female and male coaches. The results in Table 31 (on following page) reveal substantial differences between how women coaches and men coaches view professional advantage in their athletic departments. For example, while 80% of female coaches

Table 30: Current Coaches’ Views of Gender Differences in Workplace Advantage

	Current Coaches All Respondents (n=1,764)		
	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	Not much of a Difference
Easier to get a top-level coaching job	65%	12%	22%
Easier to negotiate salary increases	73%	4%	22%
Easier to receive fair professional evaluations	34%	3%	63%
Easier to be promoted	54%	9%	38%
Easier to negotiate clear contract conditions for performance evaluation	49%	3%	48%
Easier to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring	52%	3%	45%
Easier to secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring	35%	2%	63%
Easier to influence decision-making in the department of athletics	56%	3%	41%
Easier to allocate the fiscal resources in the department of athletics	53%	2%	45%
Easier to participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics	26%	4%	70%
Easier to receive fair administrative handling of complaints brought by students	27%	7%	66%
Easier to be awarded salary increase for successful performance	53%	4%	44%

believed it's easier for men "to get top-level coaching jobs," just 33% of male coaches did so. While 91% of female coaches indicated that it is "easier for men" to negotiate salary increases, just 34% of male coaches felt this way. A consistent pattern of gender differences was found; i.e., women coaches and men coaches frequently viewed one another's relative professional advantage differently. These and other marked disparities in perception suggest that gender bias is not so much a product of the marginalization of women's sports programs within larger educational institutions or athletic departments per se, but that it mainly derives from the differential treatment of women in the workplace. Stated simply, the findings suggest that while many women coaches perceive gender bias, most of their male counterparts do not.

Table 31 shows an overarching pattern of findings across all 12 measures of perceived workplace advantage. First, significantly higher percentages of female coaches than male coaches believed that men held greater professional advantages than women in their athletic departments. Secondly, for each of our measures, fewer

male respondents than female respondents felt that male coaches had similar levels of professional advantage. For example, fully 91% of female coaches indicated it was "easier for men" to negotiate salary increases, while 34% of the male coaches did so.

We also asked former coaches to "assess the opportunities that existed across the coaching profession during the final phase of your coaching career" and to "indicate how easy or difficult it was for male coaches and female coaches to achieve the following professional advances or benefits at that time." The results are summarized in Table 32 and Table 33 on following pages. When compared to current coaches, even larger percentages of former coaches indicated it was "easier for men" to secure professional advantages. The consistently large percentages of both former and current respondents who perceived men's professional advantage in respective athletic departments suggests that there has been minimal changes in the college coaching workplace.

Table 31: Perceptions of Professional Advantage: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Believe That "Men Have It Easier than Women," by Gender

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Male (n=555)		Female (n=1,209)		
	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	
Easier to get a top-level coaching job	33%	30%	80%	4%	***
Easier to negotiate salary increases	34%	13%	91%	1%	***
Easier to receive fair professional evaluations	11%	7%	44%	1%	***
Easier to be promoted	19%	23%	70%	2%	***
Easier to negotiate clear contract conditions for performance evaluation	16%	6%	64%	1%	***
Easier to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring	21%	7%	67%	1%	***
Easier to secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring	9%	5%	46%	1%	***
Easier to influence decision-making in the department of athletics	30%	9%	68%	1%	***
Easier to allocate the fiscal resources in the department of athletics	25%	6%	65%	0%	***
Easier to participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics	12%	7%	33%	3%	***
Easier to receive fair administrative handling of complaints brought by students	7%	15%	36%	3%	***
Easier to be awarded salary increase for successful performance	19%	11%	68%	0%	***

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x3)

Table 32: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Believe That “Men Have It Easier than Women”

	Former Coaches All Respondents (n=265)		
	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	Not much of a Difference
Easier to get a top-level coaching job	70%	12%	18%
Easier to negotiate salary increases	78%	5%	18%
Easier to receive fair professional evaluations	51%	2%	47%
Easier to be promoted	65%	8%	27%
Easier to negotiate clear contract conditions for performance evaluation	65%	3%	32%
Easier to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring	59%	5%	37%
Easier to secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring	47%	3%	50%
Easier to influence decision-making in the department of athletics	69%	1%	29%
Easier to allocate the fiscal resources in the department of athletics	68%	2%	30%
Easier to participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics	44%	5%	51%
Easier to receive fair administrative handling of complaints brought by students	42%	5%	53%
Easier to be awarded salary increase for successful performance	65%	4%	31%

Additional statistical analyses uncovered no differences between how white coaches and coaches of color viewed men’s professional advantage within their athletic departments. Indeed, data analyses throughout this entire study yielded only a handful statistically significant racial and ethnic differences in workplace perceptions and concerns among respondents. In contrast, however, sexual orientation was often clearly associated with how coaches viewed men’s professional advantage. Moreover, the overarching pattern of findings showed that heterosexual and LGBTQ female coaches tended to share similar viewpoints that, in turn, differed significantly from those of heterosexual and LGBTQ male coaches. Stated another way, gender differences were more marked than differences in sexual orientation. The overarching pattern of findings in Table 34 (on page 33) shows that comparable percentages of heterosexual and LGBTQ females believed “men had it easier” in their departments, while greater numbers of LGBTQ male coaches and heterosexual male coaches did so. Two findings illustrate the overlap between gender differences and sexual orientation. First, while 78% of heterosexual female and 84% of LGBTQ female coaches indicated it is “easier for men to get top-level coaching jobs,” just 32% of the heterosexual and 57% of the LGBTQ male coaches did so. Second, 78% of heterosexual female coaches and 96% of the LGBTQ female coaches said it is “easier for

men to negotiate salary increases” in their departments, compared to just 33% of heterosexual male coaches and 50% of LGBTQ male coaches. In short, these and other findings in this study show that in the workplace of college sports gender influences coaches’ workplace experiences more profoundly than sexual orientation and race and ethnicity.

Table 33: Perceptions of Professional Advantage: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Believe That “Men Have It Easier than Women,” by Gender

	Former Coaches				sig.
	Male (n=39)		Female (n=223)		
	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	Easier for Men	Easier for Women	
Easier to get a top-level coaching job	18%	59%	79%	4%	***
Easier to negotiate salary increases	26%	26%	87%	0%	***
Easier to receive fair professional evaluations	23%	13%	55%	0%	***
Easier to be promoted	15%	49%	74%	1%	***
Easier to negotiate clear contract conditions for performance evaluation	15%	18%	74%	0%	***
Easier to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring	13%	31%	67%	0%	***
Easier to secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring	8%	13%	54%	0%	***
Easier to influence decision-making in the department of athletics	31%	5%	77%	0%	***
Easier to allocate the fiscal resources in the department of athletics	23%	10%	76%	0%	***
Easier to participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics	21%	15%	48%	3%	***
Easier to receive fair administrative handling of complaints brought by students	13%	23%	47%	1%	***
Easier to be awarded salary increase for successful performance	21%	21%	73%	1%	***

*, .05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x3)

Table 34: Perceptions of Professional Advantage: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Believe That “Men Have It Easier than Women,” by Gender and Sexual Orientation

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=524) Easier for Men	Heterosexual Female (n=833) Easier for Men	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Easier for Men	Sexual Minority Female (n=305) Easier for Men	
Easier to get a top-level coaching job	32%	78%	57%	84%	***
Easier to negotiate salary increases	33%	90%	50%	96%	***
Easier to receive fair professional evaluations	10%	41%	43%	50%	***
Easier to be promoted	18%	67%	36%	74%	***
Easier to negotiate clear contract conditions for performance evaluation	15%	61%	29%	71%	***
Easier to secure a multi-year contract upon hiring	20%	65%	36%	71%	***
Easier to secure clear conditions for termination of a contract upon hiring	9%	44%	21%	53%	***
Easier to influence decision-making in the department of athletics	30%	66%	43%	70%	***
Easier to allocate the fiscal resources in the department of athletics	25%	64%	36%	68%	***
Easier to participate in hiring practices in the department of athletics	11%	31%	21%	35%	***
Easier to receive fair administrative handling of complaints brought by students	6%	32%	21%	47%	***
Easier to be awarded salary increase for successful performance	18%	65%	21%	76%	***

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x3)

Professional Concerns of Coaches

The survey respondents expressed their agreement or disagreement with statements about gender bias and differential treatment. Table 35 shows that 33% of female coaches were “reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation” for fear of possible retaliation, while 19% of male coaches expressed this concern. Twenty-seven percent of current female coaches felt such behavior could be “seen as a weakness,” while only 12% of male coaches indicated such a concern. Twice as many female coaches (20%) than male coaches (9%) had “considered leaving coaching because of gender discrimination.” Similar percentages of female and male coaches (27% and 25%, respectively) reported being criticized about their coaching style.

Significantly higher percentages of female coaches than male coaches responded “yes” to three survey items designed to assess differential treatment due to gender. See Table 36 on following page. Forty-two percent of female coaches felt they had been “discriminated against because of their gender” compared to 29% of male coaches. Almost half (48%) of female coaches said they were “paid less for doing the same job that other coaches do,” while 27% of their male counterparts said so. A higher percentage of female coaches than male counterparts felt their coaching performance was evaluated differently because of gender (15% and 6%, respectively). Based on other results, here we suggest that these women coaches also felt their evaluations were harsher than male counterparts. In contrast, we also note that 40% of

male coaches indicated they “did not get a job due to my gender” compared to 12% of female coaches, a finding that may express many male coaches’ concerns about reverse discrimination.

Tables 37 and 38 (on following page) show the responses of former coaches to the same statements. In almost every instance, larger percentages of former coaches agreed to professional concerns than the current coach sample. Two responses are notably dissimilar; i.e., 53% of the former female coaches reported discrimination due to gender during their career, while 62% said they had been “paid less for doing the same job” as other coaches at their institution. These and other differences with current coaches suggest a reduction of these professional concerns among contemporary coaches. On one hand, it might also be that some intergenerational progress has been made within the workplace of college sports. And yet we also note that nearly half (48%) of current female coaches indicated they were “paid less for doing the same job” and that 27% believed their coaching performance was evaluated differently than male coaches. Clearly gender bias and differential treatment remain significant issues and realities within the college sport workplace.

Table 35: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Agreed That They Had Professional Concerns About Gender Bias, by Gender

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation because I fear possible retaliation.	19%	33%	***
I have been criticized for my coaching style.	25%	27%	
I have considered leaving coaching because of gender discrimination.	9%	20%	***
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation for fear it would be seen as a weakness.	12%	27%	***

*, .05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 36: Percentages of Current Coaches Who Said “Yes” to Statements Regarding Differential Treatment, by Gender

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=658) Yes	Female (n=1,369) Yes	
Have you ever been discriminated against because of your gender in your work as a college coach?	29%	42%	***
My gender has prevented me from receiving a promotion.	9%	8%	
I am paid less for doing the same job that other coaches do at my institution.	27%	48%	***
I did not get a coaching job due to my gender.	40%	12%	***
My coaching performance is evaluated differently because of my gender.	6%	15%	***

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 37: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Agreed That They Had Professional Concerns About Gender Bias, by Gender

	Former Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=42) Agree	Female (n=225) Agree	
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation because I fear possible retaliation.	38%	42%	
I have been criticized for my coaching style.	45%	30%	
I have considered leaving coaching because of gender discrimination.	29%	29%	*
I am reluctant to ask for help with a gender bias situation for fear it would be seen as a weakness.	43%	41%	

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 38: Percentages of Former Coaches Who Said “Yes” to Statements Regarding Differential Treatment, by Gender

	Former Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=49) Yes	Female (n=247) Yes	
Have you ever been discriminated against because of your gender in your work as a college coach?	37%	53%	*
My gender has prevented me from receiving a promotion.	12%	16%	
I am paid less for doing the same job that other coaches do at my institution.	37%	62%	***
I did not get a coaching job due to my gender.	45%	10%	***
My coaching performance is evaluated differently because of my gender.	16%	27%	

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Involvement in the Workplace

Several survey items were designed to measure the extent that coaches were involved with the basic operations of the department of athletics. We recommend that readers filter the results presented in Table 39 through a “glass half-filled, glass half-empty” interpretation. For example, while 81% of female coaches indicated they were “always included in department of athletics social events and business meetings,” this also means that 19% of them were not always included. Similarly, while 65% of women coaches and 75% of male coaches said they could “voice my opinions in my department,” this also means that one-in-three women coaches and one-quarter of male coaches did not feel this way. A larger question within the areas of personnel management and staff engagement can also be asked; i.e., what are acceptable and/or ideal rates of staff involvement within the organization? In these latter contexts, there appears to be “appreciable” numbers of coaches of women’s sports who are not fully engaged within their respective workplaces. About one-third of female coaches, for example, felt they cannot voice opinions openly in their departments, while two-thirds of women coaches believed they are not “fully involved with the decision-making process” in the department.

Scrutiny of Table 40 (on following page) reveals a pattern where similar percentages of heterosexual and LGBTQ females expressed agreement with the first three statements. For example, just two-thirds of female coaches indicated they could “voice my opinions openly” in their departments, whereas 75% heterosexual males and 86% LGBTQ males did so. Note that the overall



pattern reveals that, regardless of sexual orientation, significantly higher percentages of male coaches than female coaches reported higher levels of involvement in their athletic departments. The implication is that male privilege (or concomitantly female disengagement) typifies gender relations with regard to involvement in departmental activities.

Table 39: Extent of Involvement with the Athletic Department, Current Coaches

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I am always included in athletics department social events and/or business meetings.	86%	81%	*
I am fully involved with the decision-making process that goes on in the Department of Athletics.	43%	36%	**
I can voice my opinions openly in my department.	76%	65%	***
I am frequently ignored or overlooked during department meetings.	12%	18%	**

*, .05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 40: Extent of Involvement with the Athletic Department, Current Coaches, by Sexual Orientation

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=531) Agree	Heterosexual Female (n= 842) Agree	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Agree	Sexual Minority Female (n=308) Agree	
I am always included in athletics department social events and/or business meetings.	87%	82%	71%	80%	*
I am fully involved with the decision-making process that goes on in the Department of Athletics.	43%	36%	21%	38%	**
I can voice my opinions openly in my department.	75%	66%	86%	66%	***
I am frequently ignored or overlooked during department meetings.	13%	18%	0%	16%	*

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x2)



Resources



Several survey questions assessed whether coaches believed they had sufficient department resources to succeed in their jobs. The overall results showed that many felt they did not. For example, while just under three-quarters of female and male coaches indicated they were allotted “sufficient office space given staffing and responsibilities” (72% and 69%, respectively), only about half felt they had a “sufficient budget to be successful” in their job (50% and 53%, respectively). See Table 41. A bottom-line summary of these findings is that a

substantial numbers of coaches of women’s sports felt they did not have adequate access to departmental resources. In addition, note that similar percentages of female and male coaches agreed with each statement, which suggests that the allocation of departmental resources may be more rooted in budgetary and management or institutional priorities between men’s and women’s sports rather than gender differences among coaches.

Finally, we examined how LGBTQ coaches perceived their access to departmental resources. The results in Table 42 (on following page) show that basically only about half of female coaches (regardless of sexual orientation) and heterosexual males agreed they had a “sufficient budget to be successful in my job.” Here the findings are fairly similar across the subgroups, with the exception of LGBTQ males, more of whom reported being satisfied with access to departmental resources. And we remind readers to consider the “flipside” of these percentages; i.e., if 51% of LGBTQ females and males agree they have “sufficient budget to be successful in their jobs,” it means that 49% feel they do not have sufficient budgets.

Table 41: Perceived Access to Departmental Resources: Current Coaches

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I have sufficient office space given staffing and responsibilities.	69%	72%	
I have the resources I need to be successful.	61%	58%	
My department invests resources in my professional development; e.g., release time, sending me to conferences.	60%	64%	
I have sufficient budget to be successful in my job.	53%	50%	

*,.05, **,01, ***,001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)

Table 42: Current Coaches' Perceptions of Access to Departmental Resources, by Sexual Orientation

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=531) Agree	Heterosexual Female (n= 842) Agree	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Agree	Sexual Minority Female (n=308) Agree	
I have sufficient office space given staffing and responsibilities.	69%	71%	86%	74%	***
I have the resources I need to be successful.	61%	59%	71%	59%	***
My department invests resources in my professional development; e.g., release time, sending me to conferences.	60%	63%	71%	66%	***
I have sufficient budget to be successful in my job.	53%	51%	64%	51%	*

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x2)



Job Security and Opportunity to Advance

Job security and the opportunity for professional advancement are key elements of successful careers. Two sets of Likert-type statements were used to measure the extent that coaches felt secure in their job and basically optimistic about promotion. We also tested whether their professional expectations and career goals varied significantly by gender, sexual orientation and race/ethnicity. Table 43 documents some gender differences in the responses. Table 43 shows that 36% of current female coaches believed their job security is “tenuous,” compared to 27% of male coaches. Significantly more women coaches than men coaches reported they were “assigned tasks that were not part of the job description” (46% vs. 36%). Nineteen percent of female coaches indicated that men coaches at their institution received “more professional development than women coaches,” compared with 9% of male coaches. Overall, substantial numbers of coaches had concerns about job security and promotion.

The results reported in Table 43 also provide insights into how the respondents view professional opportunities in their workplace. Twelve percent of female coaches believed they missed out on a job opportunity because they were women, compared to 40% of the male coaches.

Substantial percentages of male and female coaches (63% of males, but only 44% of females) indicated they would apply to a job coaching a men’s team if “they had a realistic chance of being hired.” Perhaps the key word here was “realistic” which is very much open to interpretation given the near monopoly of male coaches in men’s sports. Perhaps the male respondents felt they would have better odds due to their biological sex, whereas female respondents are well- appraised of women’s pervasive exclusion from the coaching ranks in men’s sports.

When the above findings were broken out by gender and sexual orientation, two observations emerged. See Table 44 on following page. First, regardless of sexual orientation, greater percentages of male coaches than their female counterparts reported that they “didn’t get a coaching job due to my gender;” i.e., 40% of heterosexual males and 27% of LGBTQ minority males. (It seems plausible to infer that, generally, the male coaches meant that they didn’t get a job in women’s sports. We discussed the issue of reverse discrimination earlier in this report. See pages 27 and 28.) We wonder why about one-quarter of female coaches and about one in five male coaches reported that their direct supervisor typically doesn’t conduct their annual performance evaluations. (Would

Table 43: Job Security and Opportunity to Advance, Current Coaches

	Current Coaches		sig.
	Male (n=564) Agree	Female (n=1,221) Agree	
I feel my job security is tenuous.	27%	36%	***
Men coaches at my institution receive more support for professional development than women coaches.	9%	19%	***
I have been assigned tasks that were not part of my job description.	36%	46%	***
In my department, I am able to gain support for what I need to be successful.	75%	69%	*
I would apply to coach a men’s team if I thought I had a realistic chance of being hired.	63%	44%	***
I did not get a coaching job due to my gender.	40%	12%	***
My direct supervisor typically does not conduct my annual performance evaluation.	17%	23%	**

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (2x2)



the percentages be the same among coaches of men’s sports?) Another finding worth highlighting is that 44% of female coaches said they’d “apply to coach a men’s team if they had a realistic chance of being hired,” while an even larger percentage of male coaches did so (i.e., 63%-71%). Some of these discrepancies may be related to female coaches’ beliefs that the doors of opportunity in men’s sports are basically closed to women or, to use another metaphor, that there are more hurdles to jump for women than men when it comes to competing for jobs in men’s sports. It might also be that more female coaches like their jobs and want to stay in women’s sports. Finally, it may be that so many male coaches think this way because women’s sports aren’t seen as a viable professional platform for entry into men’s sports.

Table 44: Job Security and Opportunity to Advance, Current Coaches, by Sexual Orientation

	Current Coaches				sig.
	Heterosexual Male (n=531) Agree	Heterosexual Female (n= 842) Agree	Sexual Minority Male (n=14) Agree	Sexual Minority Female (n=308) Agree	
I would apply to coach a men’s team if I thought I had a realistic chance of being hired.	63%	44%	71%	43%	***
I did not get a coaching job due to my gender.	40%	12%	27%	11%	***
My direct supervisor typically does not conduct my annual performance evaluation.	17%	22%	21%	22%	**

*,.05, **<.01, ***<.001 Significance levels are based on Chi-square tests of independence (4x2)

Conclusion

Several basic findings are supported by the data and statistical analyses. First, gender was the most powerful factor that shaped the workplace experiences and attitudes of coaches of women's sports. Claims of sexism and differential treatment toward women coaches are not cultural fictions or statistical flukes. Many female respondents in this survey expressed significantly greater concerns about Title IX and gender bias than their male colleagues. This overarching finding may seem counterintuitive for some readers; i.e., how can so many female coaches express concerns about inequality and bias when women's athletics have expanded so much in recent decades? Ironically one answer is that the growth of women's athletics since Title IX has been accompanied by a decline in the percentage of female coaches and increase in the percentage of male coaches; i.e., in 1972 90% of women's teams were women, but by 2014 only 43% of the coaches of women's teams were women. Put another way, the expansion of women's sports and teams under NCAA governance has resulted in more coaching positions for men than women. Additionally, men also monopolize coaching positions in men's sports, which basically means that they enjoy a dual-career path in intercollegiate coaching. In contrast, women coaches are almost entirely absent from coaching men's sports, as well as being underrepresented in the women's sports sector.

Our findings also show that gender bias is a common feature of the athletic and campus workplace and climate. Advocates for gender equity in the workplace of higher education and intercollegiate athletics probably find it distressing that more than 40 years after Title IX almost one-third of female coaches are afraid to raise Title IX concerns on their campuses.

The findings show that women's workplace experiences often differed from their male counterparts in relation to lack of opportunity, professional advancement, involvement in the department, access to resources, job security and professional mobility. Furthermore, that many female coaches (both heterosexual and LGBTQ coaches) reported instances of workplace bias undermines the assertion that women's complaints are the product of a few malcontents or "bad apples" rather than expressions of larger issues within the employment sector. That substantially more female coaches than male coaches identified discriminatory practices confirms that gender bias against women exists in many athletic departments and programs. Women's sports per se may be generally marginalized in relation to men's sports on many campuses, but gender bias appears to be salient inside many athletic departments.

Many coaches of women's sports, females more so than males, believe that women's sports are being shortchanged in relation to men's sports. After being instructed to remove football from their assessments, less than half of female coaches (43%), for example, felt that men's sports and women's sports were allotted equitable resources on their campuses. We uncovered many instances of what might be called a "gender divide" between the ways that female and male coaches of women's sports viewed their workplace. For example, 61% of male coaches believed that men and women coaches were "managed in similar ways" whereas only 35% of female coaches did so. Another noteworthy example in this context is that the percentage of female coaches who believed "men coaches are favored over women coaches" was six-times larger than that of their male colleagues—31% and 5%, respectively. Another pattern that was repeatedly evident was that, when compared with male coaches, more female coaches indicated that it was "easier for men" to get top-level jobs, to negotiate salary increases, to be promoted, to influence departmental decision making and to tap other professional advantages. And finally, many of these gender differences among coaches were more salient than differences based on race and ethnicity or sexual orientation.

Our statistical analyses uncovered very few significant relationships between race/ethnicity and gender bias. This does not mean that coaches of color in women's sports never encounter discriminatory practices or prejudices that pertain to gender bias in the workplace. Instead it suggests that they reported similar kinds and rates of gender bias in the workplace as did their white counterparts. More research is advisable in this area.

At different junctures of this report we compared the results of current coaches with those of former coaches of women's sports. Some comparisons suggested that expressions of gender bias are less prevalent today than during yesteryears. Among females, higher percentages of current coaches than former coaches, for example, agreed that they "felt comfortable going to administrators in my department with concerns about gender equity and Title IX" (66% and 43%, respectively). Similarly, more current female coaches (57%) than former coaches (43%) indicated they felt comfortable raising Title IX concerns with administrators "outside the athletic department." Optimistically, the differences between current and former coaches suggest that today more coaches feel comfortable raising Title IX concerns—i.e., progress has been made. More negatively, however, that so many current female coaches do not feel comfortable raising

Title IX issues with campus administrators shows that there is progress to be made. Also in this context, the findings evoked a key question with regard to workplace climate in colleges and universities: Why is it that more coaches expressed a reluctance to raise Title IX concerns with campus administrators than their department of athletics leaders? What are departments of athletics doing right to foster communication around gender equity and Title IX, and, in comparison, what are many university presidents and administrations not doing to foster communication pertaining to gender equity in sport? We appreciate calls by NCAA presidents to mobilize policy coordination across the historical divide between academic and athletic administrations (Emmert, 2016; Bailey & Littleton, 1991).

We also uncovered many differences in the ways that female coaches and male coaches perceive and experience their workplaces. There were frequent similarities between the workplace attitudes of heterosexual women and LGBTQ women, which in turn, differed significantly from the attitudes expressed by heterosexual and LGBTQ men. Put another way, women's perceptions of many workplace conditions and gender equity issues were uniform regardless of sexual orientation, and their views also differed from men's perceptions. On the other side of this gender divide, the attitudes of heterosexual and LGBTQ males were often

similar, and furthermore, they significantly differed from women's viewpoints. Our research also uncovered some racial and ethnic strains, pointing to the need to better understand what LaVoi (2016) calls "intersectional identities" in the college sport workplace. We do not claim to understand the complexity of these elements of gender relations or what some may consider to be counterintuitive alliances. One conclusion is clearly warranted by this research—gender bias remains a central component of the college sports workplace.



Evidence-Based Policy Recommendations

This research report provides evidence-based analyses of the workplace experiences and views of both female and male coaches of intercollegiate women's sports. The findings, when taken in their totality, suggest that while many women coaches perceive gender bias, fewer of their male counterparts recognize it. Based on the information from this report, these policy recommendations are meant to help coaches, athletic administrators and academic administrators better utilize college sports as an institutional vehicle for equitable participation and opportunity. The policy recommendations are also aimed at college presidents and chancellors, without whose support and leadership, the creation of meaningful change in the women's sports workplace is likely to be impeded. The policy recommendations were authored by Donna Lopiano, Ph.D., CEO, Sports Management Resources, and reviewed by a panel of coaches, athletic administrators, attorneys, scholars and gender equity experts.

Compensation

Recommendation 1:

Institutions of higher education should require their respective offices of human resources to regularly audit compensation practices of their athletic programs, comparing the compensation of males versus females and racial/ethnic minorities versus white employees, and compensation for LGBTQ individuals as opposed to heterosexuals in identical or comparable positions to ensure that differences in compensation are due to legitimate factors other than sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, race/ethnicity or disability.

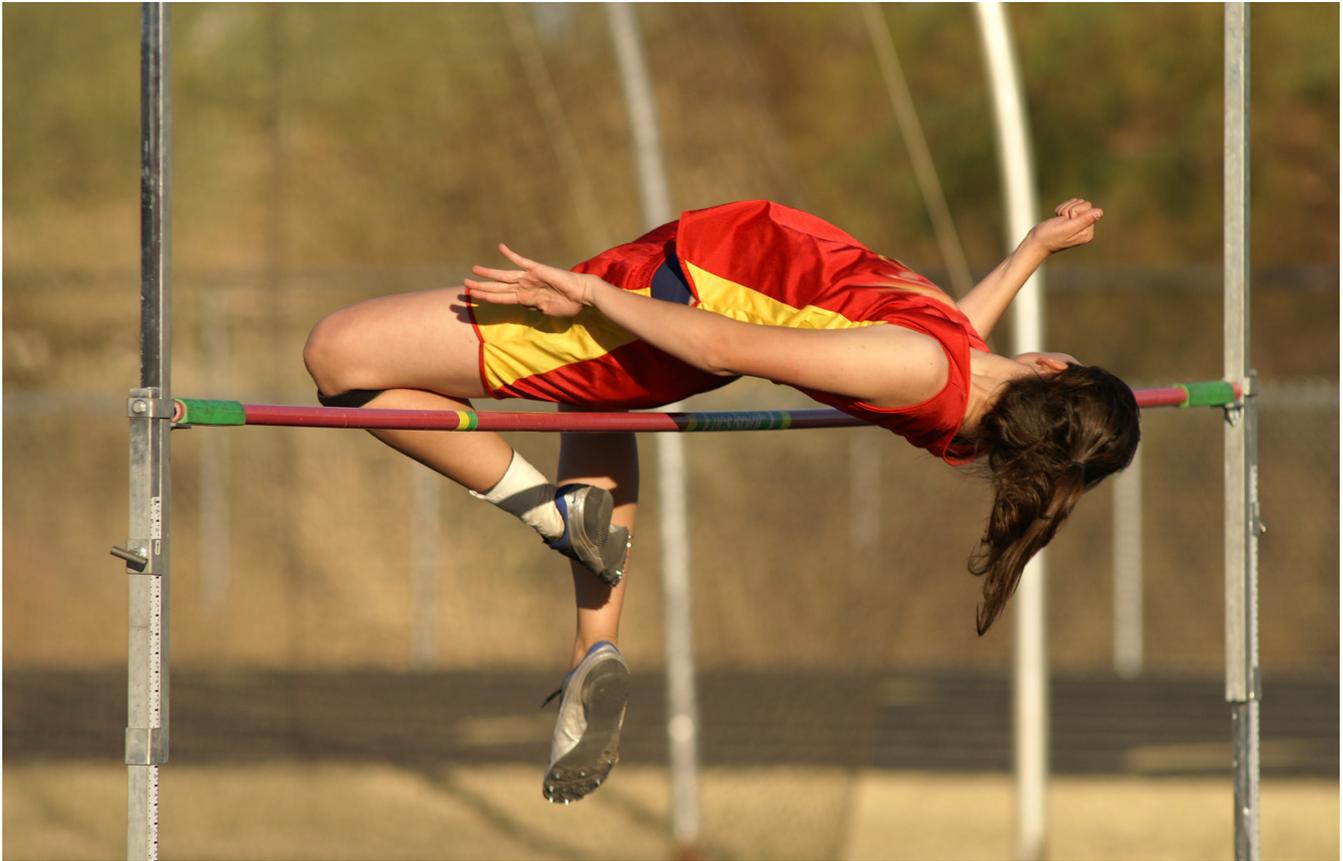
Recommendation 2:

Prior to the approval of compensation offers to new hires (including the provision of special benefits such as the use of courtesy cars, country club memberships, etc.) or increases in salary and benefits to current head or assistant coaches of athletic teams, the institutional Office of Human Resources should ensure that such offers meet standards established by the 1997 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Enforcement Guidance on Sex Discrimination in the Compensation of Sports Coaches in Educational Institutions (retrieve at: <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/coaches.html>).

Rationale: Collegiate athletic directors often enjoy lower levels of scrutiny for coach compensation decisions despite the fact that the sex-separate nature of athletic teams puts institutions at higher risk for differential treatment of male and female coaches contrary to legal requirements. This less-rigorous oversight is a function of one or more of the following factors:

1. the mistakenly belief that the athletic director is knowledgeable of applicable laws related to sex discrimination in employment²,
2. coaches' rates of pay are seldom included in collective bargaining agreements that traditionally cover higher education faculty and are carefully reviewed by legal counsel to ensure the use of gender-neutral criteria in the differentiation of pay categories and eligibility for pay increases,
3. requests for higher administration approval for compensation increases are presented as individual requests that can hide the existence of compensation patterns that are more favorable to male than female coaches overall or the discriminatory treatment of female coaches who may be less likely to receive multiyear employment agreements, bonuses, courtesy cars or other benefits;
4. again on an individual basis, athletic directors will often plead for an immediate decision in order to immediately hire a coach so as not to lose ground recruiting; such quick decisions often result in less scrutiny;

² Section 86.51 of Title IX prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in regards to employment. It specifically requires educational institutions to make employment decisions in a nondiscriminatory manner and prohibits the segregation or classification of applicants or employees in any way that could adversely affect applicants' or employees' employment opportunities or status because of sex. This includes decisions made with regard to rates of pay or any other form of compensation, or changes in compensation. In addition, the Equal Pay Act 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also prohibit compensation discrimination on the basis of gender. Title VII forbids discrimination because of sex against any individual in hiring or with respect to his/her compensation, terms, condition and privileges of employment. The Equal Pay Act prohibits employers from paying employees at a rate less than employees of the opposite sex at the same establishment for equal work on jobs that require the same skill, effort, and responsibility performed under the same conditions.



5. athletic directors may present marketplace justifications for higher compensation of male compared to female coaches that are inconsistent with Equal Employment Opportunity Commission directives specific to the employment of athletic coaches³; even many HR offices are unaware of such EEOC coach-specific rules; and
6. administrators making compensation decisions mistakenly believe that compensation and benefits funded by gifts from private donors, external foundations or so-called athletic department self-generated revenues need not comply with the same standards used for non-athletics employees.

³ In the fall of 1997, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued an example-filled directive, *Enforcement Guidance on Sex Discrimination in the Compensation of Sports Coaches in Educational Institutions, that specifically addressed athletic coaches' compensation equity. This directive interprets both Title VII and the Equal Pay Act as these laws relate to discriminatory employment situations frequently experienced by female coaches.*

Hiring and Promotion Practices

Recommendation 3:

All of the following model hiring and promotion policies and processes should be adopted to offset the hiring and promotion favoritism toward males that currently exists in male-dominated occupational fields such as collegiate athletics. Such standardized HR policies and procedures will produce more neutral outcomes with regard to sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, race/ethnicity and disability.

1. **Hiring Manager.** A Hiring Manager reporting to the Director of Human Resources should be responsible for ensuring that athletic department hiring processes conform to all legal and best-practice requirements. The Hiring Manager should be required to attend the first meeting of every athletic department search committee to (a) present data on the current compensation and representation of athletic department employees by sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, race/ethnicity and disability; (b) review the processes to be used by the search committee to meet EEOC standards; and (c) detail specifically prohibited practices. Committee members should be invited to contact the hiring

manager with any questions or concerns. With regard to presentation of data on current compensation and representation of minorities, percentage of male and female employees should be examined by hierarchy of position and should include the hiring practices of supervisors responsible for such hires in addition to aggregated data.⁴

2. **Succession Planning Lists.** All athletic department employees with hiring/supervisory responsibilities (usually senior administrative positions such as athletic director, associate and assistant athletic directors, senior women administrators, head coaches, program directors and other key professional (non-classified) positions) should be required to maintain succession planning lists for each position under their administrative jurisdiction, which shall include a minimum of three prospective applicants of color and three females.⁵ These lists should be reviewed annually as part of the hiring/supervisory employee's annual performance evaluation.

3. **Job Descriptions.** Job descriptions for coaching

4 Such data should be available to all department employees and be used as a tool to educate employees on the need to increase the representation of women, members of the LGBTQ community, racial/ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities. Such data also counters allegations of reverse discrimination. Data should be presented (1) in the aggregate (% of underrepresented groups among all employees, by hierarchy of position (% by senior staff, head coaches of men's and women's sports separately, assistant coaches of men's and women's sports separately, program directors and other professional positions, as well as secretarial/clerical) and (3) by hiring supervisor – the track record of each supervisor with hiring responsibilities. Data in the aggregate does not reveal issues such as supervisors with no or dismal records of minority hiring, minority employees dominating lower level positions and not being adequately represented among higher paying positions, or the absence of female coaches of men's sports.

5 It is common knowledge among Division I athletic directors that persons holding these positions carry an index card in their wallet with the top 3-5 candidates they would go after if they ever lost their head football or men's basketball coach. Because these positions are of high priority for success, aggressive marketplace pursuit of possible applicants rather than a consideration of only those individuals who may apply is the rule rather than the exception. These lists are also important because part of the motivation for maintaining them is the realization that timely replacement of head coaches is necessary to retain recruiting competitiveness. If correcting the underrepresentation of women, members of the LGBTQ community, racial/ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities is important, these systems must be adopted for all coaching and other significant professional positions in which these minorities are underrepresented. Such a succession planning requirement removes the most common excuse for not hiring underrepresented minorities: reliance on paper applications with no aggressive marketplace recruiting of applicants and a resulting "no minority candidates applied."

positions of men's and women's programs in the same sport and the same financial support tier must be identical unless appropriate gender-neutral justification can be presented. Federal law requires that coaches of the same quality be provided to male and female athletes. The position description serves as part of the employee's contract and determines employee accountability. When part of an employment contract, the manager can expect the employee to perform only the duties that are listed on the job description. An approved position description should exist for every employee in the athletic department. The Hiring Manager should be responsible for reviewing existing positions and approving position descriptions for new hires to ensure that they accurately describe position expectations. The athletic director should be responsible for developing all position descriptions. The position description should include the following elements:

- Title of the position
 - Supervisor—who the position reports to
 - Overall purpose of the position
 - Employees supervised by this position
 - Inclusive list of primary responsibilities, including supervisory responsibilities
 - Education and other formal certification requirements
 - Experience required and preferred at a specific competency level
 - Essential functions of the position (for ADA purposes)
4. **Salary Range and Compensation Elements.** The athletic director should be required to designate minimum limits of salary, benefits and compensation to be offered for each open position, which should conform to institutional policy; be based on: (1) minimum required educational preparation (degrees, coaching certification), (2) minimum required experience (years of coaching experience), (3) minimum expectations of coaching success (ranking in conference, qualification for post-season play, etc.), (4) scope of basic coaching duties (percentage of team recruited vs. walk-on players, local vs. national or international recruiting, supervision of large staff of assistants), and (5) assigned duties above basic coaching duties (fundraising, public speaking, teaching classes); and indicate the top of the salary range the institution is prepared to offer based on applicant credentials that exceed minimum expectations. The salary range for coaching positions of men's and women's programs in the same sport

and the same financial support tier⁶ should be identical. Any difference in marketplace salaries actually offered must be based on the experience and qualifications of the person, not the sex of the athletic team, and shall be consistent with EEOC 1997 Enforcement Guidance on Sex Discrimination in the Compensation of Sports Coaches in Educational Institutions.

5. Search Committee Requirements.

- a. **Positions.** A search committee should be required for every non-classified (clerical, administrative nonprofessional) position in the following categories:
 - Athletic director
 - Senior staff members—associate and assistant athletic directors
 - Head coaches
 - Program directors
 - Other professional positions designated by the athletic director
- b. **Appointment.** The athletic director, in consultation with the Senior Woman Administrator and Faculty Athletic Representative or chair of the intercollegiate athletic council, should appoint the search committee.
- c. **Composition.** The members of the search committee should include the following individuals:
 - The direct supervisor of the position
 - A limited number of athletic department employees whose jobs will be most affected by the new hire
 - If applicable, non-campus, non-athletic personnel whose responsibilities intersect with the position
 - Members of the faculty who are members of the intercollegiate athletic council and/

⁶ Many athletic programs do not treat sports equally with regard to financial support and expectations for success. Priority sports are provided with a higher level of resources (i.e., scholarships, recruiting budgets, salaries for head and assistant coaches, etc.). Title IX requires that the proportion of male and female athletes in each tier (benefitting from the same treatment and benefits) be equal. Title IX does not require equal treatment of males and females competing in the same sport (i.e., men's and women's basketball) if, for example, the overall athletic program is equal as between women and men. Thus, a school can choose to place men's basketball in the highest tier and women's basketball in the lowest tier while placing women's volleyball in the highest tier and men's volleyball in the lowest tier as long as the proportion of male and female participants (not teams) in each tier are equal.

or tenured faculty⁷, the number, gender and race/ethnicity of whom shall result in a search committee consisting of a majority of underrepresented minorities

- The Chair of the Search Committee should be a tenured faculty member

In addition, if the position is directly involved with providing services to student-athletes, a student-athlete should be appointed. If the position is of high visibility or interest to the alumni or community, consideration should be given to appointing representatives of external stakeholders. A majority of members of the search committee should be institutional employees.

- d. **Record of Meetings.** The Chair of the Committee shall be responsible for producing the minutes of all search committee meetings, which shall include detailed reasons that candidates are not selected or are selected over others.
- e. **Function.** The responsibility of the search committee is to provide a ranked list of applicants to the supervisor responsible for hiring the new employee, who, in consultation with the athletic director, shall be responsible for selecting the person to be offered the position.
- f. **Operating Procedures.** At its initial meeting, the search committee shall be required to do the following:
 - Review the position description and placement of advertising
 - Review and, if necessary, add to the succession list of the supervisor of the position
 - Review policies and procedures related to the hiring process
 - Agree on the minimum number of minority applicants (women, members of the LGBTQ community, racial/ethnic minorities and people with disabilities) in the applicant pool required prior to closure of applications
 - Create a schedule of meetings
 - Establish deadlines for reading application folders
 - Create a timetable for finalist interviews
 - Agree on interview questions for references from a draft of such questions prepared

⁷ The power and influence of the athletic director on many college campuses is considerable. There should be a majority of the search committee who are independent (i.e., not employed by the athletic department) and whose employment cannot be affected by their decisions (i.e., tenured faculty).

by the supervisor for the position to be hired and noting that only the supervisor is authorized to contact references

- Agree on interview questions to be asked of all candidates from a draft of such questions prepared by the supervisor for the position to be hired
- Review the rating sheet to be used to review candidate applications and the rating summary sheet to be submitted to the hiring manager⁸

7. **Commitment to EEOC Procedures and State Laws Where Applicable.** The Hiring Manager shall ensure, through review of Search Committee minutes and rating summaries, that the Search Committee is engaging in practices fully consistent with the institution's obligation to follow Equal Employment Opportunity Commission policies and procedures. For any position in which females, members of the LGBTQ community, racial/ethnic minorities or people with disabilities are underrepresented, the Hiring Manager [or HR director] shall not approve an athletic department request for an exception under the emergency hire provisions of such policy because of recruiting or other needs.⁹ This prohibition shall not preclude temporary appointments to fill the position for a period that shall not exceed three months to ensure that the critical functions of the program are performed during a search process.
8. **Posting the Position.** The athletic director or his/her designee should be responsible for creating the short and long forms of the position posting in consultation with the institution's office of human resources and should be responsible for developing an advertising list that ensures outreach to underrepresented populations with athletic-related credentials. If necessary, the search committee or hiring manager shall suggest additional distribution outlets. All postings and distribution of the official position description used during the hiring process should include the institution's equal opportunity employment statement as provided by the institution's office of human resources. All applicants should be required to submit at least three references and a resume as well as complete the required institutional employment application form. Position opening announcements and position descriptions should be

⁸ A commitment to a documented unbiased application review process by the search committee is critical. Too often, search committees are not convened for coaching and other professional positions, thereby relegating decision-making to athletic director (80% male) or the athletic director and a small group of athletics senior staff, usually majority male.

⁹ Athletic departments often use these emergency hire provisions to evade requirements for extensive position posting and advertising and the use of search committees.



sent to all prospective employees on the succession list of the position's supervisor and other potential applicants identified by the search committee.

9. **Aggressive Marketplace Recruiting.** Aggressive marketplace recruiting through personal solicitation (telephone calls and in-person visits) with qualified individuals by the position supervisor or others should be required and is an especially important process to ensure a sufficient number of underrepresented minorities in the applicant pool. However, those engaged in such solicitation should be cautioned never to convey that a candidate will get the job if the candidate decides to apply or that the candidate will enjoy an application or interview process that is not equal for all other position applicants.
10. **Commitment to Minority Finalists.** A policy should be established that a minimum number of qualified minority applicants to participate in the finalist in-person interview pool.

Fair, Non-Discriminatory Treatment

Recommendation 4:

Key to the perception and reality of fair treatment and rewarding work environment is the establishment of policies and processes governing orientation to workplace operation systems and policies, clear communication of performance expectations, regular and constructive performance evaluation and a standardized and sound approach to addressing performance concerns for all new employees. The athletic director and all athletic department employees with hiring and supervisory responsibilities should be required to participate in a

training program conducted by the institution's office of human resources that specifically addresses these policies and processes as well as legal obligations related to prohibited discriminatory practices.

Recommendation 5:

The following model HR policies and systems applicable to all coaches and all employees should be adopted by athletic departments:

1. All new employees should receive a one-on-one orientation to office operations (copiers, supplies, IT, HR basics, pay process, etc.) and introductions to co-workers by the office manager or other designated employee.
2. All new employees should receive a one-on-one policy orientation to include a comprehensive review of the department policy manual and staff conduct policies. In addition, post-orientation, such critical policies should be annually reviewed at staff meetings, including the rights of employees to file complaints, how to file such complaints and retaliation/whistle-blower protections.
3. All employees should receive an updated position description each year, which includes the title of the position, who the position reports to, overall purpose of the position, employees supervised by the position, an inclusive list of primary responsibilities, performance outcomes expected, required and preferred education and other formal certification requirements, and required and preferred experience requirements at specific competency levels.
4. All employees should receive an annual appointment letter or multiyear contract indicating terms of employment. If multiyear employment agreements are offered, they should be equally available to employees in comparable positions without regard to sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, race/ethnicity or disability.
5. Every employee should receive a formal annual performance evaluation conducted by the employee's supervisor using a common evaluation instrument applicable to all employees and including measurable objectives consistent with the employee's job description. The annual performance evaluation should also include and document a discussion of compensation, promotion and eligibility for multiyear employment contracts, including the conditions required for each, recommendations for professional development and actions to be taken by the employee to pursue such development, and the anticipated timeframe for the completion of such actions. The annual evaluation should also include a discussion of whether changes need to be made in the official position description and a request

for employee suggestions for improving his or her program area, or generally, the athletic department.

6. Every head and assistant coach should be annually evaluated by their respective student-athletes according to a standard instrument used for all coach employees. The evaluation should not require the student-athlete to identify himself or herself and should be administered by the coach's immediate supervisor with appropriate common prefacing remarks used by all supervisors on the importance of objective and considered evaluations.
7. Every coach should be annually observed in practice and competition settings by his or her supervisor with formal written suggestions for improvement and acknowledgement of model teaching performance.
8. Concerns with the performance of any coach should be immediately addressed and handled according to the principle of "gradual escalation"¹⁰ using performance improvement plans, noting that instances of serious misconduct are exceptions that should be handled with immediate corrective action.

Rationale: The absence of model HR policies or their selective and discriminatory application is the most common cause of perceptions and the actuality of unfair and biased treatment. These detailed policies and practices protect supervisors from unfair allegations and employees from unfair treatment.

Title IX Gender Equity Requirements

Recommendation 6:

Institutional policies, complaint, and investigation procedures and remedies should be consistent with policies and processes required by the Office for Civil Rights. Institutions of higher education should ensure that their Title IX Compliance Officer (a position required by federal law) receives training in Title IX athletics, sexual harassment and sex discrimination (including pregnancy) requirements and is not an athletic department employee (in order to prevent any conflict of interest in the investigation of any Title IX complaint).

Recommendation 7:

Institutions of higher education should adopt a confidentiality policy with regard to protection of the identity of employees reporting gender equity concerns and include an option for anonymous complaints. The Title IX Compliance Officer should be required to annually meet with all athletic department employees to review Title IX gender equity requirements, explain prohibitions related to retaliation, detail procedures to be used to express gender equity concerns and convey institutional policy related to confidentiality regarding the identity of those who express concerns.

Recommendation 8

Institutions of higher education should require their Title IX Compliance Officer to conduct (or cause an independent, expert third party to conduct) a comprehensive Title IX athletics program assessment at least once every three years. A detailed written and timetabled plan to address correction of identified deficiencies in the equal treatment of male and female athletes should be required. Such Title IX total athletic program assessment should be publicly reported and distributed to all athletic department employees for review, with instructions on who to contact for further information or any gender equity concerns.

Rationale: Title IX athletics assessments require total program comparisons – the treatment of all female athletes compared to the treatment of all male athletes – related to participation, competition levels, the provision of financial aid based on athletic ability and numerous other treatment and benefits areas. In other words, a comparison of the men’s and women’s basketball programs is not a proper analysis. Further, with the exception of athletics-related financial aid, the analysis is qualitative rather than based on budgetary expenditures. In addition, the analysis may be complex if the athletic program places the same men’s and women’s sports in different financial tiers with regard to higher- and lower-priority sports. Coaches simply do not have access to total program information or knowledge of Title IX requirements to conduct such an analysis. That being said, a pattern of significantly different budgets (per capita expenditures) favoring men or women in the same sports should be considered a “red flag” indicator of the need for a more careful total program equity analysis. The NCAA has created the Institutional Performance Program (IPP), which is a database that provides useful information needed for a diversity and gender equity review. Along with the EADA, the IPP is a tool that institutions should use for their reviews.

Recommendation 9:

Title IX requires that male and female athletes be provided with the same quality coaches. Athletic

departments should carefully examine current practices regarding provision of financial support for coaches to engage in professional development activities, such as attendance at clinics, coaches conferences, national sport governing body or coaching association licensing or certification programs, etc., to ensure the equal treatment of coaches of male and female teams and male and female coaches.

Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Issues

Recommendation 10:

The following policies related to sexual orientation and gender identity should be adopted by athletic departments, consistent with general institutional policies that prohibit sexual harassment and discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. These policies should apply to all employees and students. The Office of Civil Rights has ruled that Title IX also includes sexual orientation and gender identity, thus there is a legal basis for the following recommendations.

1. No athletic department employee, athlete, parent, fan or athletic activity attendee should harass or threaten (including by the use of anti-LGBTQ slurs, comments, or chants, pushing or shoving, signage, graffiti, etc.) any coach, athlete or team on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. Such actions on the part of athletic department employees shall constitute serious professional misconduct, which may result in the immediate suspension or termination of employment. Such actions on the part of student-athletes representing the institution shall constitute serious misconduct, which may result in immediate suspension or removal from a team and/or loss of athletics financial assistance. Athletic department employees attending athletics events at which parents, fans or other attendees engage in such harassment shall take whatever actions are necessary to restore a safe educational environment, shall report such incidences to the Title IX compliance officer and shall inform any coach or student-athlete who is the victim of such harassment of their right to and procedures for initiation of a formal complaint to institutional or other authorities as specified in the institution’s Title IX sexual harassment policy.
2. The athletic department shall annually distribute and review at staff and student-athlete meetings the institution’s gender equity and sexual harassment policies. Such policies and complaint procedures shall also be posted in all locker rooms.
3. Athletic department non-discrimination policies should specifically prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in the department and on teams. Such policies should include the following specific provisions:

- a. Coaches and athletes of all sexual orientations should be able to openly identify themselves if they choose to without fear of negative consequences (loss of job, scholarship, starting position; negative performance evaluation; dropped from team).
 - b. Coaches and athletes of all sexual orientations and gender identities should be welcomed to bring spouses/partners to department or team functions when other athletes or coaches are invited to bring their spouses/partners, and inclusive language should be utilized to acknowledge the possibility that same-sex/same-identity partners may attend.
 - c. Partnership benefits available to heterosexual coaches and other department personnel should also be available to coaches and staff with other sexual orientations or gender identities.
 - d. A coach's or athlete's sexual orientation or gender identity should not be a factor in determining their eligibility for teams, coaching positions, or athletic or academic honors or awards.
 - e. Coaches or athletes should be allowed to participate in community or college LGBTQ social, educational or political events or organizations without fear of reprisal.
4. The athletic department should be committed to regularly offering educational programs and athlete and employee policy handbook or other publications with content supporting inclusivity and an athletic department culture that is welcoming and respectful to all athletes and students. Such programming and content should include:
- a. staff development programs for coaches and other support staff on addressing homophobia and transphobia in athletics;
 - b. educational programs for athletes that address homophobia and transphobia and include departmental policies addressing anti-gay and gender identity discrimination;
 - c. a directory of school- or community-based counseling, and LGBTQ social and educational groups; and
 - d. the existence of local or state statutes that enable discrimination against members of the LGBTQ community.

Involvement in the Workplace

Recommendation 11:

Acknowledging that decision-making authority is vested in senior administrators rather than coaches, athletic directors should consider the adoption of staff meeting policies that enable all coaches to provide input and openly voice opinions about major athletic department decisions. The purposeful addition of such a regular staff meeting practice will do much to eliminate fears that some coaches have special access to decision-makers while others do not.

Governance

Recommendation 12:

National athletic governance associations should require member institutions to undertake a periodic certification program or other third-party peer review of the operation, processes and policies of its member institution athletic programs to ensure compliance with legal requirements and best practices, including the employment and compensation of coaches. If deficiencies are identified, they should be remedied within a time certain or constitute cause for institutional penalties, including ineligibility for post-season championships or revocation of membership. Evaluation against specific standards, which describes the purpose of certification or accreditation program, requires significant retrieval and analysis of data in order to address trends and patterns over time. Such longer-term analysis is much better suited to address such issues as hiring practices, compensation practices and compliance with federal civil rights laws related to equal opportunity and treatment of underrepresented minorities. The recommendations offered in this section should be adopted as standards to be examined by such certification program.

Recommendation 13:

National and conference athletic governance organizations should require that member institution athletic programs must establish policies that require a minimum number of qualified minority applicants to participate in finalist in-person interview pool for all coaching positions.

Appendix: Methods and Data Analyses

The nationwide survey of coaches was based on a population of current and former intercollegiate coaches that the Women's Sport Foundation and NCAA Gender Equity Task Force has on file. Roughly 7,730 coaches were included within these files; all of the coaches on file were invited to participate in the study. Among the coaches who responded, 2,219 were current coaches, while 326 were former coaches. Accordingly, the response rate for this survey was 33%.

The online survey that was administered to coaches between August 25th through September 25th of 2015 included 31 questions on socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, income, sexual orientation) and a battery of items designed to measure workplace experiences and perceptions. All respondents were notified via e-mail and requested to participate in the online survey. They were informed about the purpose of the study and conditions regarding confidentiality and anonymity. The survey took respondents approximately

20 minutes to complete. Please contact Don Sabo at donsabo3@gmail.com for a copy of the survey instrument and other questions regarding data collection.

For the current report the responses of 2,219 current intercollegiate coaches of women's sports and 326 former intercollegiate coaches of women's sports were used in the statistical analyses. All bivariate analyses used chi-square tests of independence, and significant differences at the $p < .05$, $.01$, and $.001$ were highlighted. It should be noted that sample sizes vary across analyses due to missing data from some respondents. Please contact Philip Veliz at pveliz@umich.edu for any additional information regarding the statistical analyses.



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