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# An historical analysis of women's emergence into intercollegiate athletic leadership: Eastern Michigan University, a case study

Cheyenne Luzynski

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An Historical Analysis of Women's Emergence into Intercollegiate  
Athletic Leadership: Eastern Michigan University, A Case Study

by  
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Dissertation

Submitted to the College of Education

Eastern Michigan University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Educational Leadership

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## Abstract

The implementation of Title IX has increased women's participation rates in intercollegiate athletics tenfold, yet women's representation in athletic leadership remains marginal compared to men. As such, the purpose of this study was to understand the social construction of gender as it relates to intercollegiate athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University. The study explored the history of sporting activities as a mechanism to shape and perpetuate masculine and feminine culture. These values (i.e., competitiveness and cooperativeness) were institutionalized in higher education as sex-segregated physical education and athletic functions. This historical case study applied organizational and institutional theory analyzing the institutional, task, and cultural environments of men's and women's intercollegiate athletics. Men and women managed distinct athletic production functions reassured by the greater cultural environment and legitimized by regulatory bodies in the institutional environment. Changes imposed from Title IX in the institutional environment were met with opposition from the cultural environment. The task environment, however, supported the male model of intercollegiate athletics and absorbed women's athletics as mandated by Title IX. Therefore, the majority of women athletic leaders remained in alignment with their positions as congruent to the dominant cultural environment and thus created a vacuum of coaches and administrators who once were occupying 90% of women athletic leadership. The task environment, which supported a technical core of producing competitive games, filled coaching appointments for the women's program. Today, the cultural environment accepts participation of women in sports, yet women as intercollegiate athletic leaders still confront resistance from the cultural environment. This research provides a new perspective to women in sport while affirming the power of culture on our athletic institutions.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The Education Amendment of 1972, Title IX, prohibited sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal financial assistance (Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, 1972). No person on the basis of sex was to be excluded from participation in any educational program or activity (Hepler, 2013). Although Title IX was intended to promote equal opportunity for women in medical and law school, an unintended consequence to the amendment involved students' access to interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics (Wushanley, 2004; Suggs, 2005). Title IX radically changed the playing field for women and girls. Acosta and Carpenter (2014) documented the numbers of women participating, coaching, and supervising in athletics since the inception of Title IX to capture the growth of female sport participation and the decline of women matriculating to head coaching positions and athletic administration. Given the nature of intercollegiate athletics, its prominence as an American cultural institution, and the limited role and representation of women in leadership positions (R. A. Smith, 1990; Acosta & Carpenter, 2014), the need to examine the phenomenon of women's participation in sport became evident.

Over the past 42 years, women have pursued sport participation opportunities at an increasing rate. Prior to Title IX, only 29,997 women participated in college athletics, compared to 170,384 men, whereas today the number of women exceeds 200,000 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Statistics show a 904% increase for women student athletes and a record number of women's sport sponsorship in college (National Collegiate Athletic Association Gender and Equity Report, 2012; Wilson, 2012). The popular notion of "if you build it, they will come" has boosted female student athlete representation to 43.6% of all National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) student athletes (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; NCAA Gender and Equity

Report, 2016). However, although opportunities have increased for both sexes, more male athletes still compete in intercollegiate sports, largely because of football, which carries up to 85 scholarships per team (NCAA Scholarships and Grants, 2018). Although participation numbers are moving closer to parity, this parity has been largely attributed to cuts in nonrevenue-generating men's sports (Helper, 2013). Movement toward equitable numbers cannot entirely be attributed to increases in women participation because men's sport opportunities have been controlled for proportional percentages (Carroll & Humphreys, 2000). Women's teams now have the highest number of NCAA sport sponsorships per institution, taking advantage of greater diversity in sport opportunities (Acosta & Carpenter 2014). However, some have suggested that advancement since Title IX has been more of an attempt to comply with policies than a quest for equity (Hogshead-Maker & Zimbalist, 2007; Suggs, 2002). Thus, the need to follow policies has in fact not altered the culture of the athletic enterprise.

Although Title IX rules have narrowed the participation gap between men and women athletes, the gender gap remains for athletic leadership positions. Among the 350 NCAA Division I member institutions, women hold only 10.5% of the athletics director positions (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; NCAA Gender and Equity Report, 2016). Further, Lumpkin, Dodd, and McPherson (2014) found these numbers were more pronounced in schools that sponsored football. In terms of the percentages of women serving as athletics directors in the three subdivisions of NCAA Division I football, women held 6.3% of the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) athletics directorships; in the Football Championship Subdivision (FCS), 11.3% of the athletic directors were women; however, in athletic directorships at nonfootball-sponsoring schools, 15.6% were women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). In addition, as the number of women

participants increased, the number of women in leadership positions remained stark in comparison.

Many more playing opportunities are available to women today; however, the number of women in coaching leadership is markedly fewer than numbers before Title IX. Historically, administrative leaders in athletics have been drawn from the ranks of coaches. However, Acosta and Carpenter (2014) noted the number of women coaches has lagged behind the number of male coaches. In fact, in 1972, more than 90% of women's sport teams were coached by women; in 2016, women held only 40.2% of head coaching positions for women's teams (NCAA Gender and Equity Report, 2016). Men coached a majority of women's sports, but only 2% to 3.5% of men's sports had women serving as head coaches (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). In addition, in situations where women coached men's teams, the men's teams frequently practiced with the women's teams—for example, in track and field—or their sports were labeled “minor,” reflecting the secondary status of administrative and fan support (Kane & Stangl, 1991, p. 21). Women rarely if ever coach “high profile” or revenue-generating male sports teams, such as football and basketball (Kane & Stangl, 1991). Recently, a few women have garnered attention as coaches, referees, and broadcasters in the professional sports scene (Feldman, 2016). These pioneers include Becky Hammon, assistant coach for the Spurs basketball team; Nancy Lieberman, assistant coach for the Kings basketball team; and Jen Welter, assistant coach intern for the Cardinals football team (Feldman, 2016). Male coaches continue to dominate coaching positions, coaching a third more women's teams and 40 times more men's teams than do women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

With women coaching fewer than half of all women's intercollegiate sport teams, and with women marginally represented in administrative roles, women have little decision-making

power. Although Acosta and Carpenter (2014) noted some signs of improvement for women entering intercollegiate athletic support roles, the rate at which women have gained leadership positions has not kept pace with the acceleration of women's participation in sports. In fact, an overall decline in the number of women leading athletic departments and women's teams is evident since Title IX (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Exploring the phenomenon of this disparity and decline has provided insight into my own experiences as a woman in intercollegiate athletic leadership.

### **The Researcher's Experience**

As I grew up in rural Michigan, southwest of Lansing, my childhood was steeped in outdoor play and games. I was the only girl among a group of boys on my country road. We participated in organized yard games of baseball, football, basketball, and dark tag. Being a girl was never a barrier for playing sports, and I was one of two girls who played Little League until middle school. My mother often shared stories of her childhood dreams to play on sports teams and compete like the boys; however, she had been denied the opportunity. At the time, she did not understand why she could not participate; however, she encouraged me to pursue those opportunities. I was a three-sport athlete throughout high school, earning state and regional recognition in volleyball, basketball, and track and field. In college, I wanted to maintain my athletic identity and was able to do so by playing volleyball. Participating in sports was central to who I was and what I loved.

When I graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in psychology, with an interest in counseling, I considered my playing days and connection to sports ended. However, the opportunity to be an assistant volleyball coach at a nearby NCAA Division III college changed that trajectory. I was a young woman just out of college, and considered this position temporary

until I decided what I was going to do with my life. Surprisingly, I realized that coaching and working in athletics could become a profession. I stayed for six years, beginning as an assistant coach in volleyball, men's basketball, and track and field, eventually becoming a head volleyball coach and assistant athletic director. Although I thought coaching would be a short stint prior to entering graduate school, the position became a permanent fixture in my life.

I was the only woman in a small athletic department and the newest member of the veteran staff. I quickly realized that being the only woman provided some privilege and access to certain opportunities—at first. I felt accepted by my male colleagues, and they appeared to enjoy having me around. I played basketball at lunch (noonball) and went on regular runs with the football and softball coaches and two exercise health science faculty members. They shared with me the wisdom and knowledge they had gained from working at the college and in athletics for over 20 years. Being the only woman sometimes made me feel special, but I often wondered why more women were not coaching. I enjoyed working in athletics for its casual work environment. Everyone was responsible for his or her “success” and worked as hard as necessary to maintain a competitive program. I personally attempted to maintain a competitive team while preparing the student athletes for success beyond their sport and schooling. This coaching philosophy was recognized and respected among my peers. Not only did my athletes benefit from my approach, but others—particularly football players—came to my office for advice. I often found myself offering advising not available to student athletes from any other sources in the department.

Being the only woman, I was able to serve on hiring committees and other committees that required an athletics representative. I also appeared as the female delegate for athletics at alumni and donor events. My innocence quickly faded as my responsibilities shifted from coaching to administration. After two years of coaching volleyball, basketball, and track and

field, I was offered a promotion to assistant athletic director and head coach. I had recently been offered a job at another university, and I suspected this offer was prompted by administrators' desire to retain the only woman in the department. At 25 years old, I accepted the offer and committed to my first administrative position working in college athletics. In addition to serving as head coach and assistant athletic director, I assumed other titles and roles, including senior women's administrator (SWA), compliance officer, and Student Athlete Advisory Committee (SAAC) advisor.

As the only woman, I was sought out to represent the department to internal and external stakeholders of the college. Although it was enjoyable work, I often had the sense I was being used. Although I was in an administrative role and often served as the face of the department, I was not given any real leadership responsibility. I was left out of many athletics oversight meetings with the president and vice president of the institution. I was not invited into conversations and decisions regarding budgets and hiring contracts. I questioned what was actually happening. I experienced cognitive dissonance between my understanding of my leadership role and my actual activities and began to feel like an outsider in my own department. My role was largely social and relational; I was excluded from decisions that affected the direction of the department. In my opinion, I should have been serving as an administrator representing women's athletics.

I began to question the authenticity of my role and purpose in the department. I became disenfranchised with my position as an administrator and wondered if I made a difference as a leader. I wondered whether I would ever obtain a position wherein I could participate in substantial decision making that would prepare me to be an athletic director. Awareness of the data on women in leadership motivated me to look at my own experience and wonder if other

women had had similar experiences as athletic administrators. I wondered if examining this phenomenon would help me understand why few women are found in leadership positions. This is what motivated me to study gender equity in athletic leadership.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to explore the social construction of gender roles as viewed and understood through leadership in intercollegiate athletics at an institution of higher education with origins in normal education. In this project, I studied the institutionalization of athletics in higher education in order to gain insight into reasons for the lack of women in leadership occurring despite the increase in women's participation in intercollegiate athletics. Specifically, as an illustrative case, I examined Eastern Michigan University (EMU), formally Michigan State Normal School (MSNS). In spite of having been founded as a normal school with a majority female student population, its intercollegiate leadership structure has historically been dominated by men. The inspiration behind this research stemmed from my own experiences as a female administrator, head coach, and assistant coach of a men's sport in intercollegiate athletics as well as my examination of the growing body of literature. Researchers have a tendency to research events they have witnessed, experienced, or internalized (Denzin, 1997). Therefore, my decision to study the institutionalization of athletics for women and men resonated on both a personal level and on a professional level as I sought to fill gaps in the literature.

As an educational leader with influence on future practitioners and leaders, I needed to understand the organizations I served. Authentic and effective leadership is more easily exercised when leaders understand how culture and values are formed and preserved within their organizations (Schein, 2004). Examining the past and the evolutionary nature of college sports informed my broader notion of current organizational behavior. I studied and analyzed such



functions and operations through an institutional and organizational perspective to make sense of current practices. Thus, examining institutions in the process of forming and evolving over time allowed me to extrapolate the “organizational biases that underlie their manifestation and remain embedded in current practice” (Flowers, 2006, p. 347). Studying history informed my current understanding of men and women’s leadership in college sports by revealing the “patterns of action” that have become institutionalized in college athletics. I began this inquiry with an exploration of the history of intercollegiate athletics to understand the broader context and foundations for athletic leadership at EMU. As an illustrative case study, I analyzed the historical development of college athletics and the social construction of gender roles as they evolved at EMU, a school with roots in normal education. EMU presented a unique case in which women represented the majority of students, and preparing teachers was the primary function of the institution.

From my experiences as an athlete and head coach, and as an aspiring educational leader, I examined the social structures of the organization to explore the phenomenon of gender norms, roles, and attitudes in athletic leadership. Exploring how culture became embedded into institutional structures shed light on my experiences in the context of the phenomenon. Throughout this process, I aimed to be a skilled and competent researcher, applying methods and practices that enhanced my abilities as a leader, educator, and scholar. Discoveries from this research have taught me the importance of analyzing and challenging my own assumptions. As an educational leader and leadership educator, I inspire others to examine the structures, policies, and procedures in a critical or concerned way. As an academic scholar, I intend this study to represent the beginning of a long research journey that will make contributions to the fields of higher education, athletics, and leadership.

## Background of the Study

The rates of women entering intercollegiate athletics have mirrored increases of women entering other job markets, with a similar underrepresentation at the top (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Women may constitute half the workforce but are seldom found leading in Congress, statehouses, media, executive boardrooms, universities, and most important for the purpose of this study, intercollegiate athletics (Lumpkin et al., 2014). Acker (1990) argued, “Organizational structure is not gender neutral; on the contrary, assumptions about gender underlie the documents and contracts used to construct organizations” (p. 1). Institutional barriers reinforced over time have in fact hindered the advancement of women in political, corporate, academic, and athletic organizations (Keller, 1999; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). Eagly and Karau (2002) suggested that obstacles have debilitated women’s aspirations and careers. Acker (2006) related this phenomenon to *organizational genderedness*, stating that gender was not an addition to ongoing processes but an integral part of organizational processes, a subset of the overall culture in which the organization is embedded.

According to Acker (1992), gender inequity has been a part of institutions of higher education since the origins of higher education. Men have been the major beneficiaries of higher education systems and athletics environments (Acker, 1992). Some researchers have attributed the slow advancement of women to leadership roles to the glass-ceiling effect, reinforced by the stereotypical belief that men are more qualified to lead (Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, in recent years, researchers have supported a valuable critique of the glass-ceiling phenomenon. Previous researchers have referred to the glass ceiling as an invisible barrier that inhibits women (or marginalized populations) from ascending to top-level leadership positions (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). This position indicates that as women move up the corporate ladder,

the discrimination becomes more significant and acts as an obstacle women must navigate. However, this interpretation of the glass-ceiling effect has tended to be politically generated. In fact, Jackson and O'Callaghan (2009) countered this argument to direct attention to the social actions taking place at lower-level positions, suggesting that *glass ceiling* was a misunderstood term. Complex forms, functions, and constructs of discrimination have been compressed into this single metaphor, the use of which may have been misguided and co-opted for particular political movements to address underrepresentation of women. Thus, the term *glass ceiling* has become a political and social concept related to discrimination of women and inequality (Eagly & Carli, 2007). However, the term actually indicates possible barriers within organizational structures that inhibit the advancement of women (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Wright and Baxter (2000) posited a “sticky floor” effect in which managerial promotions at a lower level for women were not occurring at rates equal to those of men (p. 291). Women who achieved the lower rungs of management were as likely as their male counterparts to be promoted into upper management (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Wright & Baxter, 2000). The discrepancy in the applicant pools was less pronounced among women (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). Consequently, even though the applicant pools varied in size, women were proportionately represented in upper-management positions (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). The stated explanation countered explanations involving possible vertical glass ceilings attributable to discrimination (Eagly & Carli, 2002). Instead, Wright and Baxter (2000) claimed the issue stemmed from occupational sex segregation in lower management, where women were not gaining access to adequate skills necessary for advancement.

Many researchers have agreed that women face systematic obstacles to promotion (Eagly & Carli, 2002; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; Wright & Baxter, 2000; Acker, 1992). Some of

these obstacles include “direct discrimination in promotion decisions, whereas others are the result of forms of gender oppression built into institutional structures and social environments” (Wright & Baxter, 2000, p. 814). Researchers have connected organizational processes to the greater cultural environment and a gendered American society (Acker, 1992, 2006). Consciously and unconsciously, gender-based socialization affects every element of the social system—individual, family, education, and workplace (Hearn, 2001; Ropers-Huilman, 2003). This gender-based socialization process reinforces the gendering of institutions (Jones, Warnick, & Taylor, 2015; Twombly, 1995). Cultural and structural components within organizations shape and reinforce appropriate roles for men and women (Jones et al., 2015), thus inspiring analysis of the symbols, processes, and operations of the institutional and cultural environment surrounding the phenomenon of the construction of gender norms.

In recent years, some researchers have applied a glass-ceiling approach to examining invisible barriers inhibiting women from intercollegiate athletic leadership, head coaching, and administrative positions (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Grappendorf, Lough, & Griffin, 2004; Lumpkin et al., 2014). Their findings indicated women lag significantly behind their male counterparts in leadership positions (Hoffman, 2007, 2010; Lumpkin, et al., 2014; Whisenant, Pedersen, & Obenour, 2002; Wright, Eagleman, & Pedersen, 2011). Lemons (2003) noted a lack of role models, limited networking opportunities, and gender segregation as possible explanations for lagging promotion of women. In sum, women in athletics must overcome unique challenges in order to achieve career advancement (Lumpkin et al., 2014).

Researchers have recognized the disproportionate underrepresentation and suggested prejudice has played a role in women’s limited access to athletic leadership. Researchers have implicated gender bias in hiring practices (Grappendorf et al., 2004; Hatfield & Hatfield, 2009;

Hoffman, 2010), hegemonic masculinity, and homologous reproduction (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Whisenant et al., 2002) as limiting factors to women's career advancement. Hegemonic masculinity refers to situations in which a particular social group wields authority over another, exercising male behavior as a cultural and dominant ideal (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This notion has perpetuated a bias that men have higher status than do women.

Whisenant et al. (2002) argued hegemonic masculinity occurs when male athletic directors hire and promote individuals who hold attitudes, beliefs, and values similar to their own, thus contributing to homologous reproduction. The famed "old boys network" is an example of homologous reproduction, wherein people create networks to promote a dominant ideal (Hill, 1993). Such networking systems have excluded women from accessing important tacit and explicit knowledge needed for promotion (Whisenant et al., 2002; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Acker posited "existing structures and processes create different experiences and expectations along gender lines despite claims of neutrality" (Acker, as quoted in Jones et al., 2015, p. 9). Moore (1984) asserted women were more likely than men to be "pocketed" in certain positions and roles (p. 9). This phenomenon was similar to "clustering" or "stacking" of individuals into specific roles based on gender or race (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). These arrangements have tended to track men and women into different career paths where access to certain opportunities necessary for advancement vary by gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Kanter, 1977a). For instance, women administrators may be unaware of or discouraged from participating in prestigious, skill advancing, professional networks, thus reinforcing the notion of gendered organizations (VanDerLinden, 2004).

Despite the assumption that organizations are sex-neutral institutions, gender is a "very important determinant of who gets what in and out of organizations" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 34).

Occupational sex segregation or gender segregation can be examined using one of two methods. In the first method, gender distribution is conceptualized as the proportional gender representation within an occupational role (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986). In the second approach, Kanter (1977b) added a theoretical model to describe gender representation along a continuum. One end of the continuum presents uniform groups of one social type or kind of person, whereas the other shows balanced groups comprising approximately equal (50:50) proportions (Kanter, 1977b). Within the continuum resides “tilted groups” (65:35) and “skewed groups” (Kanter, 1977b, p. 8, p. 15).

Kane and Stangl (1991) asserted that tokenism should not be overlooked. The tokenism phenomenon occurs when dominant single gender (or race) occupations become infused with a number of occupations held by members of the nondominant group (Kane & Stangl, 1991). Code (1987) noted tokenism “ostensibly [w]as evidence of sympathy and egalitarian public opinion and/or legislation” (p. 46). Hiring women into historically and traditionally single-gendered organizations implies an inclusive and open system (Acker, 1992, 2006; Kane & Stangl, 1991). This notion may be applicable to understanding athletics. Researchers have suggested that men have maintained their positions of dominance as women were tracked into specific tasks and roles within athletics (Hoffman, 2010; Kane & Stangl, 1991; Whisenant & Pedersen, 2004). Kane and Stangl applied the concept of marginalization to analyze the gender ratios of women coaches as tokens in men’s interscholastic sports. Marginalization occurred when women in the same profession as men occupy less desirable positions (Kanter, 1977a). Reskin and Hartmann (1986) saw evidence of marginalization when men and women had the same occupation but were tracked into different levels of prestige or power. Hoffman (2010) cited findings of women occupying nurturing roles, such as compliance or advising, with little decision-making authority,

compared to their male counterparts. Reasons for not being selected for directorships included a lack of experience with budget and financial decision-making authority, limited fundraising network, and lack of access to football (Hoffman, 2010). Evidence has indicated that women are not necessarily provided opportunities to gain such skills, possibly because of gender bias or sex segregation of sports, a largely male domain (Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011; Kane & Stangl, 1991).

Although women were granted access to intercollegiate athletic after the passage of Title IX, many were excluded from specific roles and tasks necessary for advancement (Whisenant et al., 2002). Lumpkin et al. (2014) discovered Division I schools that did not sponsor football had more women administrators in academics, compliance, media relations, and ticket operations than did schools competing in the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS). Findings by Lumpkin et al. reinforced Hoffman's (2010) claim that a deficit in football experience can be an obstacle for women serving as athletic leaders. According to Whisenant and Pedersen (2004), women may be perceived as too emotional and nurturing and thus unable to make tough decisions—societal stereotypes that may contribute to the marginalization of women as leaders in collegiate athletics. Whisenant et al. (2002) claimed only a reduction in hegemonic masculinity would allow qualified women to be promoted into athletic administrative positions with greater decision-making authority and access to financial resources.

Eagly and Carli (2007) explored women and leadership, but instead of using a glass-ceiling metaphor, they described leadership as a labyrinth. The image of glass ceiling for women implies a transparent barrier and fails to encompass the complexity and challenges women face in their leadership journeys (Eagly & Carli, 2007). The researchers suggested that women were not turned away from leading at the final stage or top of the leadership ladder. In fact, women

may choose to select out of a leadership track at any stage for a number of reasons (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Therefore, Eagly and Carli presented a labyrinth metaphor to express the complex journey women face in pursuit of career advancement. Framing the phenomenon of underrepresentation of women in leadership roles as a labyrinth led to the understanding that women have effectively navigated such barriers, which required certain skills (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Thus, skills and attributes can be used as a conceptual framework to compare leadership for men and women (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

My desire to learn the “real” story behind gender roles in athletic leadership prompted exploration in this study. Eagly and Carli (2007) stated, “The scarcity of female corporate officers is the sum of discrimination that has operated at all ranks, not evidence of a particular obstacle to advancement as women approach the top” (p. 3). I expected examining how selection occurs and for whom would clarify the phenomenon of gender and athletic leadership. Instead of seeking invisible barriers, Eagly and Carli (2007) found that discrimination during selection indicated a set of culturally shared conscious and unconscious mental dispositions about women, men, and leaders. Although evidence has indicated psychological differences exist between men and women involving associations with communal and agentic qualities, organizational processes and structures have served to reinforce a dominant culture and function within an organization’s core technology (Schein, 2004; W. R. Scott, 1995, 2001).

In 2014, 79% of intercollegiate athletic directors and 57% of women’s team head coaches were male; thus, a disproportionately small percentage of women held leadership positions (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Moreover, a stark discrepancy in women’s participation rates versus the number of women securing leadership roles has raised concerns for women as an “endangered species” in athletic leadership (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). This phenomenon has



been supported by more than just statistics. This is a personal story about the lives of women in athletics. Despite implementing policies and creating specific positions for women in athletic departments to promote equal access and opportunity, intercollegiate athletic department leaders still struggle to promote and hire women to leadership positions. In this research study, I examined questions related to the development of intercollegiate athletics in order to understand the institutional structures of men and women's athletic leadership. I used an analytical process to examine the evolutionary nature of gender roles as it related to intercollegiate athletic organizations. The underlying premise was that culture inherently shaped organizational structures. Therefore, I sought to understand the logic behind the organizational processes in order to better understand women's emergence into intercollegiate athletic leadership.

Derived from the literature review, a framework based on institutional and organizational theory guided my exploration in this study. A thorough explanation of institutional and organizational theory can be found in Chapter 3. Using a sociological approach for this study constitutes a unique contribution to the body of knowledge. I examined the phenomenon from an institutional perspective, focusing on the origins and social histories of gender structures within a broader context. From this perspective, I assumed organizations exist within a larger cultural and social environment that shapes perceptions.

In this study, I explored the foundation of intercollegiate athletic leadership and the institutionalization of men and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University. My review of academic journals, articles, and many secondary sources raised questions and revealed problems related to the existence of women in athletic leadership, and more broadly, women in leadership. Previous researchers have attempted to explain the phenomenon by studying leadership traits and qualities (Whisenant et al., 2002; Kane & Stangl, 1991; Hoffman, 2010). I identified a void in

the literature regarding approaching the problem using conceptual frameworks derived from institutional, organizational, and cultural theories. Through the historical accounts and interpretation of institutional and organizational history, the reality behind the statistics was revealed.

Social scientist Gaye Tuchman (1994) argued, “History is more than the passage of events whose sequence may be memorized and that the past has continuing relevance for the present” (p. 240). History therefore provided meaning and context to the quantitative efforts in addressing the leadership gender gap. In this research, I sought to fill the gap in knowledge regarding the evolution of intercollegiate athletics, viewed from an organizational or institutional perspective. As the literature review has indicated, Division I institutions with football sponsorship have the lowest representation of women athletic directors (Hoffman, 2010; Lumpkin et al., 2014). Therefore, selecting a Division I institution, especially one that appointed its first woman athletic director in 2014, was expected to contribute significantly to understanding the institution’s social structures.

### **Significance of the Study**

Researchers addressing the barriers and biases for women leaders have launched a conversation about equity and athletics. Many of these researchers approached the issues through a psychological lens, identifying perceptions and experiences of a single woman or group of women that reinforce a deficit model (Turnbull James & Ladkin, 2008). Others have highlighted women in terms of their leadership deficits, compared to men’s deficits, which has tended to reinforce societal stereotypes regarding women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Qualitative and quantitative researchers have attempted to explain this phenomenon by studying leaders’ traits, qualities, motivations, and decision-making styles, also in the context of a deficit model

(Whisenant et al., 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2003). This approach implies women lack the necessary skills and traits to be leaders. A deficit model emphasizes an association of leadership with maleness (Schein, 1975, 1990), an incongruence between femininity and leadership expectations (Keller, 1999), and a bias against women leaders in male-dominated environments (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Applying a leadership deficit model or trait theory to examine women in intercollegiate athletics may in fact perpetuate existing stereotypes. My goal was to approach this issue without an emphasis on traits or deficit; instead, I sought to embrace it from an organizational perspective to clarify the social construction of gender roles in intercollegiate athletic leadership.

Past research attempts have focused on blaming the victim by identifying traits, qualities, and decision-making styles that have led to underrepresentation of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership (Whisenant et al., 2002). In this study, I provide a different perspective of the broader context by examining the institutional structures in terms of cultural, institutional, and technical environments (Thompson, 1967). Acker (1990) recognized a need for researchers to examine gender and organizations to discern how gender influences institutional structures regarding division of labor and segregation of work. Acker (1990) acknowledged organizational processes may center on specific tasks and sought to identify how tasks performed within the organization provided different levels of status. Understanding these processes is necessary to address the role gender plays in current athletic leadership structures. Organizational members invent and reproduce cultural components of gender construction subject to external pressures that affect practices and processes (Acker, 1990). Acker (1990) recommended systemic research aimed at addressing gender inequality to secure democratization in organizations. Perrow (1970)

claimed “organizations are people” (p. 2) as well as systems of relationships between groups of people. Institutions, therefore, remain long after the people are gone.

In this study, I present a unique perspective on the existing literature by offering a socio-historical analysis of an organization. My aim was to examine how the social construction of gender roles in organizational structures have contributed to the institutionalization of men and women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Educational leaders, athletic leaders, and athletics staff may benefit from the findings of this study. The use of institutional and organizational theory provides a framework for practitioners and scholars to understand their own institutional practices related to gender. Because context matters, I offer a historical road map of women’s emergence into intercollegiate athletics. Implications for practice are best received if the historical context is fully realized.

### **Research Questions**

In this study, an intercollegiate athletic departments at a school founded in normal education served as a lens to understand how gender roles have come to be defined. I sought to understand the institutionalized structures of intercollegiate athletic departments and leadership as they related to the social construction of gender. I focused on this phenomenon from a socio-historical approach with Eastern Michigan University (EMU) as an illustrative case of the larger context of intercollegiate athletics. As I embarked on this study, the following questions guided my research efforts:

1. How did women and men come to participate in intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University?
2. How have women and men emerged as administrators in Eastern Michigan University intercollegiate athletics?

3. How did intercollegiate athletics become structured to shape access to administrative and coaching positions?
  - a. How did intercollegiate athletics become organized and institutionalized at Eastern Michigan University?

Exploring these questions required an emergent process that relied on discovery and interpretation of past events. Blumer (1969) stated, “Meaning is either taken for granted and thus pushed aside as unimportant or it is regarded as mere neutral link between the factors responsible for human behavior and this behavior as a product of such factors” (p. 2). Insights generated from these interpretations informed the cognitive cultural structure that allows people to take things for granted or to accept a situation as is (Tuchman, 1994). This study provided a vehicle for me to explore the assumptions operating within athletic institutions. Although the data and findings are context-dependent, the conceptual framework of the study is analytically generalizable. The framework thus became an instrument to examine organizational behavior, normative patterns, and cognitive cultural structures within intercollegiate athletic departments. Through an examination of the institutional structures related to men and women’s athletics, the findings foster understanding of the cultural and structural patterns embedded in these institutions.

To assist in this inquiry, I employed a funneling approach to data collection and analysis. A number of theories and constructs assisted in the process to explain the origins of intercollegiate athletics. I began by broadly examining the context of intercollegiate athletics, narrowing to a single National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I institution in the Midwest as an illustrative example. The institution was purposively selected based on its

NCAA affiliation (Division I status), its unique normal education history, and the project was bounded by the limits of my time and means (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).

### **Chapter Organization**

Five chapters were presented in this dissertation to explain my approach to studying the phenomenon of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership at an institution with roots in normal education. In Chapter 1, I introduced the research topic, purpose of the study, and the necessary questions for guiding the research. Chapter 2 covered the research methods, including a discussion of self as research instrument related to social inquiry, self-scrutiny, research tradition, and research design. In Chapter 3, I reviewed academic literature and conceptual frameworks for the fields of institutional theory, culture, and organizational studies. Chapter 4 began to present the finding in a three-part history of intercollegiate athletics. Part 1 highlighted the origins of sport and athletic organizations within institutions of higher education. Part 2 provided the story of intercollegiate athletics at Michigan State Normal School (Eastern Michigan University) against the backdrop of the history presented in Part 1. Part 3 focused on the organizational changes in the technical, cultural, and institutional environments from the 1950's to the 1980's when women's intercollegiate athletics was officially recognized at Eastern Michigan University. Finally, in Chapter 5, I discussed the findings to my research questions, limitations, and implications for future research.

## Chapter 2: Research Methods

Researchers have found a significant increase in the number of women participating in sport since the passage of Title IX (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). However, this pattern of growth has not occurred for women in intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. The purpose of this study was to explore the social construction of gender in intercollegiate athletic leadership at an institution with roots in normal education in which women maintained a majority status. I sought to understand the institutionalization of men and women in athletic leadership in order to explore the relationship between participation rates to women in leadership. Therefore, I explored the development of athletic leadership and institutional structures of intercollegiate athletic departments at Eastern Michigan University. Such structures are an important social system that has evolved over time, influenced by greater cultural and environmental forces. In this study, I describe the logic behind the intercollegiate athletics structure using a historical case study of Eastern Michigan University, an institution with roots in normal education.

This chapter contains the research methods I used to conduct this socio-historical case study. In this study, I explored historical events that shaped organizational structures and “patterns of action” within athletic leadership. This historical research process was iterative, relying on the interpretive lens of the researcher. Revealing the interpretive lens presented how perceptions contribute to the analysis and conceptualization of human social behavior (Wolcott, 1992). Therefore, presenting my experiences in the context of the purpose for the study illustrated how I reasoned with the information, created meaning, and constructed a logical explanation of the past.

## Research Tradition

The field of college athletics has become one of the most recognizable and highly visible social institutions in America (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). The patterned behaviors, institutionalized structures, and cultures embedded in the EMU athletics department provided a rich opportunity for research. In this study, I examined the historical developments of intercollegiate athletics related to administrative leadership positions at a school with origins in normal education. To understand the social construction of gender in athletics, I applied a qualitative methodology consisting of a historical case study. Qualitative research “necessitates a judgment that leads [researchers] to decide what research designs they should frame to produce one or more of many imagined and as yet unimagined outcomes” (Peshkin, 1993, p. 23). Peshkin related qualitative research to a feast of possibilities to understand a complex phenomenon. In the following sections I explain how I selected the methodology used to address the research questions.

**Qualitative research.** Merriam (1998) described qualitative research techniques as those used for telling a story through interpretation rather than for testing a hypothesis. Qualitative research methods are often best used to explain the elements of society that are not often researched or questioned. The movement to engage in an alternative science emerged from the Chicago School of Sociology and University of Kansas in the late 19th century (Chapoulie, 1996). Researchers such as Dewey, Mead, Spindler, Boas, and Blumer trained at the Chicago School of Sociology and helped establish a qualitative school of thought. They engaged in social science through the use of language, story, and symbols to describe perspectives and culture, giving meaning to otherwise unknown realities. This interpretative and iterative position allows researchers of many disciplines to explore individually and socially generated meanings.



Studying the social construction of reality was a paradigm shift in traditional research, taking into account the variation of human behavior based on socially generated meanings (Blumer, 1969). Researchers attempted to understand the construction of reality for a variety of individuals and groups in the fields of anthropology and sociology (Blumer, 1969). Such efforts gave rise to the interpretative perspective of meaning occurring through symbols and from social interactions (Blumer, 1969). Cooley (1902/1956) and Mead (1934) pioneered the concept of symbolic interactionism; Blumer organized the nature of symbolic interaction into three premises. First, people act toward things based on the meaning those things have for them (Blumer, 1969). This premise addresses how individuals construct reality differently, expressed through language, status, roles, and symbols (Blumer, 1969). Second, symbolic interaction is a social product arising from social interactions with others (Blumer, 1969). Interaction between individuals and groups generates meaning. Meaning for one person grows out of the influence of others' actions regarding that meaning (Blumer, 1969). The third premise involves the interpretive process used to generate meaning: Capturing meanings in action occurs through a process of self-interaction (Blumer, 1969).

Qualitative researchers capture the social systems necessary to examine research phenomena. The process of describing meaning in action relies heavily on specific, concrete details that define the setting, situation, system, or relationship within each (Blumer, 1969; Gay & Airasian, 2000; Peshkin, 1993). Qualitative approaches are best used to explain the social product of meaning, culture, and social roles of groups and organizations (Miles et al., 2014). Because I sought to describe how women have emerged as participants and leaders in intercollegiate athletics, I directed much attention to the cultural cognitive and institutional structures that have evolved over time. Factors affecting status, power, social roles, norms, and

assumptions that define the lived experiences from human social systems are best studied qualitatively (D. Smith, 2012). Qualitative research methods, therefore, provide the means for understanding and exploring complex societies and organizations that are culturally bounded (Spradley, 1980).

Denzin and Lincoln (2013) claimed “the province of qualitative research, accordingly, is the world of lived experiences, for this is where individual belief and action intersect with culture” (p. 4). Culture takes shape through lived experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). The historical, cultural, and organizational boundaries within intercollegiate athletics departments presented a rich setting for analysis. Peshkin (1993) noted that studying a situation usually requires studying a setting. In this study, the problem identified in the situation and setting involving men and women in intercollegiate athletic leadership was deserving of inquiry. Examining phenomena through a qualitative lens can produce enriched visibility of a complex past and current situation (Spradley, 1980; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). An emic approach facilitates interpretation of the meanings constructed by the individuals involved (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). Multiple uses and meanings can emerge through qualitative methods. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) asserted textual analysis with a feminist perspective of culture requires studying “the location within a historical moment marked by a particular gender, race, or ideology” (p. 12).

Because multiple uses and meanings potentially derive from qualitative research, I explicitly describe the methods and conceptual frameworks that guided this study. The perspectives of symbolic interactionism and interpretive frameworks informed my worldview and the research in which I engaged. I combined these perspectives beliefs with the ontological, epistemological, and methodological paradigms. The term *ontology* refers to the nature of reality

and what can be known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This study employed idealism, wherein reality is an extraction of what exists in the mind (Blumer, 1969). People construct reality based on social interactions, social structures, and social forces (Blumer, 1969). Truth therefore is context-dependent and ever evolving, such that history reflects an evolution of culture (Blumer, 1969). The relationship between the researcher and the known involves an epistemology of constructivism (Blumer, 1969). Constructivists seek to describe the world as people create it, using social interactions and symbols to perpetuate culture (Blumer, 1969). The constructivist paradigm combines elements of critical interpretivist and cultural theories to study the intersections of socially defined events and experiences (Blumer, 1969). Cultural organizational theory (Morrill, 2008) combines inhabited institutionalism with theoretical frameworks that incorporate power and culture (Feldman & Pentland, 2003).

**Case study.** Stake (1988) declared that individuals, groups, social units, or institutions were best understood in their own habitats. A case study provided an ideal approach for studying culture, social interactions, and the logic behind a particular social system. Culture refers to the “various ways different groups go about their lives and to the belief systems associated with that behavior” (Wolcott, 2008, p. 22). Previously unknown belief systems, behaviors, and relationships can emerge from cultural case studies. Geertz (1973) asserted culture is context-dependent and peculiarly well-adapted—to understand culture, a researcher must expose a culture’s normalness without reducing the particularity. Characteristics of a case study include attention to the particulars, thick description, and a heuristic approach to studying a phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). Studies in which it is difficult to separate variables from context justify the use of a case study. Through descriptions and detail, case studies are exploratory and explanatory of the meanings and experiences within a real-life context (Stake, 1988; Stake, 1995).

Case studies tend to be descriptive of institutions, programs, and practices, including contextual conditions relevant to the phenomenon (Stake, 1995). My interest focused on the “why” and “how” of the cultural and structural boundaries for women in athletics, comprising an emic approach toward interpretation of the meaning constructed by the individuals involved over time. Thus, meaning was assigned to detach the social context from the past and reveal how it has informed contemporary institutional structures. Because of the nature of this phenomenon, a case-study approach presented an ideal stage for analysis.

**Historical case study.** The variable and personal nature of social construction can be identified only through the interactions between the researchers and the participants and/or organizations involved in the research (Tuchman, 1994). Therefore, to explore the evolutionary nature of intercollegiate athletics, I employed a socio-historical analysis of a single institution. Historical analysis incorporates the interpretation of historical documents, records, archives, and data to inform practice (Tuchman, 1994). Data were used to explore the socio-historical construction of power and status between genders within the context of athletics. Geertz (1973) described historical data as:

Really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to...Most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined. (p. 9)

People react to the meaning they attribute to an idea, object or event, only to be interpreted by the social construction of shared meaning (Boland, 1985). Tuchman (1994) posited the discernment of patterns is often unnoticeable in the moment, but when reviewed in a temporal

frame, patterns can provide rich meaning to institutionalized behavior. Institutionalized behavior and culture evolve over time and do not occur de novo (Boland, 1985).

Organizations form functioning structures in multiple ways. Over time, these structures emerge from exposure to external and internal influences as members of the organization make choices daily. How do institutions organize? How did athletics become institutionalized? All choices are shaped by what has come before—knowledge is not generated a priori. The evolution of organizations occurs from many decisions in which direction is determined but may become increasingly difficult to reverse (Simon, 1957). Simon (1957) defined an organization as a problem-facing and problem-solving entity. Members of the organization choose a course of action but do not fully perceive possible alternatives or the consequences likely to occur from choosing those alternatives (Simon, 1957). Therefore, previously available alternatives that are no longer available often influence how social systems are organized in the present, a concept known as path dependency (David, 1994). Path dependence is a nondeterministic dynamic system wherein institutions are not only the carriers of history, but institutional function is contingent upon it. David ascertained this connection with the past constantly shaped the present.

Analyzing historical information allowed me to interpret the context and meaning of past events. I wanted to understand the institutionalization of men and women athletic administrators in terms of meanings and social structures that influenced or have been influenced by historical context. In order to facilitate the interpretation of meanings, I used a construct to detect patterns and situate myself as an interpretivist within the analysis. Specifically, I adopted a construct of seeing the world through the lens of participants' stories taken from points in time during the institution's history. Patton (2001) summarized this process as understanding the particulars in all their complexity. A historical case study provides techniques necessary to understand the

complexity of an event or decision point, the assumptions behind it, and its impact on the institution or participants (Tuchman, 1994). To understand the emergence of women in athletic leadership roles, I studied the culture bounded to the organization. A historical case study provided natural conditions for exploring this culturally bounded social system.

### **Research Design**

In this qualitative study, I explored the historical developments of sport and athletic administration as they related to the social construction of gender roles in intercollegiate athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University (EMU), a university with origins in normal education. I purposefully selected this particular institution because since its establishment in 1849, most of its students have been women. Further, in 2013, university administrators hired the institution's first female director of athletics. This case provided an ideal setting for investigating the research topic and questions while providing access to essential data. In sum, I chose Eastern Michigan University based on its proximity, access to archival and historical data, the nature of its normal education, and selection of a woman leader. As an National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I, public, four-year institution, EMU provided an athletics setting in which women held the lowest percentage of leadership among the divisions, compared to peer institutions in the 12-school Mid-American Conference (2017-18 Mid-American Conference Sport Sponsorship; Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). At the time of this study, only two women were athletics directors. Using Eastern Michigan University as an illustrative case produced findings unique to EMU; however, the conceptual framework may be analytically generalizable for researchers seeking to examine the organizational behavior and cultures in other colleges and universities.

**Unit of analysis.** Miles et al. (2014) defined a case as a unit of analysis in a bounded context. They described the “heart” of a study as determined by boundaries of what will be studied in terms of setting, concepts, events, and social processes. The focus of this study was on the historical context of intercollegiate athletic leadership. Eastern Michigan University served as an illustrative example of the institutional structures related to men and women’s athletic leadership. To study the institutional structures of the athletic department, I first built context by exploring the evolution of intercollegiate athletics in general. Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) suggested the best way to study the behavior of an organizations was to understand the context of that behavior in terms of the ecology of the organization. Organizations are bounded by their environment and follow the same basic rules to survive (Thompson, 2003). Members of higher education institutions have established similar patterns of behavior in response to external pressures (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Over time, external pressures and the social environment have led to the formation of a regulatory authority for collegiate athletics. The NCAA today serves as the governing body for 1,200 colleges and universities for 23 different sports (What is the NCAA?, 2015). Colleges and universities affiliated with NCAA belong to one of three distinct divisions, each with their own policies and regulations. Division I institutions manage the largest athletic budgets and offer the greatest number of scholarships (What is the NCAA?, 2015). This division of nearly 350 institutions tends to be more recognizable in part because of media coverage and large student bodies (What is the NCAA?, 2015). Division I member schools are subdivided into three categories based on football sponsorship: (a) the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS), comprising those who participate in bowl games; (b) the Football Championship Subdivision (FCS),

consisting of NCAA-organized football championships; and (c) schools that do not sponsor football (What is the NCAA?, 2015).

According to Thompson (2003), “Complex organizations are influenced in significant ways by elements of their environments” (p. 8). Because of the influence of the environment, institutions tend to have similar external dependencies, which force them to engage in specialized, controlled, and patterned actions or behaviors (Thompson, 2003). The unit of analysis, a single case, was evaluated against the larger historical makeup of intercollegiate athletic leadership. The selected unit of analysis supported this study of the context and behavior of an NCAA Division I (FBS) public institution.

### **Data Sources and Instrumentation**

As a qualitative historical case study, this study largely depended on documents and archives as the primary source of data. Tuchman (1994) suggested reading documents and studying mundane activities, which could be interpreted as “texts” (p. 315). Williams (2007) defined a document as a written piece of evidence used to create a narrative or analysis of the past. Historians’ main sources of data are documents of the past that show occurring through time. Such texts can be inscribed and embedded in documentaries, or lived texts, that reveal a system of signification (Tuchman, 1994). Tuchman viewed this as “a set of language systems” used to describe a structure of meaning during a specific era (p. 315).

As a researcher, I found it necessary to elucidate the structure of meaning but also to describe the particular and specific details of the case. Documents, artifacts, autobiographies, and photographs inform and build a structure of meaning (Creswell, 2007). However, obtaining primary sources and original documentation can be difficult. Challenges exist in locating and accessing archival data, which may encourage researchers to seek other data sources. For



example, Howell and Prevenier (2001) identified narrative or literary sources (diary, memoir, newspaper articles, and scientific tract); social sources (record keeping of bureaucracies, meeting minutes, agendas, and business policies, in addition to agency handbooks or manuals); and diplomatic sources (legal documents). Historical researchers also use communications in the form of tape recordings, movies, oral histories, books, pamphlets, and journal articles (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Yin (2003) delineated data sources into six categories: interviews, direct observations, documents, archival records, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. Because of the historical nature of this study, data sources included archival records, documents, physical artifacts, and oral histories (Creswell, 2007).

The use of various data sources assisted in the creation of what Tuchman (1994) called a *montage*. First, I used a montage of available qualitative data to construct an interpreted meaning of the past. As the research unfolded, it was essential to supplement the data collected from documents, photographs, and artifacts with oral histories from individuals, including former coaches, administrators, and athletes. The use of oral histories facilitated inquiry into the memories and personal commentaries of historical significance, which I used to fill in the gaps I found in textual sources. According to Lofland and Lofland (1995), researchers do not simply wait for people to enact significant events or say significant words. Extensive recording of observations, context building, and empathetic engagement is required to build profuse data and trust with individuals under study. A good oral history could be characterized by its ability to add color, definition, and texture to the story, but is not a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee. Thus, the experience itself becomes a source of interpretation that requires careful summary and analysis (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Geertz (1973) suggested first generating thick description consisting of the researcher's own interpretations of the informants' words before

systematizing the data. However, the systematizing of people's stories, symbol systems, and meanings must be actor-oriented. These are the clues and sources of meaning I used to study the logic and history behind the social system of intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University.

Historical research evident in this study included two broad categories of sources—primary and secondary. Rampolla (2001) differentiated primary sources as materials directly produced by people or groups associated with an event. Examples include eyewitness accounts, letters, diaries, newspapers, and speeches, as well as nonwritten works such as recordings, oral sources, films, and artifacts. When I used written primary sources, reading the source directly was fundamental in developing interpretations. Rampolla recommended reading the entire primary source in order to grasp the significance and context of the event under study. Whereas primary sources are materials from participants or eyewitnesses, secondary data sources are from those who comment on and interpret primary sources. Scholarly journals, books, and articles were instrumental in this pursuit; they led me in the direction of primary sources and provided an overview of events.

**Data sources.** This study depended on documents and archives as the primary sources of data. In addition to archival records and documents, I reviewed and transcribed oral histories from coaches, administrators, and former athletes. Transcription of the July 1980 Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) presidential symposium, “A Decade of Progress: Presidential Review,” proved helpful in this pursuit. I examined archival records from three specific contexts in order to create a contextual framework to understand the emergence of women as directors in intercollegiate athletics:

- General archival data (primary and secondary sources) related to the general development of intercollegiate athletics in the United States.
- Archival records related to the establishment of national governing bodies related to intercollegiate athletics. I gave specific emphasis to governing organizations that formed to oversee the development of women's intercollegiate athletics, such as the Division of Girls and Women in Sport (DGWS), Commission for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW), and AIAW.
- Archival records from the Division I athletic program at Michigan State Normal School (Eastern Michigan University), which I used to analyze the historical development of the athletic program in order to link the national developments to the manifestation of these in the institutional structures of a specific program.

I analyzed the events of the past in the words of the people who experienced, witnessed, or participated in them. Therefore, accessing archives of primary and secondary data sources at the selected institution was imperative. The EMU Archives were established in 1970 to appraise, collect, preserve, and supply records of historical values. This place became my archival home where I reviewed artifacts from the institution, and specifically, from the athletic department. Such records offered insight into decision-making processes and environmental influences at the organization. Within EMU's records were summaries and reports from past athletic directors, presidents, and board members and regents, providing rich data of the institutional behaviors and patterns that have developed over time.

Data for this study included a variety of sources from archives, documents, text, photographs, and recorded oral histories. Oral histories not only captured individual stories, but institutional knowledge from living through historical events and major transitions in

intercollegiate athletics. Oral histories provided texture to the institutional history, culture, and perspectives of events such as the passage of Title IX; insights on the physical education department and athletics; and information about the role of the NCAA and Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), the entity that preceded NCAA control of women's athletics. Through these investigations, language, symbols, and action became powerful tools to help me understand EMU culture.

**Instrumentation.** Bounded within time and circumstance, the case study served as the research device. Instrumentation comprised specific methods for observing, collecting, and recording data (Miles et al., 2014). I needed to identify these particular steps in instrumentation despite the iterative nature of qualitative research. Miles et al. provided arguments for using a lot or a little structured instrumentation. Because of the nature of a historical case study, much of the data existed, waiting for discovery and interpretation. Therefore, as the researcher, I was the primary data collection instrument. As the primary instrument, I participated in reflective writing on how my own experiences in athletics may have shaped my interpretation of data. Disclosing my own interpretations allows readers to see the logic behind my interpretations and may provide readers with alternative explanations.

Establishing a process to substantiate the research findings included using multiple data-collection methods, triangulating data, and crosschecking findings with multiple sources. Enlisting the aid of other researchers enhanced my perspectives of the phenomenon of interest. The collection and comparison of data from multiple vantage points was a core principle to this case study research. Incorporating field notes, observations, oral histories, text, and other documents contributed to the texture and description, revealing the particulars of the case

(Merriam, 1998). In sum, procuring multiple insights and triangulating data from various sources enhanced the credibility of my findings and interpretations.

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis involved organizing the data I observed, read, and experienced in order to make sense of what I learned. Creswell (2007) mentioned the process of collecting and analyzing data can be slow but is instrumental for the narrative to take shape. The story unfolded as experiences and different interpretations of the texts influenced the results. Mukerji and Schudson (1991) presented the notion that if no one is the author, perhaps everyone is the author. This idea indicates historical documents are multivocal and have a number of potential meanings. Even if a document belonged to an author, as the researcher, I shaped the interpretation of its content. Schram (2006) described the value of a case study as “facilitating appreciation of the uniqueness, complexity, and contextual embeddedness of individual events and phenomena” (p. 107). Yet how should I determine whether I was actualizing the value of a case study to address the research questions? Schram recommended researchers determine their stances on a continuum: at one end of the continuum is a methodological choice (case study); at the other end is a choice of the study’s content. The continuum provides possibilities for how to present and demarcate the data.

Glesne (1999) presented the benefits of simultaneously implementing data analysis and collection. Flexibility and autonomy allows the researcher to embrace the iterative process and shape the study as it proceeds (Glesne, 1999). The analytical process happens automatically as the researcher naturally develops thoughts and reflections of the data (Glesne, 1999). Accordingly, keeping a research log to record my thoughts helped me capture the analysis as it occurred. Field notes then became a powerful tool for analyzing recurring themes, patterns, and

descriptions necessary for telling the story. In working with the data, I described the data, created explanations, referenced the study's conceptual frameworks, and linked the story to other stories (Glesne, 1999). This process involved both deductive and inductive shifts from the general to the specific and vice versa. Lofland (1977) suggested creating analytical files according to generic categories to manage the increasing collection of data and experiences with that data. As themes began to emerge, categories then reflected significance or importance of findings in relation to phenomena being studied. After I wrote these records, I used data coding to identify salient themes, which I linked to the larger theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

This study followed an iterative process, in which each data analysis effort enhanced my capacity to analyze further. Glesne (1999) noted the data analysis process is a state of learning; approaching it as an accomplishment can lead to many challenges. It was important to stay open to the data and let the emergence of my findings influence the methodology. Further, traditional approaches guided me in working with historical data. For example, Howell and Prevenier (2001) confronted one concern of historical interpretation related to determining which evidence is relevant and which should be suppressed and ignored. In order to protect the authenticity of the evidence, my steps included comparing sources for substantiation of the argument and controlling for which facts mattered. Rampolla (2001) warned of finding conflicting sources that researchers should evaluate and compare with other primary sources to establish reliability. Identifying my biases and possible ideological, philosophical, or political agendas helped reveal assumptions or logical inconsistencies in the data (Rampolla, 2001). Therefore, a critical tool in data analysis was discerning authorship of the sources, determining the intent of the composition, and assigning authorship of the document to the department if no author was evident.

Because history is the study of change over time, historians use causation to explain why and how events occur. This cause-and-effect relationship ensures a linear chronological pattern to events. However, there can be many causes of a single event, requiring most historians to adopt a multi-causal approach, rather than a monocausal approach (Williams, 2007). Rampolla (2001) noted that several historians could examine the same set of materials and interpret them differently; similarly, they could address the same questions by using different methods to gather evidence. Such variation of interpretation can be studied through a historiography; this approach was important in my own analysis of past events. Reviewing the multiple interpretations or perspectives of historical events strengthened the logical connections between two series of events.

Fundamental to all research is the importance of not confusing causation for correlation. In historical work, researchers must be cautious of events occurring at or around the same time, referred to as *coincidence of timing* (Tuchman, 1994). The occurrence of one event in sequence with another event does not necessarily imply causation. Just as correlation does not prove causation, the chronology of events and coincidence of timing cannot be assumed in causation. This qualitative historical case study data involved thorough comparison and evaluation of primary and secondary sources to develop sound causation in which I questioned the timing sequence for events that occurred.

As I explored sport history, many theories surfaced related to the construction and interpretations of sport from a historical perspective. For example, Berkhofer (1995) advanced the concept of textualism:

Not only do human behavior and social interaction produce texts, but humans and their societies understand themselves through and as interpretive textualizations. It is only

through such textualizations that humans can reproduce their cultures and social institutions. All behavior can be interpreted like texts because it was produced in the first place through a process of textualization broadly conceived. (p. 21)

The process of using textualization to understand the social structures and institutionalization of sport produced an expansive data analysis process. Geertz's (1973) work on the interpretation of cultures combined text, literary, and nonliterary symbols as a way to "read over the shoulders of those to whom [the texts] properly belong" (p. 29). Hunt (1989) further emphasized learning to analyze subjects' representations of their worlds—history is a process of creating text to represent what subjects experienced. I sought to understand the different meanings that existed within the selected case study. Miles et al. (2014) asserted data analysis is a continuous, iterative, fluid process that embraces a humanistic position. Thus, the data analysis process incorporated text from many sources and perspectives, thereby revealing patterns of institutional behavior and the realities of gender within those institutions.

### **Moral, Ethical, and Legal Issues**

The purpose of this study was to explore the social construction of gender roles as it related to athletic leadership and the institutionalization of athletic departments. If this study had been polyvocal—that is, if I had told my story along with the stories of a group of participants, a number of ethical issues could have ensued (Miles et al., 2014). Conducting scholarly works required a level of responsibility that accurately reflects integrity and quality. I intended this project to minimize risk and maximize respect for the individuals involved. In this section, I identify potential moral, legal, and ethical issues, as well as personal dilemmas in this project.

To implement this historical analysis case study, I submitted a request to the institutional review board (IRB) at Eastern Michigan University to use potential observations and oral



histories of past and present individuals associated with the institution. The purpose of the University Human Subjects Review Committee is to “safeguard the rights and welfare of all individuals involved as subjects in research” (EMU Board of Regents, 1978, p. 1). Prior to data collection, all research studies must receive IRB approval.

Ethical principles provide standards of care and guide researchers’ behavior throughout the research process. The historical underpinnings of this project indicated following the guidelines from the American Historical Association. I employed permitted ethical practices from the fields of sociology and anthropology. I considered the NCAA code of ethics as it relates to research in the field of athletics and all NCAA institutions (NCAA Research, 2015).

Social researchers explore social phenomena through observations, oral histories, or analysis of texts. Because of the nature of this study, the likelihood of causing psychological damage or harm was minimal. The primary sources of data were documents and texts; therefore, there was little to no anticipated harm to human subjects. However, in historical research, subjects cannot defend themselves. Protecting participants from harm and ensuring voluntary participation are essential to ethical research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Portions of my study challenged both of these aspects, requiring me to rely on voluntary participation and protect participants’ anonymity. When an individual’s story occurred in the context of a single institution at which a limited number of women had already served as directors of athletics or coaches at Division I institutions, participant anonymity presented a major barrier to the study. Therefore, in light of my ethical responsibilities, I allowed participants to review the findings prior to dissemination. Luckily, no oral histories were conducted with currently employed individuals.

Further, I struggled with the prospect of using the research for my own personal benefit and professional mobility. Miles et al. (2014) described this dilemma as benefit, cost, and reciprocity. Implementing the process and obtaining the shared data from the participants benefited me. The participants may have seen little reciprocity in the experience and may have viewed the exchange as time consuming and meaningless. However, participants may benefit from enhancing their understanding as participants in athletics, as well as from contributions of this study to the field at large.

Historical research depends on ethical interpretation practices. As a woman and a former administrator, I am aware that my subjectivity may have affected my interpretations of the data. My biases and experiences may have shaped my meaning making about the role of women as athletic administrators. I chose what Lofland and Lofland (1995) described as “starting where you are” (p. 11). This technique involves preparing a transparent autobiographical disclosure of my position and interpretation of the data. I feared being perceived as self-indulgent, thus diminishing the worthiness of my project; however, this work was personally meaningful and provided the necessary linkage between the emotional and interpretive aspects of the research (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). I also questioned my competence to engage in and successfully complete such an intellectually demanding operation. Miles et al., (2014) described competence as a common ethical dilemma for researchers—unacknowledged incompetence can shatter every aspect of a study. I avoided ineptitude with the guidance and assistance from colleagues, mentors, and my dissertation chairperson and committee members. I avoided “research malpractice” by establishing a schedule and system that provided incremental feedback on the dissertation progress (Miles et al., 2014, p. 59).

The purpose of historical research is to make meaning of history and identify patterns that inform current structures and cultures (Tuchman, 1994). Unearthing these findings incurred the possibility of risk to surviving family members of people represented in the findings. I had to make critical decisions about whether to share particular findings that may have caused harm. I decided to abstain from releasing damaging findings unless I verified the data with other publicly released materials. Many of the individuals presented in this research were public figures. I practiced sensitivity when selecting how to portray the lives of these individuals. The information I revealed was relevant to the research questions. Much of the data were unobtrusive and available in public archives.

Finally, the results of this study may influence the institution, and in particular, the athletic departments being examined. Identifying the institution as an NCAA Division I FBS Institution in the Midwest with a woman as director of athletics provided no confidentiality of participants' data. Sieber (1992) accepted a certain level of institutional vulnerability, which may result from being publicly visible in resurrected histories. No certainty exists regarding the impacts of my research. There are bound to be changes in perceptions and attitudes of those who were involved. How readers receive and use the findings is beyond the scope of my control. However, I intentionally devised ways to reduce the likelihood of potential harms and engaged in self-censorship based on perceived threats.

Conducting a historical case study prompted a variety of ethical issues, including vulnerability, potential harm, and the ethics of interpretation (Miles et al., 2014). As a result, I followed a series of practical implications, such as using an informed consent form and disclosing my role as the research instrument. These attempts may not have ensured full protection, but they reduced the risk of foreseen harm. Committing to a process that allowed

thorough reflection and anticipation of potential ethical, moral, and legal issues was essential for designing a quality research project (Miles et al., 2014).

### **Drawing and Verifying Conclusions**

**Validity and reliability.** Miles et al. (2014) linked the success of drawing and verifying conclusions regarding validity and reliability to the skills of the researcher. As I perused stacks of records, archives, photos, and documents, I asked myself about the validity and reliability of each using information-gathering instruments related to my research questions. Miles et al. provided some helpful tips. First, it helped to be familiar with the phenomenon I studied. Fortunately, I have lived the experience I sought to examine and had a great deal of comfort and resilience with the setting. However, during data analysis, I had to be transparent with my experience, reflection, and biases. Applying research techniques to ensure validity and reliability was essential. In addition, Miles et al. suggested employing strong investigative skills with careful attention to detail. Although I am a dedicated and determined researcher, I had to sharpen my detail-oriented methods. This included summarizing and coding records in a separate document, as well as preparing a detailed written timeline. Multiple timelines aided in this research, including timelines of national athletic events, timelines of events related to the advancement of men's athletics and women's athletics, timelines of institutional changes, and a digital timeline summarizing major events by 10-year periods from 1850 to 1980. The timeline provided perspective and served as a useful analysis tool. Finally, I applied a multidisciplinary research approach, drawing on concepts from the fields of history, anthropology, and sociology, which enhanced my perspective and flexibility.

Establishing validity and reliability for qualitative research varies from procedures used in quantitative research. *Validity* can be a contested term among qualitative researchers (Miles et

al., 2014). Quantitative methods typically have rigid methods for identifying significant relationships between the findings and the intended objective or claim. Qualitative researchers seek alternatives to validity that capture the essence of the phenomenon, not only identifying relationships but also diving into the meaning of those relationships. The term *reliability* addresses the consistency of the study design with the research questions. Good qualitative research establishes validity and reliability through clear and explicit research methods. In this chapter, I outlined my research methods and explained how I collected and analyzed data in order to address the research question.

In strengthening the validity and reliability of this study, it was essential to be clear and explicit about my role and status in the research, as well as my choice of research design. Through the lens of socio-historian, it was my responsibility to interpret the events and policies within the context of the time. Shafer and Bennett (1974) defined this process as internal criticism, wherein the researcher questions the meaning, value, and credibility of the evidence. My strategy for checking the quality of my data in relation to the research questions included asking what was happening at the time and why. All events in history serve a purpose; nothing occurs in isolation (Shafer & Bennett, 1974). My responsibility was to interpret the purpose. A purpose became clear through analyzing sources and discerning the authorship of documents and artifacts. Gottschalk (1961) determined a document's credibility by the author's reputation, a lack of self-contradictions, support from other sources, and congruence with other known facts. Triangulation methods, as well as the ability to link data to categories of prior or emerging theories, boosted the credibility of this study (Miles et al., 2014). I made judgments based on the value and cultural structures in place. I resisted my tendency to define events based on my presently constructed reality, but allowed the epoch to indicate interpretive meaning.

To avoid mishandling the information, I cross-referenced multiple sources whenever possible and used only information necessary to enhance the narrative (Tuchman, 1994). Maintaining the integrity of the story required me to strengthen claims and arguments by looking for disconfirming evidence that did not support my conclusions. I assessed disconfirmation by paying attention to outliers, checking extreme cases or sources of bias, and following up with data that indicated alternatives to my findings. Achieving data saturation ensured I had collected enough data, ceasing data collection when no new information emerged (Glaser, 1998).

Internal validity focuses on establishing veracity, whereas external validity implies transferability (Miles et al., 2014). However, employing a historical case study made establishing external validity difficult. External validity has sometimes been referred to as *fittingness* or *generalizability* (Miles et al., 2014). Because this case study focused on the specifics and particulars of a single institution, the findings were not necessarily universal. It then became important to connect the findings to broadly used conceptual frameworks. Erickson (1986) argued that it was the responsibility of the reader, not the researcher, to determine if the conclusions transfer to other contexts. Therefore, giving readers thick descriptions of the phenomenon and a persuasive case supported by the literature enabled greater transferability. Still, I sought to present specific limitations and criticism of generalizations to other contexts so readers are fully aware when drawing their own conclusions.

### **Synthesis**

Qualitative studies often provide rich description of settings, people, events, and processes, but are incomplete unless the researcher makes overall connections with the information. This process of linking separate parts to form a whole is called *synthesis* (Strike & Posner, 1983). When researchers depict the human elements of social research, construction of

the whole is characterized by some degree of innovation wherein the sum is greater than its parts. Schafer and Bennett (1974) alluded to synthesis as the blending of data to describe historical events accurately. The process of synthesis involves comparing, organizing, and selecting data as they relate to the phenomena under study (Miles et al., 2014). Synthesis is a key tenet to building comparative understanding, but is fraught with challenges stemming from variability of interpretation and researchers' subjectivity (Schafer & Bennett, 1974). As a historical study, the evidence available usually was not fact but testimonial of the facts, which required evaluation of innate biases and data source subjectivity.

Qualitative research is an iterative process; researchers use many different methods to synthesize data. Barnett-Page and Thomas (2009) identified nine different synthesis methods, based on qualitative methods and research designs. In this historical case study, I used conceptual frameworks to determine institutional patterns, behaviors, and themes as they related to gender. Therefore, I applied framework synthesis and thematic synthesis in a relative manner. Applying framework synthesis required using large amounts of textual data—for example, documents, field notes, observations, transcripts, and researcher reflections—to extract findings (Miles & Huberman, 1984). This synthesis method was unique: I utilized an a priori framework to build context and background for interpretations and synthesis. New topics were developed and incorporated as they emerged from the data, thus demonstrating the iterative process of qualitative research. The thematic synthesis combined simultaneous phases of data collection and inductive analysis, allowing themes to emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The methods for synthesis were speculative but provided some general themes for the research design. In this historical case study, I investigated the socio-historical developments of intercollegiate athletics and the institutionalization of men and women's administrative

leadership. Data sources included archival and historical records, symbolic artifacts, and oral histories to capture institutional behavior as it related to leadership in intercollegiate athletics.



### **Chapter 3: Review of Conceptual Framework Literature**

This study analyzed the social construction of gender as viewed and understood through intercollegiate athletic leadership at an institution with origins in normal education. I explored the institutionalization of men and women's athletics to understand changes that occurred over time in women's representation in leadership positions. I sought to understand the institutional structures of intercollegiate athletics using an organizational perspective. In this chapter, I describe the proposed institutional and organizational conceptual framework used to explore the research phenomenon.

#### **Institutional and Organizational Theory**

In order to understand the institutional and cultural environment of intercollegiate athletics, I applied concepts from organizational and institutional theory. Humans organize and socialize into structures that reinforce a common system of *acceptable* behavior (Schein, 1992). Social scientists study the collective behavior of individuals in organizations and institutions. Understanding the relationships between actors and the social structures within which they interact, as well as how these structures are created, perpetuated, and altered, provided a framework for conceptualizing the research phenomenon.

**Development of institutional theory.** The examination of organizations as a field of study first began in the early 20th century in the field of economics. Early institutionalists emerged from Germany to debate the application of the scientific method to study social phenomenon. Schmoller (1900/1904) was among the first to examine social processes in relation to economics, introducing economic processes to social frameworks such as cultural and historical forces. Schmoller (1900/1904) applied a realistic model to economic operations that included an assumption of understanding human behavior. Previous economic theorists had

attempted to develop universal laws that disregarded human influence and historical change (Veblen, 1898). Similarly, Veblen (1898) challenged traditional economic assumptions, arguing that choice and behavior resulted from habit and convention. Thus, institutions were defined by collective behavior, or “settled habits of thought common to the generality of man” (Veblen, 1898, p. 239).

Commons (1924) joined Veblen in criticizing conventional economic models and instead adapted a legal concept of transaction. Transaction encompassed the behaviors or actions of two or more individuals constrained by rules of conduct (Commons, 1924). Commons posited the mechanism of rules served as limits and boundaries for social institutions. Both Veblen (1898) and Commons (1924) recognized the evolutionary nature of economic models and the necessity to adapt as technology and needs changed. Assessing economics as a fluid and changing process contributed to an understanding of the cyclic nature of business (Veblen, 1898; Commons, 1924). The analysis of economic operation inspired others to study institutions in terms of human behavior.

In addition, researchers examined political structures to explain the social world. By the early 20th century, early institutional theorists were examining political and governance structures (Eckstein, 1963). This approach largely involved legal arrangements and moral philosophy (Eckstein, 1963). Although its application incorporated an understanding of historical context and construction of current institutional forms, much of this process existed in a normative framework (W. R. Scott, 1995). Political scientists of this nature compared governance structures, rules, rights, and procedures as products of the past (W. R. Scott, 1995). However, critics have noted the emphasis on historical reconstruction of institutions and the moral authority in decision-making rather than on analytical evidence (W. R. Scott, 1995). From

researchers' concerns about normative thinking and lack of empirical work emerged a positivist approach to political science (Eckstein, 1963). Instead of accepting the 19th century as an era of legal vitality, historical researchers were persuaded to provide facts that represented the political institutions of the real world (Eckstein, 1963).

From the mid-1930s to the 1960s, institutional theorists adopted the behaviorist approach, which oriented political science away from moral philosophy toward an empirically grounded theoretical approach (Hughes, 1939). Empirically grounded political researchers analyzed the behavior of voters, party formations, and the influence of public opinion on political outcomes (Hughes, 1939; Cooley, 1956). Attention shifted from rules and institutional structures to the self-interest and motivations of individuals (Hughes, 1939, 1958). The allocation of resources, power, and control became central themes to political scientists (Hughes, 1939, 1958). Although behavior was viewed as a critical aspect of understanding political structures, contemporary researchers have returned to normative frameworks (W. R. Scott, 1995). Rules represent systems of control—either constraining or empowering behavior—as a formal structure and social institution (W. R. Scott, 1995). Moreover, the structures themselves affect individuals' behavior (W. R. Scott, 1995; Acker 1990).

From a sociological perspective, Hughes (1939) identified the essential elements of institutions as having sets of formal rules individuals collectively follow. Essentially, these elements represented continuity and persistence of the institution, wherein individuals' behavior is standardized. Hughes described interactions between individuals and institution as they develop acceptable work activities, shaped identities, and created habits. Cooley (1902/1956) maintained this idea of interdependence between the individual and institution, but expanded the idea to reveal a greater web of interconnected institutions. Cooley (1902/1956) suggested that

although institutions appear independent and objective, they thrive in part through the actions of the common participants for whom they exist. In addition, much focus has centered on the occupation and role of the institution in licensing individuals for specific tasks (Hughes, 1939). Hughes studied this relationship using an interdependent model, highlighting the symbiotic nature of institutions and social life.

The Chicago school of sociology has continued to influence occupations and emphasize professions over organizations (W. R. Scott, 1995). Abbott (1983), Becker (1970), and Freidson (1961) looked at the effects of organizations on individual behaviors, career paths, occupational roles, tasks, and performance protocol. In the early 20th century, institutional researchers shifted their focus on occupation back toward the organization. For example, Émile Durkheim (1901/1950), a French sociologist, emphasized a mature formation of symbolic system—systems of beliefs—subjectively formed but which crystallize into objective reality. Such reality results from a collective belief system bounded by coercion of rules and individual perceptions of social facts or symbols (Durkheim, 1912/1961). Durkheim (1912/1961) proposed the idea that social facts are reinforced with rituals, ceremonies, and a constant orientation to the beliefs that connected the individuals involved. Thus, strong belief systems or systems of symbols act as a moral authority that defines a social organization.

German researcher Max Weber (1924/1968) claimed social structures are culturally generated and governed by social behavior. Although his work has not been directly linked to institutions, Weber employed institutional concepts in studying social behavior (Weber, 1947). He found that people attached meaning to their actions based on how they interpreted stimuli, in turn shaping their responses (Weber, 1947). The influence of social action and interaction led Weber to study concepts of power and authority. Weber (1924/1968) examined authority on

different types of belief systems and identified three types of authority—traditional, charismatic, and rational—that shape how individuals attach meaning to particular events. For Weber (1924/1968), the realization of authority was indicative of Western societies in which social life was founded on efficiency and control. Weber (1924/1968) used the metaphor of an iron cage (*stahlhartes Gehäuse*) to describe the increased rationalization he saw inherent in social life. Weber's (1924/1968) work on these concepts contributed to the growing field of sociology and served as a foundation for organizational theorists to come, particularly rational theorists.

### **Closed, Open, Rational, and Natural Systems**

**Rational choice theory: Closed systems.** Merton (1940/1957) claimed bureaucratic structures of rules influence individual actions when people conform to the rules. Rules become rigid systems of control and mechanistic instrument designed to achieve specified goals (Merton, 1940/1957). Taylor (1911) noted organizations are rational entities designed for efficiency. Proponents of rational choice theory have defined organizations as rational, closed systems that are assessed based on the rules or laws employed (Taylor, 1911). Closed systems comprise fixed circumstances wherein individuals in the organization have control over or can predict all variables and subsequent relationships (Taylor, 1911). Closed systems have known goals and repetitive tasks, and efficiency is the ultimate criterion (Taylor, 1911).

However, this rational, closed-system approach does not include the human element and the unpredictability of individual behavior. Although organizational leaders may desire the control, efficiency, and predictability of a rational system, it is difficult to avoid exposure to uncontrollable variables in a natural system (Thompson, 1967). Thus, recognizing the influence from the environment stimulated researchers to understand the role and function of the environment on shaping organizations. The concept of open and closed systems based on the

organization's relationship with the environment has become a common model for studying organizations (Thompson, 1967).

**Natural, open systems.** In contrast to closed systems, open systems contain more variables that researchers cannot predict or control because of the variables' interdependence with the larger environment (Thompson, 1967). March and Simon (1958) were among the first to explore open systems by studying individual cognitive capacity in relation to organizational structures. Political scientists have argued that organizations essentially shape participant behavior by developing performance programs through which workers attempt to solve routine problems with repeated actions (Cooley, 1902/1956). March and Simon's research on performance programs contributed to concepts of rationality (perfect versus bounded and procedural versus substantive), based on shared value assumptions, cognitive frameworks, and established rules and routines. As open systems, organizations depend on the environment for vital resources, but "enacting" their environment can pose potential problems (March & Simon, 1958). Thompson (2003) added the concept of self-stabilization for natural systems; self-stabilization helps balance relationships among the parts and activities in the organization in order to keep the system safe from outside threats.

Proponents of a natural-system approach to institutional analysis consider the effects of unpredictable variables on organizations (Thompson, 2003). Participants' social characteristics and the varied pressures from internal and external environments aid in the transformation of "organizations" into "institutions" (Thompson, 2003). The actions of members of social institutions are thought to be explainable by observable and objective laws, rules, and principles—a normative approach; however, Merton (1936) suggested that unanticipated actions

from the external environment (turbulence) have more impact over elements that can be controlled internally.

In attempting to reconcile a subjective and objective approach to social action, Parsons (1937) constructed a voluntaristic theory of action. Parsons suggested a system of action becomes institutionalized based on constant interaction between the actors and a common set of normative standards and value patterns. Such normative frameworks become internalized and motivated by moral authority rather than by instrumental concerns; this internalization then regulates the relations of individuals to each other (Parsons, 1937). In fact, actors within the institution socialize other individuals for obedience to institutional norms, a phenomenon Parsons called *action theory*. Parsons' action theory has drawn criticism for excluding the influence of culture as internal value orientations coming from outside the institution, thus giving too much weight to the subjective view and not enough to the objective view (W. R. Scott, 1995).

W. R. Scott (1995) stated, "Social actions are not context free but are constrained and their outcomes are shaped by the settings in which they occur" (p. 18). In the 1960s, the study of the relationship between organizations and their environments gained momentum from Parsons's (1937) institutional approach. Parsons (1960a) observed how institutions became legitimate based on their value systems in relation to the larger institutional field or external environment. Although institutions shared a process whereby individuals internalized shared norms to produce social action, there was an external expectation of what institutions ought to be (Parsons, 1934/1990).

According to Parsons (1937), widespread institutional patterns develop from a normative framework that reflects the societal norms, values, and cultural underpinnings of the time.

Organizations receive legitimacy in a society in which their goals connect to greater cultural values (Parsons, 1960a). Congruency with cultural constructs helps establish patterns of operation for organizational systems (Parsons, 1960a). Parsons (1953) observed how normative patterns govern institutionalized behavior and discussed how this behavior varies based on the values operating in a particular function. Stratification in the value system led Parsons to expand his concept of institutions to include the idea of vertical alignment. Parsons (1960b) suggested three distinctive layers: the technical core (production function), the managerial layer (control and coordination of the production), and the institutional layer (bridging the organizational norms with the greater community). Parsons (1960b) recognized every organization as a subsystem in the wider social system in which meaning, legitimacy, and resources are available if subsystems are congruent.

Organizations are abstract and difficult to define. Levitt (as cited in W. R. Scott, 1995) defined four parts to an organization: goals, social structures, technologies, and actors. These four elements have persisted over time because of the resilience of their social structures and alignment with larger cultural values (W. R. Scott, 1995). Thompson's (1967) theory of organizations encompassed Parson's (1960a, 1960b) idea of vertical organizational layers and indicated that organizations could be both rational, through formalized social structures, and natural by using informal structures for decision-making and organizational adaptation. Gouldner (1954) contributed to the coexistence of rational and natural systems, comparing a mechanistic system to one that behaves like an organism. The organization maintains a relationship with its surrounding environment, similar to an organism responding to environmental stimuli. Therefore, organizational leaders seek to control elements of a closed system and anticipate potential factors characteristic of open systems.



The effect of environment on organizations was a central focus for Thompson (1967). After dissecting the layers of Parsons's (1960a, 1960b) models, Thompson (1967) introduced specific environments for each of the organizational layers. Thompson (1967) defined an organization's domain as the point at which the organization depends on inputs from the environment. The core technology of an organization exists in a task environment based on its relevance to goal setting and attainment (Thompson, 1967). Because of the specificity of organizational goals and the unique domains for which they exist, no task environments are alike (Thompson, 1967). Further, a task environment comprises four major sectors—clients, competitors, suppliers, and regulatory groups—all of which contribute to the transformation of inputs into outputs (Thompson, 2003). Each of these sectors establishes a set of expectations for organizational members and external constituents, known as domain *consensus* (Thompson, 2003). Thompson's (2003) model of the task environment introduced concepts of interdependence, power, and dependence. Thompson (2003) noted organizational strategies critical for organizational survival that maintain, defend, and expand a task environment.

Strategies for achieving organizational rationality are possible through internal and external mechanisms aimed at managing uncertainty imposed by the environment (Thompson, 2003). However, interdependence with the environment presents risks and resources necessary for survival. Thompson (2003) suggested the desire for rationality involves elements of the different organizational layers. Leaders' ability to manage their organizations' interdependence is crucial to achieving rationality (Thompson, 2003). A phenomenon known as *organizational rationality* occurs when an organization can achieve its goals in a task environment rich with the resources necessary to sustain the technical core. Successful task environments depend on the organization's ability to acquire and control resources (Thompson, 2003). Relationships between

competitors, partners, and suppliers are competitive, leading to a potential threat of resource scarcity (Thompson, 2003). In addition, the task environment is pluralistic—it intersects with other organizational domains and task environments (Thompson, 2003; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). A key theoretical framework showing this relationship is Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) resource dependency model.

The second organization layer—managerial—serves the technical core by procuring necessary resources to support the core technology and coordinating with the outside environment (Parsons, 1960a, 1960b). Managers are charged with controlling and servicing the technical core, a fluid process that depends on the actions of various members of the organization (Thompson, 2003). Therefore, a particular environment depends on the individual actors and the procedures assigned—a normative framework—that drives decision-making. Members of the managerial environment who handle maintenance coordination manage interdependence in two ways—internally and externally (Thompson, 2003). Internal strategies comprise adaptation, adjustment, and integration to offset uncertainty imposed by interdependence (Thompson, 2003). Critical external strategies include modes of interaction such as buffering, bridging, and boundary spanning (Thompson, 2003). As organizational leaders manage their interdependence by employing internal and external strategies, the managerial function manages the core (Thompson, 2003). Moreover, organizational rationality results in the organization's survival in the environment, including supplying outputs for the environment (Thompson, 2003).

Finally, the institutional layer of an organization contains the technical and managerial suborganizations and provides the source of meaning and legitimacy recognized by the community and outside agencies (Parsons, 1960). The environment encompasses a wider, largely political, social system, members of which seek legitimacy (Parsons, 1960; W. R. Scott, 1995;

Thompson, 2003). The institutional environment includes governmental, regulatory, and professional agencies whose members apply coercive, emetic, or normative pressures on organizations (Parsons, 1960a, 1960b). Legitimacy is granted to organizations when members comply with rules and norms defined by the institutional and cultural environments (Parsons, 1960a, 1960b; Thompson, 2003; W. R. Scott, 1995). Organizational leaders seek institutional rationality by proving the organization has the right to exist (Thompson, 2003). In addition to representing the ability to exist, an organization's rationality depends on systems of meanings and cultural congruence with society (Thompson, 2003; W. R. Scott, 1995).

### **Historical Institutionalism**

A prominent notion that emerged from researchers studying the economic influences of institutional analysis was the importance of historical context on current structures (Tuchman, 1994; Selznick, 1957). Reconstructing past events has led to an understanding of particular institutional forms as well as clarification of the meaning associated with particular practices that institutionalize actors into the organization (Selznick, 1957). Selznick (1957) advanced the concept of institutionalization as a process that reflects an organization's history, a history wherein established values are products of the goals and outcomes of the organization. Selznick suggested organizational leaders should no longer attend to the technical requirements for instrumental survival, but instead become concerned with self-maintenance to preserve their organizations' unique values. This approach indicates organizations are not rational entities but natural systems that embody the values of those within and those external to the organization. Not until the late 1960s did Thompson (1967) introduce the idea that organizations are both rational and natural at the same time. From this theory emerged concepts and strategies for preserving rationality in natural or open systems.

By the mid-1970s, institutional theorists had divided into two distinct schools of thought—an economic and political science (rational) framework and a sociological (historical) framework (Merton, 1940/1957; Parsons, 1960; Thompson, 1967). Proponents of both schools sought to understand how environmental influences shape organizational structures and institutional forms. Although cognitive theorists have studied the effects of individual preferences on organizational patterns, socio-historians argue from a social-constructionist position (Skowronek, 1982). The idea of individual capabilities must be understood as part of the larger institutional structure, because individual preferences are a result of the structures for which they exist. W. R. Scott (1995) summarized this perspective: “Institutions construct actors and define their available modes of action; they constrain behavior, but they also empower it” (p. 27). Skowronek (1982) presented historical reconstruction as necessary to determining the origin of such structures. Additionally, current structures are shaped by choices restricted and conditioned by past choices (David, 1994).

Silverman (1971) broadly expanded the historical perspective in the context of a systems approach by focusing on meaning and the ways in which meaning is constructed and reconstructed in social action. Supporters of this systems view have argued that individuals are constrained by the way they socially construct their reality (Blumer, 1969). Members of social institutions therefore consider these meanings objective, existing in society as social facts (Silverman, 1971). Thus, organizational environments not only need to be rich in resources but also must supply sources of meaning for organizational members (Silverman, 1971). Neo-institutionalists have adopted a rational framework whereby governance or rule systems represent rationally constructed structures created to promote and protect individual interests (Moe, 1984). Moe (1984) reinforced the market nature of organization as dependent on

optimization, equilibrium, and transaction costs, all of which are major elements that establish stability in social choice through the power and priorities represented within institutional structures.

**Defining institutions.** Two distinct schools of institutional theory have emerged; one focuses on the economic approach, and the other centers on the sociological orientation of organizations. Sociologists have turned away from the normative frameworks approach and focused on the cultural belief systems operating in organizational environments. W. R. Scott (1995) defined institutions:

Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers—cultures, structures, and routines—and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction...institutions are multifaceted systems incorporating symbolic systems—cognitive constructions and normative rules—and regulative processes carried out through and shaping social behavior. (p. 33)

Thus, based on the meanings constructed and reinforced within an organization, products of “social facts” are accepted as objective reality (W. R. Scott, 1995).

Institutional theorists have shown that norms, beliefs, rules, and procedures evolve into structures for social behavior; thus, these behaviors become institutionalized over time (W. Scott, 2001). Open systems are largely a reflection of the individuals who comprise the organization and their responses to the external environment. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, social scientists began to study the cognitive function of humans in terms of behavior, motivation, and emotional responses to stimuli (Markus & Zajonc, 1985). Researchers once perceived humans as rational beings, but recently have suggested humans are largely influenced by their worldviews,

biases, and memory limitations (Markus & Zajonc, 1985). In fact, cognitive theorists have found that humans are not the information processors and decision makers they were once thought to be (Burke & Reitze, 1991). Burke and Reitze (1991) noted that shared social meanings and socially produced identities are symbolically defined and reflexively managed. Giddens (1979, 1984) posited individual action in social situations is largely driven by self-interests rather than by the constraints of surrounding social structures.

The field of sociology as it relates to institutions has continued to evolve with the adoption of the view that social reality is a product of human interaction (Giddens, 1979). Discerning cognitive frameworks as consisting of shared knowledge and belief systems rather than as consisting of normative frameworks of rules and norms is the basis for a new institutionalism in organizations (Giddens, 1979, 1984; W. R. Scott, 1995). Mead (1934) described the role symbols play in reinforcing and perpetuating socially created meaning for individuals and others. The social construction of shared cognitive processes reinforced by systems of symbols produces action that is repeatable, stable, and elicits similar meanings in self and others (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Such a realization has enhanced theorists' abilities to study the influence of social institutions on individual behavior as well as the influence of systems of meaning on the environment and other institutions.

**Three pillars.** Three systems elements—regulatory, normative, and cognitive-cultural—are critical components, or pillars, of an institution's existence (W. R. Scott, 1995). Together, they mutually reinforce a greater social framework (W. R. Scott, 1995). Individuals within an organization are socialized to exist within the framework of particular structures consisting of regulatory (rules, laws and sanctions), cognitive (reality and social meanings), and normative (values and norms; (W. R. Scott, 1995).

**Regulatory.** Regulatory structures contribute to the collective behavior through which individuals share a common set of attitudes, values, and norms in order to “belong” in the organization (W. R. Scott, 1995). The regulatory pillar operates on the logic of instrumentality to constrain or regularize behavior (W. R. Scott, 1995). Such a process may include formal and informal mechanisms for expedient compliance (W. R. Scott, 1995). Rule setting, monitoring, sanctioning, shaming, or shunning are coercive mechanisms used to achieve legally sanctioned legitimacy (W. R. Scott, 1995). North (1990) claimed the use of written and unwritten codes of conduct is an essential part of functioning but could add unnecessary costs. North (1990) explored costs related to rule enforcement, noting that enforcement agencies themselves also have outcomes to achieve. The interdependence among social institutions occurs through regulations.

Attention on individual behavior, self-interest, and market performance has contributed to the regulatory function behaving instrumentally and expediently. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) studied the use of coercion in achieving expedience. Force and fear were central themes tempered by the existence of formal and informal rules (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Analysts have suggested an actor’s self-interest in conforming to the rules draws attention away from a rationalist perspective toward one that is more normative. Hechter, Opp, and Wippler (1990) claimed, “Norms and institutions affect the behavior of actors by altering benefit/cost calculations” (p. 4). Individuals make calculated decisions based on formal and informal systems of rewards and penalties—a powerful and prevailing institutional model (Hechter et al., 1990).

**Normative.** Normative structures operate as a basis of social obligation and acceptance (W. R. Scott, 1995). Values and norms are used to define goals or objectives in order to establish appropriate action (W. R. Scott, 1995). Some values and norms are widely accepted and central

to institutional collective behavior, whereas other values and norms are role-specific (W. R. Scott, 1995). Such roles operate as normative expectations of what actors are supposed to do but are subject to external pressure (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Berger and Luckmann (1967) ascertained institutional leaders use roles as a controlling characteristic of institutionalism. Over time, these roles arise formally or informally to reinforce specific behavior, expectations, or results from interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Normative systems of rules and expectations may constrain social behavior; however, they also serve as systems that empower social action. Normative systems stimulate action based on the privileges and power assigned to particular roles. For example, Hughes (1958) studied the power and association with people's ability to become licensed. For some, being licensed conveyed importance and legitimacy that led to the exercise of power in society (Hughes, 1958). The normative approach counters the rational behavior argument and emphasizes how values and norms drive choices. Scott claimed, "rational action is always grounded in social context that specifies appropriate means to particular ends; action acquires its very reasonableness in terms of these social rules and guidelines for behavior" (W. R. Scott, 1995, p. 38). Actors alter their choices and behaviors not necessarily because of self-interest, but because of social obligation (W. R. Scott, 1995). March and Olsen (1989) differentiated regulatory and normative concepts by focusing on social obligation. They found that although rules affect behavior, the concept of rules is broad—rules themselves must be identified, interpreted, adapted, and followed. Thus, interpretation and compliance with rules involves actors' beliefs, goals, attitudes, and behaviors. Institutional behavior, beyond standard operating procedure, is not automatic but instead morally governed (March & Olsen, 1989).



*Cognitive-cultural.* Institutionalists have expanded on the normative structures of collective behavior to consider a shared social reality of cognitive elements. Early cognitive theorists such as Geertz (1973), Berger and Luckmann (1967), Meyer and Rowan (1977), and Zucker (1977) conceptualized the cognitive framework of institutional rules and norms. Their approaches led to the new institutionalism of sociology. Cognitive dimensions include orthodox behaviors stimulated by the external world and behaviors internalized from systems of symbols (Geertz, 1973; Mead, 1934). Human existence is thus a function of the internal representation of the outside world (D'Andrade, 1984). Symbols and meanings arise from interaction in the social world and embed as mechanisms for understanding that world (Blumer, 1969; W. R. Scott, 1995). Symbols of meanings are preserved and modified by human behavior (W. R. Scott, 1995). To understand or explain any action, W. R. Scott (1995) suggested taking into account the objective conditions and the actor's subjective interpretation of them.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) connected culture and institutions. Berger and Luckmann suggested institutional survival is only possible through the preservation of symbols and meaning. Berger and Kellner (1981) claimed social institutions are “sedimentations of meanings” to the extent that crystallization of these meanings becomes objective reality (p. 31). Actors continuously construct and analyze their social realities, but do so in the context of a wider preexisting cultural system (Berger & Kellner, 1981). Proponents of the cognitive framework posit that institutional leaders seek legitimacy through culturally supported and conceptually corrected actions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Often, external pressures occur in part through mimetic mechanisms and constitutive rules (Searle, 1969). These rules involve the complex process of converting subjective experiences, which assume socially constructed meanings and

become both objectively and subjectively real (D'Andrade, 1984). Often, constitutive rules are assumed to be fundamental to life and taken for granted (D'Andrade, 1984).

### **Culture and Organizational Culture**

Neo-institutionalists and historical institutional theorists have suggested the importance of culture in determining institutional structure and the culturally cognitive aspects that may relate to gender. Therefore, I examined the nature of culture and organizational concepts related to culture. Culture, manifested in multiple forms (language, symbols, behaviors, and structures), served as a theoretical lens through which I explored normative and cognitive systems. I intended this lens to reveal the structure of social, political, historical, and economic influences on Eastern Michigan University and its athletic subcultures. To explore the logic of this structure, I discuss the culture in which it has been bounded.

**Defining culture.** Several researchers have proposed definitions to capture the abstraction of culture. For example, Schein (2004) defined culture as a “set of structures, routines, rules, and norms that guide and constrain behavior” (p. 1). Willis (1977) stated, “The cultural is the creative, varied, potentially transformative working out . . . of some of the fundamental social/structural relationships of society” (p. 137). Despite various perspectives on culture, certain components appear universal. Culture encompasses a set of traditions, rules, and symbols that shape and enact as meaning and behaviors of a group of people (Geertz, 1973; W. R. Scott, 1995; Schein, 2004). Learned behaviors of a society composed of products of habits, beliefs, language, and values result from social interaction (Blumer, 1969). Cultural existence relies on the transmission of these learned behaviors from one generation to the next—a set of historical relationships (Schein, 2004).

Geertz (1973) explained traditional culture as “a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 89). In defining culture, Geertz alluded to the major components of culture as language, values, and norms. Communication of thoughts, feelings, and experiences using verbal symbols provide a structure for how people experience the world around them (Geertz, 1973). Verbal and written symbols of language capture the importance of how meaning is conveyed (Geertz, 1973). A second component includes values as common ethical standards and approved actions that a civilized society follows (Geertz, 1973). Values are ideas that people use to distinguish right from wrong. A lack of compliance with established values may lead to punishment by the social institution (Geertz, 1973). Finally, Geertz suggested that every culture has norms that serve as the behavioral expectations and standards for social interaction. Norms take on the socially appropriate qualities derived from values and have legal and ethical implications (W. Scott, 1995; Schein, 2004). For the most part, norms are unquestionable societal standards that if not followed, result in illegal, immoral, and improper action, policed by the group in which they exist (Schein, 2004).

**Cultural concepts.** Spradley (1980) described cultural behavior, cultural knowledge, and cultural artifacts as three fundamental components essential for making cultural inferences. Together, these components provide an adequate description of culture. Spradley defined cultural behavior as what people do, cultural knowledge as what people know, and cultural artifacts as items people use to reinforce the meanings of culture. Ortner (1997) detailed culture as having “its own textual coherence but it is always locally interpreted; a fragile web of stories and

meaning woven” by individuals (p. 11). Such concepts have provided ethnographic researchers a systematic means of uncovering culture (Spindler, 1963; Spradley, 1980; Wolcott, 1987).

French cultural theorist Bourdieu (1993) established the concept of cultural reproduction. Findings from his work with economically and educationally disadvantaged youth show educational systems are mechanisms for cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1993). Reproduction of the dominant class persists through the transmission of dominant norms and values (Bourdieu, 1993). Thus, a distinction of social symbols stratifies individuals by honoring the dominant group. Breer and Locke (1965) studied the basic dimensions of human existence and proposed three fundamental ideas present in human situations—cathectic, cognitive, and evaluative. A cathectic mode implies a preference for an object, activity, behavior, or relationship over another (Breer & Locke, 1965). This orientation refers to the human ability to select or reject items or ideas as a means of existing. Breer and Locke’s second mode, cognitive orientation, includes the judgment of objects based on belief systems. This orientation provides humans a mental map for gauging relevance to their existences in terms of motivations, desires, and moral rightness (Breer & Locke, 1965). Finally, Breer and Locke introduced evaluation as a third mode of preserving the human situation. The evaluative mode refers to the evaluation process implemented in human decision-making based on normative elements (Breer & Locke, 1965). An evaluative orientation is expressed in terms of “appropriate” and expected behavior in a situation (Breer & Locke, 1965). Cathectic refers to individual preferences, and cognitive is associated with beliefs and evaluative orientations with individual values (Breer & Locke, 1965).

Breer and Locke (1965) used these three modes to explain cultural themes around task experience. Breer and Locke postulated that task experiences “serve as an important determinant of individual and/or group differences in what men come to believe, prefer, and value” (p. 8).

People define task experiences internally—intentions, desire, and goals—and externally as a “stimulus-complex,” or duty, job, assignment (Breer & Locke, 1965. p. 8). In terms of culture, Breer and Locke defined task as a “complex of stimuli upon which the individual performs certain operations in order to achieve certain outcomes” (p. 9). Breer and Locke noted these expected outcomes are culturally dependent and represent certain beliefs, values, and preferences specific to the task itself.

**Cultural characteristics.** People can communicate culture superficially in terms of what people wear, how they talk, and how they act; at a deeper level, culture represents the value systems, beliefs, and perceptions of a particular unit. Culture is communicated through shared, symbolic, learned, patterned, integrated, and dynamic qualities (Stark, 2007). Language or dialect serves as a transmitter of culture through communicated information and meaning given to the values and norms central to the culture (Stark, 2007). In fact, culture must be shared through social interaction for people to receive its beliefs, values, and expectations (Stark, 2007). Thus, culture is a product of group interaction transmitted through shared knowledge and experiences (Stark, 2007).

Many cultures have persisted because of the teaching and learning of essential social life activities. Culture, as a group product, is unique to geography, race, ethnicity, social identities, and technology (Stark, 2007). Learned social activities are multidimensional; teaching and learning them ensures survival of the culture through informal and formal educational structures (Stark, 2007). Language, literature, arts, music, and local history are products of culture; in addition, they teach culture (Stark, 2007). Enculturation, or cultural transmission, occurs through formal and informal education to sustain a societal system (Stark, 2007). People learn culture through symbols that carry meaning assigned by the group (Blumer, 1969). Group knowledge is

reinforced through symbols that represent feelings, ideas, behaviors, and social actions (Blumer, 1969). People convey symbols through communication and language to express attitudes, values, and social influence (Blumer, 1969). In addition, the learned characteristics of culture imply that it is patterned and integrated into specific dimensions of society (Stark, 2007). Forms of behavior are rewarded and repeated, whereas other forms of behavior are punished and undergo extinction (Stark, 2007). Common examples in economic and political activities preserve norms of conformity. These structures of order are created by the innovation and intervention of cultural groups to meet the groups' psychological and social needs (Stark, 2007). Activities and habits reflect strong values of specific cultural groups, perpetuated through patterned behavior (Stark, 2007).

As these behaviors seep into the social life of a specific group, the culture undergoes a social evolution process, influenced by the natural environment and biological adaptations (Stark, 2007). Modifications are evident in physical symbols such as clothing, food, shelter, music, arts, ceremonies, and traditions (Stark, 2007). Established expectations and norms evolve as society's rules or laws. Therefore, culture has compulsory qualities—it is possible for a group to be coerced into following a set of collective activities (Stark, 2007). Stark further indicated that individuals within the group abide by the norms and conform collectively to expected behaviors. This commitment to maintaining harmonious relationships is shared generation to generation, as people pass along critical cultural information (Stark, 2007). Obsolete information gradually disappears, giving culture its dynamic characteristic (Stark, 2007). Culture remains fluid because of the changing nature of the environment and the people who contribute to its reproduction (Stark, 2007). Finally, culture varies from group to group, showing diverse characteristics based on the social experiences, traditions, and norms of each group (Stark,

2007). In sum, the context of a situation, the meaning a group places on that situation, and the task experience that ensues are dictated by culture.

**Organizational culture.** Culture is both abstract and complex. Many diverse approaches to studying culture exist, intersecting several social sciences and thereby taking on the biases of each. Schein (1990) attempted to transcend the biases of anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and organizational behavior to create a paradigm linking theory with observable data. Schein suggested adopting a clinical, ethnographic approach to collect precise empirical evidence. Although this approach is not in line with hypothesis testing, it has provided researchers a context for discovery and seeking hypotheses (Schein, 1990). Geertz (1973) wrote, “[Believing . . . that] man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (p. 5).

As a relatively recent concept, the term *organizational culture* has been explicitly used only within the past few decades (Schein, 1990). However, research on organizational climate was more abundant in the literature than was research on culture. For example, Hellreigel and Slocum (1974), Jones and James (1979), and Litwin and Stringer (1968) explored organizational climate through observable measurements, contributing to knowledge regarding how organizations function. However, organizational climate was only a single element of the larger manifestation of organizational culture. In fact, the need to explain variations in organizational climate has ultimately led researchers to drive deeper into concepts such as organizational culture. Schein (2004) introduced leadership and culture as being “two sides of the same coin.” However, until recently, studies focused on leadership have overshadowed the importance of culture. In the past several decades, organizational researchers and managers have used the term

*culture* to refer to organizational climate and practices (Schein, 2004). Phrases such as *a culture of quality* or *right kind of culture* have entered the mainstream vernacular (Schein, 2004).

Further, organizational leaders have become highly attentive to culture. For example, Katz and Kahn (1978) introduced systems theory to study organizational norms and attitudes. An emphasis on system dynamics has laid the theoretical foundation for future organizational culture studies.

The field of organizational psychology grew along with the fields of business and management, combining concepts from anthropology and sociology (Schein, 1990). Cross-cultural psychology had existed as a field but now practitioners began to apply cultural concepts to organizations. For example, Ouchi (as cited in Schein, 1990) and Pascale and Athos (1981) combined concepts from cross-cultural psychology with organization theory to explain “variations in patterns of organizational behavior, and levels of stability in group and organizational behavior” (p. 110). The pursuit to understand how organizational behavior is influenced by the people and culture within a group reached a peak in the 1980s (Schein, 1990). Researchers sought ways to explain performance variation for U.S. companies in comparison to other societies, particularly Japan (Pascale & Athos, 1981). Culture was not a sufficient explanation of performance differences, and managers needed concepts that differentiated between organizations within a society (Pascale & Athos, 1981). This need was the impetus for the study of organizational culture.

Schein (1990) identified cultural origins and dynamics as being observable only in the “power center” of an organization (p. 91). Power centers contain the founders, leaders, and powerful managers’ influence on the culture and organizational-level change (Schein, 1990). Schein recognized that *organization* and *culture* were ambiguous concepts. In order for culture to



form, organizations must share a stable set of people with a common history (Schein, 1990). A long-shared history or intense experience results in a stronger culture (Schein, 1990). Schein defined organizational culture as a learned group experience aimed at solving problems of internal integration and survival in the external environment. Successful solutions are transmitted to new members of the group.

Schein (2004) maintained culture as shaped by the environment and subject to complex group-learning processes. Sometimes group-learning processes can become inherent, resulting in a *collective unconscious*. Jung (1973) developed the notion of collective unconscious wherein implicit meanings fall out of awareness but still influence experiences, emotions, and behaviors. Spradley (1980) expounded on this theory to describe being socialized into a culture as “being ‘culture-bound,’ living inside of a particular reality that was taken for granted as ‘the reality’” (p. 14). Schein (1992) posed three levels of culture that exist simultaneously, often described using an iceberg metaphor: Artifacts exist at the surface, values appear just below the surface, and deep in the core are the culture’s basic assumptions.

Culture is a group phenomenon carried by individuals and reinforced by implicit and explicit rules, policies, and expectations, which are acted on as meaning (Spradley, 1980). This definition applies to organizational culture, which extends beyond the traditional norms, behavior patterns, and rituals associated with culture to reveal an organization’s particular social structures (Spradley, 1980). The implicit and explicit rules and expectations are the control structures determining how institutions operate and persist (Spradley, 1980). Individuals are socialized into systems governed by rules, laws, and myths, which in turn lead to a shared expectation of how to act or collectively behave (W. R. Scott, 2001). Individuals are free to act within a culture once the rules are understood. Following along and abiding by the cultural rules

provides legitimacy and reinforces cultural expectations (W. R. Scott, 2001). To substantiate organizational culture, Schein (2004) contributed concepts of structural stability, depth, breadth, and patterning or integration to help conceptualize the reproduction of culture. Culture persists because it aligns thinking and action to support the establishment of order (Schein, 2004).

Socialization of new members entering the group perpetuates and contributes to cultural dynamics. The socialization process initiates with recruitment and selection of new members (Schein, 1990). Organizational leaders seek individuals with the “right” set of assumptions, beliefs, and values (Schein, 1990). Finding the “right” workers limits time and effort spent on fully socializing members because they are already “pre-socialized” with the desired qualities (Schein, 1990). Training is a process of acculturation used to prepare new members to take on their organizational roles. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) identified seven dimensions of the socialization process: (a) group versus individual, (b) formal versus informal, (c) serial versus random, (d) sequential versus disjunctive, (e) fixed versus variable, (f) self-destructive/reconstructive versus self-enhancing, and (g) tournament versus contest. Despite the diverse approaches to socialization, the purpose has remained consistent—to perpetuate culture. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) discovered three outcomes from the socialization process: a custodial orientation, a creative individualism orientation, and a rebellion orientation. Total conformity to all norms of a particular organizational culture resulted in the custodial orientation (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Creative individuals learned the central or pivotal assumptions of the culture but rejected peripheral norms, thus maintaining their creativity toward organizational tasks (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Finally, the rebel totally rejected all assumptions of the culture (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Depending on the coach or mentor, the socialization process varied individually (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

Whereas an organization's survival rests on its relationship with the environment, culture is deeply rooted and often difficult to change (Schein, 1990). Organizations exist in open systems in which environmental conditions change frequently and organizations must adapt (Schein, 1990). Organizational culture is constructed around internal integration and external adaptation (Schein, 2004). Internal integration involves the norms, rules, and values that influence individuals' behavior with others (Schein, 2004). How an organization engages with the external environment shows external adaptation. From these two concepts, Schein (2004) established a definition of organizational culture. Schein (2004) recognized that organizational culture is dynamic and under constant pressure to evolve and grow. Such demands force new learning and adaptations to culture as well as influence new members' underlying assumptions (Schein, 2004). Although culture evolves, group members do not easily give up their basic sets of assumptions or norms when faced with external events or new members' assumptions (Schein, 1992). Therefore, patterns of behavior help organizations deal with internal integration and external adaptation—these patterns may become powerful (Schein, 1992). Such strategies of patterned organizational behavior contribute to cultural rigidity through transmission (Schein, 1992). Culture naturally evolves through the division of labor, the formation of functional units, and differentiation of tasks (Schein, 1992). Strategies for teaching new members such patterns create manageable subcultures more easily controlled during recruitment and hiring (Schein, 1992).

Pascale and Athos (1981) described organizational culture as the glue that holds an organization together. An organization's success hinges on its leaders' ability to maintain coherence of thought, implement consistent action, and produce a strong culture and output (Pascale & Athos, 1981). A weak culture lacks the purpose, direction, and coherence necessary

for success (Schattschneider, 1975). Elazar (1985) asserted the most important feature of any culture is the system of values associated with behavior, because values reinforce the dominant culture in an organization or society. Moreover, the dominant culture in which an organization is created heavily influences the sustained culture of that organization (Elazar, 1985; Schattschneider, 1975). Therefore, I sought to identify these original attributes of culture—for example, the rules, myths, laws, tasks, rituals, gender relationships, behavior, and values—that shift over time. In addition, evidence of culture was apparent when I reviewed the sports and people involved in the evolution of sports at the institution. The structures supporting these cultural elements contributed to the exploration of the cultural environment in intercollegiate athletic institutions and athletics at a school with origins in normal education.

### **Institutional Context and Organization**

Dominant institutional values reflect the policies, procedures, and practices of the organization that uphold the dominant group ideals (Elazar, 1985; Schein, 2004; Schattschneider, 1975). Institutional members create and use such structures to control the actions of people. Meyer and Rowan (1977) ascertained formal structures in an organization emerge from pressures of legitimacy and survival. Over time, organizational members adopt structures that promote specific tasks, procedures, and norms, a process known as the *trapping of legitimacy*, which symbolizes organizational actions (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). These actions are socially constructed and used to communicate shared meaning or culture to the internal and external environments (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In these systems of relationships, individuals act according to the social structures and create implicit and explicit meaning (W. Scott, 1995). Many of these meanings occur in response to the authoritative regulatory agency and patterns of other “like” institutions (W. R. Scott, 1995).

**Legitimacy.** Berger and Luckmann (1967) defined legitimacy as connecting the shared meanings among actors to the wider culturally cognitive frames, norms, or rules. Legitimacy is intended to validate the institutional patterns of behavior through the cultural support of authorities (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Meyer & Scott, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) posited that because of institutional pressures in the environment, organizations pursue structural homogeneity. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) concluded that three types of pressures prompt a need for conformity: (a) coercive pressures from legal mandates or compliance requirements; (b) mimetic pressures from duplicate structures of success during uncertainty; and (c) normative pressures, which motivate homogeneity through cultural reproduction. Organizational leaders adopt institutional myths to gain and maintain legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Stability occurs through hiring individuals with similar attitudes and shared meaning (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

In the broader context, an organization without legitimacy is at risk of collapse (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Therefore, the practice of isomorphism helps legitimize organizations by copying similar structures and establishing congruence between the values internal and external to the organization (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Isomorphism, discussed later, is a form of imitation employed to handle uncertainty and threats from the environment (W. R. Scott, 1995). As mentioned, means of achieving legitimacy vary for the three pillars (regulatory, normative, and cognitive-cultural). The regulatory pillar involves conforming to rules and operating in accordance with legal demands (W. R. Scott, 1995). A normative framework tends to operate as a moral obligation wherein participants internalize mechanisms for acceptance and conformity (W. R. Scott, 1995). The cognitive-cultural pillar helps maintain legitimacy when organizational members adopt a common culturally cognitive system of meaning (W. R. Scott, 1995). In sum,

adoption of a consistent identity or orthodox structure prepares actors for specific situations and fosters legitimacy (W. R. Scott, 1995).

**Resource dependency.** Proponents of resource dependency theory have examined the effects on behavior of organizational needs for external resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Survival is determined by the organization's ability to procure resources and interact with those who control necessary resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) defined an organization as the "interlocking of behaviors of the various participants that comprise the organization" (p. 258). Thus, activities and behaviors that generate resources are institutionalized as mechanisms of control and power (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). An interlocking structure of behavior that reinforces use, access, and allocation of resources is the foundation of the resource dependency framework (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). According to Pfeffer and Salancik (2003), to understand organizational behavior requires defining the context of the organization, including the larger environment.

The conditions within an environment inextricably influence the actions of organizational participants and social controls of the organization. Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) provided a list of conditions that facilitate such organizational control and described how conditions can be altered based on the relationship between social actors and the organization. Although I did not explore each condition, as a list, these conditions provide a framework for analyzing organizational behavior based on the organization's ability and need to secure resources. In general, organizations tend to be influenced by those who control the resources; the greater the dependency on resources, the more the organization is at risk of uncertainty (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Certainty and autonomy are important characteristics of organizational action (Thompson & McEwen, 1958). The resource dependency framework provides an explanation for decisions

and actions—for example, mergers, cooptation, growth, political involvement, and restrictions—in order to maintain certainty and control (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Davis and Cobb (2010) outlined three concepts relevant to the framework: the importance of social context and environment, strategies used by organizations to enhance autonomy, and the use of power necessary for internal and external organizational actions. Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) noted:

Linking organizational environments with organizational actions suggests that environmental contingencies affect the distribution of power and control in the organization. In turn, power affects succession to leadership positions in the organization, and organizational leaders—the members of the dominant coalition—shape organizational actions and structures. (p. 262)

The emphasis on power and control mechanisms shows that the relationship between social actors and organizational behavior is a distinctive concept for resource dependency (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). This model also informs the organization's interdependence with other organizations (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

**Organizational field.** The influence of the external environment is powerful. Although organizational leaders desire control, efficiency, and rational operations, they are embedded in an environment consisting of other organizations competing for resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). Organizational survival is contingent on relationships among the organization, the environment, and other institutions (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). For example, federations, associations, competitive relationships, and social-legal structures may link organizations. W. R. Scott (2001) employed the concept of organizational populations wherein similar organizations possess a common organizational form. Forms are patterns of cultural-cognitive and normative

rules of conduct widely accepted in the institutional environment (W. R. Scott, 1995). Some organizational forms are scripts, definitions, and models that determine organizational structures (W. R. Scott, 1995). As stated previously, no organizations have the same task environment but they share structural elements. Carroll and Hannan (2000) proposed the idea that some structural elements are more fundamental or core to the organization, while others are more peripheral.

Analyzing organizational structures by detecting similar characteristics is only one way to define an organizational population. Another approach involving dynamic recognition of an organization's boundaries focuses on the organization's population (Hannan & Freeman, 1989). The study of organizational forms and populations reflects an ecological approach to organizational theory. Attention to the ecological arrangement facilitates analysis of similarly structured organizations and their responses to competition and changes in the environment (Hannan & Freeman, 1989). This level of analysis leads to concepts of interorganizational community and organizational field.

Hawley (1950) pioneered the idea of interorganizational community after studying geographically bounded organizations performing interdependently. Hawley proposed that communities of diverse organizations could develop collectively beneficial structures and cooperative functions in order to adapt to changing environments. Two key elements in the idea of interorganizational communities are proximity of organizations to each other and existence in a shared social environment (Hawley, 1950). However, these elements exclude the important relationships and exchanges taking place outside of the immediate community (Hawley, 1950). Acknowledging this limitation, W. R. Scott and Meyer (1991) proposed a vertical alignment linking organizations, local and distant, in a structured hierarchy. Connecting organizations that operate interdependently through common rules, norms, and meaning systems was the



foundation of the organizational field concept (W. R. Scott & Meyer, 1991). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) claimed an organizational field consisted of “key suppliers, resources and produce consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services and products” (p. 148).

Organizational field researchers have evaluated similar organizations linked through shared cultural rules and meaning systems (W. R. Scott, 2001). Connections between local and distant, horizontal and vertical, and similar and dissimilar organizations emerged through organizational field analysis. DiMaggio (1986) presented an argument for studying organizations not linked directly but operating under similar conditions and displaying comparable structures and patterns of action. Organizational field researchers have contributed to the institutional perspective by providing a framework in which organizational populations survive with interdependence (DiMaggio, 1986). Their existence has depended on a symbiotic relationship involving a common technology, normative codes, or regulatory order (Aldrich, 1992; W. Scott, 1995).

W. R. Scott (2001) provided three advantages for applying an organizational field approach. First, because “organizations both compete and cooperate with similar and diverse organizations,” the framework facilitates the examination of interdependence (W. R. Scott, 2001, p. 131). Second, the field perspective involves many levels of analysis, including the individual organization and its relationship with organizations of differing types, but also includes the ways in which participants influence their environment (W. R. Scott, 2001). Finally, new forms of organizations typically do not emerge *de novo* but draw inspiration from previous forms (W. R. Scott, 2001). Therefore, the field perspective fosters the analysis of new and old forms that have expired and emerged based on organizational shifts—often because of isomorphic pressures (W.

R. Scott, 2001; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Organizational structures can be studied using this perspective, in connection with broader existing social structures and processes.

**Isomorphism.** Organizations mimic or model their structures after other organizational structures using a mechanism called *isomorphism*. As mentioned, isomorphism is a form of imitation employed to handle uncertainty and threats from the environment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) highlighted the extent to which organizations sought to be isomorphic in their forms and patterns with cultures in their environment. Social structures emerged from isomorphic pressures and evolved into strategies for maintaining institutional rationality and legitimacy (Meyer & Scott, 1983).

Concepts such as isomorphism represent a departure from rational choice theory toward theories that include context and social construction, undertaken to understand the logic of social action (Meyer & Scott, 1983). The social world is constructed through individuals in interaction and the systems of meanings used to preserve cultural beliefs (Meyer & Scott, 1983).

Institutional theory provides a framework to examine the origin and purpose of organizational structures in relation to the external environment. A framework adapted from institutional and organizational theory aids in understanding the institutionalization of specific structural systems. The concepts helped me focus on various social groups' collective behaviors, roles, and norms that uphold a common framework of meaning as I sought to explore the socially constructed realities and cultures preserved in institutions through their structural formation.

### **Social Structures**

D. Smith (1987) introduced a concept known as *bifurcation of consciousness*, which refers to the divide between the actual experienced world and the pervasive dominant view people must accept or accommodate. The dominant view, embedded in the institutions and

practices of the world, becomes the expected view (D. Smith, 1987). In order to gain acceptance by the dominant members, others must continually adapt. Thus, oppressed members and those of the minority group are alienated from their “true” selves and expected to exist within structures created and controlled by the privileged groups (D. Smith, 1987). For example, gender can create a fracture in the formation of social institutions and experienced reality (D. Smith, 2005).

Dominant views regarding gender become embedded in institutions and reinforced with decisions that uphold certain institutional behaviors (D. Smith, 2005).

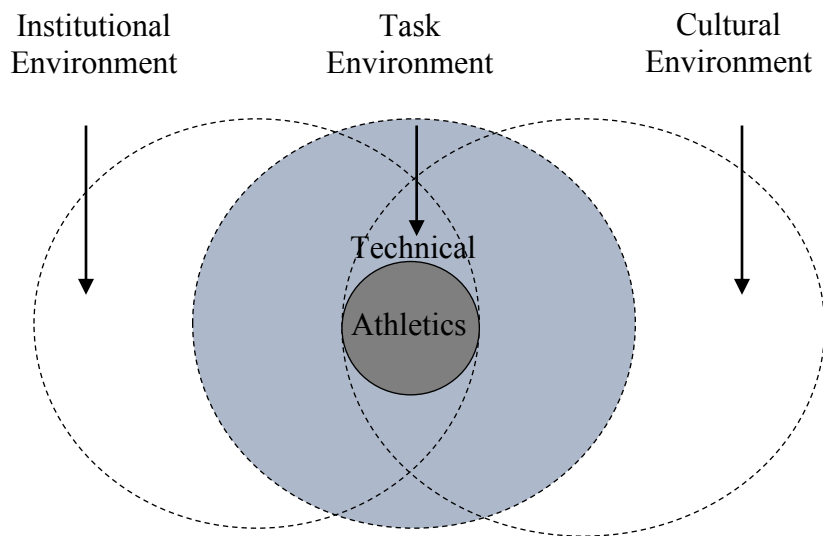
Institutional structures maintain dominant ideals through texts that facilitate social control (D. Smith, 2005). D. Smith (1987) posited that women are “excluded from the practices of power within textually mediated relations of ruling” (p. 4). These relations of rulings are not only bureaucratic, administrative, and professional media networks, but also “the complex discourses, scientific, technical, and cultural, that intersect, interpenetrate, and coordinate” them (D. Smith, 1987, p. 4). D. Smith (1987) asserted gender is a relation of ruling and a socially constructed concept intended to elicit power and control for the dominant masculine view.

Previous researchers have suggested these relationships exist in environments that shape institutional structures over time (Acker 1990). Sociological research has grown from a disciplinary perspective that reveals the inadequacies of women compared to men to a transdisciplinary perspective that promotes the unique experiences of women (D. Smith, 2012). In regards to sport, gender has undergone a deconstruction, such that sex, sexuality, and gender can now be expressed as multidimensional. Previous researchers have illustrated gender as a socially constructed and culturally protected societal product (Acker, 1990). In fact, embedded into U.S. social structures is recognition of gender as a justification for dividing tasks, roles, power, and control (D. Smith, 1987). Exploring the evolutionary nature of intercollegiate athletic

leadership using institutional theory provided context for understanding how men and women's athletic structures emerged.

### **Conceptual Framework**

In this study, I sought to understand the social construction of gender and institutionalization of men and women's intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University. I explored the historical and traditional development of athletic institutions and the logic systems behind their organizational processes. The conceptual framework used concepts from institutional and organizational theories. This organizational analysis focused on the different organizational layers and their relationships to the external environment. Viewing the unit of analysis from multiple perspectives over time was necessary to achieve a factual understanding of reality. A framework adapted from Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013) shows EMU leaders' desire for rationality. The framework in Figure 1. shows an operational understanding of the environmental impacts on the organizational field. Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013) differentiated the institutional environment from the cultural environment, which influences the socialization of individuals based on W. R. Scott's (1995) three pillars—regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive. In this particular framework, athletics developed an independent production function as the technical core separate from the academic technical core and mission of the institution. Studying the nature of the production function and supportive environments for men's and women's athletics may shed light on the role of gender in administrative leadership.



*Figure 1.* Organizational framework showing impacts on the organizational field. Adapted from: Muwonge, C. (2012) Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI; Shinn J. (2013) The organizational realities of student affairs: A political perspective, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.

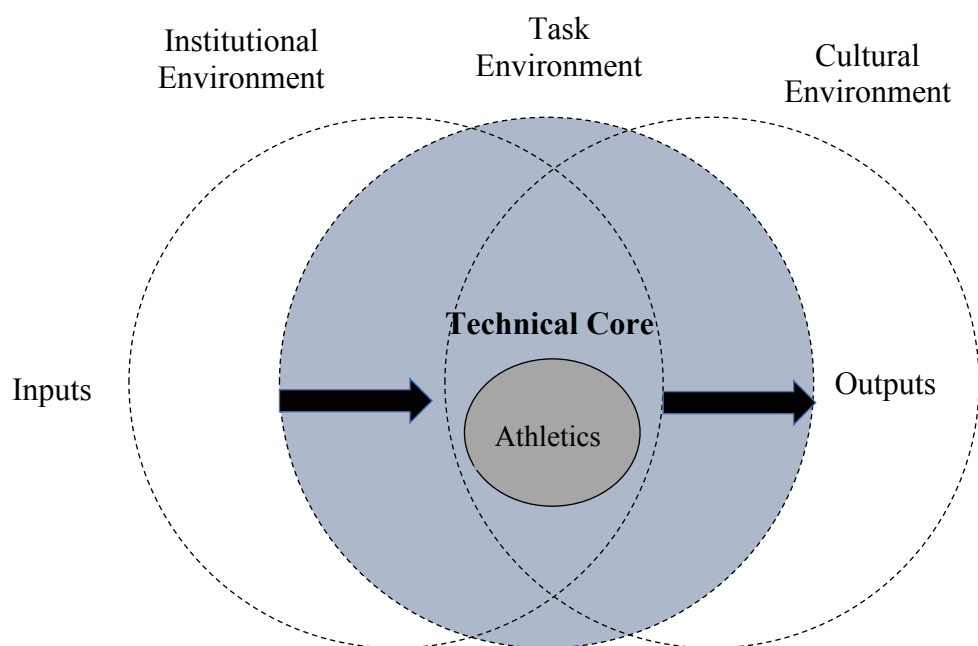
W. R. Scott's (2001) three-pillar approach was advanced through the organizational views of the rational, natural, and open systems. As previously mentioned, the rational system accounts for the formalized structures of an organization, but insufficiently accounts for the human elements or external environment in which organizations exist (W. R. Scott, 2001). The natural system incorporates the relationship between the participants and the formal and inherent informal structures that result from human interaction (W. R. Scott, 2001). Understanding participant relationships with the formal and informal structures was fundamental to the sociological perspective of organizational theory (Perrow, 1970; W. R. Scott, 2001; Selznick, 1996). Both the rational and natural systems exclude the environmental impact on organizational behavior (W. R. Scott, 2001). In contrast, W. R. Scott's (2001) third perspective of open systems

includes the vitality of an organization based on its ability to survive and interact with the environment. It was important to revisit these three perspectives when I investigated the organizational functions of the task, institutional, and cultural environments. Assuming multiple perspectives allowed me to postulate an accurate understanding of the athletic function from multiple lenses: rational-task, natural-cultural, and open-institution (W. R. Scott, 2001).

Thompson (1967) posited the value in combining these perspectives when the rational perspective can be used to analyze the technical activities of an organization. The natural system accounts for the cultural elements existing between the people and the structures of the organization (W. R. Scott, 2001). Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013) advanced the contribution of cultural activities to an organization's survival and right to exist. Finally, the open perspective was useful in analyzing the institutional activities influenced by the external environment (Thompson, 1967). In this study, it was important to explore the different environments and their activities that influenced the institutionalization of men and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University. Next, I explain the technical, institutional, and cultural environments and their corresponding activities in detail.

**Task environment.** The technical core is supported by the task environment, which converts inputs from the environment to outputs which return to the environment and create a feedback and renewal process (Hanson & Brown 1977). The process by which organizations acquire and maintain those resources is critical to organizational survival and affirms its ability to exist (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; W. R. Scott, 2001; Thompson, 1967). The rationality of a task environment is contingent on the organization's ability to minimize uncertainty. Formal structures of rules and regulations convert inputs into outputs (Thompson, 1967). At Eastern Michigan University, the athletic department exists to promote certain technical activities related

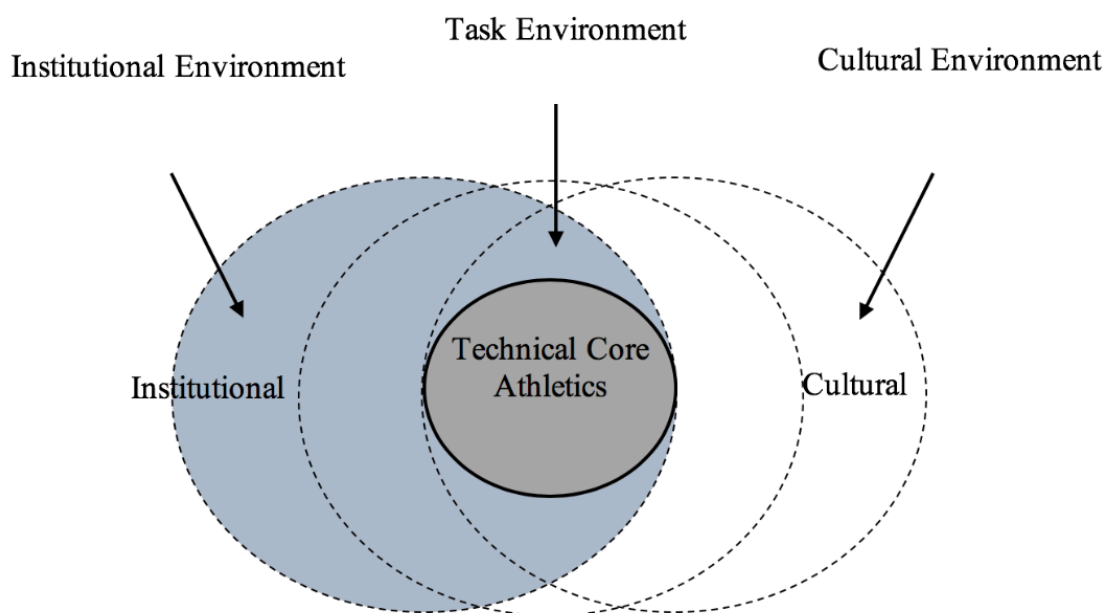
to winning athletic programs by producing games. Their “reason to exist” is to recruit athletes and transform them into the means to win programs. However, this has not always been the technical activity of the athletic department, and the technical environment has differed for the men and women’s athletic programs (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). I explore the evolution of the athletic technical core in Chapter 4. Further, these technical activities of moving inputs (students) through the athletic core to generate outputs (coaches and physical educators) has varied for men and women and changed over time (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). Figure 2 shows how I analyze this transformation.



*Figure 2.* Technical activities provided the organization a purpose for existing  
Adapted from: Muwonge, C. (2012) Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI; Shinn J. (2013) The organizational realities of student affairs: A political perspective, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.

**Institutional environment.** Parsons (1960a, 1960b) and Thompson (1967) explained the institutional activities as those that coordinate between the internal technical and external

environment. These activities are designed to gain and maintain organizational legitimacy (Parsons, 1960a, 1960b; W. R. Scott, 1995). Legitimacy is achieved by aligning institutional values with those of the greater environment through compliance with regulatory bodies and isomorphism within the organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Scott, 1983). Organizations receive “support and legitimacy to the extent that they conform to contemporary norms—as determined by professional and scientific authorities—concerning the ‘appropriate’ way to organize” (W. R. Scott, 2001, p. 137). In this study, the institutional environment included activities and pressures from regulatory and accrediting agencies such as NCAA, AIAW, and AAPHERD; and isomorphic pressures from peer institutions in the organizational field, as shown in Figure 3.

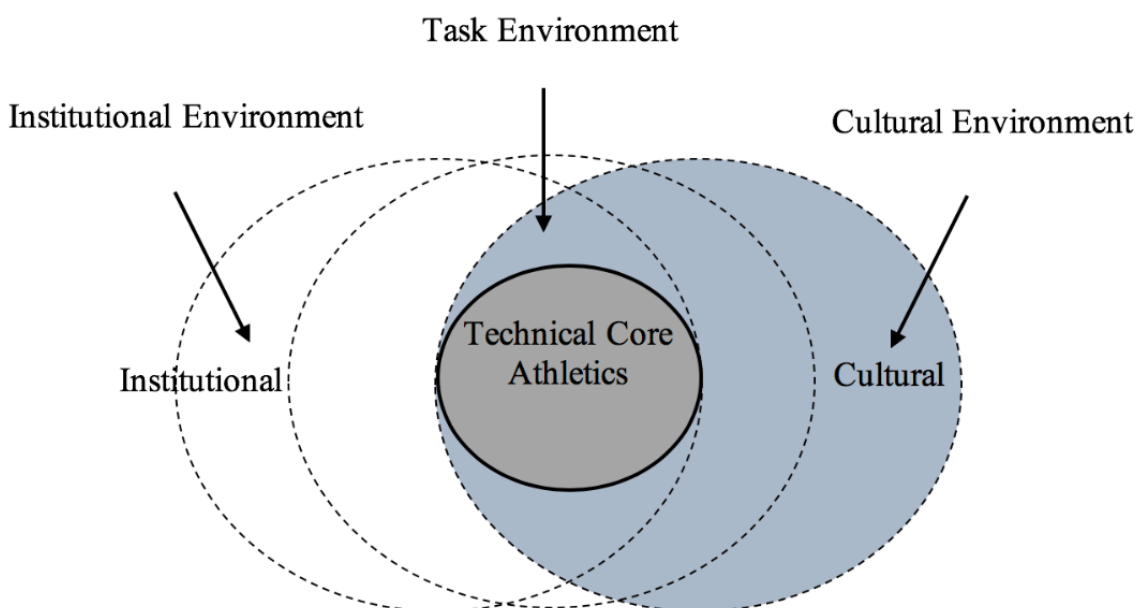


*Figure 3.* Institutional activities provide the organization with legitimacy. Adapted from: Muwonge, C. (2012) Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI; Shinn J. (2013) The organizational realities of student affairs: A political perspective, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.



**Cultural environment.** The cultural environment includes the values and beliefs of the people in the organization and the values and beliefs in the greater society (Figure 4).

Differences in the cultural environment, compared to the institutional environment, were revealed in both Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013). Both researchers found a divergence between the institutional and cultural demands on organizations—in order to survive, organizational leaders had to attend to both. Sometimes these demands are at odds with each other, and leaders are forced to accommodate. The cultural environment at Eastern Michigan University was primarily composed of people and inputs (students) of southeast Michigan. However, the cultural environment of the men and women’s athletic department experienced unique cultural pressures.



*Figure 4.* Cultural activities are associated with the organization’s right to exist. Adapted from: Muwonge, C. (2012) Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI; Shinn J. (2013) The organizational realities of student affairs: A political perspective, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.

The phenomenon of gender has been especially unique to the context of sport and intercollegiate athletics. Sport has evolved as a social institution and now exists as a core function for many institutions of higher education (Thelin, 2004). Structures of intercollegiate athletics have become institutionalized over time as members exercise patterns of action. These actions are largely influenced by the cultures that exist within and throughout the organization. Behaviors, structures, and rituals are perpetuated in part by the established culture of the dominant group and social environment (W. R. Scott, 1995). Cultural norms, myths, and values reproduce dominant ideals through artifacts and symbols that become patterned into the institution. In the case of Michigan State Normal School (later named Eastern Michigan University), the cultural environment has consisted of and still maintains a majority female student body.

Historically and traditionally, athletics have divided along gender lines (Acker, 1990). This division has affected institutional structures as well as the positions of men and women at those institutions. In this study, I sought to explore those impacts from an organizational perspective. Using the historical developments of athletics—the organizational field—and an illustrative case as my unit of analysis facilitated the examination of the institutionalized structures of intercollegiate athletic leadership. To analyze such organizations, I presented the context and historical developments of intercollegiate athletics. Additionally, I sought to confirm or disconfirm the recent findings of Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013). Muwonge and Shinn ascertained the distinction between the institutional and cultural environments and their unique influences on organizational behavior. In Chapter 4, I presented the findings of a socio-historical analysis of the organizational structures of men and women's athletic departments and pathways for women into athletic leadership at an institution that had its origins as a normal school.

## Chapter 4: History and Analysis

This study sought to understand the social construction of gender as viewed through intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University (EMU). Organizational structures, administration, and governance of men's and women's athletics, required the exploration of the historical developments of sport and gender roles in modern society and specifically in American higher education. The results of these findings were combined with the emergence of men's and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University. The story on the emergence of athletics at Michigan State Normal School (later EMU) appears in the context of previously told stories of athletics in higher education. The normal school, with its mission to train teachers, presented a primary path for women's access to higher education (Putnam, 1899). The majority of students attending Michigan State Normal School were women presenting gender as an essential component within the institution (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin 1853-1898*; *Michigan State Normal College Bulletin, 1899-1953*). However, even though women dominated the institution's population since its establishment, the organizational tasks and structures were largely influenced by the men occupying leadership positions and the masculinization of institutions. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand the social construction of gender as viewed through intercollegiate athletics at a school with its origins in normal education.

In this study, I explored the development of Michigan State Normal School's athletic department and leadership from its normal school origins. This chapter contains three parts. Part 1 is further separated into four sub-sections to introduce the historical context of sport, its relationship to gender and orientation within the American higher education system. The first section of Part 1 will discuss the women in relation to human culture and sport. The second

section is a narrative on the development of schooling in America and the relationship between higher education and the common school movement. The third section presents the birth of intercollegiate athletics for men, and the fourth section offers the women's physical education and sporting experience. Part 2 covers the establishment of Michigan State Normal School (MSNS), including the history of athletics at the school. Finally, in Part 3, I focus on the organizational changes of men and women's athletics from 1950 and extending through 1980. This includes an analysis of the organizational rationality of the technical, institutional, and cultural environment at Eastern Michigan University.

Historical records of girls and women's involvement in sport or sporting activities are speculative at best. Historians must reinterpret the realities of the past through artifacts, drawings, sculptures, or papyrus writings. The literate and artistic contemporaries determined what would be preserved. Thus, the surviving evidence represents the values, beliefs, and priorities of certain people. Preservation of past records has tended to reflect the social roles of respectable, upper class, powerful figures (Kyle, 2014). According to Kyle (2014), "history privileges the privileged and those with status and resources can best insert their victories and values into the historical record" (p. 120). The evolution of sport throughout American history, however, shows the conflict between class, privilege, and power. Historians have attempted to capture the stories from these points of conflict. Thus, in this chapter, I reveal the social, institutional, and cultural history between men and women as it emerged in the context of sport. Gender as masculine and feminine will play a distinctive role in the evolution of sport throughout Chapter 4. Particular attention will be placed on the tasks, attitudes, and behaviors seen as an outgrowth to biological make-up. Gender is not simply innate, but rather learned and constructed through interactions with others (Ritzer, 2010). The production of gender through

these interaction has held people accountable for behaving as expected and as useful to society and organizations.

Part 1 provides the context and background of the organizational field of athletics in higher education. My focus throughout this historical introduction is on women's sport and collegiate activities; while, advances in men's sports serve as the backdrop. I realize that the social construction of gender begins in infancy and continues to evolve through games, play, and formal and informal interactions at a young age (Guttmann, 1991). In this analysis, however, I will introduce the evolution of physical activity and athletics for adult men and women in order to illustrate the institutionalized nature of gender within higher education. This history commences with a general sense of the early history, from Ancient Greece through the emergence of contemporary sports in the United States, in the context of higher education.

## Part 1: Origins of Human and Sport Culture

### Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand the social construction of gender as viewed and understood through intercollegiate athletic leadership at an institution with origins in Normal education. Expanding sport history to include the relational nature of gender and sport in addition to the broader historical and institutional context required a diverse range of activities. Instead of simply writing the history of women in sport, it was necessary to frame sport more broadly and thoughtfully in the history of American culture and higher education. Higher education emerged as an institution for men and established values, attitudes and behaviors associated with masculinity. I approached this pursuit with an emphasis on the evolutionary nature of gender and its relationship to athletic organizational structures, resources, and patterns of cultural production and reproduction.

For the purpose of this contextual history, terms such as *athletics*, *sport*, *competition*, and *physical activity* may be used interchangeably. In this history, I introduce several types of activities—for example, physical contests against nature, competitions against another individual, and competitions against previous performances. Defining athletics in this way allowed me to focus on activities that evolved into current intercollegiate contests. In addition, I may mention acrobatics, calisthenics, marching, or dance as part of the women's sport narrative. These activities more closely illustrated the physical activities that were culturally acceptable for women during a particular time. Physical activities for men and women transformed as culturally and socially dependent throughout time.

**Societal antecedents.** The histories of humankind and games were linked. Children naturally played and engaged in imitative behavior as a part of training for later in life (Wilkins,

2002). Games provided useful training for survival, military preparation, and coming of age ceremonial rituals, all of which built loyalty among groups of people and reinforced cultures (Kyle, 2014). Many early games began as rituals for prophesizing the future and honoring the gods or great spirits (Wilkins, 2002). As sport grew more complex, it became exclusive for the few, and a source of entertainment for the masses (R. A. Smith, 1990). Sport emerged as a profession as young men transformed from hunters and soldiers into athletes, contributing to the social construction of masculinity. Women experienced sport in a slightly different cultural context: Sport prepared them for courtship, mating, and childbearing contributing to behaviors associated with femininity (Guttman, 1991).

Although sport and games had origins in hunting, survival skills, and training for warfare, even these “competitions” had some kind of a stake or prize. The rewards motivated performance and symbolized dominance (Wilkins, 2002). In fact, offering prizes became a game in itself, giving rise to gambling (Wilkins, 2002). Men and communities bet land, livestock, and sometimes lost their wives, children, or themselves into slavery over lost bets (Wilkins, 2002). Although gambling was a legacy from the origins of athletic contests, the pastime has become prominent in the development of modern sports as competitive and to produce games.

The social construction of gender and roles associated with men and women continued as societies shifted from hunting and gathering to an agricultural economy around 10,000 B.C.E. (Stearns, 2000). Both men and women worked and contributed to survival by hunting and gathering (Stearns, 2000). Birth rates were relatively low since infant care was burdensome for those living a nomadic lifestyle (Stearns, 2000). Stearns (2000) described how a shift to settled agricultural communities redefined gender systems and women’s roles in reproduction. Birth rates rose with a reliable food source along with the need for more laborers (Stearns, 2000).

Childrearing and pregnancy became the expected function for women. As men took over the agricultural tasks, women became more domestic (Stearns, 2000). The new economy promoted gendered roles and tasks as societies formed more stable residential patterns. This new patriarchal society gave rise to modern civilization and institutionalized sporting activities as an expression of masculinity. Approaching gender as a man (male) woman (female) binary was specific to western cultures, whereas some Native American cultures, viewed gender as fluid and more complex (Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997). In the following section, I introduced the history of sporting activities and its relationship to gender using historical periodization.



## **Section 1: Historical Background to Women, Sports, and Human Culture**

### **Ancient Athletic Games (700–300 B.C.)**

The Greeks' attention to athletics uniquely influenced civilization. A natural desire for physical strength and skill was cultivated with war-like spirit, and the desire to excel led to athletic games and contests in the Greek culture. Early sport activities emerged from ritualization of physical energy and Paleolithic hunting practices (Kyle, 2014). Ritual sacrifice took on new communicative power as a symbol of social order and hierarchy (Kyle, 2014). Origins of sport reinforced political dominance and served as a mechanism for cultural imperialism (Kyle, 2014). Sporting activities was a way to socialize people into social classes, which was also differentiated by gender (Kyle, 2014). These gender differences have been evident since the very beginning of organized sport, largely due to women's biological responsibilities (Kyle, 2007; Stearns, 2000; Guttmann, 1991; Hawkes, 1968).

The Greeks have been called the fathers of organized sports, but evidence of Mediterranean influences has since challenged this notion (Decker, 1987). Nevertheless, the Greeks were first to institutionalize athletics (Kyle, 2014). Public displays of intense physical competition for prizes and status were fundamental to the Greek culture (Kyle, 2014). The construction of large athletic facilities reinforced sport as central to Greek government, education, and society (Kyle, 2014; Decker, 1987). The Greeks idealized physical culture and pursued the union of perfect body and soul (Kyle, 2014).

Members of the cult-like institution of sport allowed boys and men to compete in the Olympic Games and prohibited women from attending even as spectators (Kyle, 2007a). Men competed in athletic events to honor the Greek God Zeus, whereas women held games every four years in honor of the Goddess Hera (Scanlon, 2002). As early as sixth century BC, the Heraean

Games were documented as the first organized athletic competitions for women (Scanlon, 2002). Foot race games attracted girls from the entire ancient Greek world, however as soon as they were old enough to marry they ceased athletic competition (Guttman, 1991). Athletic games were central to early Greek culture, representing ideals of strength, dominance, perfection, and wisdom (Kyle, 2014). Men performed these activities; female social roles consisted of motherhood and domestic responsibilities (Kyle, 2007; Stearns, 2000; Guttman, 1991).

Archeological evidence has been insufficient to determine the participation of females as active or passive participants in physical contexts. Greek female sport never received the societal significance given to male athletes (Kyle, 2007). Evidence of Greek female participation in sport is scant; in fact, males recorded female performances only if these performances were viewed as abnormal, improper, or sensual (Kyle, 2007). Ducat (2006) cautioned that ancient literary sources on Greek females, particularly Spartan women, came from men who sometimes had a “voyeuristic interest” (Cartledge & Spawforth, 2002).

**Greek hetairai.** Throughout the Archaic period (700–480 B.C.E.) and into the Classical period (480–323 B.C.E.), very few opportunities existed for women to compete. Women’s involvement in athletic games was typically motivated toward securing a husband (Kyle, 2007). Greek women seldom ventured outside of their homes unless it was to participate in religious ceremonies (Hawkes, 1968). Social intercourse was avoided in order to maintain female virtue (Cantarella, 1987). Most unmarried women were to know only their fathers and brothers (Cantarella, 1987). Interacting with the opposite sex was forbidden, and the father chose the man who would receive his daughter (and her inherited property; Cantarella, 1987). Marriage and childbearing were the expected outcomes for women, and sport had no place beyond these social expectations. Women who participated in athletic games beyond puberty

tended to be unmarried (Scanlon, 2002). Athletic behavior was prohibited for women unless it was part of a religious ritual (Hawkes, 1968). Given that the established social order elevated men to more public tasks and roles in society, women by in large remained in private spheres. The primary task for women of these time was to reproduce and rear children. Records of women participating publicly in society were scant, however stories of Spartan women challenged the status quo.

**Spartan women.** Only girls raised in Sparta were encouraged to be athletes; Spartan culture required girls to train physically and compete in athletic endeavors (Pomeroy, 2002). Spartans expected girls to participate in sport (Kyle, 2007) and believed strong women would produce strong future warriors (Ducat, 2006; Pomeroy, 2002). Female athletes competed in the Spartan games naked or in short chitons while the boys watched in hopes of selecting a marriage partner (Scanlon, 2002). Women's participation was viewed as an initiation to womanhood and marriage (Scanlon, 2002).

Spartans believed in physically educating girls for prenuptial, eugenic, and transitional purposes (Pomeroy, 2002). Xenophon (1942) recounts the physical education of girls:

He ordered the maidens to exercise themselves with wrestling, running, throwing the discus, and casting the javelin, to the end that the fruit they conceived might, in strong and healthy bodies, take firmer roots and find better growth, and withal that they, with this greater vigor, might be the more able to undergo the pains of child-bearing. (p. 658-659)

Much of women's participation in parades and events at festivals was culturally sanctioned and designed to attract male suitors. Men and women from the archaic and classic Greek period viewed Spartan women disapprovingly, rejecting women's participation in athletics. Organized

mating activities preserved social order and patriarchal norms in Sparta and other Greek communities (Scanlon, 2002).

The decline of physical training for all Greek youth was lost when victorious Rome disapproved universal training and relegated fitness to professional gladiators (Kyle, 2014). The classic ideal of the complete, symmetrical development of the body gradually perished. This marked a powerful cultural shift from the Greek origins of athletic dominance and aestheticism to adopting practices of a sound mind and body. The Roman's would introduce a whole new athletic system centered on power, control, and entertainment.

### **Roman Expansion (300 B.C.E.–400 C.E.)**

Greeks used athletics as religious festivals to honor nudity, the purest form of the human body; however, the Romans condemned nudity (Cartledge & Spawforth, 2002). Unlike Greek sports, Roman sports were vulgar, brutal, violent displays of male strength and athleticism (Köhne & Ewigleben, 2000). Games were originally played at wealthy peoples' villas as a display of their wealth and status (Köhne & Ewigleben, 2000). Eventually, emperors such as Augustus, Nero, and Domitian built large amphitheaters for athletes to compete and entertain (Newby, 2005). Athletes were often criminals who had lost their citizenship privileges and were kept as slaves (Newby, 2005). The Romans advanced sport as mass entertainment, and spectacles helped communicate social order (Coleman, 1990). Roman sporting events were sanctioned events for which the emperor could demonstrate his power of life and death through "fatal charades," a symbol of the emperor's authority (Coleman, 1990, p.44).

Sporting spectacles sustained imperial rule and mass diversion with a captive audience and generous handouts of bread (Veyne, 1990). The tradition of "bread and circuses" was aimed at diverting the energy and attention of the masses with gift of sweets and farms (Wilkins, 2002).

Kyle (2014) described the interaction between the emperor and his people as “communication and co-operation as well as sublimation and dominance” (p. 122). Sporting events intensified, involving thousands of male “performers” and tens of thousands of spectators (Veyne, 1990).

Agnostic festivals and sporting spectacles were the beginning of institutionalized athletics (Beacham, 1999). The institutionalization of sport in the arena socialized the community and assisted in maintaining public order (Futrell, 1997). Athletic victories, military training for men, and festival games were central to identity, culture, and status (Futrell, 1997). These high-status activities effectively demonstrated the significance of athletics and elitism in education and masculinity. Roman women were removed from the athletic fields. Although sparse accounts of women competing in gladiator games exist, most women maintained roles in reproduction and child rearing.

**Equestrian women.** Perceptions of women in sport began to shift in the Hellenistic period (323–331 B.C.E.) under Alexander the Great. Women of royalty were allowed to compete in the Olympic equestrian games only if they owned and trained the horses on which they competed (Lefkowitz, 1986). Thus, women had access to Olympic equestrian events only on strict terms. These elite women held roles that were more public, contributed to education, and participated in high profile horseracing competitions (Kyle, 2014). Golden (1998) distinguished how all other women were excluded from competitive comparisons in order to uphold the integrity of prevailing hierarchies and male superiority.

Female involvement with forms of sport increased in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, nearly all women’s athletics competitions, including footraces and wrestling, ended with marriage (Mantas, 1995; Kyle, 2007). Only those women of royalty and social class could continue their chariot race competitions, even into adulthood (Kyle, 2014). Thus, leisure

activities reinforced social acceptance of sport among wealthy women, but not among the commoners. Throughout the Classical period, competitive athletics remained largely a male pursuit (Kyle, 2014; Kyle, 2007; Mantas, 1995).

As a result of the Roman period, sporting activities for women were clearly drawn along social class. Recreation was reserved for those of the elite class, whereas the lower and working classes did not engage as often. Women's involvement in games did improve with an education reform introducing organized physical education programs. Athletic skills were presented to both young boys and girls, but like the Greeks, women's involvement ended with marriage and at the age of reproduction.

### **Christianity (400–1450)**

The centuries between 450 C.E. to about 1450 C.E. were known as the post-Classical era (Forster, 2008). This period was marked with the spread of civilization, new or expanding religions, and opportunities for trade and commerce (Stearns, 2000). During this time, inequality in gender relations grew as permanent civilizations and agricultural societies flourished (Stearns, 2000). Missionary activity spread religion, which incited trade and war throughout the continent (Forster, 2008). Three world religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism—shaped much, including sports.

In 313 C.E., Constantine declared religious tolerance for Christians and adopted Christianity as the official religion with the Edict of Milan (Armstrong, 1964). Believing the divine trinity consisted of the “Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit” changed people's perceptions of men, women, and the human body (Bethke Elshain, 1993). Bethke Elshain (1993) elaborated on Christianity's moral revolution as transforming “the prevailing images of the human person, male and female, and the relations between various human activities and the

creation of shared social life” (p. 110). This shared social life became embedded as a rigid social structure. Bethke Elshtain (1993) advanced, “as Roman law became engrafted onto ecclesiastical institutions the ‘naturalness’ of hierarchical order got enshrined and became difficult to challenge” (p. 114), thus maintaining sex segregation with men as the authority.

Patriarchy was a central Christian ideal that preserved male dominance within the familial and social spheres (Stearns, 2000). First century Christians interpreted a household code that differentiated roles for husband/wife, parent/child, and owner/slave dynamics (Stagg & Stagg, 1978). This Roman tradition granted husbands legal rights and ownership over his family and was meant to operate as a reflection of the Roman State. Centralizing the power to the patriarch resulted in divergent gender roles in legal, political, social, religious and familial life. Not surprisingly, such roles remained in athletics and athletic entertainment in society, representing a microcosm for the greater social landscape.

**Pagan play.** Christians condemned the cruelty of the gladiatorial games and barred people from attending the games (Wilkins, 2002). Christians attempted to curb the violence and pagan influences by cancelling the competition and reforming the games (Verratti, 2006). Verratti posited that “Paganism represents the old imperial tradition not reconcilable with Christianity. But the new history cannot kill completely the old one” (p. 4).

At the turn of the fourth century, Christian ruler Teodosio I abolished the Olympic Games (Durant, 1972). Christianity’s dualistic beliefs of the mortal body and immortal soul led people to abhor games associated with pagan gods (LeGoff, 1988). This outrage extended to the thought of women baring flesh and participating in sport (LeGoff, 1988). The temptation of the flesh closely related to the “daughter of Eve” and the original sin, thus avoiding such temptation became an anathema to Augustine’s rule (LeGoff, 1988). Instead of tales of athletic prowess,

women were bowing their heads and kneeling in prayer. Emulating the Virgin Mary and compensating for the disgrace of Eve's sexuality, devout women chose a lifestyle of prayerful inactivity (LeGoff, 1988).

Huizinga (as cited in Watson & Parker, 2013) introduced a triadic relationship between play (a ludic element), sport (an agnostic element that included a contest or test), and games. Huizinga compared the concept of play as elevating the spirit to a sacred and spiritual place. The rulers could not eradicate sport from their communities; instead, they framed sport as a spiritual experience (Watson & Parker, 2013). Sport evolved into a necessity for understanding God's creation and mission to evolve civilization (Watson & Parker, 2013). St. Paul used athletic competition as a metaphor and proclaimed sport as a form of worship and an expression of devotion to God (Neale, 1969). Athletics became a vehicle for advancing the Christian manifesto.

Christians' strong views regarding concerns about women's bodies and childbearing responsibilities undermined women's participation in sport. Men assumed physical labor roles, developing their strength and status in society (Stearns, 2000). Labor in the field and training for war were highly valued in society, more highly valued than were women's domestic roles (Stearns, 2000; Kyle, 2014). Women maintained a limited lifestyle, unfit for anything outside of their domestic sphere (Stearns, 2000; Guttmann, 1991). In addition, Christian beliefs suppressed women and their access to civic and educational duties (Watson & Parker, 2013). The sexual temptation was inherent to the original sin, and therefore women remained confined within the home and away from the public (Stagg & Stagg, 1978).

The culturally dependent gender roles that emerged from early Christianity privileged the man as more legitimate to society than the women. He was responsible in taking care of his wife



as well as others within his home. Limits on women and acceptable gender roles persisted throughout the Middle Ages where Christianity ignited a division of labor and status between men and women.

**Middle ages.** The Middle Ages extended from 476 to 1476 following the fall of the Roman Empire (Wilkins, 2002). This was a period of constant fighting and battles among the clans and tribes of Europe (Wilkins, 2002). Feudalism evolved in medieval Europe as power was achieved through land ownership (Wilkins, 2002). The reigning crowns granted military protection to those who owned land and followed their rule (Wilkins, 2002). Wilkins (2002) detailed how adherents of the lord-vassal system swore to protect the lord in exchange for land. The lord-vassal system gave rise to social and cultural classes. Peasants and serfs formed the bottom of the social structure, living on the lord's land by providing services and labor to the kingdom (Wilkins, 2002). Noblemen and knights, protectors of the kingdom, were upper class, along with merchants and tradesman (Wilkins, 2002). Medieval society essentially evolved into three classes: servants, merchants, and aristocrats and maintained a separate system of order determined by the kingdom (Wilkins, 2002). Women continued to operate with little independence and abided under male authority, regardless of their social class (Wilkins, 2002). Women of merchant families had a bit more freedom because their participation increased with the demands of trade (Wilkins, 2002).

***Athletic warfare.*** Territorial wars for kingdoms and power occupied the Middle Ages; little time was devoted to recreation. Tournaments and games resembled combat and incorporated military skills such as archery, jousting, and equestrianism (Nichols, 1992; Wilkins, 2002). Sport was a medium for social order and cultural reproduction, reinforcing the dominance of men and their strength (Nichols, 1992). This was illustrated in the festival folk-games—men

participated and women spectated. Because women did not have a primary role in battle, sport was not viewed as a valuable use of their time (Nichols, 1992).

In a hierarchical society, social status determined who did what. Sporting games and festival culture continued to be an expression of elitism and a symbol of entertainment (Nichols, 1992). During the 13th century, teams of knights fought each other in open fields. Later, wooden boundaries were added along with stands for spectators; fights between knights evolved into single contests between two individuals (Nichols, 1992). Some women began to take on supportive roles, such as acting as maidens in distress whom knights rushed to rescue (Guttmann, 1991). Other women cheered on contestants and awarded prizes, providing an audience to the male competitors (Guttmann, 1991). However, any physical activity outside of childbearing was perceived as irrelevant or possibly damaging to women's ability to give birth (Macek, 1985). The culture was sustained by ceremonies and rituals used to socialize groups of people and maintain an aristocratic hierarchy (Nichols, 1992). The feudal system was based on the belief that the land belonged to God, but kings had divine right to rule the land as they wished (Wilkins, 2002). This idea of divine right was prevalent between the serfs, noblemen, and kings, as well as between men and women. Throughout this period, sporting culture reinforced social stratification by privileging noble elites as athletes. Entertainment in the form of festivals and tournaments continued to be a method for social, political, and religious doctrine.

***Ball games and dancing.*** Between the 12th and 15th centuries, both common and upper-class women enjoyed pastimes and physical activities (Jusserand, 1901). Tournament play may have been reserved for the aristocrats, but commoners played folk games. Folk football was an unstructured ball game resembling catch or dodgeball (Jusserand, 1901). Folk football was associated with a religious ritual and fertility rite after the winter season (Jusserand, 1901).

Mostly men engaged in the rough game played throughout England and France. However, some peasant women joined and endured bruises and broken bones, just as did the men (McLean, 1983).

Another popular game, stoolball, was played among milkmaids and other girls (Nichols, 2001). The game served as a form of courtship between men and women, in which the prize was a kiss (Nichols, 2001). Many of these games were associated with saint's days, introduced to enliven the dreary days of peasantry (Guttmann, 1991). Drunkenness combined with wrestling, barrel lifting, wagon pulling, and races constituted holy-day entertainment (Guttmann, 1991). Young girls participated in footraces across fields, cheered on by their families and potential male suitors (Guttmann, 1991). These "smock races" were not a display of athleticism, as seen before with Sparta women, but instead were intended to earn the girls a smock, a proud badge of domestic living (Guttmann, 1991). Instead the games served to reinforce societal customs, status, courtship practices, relationships between men and women.

Aristocratic women were expected to manage their husbands' estates while the husbands were away (Guttmann, 1991). Women carried daggers and swords for protection and were assumed to know how to use them to ward off marauders (Guttmann, 1991). Aristocratic women became skilled in protecting their property and learned athletic skills as a means of defense. Riding horses was a transportation staple of the time. As soon as aristocratic girls were old enough to ride, they learned to ride on ponies (Guttmann, 1991). Upper-class women engaged in hunting activities using slings, spears, and even birds of prey.

Women did not have time for physical labor but practiced training with swords, riding horses, and shooting arrows as an extension of their noble livelihood, similar to their male counterparts (Nichols, 2001). Noblewomen were "expected to know how to ride, breed falcons

and release them during the hunt, to play chess and backgammon, to dance, sing, recite poetry and tell stories” (Shahar, 1983, p. 152). Royalty and wealthy empires retained sport as a form of entertainment, recreation, and mechanism for social relationship between men and women (Nichols, 2001).

### **Renaissance and Reformation (1450–1600)**

The Renaissance period extended from the 14th century to the 17th century. Revitalizing the intellect reinstated study of the Classic writings and concepts of the universal man as original goodness rather than as original sin (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Greek and Roman thought emerged in contrast to the church’s effort to eradicate the paganism of ancient Greece and Rome (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998).

The Reformation was an effort to reform the Church from serving as a wealthy political institution into a religious institution (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998; Voerding, 2009). This religious reawakening initiated with protests against the Catholic Church, which became known as the Protestant movement led by Martin Luther (Voerding, 2009). Luther’s efforts triggered a fundamental shift in people’s relationships with God; Luther suggested people access God directly through the Bible. In contrast, Catholics believed that people could only have a relationship with God through the leaders of the Catholic Church (Voerding, 2009). Catholic leaders held the knowledge; hence, the Word must come through the Church. Leaders of the Protestant religion believed individuals could have a relationship with God independently (Voerding, 2009). The status of women was largely ignored, remaining inferior to men’s status (Voerding, 2009).

Religious upheaval continued as the Renaissance movement further undermined the authority of the Church (Voerding, 2009). The battle between Protestant and Catholics sparked

the persecution of several for their protests against the Church. Expressions of social fear and violence led to witch trials and executions of women (Briggs, 1998). Women clearly had reproductive value and were critical for establishing societies; therefore, targeting women was a strategy for obedience and control. From 1480 to 1750, an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 women were tried, tortured, and executed on charges of witchcraft (Briggs, 1998). The Thirty Year War (1618–1648) was recorded as the most active period of witch hunts (Horn, 2013). Women already occupied a small place in society compared to their male counterparts; however, women experienced these attacks due to accounts of hysteria or unexplained behavior (Briggs, 1998).

For centuries to come, the limited understanding of women's abilities became their narrative. Despite the era of Enlightenment and intellectual expansion, women were still treated inferior to men. The social system of patriarchy matured during the Reformation. Male control pervaded all facets of society, and those who challenged the establishment were executed (Brigg, 1998). As an extension from Roman Patria Potesta, each household was considered a small kingdom, of which the man was king (Stagg & Stagg, 1978). The man held authority and ownership over the entire family and property as well as over every institution in society—social, religious, political, economic, and legal (Hull, 1996; Stagg & Stagg, 1978).

Catholic and Protestant beliefs about women remained unchanged. Women were exploited as the original sin to turn man closer to God. Tappert (1959) explained original sin as follows:

It is also taught among us that since the fall of Adam all men who are born according to the course of nature are conceived and born in sin. That is, all men are full of evil lust and inclinations from their mothers' womb and are unable by nature to have true fear of God and true faith in God. (p.29)

Original sin, seen as corruption often in the form of adultery or fornication, served as a control mechanism for obedience (Tappert, 1959). The doctrine of the original sin, viewed women as the reason for the fall of the human race, furthering their position as scapegoats for God's perceived wrath (Witcombe, 2000). Witcombe (2000) provided historical and biblical evidence pointing to women, as extensions of Eve, as the original cause of evil due to her temptation of Adam. The story of Adam and Eve served as the backdrop to men's and women's roles in society and informed beliefs about the women's body.

**Body beliefs.** The Renaissance way of thinking reemerged from the Greeks' belief that the human body is vital to life—sound mind and sound body (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Religious reformers of this time argued that the body was a temple of God and housed the soul; thus, it could not be denigrated (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Emphasis was placed on the physicality, preparation, and performance of games rather than on the outcomes of the games (Jusserand, 1901). Agility and finesse replaced the display of brute strength (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Sporting events like fencing replaced jousting, showing the value of poise and body position as part of the Renaissance aesthetic appeal (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Football also showed evolving elements of civility and elegance: Footballers banned ruffians from playing the sport (Heywood, 1969). The Renaissance shifted athletic skill from wrestling, jousting, and shooting to dancing, fencing, court tennis, and handling firearms (Thibault, 1977).

The Renaissance had a secular-humanistic influence on culture, thought, governance, economic trade, and commerce (Voerding 2009). Cultural and political advances overwhelmingly excluded women, advantageous only for men (Kelly, 1984). For thousands of years up until the Renaissance, women enjoyed very few economic, legal, or political rights (Kelly, 1984). Throughout the 14th to 16th centuries, women functioned mainly in domestic

roles as daughters, wives, and mothers (Kelly, 1984). Women were viewed as an essential part of tournament pageantry as damsels in distress or love-struck spectators (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998; Kelly, 1984). As spectators, women viewed and were viewed by eligible mates. Procreation continued to be a driving force in a patriarchal social system (Stagg & Stagg, 1978). Thus, despite the Renaissance being a cultural and political rebirth, there was little advancement for women. Artists still portrayed the female body as either virtuous or seductive, often with images of Virgin Mary and Eve (Guttmann, 1991; Kelly 1984). Patriarchal social systems continued to evolve as the primary way of maintaining social control and regulating women's behavior (Kelly, 1984).

**Renaissance women.** Women lived a life of male domination, relegated to the confines of domestic spheres (Barker, 1986; Kelly, 1984). Hull (1996) described the era:

When England was ruled for half a century by queens but women had almost no legal power; when marriage, a women's main vocation, cost them their personal property rights; when the ideal women was rarely seen and never heard in public; when the clothes a women wore were legally dictated by her social class; when almost all school teachers were men; when medicine was prepared and purified at home; when corsets were constructed of wood and cosmetics made of bacon and eggs; when only half of all babies survived to adulthood. (p. 15)

Women were to be seen but not heard; they were in the shadows of men, and men shared their thoughts and ideas (Barker, 1986). Women were to be prim and proper, an expectation that parents and society placed on them from birth (Kelly, 1984). Parents controlled their daughters' thoughts, grooming them for marriage when a man would assume that role (Kelly, 1984).

Relegated to a private sphere of society, women were expected to be submissive to their fathers

or husbands (Stagg & Stagg, 1978; Kelly 1984; Barker, 1986). Widely held perceptions of women included their inferior status compared to men. Men and husbands legally owned their wives and expected them to perform domestic duties (Hull, 1996).

Despite women's subservient status in society, different classes of women had different roles. Lower-class women were expected to tend the house; working-class women were expected to work for their husbands and help them run the business (Hull, 1996). Upper-class women usually had servants working for them but were still expected to take care of the home (Hull, 1996). A woman of social status could express herself, but only marginally and women who spoke freely were chastised (Hull, 1996). Women continued to be used and controlled in society for the benefits of men (Kelly, 1984). Skilled outdoorswomen existed somewhat for survival, but to also boost the status of their husbands (Kelly, 1984). Field sports of hunting and fishing were political displays of power and privilege characterized for the noble class (Kelly, 1984).

This era marked a transition from folk games to modern sports, manifested through archery guilds (Guttman, 1991). Renaissance archery guilds multiplied throughout regions of France and England (Jusserand, 1901). Middle-class guild members gathered for contests, theatrical performances, oratory, and pageantry activities (Burckhardt, 1860). Women of the lower and middle classes were auxiliary to these events and participated in sideshows of footraces and ball games (Autenboer, cited in Guttman, 1991).

As mentioned, the Romans introduced athletics as entertainment; however, the commercialization of sport as it is known today grew throughout the Middle Ages with the widening wealth divide (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998; Guttman, 1991). The wealth disparity prompted a new field of sporting activities. Upper-class individuals served as sponsors and offered prizes to lower-class groups to compete in rough and violent contests (Brailsford, 1969).



Brailsford (1969) described aristocratic Italians staging a series of sporting events, including a race of prostitutes before the gates of Lucca. Prostitution races also took place in Switzerland and France, often as rituals of degradation (Brailsford, 1969). Articles of clothing and cash prizes were offered to the race winners (Brailsford, 1969). Male spectators were encouraged to trip the racers, sending them flailing to the ground (Brailsford, 1969). By the 16th century, Protestant reformers discontinued races for women, but upheld debauched aspects of these lower-class contests (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998).

Voyeurism was often associated with women's sporting activities throughout the 17th and 18th centuries (Kelly, 1984). Significant differences existed between sporting activities for upper-class women and lower-class women. Whereas aristocratic women had time for leisure activities, lower-class women were incentivized by small cash prizes to compete and entertain an audience of men (Brailsford, 1969). Smock races of scantily clad young women and boxing matches for topless women attracted men and the gambling spirit (Guttman, 1991). In addition, women's sports varied by cultural terrain.

The presence of women in sport remained marginal, compared to men's presence in sport at the time. This situation was congruent with their marginal status to men. However, women participated in sporting activities depending on their class status. The transition for women from a nearly nonexistent presence to a slight presence in the sporting society took place during the industrialization of Europe. Vamplew (1988) explained the transition from women's traditional sport to modern sport as a result of the available food supply. Previously, people consumed food whenever food was available and offered food to the men of the household first (Vamplew, 1988). Wives and daughters were often on the verge of starvation until a consistent and substantial supply of food was available (Vamplew, 1988). The industrialization of Europe

produced reliable food sources and consistent work. Members of a preindustrial culture did not differentiate between work and play. Men and women worked, played, and ate when necessary (Guttmann, 1978). All of this changed as industrialization emerged and men and women internalized the “the Protestant ethic” of work discipline (Guttmann, 1978, p. 21). Thus, play, leisure, and recreation became separate entities, giving rise to the modernization of sport.

**Physical education for men.** An emphasis on the “Renaissance man” required that men measure up to certain ideals. Men were to be well versed in the arts, sciences, and languages; well-traveled; well mannered; and skilled in sports (Guttmann, 1978). They engaged in intense physical activity for military service or for farming and household chores (Guttmann, 1978). In addition, recreation activities were a way of life throughout this time. Men commonly played games of strength and skill as well as relaxing games such as cards or chess (Contessa, 2012). Such activities glorified the human body and mind, supporting Classical ideals (Guttmann, 1978). The value of physical performance was evident in their education practices and games.

Renaissance culture supported physical education curricula in Western civilization. Philosopher Paulus Vergerius (1370–1444) insisted on educating the sons of the wealthy for physical preparation for war (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). These ideals entered the educational process as physical education. Later, Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446) blended Christianity with concepts of physical education to promote a mind–body education (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). His education for boys improved the health of his students with two hours of mandatory physical activity, which would become a staple in Protestant approved physical education (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998).

Physical activity often included organized games that used a ball of some sort. Many Renaissance and Reformation humanist educators were influenced by Plato’s ideas and the

Spartan model introduced in ancient Greece (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). However, these humanists contributed elements of Christianity, including the idea that preparing the mind depends on preparing the body (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). The obligation for men to care for their bodies had both a secular and sectarian purpose. Therefore, spiritual and health reasons were dominant themes for men in this time.

Modern sports emerged from the secularization and rationalization of physical performance. Timed athletic acts represented a transition of sports from religious rituals to specialized and quantified secular acts. Timing of sporting events was just one advance shaped by the scientific revolutions of the Industrial Age. This industrial change of timing races marked a revolutionary change in sporting contest, suggesting the standardization of competition with time.

### **European Colonialism (1600–1700)**

When Europe and western civilization heard of a “new world,” English, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and French Europeans migrated across the Atlantic Ocean for the next several centuries (Gilmartin, 2009). People migrated to escape wars, religious persecution, or feudalism. Others sought freedom, wealth, and “unlimited” natural resources as a means for economic gain (Gilmartin, 2009). Gilmartin explained colonialism’s link to capitalism as a means to find new revenue sources and preserve feudalism. Eventual expansion created new markets for trade, thus promoting mercantile capitalism. Growing interest in American resources attracted the French, Dutch, and British to the North American region (Elazar, 1994; Gilmartin 2009). Immigrants traveled west carrying with them different European cultures and value systems (Elazar, 1994).

Cultural groups migrated from different regions of Europe, bringing with them varying religions, ideals, and values. Protection of culture, beliefs, and lifestyles occurred through and were preserved by education (Cremin, 1970). Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, European and colonial education took place in the home (Cremin, 1970). Parents were responsible for educating their children in preparation for family, church, and citizenship (Cremin, 1970). As societies became more permanent in the American landscape, the need grew for organized schooling practices. Established schools also took root across Europe. School as a mechanism of cultural reproduction, emerged from the Protestant Reformation whereby the Bible served as the authority, no longer the Church (Horn, 2013).

**Colonial education.** In addition to establishing religious institutions and laws, communities were also considering new systems of education from the those in Europe. Most early settler families taught their children how to read and write through reading the bible, and possibly taught arithmetic, depending on the parent's level of knowledge (Norton, Kamensky, Sheriff, Blight, & Chudacoff, 2014). At the close of the 18th century, single-gender education was widely accepted (Monaghan, 1988). Small groups of boys or girls gathered for home instruction in dame schools, common to the English model of education (Monaghan, 1988). Colonial expansion and the growing economy created a need for literacy (Madigan, 2009). Grammar and literacy were necessary for men and women involved in family businesses and commerce (Riordan, 1990).

Schooling practices influenced local communities and varied across the Eastern Seaboard. Divergent approaches to education—private matter or communal effort—framed how community members in the New England, Mid-Atlantic, Appalachian, Southern, and Western

regions perceived education. The link between sporting activity and educational institutions would be one of the most distinct factors in American heritage.

**Sport in colonial America.** Leisure activities were unusual in the North and the Northwest Territory due to their religious beliefs and demands of labor and challenges of launching new settlements (Lucas & Smith, 1978). The Puritans of New England maintained a value system that viewed hard work and labor as the only appropriate physical activity (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Games and play were perceived as a waste of time which was much different than the beliefs and values of the South. Established Southern plantations afforded more time for leisure and recreation. Wealthy men and women participated in hunting and equestrian sport, maintaining their status and social position in the South (Guttman, 1991). The White settlers adopted lacrosse, archery, and canoeing and introduced cards and table games to the natives (Lucas & Smith, 1978). The European settlers also brought traditional and historical games to the New World, including football, boxing, wrestling, field races, and field sports (Guttman, 1991).

Due to religious reasons, organized sports were absent in early colonial America. Much of settlers' time and energy was devoted to earning a living and maintaining their farms (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Mechikoff & Estes, 1998; Vamplew, 1988). Women's engagement in sport was rare and typically viewed as heroic, according to scarce documentation. A rare documented athletic feat was relived through the diary of Sarah Kemble Knight as she set out on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704 (Miller & Johnson, 1938). Women's roles change in colonial America, "necessity placed many women in the saddle, and the less restrictive customs of the frontier allowed a broader definition of women's roles" (Guttman, 1991, p. 82). The new frontier provided unique environmental challenges and opportunities for the integration of sport.

The institutionalization of men's sports radically changed with the establishment of institutions of higher education, whereas women's sports were less likely to be rationalized and adopted as a formal structure. Rationalization occurred because of a female middle class (working class) who were less likely to be involved with sporting activities (Guttmann, 1991). Throughout history, survival and the establishment of social order have occurred through the separation of task based on gender. The separation of gender in relation to sport was no different. When women did participate, they participated in traditional sports rather than in modern sports—for example, smock races, stoolball, or festival/fair dances.

## Section 2: Higher Education and Common Schools in Modern America

### Introduction

This section introduces the origins of the American educational institutions. Particular attention is placed on the structures of education as it related to gender. Men and women independently emerged into higher education with specific values, cultures, and tasks to fulfill in society. The introduction to higher education serves as the backdrop to understand the formation of the athletics function and its relation to the social construction of roles associated with men and women.

**American institutions of higher education.** Religion was a central aspect of colonial American culture. Most institutions were founded with a religious affiliation, which influenced curricula, practices, expectations, and tasks, ultimately reflecting the culture of the region (Thelin, 2004). The colonization of America was ongoing when the first college was established in New England (Christensen & Eyring, 2011). Harvard, founded in 1636, modeled the Oxford and Cambridge ideals of England (Thelin, 2004; Christensen & Eyring, 2011). The primary function of Harvard was to train young men to serve in the ministry and public office (Thelin, 2004). Religion was a central tenet for colonial colleges, for instance, Princeton University was founded by Presbyterians in 1747; Columbia University, formerly called King's College, was chartered by the Church of England in 1746; in 1749, Benjamin Franklin founded the Academy of Pennsylvania, later named University of Pennsylvania, which trained civic-minded leaders through a loose affiliation with a religious denomination; and Queen's College in New Jersey, founded by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1769, became Rutgers University (Thelin, 2004).

Harvard was the model for institutions of higher education throughout colonial America. By 1781, eight other colleges were founded, including William and Mary, Yale, Princeton,

Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth, Rutgers, and University of Pennsylvania (Thelin, 2004). Each institution was founded to promote a religious dogma and reproduce cultural ideals through the training of clergymen, ministers, or civic leaders (Thelin, 2004). Colonial colleges were small, typically comprising a president, a couple faculty members, and some graduate student tutors for the undergraduate classes (Norton et al., 2014). Conditions were austere; thus, the students would offset the academic rigor with games and activities (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Physical and athletic contests were the foundation of intercollegiate athletics. In addition, major external disruptions and the changing sociopolitical scene from the Revolutionary War affected the advancement of sporting contests (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998).

**Revolutionary war.** Between 1775 and 1783, the 13 American colonies, along with the aid of France, fought British soldiers to gain independence from British rule (Jensen, 2004). The 1776 Declaration of Independence unified Americans against British authority (Jensen, 2004). After eight years, the Revolutionary War ended; Great Britain recognized American independence by signing the Treaty of Paris in 1783 (Jensen, 2004). After the War, changes occurred in American social and political environments. Prior to the Revolutionary War, education was not a universal ideal. An estimated 750 students attended the nine institutions of higher education (Thelin, 2004). Following the War, educational establishments emerged as a symbol of status and a way of rebuilding American independence (Thelin, 2004). Now that America was an independent nation, preparation of teachers, lawyers, doctors, and other civic roles was rationalized as an American function. Veysey (1965) and Thelin (2004) reported an increased procurement of land and expansion of schools from donations by wealthy families. Wealthy philanthropists such as Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Carnegie Mellon, Cornelius



Vanderbilt, and John D. Rockefeller (University of Chicago) contributed to the rise of higher education institutions over the next century (Veysey, 1965).

Sex and racial segregation in political, social, and educational spheres prevailed throughout the new United States (Veysey, 1965; Thelin, 2004). Girls and women lacked access to advanced educational institutions because their expected purpose lay with the domestic responsibilities of child rearing and household maintenance (Stagg & Stagg, 1978). Women were considered incapable of sustaining the mental demands of learning through formal education (Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). Barker-Benfield (2000) posited that 19th-century European and American doctors sought to control girls and women's bodies as a means to maintain structures of social order. Medical doctors at the turn of the century were men; some researchers have suggested the cultural perception of weak, feeble middle-class women was to maintain job security for medical doctors (Hargreaves, 1987; Shorter, 1982). Others have argued that female delicacy and debility reinforced the positive value of the masculine role in society (Berg, 1978; Fox-Genovese, 1988). Regardless of the hypothesis presented, the emphasis on women's physical frailty confirmed their inability to learn compared to their male counterparts (Berg, 1978). These ideals were reinforced by their religious beliefs and became more prevalent as the nation evolved after the Revolutionary War (Stagg & Stagg, 1978).

*New republic women.* American women, many of them widowed, had to resume their lives after the War. Many women were without resources or formal education to meet the demands of the new republic (Berkin, 1997). Women became politically inspired, held discussions about the War, and started to explore topics regarding their own rights (Berg, 1978). Women's civic duty now encompassed liberty, "unalienable" rights, and freedom from aristocracy (Shalhope, 1972). Change brought on by war provided an opportunity for new tasks,

cultures, and values to take root in America. From this change came the attitude of “republican motherhood,” in which women maintained their domestic identity separate from the public role men held (Kerber, 1997).

The War disrupted the external environment, altering the role of women and motivating them to participate in new patriotic and civic duties (Berkin, 1997). In fact, instilling American patriotism became an adopted function of the budding American education system (Cremin, 1957). Moreover, with a growing population and industrialization, the need for literate workers increased (Madigan, 2009). This social and environmental change was the impetus behind organized schools; the rise of public education followed (Cremin, 1957). States received control over education, and states granted charters and federal land to established colleges to encourage the expansion of education (Thelin, 2004).

Civic leader and reformist Benjamin Rush was a leading advocate for free education and the education of women (Rudolph, 1965). Rush (as cited in Rudolph, 1965) believed that tax-based public schools would educate youth and reduce unlawful behavior. Previously, women were perceived to lack adequate mental capabilities for an education—critics thought education would draw women away from motherhood (Kerber, 1997). Education for upper-class women grew following the American Revolution. Women were able to instruct the young on republicanism, benefiting generations to come (Straub, 1987). This task of education and instruction of republican ideals perceived women as capable for delivery (Straub, 1987; Kerber, 1997). Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, recognized the value of women having intellectual capabilities outside of their lives with their husbands (Straub, 1987; Kerber, 1997). Adams adamantly pursued women’s rights for property, education, and expression (Kerber, 1997).

In conjunction with the influence of philosophical enlightenment, the American Revolution revealed the differences among locally controlled schooling systems and ideals of universal schooling. Some towns had school systems led by schoolmasters and religious leaders, whereas in others, education remained a responsibility of the parents (Rudolph, 1965). Schools therefore reflected the local interests regarding differences in religion, race, gender, and class (Rudolph, 1965). Schooling was to provide free basic education for developing citizenship in a new nation. According to a few historians on American education, there were many reasons for common school movement (Tyack, 1976; Urban & Wagoner, 2000; Rudolph, 1965; Cremin, 1957, 1970, 1980). Nonetheless, by the 1830s, systems of organized schools began to take root (Cremin, 1970).

**The common school movement.** With steady population growth from births and immigration, Americans were striving to establish a national identity. Variations in literacy rates, industrialization, steam technology, and growing urban centers further justified a need for common schools (Urban & Wagoner, 2000). Formal structures of education represented a mechanism to promote nationalism and create legitimate citizens (Meyer & Rubinson, 1975). Antecedents for educational reform also included the fear of moral and cultural decay associated with urbanization (Kaestle, 1973). A crusade to build common schools was adopted as a way to socialize, train, and prepare people, mainly immigrants, for work by introducing them to systems of authority and training compliance (Meyer & Rubinson, 1975). Meyer and Rubinson (1975) revealed schools as a way to Americanize foreign born immigrants to uphold established Protestant American values.

The notion of compulsory school attendance had multiple purposes. Musgrove (1960) alluded to people's concern that children and youth in industrial cities contributed to social

unrest. Foreign-born workers and poor families were failing to teach Christian virtues and morals defined by the American leaders of the time (Musgrove, 1960). Instead, uneducated children roamed the streets in overcrowded cities and led disorderly lives (Musgrove, 1960). Such realities justified humanitarian interventions. Protestant denominations were among the first to establish charitable schools for poor urban children in Philadelphia and New York (Kaestle, 1973). These nondenominational charity schools were the precursor to publicly subsidized common schools (Kaestle, 1973). Education was perceived and advocated as the solution to social, political, and economic challenges.

Two divergent perspectives emerged regarding compulsory schooling and universal school attendance: education as a public good versus education as a private good. In 1837, Horace Mann became the first Secretary of the Board of Education for the State of Massachusetts (Cremin, 1957). In 1842, Mann issued a report highlighting the civic and economic advantages of education (Vinovskis, 1970). Mann promoted education as a good investment that prepared workers to be punctual, rational decision makers: “Education . . . is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery” (Mann, as cited in Cremin, 1957, p. 65). Mann (as cited in Cremin, 1957) proclaimed education as an absolute right for every human being and believed that political stability and social harmony would result from literate and law-abiding citizens. Although this was an impressionistic attempt to show the economic value of education, years later, businessmen and employers reinforced the investment (Landes & Solman, 1972). In 1851, the State of Massachusetts passed the first compulsory education law compelling students to attend elementary schools (Tyack, 1974). Although other states started to pass compulsory-attendance laws, they were generally symbolic at first (Tyack, 1974). State legislators did not know how to enforce the law, and the idea of

compulsion aroused considerable opposition to centralized power among citizens in the years following British rule (Tyack, 1974). Challenges emerged regarding how educators would implement the idea of compulsory education.

Nonetheless, education was adopted as a social benefit and solution to training immigrants for the American workforce. Early on, schooling was relatively simple, focused on training students to be punctual, obedient, and motivated by extrinsic rewards (Tyack, 1976). As the economy grew more complex, the education system evolved to meet the growing needs of the environment. Schooling grew more segmented; Bowles and Gintis (1975) posited, “The predominantly economic function of schools, was not the production or identification of cognitive abilities but the accreditation of future workers as well as the selection and generation of noncognitive personality attributes rewarded by the economic system” (p. 124). Segmentation by sex and race was a means of separating different groups into common interests and socially accepted roles (Bowles & Gintis, 1975).

The purpose of compulsory education was highly debated. Discussions included the role of the state and a desire for a unified state citizenry, the motive of religious-ethnic groups, the influence on American life of a growing middle class, and the economic value of schooling to families (Tyack, 1975). Dollar and Jensen (1971) directed attention to growth of state control, religious and political conflict, and research supporting the relationship between economic production and schooling. The rise of the new middle class resembled the rise of a large organization with similar ideologies (Dollar & Jensen, 1971). Thus, the emerging middle class was *sui generis*, becoming a major driver in the establishment of political and social institutions.

Instituting compulsory education laws altered the environment of the United States, and common schools began to appear (Tyack, 1976). A demand for educators grew out of states’

laws granting free and universal education (Urban & Wagoner, 2000). Women's rights activist Catharine Beecher was a proponent of the educational movement that recommended women serve as paragon teachers (Cremin, 1980). Hence, the necessity to train and prepare educators prompted women's access to higher education. Teacher training institutions, commonly referred to as seminary schools, and eventually normal schools, began to appear throughout the East and Midwest (Cremin, 1980; Thelin, 2004).

*Seminary schools.* Prior to 1850, women were not eligible to attend higher education institutions that served men (Madigan, 2009). Instead, women's access to education came through women's seminaries, operated by upper-class women, that awarded secondary and post-graduate degrees (Madigan, 2009). Modeled after English finishing schools, the function of single-gender seminaries or academies was to provide young women a moral, literary, and domestic education (Riordan, 1990). The women's education movement began on a small scale, organized by wives of wealthy men (Riordan, 1990). Among the first seminaries for women included the Emma Willard-Troy Female Seminary founded in 1814, the Catherine Beecher-Hartford Female Seminary (1823), the Mary Lyon-Wheaton Female Seminary (1834), and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (1837; Thelin, 2004). Planners at women's educational institutions designed curricula that upheld feminine ideals while awarding Bachelor of Arts degrees (Madigan, 2009). Girls attended from prosperous families who shared a common sense of being social and academic pioneers. Willard, Beecher, and Lyon were committed to educating young girls for personal development by granting them access to subjects like mathematics, sciences, and classical languages (Madigan, 2009). Willard promoted educational reform by emphasizing women's intellectual capabilities in any field (A. F. Scott, 1979). However, not

everyone shared her educational motives. Cultural and religious underpinnings still informed the curricula and perception of the value of providing education for girls and women.

Seminary schools were private educational institutions for women at a time when such opportunities were scarce. There were no records of a woman earning a degree throughout the colonial period, but by 1870, nearly 9,000 women were enrolled in college (Newcomer, 1959). Access to degrees increased with the emergence of seminary schools and growing support for educated women (Thelin, 2004). The school system continued to socialize men and women according to cultural values and ideals.

Educational opportunities expanded for women throughout the 19th century, and by 1860, 14 institutions enrolled women for advanced studies (Thelin, 2004). Educating women was under the veil of an education grounded in Protestant ideals and a new American patriotism (Cremin, 1957, 1980). Women's education varied from a republican education, which prepared women to be housewives and taught religion, literature, dancing, and singing (Farnham, 1994). In the republican education model, women trained to become hosts, supervisors, wives, and mothers, whereas normal schools offered formal instruction and teacher certification (Farnham, 1994).

Another form of education included the seminary mission of preparing women for teaching. The demand for teachers increased with the growth of compulsory education laws and public school system between 1846 and 1856 (Madigan, 2009). Finally, a few institutions created an academic mission for women, offering training similar to the education received by men, aimed at community leadership and social benefits (Madigan, 2009). Beecher and Lyon helped drive the educational movement for more diverse educational offerings; thus, Mount Holyoke, like Harvard, became the model for women's colleges (Thelin, 2004; A. F. Scott, 1979).

In conclusion, the common school movement and birth of educational structures represented the radically shifts in American society. Establishing an American identity in the decades following the Revolutionary War, keeping up with new industrial demands, and converting new immigrants with Protestant values all fueled the purpose of Common Schools. Although, the movement underwent economic, political, and ideological strife, it was ultimately adopted and provided a window of opportunity for women to enter the work force. Many women found their domestic sphere's expanding to educating the youth in their communities. As predicted, this new role initiated a mechanism for formally training the women for the task. Over the next 50-years women will find a place in higher education through the gates of Normal education.

### **Victorian Era (1837–1901)**

The Victorian era was marked by the reign of Queen Victoria in Britain, from 1837 to her death in 1901 (Swisher, 2000). Prosperity and peace in the land provided an opportunity for growth and industrial expansion. Industrial advances further divided the aristocrats from the lower classes (Dixon, 2010). This distinction was seen not only in the form of wealth but also in a strict moral code known as *Victorian morality* (Dixon, 2010). Victorian morality incorporated sexual repression, elitism reinforced by religious doctrine, and principles of lawful behavior (Dixon, 2010). The Victorian ideals were pervasive among the powerful and wealthy classes (Dixon, 2010). The cult of domesticity was further constrained by a preference for a private life and avoiding anything to mar one's image (Swisher, 2000). The need for privacy influenced the roles of girls and women in terms of their mental, emotional, physical, and sexual expression (Swisher, 2000).



Since the introduction of higher education, female seminaries had maintained a unique focus predicated on the values and principles of religion, literacy, beauty, domestic science, and civic responsibility (Guttmann, 1991; Madigan, 2009). Some believed preserving beauty and hygiene was a Darwinian mechanism for women's survival, achieved through capturing a husband (Guttmann, 1991). Pairing calisthenics and physical culture with female beauty had been evident since the inception of the seminary curriculum (Madigan, 2009; D. Smith, 1987). Modeled after English and German schools, physical education in American schools was instituted to combat chronic invalidism (Guttmann, 1991). Messages of healthy mind, body, and beauty were shaping women's ideas of health and fitness (Guttmann, 1991). Like the women, men were also experimenting with efforts for a sound mind and body, however their means of fitness promoted ideals of toughness, masculinity, and competition (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). McCrone (1988) explained that reformist women recommended girls climb trees, run, leap, ride horses, and swim. Messages of health, fitness, and beauty emerged in literature, targeting a middle-class audience (Guttmann, 1991). The important thing to note, was that these messages were quite different for men and women, reinforcing expected gender roles, attitudes and behaviors. For example, Donald Walker's (1837) *Exercise for Ladies* promoted the benefits of movement but warned against overexertion because overexertion was said to lead to total physical collapse.

**Vital energy and Victorian bodies.** In the 19th century, the world of commerce and business constituted the masculine realm, whereas the feminine domain remained within the sanctum of the home. Femininity was aptly characterized by the ability to promote social class—an ability that embodied a set of social values and acceptable behaviors designed to foster stability of the dominant class (Swisher, 2000). Darwin's (1859) *On the Origins of Species*

influenced social and political thinking. The slogan “survival of the fittest” was fundamental to evolutionary biology and became a cornerstone to the educational argument for sport and competition for men (Darwin, 1859, p. 72). Evolutionary biology supported competition as a natural and necessary function for survival. This socially and scientifically supported theory perpetuated the domesticity of women while deeming competition necessary for manhood (Guttmann, 1991). Guttmann (1991) explained, “The virtues of strenuous athletics competition were increasingly extolled as a means to prepare the male animal for the breadwinner’s struggle, but the female animal was destined to comfort and to nurture” (p. 94). Athletic competition and games for the male species were adopted as necessary preparation for careers in industry and commerce.

Social Darwinism suggested frivolous activities of intellectual and athletic outlets were unnecessary for women, because they detracted from childrearing responsibilities (McCrone, 1988). Arguments against women’s participation in sports were reinforced by aesthetic ideals, fear that activity may cause emotional and bodily impairments (Shorter, 1982) and incongruence with women’s “natural” role (Berg, 1978). Women were considered less intelligent and incapable of physical activity and academic rigor, simply because they did not occupy these roles (Park & Hult, 1993). People’s perceptions were that women participating in these activities would damage their reproductive functions and become less feminine (Park & Hult, 1993). Kenealy (1891) published an essay on Clara, an athlete in tennis and field hockey, denouncing “her movements [as] muscular and less womanly. . . . Her voice is louder, her tones are assertive” (p. 468). This notion of women’s place in society was propagated not only by men but also by women like Kenealy (McCrone, 1988). Kenealy was a medical doctor who identified as a eugenicist and criticized women for doing too much exercise for fear of losing their ability to

reproduce (McCrone, 1988). Instead women were to be concerned with beauty for their survival; that survival occurred through a breadwinning husband (McCrone, 1988).

Polarizing views in medical practices regarding gender identity emerged throughout the Victorian era. On one hand, medical practitioners were fascinated with childbirth and reproduction; however, men found the menstruation function unnerving (Shuttleworth, 1990). Some physicians were intrigued by menstruation, and women became the subject of medical control and rule (Shuttleworth, 1990). Regulation of women's bodies paralleled the Victorian ideologies of male control over economic and social spheres. Shuttleworth (1990) suggested the ambiguity of the menstruation process provided an opportunity for material gain and control over women. Women, rendered helpless by their menstruation cycles, were advised to take medication to regulate the flow and avoid serious impacts on mental and physical health (Shuttleworth, 1990). The obscure essence of a woman's body reinforced the man as rational and in control. This argument buttressed male and female roles in the labor forces. Shuttleworth offered:

Unlike women, men were not prey to the forces of the body, the unsteady oscillation of which mirrored the uncertain flux of social circulation; rather, they were their own masters—not automatons or mindless parts of the social machinery but self-willed individuals, living incarnations of the rational individualists and self-made men of economic theory. (p. 55)

The discourse around women's bodies helped inform Victorian ideologies of gender and the dichotomy experienced by working and middle-class women.

Women's control included what their bodies could produce: sex, children, and domestic labor. These conditions trapped women in roles of procreation in a sphere of domestication; this

was just the way it was. Women were perceived as fragile, inferior, and certainly inept for the labor economy (Shuttleworth, 1990). However, working-class women performed in the labor market out of necessity. Stanley (1996) noted, “The dominance of medical and popular publications by men often resulted in women being described as much weaker and the true culprit behind many of the nation’s perceived problems” (p. 5). The medical discourse reinforced the perception that men’s health was rooted in self-control, whereas women were incapable of controlling their bodies (Shuttleworth, 1990).

Harvard Medical School professor Edward Clarke published literature linking girls’ education with girls’ “weakness.” Clarke (1873) believed education interfered with the ovulation cycle and made unhealthy demands on internal organs. Further, medical specialists were concerned that the energy expended on learning compromised vital energy needed for menstruation. In 1873, as access to higher education for women increased, Clark published *Sex in Education* (Clark, 1873). The publication ignited a virulent debate about women’s capacity to perform physical activities and intellectual tasks. Clark (1873) recommended, “Both muscular and brain labor must be reduced at the onset of menstruation” (p. 102). In contrast, puberty for boys marked the onset of strength and vigor, while puberty for girls meant they were to conserve their energy for fear of becoming too weak if over stimulated (Shuttleworth, 1990). Having a fixed amount of vital energy was a popular dogma, thwarting women’s ability to engage in physical activity (Shuttleworth, 1990).

Culturally defined activities continued to diverge for boys and girls. Clarke (1873) warned parents and educators of damaging health effects on girls and urged them to be trained differently, compared to boys. A fear that education and college would endanger the health of women was a pervasive message of the time. Some argued that education not only produced

physical changes to the ovaries but also profound changes in character (Park & Hult, 1993). The fear that educated American women would become sterile or lose the desire to reproduce was attributed largely to Clarke (1873).

In contrast, throughout the Victorian era, Dr. Diocletian Lewis attributed women's weakness to a lack of exercise from an early age (McCrone, 1988). Lewis was fascinated by Henrik Ling's Swedish system of gymnastics (McCrone, 1988). Ling founded the Royal Gymnastics Institute of Stockholm in 1814 and taught a complex sequence of calisthenics designed to develop every part of the body (McIntosh, 1981). Ling and his followers promoted institutionalized physical training in Europe (McIntosh, 1981). Among his followers was Swedish-born Martina Bergman-Osterberg. Bergman-Osterberg advanced the British physical education movement, and by 1886, she had trained over 1,300 teachers in Swedish methods (Fletcher, 1984). Like most of Ling's trainees, Bergman-Osterberg embraced a noncompetitive philosophy (McIntosh, 1981; Fletcher, 1984). Early on, Bergman-Osterberg acknowledged drill alone was not an effective way to keep girls and women healthy and that game may be a necessary activity for women and girls (Fletcher, 1984).

Lewis advocated for the physical training of girls and women in the United States, specifically the Boston area (Lewis, 1882). Previously, parents would actually confine their daughters to the home, restricting them from fresh air and exercise (Stanley, 1996). Girls grew up weak and became habitual invalids, falling victim to lung diseases and other ailments (Stanley, 1996). *Godey's Ladies' Book*, along with compulsory education, was influential in turning the frail-girl culture around (Stanley, 1996). Dr. Jonathon Stainback Wilson (as cited in Stanley, 1996) declared, "No false sense of gentility or unreasonable subservience to public opinion should deter any woman from engaging in sports and exercises that would develop her

lungs” (p. 43). Such declarations demonstrated a shift in perceptions of fitness and girl’s/women’s health, suggesting women sit less and walk or even run.

These calls to activity began to quiet the fear that exercise would coarsen the upper classes and strip young women of feminine charm and status. American women dressed for style and ornament, and the corset remained essential to mainstream fashion (Stanley, 1996; Shuttleworth, 1990). Dr. Charles P. Uhle attributed poor blood circulation, slow bowels, irritated nerves, fainting, and hysteria to constriction from corsets (Stanley, 1996). To counter the arguments of Clarke (1837) and Kenealy (1891), proponents of women’s education adopted the arguments of immobilizing clothing, lack of exercise, and need for education (Lewis, 1882). An active body was the daughter’s birthright; colleges and schools simply could not be blamed for the ill health of women.

Throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, women’s bodies were misunderstood, forbidden, and often politicized. Women’s health and her body was cited as inferior to men’s thus justifying restriction to physical and educational rigor. Fear that women would expend all of their vital energy on learning and physical exertion reinforced a confinement to their domestic sphere. On the contrary, women were being called upon to educate community youth and entered into more public roles.

***Exercise for women.*** Documentation of women’s engagement in sport is rare; however, women’s participation in sport has been typically viewed as heroic. There are accounts of women climbing mountains, air ballooning, and riding horseback long distances over challenging terrain (Guttman, 1991). Donald Walker published *Exercise for Ladies* in 1837, warning women of lower body deformation from riding. The book was written to preserve feminine ideals and beauty, outlining the ‘wrong and right positions’ in a number of acceptable

activities (Walker, 1837). Such texts showed the external pressure, dominant message, and expectations that women followed to uphold acceptable feminine ideals.

Beecher (1855) offered a response to women concerned with the effects of strenuous physical activity. In her *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness*, Beecher remedied the situation by suggesting, “Every man, woman, and child . . . ought to spend one or two hours every day in *vigorous* exercise of *all the muscles*” (p. 187), her emphasis added for hygienic benefits. Although Beecher (1855) was the first identified promoter of physical education for women, she emphasized housework as the best form of exercise.

The emergence of female seminaries helped promote the physical culture and hygiene movement among young girls and women (Ainsworth, 1930). Calisthenics and gymnastics were already a function of education among German and Swedish schools. The message of gentle exercise and graceful motion reinforced feminine ideas, but vigorous sports were essentially masculine. These ideals began to infiltrate a growing middle-class audience, shaping how women would come to occupy sports in modern America.

**Civil war on women.** The demands of war and the great number of men fighting prompted women to step in to occupy public roles (Frank, 2008). They faced new duties and responsibilities as medics, couriers, factory workers, educators, and even spies (Frank, 2008). Women held explicit roles in the fight, cooking meals and serving as seamstresses, laundresses, and nurses (Leonard, 1999). The War provided an opportunity for women to champion the end of slavery. An increased awareness of rights and advocacy of equality between Blacks and Whites was claimed to initiate concern of rights between men and women (Leonard, 1999). Increased involvement with political movements exposed women to their own plight, serving as the impetus to the women’s suffrage movement (Leonard, 1999).

The Civil War disrupted the status quo. Following the War, many women faced new challenges as widows. The War left a void, and women were positioned to step in to manage responsibilities. Women's public roles increased with postwar relief efforts. However, new roles involving managing property, crops, and workers challenged Southern women's Victorian and Antebellum ideals (Fox-Genovese, 1988). In the North, the situation was much different. Women embraced reform efforts such as abolition and slavery recovery and performed at factories and desk jobs once held by men (Frank, 2008). These efforts pushed the boundaries of their once domestic sphere and opened doors to new public and educational opportunities.



### **Section 3: Men's Intercollegiate Athletics in Higher Education**

#### **Introduction**

This section expanded on the function of American educational institutions on American culture and men's intercollegiate athletics as a mechanism to produce games and drive competition. The establishment of men's intercollegiate athletics followed a period of informal play—student-organized, recreational, and external to the institutions. This narrative differed from that of the women. Men and women emerged into athletics and physical education informed by the values, cultures, and gender segregated tasks in society. The relationship between men's emergence into intercollegiate athletics and higher education presented a comparison to the women's narrative outlined later in Section 4.

#### **Birth of American Athletics**

Following the Civil War, higher education began to expand rapidly to include disciplines such as law, medicine, and engineering (Thelin, 2004). Due to the casualty of hundreds of thousands of young men in the Civil War, the country and its institutions embarked on a period of economic and cultural reconstruction (Fox, 2002). Promoting the new ideals of a united nation and patriotism were achieved easily through print media (Pope, 1997). Prior to the Civil War, magazines were written for educated middle- to upper-class audiences (Grant, Leadley, & Zygmunt, 2008). After the War, the printing industry swelled from 700 magazines in 1865 to 3,300 in 1885 (Pope, 1997). Pope (1997) attributed the new sporting frenzy to the innovations in print media. For decades to come, mass media would shape public opinion and was the mechanism to achieving a broader audience. Magazines appealed to youth, women, and men in all economic classes (Grant et al., 2008). The media provided an avenue for sport tradition and gender roles to be invented, marketed, and perpetuated among the American people.

**Sporting origins in higher education.** Throughout the first 200 years of higher education, wealthy families sent their sons away to study (Thelin, 2004). The curricula expanded during the 1820s and 1830s to include history, literature, modern languages, and sciences (Grant et al., 2008; Thelin, 1996). Aside from the rigorous training in academic disciplines, students were inclined to socialize and release stress through recreational play (Thelin, 1996). Students staged various intramural competitions on campus, often competing between freshman and sophomore classes (Thelin, 1996; Crowley, 2006). Team competitions united the student body and provided a sense of community.

Originally, athletic events were initiated and organized by the students but viewed unfavorably by faculty (Thelin, 1996). Grant et al., (2008) distinguished that “Rough and tumble games were fine for the ignorant classes, but not for boys destined for ministry” (p. 4). The perceptions between the public and educational administrators varied in terms of the benefits of such athletic engagements. Few administrators viewed participation as positive and remained detached from regulating the activities (Flowers, 2009). Certain sports portrayed status and acceptable gentility, such as rowing (Flowers, 2009). Despite the institutional leaders’ preference for their students to participate in prestigious sporting activities, the public perceived sports as a means to keep young men masculine and to counter a concern that academic rigor was making American men weak (Pope, 1997).

Influences regarding Greek ideals of a sound mind, body, and soul helped reinforce a movement known as *muscular Christianity*. Muscular Christianity fused physical and intellectual training to reinforce Christian ideals and uphold religious ideas while actively promoting athletics as healthy (Pope, 1997). College presidents and faculty refused to acknowledge the value of athletic activities; they perceived sports directly counter academic ideals (Bernstein,

2001). Male students continued to organize athletics internally while officials shared concern for the dignity of the institution and the academic mission (Bernstein, 2001). Faculty outcries over the distraction of athletics on academics increased (Bernstein, 2001). Apprehension about the commercial nature of athletics was offset by the autonomous American appeal.

Student organized athletic events, also operated as entertainment for community members (Bernstein, 2001). The interest from community demonstrated athletics visibility and public entertainment as a means to attract new students. Pope (1997) purported the interest in athletics only grew due to burgeoning print media. The parallel between the middle class' increased access to print media and the growth of organized sports revealed the commercial appeal of athletics to institutions of higher education (Pope, 1997).

***The first official intercollegiate athletic event.*** By the 1850s, intracollege competition had evolved into intercollege competition wherein students could express allegiance to an institution and help attract new students (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Competition, stoked by faculty and students, emerged from the inherent differences between the school's religious identities (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Pope, 1997). Historically, religion had served as a source of political and territorial conflict. Coopting this inherent competitive value and desire for conquest was a commercial gain and sold as myth, sport as an ideal in American culture (Pope, 1997).

U.S. institutions were modeled after the English colleges and in 1852 Yale and Harvard students face off in the first public intercollegiate rowing race (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Yale was the first college to instate a collegiate boat club in 1843 (Grant et al., 2008). Nine years later, Elkins, a wealthy railroad investor, arranged for Yale and Harvard to compete in the first intercollegiate athletic event, a row across Lake Winnepesaukee (Bernstein, 2001). With growing interests in college sports, Elkins spotted the opportunity for profit. He offered to cover the costs

of travel for the crew teams from Yale and Harvard, knowing that wealthy fans could be lured to resort properties up north. The first athletic event in 1852 proved successful, garnering 1,000 spectators; subsequently, Brown, Dartmouth, and Princeton formed rowing teams (Bernstein, 2001; Flowers, 2009). Yale and Harvard, known as the Big Two, became the schools to beat (Bernstein, 2001; Lucas & Smith, 1978). Together, the five schools made up the Rowing Association of American Colleges, which later folded in 1875 when Yale and Harvard withdrew (Bernstein, 2001).

A form of baseball was already a popular sport in the Northeast. By 1823, amateur teams were competing in New York, and in 1871, the first professional baseball game was played (Grant et al., 2008). Baseball emerged as a popular college sport for soldiers returning from the Civil War. University elites viewed baseball as a sport for the lower- to middle-class students (Pope, 1997). Unlike rowing, baseball was a cheap sport to fund. Students formed teams and organized competitions between local amateur and professional teams. The inaugural baseball game between Williams and Amherst in 1859 set a long-standing trend for American collegiate baseball (Flowers, 2009; Grant et al., 2008; Pope, 1997). The athletics fervor occurring on college campuses was a direct reflection of the sporting institutions forming in growing American communities.

***Early funding for college athletics.*** Support for intercollegiate competition was followed by demand for commercial profit, newspaper and media publicity, and entrepreneurial investors (Pope, 1997; Grant et al., 2008). Because early athletic programs lacked institutional support, students raised funds to support their student-led clubs (Bernstein, 2001; Lucas & Smith, 1978). This changed around 1870 when institutions became aware of the commercialized benefit and began to introduce the concept of amateurism for their own gain (Pope, 1997). Like Elkin's

exploitation of athletics to attract buyers to his railway, corporate prizes were common for athletic victors in regattas, pedestrian races, and track and field meets (Bernstein, 2001; Flowers, 2009). With alumni members' donations and corporate sponsorships came the institution's desire to control and run collegiate athletic programs (Grant et al., 2008; Lucas & Smith, 1978). Funds supported the hiring of coaches, improved equipment, and training facilities. Thus, the athletic function of the institution remained external to the core academic function and financially independent of the college until the 19th century (Pope, 1997; Grant et al., 2008). Until then, students set the rules and arranged contests with opponents, usually in defiance of their school's strict regulations (Pope, 1997). The institutional leaders maintained their distance until they could not resist the economic prospects or risk the damage to their image from sport brutality (Thelin, 1996; Pope, 1997).

Athletics appeared to provide a counter movement to students' academic involvements. Young college men used "what they believed [w]as an inalienable right, structured and intellectual, social, aesthetic, and physical world of their own" (R. A. Smith, 1990, p. 13). Extracurricular athletics became the fraternal order that transformed students' social and physical world. The introduction of football strengthened "the brotherhood" for the men who attended college. Growing commercialization and gambling among the men and their fans grew along with sports popularity (Pope, 1997). Administrators at both Princeton and Yale tried unsuccessfully to ban football (Grant et al., 2008). Eventually, sports became a tolerated affair, providing not only an energy outlet for students but also a potential economic engine for universities (Grant et al., 2008).

**Amateurism.** Pope (1997) posited amateurism as a means to separate the elite professional sporting tradition from the rising immigrant and working-class sporting culture.

From the beginning, sports have been replete with “gambling, cheating, profiteering, privilege, and exclusivity,” evident throughout this history (Pope, 1997, p. 19). The line between professionalism and amateurism emerged in the 1870s. Numerous examples in history show athletes earning prize purses, wages, and sponsorships, but rarely competing to build character as touted by amateurism (Pope, 1997). Character building was more evident in the women’s narrative whereby playing games earned women spouses (Guttman, 1991).

The institutions intervened with the self-governed and profit-making student sporting activities (Bernstein, 2001; Grant et al., 2008; R. A. Smith, 1990). Through an emphasis on amateurism and fair play, colleges were able to redirect the actions of feisty collegians to uphold a veil of sport purity (R. A. Smith, 1990). Weiss (as cited in R. A. Smith, 1990) described this move as “mainly a line between the unpaid members of a privileged class and the paid members of the underprivileged class” (p. 167). By the 1870s, college leaders were accepting amateurism and integrating it with the ideals of dignified conduct (Thelin, 1996). Wealthy East Coast aristocrats championed the idea of amateurism and proceeded to publish a message that true gentlemen should never have to compete for money (Pope, 1997). This was an effort to retain sport as an upper-class institution.

Organizations such as the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), established in 1888, emerged from the amateur movement (Pope, 1997). The AAU assumed control over track and field, lacrosse, and basketball, whereas football, soccer, baseball, and rowing remained under the loose jurisdiction of colleges and universities (Pope, 1997; Thelin, 1996). Those sports under university control resembled much of the professional model but without the pay (Pope, 1997). This was only the beginning of the influence of football in collegiate sports.

**Football fatalities.** Football was a violent game and nearly vanished for 200 years during the colonization of the New World (Bernstein, 2001). Remnants of the soccer-like sport traced back to college campuses into the 1820s (Grant et al., 2008). After the Civil War, football became a major college sport and the “national pastime” (Crowley, 2006, p. 35). The press promoted a masculine football zeal around the nation. Against the wishes of faculty members, the first football competition occurred between Rutgers and Princeton students in 1869 (Crowley, 2006; Thelin, 1996). Football was dangerous, violent, and unregulated, and despite how barbarous the sport was, it symbolized masculinity (R. A. Smith, 1990).

By the 1890s, school leaders were adopting mascots, school colors, and chants to increase visibility and prestige (Rudolph, 1962). Between 1893 and 1903, the Yale athletic budget doubled, equaling the incomes of the law, divinity, and medical schools combined (Deming, 1905). Walter Camp was earning 30% more than any of the teaching faculty (Deming, 1905). This was the moment when administrators realized the financial rewards of football and adopted the sport as an opportunity to shape the American higher education system’s public image. An internal struggle ensued between supporters of receiving the benefits of the popular sport and those who believed football diminished their educational mission (Rudolph, 1962). Football’s financial attraction became a contentious factor in shaping the governance of intercollegiate athletics and rule regulation. By this point, the production of games amplified by athletic commercialization had been firmly planted in institutions of higher education exclusive to men’s activities and representative of manhood (R. A. Smith, 1990).

**Players versus profit.** Football rules underwent several debates aimed at reducing injuries and deaths while maintaining audience interest (Thelin, 1996; Bernstein, 2001). Revising the rules meant decreasing the violent nature of the sport; therefore, in 1873, the Intercollegiate

Football Association (IFA) adopted Harvard's rules and attempted to standardize play (Powers, 1946). Committees such as the IFA were organized to review rules and recommend changes; however, the IFA folded in 1894 because of disagreements among institutional leaders regarding their strong desire for autonomy and independence (Grant et al., 2008). The American Football Rules Committee, organized by Navy, Pennsylvania, Yale, Harvard, Cornell, and Princeton, tried to offer some structure (Powers, 1946). This provided yet another challenge between the East Coast schools and those located farther to the west (Powers, 1946). Because each school program was led by private accounts and on-campus student groups, those in the West opted to form the Big Ten Conference (Powers, 1946). Attendees at athletic conferences attempted to organize competitions; leaders of the Big Ten institutions chose to maintain a more entertaining style of football despite the serious risk to players (Powers, 1946).

Committee and conference regulation appeared to be ineffective in decreasing football fatalities. By 1905, public outcry and inescapable pressure to reform led to national intervention (Crowley, 2006). President Theodore Roosevelt threatened to abolish the sport, thereby mandating substantial reform in a meeting of 62 colleges and universities (R. A. Smith, 1988). Colleges were not willing to risk losing football due to the economic and cultural value provided (Grant et al., 2008). The meeting was the catalyst for the Intercollegiate Athletic Association, which became the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) in 1910 (Stagg, 1946; R. K. Smith, 1987). The committee had 38 founding members; by 1942, membership had grown to over 300 institutions (R. K. Smith, 1987). The NCAA was charged with the task of reducing football violence and providing a regulatory structure for intercollegiate athletics (R. K. Smith, 1987). However, this task was not easy—the organization soon became entangled in the corruption of early collegiate athletics (R. K. Smith, 1987; Thelin, 1996).



In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the athletic enterprise adopted a structure of leadership. The power and control of students and alumni made intercollegiate athletics difficult to reform. Therefore, institutions introduced a director of athletics and official coaching staff to embed athletics as a permanent part of the institution (Thelin, 2004). Walter Camp of Yale had pioneered an athletic model that promoted football by diverting significant funding from swimming, track and field, hockey, and gymnastics to football (Thelin, 2004). Camp's colleague Alonzo Stagg became football coach and athletic director at the University of Chicago in 1892 (Thelin, 2004). Stagg was able to negotiate a noteworthy contract with President William Rainey Harper, making Stagg a faculty member, athletics director, and football coach, and giving him an athletic budget exempt from internal review (Thelin, 2004). Camp and Stagg both enjoyed the administrative roles of football coach–athletic director, a combination inextricably linked.

### **Conclusion**

Men's access to college increased after the civil war (Thelin, 2004). College athletics exploded in popularity as athletics provided loyal associations and entertainment for spectators and boosted institutional coffers (Grant et al., 2008). A growing audience translated into growing profits, and institutions of higher education desired a close partnership with the athletics for the financial benefits (Pope, 1997; Grant et al., 2008). Even though, men's sports in college gained traction as an independent enterprise, it was short lived (Grant et al., 2008; R. A. Smith, 1990). Athletics was co-opted as a function to promote institutional prestige and success (Rudolph, 1962). School leaders appointed resources and organizational structures to maintain the athletic production function; however, it was not without challenges (R. A. Smith, 1990). Social ills such as gambling, violence, and corruption in sports was overshadowed by its entertainment value, popularity, and athlete-as-hero mythology (Pope, 1997). Pope (1997) postulated that institutions

attempted to combat public ills through adoption of amateurism. Associating athletics with desirable traits of strength, self-sacrifice, and honesty also reinforced ideals of the middle and upper classes (Pope, 1997). The overwhelming male presence in institutions of higher education positioned schools to establish and influence the structures of intercollegiate athletic departments with males (Thelin, 2004; Rudolph, 1962). Historically, athletics have been associated with masculinity and the emergence of intercollegiate men's athletics reinforced the presence of men in institutions of higher education. Thus, as the dominant group, men created the institutional frameworks that reinforced specific institutional behaviors aligned with the values, norms, and assumptions common to their colleges and universities.

## Section 4: Women's Sporting Activities in Higher Education

### Introduction

Interest in athletic competition and team sports emerged with fervor after the Civil War. Postwar life had been affected by societal changes after the Industrial Revolution and immigration to industrial city centers. The shifting of the economy from agrarian to industrial profoundly affected the direction of American culture (Stearns, 2000). Cities grew, and the roles and tasks of both men and women changed as they moved indoors to operate machinery, occupy registers, and sit at desks. Employers and community leaders used gender, a recognizable feature, to determine division of labor, roles, and tasks among communities (Flax, 1988).

Along with the divisions of labor came culturally defined expectations and social roles. For many centuries, women had been defined by their ability to reproduce and raise children, while men operated in social, economic, and academic spheres (Flax, 1988; Stearns, 2000). As women gained access to social activities and higher education, they also gained access to more freedom (Fletcher, 1984). Despite the motives of persistent medical professionals to limit activity for women, women explored a lifestyle of fitness, beauty, and activity (Fletcher, 1984). At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a national commitment was made to introduce health, fitness, and vigor for American citizens (Stanley, 1996). For men, sporting activities in higher education had been present since the beginning; however, for women, admission to higher education was for many their first experience with organized physical activity (Stanley, 1996; Fletcher, 1984). The athletic paths for men and women throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was socially and culturally independent (Fletcher, 1984). Men's physical education evolved alongside of the men's athletic movement, whereas women's physical education preceded any formal athletic enterprise (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998; Park & Hult, 1993).

## Physical Education for Women

Prior to the 19th century, a woman's ability to reproduce controlled and limited her health (Stanley, 1996). Health had transformed from a private and personal issue to one of public concern (Stanley, 1996). There was a deeply rooted cultural belief that the declining health of society was attributed to American women (Stanley, 1996). This belief stoked theories of race suicide, fear of backward origin, and loss of an orderly society as subtext to preserving American culture through health programs for women (Stanley, 1996). Such concerns prompted nationwide support for the idea that women had a duty to maintain their health; the answer lay in health programs at educational institutions (Guttmann, 1991). Upper-class women began to show interest in controlling girls and women's physical education programs (Guttmann, 1991; Stanley, 1996).

In 1856, Catherine Beecher published the first fitness manual for women titled *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families*, which emulated Greek ideals (Beecher, 1856). Beecher wrote the book to teach training methods that helped children become "healthful, strong, graceful, and good-looking" (p. 1). Beecher proposed girls seek to improve their beauty and skills to achieve a perfect body. This proposal according to some, was a challenge to the current American ways that had bred a weak and unhealthy class of people (Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). According to Turpin (2010), Willard, Beecher, and Lyon recognized the importance of physical activity and incorporated daily fitness in their seminary curricula, consisting of mandatory exercises, calisthenics, walking, and dance.

Nearly all the early institutions for women included physical education in the form of calisthenics (Ainsworth, 1930). The intent behind these exercise programs for men and women were similar, however the men's physical education (PE) model also coordinated with the highly

competitive men's college athletics (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). In 1861, Dr. Dio Lewis studied gymnastics in Europe and adapted a system for women's health consisting of three principles—adequate ventilation, loose clothing, and light exercise (Stanley, 1996). Lewis (as cited in Stanley, 1996) taught what he coined “new gymnastics” at Lexington Normal School and claimed students left “notably fitted for the grave responsibilities of citizenship and motherhood” (p. 48).

Women's colleges established during the latter part of the 19th century—Wellesley, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, Barnard, and Bryn Mawr—adopted calisthenics programs (Guttman, 1991). Vassar College announced a system of light gymnastics offered free of charge to the students, and Wellesley proclaimed good health was essential for good scholarship (Stanley, 1996). Vassar's catalogue claimed “suitable portions of each day [are] set aside for physical exercise and every young lady is required to observe it as one of her college duties” (Bulger, 1981, p. 11). Educators linked this movement to the academic curricula as a way to even strengthen academic abilities. Exercise upheld the integrity of femininity but was mainly motivated by nationwide health concerns (Ainsworth, 1930). The Greek philosophy of sound mind and sound body, in addition to a philosophy that strong women raise strong warriors, emerged to combat threats against the nation's poor health (Crowley, 2006). Published in 1896, a drawing titled, *The Coming Game*, showed several determined Vassar girls about to tackle a fearful Yale football player (Gibson, 1896). In defense of Vassar's athletic program, Sophia Foster Richardson (1897) responded, “The daughters of Sparta were handsomer and more attractive than the more delicately nurtured Athenians” (p. 519). This example related the use of Greek ideals in reinforcing physical activities in American society. Influences of Greek and religious ideals were evident throughout the establishment of American colonies and institutions.

In 1827, Sarah Hale launched the *Ladies' Magazine* to promote the intellectual and moral potential of women (Signorielli, 1996). Each issue promoted messages of education and illustrated the importance of employing women as teachers (Signorielli, 1996). Hale used the magazine to publish works of American women; she challenged women to create their own American image instead of following that of Britain (Signorielli, 1996). The publication helped shape and solidify women's lifestyles and cultural expectations (Signorielli, 1996). Hale was instrumental in initiating the Female Medical College of Philadelphia in 1850 and in establishing Vassar (Signorielli, 1996). She commended Matthew Vassar's interest in opening a women's college and encouraged him to leave the word *female* out of the title (Signorielli, 1996). At Sarah Hale's request, Vassar College made an intentional effort to hire female faculty to direct the school (Signorielli, 1996).

Physical training and gymnastics curricula at Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr designed by Dr. Dio Lewis changed perceptions of female health (Ainsworth, 1930). The model of mental application and exercise was credited for saving American women (Stanley, 1996). Positive health effects and results also served as a recruiting tool for colleges, whose admissions representatives promoted physical education as a tool designed not to change women but to make them better (Bulger, 1981). Vassar was a pioneer school in transforming physical education from a calisthenics system to one that involved organized sports (Bulger, 1981).

**Vassar: A model for athletics.** Four years after the opening of Vassar College, its school of physical training instituted riding, gardening, and swimming among other activities for women to acquire strength and grace (Warner, et al., 2011). Vassar had a rich athletic tradition for women, challenging the widely held notion that physical exertion and intellectual rigor

diminished women's ability to reproduce (Warner et al., 2011). Vassar valued fitness and ensured that physical activity would bring balance to students' lives as long as they paid attention to health and did not overexert themselves (Warner et al., 2011). Harriet Isabel Ballantine, the Director of Physical Training, challenged Vassar's stance on overexertion (Ballantine, 1901). In 1898, Ballantine (as cited in Guttmann, 1991) challenged traditional feminine ideals, noting, "Some women were rugged enough for a more strenuous approach to sports" (p. 114). Even within the ranks of female physical educators, a division existed regarding what was socially acceptable and what women were actually capable of doing such strenuous activities (Park & Hult, 1993). Philosophical splits were common between proponents of calisthenics-based curricula and those who favored incorporating ballgames (Park & Hult, 1993; Guttmann, 1991).

Exercise for women was prompted by an increase of women in public roles, more women attending college, and an increased commitment to health across the nation (Stanley, 1996; Guttmann, 1991). In contrast, the highly visible men's sports, experienced corruption, commercialization, gambling, and fatal injuries (R. A. Smith, 1990; Pope, 1997). Beyond the entertaining value of men's intercollegiate contests was a men's PE movement that paralleled the sporting culture with educational training, whereas the women's training embodied broad-based fitness (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Women learned such sports as bowling, light gymnastics, boating, ice skating, archery, swimming, and horseback riding (Warner et al., 2011). Vassar College instituted a comprehensive educational program facilitating positive and healthy life experiences all of which were congruent with feminine ideals. Lewis taught the first athletic program, which used gymnastics to increase endurance, speed, and agility (Bulger, 1981). Movement and music were combined to teach students how to move and stand correctly (Bulger,

1981). The classes soon moved into Vassar's Calisthenium, the first gymnasium at a women's college (Bulger, 1981). Institutional facilities for women expanded to provide support for physical culture and activity. As athletic facilities expanded at men's college to advance intercollegiate athletics, women's too were following suit.

From the mid-1870s, women's colleges were building gymnasiums for exercise; by 1890, women were participating in class competitions in tennis, baseball, golf, track and field, and field hockey (Bulger, 1981; Ainsworth, 1930). Mary Hemenway, a philanthropist from Boston, founded a normal school for cooking and taught gymnastics to more than 100 Boston teachers (Ainsworth, 1930). At the time, German educators were influencing physical education by emphasizing strength training and competitiveness for men (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). In contrast, Hemenway introduced a Swedish style of gymnastics focused on poise, fitness, and hygiene (R. A. Smith, 1970). Hemenway's movement led to a conference in physical education organized by Hemenway's executive secretary, Amy Morris Homans (Guttmann, 19991). Physical education was widely promoted in the educational curricula; in 1889, Hemenway established the Boston Normal School for Gymnastics and appointed Homans as the first director (R. A. Smith, 1970). The school later became the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education at Wellesley College (R. A. Smith, 1970). Departments of physical culture began appearing across the country, largely associated with majority female normal schools (Ainsworth, 1930).

***Vassar field days.*** Vassar administrators appointed students to lead all sports activities outside physical education classes (Warner et al., 2011). This practice proved difficult at first without initial funding and administrative experience (Warner et al., 2011). However, after the establishment of the Athletic Association at Vassar in 1894, students were able to manage and operate all existing sports and direct new ones, much like the process that occurred during the



advent of men's athletics (Bulger, 1981). Students regulated their athletic clubs with a form of tryouts to test athletic ability (Warner et al., 2011). Based on aptitude, students were introduced to sports as they emerged. Basketball became the most popular sport and the construction of a new facility equipped with a swimming tank prompted enthusiasm for swimming (Warner et al., 2011). All these activities were designed as intramural activities, unlike the men, competition between schools was discouraged by the male and female faculty (Bulger, 1981).

Vassar's Athletic Association symbolized a movement toward more competitive sports and activities, which concerned college administrators (Warner et al., 2011; Bulger, 1981). Women administrators exercised their control by allowing students to practice for physical conditioning, but denied schools' invitations to compete (Warner et al., 2011). This eventually led to the development of "field days," where women could compete with each other and avoid outside "competition," thus maintaining the participatory ideals of physical education (Ainsworth, 1930). This was the beginning of organized athletics for women, a counterculture to the masculine ideals and structure of competition (Park & Hult, 1993). Participation over winning and a philosophy of "sports for all" ethos restricted the development of individual talents (Park & Hult, 1993). In fact, women often were ridiculed or shunned for highly skilled athleticism, whereas male athletes were praised and worshiped (Park & Hult, 1993).

A decade after the founding of Vassar College, Smith College opened its doors and required every student to take calisthenics (Warner et al., 2011). Like the Vassar students, "Smithies" were eager to play games and were lucky to have Boston Normal School of Gymnastics graduate Senda Berenson join the faculty and bring innovation to the boring calisthenics routine (D'Urso, 1989).

**Berenson and basketball.** Partly because of its high intensity and physical nature, basketball was the first controversial sport for women. Senda Berenson Abbott of Smith College and Clara G. Baer of Sophie Newcomb College adapted James Naismith's rules and promoted the acceptance of the game in 1892 (R. A. Smith, 1970). Berenson was a trained gymnastics instructor from the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics under Amy Homans (Hult, 1991).

After a year of teaching in the new Smith College Alumnae Gymnasium, Berenson realized the enthusiasm for Swedish-style gymnastics was fading (Hult, 1991). Berenson introduced the game of basketball to her students as an experiment to generate excitement for physical activity (Hult, 1991; R. A. Smith, 1970). Prior to basketball, women had no experience with team play and mostly spent their time doing independent calisthenics (Guttmann, 1991; R. A. Smith, 1970). Because of the students' joy for the game, Berenson scheduled a game between the freshmen and sophomores (R. A. Smith, 1970). Men were not allowed to attend the event that took place on March 22, 1893 (R. A. Smith, 1970). The women wore bloomers, and on the first toss between the opposing teams, Berenson struck an arm of one of the girls, dislocating her shoulder (Hult, 1991; R. A. Smith, 1970). After a short delay, the game continued. Berenson was concerned with the roughness of the game and consulted with the students to make the game more suitable (R. A. Smith, 1970). She altered the rules so two women per team only played in one third of the court, dribbled three times, and possessed the ball for no more than three seconds (Hult, 1991; R. A. Smith, 1970). This became the 3-3-3 rule, later published as the official rules in 1899 (R. A. Smith, 1970). Berenson recruited with a personal touch, "The students flocked to the court and were ecstatic when Miss Berenson invited them, with a personal handwritten note, to play for their class team" (Guttmann, 1991, p. 115). Berenson organized the classes to coach

and train each other with sophomores coached by seniors and freshman coached by juniors, demonstrating an educational approach to early women's athletics (Guttmann, 1991).

For 18 years, Berenson made few edits to the basketball rules. In fact, many of the rules remained until the 1960s (Hult, 1991). The game spread across the country; April 4, 1896, marked the beginning of intercollegiate sports for women with the first intercollegiate basketball championship game played in Berkeley between University of California and Stanford (R. A. Smith, 1970). Stanford won in a 2-1 decision in front of a crowd of 700 women (R. A. Smith, 1970). In May 1896, a *New York Journal* headline stated, "Basket Ball—The New Craze for Athletic Young Women" (Welch & Lerch, 1981). The physical education movement was led by women were for women. This paralleled the evolution of men's physical education promoting masculinity through a sound mind and sound body, and the production of competitive games (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998).

**Luther Gulick.** Gulick was a strong force for physical education and sport, mentoring James Naismith in developing basketball and promoting physical fitness in American culture (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). Naismith (1941) designed basketball for men as an indoor sport to help men remain physically fit during the football offseason. Gulick was an authority in physical education with the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE) and supported women taking AAPE leadership roles (Spears, 1991). In addition, Gulick was instrumental in the advancement of basketball for both men and women. Teamwork was central to Gulick's philosophy; he theorized that it was necessary but more difficult for girls to learn, compared to boys (Spears, 1991). Thus, basketball was a positive intervention to teach women teamwork skills that could help them succeed in a variety of occupations (Spears, 1991).

**Influences from the YMCA and YWCA movement.** Originating in London, England, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA, also known as the "Y") was established to control poor youth by keeping them off the streets ("History: The YMCA in the United States," 2018). An American Merchant Marine, Thomas Valentine Sullivan, recognized the same need back in the United States and introduced the idea to Boston in 1851 ("History: The YMCA in the United States," 2018). Programs designed to foster speech, sportsmanship, and scholastic achievement provided a stable foundation for Christian ideals ("History: The YMCA in the United States," 2018). In 1869, the first YMCA gymnasium was built, and by 1881, exercise and fitness had become closely associated with the organization ("History: The YMCA in the United States," 2018). The first International YMCA training school located in Springfield, Massachusetts, pioneered sports such as basketball and volleyball and became a training ground for directors of physical training ("History: The YMCA in the United States," 2018).

The Y's mission in promoting health and Christian ideals resonated with the students attending colleges and universities. Christian students sought identity and value in the both the YMCA and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and initiated student "Y" organizations on campuses across the US (Hopkins, 1951). The YMCA and YWCA provided students a connection to religious and social life. The influence of the YMCA and YWCA reinforced the value of fitness and the role of sports in worshipping God.

**A new woman: Bicycles and bloomers.** The introduction of the bicycle helped advance the women's movement (Gordon, 2001; Willard, 1997). Learning to ride bicycles got women outside where they gained a new sense of freedom. Writers for the cycling periodical *The Bearings* noted cycling "knows no class distinction, is within reach of all, and rich and poor alike

have the opportunity of enjoying this popular and healthful exercise” (“A Blessing for Women,” 1895, p. 11). The bicycle inspired all classes of women to break away from the status quo.

The popularity of cycling marked the dawn of a “new woman.” This new woman was described as a modern woman who broke from conventional roles of mother and housewife (Willard, 1997). Women were becoming defined by their political involvement with the woman’s suffrage movement and an adopted ideal to pursue equality with men. Even though clothing still constricted women’s ability to move, the bicycle became a means for new women to assert themselves and establish freedom through movement (Willard, 1997). The cumbersome fashion of long and heavy dresses symbolized the Victorian era wherein women led constricted lives (Gordon, 2001). Cycling required more practical attire and served as a catalyst for adaptive wear.

In 1850, Amelia Jenks Bloomer introduced loose-fitting pants to be worn under women’s dresses (Gordon, 2001). Many women’s rights leaders adopted the loose-fitting pants, known as *bloomers*, but the pants were not common until a century later (Gordon, 2001). The popularity of cycling prompted the reevaluation of women’s clothing. Gordon (2001) stated, “At a time when mainstream women rarely challenged fashion’s dictates, the novelty of sports offered an opportunity to rethink women’s clothing” (p. 25). Amelia Bloomer and women’s suffrage leader Elizabeth Stanton promoted the value of exercise in young women as a means to enhance their fitness for motherhood (Gordon, 2001). Bloomers became the customary attire in physical education, liberating women to be more active and limber (Gordon, 2001).

Not everyone supported this emergence of the so-called new woman. Sports and fitness were gaining popularity among younger women, but older generations still viewed sports as unnecessary and even destructive to womanhood (Park, 1998). Critics—men and women—

warned of the harmful effects of bicycle riding on women's health (R. A. Smith, 1972). As cited in Guttman (1991), writers for the *Chicago Daily News* (1894) issued an essay rebuking critics:

When women want to learn anything or do anything useful or even have any fun there is always someone to solemnly warn her that her duty is to keep well. Meanwhile in many states she can work in factories ten hours a day, she can stand behind counters in badly ventilated stores from 8 o'clock to 6, she can bend over the sewing machine for 5 cents an hour and no one cares enough to protest. But when these same women, condemned to sedentary lives indoor, find a cheap and delightful way of getting fresh air and exercise they need so sorely there is a great hue and cry about their physical welfare. (p. 8)

This essay demonstrated the changing attitudes for women and a burgeoning of physical activities women were thought to be capable of performing.

The bicycle revolutionized physical activity for women, releasing them from their small domestic sphere and the need to be escorted by a male carriage driver. Access to bicycles launched a cycling movement; women joined bicycling clubs in major metropolitan areas (R. A. Smith, 1972). By the 1890s, more than a million American women rode their own bicycles. Thus, cycling became the first widely accepted and popular athletic activity for women. The years of 1893 to 1900 were labeled the *Golden Age of the Bicycle* (R. A. Smith, 1972). Women were free to leave the confines of the homes they were expected to tend. In a way, the bicycle set women's minds and bodies free. R. A. Smith (1972) noted, "More and more women came to regard the cycle as a freedom machine" (p. 76). The cycling movement shifted the public's perceptions of female athleticism and acceptable behavior.

The turn of the century was a time of physical exploration, as women tested their limits. Activities like walking, cycling, hot air ballooning, and climbing were among those changing

perceptions of female capabilities. Nellie Bly became the first woman to travel around the world alone in just 72 days in 1890 (Steinem, 1995). In 1891, Zoe Gayton won a \$2,000 wager for walking across country from the West Coast to Castleton, New York, in 213 days, averaging 18 miles per day (Steinem, 1995). At the age of 23, Annie “Londonderry” Kopchovsky became the first woman to ride a bicycle around the world, accomplishing the feat in 15 months (R. A. Smith, 1972). Historian R. A. Smith (1972) noted Annie’s transformation in this epic ride as she began in a blouse and long skirt and finished in a man’s cycling outfit (R. A. Smith, 1972). Annie’s adventure invited women to rethink femininity and challenge existing dogmas. Many of these accomplishments were presented in an all-women’s issue of the journal *Physical Education*, which promoted women’s fitness (Stanley, 1996). The popular notion of women being too weak to exercise was repeatedly debunked as the journal affirmed the benefits of physical strength and endurance activities.

**Shifting perceptions.** A clear cultural divide existed between collegiate men’s athletic activities and women’s athletic activities. Physical activities were culturally dependent on appropriate masculine and feminine roles held by society. However, women’s physical education programs were disproving previously held myths regarding women’s limited vitality, hysteria, and reproductive risks. Instead, young women were reveling in their physical gains and redefining the capabilities of their bodies and minds. The introduction of tennis illustrated the conflict women encountered between maintaining a high social status while displaying their physical talent.

The Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club was the first site to host U.S. tennis courts (Guttmann, 1991). By the 1880s, national championship tennis tournaments drew contestants and crowds from across the country (Stanley, 1996). Originally, the championships served different

purposes for men and women. Men competed to win and gain inflated status while women played tennis as a part of a traditional courtship ritual—strengthening the body for athletic competition was still considered vulgar and beneath aristocratic standards (Stanley, 1996). Women who played tennis strictly for the sake of the sport were novel. Women traditionally played in restrictive corsets and attire, so when socialite, Ava Willing Astor, played a vigorous game of tennis in her bloomers, it drew criticism (Stanley, 1996). In 1893, *Vogue* dedicated special coverage to the spectacle, referring to Astor and her friends as “the Moderns,” casting public light on sports for women (Guttman, 1991; Stanley, 1996).

The bold act by Ava Willing Astor gave birth to a new ideal of physical beauty related to clothing worn by athletic women. In 1890, artist Charles Dana Gibson drew the famous Gibson Girl that dominated American aesthetic ideals for over 20 years (Banta, 1987). The Gibson Girl possessed a tall, lean, athletic build, and was typically drawn cycling, golfing, or playing tennis (Banta, 1987). Not only did the Gibson Girl portray values of health, skill, and independence, she also represented a status of wealth (Banta, 1987). The embedded partnership of beauty and athleticism gave rise to the modern American sportswoman. As a member of the leisure class, the Gibson Girl had access to exclusive sports clubs for the elites. This comparison demonstrated the changing environment regarding women’s access and opportunities in sport. Men and women were experiencing a social transformation and a divergence from Victorian ideals.

### **Effects of American Industrialization and Urbanization on Athletics (1895–1920)**

At the end of the 19th century, the United States was transforming from a rural, agricultural economy into industrial urban centers. The beginning of the 20th century is commonly referred to as a period of transition in which industrialization, immigration, and urbanization of the American landscape brought optimism and myriad reform movements



(Guttman, 1991). One movement in particular concerned the subject of health. A pervasive message of declining health filled the pages of popular magazines, warning the nation's citizenry of physical deterioration (Stanley, 1996). Epidemic diseases, most notably cholera, had profound social and moral implications (Stanley, 1996). People widely believed that disease only struck the intemperate and un-Christian, thus representing God's judgment on sinners (Stanley, 1996). This underlying fear contributed to an evangelical fervor based on the belief that disease struck some people, especially the poor, because they were sinners (Stanley, 1996).

Heroic medical practitioners used interventions comprising heavy metal drugs—for example, calomel and arsenic—to purge patients of disease (Stanley, 1996). These techniques failed, thereby bolstering sectarians' beliefs in God's healing powers (Stanley, 1996). Physicians like Dr. Dio Lewis and Dr. Mary T. Bissell focused on lifestyle habits in terms of diet, physical exercise, and hygiene (Stanley, 1996). A commitment to exercise was declared “positively necessary for the preservation of our health and physical development” (Stanley, 1996, p. 37). Previously, writers who published in medical and popular literature portrayed women as fragile, delicate, and feeble (Clarke, 1873). As mentioned, women were believed to be at increased risk for disease and illness; in fact, they were blamed for the declining health of the nation, thus prompting reforms. In addition, American men were perceived as weaker, compared to their European counterparts (Duffy, 1990); doctors urged a nationwide adoption of physical education, thus affirming the value of athletic programs in schools and colleges.

**Professional organizations.** As the athletics programs at colleges and universities grew, so did the need to regulate them. Large regulatory bodies formed to assure fairness and consistency among physical education programs and intercollegiate athletics (R. K. Smith, 1987;

Park & Hult, 1993). Rules were established by physical education, intercollegiate athletic bodies, and collegiate sport committees (Park & Hult, 1993).

***Physical education professional organizations.*** In 1885, William Gilbert Anderson, a physical training instructor in Brooklyn, formed the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE; Zeigler, 1979). Anderson invited a group of instructors working in the gymnastics field to discuss, share, and demonstrate physical education teaching practices (Zeigler, 1979). Forty-nine instructors enrolled as members of AAAPPE, and the following year, the first convention took place (Zeigler, 1979). In 1886, writers of a formal constitution declared AAAPPE's mission "to disseminate knowledge concerning physical education, to improve the method, and by meetings of the members to bring those interested in subject into closer relation to each other" (*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education*, 1886, p. 2). In 1903, members changed the name to the American Physical Education Association (APEA; Zeigler, 1979). Throughout the 20th century, the APEA structure evolved to serve the growth of the profession and respond to new medical knowledge (Zeigler, 1979). The AAAPPE/APEA was the first professional organization in sport, predating the NCAA (Zeigler, 1979). The alliance was concerned with physical activity, exercise, dance, sport, athletics, health education, hygiene, health services, health environment, recreation, outdoor education, and safety (Zeigler, 1979).

Delphine Hanna was an ambitious educator who studied under Dr. Dio Lewis and Dudley Sargent (Lynn, 2013). Hanna became the first teacher of physical education at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio (Lynn, 2013). Oberlin College was the first school to offer a four-year physical education degree (Thelin, 2004). The influence of Oberlin College as prominent leaders in physical education placed the AAAPPE Midwest Association at the forefront of physical

education. Members of the Midwest region focused on a bottom-up approach to physical education, whereas leadership figures on the East Coast exercised a powerful top-down style (Guttmann, 1991). Since the beginning of women's seminary and normal schools, women were leading women's physical education programs. It was socially acceptable and expected to have women instructing young women in physical activity (Park & Hult, 1993)

Physical education for women focused on broad-based participation, collaboration, and nonaggressive competition (Park & Hult, 1993). As for men, physical education curricula were intended to keep men fit, strong, and prepared for competition (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). A clear division was evident between men's physical education and athletic programs, compared to women's athletic programs, which had evolved from the women's physical education department (Park & Hult, 1993; Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). Everhart and Pemberton (2001) capitalized on this divide, stating, "Sport was literally incorporated into the educational curriculum by men, for men, to serve men, evolving as a celebration of maleness, valuing strength, power, and competition" (p. 2). Men's and women's physical education was a direct representation of the espoused values and philosophies in America. The cultural construction of gender was central to the structure of physical education programs in higher education. Men's and women's physical activities operated distinctly from one another. This intended separation would later influence the evolution of athletics for men and women.

***Contention between athletics and academics.*** While women were redefining what it meant to be a "lady," men's collegiate sports were taking a completely different course. The ideals of amateurism were being tested, and college sports were growing more competitive and more deadly (Pope, 1997). Because of the growing commercialization of college athletics as a mechanism for winning, college leaders found it difficult to resist the profit motives attached to

amateurism (Lucas & Smith, 1978). College leaders entered into income-generating and publicity agreements to enhance spectatorship and the entertainment value of sport contests (Flowers, 2009). Stadiums were erected with pricing structures for priority seating (Flowers, 2009). Massive stadiums exceeding campus enrollment sizes were built to appeal to the public and community interests (R. A. Smith, 1988). In 1894, Harvard profited \$42,000 from just two football games (R. A. Smith, 1988). As profits soared, the pressure to be the best did as well. By the 20th century, coaches were being hired with excessive salaries, double those of professors, and soon surpassing many college presidents (R. A. Smith, 1988). While men took the lead in advancing intercollegiate athletics, women were in the background building non-competitive physical education programs.

Despite the growth of college athletics and improvements made to student-organized athletics, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) arose during a critical period for intercollegiate and amateur sports (R. K. Smith, 1987). The development of a national governing body, NCAA, allowed universities to control intercollegiate athletics, specifically football. Through strategic effort, the regulatory body established power and legitimacy, thus legitimizing the field of college athletics. The NCAA quickly became the dominant force for college athletics in the United States, emerging as an answer to college football's brutality (R. K. Smith, 1987). The NCAA associated with college athletics, and the AAU aligned with the athletic clubs (R. K. Smith, 1987). Despite the different territories, both the NCAA and the AAU fought for control over high-profile amateur sports (Flath, 1964). Each vied for more power and control over amateur and intercollegiate sports. While money, power, and audience were at the crux of the AAU-NCAA fight, women's early athletics were governed by university physical education programs and the national AAPE educational bodies (Park & Hult, 1993).

*NCAA versus AAU.* The battle between the NCAA and AAU continued for decades to come. Women's advancement in athletics would eventually be a pawn for AAU power. The AAU alliance formed to certify athletes as amateurs in various sports and served as the governing body for numerous sports while also supervising tryouts for Olympic competition (Pope, 1997). As women emerged into Olympic competition, the fight between AAU and NCAA grew. Nite et al. (2016) described the relationship:

While AAU and its affiliates often controlled the U.S. Olympic organization, NCAA had the highest numbers of amateur athletes in the U.S. Olympics teams. In addition, NCAA athletes, more than athletes from AAU or any other organization, won more Olympic medals in those early days these feats by NCAA athletes emboldened NCAA in its supremacy battle with AAU. (p. 16-17)

The conflict between the AAU and NCAA was underscored by the organizations' desire for resources, regulatory power, and image. Sullivan, founder of the AAU, was the first to say "athletics should be for the masses not [just] for the classes" (as cited in Pope, 1997, p. 31). Athletics for the masses was a central tenet in the women's physical education philosophy where sports should be available for every girl (Hargreaves, 2007). Unlike the women, men's athletics was associated with competition to be the best and a pursuit of excellence, not treating everyone the same. Both the NCAA and AAU confronted internal conflicts and external tensions. Nonetheless, the AAU welcomed women's participation in sport for which the NCAA remained explicitly for men.

*AAU, IOC, and women's athletics.* The American Physical Education Association (APEA) and AAU followed two different missions. Because physical education was about health while maintaining the dignity of womanhood, the women who led physical education programs

around the country held firmly to the idea of “separate spheres” (Guttmann, 1991, p. 135). They denounced competition and reinforced an “ideology of educated motherhood” (D’Urso, 1989, p. 55). This position was in direct conflict with the efforts of the AAU to advance women’s competition. The AAU was tightly connected to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and contributed to the production of games men’s sports, and eventually, for women in the 1920s (Hargreaves, 2007).

Women’s participation in the modern Olympics was nonexistent in 1894 when Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived the sporting event (Hargreaves, 2007). Coubertin detested women’s participation because, as he said, it was “against the law of nature and most unaesthetic sight human eyes could contemplate” (as quoted in Simri, 1979, pp. 12-13). Historian Hargreaves would aver, since its inception, the modern Olympic Games institutionalized sexism and severely impaired women’s advancement in athletics. The first modern Olympic contest took place in 1896 in Greece; women were excluded, but one unofficial female runner, Melpomene, ran the marathon in protest (Hargreaves, 2007). Her participation stirred some positive opinions, despite the IOC’s strong opposition. By this time, sport federations and other professional organizations around the world (e.g., the International Federation of Sport) supported the entry of women into sport (Hargreaves, 2007). Many male participants were involved with efforts in their own countries at a time when sportswomen were gaining visibility (Hargreaves, 2007; Guttmann, 1991). Eventually, the IOC relinquished control and handed some power over to the host cities to determine women’s competition (Hargreaves, 2007). At the 1908 London Olympics, women competed in archery, lawn tennis, and figure skating (Hargreaves, 2007). However, in the following Olympics, the IOC reversed its position, allowing women to participate only in “feminine appropriate” events (Hargreaves, 2007).

Opposition to women's participation came not only from the men organizing these committees; opposition also came from female physical education pioneers who were adamantly against excessive competition (Park & Hult, 1993). Pressure from their own associations hindered young women from entering the Olympic Games in adherence to socially constructed gender roles (Hargreaves, 2007). U.S. women's involvement in Olympic competition was sparse until AAU president William Prout advocated sending a team of women to compete in the 1922 Paris Summer Olympics (Jensen, 1979). Prout announced to the *New York Herald* on April 9, 1922, "I agree that women of America should be put upon the same physical basis as the women of other countries. We don't want them to get too far ahead of us" (as quoted in Jensen, 1979, p. 12). His statement suggested an external pressure of American women falling behind their global counterparts and a need to maintain a strong physical presence. Prout's stance prompted a bold objection from the APEA, whose members disapproved of women's team competition at Paris (D'Urso, 1989).

Despite opposition, a few women travelled to Paris, including Anne Harwick, a female All-Star from Florida State College (Welch, 1982). Harwick was slated to compete in the javelin, shot put, and 300-meter sprint, but she withdrew because of overtraining (Welch, 1982). Her withdrawal only reinforced the opposition members' philosophy that competition caused unhealthy, extreme exhaustion for women (Welch, 1982). Therefore, supporters of traditional physical education ideology remained against the presence of women in competition (Welch, 1982).

In January 1923, the AAU voted to accept "women in track and field, swimming, gymnastics, basketball, and handball," and at least one woman had to be represented on all committees dealing with women's sports and clubs (Korsgaard, 1952, p. 285). Radical legislation

prompted a vehement response by the American Physical Education Review committee regarding the “lamentable failure to safeguard the physical and even moral well-being of the girls of the country in their athletic contests” (Perrin, 1924, p. 116). A fissure in women’s athletics was growing, separating those who wanted to test their limits from those who opposed playing for the sake of prizes or awards. The traditionalists believed in participation for all and not just for the talented few, fearing “exploitation for the enjoyment of the spectator or for the athletic reputation or commercial advantage of any school or organization” (Perrin, 1924, pp. 116-117). Such beliefs were core to the athletic creed of the newly formed Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletics Federation (NAAF; Guttmann, 1991). Commonly referred to as the Women’s Division, its members sought to eradicate competition, especially in national championships, to avoid the hypocrisy, corruption, and physical strain evidenced by men’s intercollegiate athletics (Perrin, 1924).

These efforts demonstrated the divide even within women and that traditionalist women were reinforcing the stereotypes that women were frail held by the general public. Mabel Lee and Ethel Perrin led the crusade against the presence of women in intercollegiate athletic competition (Guttmann, 1991). They presented arguments related to honoring the few while neglecting the many (Lee, 1924), advocating for female modesty with sport clothing, and maintaining composure while competing in the presence of a mixed audience (Perrin, 1924). Physical educators of the Women’s Division prohibited women who competed with AAU-associated teams from competing on university-sponsored teams (Sefton, 1941). They maintained an active role against women participating in the Olympic Games and discouraged colleges from competing in intercollegiate play (Sefton, 1941). It appeared that a pendulum had swung away from the health benefits and advances for women in athletics. Literature began to



resurface in support of the negative effects of muscular development on reproduction (Lucas & Smith, 1978) and the importance of attracting a husband (Perrin, 1924). The commercial interest in women's athletics was non-existent compared to the men. Women leaders in the field were against the competitive model for women and denounced the commercialized nature of sport, and therefore, women remained to be secondary to men when it came to athletics.

**Participation, not competition.** Although some revered exercise for its ability to improve women's health and the health of the nation, a contradiction persisted in women's athletics. The widespread fear that competition damaged feminine emotional and physical qualities continued (Stanley, 1996). Competition promoted masculine ideals of aggression, power, and control. Women's growing involvement in athletic competition was perceived as an end to their grace and refinement (Perrin, 1924; Lee, 1924). At Vassar, women professors were teaching only activities that promoted women's bodily grace (Warner et al., 2011). Unfeminine activities were not tolerated in the curricula (Stanley, 1996). Although a more concerted effort to increase women's health existed, it was not to be accomplished through athletics. Women were firmly in charge of physical education in schools and colleges, but they repudiated competition (Park & Hult, 1993). Athletic competition was perceived as a man's world; to physical educators, the worlds of men and women were two distinct spheres. Instead, the female students organized sport competition on their own; college campuses were ideal grounds for "unofficial" sport participation (Guttman, 1991). These activities were protected from the public and could easily be organized by the girls on campus (Guttman, 1991; Stanley, 1996).

In the 20th century, physical education instructors started to incorporate games and sports with the routine gymnastics and calisthenics (Park & Hult, 1993). Early competitive sports for women benefited greatly from exclusivity—only the country club sports of golf, tennis, and

swimming were refined and acceptable for women (Stanley, 1996). Team sports and other sports such as bicycling had greater middle-class appeal (Stanley, 1996). Industrial leagues and sporting events sponsored by the AAU provided outlets for middle-class athletic interests (Hargreaves, 2007). Institutes of higher education attracted women of upper class means and continued to reinforce sports centered on poise and elegance (Park & Hult, 1993).

### **Womanhood, Femininity, and Athleticism (1920–1960)**

By the time the first women's college opened, men's organized sports were gaining momentum. The first athletic competition between Harvard and Yale in 1852 triggered a long history of commercial enterprise in American sport (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Intercollegiate athletics was a highly visible feature used to recruit students and generate the funds necessary to support winning athletic programs while concomitant visibility for higher education (Lucas & Smith, 1978). As institutions of higher education began to open for women, physical education and fitness emerged for an entirely different purpose than physical education programs for their male counterparts (Park & Hult, 1993; Guttman, 1991). At the time, and for decades to come, physical educators frowned on allowing girls and women in varsity athletics (Park & Hult, 1993). They worried that women were modeling the men's highly competitive and aggressive approach to sport; an act viewed as unfeminine (Park & Hult, 1993). Educators and directors led the opposition to intercollegiate athletics, as indicated by the many articles written on the corruption and harmful effects of men's athletics (Lee, 1924). Physical educators instead promoted a broad-based participation model with the motto "a girl for every sport and sport for every girl" (NAGWS, n.d.). The National Association for Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS) adopted the motto in 1899; NAGWS evolved from the Women's Basketball Committee.

NAGWS was the first governing structure serving all ages of females participating in sport and physical education supporting healthy, safe, and female-appropriate programs (Hult, 1999).

Movement of women in athletics largely stemmed from the shifting public views of sportswomen. A popular magazine called *Physical Culture* published by Bernard Macfadden included health advice, advocated for exercise, and directly linked fitness to beauty (Stanley, 1996). Macfadden (as cited in Stanley, 1996) encouraged sport and exercise for the “everyday man or women who wished to get everything out of life that nature intended . . . not just strength but also health, vigor, suppleness, and above all beauty” (p. 79). By the 1920s, women were competing more frequently, due to its health and beauty benefits. Athletic participation was acceptable for women as long as it was modified for their femininity and not like the men. Macfadden, encouraged physical activity as a way to reclaim women’s youth and beauty (Kellerman, 1919). Dudley Sargent, director of Harvard’s Hemenway Gymnasium, said athletics was as valuable to women as it was to men for improving attention, concentration, and self-control (as cited in Stanley, 1996). However, Sargent warned girls that sports should be modified: He recommended reduced playing time, more rest, lighter weights, and especially in basketball, separate rules (Stanley, 1996).

Public interest in sport activities grew, as did product consumerism. Marketers targeted women with products designed to increase beauty, decrease fat, and maintain fitness (Stanley, 1996). Magazine advertisements showed mothers and daughters in athletics activities claiming sports were not only for youth in efforts to broaden the consumer market (Stanley, 1996). Marketing boomed and “advertising provided the final impetus to the growing popularity of sports and exercise for women” (Stanley, 1996, p. 88). The commercial value in women’s athletics was experienced by its link to beauty products and marketing of a new female image.

Meanwhile, female athletes in college were members of teams and competed with other institutions. These activities were not comparable to men's competition in terms of funding, fan support, newspaper coverage, and travel but emerged as a "little sister" model to the men (Park & Hult, 1993). Women's sports had lagged behind men's sports for nearly 40 years, and although women's sports were firmly embedded in the physical education camp, some women had a desire to compete like the men (Hult, 1999). However, a cultural message remained that women should be allowed only to engage in feminine sports (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). Medical doctors and female physical educators warned about the impacts of vigorous activity on reproductive capacities, not to mention unsightly muscles (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). In contrast, the female and, consequently, the women in leadership positions emphasized a sport culture of cooperation and social aspects, with the ultimate goal being participatory (Blinde, 1989; Festle, 1996). College competition in the form of play days and sports days consisted of teams playing at a common location (Festle, 1996). In 1923, Henry MacCracken, Vassar's president, supported the athletic zeal and encouraged competition between classes and dormitories (Warner et al., 2011). Still, the trends were on participation, involvement, and play, influencing women's sport and physical education programs nationwide.

Prior to WWI, exercise was popularized as a way to maintain feminine ideals, not to challenge them. Men's athletics, however, embodied values of strength, dominance, competitiveness, and loyalty, which their fans revered and which promoted American ideals (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Everhart and Pemberton (2001) regarded competition as war; athletes and winners were war heroes. As athletic programs continued to gain momentum in the interscholastic, intercollegiate communities, a large, well-organized, male sport culture emerged (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Women's sports arose as the counter culture to the dominant values,

taking on a completely different philosophy (Festle, 1996). Consequently, women who led in this non-competitive programs would not be considered for leadership roles in intercollegiate athletics.

Women's activism, access to education, and shifting social roles marked the 1920s as a watershed time for women's athletics and women's rights (Park & Hult, 1993; Hargreaves, 2007). The suffrage movement earned women the legal right to vote and an invitation to more public spheres of work, education, and leisure (Hargreaves, 2007). In addition, advertisers sold the ideals of a "modern sportswomen," linking fitness as necessary for a perfect female image (Stanley, 1996). Moreover, women were making advancements with the Olympic Games, the premier athletic event.

**A return to the Olympics.** In 1920, Frenchwoman Alice Milliatt challenged the IOC on the decision to ban women from the Olympic Games and demanded women's athletics to be on the program (Hargreaves, 2007). This time, the IOC committee rejected Coubertin's request to terminate all women's events and allowed tennis and swimming events (Hargreaves, 2007). A year later, a group of IOC policymakers and women from Europe and America met to propose future events for the Olympic program (Hargreaves, 2007). The meeting incited conversation and energy for a separate sports federation to host an alternative women's Olympics in Paris in 1922 (Hargreaves, 2007). In 1926, the Women's World Games took place in Sweden; in 1930, women's games were held in Czechoslovakia; and in 1934, women's games took place in England (Hargreaves, 2007). Each year drew more countries and participants (Hargreaves, 2007). Hargreaves (2007) addressed how "Women had occupied for themselves an autonomous realm of sport which they could control" (p. 6).

The West and the IOC could no longer ignore the impacts women were making in sport, particularly the crowds they were attracting. Attendees at the 1925 conference turned to medical and scientific evidence of women's participation in athletics. Elliot-Lynn (1925) presented the similarities and differences between men and women's physiology:

[Sports are] wholly unsuitable for the feminine organism, which is more delicate and should conserve its energy for the great work before it, and those recreations which are not sufficiently physically energetic to assist the woman towards the most healthy development she may attain. (p. 111)

Elliot-Lynn's words echoed the sentiment popular in the 19th century, converging social-historical forces with the biological (Elliot-Lynn, 1925). After much negotiation, the IOC agreed to put five track and field events on the 1928 program, the same year Coubertin retired (Hargreaves, 2007). With the support of their male counterparts, British female athletes protested the games for *only* allowing five track and field events (Hargreaves, 2007).

The battle continued; one of the largest adversaries to women in the Olympic Games comprised the powerful physical educators of the American Amateur Athletic Federation (AAAF; Hargreaves, 2007). They vehemently opposed the commercialization of male sports and worried women were traveling on the same path (Hargreaves, 2007). AAAF members stated that control of women's sports should be in the hands of women and not the male-operated IOC; they also rejected the AAU's proposal for women's track and field teams at the Women's World Games (Hargreaves, 2007). In 1932, the group presented formal statements threatening to suspend women's athletic events at the Los Angeles games and replace them with "singing, dancing, music, mass sports and games" with a focus on "play" (Hargreaves, 2007, p. 9).

Such efforts by physical educators supported the NAGWS motto, “a sport for every girl and every girl in a sport.” There was also concern for rendering women incapable of bearing children and eliminating femininity (Hargreaves, 2007). Essentially, their stance strengthened beliefs in gender differences and delayed women’s participation in Olympic sports. At the same time, the NCAA and men’s athletics were making tremendous strides. The NCAA held its first national championships in track and field (1921) and swimming (1924; Crowley, 2006). In spite of the clamor raised around amateurism and commercialism, colleges and universities continued to struggle with governing themselves through the NCAA.

**Tarnished age of athletics for women.** The 1920s was the golden age of American sports wherein media captured the attention of the public in professional baseball, golf, tennis, and football (Pope, 1997). Yet the ideal sportswoman was still a symbol of beauty, sex appeal, and youth (Stanley, 1996). There was no comparison between the American public’s perceptions of the ideal sportsman and sportswoman. Although women were making improvements, their connection to physical education placed women on a completely different plane, compared to the men. The late 1920s and Depression years were challenging for sportswomen (Stanley, 1996). The argument that women had a fixed amount of vital energy returned; some suggested developing muscles was “greedy” (Claghorn as cited in Stanley, 1996, p. 104). The writer Claghorn (as cited in Stanley, 1996) wrote that exercise was a waste of the body’s nourishment and failed to consider any connection between muscular development and health. In contrast to a sociocultural perspective, there was an economic appeal to women’s interest in sports from a commercial products stance. However, this became compromised as the financial institutions crashed and the Great Depression set in.

This notion persisted. Writers for the *Journal of the American Medical Association* declared, “In the age of feminine freedom, common sense had become a lost commodity” (Stanley, 1996, p. 106). Physical educators argued against track and field and published the dangers to menses and fertility (Shuttleworth, 1990). In addition to the physical effects, educators were concerned about the impacts on femininity and womanhood (Shuttleworth, 1990). Sargent (as cited in Stanley, 1996), a leader in physical education, said that women could be athletic or feminine but not both, and those who were athletic possessed masculine traits. The solution to combat girls’ growing interest in athletics was to hold “play days” (Festle, 1996). Play days were an extension of intramurals—women from several colleges formed teams from different colleges and played a variety of sports (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001).

From the 1920s to the 1940s, several groups were in contest over women’s sports, including the Women’s Athletic Committee (WAC; precursor to NAGWS); the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD; formerly APEA); and the Women’s Division (WD) of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF; part of the AAU; Hult, 1989). The WAC comprised physical educators who claimed control over girls and women’s school athletics and public sportswomen (Hult, 1989). Power was vested in the editorial rule committee, which exercised authority over women’s rules in team sports (Hult, 1989). Lou Henry Hoover, president of the Girl Scouts of America, advocated for a separate women’s division with the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) to maintain a separate ideology of standards and purpose for women’s athletics (Hult, 1989). The leadership board comprised prominent wives of political figures in addition to the best physical educators (Hult, 1989). Women’s Division’s (WD) membership included individuals, women’s organizations, and schools (Hult, 1989). Their philosophy encouraged mass participation in school and non-



school settings (Hult, 1989). Despite the WD being stronger than the men's division, they still answered to the NAAF and eventually gave the men of NAAF control over female athletics (Hult, 1989). Much of the collapse was from a failure to establish a comprehensive governance structure like the AAU structure (Hult, 1989).

In 1923, the AAU claimed jurisdiction over women's sports in swimming, track and field, and eventually, basketball, softball, volleyball, and gymnastics (Hult, 1989). The AAU was the sporting body for 12 Olympic sports and recognized as the governing body of USA amateur sport by the U.S. Olympic Committee (Hult, 1989).

As the 1940s ended, female physical educators controlled the interscholastic and collegiate athletic departments with play days and interschool sport days (Festle, 1996). Women vetted in noncompetitive philosophy controlled rule policies for team sports (Festle, 1996). Women were building a cadre of leaders grounded in cooperation and a participatory philosophy, a culture consistent with femininity. The AAU provided governance for Olympic competition, potentially influencing women's basketball rules, but very few women were represented in decision-making positions (Hult, 1989). As for the men, in 1939, the NCAA sponsored the first men's basketball national championship and lost profit (Crowley, 2006).

**WWII and women.** During WWII, women had moved into the work force in unprecedented numbers. Women experienced new freedoms in an expanded public sphere. Between the world wars, women made up 40% of all undergraduates, with nearly 600,000 enrolled prior to WWII (Thelin, 2004). After the War, women entered college at increasing rates, as more colleges sponsored coeducation (Thelin, 2004). Coeducation was the fastest growing institutional model, providing access to a progressive education (Thelin, 2004). Women joined sororities and actively engaged in campus life (Thelin, 2004). Aside from physical education,

women's athletic opportunities were much smaller than the men's varsity athletic programs (Thelin, 2004). During the postwar years, America entered a time of conflict over major institutions, including sports. Intercollegiate athletics were becoming increasingly commercialized and professionalized (Pope, 1997). Both professional and collegiate athletics were integrated philosophically. Women had already begun to push back on these masculine ideals by introducing a counter and non-competitive culture to sport.

More women attended college, but fewer pursued advanced degrees (Thelin, 2004). Throughout the 1940s, women with bachelor degrees gained secretarial skills to increase their professional options, due in part to the degree alone was not ensuring employment (Berg, 1978). Parents worried that college would negatively affect girls' ability to marry, but with droves of women graduating and marrying, this fear would prove to be unfounded (Berg, 1978).

The post war era also re-sparked a women's movement for equal treatment. Careers were limited for women, with only the choice of nursing or teaching as culturally acceptable for women (Hall, 1996). Women's advances in athletics were through the route of education, mainly physical education (Park, 1995). While women in athletics would begin to demand equal access to facilities and resources, the conflict over the philosophical purpose of athletics for women, would continue to create fissures in the leadership of women in athletics. Men, however, resolved this conflict with athletics with winning games and perpetuating competition, nearly 50 years earlier.

### **Raging Revolution (1960–1972)**

During the postwar years, America entered a time of cultural conflict over major institutions, including sports. This particular era of sports became increasingly professionalized, bounded by free-market capitalism, political agendas, and a growing influence of African

American participation in sport (Pope, 1997). Women and minorities presented a counterculture to the dominant White masculine ideals in sport. The values and norms of women and marginalized people differed substantially from the established institutions (MacKinnon, 2006; Berg, 1978). The institution of sport and athletics in higher education had been designed by men who profited from these ventures (Pope, 1997; Hall, 1996). Throughout the 50s and 60s, these mainstream institutions experienced disruption calling for equality from outside groups. The famous Civil Rights Movement served as a catalyst for feminist movements of the 1960s (Hall, 1996). Women contested all male-dominated institution calling for equal pay, rights, and representation (Hult, 1989). In the shadows of these larger efforts were women claiming sports equality (Hult, 1989).

In 1963, President Kennedy appointed Eleanor Roosevelt and Betty Friedan to chair a commission on the status of women (Hult, 1989). Friedan, who wrote *The Feminine Mystique*, which would shape the modern Women's Liberation Movement, including athletic equality (Hult, 1989). Amid civil and human rights movements, the 1960s denoted the emergence of contemporary feminism in Western society (Berg, 1978). Definitions of femininity and masculinity evolved as family roles, the workplace, economic activities, and political structures shifted (Berg, 1978). With this era emerged a "second wave feminism" marked with a desire for social and economic equality (Berg, 1978). Given the fervor of the times, a context for advances of women in sports and the growth of participation emerged.

Prior to the 1960s, women's athletics was structurally distinct from men's and a fraction of the size (Hult, 1989). Most athletics programs operated out of physical education departments, led by female graduate students or professors (Park & Hult, 1993). Little emphasis was placed on competition due in part to the sociocultural ideal of femininity (Hall, 1996) and limited funds for

travel (Park & Hult, 1993). Despite, limited funding, women's athletics grew throughout the, 60s. They began to organize through state and national physical education agencies, hosting statewide competitions. West (as cited in Fisher, 2014) remembered the experience of sport days as "maybe 15 or 16 colleges would be there for field hockey or softball or volleyball depending on the season, and that was really the genesis moving into varsity sports at the college level" (p. 25). West's description illustrates the early structures of women's intercollegiate competition, an outgrowth of play days and sport days (Hult, 1989).

In the late 1960s, states started organizing state championships in place of sport days (Fisher, 2014; Park & Hult, 1993). Until recent decades, attention toward women's sport has occupied a marginal place relative to the dominance of men's sport. Men's sports throughout this period experienced massive growth and publicity. Men's intercollegiate athletics profited from the explosion of TV contracts, championship bowl games, and the broadcasting of the men's basketball tournament (R. A. Smith, 1990). Women's advances in intercollegiate sport were not as publicly visible as those of the men. Women were just beginning to organize their intercollegiate practices, a structure that began for the men 50 years earlier.

**Battle for control.** Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, women competed in intercollegiate sports. The state tournaments for women increased visibility and fostered some public's interest in women's sports. The NCAA was the governing body of men's college athletics and had no interest in women's athletics (Wu, 2004). Meanwhile, the AAU was the governing body overseeing women's athletic competition in college and the Olympic Games (Hult, 1989). In a battle over jurisdiction, the NCAA fought the AAU for more control over athletics (R. A. Smith, 1990). Since women's athletics were gaining some traction in Olympic competition, the NCAA administration began to entertain women's athletic programs (Wu, 1999). Starting in 1963, the

NCAA actively showed interest in women's sports (Wu, 1999). From 1963 to 1968, the NCAA sponsored the Institute for Women's and Girls' Sports as an Olympic project (Wu, 1999). Each year, the institute brought in women speakers, organized meetings between male and female athletic representatives, and maintained communication with women's sports organizations to gain advantage against the AAU (Wu, 1999). These actions greatly concerned physical educators and women leaders for fear of following the path of the men's collegiate athletics. In retaliation, the AAHPER and Division for Girls and Women's Sports (DGWS) created the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) in 1966 (Hult, 1989; Wu, 1999). A year later, PE faculty and members of the CIAW created national championships in several sports, a model familiar to the NCAA (Wu, 1999).

By the late 1970s, the CIAW organized national tournaments for women; however, these events were smaller than to the men's championships (Wu, 1999; Festle, 1996). Schools that funded women's sports teams were more interested in competing at national level tournaments (Festle, 1996). Therefore, those that were able to fund the competitions were the institutions participating in the competitions. The CIAW was managed by four part-time commissioners who were overwhelmed with the responsibilities of hosting several national championships (Wu, 1999). This nascent organization operated from a voluntary basis with a limited leadership structure. CIAW director quickly realized the demands of organizing tournament competition and wrote, "CIAW was handicapped administratively and economically by its lack of and identifiable membership to provide a direct communication channel to individual institutions and a source of dues to finance its operations" (Lopiano, 1981, p. 22). Due to these constraints and the CIAW's inexperience, they were encouraged to collect membership dues and organize like the NCAA (Wu, 1999). However, these structures common with men's athletics gave the NCAA

control and power over the athletic departments, a structure that worried women (Festle, 1996). Historian, R. A. Smith (1990), posited that membership dues legitimized the organization and fastened their function with regulating men's intercollegiate athletics.

In 1969, NCAA officials suggested "an institutionally oriented organization, rather than one composed of individual educators, would be better qualified to administer a national athletic program for women" (Wu, 1999, p. 587). The comment prioritizes a centralized governing body familiar with the sport operations rather than organized by several physical educators across the country. The tone of the comment suggests that the women previously managing women's athletics were not equipped with the skills to support a national operation. Two months later, the CIAW through pressure from the NCAA and an interest in creating more state chapters, became the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW; Suggs, 2005; Wilson, 2013; Hult, 1989). The proposal for the AIAW was approved after some debate between the DGWS and AAHPER boards (Hult, 1989). National PE organizations were vested in the sport transformation, as this was where women emerged into sporting opportunities (Suggs, 2005). In 1972, the CIAW officially became the AIAW and immediately began an aggressive agenda (Suggs, 2005; Hult, 1989). Hult (1989) described their vision and mission as "a set of procedures for conducting national championships, eligibility rules for athletes and plans for a legislative participatory approach to governance" (p. 254). Surprisingly, the AIAW vision modeled much of the men's governance, but wanted to maintain a feminine approach to athletics. Moreover, the AIAW wanted to maintain a student-centered, education-oriented model to avoid the abuses observed in the male model (Hult, 1989; Suggs, 2005).

The AIAW had jurisdiction over all women athletes and programs at each institution. The executive board comprised nine regionally elected officials, an elected executive committee, and

a paid executive director—all women (Hult, 1989). The AIAW grew to 971 member institutions, hosting 750 state, regional, and national championships with a budget of nearly \$2 million (Hult, 1989). Physical educators still contributed to the operation—the AAHPER exercised final authority over contracts and budgets (Hult, 1989). It was clear the AIAW had grown quite large and powerful, and thus appealed strongly to the NCAA (Hult, 1989).

Interestingly, seven months prior to the establishment AIAW, Walter Byers sought legal counsel to determine whether the NCAA constitutions permitted adopting rules applicable for female athletics competitions (Wu, 1999). George Gangwere served as Byers assistant for legal counsel, for which Byers contemplated the using of women's athletics as a pawn in the long standing battle with AAU (R. K Smith, 2000; Nite et al., 2016). Meanwhile, the Educational Amendment of 1972, Title IX, passed the same year (US Department of Education, 1972). The new amendment passed to ensure women's equal access to educational opportunities to all schools receiving federal funds (Suggs, 2005). Failure to comply inhibited institutions from receiving future funds. The law was intended to improve women's acceptance rates to medical and law schools, however Title IX's application to athletics became a larger debate.

Byers was reported to have the foresight of anticipating this change (Wu, 1999). Together, Byers and Gangwere calculated in order to avoid future discrimination charges, the NCAA would have to provide equal opportunities for women's intercollegiate competitions (Wu, 1999). However, doing so would mean creating an entirely separate branch organized by women. The NCAA solicited the AIAW's affiliation in hopes of moving it away from DGWS and AAHPER (Wu, 1999). Combining institutions under a single athletic governing body appealed to the NCAA as a way to increase their membership base and avoid litigation (R. A. Smith, 1990). The NCAA framed the affiliation as a solution to potential legal challenges (R. A. Smith, 1990;

Wu, 1999). Moreover, NCAA members were carving out a space for their struggle to control women's athletics and power with the AAU (Suggs, 2005). Ironically, the NCAA damaged its own cause by limiting NCAA eligibility to male students only (Wu, 1999). This provision called for a devious legal strategy. Not surprisingly, the AIAW-NCAA affiliation was rejected by NGWS and AAHPER (Wu, 1999). Opposing arguments included fear of copying a male model and desire for a structure that reflected women's needs (Wu, 1999).

The road to athletic "equality" can be conceptualized as a battle; the next struggle involved another attempt from the NCAA to lure the AIAW under its control. This time, the National Junior Collegiate Athletic Association (NJCAA) and the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) were involved. Gangwere promoted the idea that an affiliation with the men's groups—NCAA, NJCAA, NAIA—would be beneficial for increased publicity (Wu, 1999). When that idea failed, the NCAA threatened the AIAW's partnership by setting up a competing structure with their members. The women believed that women were best suited for responding to the needs of women's programs. There was no doubt that the NCAA was after control of women's intercollegiate athletics.

**The year of 1972.** Coincidentally, 1972 marked the beginning of two significant forces that would affect women's athletics for decades to come: the passage of the Educational Amendment of 1972—Title IX—and the legal and social battles for the AIAW's control over athletics (Hult, 1989). The two forces did not complement each other. Title IX required equal opportunity for all programs in intercollegiate athletics (US Department of Education, 1972), certainly a victory for girls and women across the country. However, this rule became problematic when the AIAW resisted running women's sports the way the NCAA ran men's sports (Hult, 1989; Wu, 1999). The members of the AIAW wanted to maintain their own model,



which prevented athletic scholarships in order to maintain a noble standard for female students and adhere to feminine ideals (Suggs, 2005). The male model of athletics, however, was the established norm on competitive athletics and women athletes were perceived as being treated unfairly compared to the men (Suggs, 2005).

Title IX triggered dramatic cultural, structural, and historical conflicts regarding how educators defined competition and athletics for women (Hult, 1989; Suggs, 2005). Title IX posed a threat to the NCAA—its members feared draining their resources to support women’s athletics (Nite et al., 2016; R. A. Smith, 1990). NCAA representatives lobbied the U.S. government for an amendment to remove athletics from the act, to no avail (R. A. Smith, 1990).

The AIAW Archives documented the ongoing correspondence between the leadership of the NCAA and AIAW. Leaders of the AIAW were headstrong in their resistance to join the NCAA. Once it became apparent the AIAW was not going to become the little sister to the NCAA, the NCAA leaders began to play hard ball. The AIAW stayed in business for 10 years in a hostile institutional environment, bullied by NCAA administration who were intent upon eliminating the conflict with women’s athletics (Hult, 1989; Wu, 1999). Their motive was to gain control of the women’s organization, not necessarily to honor gender equity initially advanced by Title IX. This would allow them to procure a growing market (Hult, 1989). In short, women’s sports threatened the resources available to men’s sports. The NCAA believed in women’s ability to compete in intercollegiate athletics, as long as women’s sports did not jeopardize the male empire (Lopiano, 1981). This stance reflected the NCAA’s obsession with financial control, desire for dominance, and fear of being forced to fund and support women’s athletics (Lopiano, 1981). Men’s sports were more valuable than women’s sports (Lopiano,

1981). The devaluation of women's sports provided context for why so few women remained in legitimate leadership roles after the merger of men and women's athletic programs.

**A new game.** Quickly after the AIAW folded to the NCAA, women's athletics followed the men's play book. Few women coaches and administrators joined the NCAA women's intercollegiate athletic production function, a majority remained in physical education departments. In 1978, following Title IX, average number of women's varsity teams went from 2.5 per school to 5.78 per school (Acosta & Carpenter, 2012). Consequently, women coaching women's sports represented an inverse relationship. Women coached 90% of women's varsity teams prior to Title IX and only 58.2% in 1978. Nationally, the percentage declined to a low of 42.4% of women coaching women's sports in 2006 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2012). Similar patterns occurred for women in administrative leadership roles. In 1972, over 90% of women's athletic programs were led by women, compared to eight years later when the number decreased to 20%, where it has remained nationally for the last 35 years (Acosta & Carpenter, 2012). The values and philosophy of women's athletics transformed to match those of the men, as men began to coach women's programs. Winning, competitive programs, ticket sales, and scholarships were used to establish power, gain position, and garner prestige—all of which the sport leaders of the past had criticized and worked hard to avoid (Hult, 1989). Instead of establishing a non-gendered, nondiscriminatory model, taking into consideration both male and female ideals, women's athletics were absorbed by the male model under the guise of compliance (Hult, 1989). This action contradicted earlier established ideals in which separation from men's activities and the necessity of women's leadership of women's athletics was considered fundamental to the emergence of women's sports.

## Conclusion

In this history, I sought to present a comprehensive overview of women's introduction to intercollegiate athletics. The evolution of women in sports has been gradual and paralleled the transformation of gender identity in American society. Similar to women's roles in society, women's sporting activities had a history of culturally defined gender expectation, norms, and roles. From the beginning to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, play, games, and physical activities were largely associated with the social function of mate selection and limited by beliefs of their effects on reproduction (Walker, 1837; Stearns, 2000). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, themes included health, hygiene, beauty, and freedom (Stanley, 1996). Like men, women's access to athletics occurred through higher education (Thelin, 1996). Although philosophies, structures, and values differed, mounting demand for more equality ignited in the 1960s, spilling over to women's athletics (Hult, 1989). This pressure culminated in the passing of federal legislation, Title IX Act for educational equality, which radically shifted the structures and leadership of women's athletics (Wilson, 2012). To avoid litigation, many institutions of higher education adopted women's athletic programs under their already existing men's athletic program (Wilson, 2012). Following this radical restructuring of women's athletics, many women leaders and coaches elected to remain in their physical education departments (Suggs, 2005). Since many women remained in PE, a demand was created and ultimately met by men prepared to occupy the managing and coaching of women's competitive sport programs. Competitive athletics fell into an institutional order and cultural task maintained by individuals congruent with masculine ideals. Athletics has always been masculine and required coaches and administrators to uphold such social and symbolic interactions.

## **Part 2: Origins of Intercollegiate Athletics at Michigan State Normal**

Part 2 presents the historical development of men and women's intercollegiate athletics at the Michigan State Normal School (MSNS) to eventually Eastern Michigan University (EMU). Part 1 provided the necessary antecedents for understanding the cultural dynamic between men, women, and sporting activity. Women have expressed feminine appropriate tasks in society with childrearing and domestic roles as primary responsibilities. However, these roles changed as the nature of the country evolved in response to conflict, threats, war, and socio-political movements. Similar to women's participation in society, their participation in sporting activities were expected to be congruent with socially constructed gender norms. Men were also expected to behave according to masculine ideals.

This section highlights how historical changes influenced men's and women's physical education and intercollegiate athletics at MSNS. Part 2 imparts a general history of the organizational development of men's and women's Physical Education department and the emergence of men's and women's athletic programs up until 1950. At this point, EMU underwent several major organizational changes that consequently affected the structure of men and women's intercollegiate athletics. Finally, Part 3 presents an analysis of why intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University exists as we understand it today. This will further illuminate the social construction of gender roles as it relates to women in intercollegiate athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University.

## **Section 1: The Michigan Territory and Origins of Michigan State Normal**

### **Introduction**

Archeological evidence supported Native Paleo Indians occupying the Great Lakes region since 11,000 BCE (Quimby, 1970). Eight Native American tribes roamed the lands until the first French explorer traveled from Quebec City in 1620 (Dunbar & May, 1995). The Michigan territory, replete with resources and Native America tribes, attracted French explorers, fur traders, and settlers from Canada. These newly claimed lands became New France. However, rather than seeing this as land to settle, it was mostly used for trading, hunting, trapping, and conversion of the natives (Dunbar & May, 1995). In 1668, Jesuit missionary, James Marquette, settled the first permanent colony—Sault Ste. Marie (Dunbar & May, 1995). Dutch and French trappers from Canada were the first to occupy the region in the 1700s and established trading posts, villages, and forts. The largest being Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit in 1701 (Dunbar & May, 1995). By 1760 only a few hundred European settlers were living in this wild territory.

The Ojibwa, Menominee, Miami, Ottawa, Wyandot, and Potawatomi people and French settlers had a congenial relationship, but the desire for “Meicigama’s” timber, ore, and waterways attracted British attention (Dunbar & May, 1995). Access to trade routes and resources initiated territorial wars between the French and British leading to the French and Indian war (1754–1763; White, 1991). The French were outnumbered by the British and heavily relied on the assistance of their Native American allies. However, French forces were unable to stand their ground and ceded to British rule as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (White, 1991). Following the French and Indian War in 1763, the British colonized the Detroit region with interest in controlling the fur trade and establishing peaceful relations with their Native neighbors (White, 1991). The region continued to be a battle ground between American settlers

and the British government, eventually Britain lost their stronghold in the American Revolutionary War (1776-1783; White, 1991).

The British presence did not disappear after the American Revolutionary War. In fact, tensions between the British, Americans, and Native Americans continued throughout the turn of the century. The Native American tribes formed allegiances with British forces and were engaging in skirmishes with American settlers throughout the Michigan territory (White, 1991). The Native American's also sided against the expansion of the nascent U.S Government (White, 1991). Following the War of 1812, Americans regained full control of the Michigan territory. As a result of the Treaty of Saginaw and the Treaty of Chicago, Michigan tribes were forced to sell their claims of land to the U.S federal government (White, 1991). These treaties marked the beginning of the Native American relocation efforts and many Michigan Tribes move West to Indian reservations inviting new white settlers to colonize the region.

New England and European settlers migrated to Michigan in large numbers throughout the 1820s and 30s (Dunbar & May, 1995). The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 connected the Great Lakes to the Hudson River and New York City (Holbrook, 1950). Access to the East Coast expedited the emigration of Europeans and English Puritans to Michigan. New England and upper New York confronted issues of overpopulation, which drove large families to settle in the Midwest (Holbrook, 1950). Yankee settlers traveled to the Promise Land in pursuit of property (Dunbar & May, 1995). Land constraints of the East drove these large Protestant families to Michigan, where every son was promised their own land (Holbrook, 1950; Dunbar & May, 1995). The attraction of land ownership, rich farming, natural resources, and space brought Yankees from the New England and upstate New York. Agriculture in the Lower Peninsula and

copper and iron ores in the Upper Peninsula were primary economic functions of the state throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dunbar & May, 1995).

Many arrived to Detroit by the 1850s and traveled to other regions in the state. Detroit was a migrant mecca and several remained in the area, but others traveled to less settled frontiers in the North and West to mill, till, and lay down their roots. Michigan cities and settlements popped up around the state and replicated settlements from their New England heritage (Dunbar & May, 1995). Groups replicated their cultures using religion and economic tasks as a way to grow their own. Schools and churches were one in the same and children received a Christian based education taught by their parents or other adults in the area. Meanwhile back in the East, educational institutions were being established with growing populations and economies.

### **Higher Education for Women**

Pressures to uphold general societal expectations and myths regarding their bodies previously restricted women from pursuing higher education (Clarke, 1873). However, as the demand for an educated democracy grew, so did the need for teachers (Cremin, 1980). Schools geared toward teacher education made attending higher education more accessible for women. The State of Michigan experienced rapid growth as families settled to start farms and communities around rich natural resources. University of Michigan, founded in 1817, was one of the first public institutions in the country (Peckham, 1997). Originally founded in Detroit, Michigan, the university moved to Ann Arbor in 1837 only 13 years after Ann Arbor was founded (Peckham, 1997). The University of Michigan joined a community of 2,000 in Ann Arbor (Peckham, 1997).

Growing communities created a demand for rural and community schools. By 1847, the newly formed State Board of Education was determining the location of the first State Normal

School (State Board of Education Minutes, 1847). The decision to build Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti, Michigan, was founded to meet the need of teacher training in the region.

### **Establishing Michigan State Normal School**

The founding of Michigan State Normal School occurred 32 years after the University of Michigan was established. The state's efforts to establish institutions of higher education followed trends of those institutions in the East Coast. Michigan's growing populations, implementation of compulsory education laws, and changing industries all served to inform the purpose for emerging colleges and universities across the country (Tyack, 1976; Thelin, 2004; Isbell, 1971). Colleges and universities were established with a specific function and tasks for a particular region (Parsons, 1960b). Establishing a teacher training institution followed early education legislation in Michigan.

**Public school legislation.** By 1809, judicial districts were already forming and subsequently outlined school districts among the state (School District Organization in Michigan, 1990). These territorial districts formed rural and common schools and gave the State of Michigan the right to supervise. Any township with 50 or more families determined a district and was provided a schoolmaster (Dain, 1968). Two years after the first public school legislation the Act to Provide and Regulate Common Schools passed and initiated the need for a locally elected board (Dain, 1968). The board determined township boundaries and emerged as a significant unit of local government. Members were elected and held office for one-year terms assuming responsibilities as meeting moderators, tax collection, and managing school responsibilities (Dain, 1968). Michigan's early schools were directed by local members of the community and managed differently by each township. On April 12, 1827, the first public school law passed by the Legislative Council of the Michigan Territory (Dain, 1968). This law identified education as



a public rather than an individual responsibility and served as the impetus to organized educational districts (Dain, 1968).

In 1835, missionary John D. Pierce settled in Michigan and became the state's superintendent (Hoyt & Ford, 1905). A U.S. state constitution recognized Pierce as an independent administrator of education (Hoyt & Ford, 1905). By 1838, Pierce reported 1,020 school districts and 28,764 students in the State of Michigan (School District Organization in Michigan, 1990). High numbers of school districts independently managed by elected boards of commissioners, concerned Pierce (Hoyt & Ford, 1905). Pierce and other state official's desire to control and organize this effort manifested into the creation of a formal State Board of Education in 1847 (Putnam, 1899; Hoyt & Ford, 1905; Dain, 1968). The passing of Public Act 50 replaced locally elected boards of commissioners with township boards of inspectors (School District Organization in Michigan, 1990). This effort assisted in the consolidation of districts, expansion of others, and introduced a formalization process for primary education (School District Organization in Michigan, 1990). By 1850, school districts tripled (3,097) with 110,478 students enrolled in public schools (School District Organization in Michigan, 1990).

**Michigan's first normal school.** One of the first tasks of the new State Board Education was to establish a teacher training school in Michigan. The three-member board was elected and served six-year terms along with ex-officio member, Superintendent of Public Instruction (*State Board of Education Bulletin*, 1849). In 1849, education legislation, Act 138, introduced a decision to establish the first state normal school in Ypsilanti, Michigan (Putnam, 1899). The function of the board was to select a president, appoint a principal, hire instructors, select textbooks, and codify regulations and bylaws (State Board of Education Bylaws, 1849).

Michigan State Normal School was established as a response to place trained teachers in the rapidly expanding public schools across the state:

The Normal School is a growth—an evolution. Having its beginning while yet the science of education was in its infancy, much of its work has been tentative and experimental.

But in this way only is progress possible in any new field of effort. (Withington, 1893, p. 20)

John D. Pierce, superintendent and father of the Michigan school system, argued for the need for institutionalizing teacher preparation. Michigan State Normal School became the sixth normal school in the country and the first west of the Allegheny Mountain range (Putnam, 1899; *Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1911).

The school was under the control of a State Board of Education and intended “for the instruction of persons in the art of teaching, and in the various branches that pertain to a good common school education” (Withington, 1893, p. 18). The board relied on the expertise of Hon. Henry Barnard of Connecticut. Barnard had studied the organizations and methods for establishing normal schools along the Atlantic coast. However, by the 1850s, normal schools were still considered experimental (Putnam, 1899). Normal schools were a new development and educational leaders had minimal understanding of how teacher training should function (Putnam, 1899). Like the normal schools on the East Coast, MSNS experimented with a structure and curriculum (Putnam, 1899).

Operating as pioneers in education, the board elected their first faculty and staff. Principal Adonijah Strong Welch was joined by four faculty teaching Greek and Latin Languages, Botany, Philosophy, and English Grammar (Putnam, 1899). Initial traits to this school structure included small, face-to-face classes, and classical instruction with high moral

content specialized for teacher preparation. The influence of a Christian-based education was also evident. In an inaugural address, Pierce reinforced his confidence and commitment to education as secular in nature a theme that would play out for years to come at MSNS (Putnam, 1899). While Puritan values influenced the common school education across the nation, the value of physical culture as an integral component of primary education was also emphasized. Pierce referenced physical culture for all students in his inaugural speech, upholding a widely held healthy mind and healthy body educational ethos (Hoyt & Ford, 1905). Together, the pairing of Christianity with physical culture outlined the MSNS's approach to growing the commonwealth and advancing education in Michigan and beyond.

### **Normal's Early Beginnings (1849—1890)**

This time period presented many adaptations as Michigan State Normal, formally organized curriculum, purpose, and position in the state. In order to understand the history of men's and women's athletics throughout this time period, one must first acknowledge that women were not readily pursuing higher education. College may have been an aspiration for women, but social dogma perpetuated a general belief of women's inability to budget energy for both intellection and reproduction (Stanley, 1996; Festle, 1996; Costa & Guthrie, 1994). Beliefs about women's bodies, energy levels, and intellectual capabilities influenced their slow ascent into higher education (Stanley, 1996; Guttmann, 1991). Michigan State Normal School, however, provided many women their first and only opportunity into waged work (Weiler, 1989). Between 1840 and 1865, teaching became defined as acceptable and appropriate work for women (Weiler, 1989).

**Structuring of Michigan State Normal School.** In 1852, the first courses were offered at Michigan State Normal School and a class of 122 students attended a 17-week semester

(Putnam, 1899). Each member of the House of Representatives appointed two students from their district to initiate the first year of enrollment (Putnam, 1899). Six years later this number was raised to three pupils from each county (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). The first State Teacher's Institute at Michigan State Normal commenced in 1853 (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1853). Four hundred teachers attended to establish, "a more perfect and harmonious co-operation—to improve and methodize our system of instruction—to give impulses to the labors of the teacher, and to widen and increase his influence" (State Teacher's Association Constitution, 1853). The association served as the organized regulatory body to elevate the profession and establish standards of training.

Enrollment records by name and hometown were kept for each student attending Michigan State Normal School. Records indicated students categorized into Class B, C, D, E, and Senior Class (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Although some students appeared to attend from out of state a majority of the "Gentleman" and "Ladies" came from Southeast Michigan (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Student gender was not included; however, the documented names supported a female majority (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). By and large, most of the students would be women, a unique profile compared to the common male-only institutions of higher education throughout much of the country (Thelin, 2004). The original function of the school was to prepare school teachers. Figure 5 illustrates the primary task of the new organization as training students to be primary school teachers.

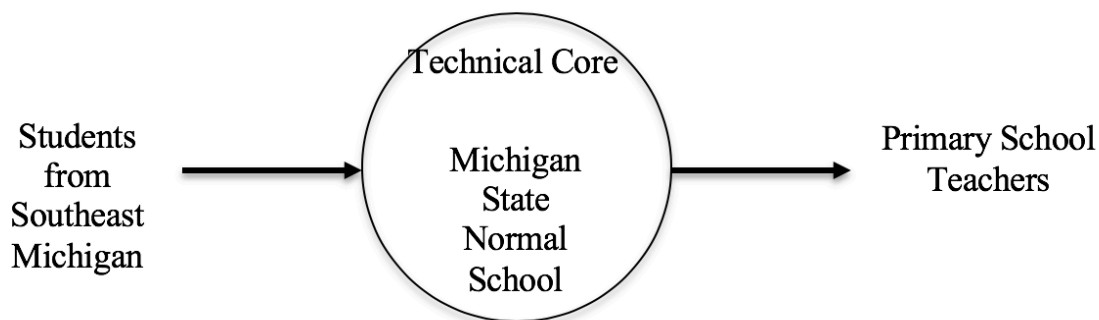
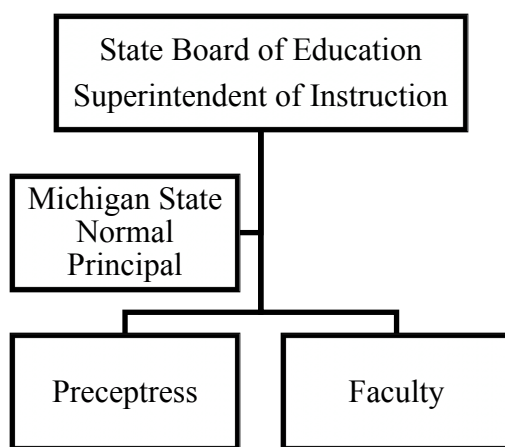


Figure 5. Organizational technical core of Michigan State Normal School in 1850s.

By 1858, 53 students completed the full course of study at MSNS and 49 were immediately placed into teaching positions (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Sons and daughters of area farmers, business owners, and community leaders represented the common class at MSNS (Putnam, 1899). Importantly, women were encouraged to pursue an education at Michigan State Normal School in line with the trend of women occupying teaching professions around the country (Weiler, 1989).

Upon admission at Michigan State Normal School, students signed the declaration of intention to commit to the duty of teaching in the schools of Michigan (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Students signed and were subject to examinations on readings, spelling, penmanship, elementary grammar, local geography, arithmetic, and fractions to test into a specific class status (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Curriculum included lectures on topics such as the art and science of teaching, methods of teaching, laws of health, musical composition, philosophy of education, and schoolroom duties as well as subject matter including English language, vocal music, natural sciences, Latin and German, and mathematics (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1858). Professional instruction followed once the student made sufficient progress in the common branches outlined above.

Throughout this time period, Michigan State Normal School underwent steady expansion, constructing the first campus building and adding a small group of faculty to manage a student population of a couple hundred (Putnam, 1899). The normal school evolved with curriculum changes to teacher preparation, influenced by the various principals and the growing student body. The principal was male and the preceptress was his female counterpart, tasked to organize the women students and balance the organizational duties for all students. Figure 6 outlines the simple organizational structure of Michigan State Normal School throughout this time period.



*Figure 6.* Organizational leadership of Michigan State Normal School in 1850s.

Figure 6 illustrates the governance of MSNS. Michigan State Normal School students and faculty occupied a single building at this time. The first building cresting Normal Hill went through many iterations from 1850 to 1888 (Putnam, 1899). The addition of the west, south, and north wings of the conservatory grew along with the classes of teachers. Leadership of MSNS called attention not only to the need of a proper teacher training facility, but also to improve student's morale with space for proper exercise. The second building added to the Ypsilanti school was a gymnasium.

**The call for physical culture.** An 1860 superintendent's report mentioned the deleterious effects of hard study without proper exercise accounting for illness that may cause

pupil's to "leave school before the close of the term, and often to abandon, forever, the idea of preparing to teach" (Pierce as quoted in Mitchell, 1938, p. 64). The State Board of Education first denied the funds for a gymnasium, but later honored the request (*Normal News*, 1893). In 1862, Welch secured \$1,000 from the State Board of Education along with \$200 of donations from the Ypsilanti community to construct the first wooden gymnasium (*Normal News*, 1893). Student participation and access to physical activities increased with the new gymnasium (*Normal News*, 1893). Many of the physical activities were organized and led by groups of students. Although there was no official teacher for physical culture, the space was available for interested faculty to teach calisthenics and light gymnastics in their spare time (Mitchell, 1938). Faculty were not expected to teach calisthenics and did not receive compensation for doing so (Mitchell, 1938). However, engagement in physical fitness activities was an unwritten expectations and an interest among the faculty and students (*Normal News*, 1893). Involved in this extracurricular, was Professor Miller who was a gymnast and informally led groups of men in outdoor gymnastic exhibitions on homemade apparatus (*Normal News*, 1893). Shortly thereafter, Lucy Osband would introduce similar activities for women. Men and women faculty were informally organizing gender specific calisthenics and physical activities for MSN students. The construction of the wooden gymnasium was the first of its kind in the state and provided an outlet for physical training for the few men and many women at Michigan State Normal School (*Normal News*, 1893; Mitchell, 1938; Pedersen, 1996).

**Providing a Christian education at MSNS.** Christianity's influence at Michigan State Normal School was present since its establishment under the auspices of Pierce. Pierce, like many others advancing the common school movement, had a background in ministry (Hoyt & Ford, 1905; Dunbar, 1965). From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, common schools reflected Protestant

values and continued to set a precedence along the East Coast. Missionaries from the East ventured West to expand the Protestant vision of a common purpose school system (Dunbar, 1965). As the superintendent, Pierce influenced the structure, values, and instruction at schools across the state.

Protestant ideals flowed as an implicit and explicit undercurrent of early Michigan State Normal culture. Pierce's zeal to promote a Christian-based education was carried on by Professor Joseph Estabrook whom eventually became the principal in 1871 (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1871). The interest in Christianity prompted students to submit a formal request to Principal Welch for prayer space in the assembly room of the Old Main building (Putnam, 1899). Permission was granted and a strong partnership with the Christian faith continued at MSNS. Upon Estabrook's principalship of the MSNS in 1871, Christian values were inextricable from the teaching curriculum (Putnam, 1899). Estabrook led students in religious meetings and the practice became so routinized that an official group formed in 1881 as the Student Christian Association (*Aurora*, 1893).

***Student Christian Association.*** The Student Christian Association (SCA) was established on March 2, 1881 with the motto "Our school for Christ" and elected A. Frank Burr as president and Nettie Bignel as secretary (*Aurora*, 1881). Establishment of the SCA at Michigan State Normal School demonstrated the presence of Christian ideals. Like the gymnasium for physical activities, the Christian movement on campus became an outlet for students to gather and socialize outside of the classroom. Together they reinforced the values of a sound mind, body, and soul which resurged in American education at the time (Mechikoff & Estes, 1998). The influence of the SCA shaped the morals and behaviors of MSN students through their monthly



editorials in the school's publication. The SCA conveyed expectations of the spiritual and Christian values necessary for preparing society's youth with a moral education (*Aurora*, 1881).

By 1892 over 90% of the students identified as Christian, which influenced their teacher training, recreational endeavors, and their social exchanges (M. Smith, 1892). Religion was discussed, written about, practiced, and existed as an assumptive life style at Michigan State Normal School. Each month the *Normal News* published articles indicating how to be a Christian man or how to live with Christian ideals. Students adopted these virtues and held themselves and each other in high regard.

***Physical culture and Christianity: Fundamental to student life.*** Providing a moral education and a strict rule bound practice at MSNS was a mechanism to keep students in line. A day and a life of an MSNS student reflected training of rigorous recitation of lessons, physical training outside of class hours, organized meals, and strict curfews (*Aurora*, 1893). Most students lived in private houses near campus or in the homes of the faculty (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1891). Some commuted from their own homes, but the majority lived in the quarters of their instructor's homes (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1891). This model, where student lived and learned with their faculty, mimicked how other institutions of higher education were organized (Thelin, 2004). The education at Michigan State Normal School was demanding and the student's day followed a rigid structure leaving only a few evening hours for socializing and student clubs (*Aurora*, 1893). Limited freedom incited strong bonds between classmates and classes at MSNS (*Aurora*, 1893). Each Junior and Senior class had class colors, constitutions, songs, mottos, and yells reinforcing a group identity and loyalty to each other (*Aurora*, 1893). Student life at MSNS built solidarity and identity among the students (*Aurora*, 1893).

Along with these symbols of unity, male and female students engaged in extracurricular activities, building other cohorts among MSNS students. The Student Christian Association functioned as one of these communities, promoting the ideals of a noble character even when no one was watching (“Report of the State YMCA Convention,” November, 1893). The SCA grew out of earlier national movements of the YMCA and YWCA, which partnered the advancement of fitness with Christianity (*Aurora*, 1893). Physical activities and faith-based practices provided students active outlets from learning and living at MSNS. Eventually these two contributing factors of fitness and Christianity led to the formal organization of a physical culture department and athletic teams at Michigan State Normal School (“Report of the State YMCA Convention,” November, 1893; *Aurora*, 1893).

The marriage of a moral education and physical training was ratified through the professional teaching organizations. At the third National Teachers’ Association of the United States in 1860 a resolution was offered:

*Resolved*, That this Association recognizes a thorough and judicious system of physical culture as the only basis for the full and complete development of our mental and moral faculties; and that any system of instruction which does not actively recognize the importance of physical education, fails in accomplishing the great end of education.

*Resolved*, That we urge upon school committees and others in charge of public instruction, the propriety of introducing into all our schools...a system of schoolroom gymnastics adapted to the wants of all grades of pupils. (White as cited in *Normal News*, 1860, p. 115)

This resolution altered teacher preparation curriculum, requiring all trained teachers to have some basic knowledge of gymnastics. The physical culture movement quickly moved from

informal courses offered by passionate instructors to an organized teacher education program in America. The opportunity for Michigan State Normal to influence the field of physical culture was largely due to the vision of Lucy Aldrich Osband (*Aurora*, 1892). The development of a women's physical culture department grew out of a national physical education movement initiated by pioneers—Willard, Lyon, Beecher, and Vassar (Park, 2010). The men's physical education department emerged concurrently, but would eventually take on a different focus from the women.

**Origins of physical culture.** Evidence of physical fitness and health curriculum can be traced back to the 1868-69 catalog as “elements of physical education” (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog, 1868-69*, p. 28). The course taught the value of the body and of the importance of development and training; however, the course disappeared for three years, reemerging in the Natural Sciences Department as Physiology (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog, 1872*).

This course was the first to emphasize instruction in physical education for schools in Michigan (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog, 1872*). The course came after the state county superintendents recommended teachers pass an examination in physiology (Russell, 1926). The intention was to integrate health, hygiene, and exercise with learning (Russell, 1926). Publications of the time advocated for the importance of exercise in school (Russell, 1926; Fowle, 1925). Legislative mandates upheld a commitment to the health, fitness, and vitality of the nation's youth (Russell, 1926; Fowle, 1925; Duffy, 1990). Widespread concern over the fitness of American men and women provided justification for the implementation of physical training courses (Duffy, 1990; Gulick, 1890). This prompted physiology as a required course for all teacher training state-wide. Since the existing physiology course was now coupled with

elements of physical training, all Michigan State Normal School students, men and women, were receiving physiology and physical culture training (Johnson, 1955).

Physical culture courses introduced calisthenics, gymnastics movements, stretches and basic knowledge of the body. Changes to the Physiology curriculum occurred in 1876-77 with the addition of Hygiene (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1877) and the commitment of faculty member Lucy A. Osband.

***Lucy Aldrich Osband: The forgotten force.*** In 1883, Lucy Osband became an instructor in the Natural Sciences Department at MSNS. Without Osband's vision and endorsement of physical culture, the Michigan State Normal School may have missed becoming the nation's first physical education preparation program (*Aurora*, 1893). In 1884, Lucy received a chairmanship, which was unique for women to hold at this time (*Aurora*, 1893). She contributed many advancements to the department while laying the foundation for a new program in physical culture. The process toward physical education began with Lucy's interest in teaching "Swedish Work" (Pedersen, 1996, p. 29). She received no extra pay for teaching Swedish Calisthenics, but believed in its impact on student health and welfare (*Aurora*, 1893; Pedersen, 1996). Her classes evolved into physiology course where students would do movements with dumbbells and juggling clubs (Pedersen, 1996). The class was entirely women and their interest quickly outgrew the space provided. Eventually, Osband was assigned a basement room in the Normal School building to lead her popular classes (Pedersen, 1996). Figure 7 represents a calisthenics class of female students in the basement of the Old Main building.



*Figure 7.* Picture of women's physical culture class at Michigan State Normal School. Provided by Eastern Michigan University Archives Flickr photo account, Ypsilanti, MI.

The first campus gymnasium burned down in 1873 and left no appropriate space for movement classes; therefore, the basement became home for the accumulation of light apparatus, dumbbells, and wands (Johnson, 1955). Both male and female students participated in a series of military marches, exercises and stretches outside of their regular scheduled classes (Johnson, 1955). The number of men participating in these calisthenics classes did not compare to the women's enrollment in the classes. Women continued to hold a majority status at Michigan State Normal.

Lucy's passion for physical culture was a platform to persuade many students and even some faculty to join the movement in physical culture ("Dedication Exercises," January, 1894). Of those were Caroline Crawford, who received a lifetime certificate in English, and an instructor in the Math department by the name of Wilber Bowen ("Dedication Exercises," January, 1894). Lucy was adamant that physical education was a growing discipline and convinced both Caroline and Wilber to consider careers in the field (Pedersen, 1996; Neve, 2016). Bowen agreed and began studying physiology at the University of Michigan (Pedersen,

1996). By 1888, he was teaching physical culture classes at MSNS and leading the charge for the few male students at Normal (*Michigan State Normal School Catalog*, 1888). Meanwhile Caroline continued to teach English at the MSNS and eventually went East to study under YMCA and physical culture pioneer Luther Gulick (“Dedication Exercises,” January, 1894).

Gulick trained many aspiring physical education trailblazers of the time. He was the founder of physical education at the YMCA training school in Springfield, Massachusetts (Gulick, 1890). Under Gulick, Caroline Crawford advanced her study of dance and physical culture and eventually went on to publish a book, *Folk Dance and Games* (Crawford, 1909). Caroline contributed the influence of folk dance to the physical culture program at Michigan State Normal School, which then became a staple in other emerging physical culture programs around the country (Pedersen, 1996). Women at MSNS were not only making contributions to their own departments, they were influencing the organization of physical culture departments across the country.

Lucy evolved the physical culture department from her appointment in the Natural Sciences and Physiology. The Hygiene course was explained as “the practical applications of physiological laws to the proper regulation of school work are freely and fully discussed, and the duty of maintaining good health is strenuously urged” (Calendar of the Michigan State Normal School, 1885-86, p. 23). Lucy arranged other classes on theory and practice of physical culture and the program began to take shape. The following year, MSNS Calendar added weekly drill in gymnastics exercise (1886-87, p. 32).

In 1888, the Normal school offered the first teacher training course in physical culture of any college or university in the country (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1888; Pedersen, 1996). The program grew, and despite the high numbers of women students at MSNS, Bowen

joined Osband becoming the “Father of Physical Education” and the first director of the Physical Culture [Physical Education] program (“Dedication Exercises,” January, 1894). Even with the student body majority women, Osband championed physical culture at MSN and Wilbur P. Bowen earned the credit for advancing physical culture forward. Bowen’s was attributed for the broad vision and guidance in creating one of the most recognized and prestigious physical education programs for both the men and women at Michigan State Normal School (Pedersen, 1996; Isbell, 1971). Isbell (1971) later attributed Lucy the credit for the construction of a physical education facility.

**Physiology for all.** Physical culture and training became a way of life at MSNS. *Normal News* articles often shared the success and happiness of man as contingent on his high degree of moral, intellectual, and physical culture (Dorgan, 1887). Professors and school publications reinforced these educational values:

For weaken the physical structure, and you will lessen the intellectual faculties, which in turn largely rule the moral man; poison the intellectual stomach and you will degrade both the physical and moral being; strip a man alone of morality, and you will leave but an educated animal. (W. D. Hill, 1889, p. 3).

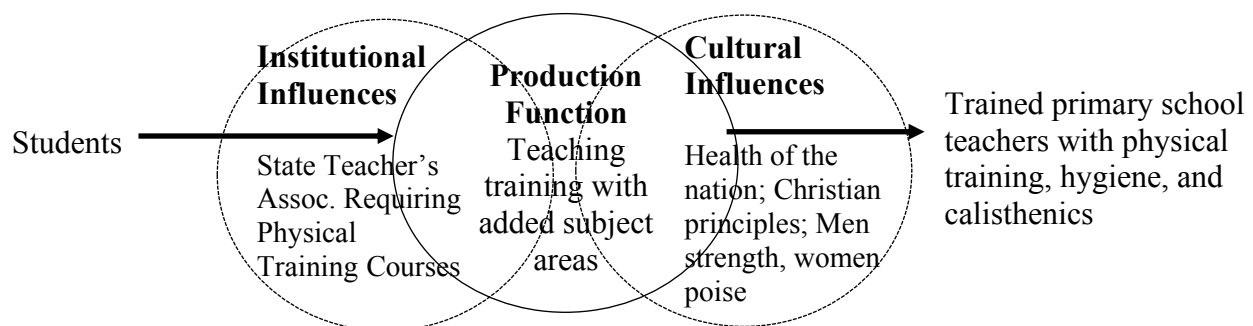
These three elements would become embedded on campus through the establishment of a men’s and women’s physical culture department (Pedersen, 1996).

The department formed as a result of two passionate pioneers, Lucy Osband and Wilbur Bowen, who not only valued the role of physical culture in higher education but were responding to needs and concerns in the general public (“Dedication Exercises,” January, 1894). A great and urgent necessity for some form of physical exercise resonated among the students and among the nation’s leaders. Faculty and administrators worried that “Pale faces, stoop shoulders, and flabby

muscles, were not thought to be the best sort of foundation on which to build a successful teacher” (*Aurora*, 1892, p.107). The MSN physical culture department sought to provide a vision where every American child might be better prepared for earnest living because of increased health and vigor (Pedersen, 1996). Physical culture became not only core to the curriculum at MSN, but of the greater society (Pedersen, 1996; Park, 2010).

Bellows (1892) wrote that the work of Osband and Bowen were some of, “the most important work, perhaps, ever inaugurated at the Normal School” (p. 108). Articles discussing the benefits of physical culture, gymnastics, and calisthenics surged in the 1890s. Partnering physical training with primary school education had long existed in other European countries and was becoming a critical question for American school systems (“Dedication Exercises,” January, 1894).

Figure 8 explicates the shift in the production function and task of MSNS with the adoption of physical training to the curriculum. The new legislation influenced the institution’s offerings and made physical training core to the teacher’s training curriculum. External societal forces framed as concerns about the health and vitality of American youth, cemented physical training within the institution and public schools.



*Figure 8.* External influences shaping internal functions at Michigan State Normal School.



The physiology course remained steady until 1885 when Lucy A. Osband revamped the course to include physical exercise. Osband's influence resulted in the first required class to incorporate exercise at Michigan State Normal ("Dedication Exercises," January, 1894; Pedersen, 1996).

Osband, Bowen, and Crawford earned credit for organizing the physical culture program and building a curriculum at MSNS (*Aurora*, 1894). Due to their majority presence, women assumed many of the leadership roles in establishing physical training for the state's teachers. As evident with Bowen's role as, "father of physical education," (*Normal News*, May 1894, p. 7) implementing physical culture was further legitimized by Bowen's involvement. Men represented all leadership positions from the State Board of Education to principal and faculty (State Board of Education Minutes, 1895). While Osband served as a catalyst for the physical education program, it was not until Wilber Bowen, the patriarch, legitimized the program.

Undoubtedly, Osband served as the chief catalyst in establishing physical culture at Michigan State Normal School. The *Normal News* (1893) proclaimed Osband's contributions of physical culture to Michigan State Normal as monumental: "Under her supervision classes have been organized and instruction given along this line to meet the wants of the school, which have been otherwise sadly neglected" (p. 266). Lucy recruited faculty, designed courses, obtained funds for a new gymnasium erected in 1894, and advocated for physical exercise without any extra pay or recognition ("Dedication Exercises," January, 1894). The health and welfare of the students was her motivation and it continued to be an emphasis for those that came afterwards (Isbell, 1971).

From its origins, Michigan State Normal School instituted a teacher training curriculum with a grounding philosophy in Christianity and physical well-being. Attention to the

development of a sound body and sound mind was practiced and taught at MSNS. Elements of physical culture appeared in curriculum and became required courses for all MSN students as part of their teaching training (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1888). Men and women served as faculty to a campus comprised of both male and female students, a fairly unique student body compared to other institutions at this time. Typical of the society of the time, men occupied the formal leadership roles, and women were advisory contributing to the structure and curriculum of the emerging physical Culture department. Similar to other institutions, student lived with or near faculty and learned as class cohorts. The Student Christian Association and faculty ran informal physical activities to occupy student's free time. Isbell (1971) captured the importance of physical engagement: "No education can be deemed complete whose course of training has neglected the body and concerned itself only with the mental and moral development of the pupil" (p. 93). The integration of physical training was notable distinction and shaped how MSNS organized their program and curriculum. By the 1890s, concepts related to sound mind and sound body transformed as the male students introduced the competitive nature of intercollegiate athletics at Michigan State Normal School.

## Section 2: Physical Education and Athletics at Michigan State Normal (1890–1910)

### Introduction

By 1890, competition and athletics and how we thought about them today began to take place on the campus of Michigan State Normal School. Male students engaging in competitive sports increased along with the presence of males on campus. While women were becoming more independent and pursuing higher education at a greater rate than previous, a societal belief remained that the pressures of school and participating in sports were damaging to women (Ainsworth, 1930; Elliot-Lynn, 1925). Men's engagement in organized sports at Michigan State Normal School took shape throughout this time period. Women on the other hand engaged in organized activities sponsored by the Physical Education department and participated in modest team play. The introduction of women's basketball to MSNS perhaps best exemplified the adaptations to rules and play out of concern for women's health and appropriate behavior. Feminizing the sport to reduce competitiveness and potential damage to reproductive organs dichotomized the direction of men's sports regulated by brawny students and women's sports regulated by women physical educators (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). These women educators adapted sports rules, forming "girl's rules," dictating what they thought was appropriate for women as defined by social norms (Festle, 1996; Costa & Guthrie, 1994). Despite the limitations of feminine beliefs, the women's athletic program under the physical education department grew in size and became a function of the physical education curriculum at MSNS (Neve, 2016).

Within the school's first 60 years, enrollment grew rapidly. From 1850 to 1860, average enrollment was 279; from 1860 to 1880 enrollment remained around 347, but moving into the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup>, century numbers rose to just under 3,000 in 1910 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911). In 1899, Michigan State Normal School became Michigan State Normal

College (MSNC) due in part to offering a four year teaching arts bachelor degree (State Board of Education, 1899). The campus grew from six acres to forty by 1910 and included college buildings, a heating plant, and an athletic field (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911). All of which served the students in their intellectual, social, spiritual, and physical endeavors. Men's American sports were gaining popularity in the academy attracting crowds and revenue (R. A. Smith, 1990). Women continued to expand their own physical outlets under the auspices of physical education (Park, 2010).

### **Physical Culture Curriculum at Michigan State Normal College**

The Physical Cultural curriculum underwent many changes in its first few years. Identified objectives for the department included, "1<sup>st</sup> the improvement of the physical condition of students, 2<sup>nd</sup> the preparation of teachers to conduct this branch successfully in public school" (Register of Michigan State Normal School for 1893–94, p. 80). In 1896, the first physical culture curriculum consisted of Physical Training I, II, II, Applied Anatomy, and Teaching Methods (*Aurora*, 1895–96, p.124). The new department now took over the required German and Swedish gymnastics courses for all students. The program required two years to complete and two years after its inception, physical education emerged as a major (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1898).

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Michigan State Normal College was tasked to train primary and secondary teachers. The institution established three principles for teacher preparation: "(1) a high grade of scholarship; (2) the study of education as a science; (3) practice in teaching under expert supervision and criticism" (*Aurora*, 1911, p. 19). A two year life certificate was originally the only degree awarded at MSNC. Two-years of teacher preparation and curriculum was all that was required to teach in the rural schoolrooms and public schools

(State Board of Education, 1896). Students chose either a general course track or specialize in any department for their life certificate (*Aurora*, 1911). Required subjects for the general courses included Psychology, Pedagogy, History of Education, Drawing, Teaching, and Physical Training (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1899). While MSNC was the first institution to offer physical training courses in the United States, it was not for credit. Credit was only earned for the academic courses (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1896). In 1898, when Physical Education became a major, students could then earn credit for their physical training courses (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1898).

The majority of MSNC students graduated with a life certificate after two-years, yet some remained to pursue a third and fourth college year. A third college year granted students a conferred Bachelor of Pedagogics degree, whereas a Bachelor of Arts in Education could be earned in a fourth college year (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1901). The degree of A.B. was the highest teaching degree offered at MSNC, and the students pursuing a fourth year often taught or served as teaching assistants to the faculty (*Aurora*, 1911). The use of fourth year teaching assistants became a function of the Physical Education Department, serving as a combined coach and instructor in various activities courses. Men and women serving as either instructors or assistants were often enrolled in an Advanced Bachelors (A.B) program (*Aurora*, 1911; *Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911; *Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1910-11). Offering a third and fourth year curriculum provided the physical education department supporting roles for coaching teams and teaching activity courses.

**Justifying physical culture in higher education.** A prominent message among leading physiologists and psychologists, and many physicians was that American youth were too weak compared to the sturdy Germans and solid Britons (Livermore, 1877). Livermore (1877) was

notable for linking the “strength and prosperity” of a county to the “physical stamina” of its people, suggesting American’s “practice the laws and rules of Life, Health, Development, and Longevity,” (1877, p. 134). VanBuren, a writer for the *Aurora* yearbook, commented on the average schoolroom as replete with “sickly looking children, with weak lungs, feeble shoulders, and victims to headaches and colds” (VanBuren, 1890, p. 117). A lack of exercise was said to be a cause to this state of affairs. The concern of improper fitness not only plagued primary schools, but also higher education (VanBuren, 1890; Porter, 1896). The American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE) founded in 1885 aimed to improve the nation’s health targeting children and youth (*Proceedings of the AAPE at its Organization at Brooklyn, 1885*). An essay in support of physical education in public schools described a student without activity as:

the sustained effort so necessary to the best mental progress, and so in the long run is usually surpassed by some one who has a larger stock of vitality to carry him through. He develops into a frail, short-lived dyspeptic or chronic invalid of some other sort, unable to cope with the world continuously or successfully; his education has prepared him for life in all things but stamina and backbone—two essential elements. (VanBuren, 1890 p. 117)

The argument by VanBuren and Porter was a call for all Americans for increased activity to improve the mental capacities for learning and the physical stamina to create stronger generations (VanBuren, 1890; Porter, 1896).

Medical studies out of Harvard and leaders from the AAPE drove the campaign for offering physical education in school systems (Bowditch, 1872; Bowditch, 1891; Porter, 1896). Medical study findings were linking the health, hygiene, strong immunity to disease, and learning to physical activity (Park, 1995). Such arguments aided in the development of a

comprehensive teacher education program in physical education and the need for a strong, fit teacher workforce. The call for physical education by medical experts of the time and members of the professional physical education (PE) organizations codified policies and mandates in public schools that then justified the integration of physical fitness and sporting activities in higher education (Park, 1995).

Members of the American Physical Education Association—formally AAPE, name adopted in 1906—believed improved health of a nation was contingent on having well trained teachers in physical education (Park, 1995). An initiative established and advanced by the very professionals in the field. Leading psychologists and medical doctors at Harvard Medical school and John Hopkins helped generate job security for coaches and PE instructors in higher education because advocated for the training of all teachers in public schools (Park, 1995). Rational for the presence of sport teams was made under the guise of physical education departments. Leaders in the APEA were keen to attach their mission to combat the physical and mental defects, and to prescribe particular activities and exercises as treatment (Park, 1995).

By the 1890s, the notion of educational development and the health status of children were inextricably linked in the leading journals and professional agencies. Physical education received much attention at local and state medical society meetings for explanations on how to improve health and well-being (Park, 2010). Both men and women belonged to the same American Physical Education Association (APEA) and subscribed to the same American Physical Education Review (Park, 2010). Although, both sexes belonged to the same national PE organization, there formed different sporting based organizations (Hult, 1985). Hult (1985) documented the emergence of women's athletics through the structure and governance of the women's Physical Education Department. As it has been noted in Part 1, men's athletics

emerged external to the academy. This same pattern for men's athletics would also be recognized at Michigan State Normal College. Regulations and mandates put forth by the APEA influenced the function of the physical culture program at MSNC.

**The new gymnasium.** Once faculty were in support of athletics presence at Michigan State Normal College, the need for proper training facilities for men and women increased. Between 1888–1892, women's interest in physical training increased (Bellows, 1892). Mrs. Osband and the Preceptress, Miss King, arranged to add additional classes for women to gain weekly instructions for gymnastics and club-swinging (Bellows, 1892). The intent was for every woman to be trained in calisthenics (Bellows, 1892). At the time, the facilities at Michigan State Normal were according to *Normal News* write, Bellows, "drab at best," (Bellows, 1892, p. 117). The men's NAA secured a room on the second floor of Old Main to use as a pseudo gymnasium, while the women occupied basement hallways for their popular courses (Bellows, 1892). The association was responsible for furnishing their own apparatus and purchased the equipment from membership fees collected each semester (*Michigan State Normal College Student Handbook*, 1893). Individual members supported their own clubs and organized classes that, by the end of the first year, they had out grown the designated space (Bellows, 1892). A committee of faculty drafted a resolution to the State Board of Education requesting to purchase a vacant lot near the Normal Buildings for a new gymnasium. The request went un-answered, and instead the school transformed the south wing of the basement for more training space. Unfortunately, the effort was inadequate for teaching physical training to the largest Normal school in the Midwest (Bellows, 1892; Pedersen, 1996).



New gymnasiums at other Michigan Intercollegiate Athletic Association (MIAA) conference schools; Albion, Hillsdale, Olivet, & Adrian; added pressure on MSNC to keep up with facility demands (Johnson, 1955). Rieman's plead for improved facilities:

That the N.A.A may be successful in its attempt to obtain better facilities, is the hope of every one of the persons above named, and we trust that their hope may be rewarded by the speedy action of those in authority, in doing what the state, the times, and the physical welfare in the future of the citizens of this great state of Michigan demand. (Rieman, 1892, p. 110)

Rieman's (1892) essay addressed the competitive nature to have a proper gymnasium and athletic training facility. It is important to note this essay also came before the formal establishment of the Physical Education Department in 1894. Only a physical training course for teachers existed, Osband's calisthenics course for women, and student led NAA sport training activities (Rieman, 1892). Bowen was unwilling to wait until the State Board of Education's approval which prompted his departure in 1891 to teach for the University of Nebraska (*Aurora*, 1891). His absence left the NAA teams to be managed by Seniors and Alumni.

The athletics demands were one reason for a new facility and space to accommodate the large class of women students was another. During this time period curriculum for men and women was segregated (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1891). Since women were the majority at the Michigan State Normal School they required more space to hold their calisthenics and drill courses (Rieman, 1892). This served as the primary argument to the State Board of Education for a new facility (Johnson, 1955). In 1891, women's classes could only allow a few in the calisthenics course (Rieman, 1892). Consequently, the classes were cancelled in 1892 due to a lack of proper space (Rieman, 1892). Rieman (1892) reported, "The room was not a fit

place. But there should be a suitable place where all could be accommodated..." (p. 110). This shifted the argument for a new gym from an athletics perspective to a matter of PE academic space. A facility to support physical culture and examinations for men and women were brought to the faculty of the school and State Board of Education (Johnson, 1955).

Winning over the support of the State Board Legislators was no easy task (Osband, 1944). Osband pleaded with Professor Sill, MSNC principal, that a new gymnasium was an academic necessity. She feared that a speech to the board would not be enough and suggested a performance of a dozen trained girls could cajole support (Osband, 1944). Principal Sill was opposed to the idea so Osband reportedly cried in his office until he relented (Osband, 1944). She knew traditional speeches to the board were ineffective and that she needed to demonstrate the outcomes of her physical culture courses (Osband, 1944). The members held traditional views and were convinced manual labor was enough to maintain one's health, a traditionalist perspective of the time. Osband's class performed at the Board meeting, "The affair fell flat until a dozen girls, graded as to height, came on stage. At their superb military marching, the legislators pricked up their ears and showed interest. The Indian club drill had them stirred and the dumbbell drill made them enthusiastic" (Osband, 1944). This rigid stance diminished with the sight of those girls and it most surely won the approval of funding for a building (Osband, 1944). That year \$20,000 was appropriated for the construction of a new gymnasium (Johnson, 1955). The citizens of Ypsilanti donated a building site on West Cross Street for the new facility (Johnson, 1955). In preparation for the new facility Osband contacted Dr. Dudley Sargent at Harvard University and Dr. Luther Gulick at Springfield College for planning suggestions (Osband, Sept. 14, 1944). Gulick sent suggestions and sketches from the alumnae gymnasium he just completed building at Springfield (Osband, 1944).

Construction of the new gym was an architectural masterpiece (Johnson, 1955; Pedersen, 1996). Erected in 1893, the new gymnasium reinvigorated the spirits of Normal students after 20 years without a proper facility (VanBuren, 1894). Everyone seemed to agree that the interior facilities were exceptional (VanBuren, 1894, p. 3). The building was divided by a thick brick wall into two identical halves with “no means of communication between them” (Johnson, 1955, p. 42). Each half was dedicated to a men’s and women’s physical education division. Showers, lockers, a small swimming pool, and gymnasium surrounded by a track adorned each of the men’s and women’s sides (Johnson, 1955). The new gymnasium provided equal but separate functions for the department. The men’s and women’s division had the autonomy to use their gymnasium space to advance their physical culture initiatives as appropriate to social expectations and gender norms. By 1894, Michigan State Normal launched a new men’s and women’s PE division adorned with state of the art training facilities. Figure 9 presents the regal structure of the gymnasium.



*Figure 9.* Image of the 1894 Michigan State Normal gymnasium. Provided by Eastern Michigan University Archives Flickr account, Ypsilanti, MI.

Bowen touted, “It was the only state normal school gymnasium with such complete facilities and contained the only indoor swimming pools west of the Alleghenies” (Bowen as cited in Johnson, 1955, p.41). The yearbook also added, “...the Michigan State Normal School is better equipped for work in physical culture than any other normal school in America” (*Aurora*, 1894, p. 121).

Michigan State Normal’s commitment to a state of the art athletic facility aligned with other prominent college’s steep investments in new gymnasiums. To provide a bit of context, in 1860, Harvard paid \$10,000 for their gymnasium later upgrading in 1879 for \$100,000; Yale, 1860 invested \$3,000 and thirty years later spent \$200,000 (Rieman, 1892). At Michigan State Normal, the original wooden gymnasium built in 1862 costed \$1,200 and was the first of its kind in Michigan (*State Board of Education Minutes*, 1862). Later destroyed by a fire in 1873, the new gym would price at twenty times the original receipt (*State Board of Education Minutes*, 1893).

The increased interest in physical training, athletics, and growth in the physical culture movement around the country ultimately contributed to the State Board of Education’s award for building a new gymnasium (Rieman, 1892). Osband’s plea for a proper physical education training facility ultimately resulted in a gymnasium for both academia and athletics to prosper. With a magnificent building, newly organized physical education department, and interest in NAA athletic teams, Michigan State Normal College was thriving.

The physical culture department established in 1894 along with the construction of a new gymnasium can only be attributed to Lucy Aldrich Osband (Pedersen, 1996). Completion of the gymnasium and physical culture building brought a place and space for the expansion of the new department. Lucy suggested to President Sill that Bowen return from Nebraska to lead the

program (Pedersen, 1996). Fanny Cheever Burton was hired as an assistant in 1894 and eventually became the first director of the Women's Physical Education Division in 1902 (*Normal News*, 1911). Osband retired a year after the inauguration of the new gymnasium and turned over her leadership to Burton (Pedersen, 1996).

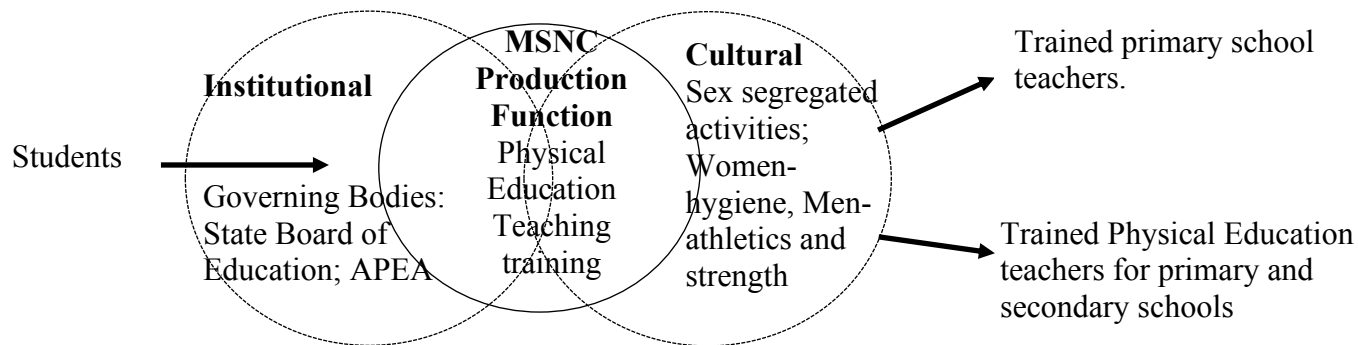
**The force of Bowen and Burton.** Michigan State Normal College played an important role in the preparation of teachers for physical training. A key factor was the hiring of Wilbur P. Bowen and Fanny C. Burton as director and assistant director of Department of Physical Culture [Physical Education]. If Bowen was the father of physical education, Burton was certainly Michigan's first lady. An Ypsilanti native and graduate of MSNS, Frannie C. Burton, received additional training at University of Chicago, University of Michigan, and University of Utah before returning to MSNC in 1894 (*Aurora*, 1925). Burton viewed education as a life-long commitment and acquired a significant amount of training and experience in physical culture in her five years in Chicago (*Aurora*, 1925). Widowed at the age of 30, she furthered her commitment to education and health. Word of a new Department of Physical Culture at MSN brought Burton back to her hometown and she became the first Director of the women's gymnasium (*Aurora*, 1925). This appointment made her one of the first women in the country to hold such a position of leadership (*Aurora*, 1925).

Michigan State Normal College became the national leader in the training of elementary and high school teachers in physical education (Pedersen, 1996). Both Bowen and Burton were to credit for the school's prestige. Bowen was a prolific writer, scholar and leaders in the field. In 1915, he produced the first manual on training teachers for physical education titled *State Syllabus on Physical Training* (Johnson, 1955). His writing and involvement at state, regional, and national levels earned him a respectable reputation and name recognition (Johnson, 1955;

Pedersen, 1996). Bowen also legitimized the field by writing several seminal textbooks on anatomy, physiology, kinesiology, and pedagogy of physical training (Pedersen, 1996).

Bowen was revolutionary in evolving the physical education curriculum. The two-year program was to, “improve the physical condition of students, and prepare them to carry on the various lines of Physical Education in the public schools” (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1903, p. 39). Students could receive advanced training at a graduate level by pursuing one semester of Swedish system, German exercises, Methods of Physical training and Applied Anatomy (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1903). Interest in the PE program generally came through access to elective courses. Electives involved subjects such as civics, geography, grammar, music, physical education, and reading (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1903). A student interested in specializing in physical education was required to complete the four essential courses; Teachers’ Course in physical education; history of physical education; mechanics of exercise: physiology of exercise (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1903). As remembered by PE historian, Erik Pedersen (1996), offering these courses propelled MSNC to the top in comprehensive Physical Education training in the country.

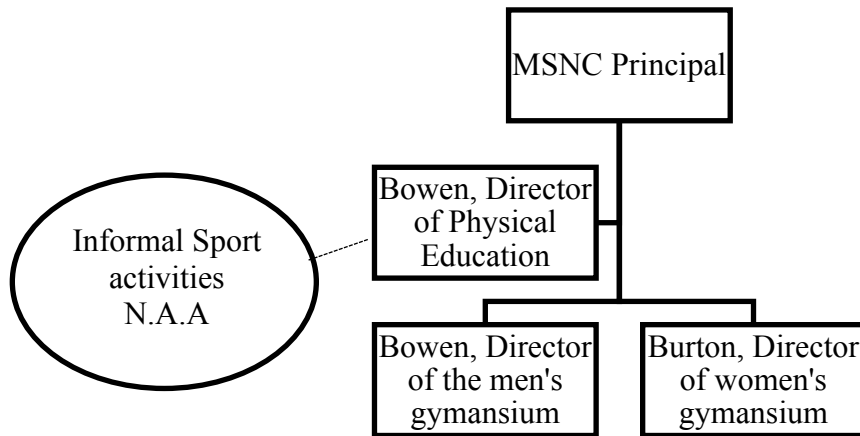
Around the turn of the century, the production function of Michigan State Normal College expanded from preparing primary school teachers to preparation of secondary school teachers. This expansion drove the diversification of subject areas and one of those popular majors was Physical Education (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1910). Figure 10 builds upon this expansion by introducing PE as a function of the institution and the influence of new state legislation and national organizations codifying bylaws for teaching physical education.



*Figure 10.* Organizational changes to Michigan State Normal College’s institutional and cultural environments.

The institution adopted a more diverse training curriculum while also meeting the State Board of Education’s regulations. Every teacher was to be trained in physical education for primary and secondary schools. The emphasis on physical education curriculum and training would influence men’s and women’s relationship with athletics at MSNC.

While Figure 10. shares external influences shaping the men’s and women’s physical education department, Figure 11 illustrates the internal influences of the leadership structure of the department at Michigan State Normal College in 1894. The organizational chart demonstrates the leadership of Bowen supported by Burton, and Bowen’s loose relationship with the student organized Normal Athletics Association (NAA). Despite being a women’s majority institution, men’s informal athletics emerged first on campus, not surprising given the athletic activity throughout the country.



*Figure 11.* Michigan State Normal College’s physical education organizational leadership in relation to the NAA organization.

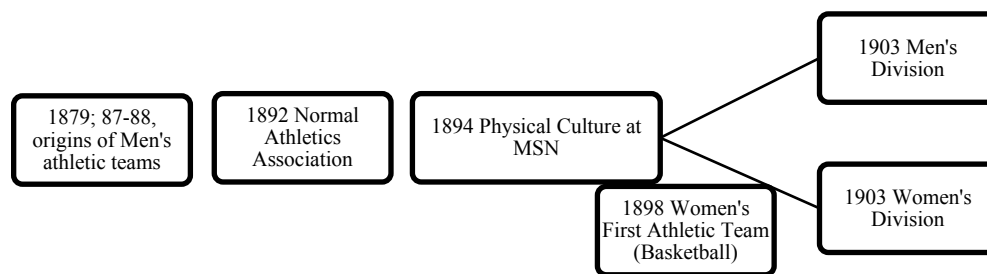
Burton joined Bowen to become the head of women’s physical education department under his direction as depicted in Figure 11 (*Aurora*, 1925). In 1902, Burton urged to separate the men and women’s programs after recognizing a divergence of interests. The men were concentrating on heavier gymnastics and sports, whereas the women were training “fancy steps, light apparatus, marching activities, and intramural sports” (Pedersen, 1996, p. 28). Male students were organizing sporting competitions before formal teams were organized by the college. The role of sports for men would be detailed in the following section. The relationship of sports with the physical education curriculum ultimately led to the program split in 1902 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1896–1902). In 1903, the Department of Physical Culture officially became the Department of Physical Education at Michigan State Normal College, adopting the term physical education long before its national acceptance in 1927 (Pedersen, 1996).

External influences such as the growth of sports in American culture justified the training of sports coaches for high school programs in the men’s division (Lucas & Smith, 1978). At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, sports such as baseball, football, and other intercollegiate men’s sport were controlled by students and rose to prominence across colleges and universities (Lucas &



Smith, 1978). While college sports were gaining momentum as commercial enterprises, the need for qualified gymnastics teachers and sports coaches in high school also created a need for trained personnel. College faculty met this need by preparing physical educators with a curriculum that included sports. By the early 1900s, women physical educators were aware of the criticism and challenges surrounding men's intercollegiate sports and were committed to maintaining an educational ethos for women (Hult, 1985; Park, 1995; Park, 2010). Burton established a broad based curriculum to prepare women as physical educators in elementary and high school. She followed a philosophy consistent with the time: "every girl for a sport and a sport for every girl" (National Girls and Women in Sport motto as cited in Neve, 2016, p.7).

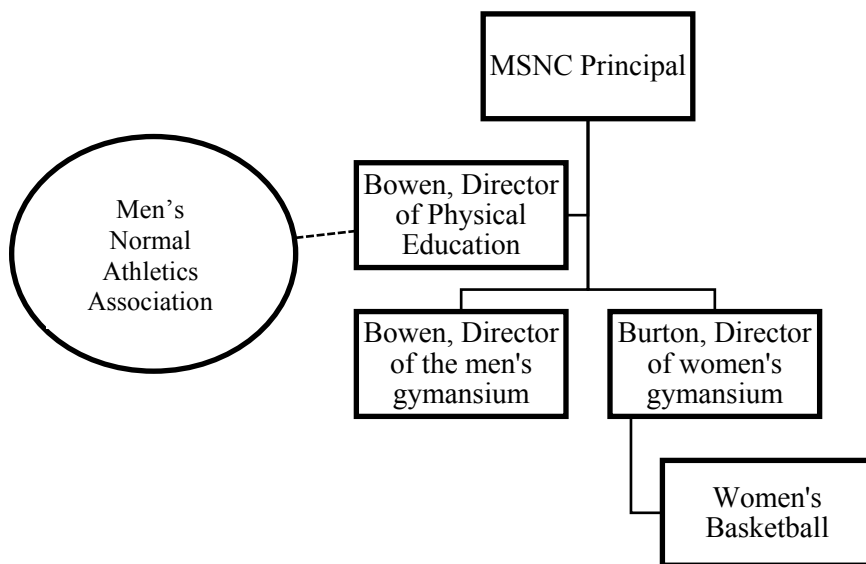
By 1903, the men's and women's programs were split into divisions and had separate physical training spaces and philosophies. Figure 12 shows the structural bifurcation of the physical education department and the relationship with athletics. Here you can see that men's athletics preceded the introduction of the physical culture department at MSNC, whereas women's basketball was added after the formation of physical culture and coached by women's division director, Burton.



*Figure 12.* Timeline of the origins of men's athletics and men's and women's physical education departments.

Separation of the men's and women's division of physical education allowed for Bowen and Burton to manage the curriculum and sporting activities independently. As the presence of

sporting activities increased, Bowen extended his directorship to include the informal and formal origins of men's athletic as seen in Figure 13.



*Figure 13.* Organizational leadership of MSNC physical education department and partnership with men's and women's athletic activities.

The first record describing the organization of athletics occurred in 1887, but was not fully recognized by MSNC as an athletic association until 1892 (Rieman, 1892). While the male students were forming athletic teams independent of the Physical Education department, women's sports were first led by Women's PE director, Burton (*Aurora*, 1898). Burton established the first women's basketball team in 1898 and later initiated the first annual Junior-Senior Meet in 1903 (*Aurora*, 1904). There was an informal connection between the male PE faculty and male student athletes. This would eventually become more explicit in the years to come. The men and women's athletic and physical education programs remained separate until 1976 when the men and women's athletics programs officially separated from the physical education program (Board of Regent Meeting Minutes, 1976).

### **Origins of Men's Athletics at Michigan State Normal College**

Prior to 1894, men's athletic activities were perceived as unofficial and spontaneous and even regarded as a distraction from the academics (Thelin, 1996). Activities included baseball, tennis, and track and field events, all of which took place in the form of field days (Rieman, 1892). These athletic activities were initiated and organized by students, similar to a student organized club. Teachers who sought involvement did so to develop the Christian, sound mind sound body, physical man, whereas other teachers were critics to sports on campus (Rieman, 1892). Weekly comics in the *Normal News* conveyed the unique relationship between athletics with colleges and universities, depicting muscles over brains to gain admittance (Rieman, 1892). Fifty years after the first intercollegiate athletic event, athletics were both praised and criticized for their influence on college campuses. The editors, "undoubtedly have no intention or desire to do the cause of physical culture any harm, yet their pictorial exaggerations...have the effects of increasing the feeling that athletics are overdone at our colleges" (Bellows, 1892, p. 118). The author defended the value of athletics, especially at MSNC where "hazing" and "pranks" were a thing of the past (Bellows, 1892, p. 118).

The synergy of athletics with academic life at MSN became a prized partnership between the male PE faculty and male students (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1904). Prior to the formation of the first athletics body at MSNC, the Normal Athletics Association (NAA), students were described as "having an overabundance of animal spirits, only with the introduction of athletics and physical culture do they have proper outlets," (Bellows, 1892, p. 119). Male and female students participated in number of physical culture courses, accessed the equipment in the gymnasium, and the men displayed their athletic prowess on the competition

field (*Aurora*, 1904). Figure 14 established a timeline of event for student organized sports at MSNC.

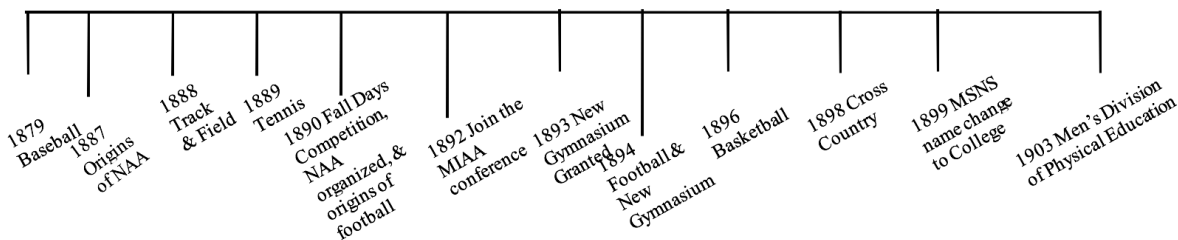


Figure 14. Timeline of men's Athletics at Michigan State Normal School [College].

As outlined in Figure 14, unofficial sporting activities organized by male students had been present at MSNC well before the physical education department. The college officially recognized their athletic programs as the Normal Athletics Association and joined the first athletic conference in 1892 (Rieman, 1892). The implementation of intercollegiate athletics competition by male students at MSNC could be found as reason for the establishment of two separate men's and women's physical education divisions. At this time, no record suggested women were engaging in sport activities outside the educational unit.

By the late 1800s, nearly all college presidents agreed that athletics in higher education were there to stay (Thelin, 2004). President Patten of Princeton College described an athletic and religious life as fundamental to the modern college experience (Crowley, 2006). The presence of Christian education and emerging men's collegiate athletics became embedded at Michigan State Normal. Student essays in the *Normal News* praised the physical training and athletic outlets on campus:

As a consequence, instead of the under-sized, listless, thin-faced, half developed student, with but little vitality or stamina, we see young men and young women with not only thoroughly trained minds and strong moral natures, but with well developed, vigorous

physiques, and, what is better than all, a knowledge of how to maintain them. (Bellows, 1892, p. 120)

Attention to athletics followed similar compulsory arguments for physical culture and physical education in the school systems. Michigan State Normal College viewed physical and mental training as a staple to their teacher education curriculum. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, or “a healthy mind in a healthy body,” was central to the sport and physical education foundation in the U.S. and at Michigan State Normal College (Bowen as cited in Isbell, 1971, p. 96). Sport was strongly attached to the men’s physical education narrative, whereas the women were not concerned with organized sport. Organized sport for men at MSNC; however, emerged from a desire to compete at a local commercialized event called field days (Pedersen, 1996; Isbell, 1971).

**Field days to athletic conference.** The first athletic feature of student life was the creation of a baseball team in the late 1870s. Track and tennis followed in 1888 and 1889 (Pedersen, 1996). By 1890, MSNC men were competing in several field days. Football had an inaugural season in 1890 and by 1892 Michigan State Normal School [College] joined the Michigan Intercollegiate Athletics Association (MIAA) conference (*Aurora*, 1915). The MIAA hosted track meets, baseball, and tennis field days for which MSNC participated in seven straight years (*Aurora*, 1915). Nearly all teams were student led aside from occasionally securing a few men from University of Michigan to coach prior to important contest (*Aurora*, 1915). In the fall of 1890, the first annual fall games in Ypsilanti were held attracting students and towns people alike (Hatch, 1890). Wealthy businessmen provided prizes for the various events. Financial backing was the only thing missing in the NAA’s ability to be recognized by the state as a legitimate organization. Although the newly formed NAA lacked fiscal autonomy, male PE

faculty expressed interest in the enterprise and established loose oversight and supported the NAA's mission.

***Normal Athletic Association.*** The first Normal Athletic Association (NAA) meeting occurred on October 25, 1887. The 1893 *Michigan State Normal College Student Handbook*, issued by the Students Christian Association, described the purpose of the athletic association:

The purpose of the athletic association is to give the students, of the Normal, a chance to take regular exercise through the winter months. With this in view, the students of the Normal, a few years ago, organized themselves into an association, and fitted up one of the large rooms in the basement. Here every afternoon a person may take the much needed exercise. The classes are conducted by some members of the school who have had some experience in such work. From time to time the association has added to the stock of apparatus until the gymnasium is fairly well supplied. The membership fee only .25 cents a term. A student can ill afford to lose the opportunity that the association has made possible. Each one should join the association as soon as he becomes connected with the school, and enter with earnestness into the work of developing his body. (p. 23)

With an emphasis on exercise and access to physical training, every male student was encouraged to devote time to his body (*Michigan State Normal College Student Handbook*, 1893). Women were encouraged to do the similar physical training, but this occurred as more female appropriate drill and calisthenics led by women PE staff and not as athletics outside of the formal curriculum (Bellows, 1892).

The NAA began as a student organized enterprise, similar to other student-led athletic associations across the country (Lucas & Smith, 1978). However, the NAA did not remain a student organization for long. Shortly after the earliest days of the NAA, Michigan State Normal

College male faculty assisted in the permanent structure of an athletic venture (Isbell, 1971). Isbell (1971) recalled a difference in perception of sport: “The distinguishing feature of competitive sports at Normal was the very early development of an underlying philosophy” (p. 345). Bowen stood critical of these early developments of competitive sports explaining his involvement with the NAA. As cited in Isbell (1971), Bowen thought it was “unfortunate that recognition went only to the winner,” suggesting that sports should be provided to every male and female for the purpose of health (p. 346). Attempts to maintain a healthy mind and healthy body philosophy underlined Bowen’s involvement with the NAA. Meanwhile, Burton did not seem to share this same interest or investment in athletics. Athletics was firmly established as solely a male domain and emulated masculine ideals.

In 1887, serving in the first official NAA executive members were President G. F. Key, Vice President Claude Larzerlere, Secretary W.B. Hatch, Treasurer Rolfe Patrick, and Director of Sports Wilber P. Bowen (Rieman, 1892). The objective of the association was “to promote and foster all legitimate sports and athletic exercises, and to afford facilities to its members for participating therein” (Rieman, 1892, p. 108). In the emergence of the Normal Athletic Association, resistance among other faculty and school leaders was present (Rieman, 1892). They feared that a commitment to athletics would resemble a similar path of intercollegiate athletics at larger universities, including University of Michigan, where winning was everything and athletic coaches were exceeding salaries of Presidents (Rieman, 1892). Many national publications scrutinized colleges for emphasizing athletics over studies and professed the dangers of football as brutal and inhumane (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Pope, 1997). Swayed by faculty, critical and publicly opposed to football, all decisions and actions for the NAA were tabled for three years until 1890 (*Aurora*, 1915).

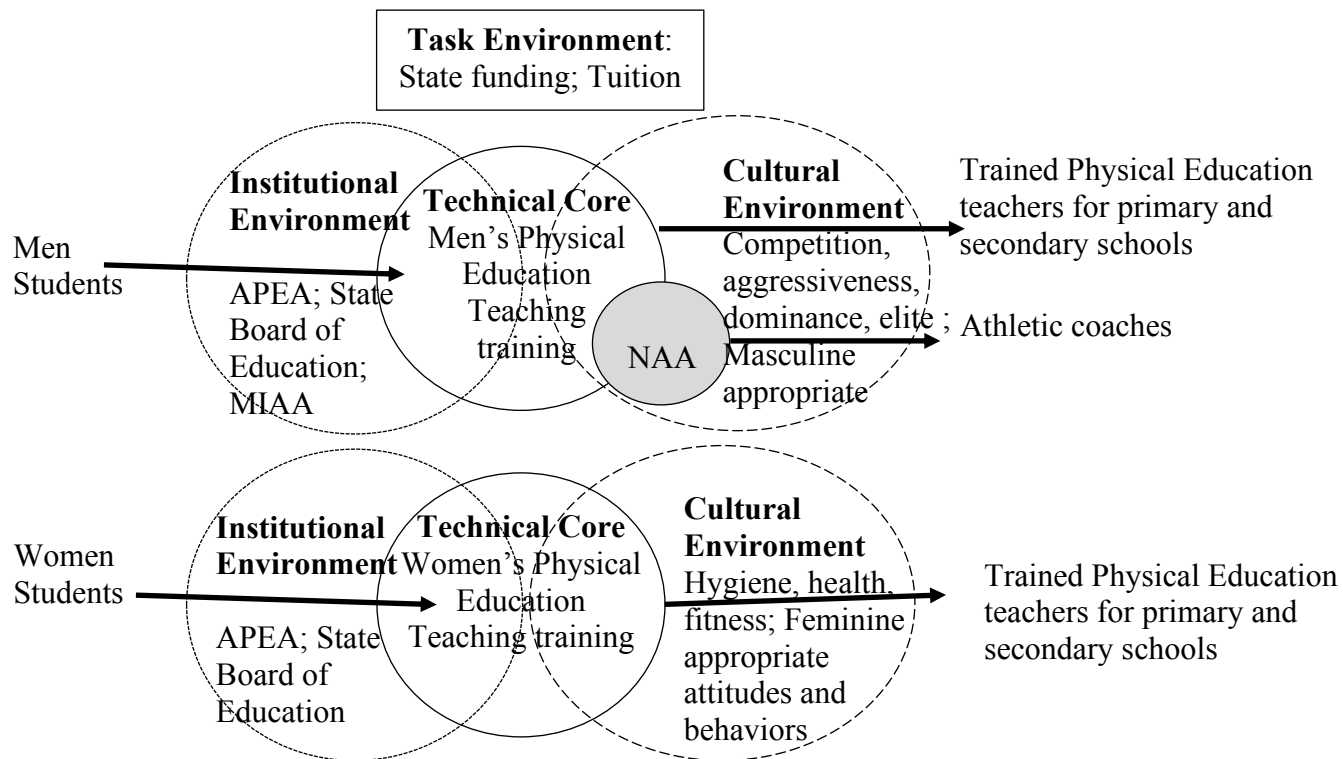
Nationally recognized educational journals and periodicals began to support the benefit of physical activity and exercise in the form of sports (Park, 1995; Pope, 1997). This movement helped to revitalize the NAA and student involvement in athletics at MSNC (Rieman, 1892). The election of W.P. Bowen as president of NAA in 1890 garnered support from faculty and interest from the proportionately few male students at MSNC. Having a certifiable intercollegiate athletics and a competitive training facility meant the potential benefit of a new gymnasium under the auspice of physical education (Isbell, 1971).

Bowen's investment with the athletic organization paid dividends to enhancing physical education at MSNC. The advancement in men's athletics was believed to add scientific and health value to male students at MSNC (Isbell, 1971). Supposedly, Bowen was critical of the general competitive athletic movement of the time, where corruption and competition were rampant (Pope, 1997; Lucas & Smith, 1978; R. A. Smith, 1990). Instead, Bowen proposed that all men could compete regardless of ability and that contests should be organized by equal ability (Isbell, 1971). Bowen was concerned that only recognizing the best pushed the less talented to the fringes (Isbell, 1971). Meanwhile, the women were training all of their women in the same curriculum and would not introduce sporting activities for another 10 years.

Unlike other institutions, Michigan State Normal College adopted a strong physical education philosophy first and then integrated elements of athletics even though athletics emerged on its own. Bowen was one of the few administrators in the country serving as both head of the Department of Physical Culture and president of the Normal Athletic Association (Isbell, 1971; Park, 1995). The link between men's athletics and the academy was established by Bowen to be broad based and for all men at MSNC. The women's physical culture movement of the time was similar in that all women were enrolled and received the same physical training.



Figure 15 aims to compare the newly separated men's and women's PE functions and the influence of athletics as an external entity to the men's program. Men's PE, coupled with the presence of the NAA began to train athletic coaches as a production function.



*Figure 15.* Comparison of the institutional, task, and cultural environments of men's and women's physical education departments at Michigan State Normal College.

Figure 15 begins to introduce the outside influence of athletics on the men's PE program.

Athletics in the form of the NAA began as an external, student-organized effort that responded to pressures of the cultural environment. Athletics for entertainment, character-building, and as an expression of masculinity influenced the NAA presence at MSNC. Bowen, aware of the growing negative cultural factors associated with sports, attempted to derail any potential of that occurring at MSNC with a benevolent broad based philosophy to the handful of men attending.

Both Bowen and Burton's emphasis on health was maintained and eventually led to one of the most comprehensive athletic and physical education departments in the country (Pedersen,

1996). Bowen believed, “Performance should be judged by objective standards, such as a system of percentages based on amateur records” (Bowen as cited in Isbell, 1971, p. 346). Bowen suggested recognition be received for the number of men competing, reinforcing the broad based approach to fitness. Having a shared educational and sports for all philosophy complicated the shared men and women’s physical culture department. An increased presence of competitive athletics eventually dissolved this partnership in 1903 (Pedersen, 1996). Women remained strongly tied to the physical training for all philosophy, yet they diverged from the men who went on to play sports more competitively and eventually coach. The leadership and curriculum for the men’s and women’s PE divisions reflected these different production functions.

Under the direction of NAA director, Paul Savage, and instructor, Ernest Goodrich, together they introduced systematic training for improving athletic performance for athletes (*Aurora*, 1893). The exercises went beyond the mundane German or Swedish routines and incorporated “tumbling, vaulting, horizontal and parallel bars...ladder exercises, chest weights, clubs, wands, dumb-bells, calisthenics, running, jumping and boxing” (*Aurora*, 1893, p.86). Savage and Goodrich led large evening classes to interested students, likely men competing with the NAA. Such efforts served the mission of health and physical culture, while screening for athletically talented students (*Aurora*, 1893). Previously, only those enrolled in a physical culture course could participate in physical training activities; however, offering classes after hours allowed more male students to engage in physical training and athletic activities (*Aurora*, 1893). While the men were engaging in semi-organized practices facilitated by faculty, the women were engaging in more traditional and feminine appropriate drills, apparatus exercises, and games (*Aurora*, 1898). Their athletic competitions were fewer than the men, amounting to one or two

contests a year. Nonetheless, men's involvement with field day competitions may have contributed to the divergence in physical education philosophy.

***The thrill of winning.*** Despite the lackluster investment in indoor facilities to accommodate sporting activities, outdoor athletics were flourishing. The men's field days were some of the most popular events on campus and the first implications of competitive athletic play. "Normal boys were capable of competing with any other schools," recalled Rieman (1892, p. 110), a student writer for the *Normal News*. The field day consisted of running and jumping events with an additional bicycle race, wrestling or boxing match (Pedersen, 1996). Eventually, the field days expanded to include organized team competition (Pedersen, 1996). The first field day took place in 1890 directly behind the Old Main Building, coincidentally the same year the NAA was officially recognized at Michigan State Normal (Pedersen, 1996). Four years later they grew to be so popular that they moved the events to the Ypsilanti fair grounds. An event program from 1893 included 19 different events and a panel of judges comprised of MSNC faculty (*Michigan State Normal College Field Day Program*, 1893).

Preparation for the 1891 spring games and events were taken seriously by the Normal faculty (Rieman, 1892). Bowen, Messrs, Jenkins, and others stepped in as directors for gymnasium training and were the first to officially hold such a role explicitly connected to athletics. The field day events inspired more faculty to get involved to warrant a successful outcome. Aside from the Detroit games, Rieman (1892) wrote how the Ypsilanti Field Days were the finest events for any and all spectators. Businessmen promised gold medal awards to winners and such prizes attracted talented men from Detroit to U of M to compete for the 1891 Spring games (Rieman, 1892). The games were open to any male competitor in the region, for which all healthy NAA men also participated. The field days brought the NAA notoriety in the area and

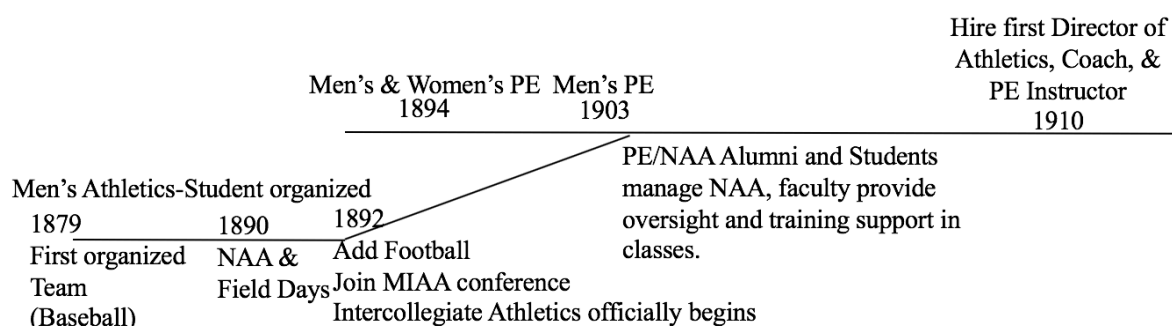
cushioned their budget with \$100 from gate receipts (Rieman, 1892). The following fall games were held on November 17, 1891, and only “home talent was allowed to enter,” on behalf of the NAA (Rieman, 1892, p. 109). A statement that suggested only Michigan State Normal College men were allowed to compete on NAA sponsored teams raised a concern of teams recruiting ringers to boost their chances of winning.

Rieman (1892) wrote, under student F. W. Greene’s leadership, enthusiasm and support for the Normal Athletic Association grew. By 1892, nearly 80% of all MSNC men were members of the NAA, a vision instilled by their faculty advisor, W.P. Bowen. Bowen viewed success in numbers of men participating. Consequently, the greater number of men competing and success of the NAA teams attracted praise from the community and the interest of young college-bound men (Pedersen, 1996).

Graduates of MSNC and NAA were commonly found to step in as coaches of the MSNC student-organized teams (Pedersen, 1996). Football and baseball proved to be capable of a winning program with more practice claimed student writer Rieman (1892). The commitment to specialized sport training and practice was endorsed and adopted by the physical education department (Rieman, 1892). The excitement and attention given to MSNC athletics set them firmly on the path of intercollegiate athletics defined by scheduled competition, athletic facilities, and adopted training practices (Isbell, 1971).

***Organizing Michigan State Normal College athletics.*** Bowen oversaw the gymnasium based sports, while former student, Joseph R. Jenkins managed the outdoor sports (*Aurora*, 1893). Together they advocated for field-day sports and athletic competitions around the state (Pedersen, 1996). Of the 1891 notable athletes were runner John Morse, and lightweight wrestler A. W. Dasef (*Aurora*, 1915). Their performance, along with others, established prominence of

NAA at Michigan State Normal College (*Aurora*, 1915). Senior gentlemen, such as those listed, were required to teach calisthenics in the Training school as part of their curriculum (Pedersen, 1996). Requiring every MSNC men's and women's PE student to teach at the training school prepared graduates with teaching and coaching opportunities (Pedersen, 1996). Figure 16 serves as an illustration of the evolving partnership between men's athletics and physical education.



*Figure 16.* Evolving timeline of men's athletics and men's and women's physical education at Michigan State Normal College.

This figure highlights the formation of student-led athletics before the organization of a physical education department. Eventually with the addition of football and membership to an athletic conference, the partnership between athletics and PE begin to formalize. For the most part athletic teams remained coached by NAA alumni or senior students until 1910 when Michigan State Normal College hired their first athletic director (*Aurora*, 1910).

The student leadership of Greene, Jenkins, Morse, and Dasef transformed athletics at Michigan State Normal by adding football and joining the first Michigan Intercollegiate Athletic Association (*Normal News*, 1893). In 1890, James M. Swift served in a role as football missionary traveling from Massachusetts and introduced American football to Michigan State Normal (*Aurora*, 1892). The sport was fully adopted at the school in 1894 (*Aurora*, 1892). Greene advanced the NAA with not only the addition of football, but the hiring of Swift as their first coach (*Aurora*, 1894). President Greene was described as “wisely progressive, but not

radical, possessed invaluable practical knowledge of athletics, and combined superior executive ability and energy with great tact and skill” (*Normal News*, 1893, p. 85). Greene’s vision earned the respect from his fellow male classmates and within the year a boxing, fencing, and wrestling PE class were formed (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1893). Meanwhile baseball and football procured official uniforms and equipment and functioned as the perennial sports at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1894). The addition of athletic teams and reliable equipment assisted in the NAA’s ability to join their first intercollegiate athletic association in 1894 (*Aurora*, 1894).

***Conference play with the MIAA.*** The Michigan Intercollegiate Athletic Association (MIAA) established in 1888 remains the oldest on-going athletic conference in the country (“History of the MIAA,” 2018). Led by Hillsdale College’s, James Heckman, the athletic association appeared after several schools sponsored track and field days between 1884 and 1887 (“History of the MIAA,” 2018). In collaboration with Albion College, Michigan State Agriculture [Michigan State University] and Olivet College, a constitution was drafted and the first MIAA track meet and field day—baseball and tennis—was hosted in Spring 1888 in East Lansing (MIAA.org). The Normal Athletic Association from MSNS joined the MIAA in 1892 (*Aurora*, 1893). Football became a sponsored event with the MIAA in 1894 and two years later the Normalites (name for athletes of NAA) secured their first league championship (*Aurora*, 1894; “History of the MIAA,” 2018).

In 1894, the State of Michigan’s population was roughly two million and 13 schools offered post-secondary education (“History of the MIAA,” 2018). By 1895, MSNS was the largest school with 714 enrolled students (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1895). Men’s sporting activities at MSN grew at an accelerated rate with the addition of basketball in 1896 (*Aurora*, 1896). The rapid growth of physical culture and athletics at MSNS prompted Bowen’s

return from a brief appointment at Nebraska to launch the men's and women's physical education program with Burton (Isbell, 1971).

The Normalite's first season with the MIAA in 1892 proved to be a success with the baseball team defeating Albion and returning from the May field day with many medals (*Aurora*, 1892). For the next six years, the NAA operated without established faculty leadership inviting inconsistencies with team's and talent (*Aurora*, 1898). The Normalites struggled to retain athletes and field teams for the Fall outdoor season (*Aurora*, 1898). Bowen, as the Head of the PE department, identified a need for a full time trainer to supervise and manage the athletes (Bowen, 1898, March, 9). He said, "to place the work under a regular instructor or trainer, and then to hold those entering to faithful performance of the work undertaken...is the ideal way, in my opinion, to conduct athletics" (Bowen, 1898, March, 9, p. 245). Bowen worked to maintain the amateur spirit of sport and promote the health benefits of fitness while resolving the challenges faced by the NAA. Assigning a permanent trainer for men's athletics within the PE department began to shift the educational function of PE by adopting athletics closer to its core (Bowen, 1898, March, 9). As men's intercollegiate athletics grew, the women's division of physical education also experimented with adding sports to the popular PE curriculum. The women's intercollegiate athletics narrative would play out much differently than the men's.

Acknowledging athletics at Michigan State Normal and maintaining membership with the MIAA came with a price. The MIAA modeled field day events after the professional athletic clubs popular from New York City to New Orleans (Pope, 1997). The professional athletic clubs often encountered questionable and corrupt practices involving large money purses, and unbridled gambling (Pope, 1997). Over the years, Bowen expressed concerned the MIAA was allowing similar corrupt practices of paying players and gambling on games (Isbell, 1971). He

accused the league of being tainted and eventually his worry with amateurism in the MIAA led to the school's withdrawal from the league (Isbell, 1971). Bowen touted amateurism as playing for play sake and that sport should be available for the masses not the few (Isbell, 1971). His decision to leave the MIAA for the aforementioned reasons suggested he was serious in his approach to maintaining a pure athletics model in the vain of bodily health. By 1926, MSNC separated from the conference and maintained an independent status until 1944 (Isbell, 1971).

By 1900, Michigan State Normal College had an established athletic program with baseball, tennis, track and field, cross country, and football and basketball squads. These sports remained to be managed by NAA alumni, male student participants, and loosely coupled with the physical education staff. Bowen stood firm on his physical education for all ethos, and tried to protect NAA from going down a path of corruption. In 10 years of the NAA's existence elements of commercialization, recruiting "ringers" who were not students at MSNC, and the desire to win placed Bowen in a precarious situation. With the addition of a new gymnasium, these challenges were only going to increase.

***NAA confronts financial hardships.*** Ten years after the new gymnasium, the Normal Athletic Association confronted financial constraints. In 1904, the NAA began the fall season with great enthusiasm, but by the end of the year suffered financial hardships (*Aurora*, 1904). Debts were to be paid before sports teams could take the field. Nearly all of the funds were generated from membership fees and alumni donations, which were not enough to sustain the organization (*Aurora*, 1904). This *Aurora* (1899) excerpt shared the NAA decision to start charging admission to sporting contests:

The factor that has been the greatest hindrance to the N.A.A. is finance, and bad weather...One plan adopted was that a one dollar ticket should admit the bearer to all



scheduled foot-ball and base-ball games by the regular college teams, to the field sports, and to the membership of the N.A.A. (p. 39)

Unfortunately, the motion did not pass and a combination of students, faculty and local businessmen came to the rescue and paid the debt (*Aurora*, 1899). The generous donors provided minimal funds for the year's contests, however, each year's finances would prove to be uncertain. Eventually, ticket sales would be adopted, a move to ensure the production of athletic games at MSNC.

NAA leadership positions were elected annually, and those elected were primarily responsible for all operations of the organization (*Aurora*, 1904). This included fundraising, training preparation, scheduling and travel to contests (*Aurora*, 1904). The highest position elected was that of the team manager (*Aurora*, 1904). Team managers were highly respected and revered as coaches, a role perceived as necessary for future intercollegiate coaching opportunities (*Aurora*, 1904). Such an honor landed many managers and former players coaching positions at colleges and universities in addition to high schools, following graduation at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1904).

Being that MSNC was a two-year training school, the constant turnover of student leadership proved troublesome for the NAA organization. The inconsistent and unstable leadership structure left some semesters well staffed and others not so much (*Aurora*, 1899). The success of the athletic association depended on the vitality and health of the student athletes and their funds. These inconsistent conditions served as the impetus for seeking an organized funding structure. The addition of a coach was thought to remedy an unstable organization and make decisions in regards to injured players and adequate training (*Aurora*, 1899).

Michigan State Normal College athletics organizational model was student-led until the first coach migrated over from the University of Michigan (U of M). Clayton Teetzel competed in football and track from 1897 to 1899 at U of M before coaching the Michigan State Normal College's football, basketball and track teams from 1900 to 1903 (*Aurora*, 1915). Coach Teetzel stayed only three years after posting a dismal overall football record of 6-14-1 (College football data warehouse, 2016). Following Teetzel's departure in 1903, the school instituted a policy of employing an alumnus or a university athlete to coach the men's football and baseball teams (Bowen as cited in *Aurora*, 1904). The policy prompted a trend of graduated players remaining at MSN to coach and efforts for the PE department to professionalize coaching. Courses were added to the catalog supporting sport specific coach training (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1910). Many graduates would coach for a few years and leave to coach at other institutions (*Aurora*, 1915). Not only did Michigan State Normal College have the reputation of one of the best physical education teaching programs (*Aurora*, 1915), but there was also a real opportunity to be trained in coaching men's collegiate athletics. Although men's athletics began external to MSNC, the academic unit eventually absorbed athletics and advanced its mission as central to the academic mission. On the contrary, women's athletics emerged as an internal function of the academic unit and continued to grow with enrollment.

### **Conclusion of Men's Athletics at MSNC**

In the first few decades of men's athletics at MSNC, there was rapid change in the organizational structure. Students led the charge recruiting athletes to teams, funding their season, scheduling contests, and maintaining outdoor facilities (*Aurora*, 1891, 1899, 1904). Eventually, the men's PE curriculum incorporated athletics as central to their mission. The department with the help of Lucy Osband, lobbied for a new gymnasium, and hired coaching

staff to manage the NAA teams (*Aurora*, 1905). The same year men's sports were approved to hire coaches for their teams, the women's PE division officially separated from the men's division cited different philosophies (*Normal News*, 1904). Both divisions were created to advance physical education and health initiatives that reinforced social norms and gender appropriate activity. The men's division became more athletically focused while the women's division advocated for more autonomy. The formal split in the divisions became more than a separation of gymnasium space, it became a divergence in PE curriculum and training of MSN graduates. This divergence symbolically represented the difference of attitudes, behaviors, and values between gender and sport.

### **Origins of Women's Athletics at Michigan State Normal College**

Due in part to the added constraints and complications the men were confronting in the management of an athletics program, Burton sought to adhere more closely to the PE philosophy of sound mind and sound body. Women PE leaders strongly held to the broad-based, non-competitive, educational philosophy and in many ways were forced to by general beliefs of the time (Park, 1995). Clarke (1873) and other medical specialist stirred a belief that specializing in one sport was detrimental to the body and may provoke women to behave aggressively or even masculine (Stanley, 1996). The fear that competition would make women behave more like men was a strong undercurrent in women's athletics. Therefore, early college sports for women often went unrecognized due to competition existing within the institution (intramural) rather than between institutions like early men's athletics (Park, 1995). The outcomes of participating in sport on women's development was largely unknown and presented concern for physical educators introducing sports for the first time (Park, 1995). Burton proceeded with caution as she introduced and coached the first basketball team at Normal in 1897 (*Aurora*, 1898; Burton,

1910). The same year the team competed in a single basketball game against Olivet College (*Aurora*, 1898).

For the next several years, few accounts captured women's emergence into intercollegiate athletic competition. In 1903, the *Aurora* featured two women's basketball teams named "The White" and "The Blue," competing on an intramural status (p. 172). Basketball was the first and most popular team sport for women in higher education (Cahn, 1998). Although rules were adapted to minimize contact and aggressive play, the women enjoyed the divergence from formal drills and calisthenics (*Normal News*, 1910). Women's basketball at MSNC fluctuated between intramural and intercollegiate competition based on available women's teams. In 1908, the yearbook photo featured the women wearing the "N" for Normal, much like the men had for the last 20 years (*Aurora*, 1908). This year appeared to mark an official recognition of women's intercollegiate athletics. The athletics summary wrote:

In any educational institution, athletics inspires college loyalty and spirit... Athletics, as now carried on at the Normal, are a complete innovation, for excellent fields for practice and games and competent coaches [sic] are provided. ...Tennis has increased in popularity greatly during the last few seasons, and the courts are full nearly all the time. Many girls are taking up this line of sport and matches will undoubtedly be arranged for them. ...Girls are also taking an active part in other phases of athletics. (Brown as cited in, *Aurora*, 1908, p. 172)

The other phases of athletics referenced by Brown included field hockey and outdoor exercises.

By 1909, women's intercollegiate athletics basketball posted a successful five-game season:

- MSNC 33 Detroit Eastern 3
- MSNC 23 Mt. Pleasant Normal 10

- MSNC 40 Detroit Western 15
- MSNC 55 Hillsdale College 4
- MSNC 27 Mt. Pleasant Normal 11

Burton shared her pride for the intercollegiate athletics performance, but balanced the excitement with ensuring an “athletics for the benefit of the greater” philosophy (as cited in *Aurora*, 1909, p. 203). Perhaps for the first time Burton experienced the thrill of competition and the job of winning. The joy of winning was not so common among women at this time. Here, Burton, was compelled to explain their winning record as still aligning with the women’s PE philosophy.

Although Burton intended to provide athletics for the entire women’s student body, she could not deny the incredible success of the few representing the MSNC women’s basketball team. From 1898 to 1911, the team played in front of sold out crowds of 600-800 spectators (*Normal News*, 1907, February 21). The school newspaper promoted a men’s and women’s double header with Mt. Pleasant, with a reception and dance to follow (*Normal News*, 1907, February 21). Men and women were competing in front of large crowds of students and reaping the benefits of an undefeated program. The increased presence of women’s athletics at MSNC led to a desire for women to hold athletic board representation (“Girls get in given two places on athletic board of control,” 1906, November 15). They wanted to officially organize as an athletic group, similar to the male students. The headline heralded, “Girls get in given two places on athletic board of control...” reporting that it has been a long fight to earn representation on the council. A week later, the paper reported, “having the first year girls and second year girls equally represented there can be no cause for dissatisfaction on the part of either class. With harmony thus assured there can be no doubt that much good will result from the new power given the girls” (“Girls get in given two places on athletic board of control,” 1906, November 15,

p. 1). Women students may have earned a place at the table of the student elected athletics council, but Burton very much remained in charge of the women's athletic program ("Girls get in given two places on athletic board of control," 1906, November 15). Women remained holding positions on this council until they officially withdrew from intercollegiate athletics in 1911 (Burton, 1910, December 15). Table 1 documents the positions represented in the 1906 Athletic Council.

Table 1  
*Faculty/Staff, Men, and Women Student Representation on the Athletic Council*

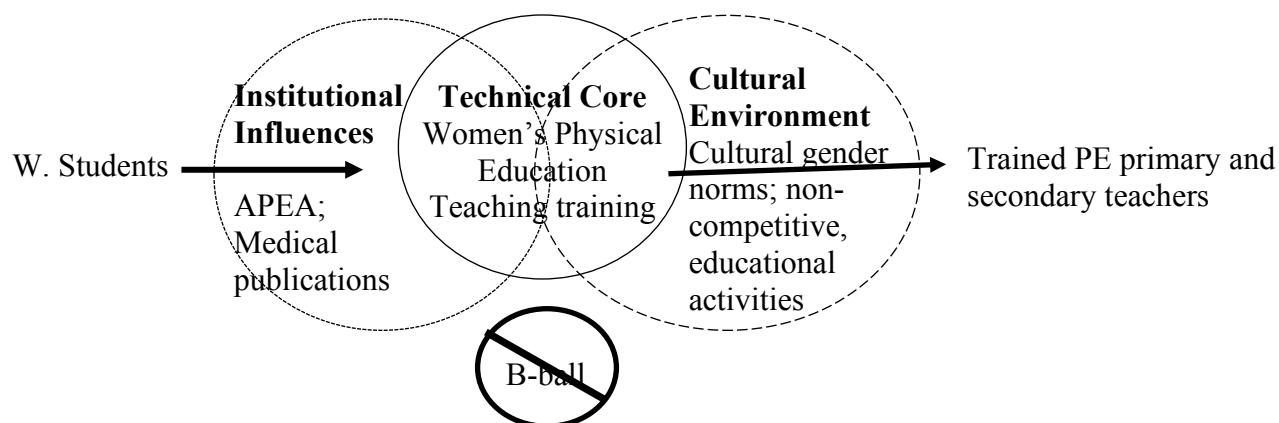
Faculty/Staff	Men's Student Positions	Women's Student Positions
Michigan State Normal College President	Manager(s) of Football	One representative from women's Basketball
Faculty Committee on Athletics (three members)	Manager(s) of Basketball	One representative from women's Tennis
Director of Men's Gymnasium	Manager(s) of Track	
Director of Women's Gymnasium	Manager(s) of Baseball	
Instructor in Athletics	One representative men's Basketball One representative men's Tennis	

*Note.* Data generated from archival records on Athletic Council representatives.

**Withdrawing intercollegiate basketball.** Women's sports were not left up to student team managers or upperclassmen like they were on the early men's side. Instead, female faculty at the Michigan State Normal College supervised all the women's activities. Ms. Burton managed the women's basketball team and nearly all other physical activities (*Aurora*, 1901). Burton coached the first teams to successful seasons until withdrawing the team for a more balanced approach to women's sport. She stated, "time giving to coaching six or eight girls could be more profitably be devoted to a greater number, and the savings could be used for permanent

athletics improvements that all the women could enjoy” (*Aurora*, 1910, p. 227). Emphasis on the greater number and the masses, communicated adhering to the cultural value of non-competitiveness and egalitarianism associated with feminine norms. A *Normal News* article reported, “Results hardly warranted the time, work and expenses of the trips, and feeling that the funds thus devoted could be more profitably applied in channels that would work to the benefit of the whole department” (Burton, 1910, December 15, p. 1). Withdrawing women’s intercollegiate athletics was a trend shared by Kalamazoo, Alma, and Hillsdale, frequent opponents with MSNC (Burton, 1910, December 15). A statement by Burton issued on January 12, 1911, shared a united decision with Mt. Pleasant’s Miss Ronan, to discontinue intercollegiate basketball with a final game on March 3 with Mt. Pleasant. In this statement Burton expressed a desire to “play MORE basket ball rather than LESS, but it will be inter-class, with award of sweaters” (Burton, 1911, January 12, p. 1). In summary, Burton listed four reasons for withdrawing intercollegiate basketball. Reasons included allocating time to greater numbers of women, money spent for a few could be better spent on improvements all girls could enjoy, tendency for over exertion with outside opponents, and finally, “sentiments against intercollegiate games for girls is becoming strong each year” (Burton, 1911, January 12, p.1). Sentiments referenced by Burton were that basketball was lowering a standard of womanhood especially with male spectators (Burton, 1911, January 12). There were intense social and cultural pressures suggesting women should not engage in sport competition. The narratives of sport at this time were strongly associated with masculinity and controlled by men (Vertinsky, 1994). Women claimed their own narratives not in sport but, instead, the broad-based, non-competitive benefits of physical education.

Burton's choice to suspend basketball was consistent with women's physical educators across the country. Some researches posited, the opposition to basketball competition emerged from a fear that women would lose control over their programs if they started to mimic that of the men (Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, & Wyrick, 1974; Park, 2010). Park (2010) explained that women were "apprehensive that if they were to initiate intercollegiate athletics for female students the coaching might be taken over by men and that this might lead to men taking over the physical education curriculum" (p. 1256). The fear of losing control could potentially be interpreted as going against gender norms. At Michigan State Normal College, Burton was alarmed at the growing popularity of the sport and feared that they were beginning to follow the men's model (Burton, 1911, January 12). The men's model at MSN was perceived by the women as corrupt and placing value on the few for financial gain (Burton, 1911, January 12). Figure 17 presents the influence of the cultural environment, in removing intercollegiate athletics—basketball—from the department's production function.



*Figure 17.* Removal of intercollegiate athletics for MSNC women's physical education department.

Gerber et al. (1974) explained pulling back from intercollegiate athletic competition as a way for women to maintain control over physical education. This perspective assumed a level of oppression on women and a battle for control. However, the data supports a division based on



culturally defined gender roles. At the time, MSNC's training schools and physical education for women were among the few professions women occupied. The decision to disassociate from the men's PE program provided women autonomy of their program and to establish athletics congruent to their gender identity. Risking what they worked hard and successfully to attain would not be undermined by men's intercollegiate athletics. If women's PE faculty began to behave like the men's intercollegiate athletic program, they feared their positions would be replaced by men (Gerber et al., 1974). The real fear was not being able to act and behave as feminine. The conflict between control as presented by Gerber et al. (1974) and the reinforcement of social norms affects what eventually becomes the story of men's and women's intercollegiate athletics.

**Junior-Senior meet.** Firm to her commitments, Burton ushered in a new form of women's athletics at MSNC. Intramural and recreational play was a return of the participation over competition philosophy. Prioritizing participation gave rise to "play days" and inter-class competition. The Annual Junior-Senior meet was the most coveted event for the women at Normal (*Normal News*, January 16, 1911). Even though the Junior-Senior meet was an internal event, the program still shared athletic components of spectator fees, practice, competition, and printed programs (*Aurora*, 1911).

Founded in 1903, women trained all year long for the annual Junior-Senior event. Events included a series of club swings, dashes, marches, rope climbing, dancing, tug-of-war, jumping, basketball, and Newcomb (volleyball; *Normal News*, 1914, March 6). The core of the men's PE program revolved around athletic competition, whereas Burton ensured the women's core would be a healthy variety of activities and participation for all. This decision ultimately impacted the

future of women's varsity competition and their unfixed partnership with the men's physical education department.

Separation of the physical education department and the new gym in 1894 provided physical segregation between the PE departments were already operating independently. The decision to uncouple and take on independent leadership structures was a reaction to general perceptions around women competing in intercollegiate sports being in conflict with the philosophy of women's physical educators (Burton, 1911, January 12). Burton acknowledged women's basketball mimicking the men's team and admitted, "...nothing feminine or enchanting about a girl with beads of perspiration on her alabaster brow, the result of grotesque contortions in events totally unsuited to female architecture" (Burton, 1911, January 12, p. 1). Her comments represented the dominant perceptions of feminine ideals, appropriate behavior, and the role of women in society. Her decision to pull away from intercollegiate athletics represented the women's PE division's commitment to broad-based activities appropriate for all women. Physical educators perceived team activity as insignificant and suggested women be trained in many sports as opposed to specializing in a single sport (Gerber et al., 1974).

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, women's access to varsity athletic competition decreased at Michigan State Normal College while other student organizations and campus activities soared. National philosophies were shifting away from competitive organized sports, back to a "play for play's sake" motto (Gerber et al., 1974, p. 5). Burton seemed to fall into this trend and countered this shortage of competitive opportunities, mainly basketball, with the popular Junior-Senior meet (*Aurora*, 1915). Figure 18 captures the relationship between women's physical education timeline, the organized activities for all campus women and events exclusive to intercollegiate athletics.

Women's Physical Education		Men's & Women's PE		Women's PE		
1888		1894		1903	1910	1911
Teacher Training course in PE				Junior-Senior Meets	Bauske Club, origin of PE Club	May Day on the Green
Women's Athletics – Faculty organized	1890	1894	1898	1906		1911
	Field Days	New Gym	Basketball team	Join Athletic Council		Final Basketball Season

*Figure 18.* Timeline of women's physical education compared to women's athletics.

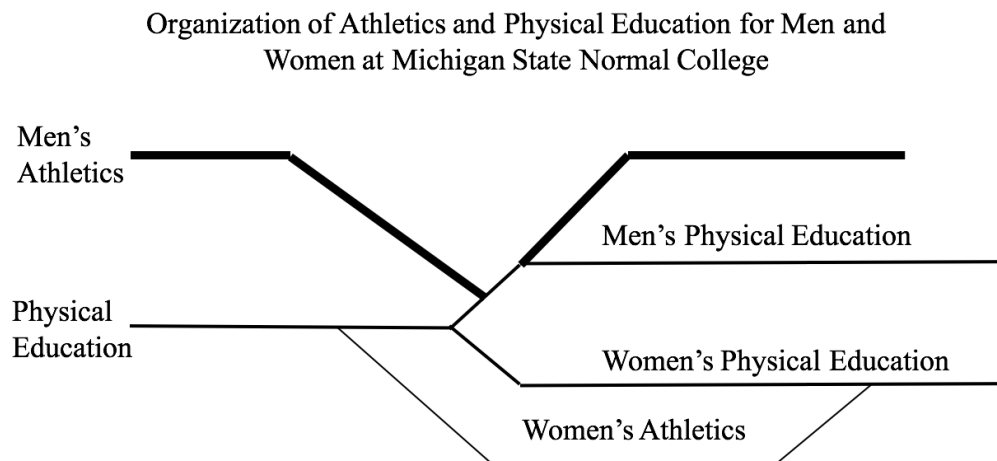
Although the intercollegiate athletics program was solely organized by faculty in the PE department, they initially operated much like the Normal men's athletic program. The women competed with other schools and earned representation on the campus Athletics Council. While the men's athletics program aligned and ultimately influenced the men's PE department to adopt an athletics based curriculum, Burton chose to dissolve the women's athletic program to maintain a broad-based educational program.

## Conclusions

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Michigan State Normal College had formally established a men's and women's physical education department equipped with a state of the art gymnasium. The men's athletic program preceded the PE program as a student organized entity. Along with a few PE faculty the students established the Normal Athletic Association. Within the NAA, students managed the athletics teams, procured funds through membership, recruited men for their teams, and joined an official athletic conference. Six sports made up the NAA, and most were coached by the elected team managers, alumni, or young coaches from U of M. Bowen, as the Director of the Men's PE division, kept a close eye on the organization while also adopting an athletics based curriculum in the department. The athletic fervor sweeping over campus was welcomed by President Jones and Bowen as they viewed athletics as compatible with academics

at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1904). The fixture of men's athletics had influenced the men's PE curriculum, training men to coach and train in team-based athletics in addition to teaching.

Athletics was not entirely a male domain, but competition was. Women at MSNC also participated in intercollegiate basketball, but eventually folded the program to focus on non-competitive offerings. Their athletic movement emerged from the PE division and activities were closely monitored by the female PE faculty. Unlike the men's athletic movement, which began independent of the school, women's athletics were internally organized. To document this relationship, Figure 19 shares the origins of men and women's athletics and men and women's physical education departments.



*Figure 19.* Linear representation of the changes experienced by men's and women's athletics and the physical education functions over time.

Figure 19 clearly shows men's athletics external relationship to PE and women's internal relationship to the academic institution. The cultural influences in relation to sport justified the division of a men's and women's PE program. This allowed the women to establish a broad-based curriculum and offer sporting opportunities for all Michigan State Normal College women. Withdrawing from competitive varsity sports to more interclass play was indicative of the

national trend and reinforce accepted social norms. Physical educators interpreted intercollegiate competition for women as negative and unfeminine and nearly all forms of competitive sports declined at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gerber et al., 1974). Burton's decision represented a philosophical conflict between the nature of competitive sports (masculine) and maintaining the function of the physical education department (feminine). Teaching and physical education were tasks associated with femininity and of the few positions appropriate for women to occupy. Intercollegiate athletics were perceived as a threat to femininity and womanhood, which ultimately led to women PE leaders fight to maintain cultural norms congruent with their gender. While women's sports were declining, men's sports were surging. Figure 20 brings to light the contrasting organizational structures of men's and women's athletics in relation to their firmly established PE departments.

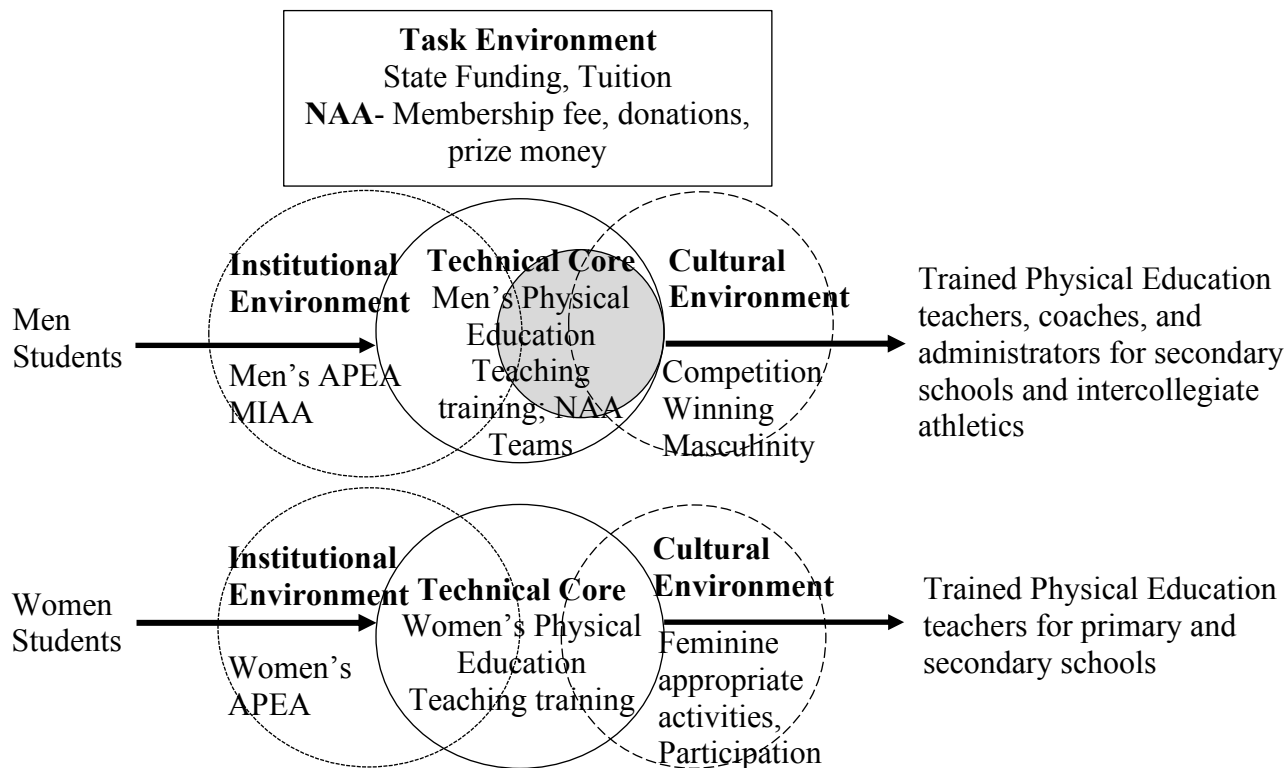


Figure 20. Comparison of institutional, task, and cultural environments between men's and women's physical education departments.

Athletics became a core function of the men's PE division, influencing the PE curriculum and shifting their task to producing more coaches as seen in Figure 20. This marked the start of a new production function for the men's PE department and a formal adoption of athletics at MSNC. This in part attracted more male students and further legitimized the institution. Men's athletics also became legitimate with the attraction of coaches from larger athletics programs, like University of Michigan. Compared to the men, women maintained their model of producing PE educators in congruence with professional standards and cultural appropriate roles. When these roles were challenged, the women responded to social pressures of gender identity and conformed. Respectively, leadership and organizing structure reflected these cultural pressures and norms: segregated by sex.

### Section 3: Institutionalization of Athletics (1910–1930)

#### Introduction

The women firmly in control of physical education at Michigan State Normal College maintained an ideology of classic womanhood, separate from men's competitive programs. The general beliefs held at universities and colleges of the time dictated a fundamental difference in physical education and sports programs for men and women (Thelin, 1996; Park, 1995). This time period would be marked by not only the events of women's suffrage, the First World War, an era of abundance followed by a financial collapse, and by disparate sporting tales for men and women. While the MSNC men attempted to establish a victorious athletic program, the women approached athletics in moderation.

Throughout the next twenty years, Michigan State Normal College's enrollment grew from 1,452 in 1910 to 2,205 in 1930 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1930). The graduating class of 1911 featured 324, 290 (90%) of which were women and 34 men (*Aurora*, 1911). The majority of students and graduates from Michigan State Normal College were women. Compared to other institutions of higher education, MSNC was unique in supporting a mostly female population. Like normal schools across the country—female majority—the leadership structure was occupied by men and stood behind a budding men's athletic program (Isbell, 1971). Nationally men's athletics entered into what was coined the “golden age of athletics” while the women were engaging in activism and the suffrage movement (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Women's PE leaders disdain for athletics only amplified throughout this period drawing an even greater contrast from the men's athletic/PE program (Lee, 1924). The physical education department experienced major growth in its enrollment and the reputation of their program continued to spread. Among the highlights of this era included hosting the first state

interscholastic men's basketball tournament in 1916 (*Aurora*, 1916), introduction of an intramural athletics program in 1921 (*Aurora*, 1921), the addition of several men's varsity sports and the Women's Athletic Association in 1925 (*Aurora*, 1925).

### **Pioneering Physical Education at MSNC**

The momentum behind Michigan State Normal College's physical education program attracted students from all over the country (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1925). Courses in the department constituted two tracks, the practical courses and professional courses (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911). Practical courses were offered separately for men and women, whereas the professional courses were open to both men and women (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911). Professional courses provided academic credit while practical courses did not provide credit and were required. Special suits costing \$5.00 were worn by student in the practical courses (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911). Four terms of practical courses were mandatory for graduation. In addition, each student received a physical examination upon entering Michigan State Normal College. This was to "ensure that benefit shall always result from the exercise, and to prevent any injury" (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911, p. 120).

The purpose of the department was clear with the objectives to improve the physical condition of students and prepare students for teaching: "Every student should finish college improved physically as well as intellectually; not only in bodily vigor but also in knowledge of how to maintain health and vigor. This can be done without in the least degree sacrificing intellectual progress" (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1910-11, p. 4). The physical education department required, "All men entering the Normal College this fall for the first time will be examined at the opening of the year," later adding, "it is desirable that every



man should be examined at least once in a year of his college course” (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1911, p. 5). All men and women received a physical examination; however, the examinations served different purposes. For men, the examination was the first measure of athletic ability, while health was the concern for women (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1911).

In addition to physical examinations, the department also provided eight different courses in gymnastics and athletic work, full equipment for all the exercises, and instruction for getting the best results from the exercises. Furthermore, the document suggested that men hoping to have “much larger influences and command better salaries” as principals, superintendents or departmental teachers should be prepared to coach school teams and various athletics sports and games (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1911, p. 4). Increased salaries was an appeal made to men involved in athletics and coaching, a privilege only afforded to them at this time. Perhaps this was another justification for maintaining intercollegiate athletics at MSNC. Students could participate in:

- (1) A teachers’ course of 12 weeks, open to both men and women.
- (2) A course in Athletics of 12 weeks, for men who expect to coach school teams.
- (3) A full two years’ specializing course for those intend to become special teachers of physical education. (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1911, p. 4)

Departmental publication clearly delineated acceptable paths for men and women in physical education.

It was no surprise that the majority female college also had a majority female staff. Of the seven full time faculty, five were female and responsible for conditioning all female students.

Table 2 documents the faculty of Michigan State Normal and their respective titles.

Table 2.  
*List of Michigan State Normal Men's and Women's Physical Education Faculty in 1911*

<b>Michigan State Normal Faculty in 1911</b>					
<b>Women PE Faculty</b>	Frannie C. Burton- Chair or Women's Division; Basketball Coach	Ruth J. Bauske	Alta Loomis	Irene O. Clark	N. Blye Quigley
<b>Men PE Faculty</b>	Wilber P. Bowen- Chair of Men's Division; Basketball Coach	Alan Hicks- Athletics; Football, Baseball, and Track Coach			

*Note.* Data from MSNC 1911 Gymnasium Catalog

Bowen and Hicks taught all of the men's courses and athletic courses, and also coached. The yearbook listed Coach Hicks as the coach for the football, baseball, and track, and Bowen as the basketball coach. Burton coached the women's basketball team, but it was the last season for intercollegiate basketball. Instead she directed her energy to organize the Junior-Senior meets (*Aurora*, 1911).

The department schedule detailed the classes open to men, which included athletic activities in congruence with the athletic seasons. For instance, men could follow a sequence to study tennis or football in the fall term. As stated, "In football, the rudiments of the game will be taught from 3-4 and special practice for the college team given from 4-5" (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1911, p. 13). The winter term offered basketball from 4:00 to 5:00 pm and track athletics in the evening 7:00 to 8:00 pm. Spring and summer terms followed up with a second offering of tennis and baseball. The sports activities at Michigan State Normal

College were institutionalized as part of the physical education curriculum. Students were learning mechanics, theory, and practice of these sports through the courses in preparation to teach and coach following degree completion. The tight partnership that existed between the men's PE division and athletics further legitimized the presence of men's varsity athletics at MSNC.

**Men's division of physical education.** Professor Bowen and Mr. Hicks led the men's division of physical education, athletics, and directed the men's gymnasium. The course catalog followed this format listing the men's department classes separately from the women's. The courses included a range of exercises and activities. Male students participated in "light and heavy apparatus work in the gymnasium and the games of football, basketball, tennis, track athletics and baseball" (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1911, p. 119). The male sports were listed and the four teachers' courses published in the 1911 bulletin were as follows:

- I. Physical Training for Men. 12 weeks – course I is required of all students. Elementary Swedish gymnastics, wand and dumb-bell exercises, gymnastic games, and military marching. Winter term, 3-4. Mr. Hicks
- II. Club Swinging, for Men. 12 weeks – Indian club exercises. Will be given any term when there are a sufficient number applying to form the class.
- III. Heavy Gymnastics, for Men. 12 weeks – Work on apparatus, including pulleys, horizontal bar, parallel bars, climbing apparatus, ladders, horse, flying rings, traveling rings, and tumbling. The work is largely individual and not limited to any definite grade, so that the courses may be repeated with profit. Winter term, 3:45-4:15, Professor Bowen

IV. Swimming – The swimming pool affords opportunity for every Normal student to learn to swim, and those who cannot swim will be expected to learn while here.

The pool is kept heated from Nov. to March, and instruction in swimming is given during this time, for which credit is given as for other gymnasium work.

*(Michigan State Normal College Bulletin, 1911, p. 120)*

A section dedicated to athletics outlined the five sports offered (football, basketball, baseball, track and field, and tennis) to prepare men to teach these activities. It was also expected that every man in college have the opportunity to learn the correct form in all track events

*(Michigan State Normal College Bulletin, 1912)*. The integration of athletics into the academic core allowed professors in the men's division to teach the students the sport while also training them for competition.

**Women's division of physical education.** The women's department organized their PE curriculum differently than the men. The PE curriculum focused on preparing women to teach PE with a broad background, while emphasizing health. All women students were also required to receive a physical examination upon arriving at MSNC and purchased a \$6.00 regulation suit for practical courses *(Michigan State Normal College Bulletin, 1912)*. There were 14 teaching courses offered and the activities varied considerably. Nine physical training courses followed a beginner, intermediate, and advanced sequence. Physical Training I introduced elementary Swedish gymnastics, games, hygiene, and posture. Following courses weaved in various activities including wand and dumb-bell exercises, marching, Indian club, folk dancing, and basketball *(Michigan State Normal College Bulletin, 1912)*. A course differentiating gymnastics for public schools and gymnastics for rural schools illustrated relevant training for teachers in either setting. Five activity classes were available for the women at MSN including field hockey,

tennis, basketball, swimming, and cross-country walking. Most of the courses included the term, time being offered, and the instructor. Hockey and basketball, being the only two team activities, included notes:

Hockey – English field hockey, introduced in this country a few years ago and tried here for the first time in the fall of 1907, proving to be a fine game for women.

Basketball – A special advanced course open only to those who, through experience and excellent work, are ready for special coaching. (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1912, p. 128)

Courses offered in the women's department were broad based and had components of sport activity, dance, exercise, and lectures on the teaching of physical training.

The departments championed by Bowen and Burton were assisted by five other instructors—Ms. Alta Loomis, Mr. Curry Hicks, Ms. Irene O. Clark, Ms. Ruth J. Bauske, and Ms. N Blye Quigley—all of whom graduated from Michigan State Normal College (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1912). Figure 21 illustrates the organizational structure of the men's and women's PE department at that time.

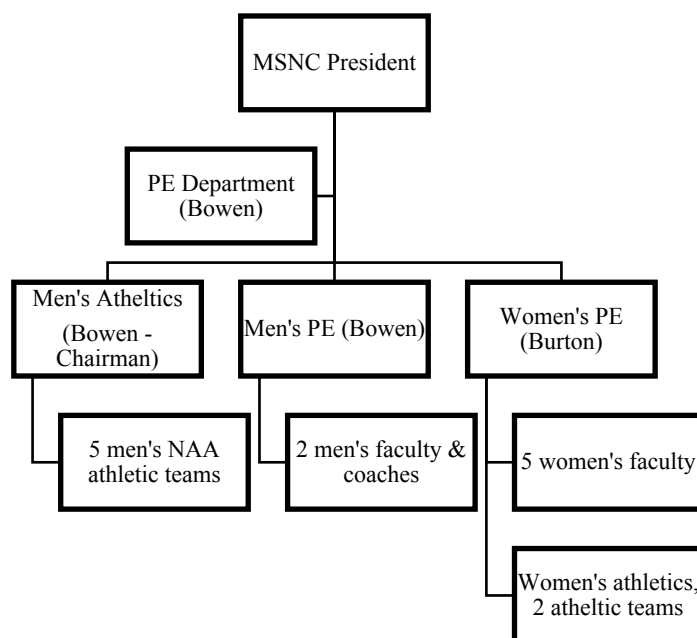


Figure 21. MSNC leadership structure of men's and women's physical education including athletics.

In 1912, two faculty were managing the men's PE program, men's gymnasium, and three to five athletic teams depending on enrollment. The women's department supported five faculty in the women's PE program, demonstrating the number of women students to men enrolled at MSNC and in the PE program.

Nearly all students graduated after their life certificate degree (two years) and only a few continued on for advanced degrees. Those students who remained at MSN to earn a "Junior Degree" (third college year degree) were far fewer (*Aurora*, 1911). The 1911 *Aurora* yearbook explained the third year as advantageous for a student's teacher preparation, "seeing things in a truer perspective," and the "wider acquaintances and prolonged association with the teachers of the college and their influences" (p. 12). Of the 43 who received a Junior Degree a quarter of them were men (*Aurora*, 1911). Interestingly, these male students also held positions on the football, baseball, basketball and track and field athletic teams (*Aurora*, 1911). Receiving an advanced degree also continued their ability to compete.

### **Men's Athletics and the First Athletic Administrator**

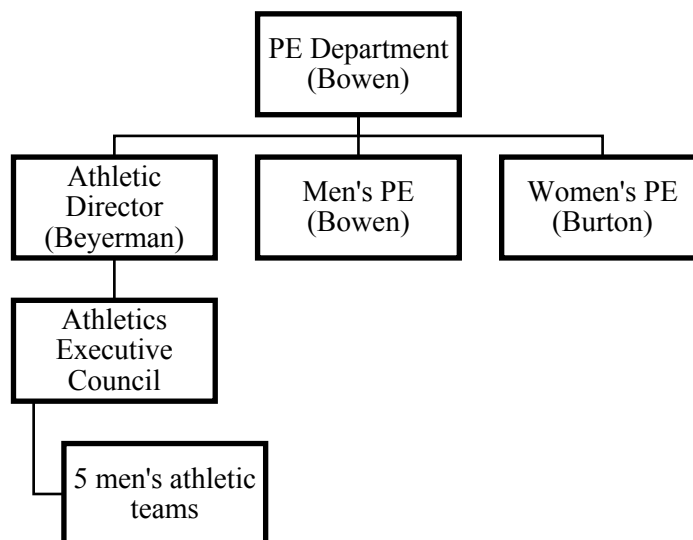
Men's interest in athletics continued to increase throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The MSNC motto espoused by Bowen, "athletics for everybody," rang true as a large percentage (75-80%) of men were enrolled in some form of athletics every term (*Aurora*, 1915). This was not surprising considering men occupied 20% of Michigan State Normal College's total enrollment (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1915). The *1910-11 Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual* proclaimed the purpose of athletics at the institution was to encourage, "as many students as possible to take active part, for their own physical benefit and in preparation to teaching" (p. 16). For the most part, these endeavors were supported by the physical education department, but entirely dependent on student fees. Although regulatory control was provided by the faculty of the department, the fiscal operation of athletics remained with the students (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1910-11). A fee of fifty cents a term gave all students free admission to outdoor games and many indoor contests depending on available seating (*Aurora*, 1915). Due to increased interest and limited seating for indoor events, the association sometimes had to charge an additional admissions fee to students and patrons (*Aurora*, 1915).

Event admission fees and student membership accounted for the majority of the athletic funds in the 1910s. Increased funding of the athletic events led to more revenue and the ability to produce more games. The 15-member athletics council controlled all funds earned. This committee formed in 1903, relatively the same time the men's and women's PE programs separated (*Normal News*, November 22, 1906). Female representatives joined in 1906 and held three marginal position to ten male representatives (see Table 1). The joint faculty and student council consisted of the president of the college, the faculty committee, three members of the PE

department, and seven annually elected students (*Aurora*, 1906). Each of the students represented a specific sport and included five men's sports (football, basketball, tennis, track and baseball) and two women's (basketball and tennis; *Normal News*, 1906, November 22). The eight faculty/administrators and seven students maintained this athletic advisory model until 1910.

By 1910, demands for equipment, space, and funds to maintain a competitive men's athletic program grew. Consequently, this was the same time that Burton announced withdrawing the intercollegiate basketball team in return to more interclass competition (Burton, 1910). The increasing men's demands were answered in 1910 with the leadership of a newly appointed Director of Athletics. Mr. F. G. Beyerman, from New York, was the first track and basketball coach to oversee athletics and the hiring of special coaches for baseball and football (*Aurora*, 1911). Prior to hiring a director, sports were self-governed and loosely following school regulations (*Normal News*, 1910, September 22). The possibility of corruption and illicit use of ringers for competitive advantage was likely. Therefore, managing funds and regulating student involvement of MSNC athletics teams justified the addition of an athletics director (*Normal News*, 1910, September 22). Beyerman joined the faculty of the Men's PE department in 1910 teaching activities courses, while serving primarily as the Director of Athletics and head coach. The use of a combined athletic director and football coach was also common structure among other large institutions with athletic programs and further legitimized athletics at MSNC (Powers, 1946). Figure 22 displays the shift in the organizational structure with the addition of an athletic director and renamed Athletics (Executive) Council.





*Figure 22.* Organizational leadership within the physical education department.

Previously, athletics existed as a loosely coupled function with Men’s PE. With the addition of an athletic director, athletics became an legitimate function of Michigan State Normal College. The greatest difference between the men’s and women’s production functions were the presence of men’s athletics.

On October 5, 1910, Beyerman called to order the first Athletic Executive Council in the president’s waiting room at 7:00 am. Items for this first meeting included constituting a committee led by Professor Roberts, non-PE faculty, and Mr. Hicks, athletics instructor, to, “report on some satisfactory methods of obtaining the standings of student competing for places on athletic teams,” (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910, October 5). Regulating the eligibility of male students participating on athletics teams appeared to be a prime objective of this committee.

In addition to eligibility concerns, an investment in facility maintenance was another focus for the Athletics Executive Council. The meeting approved the hiring and payment of \$35.00 to a man for servicing the fall playing fields and to another man for marking and rolling the tennis courts. It was moved and supported that the treasurer and director “make arrangements

with the bank for obtaining money to bank and sod the baseball field” (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910, October 5, p. na). The meeting also consisted of approving the football schedule, which was to begin three days later at Adrian College, and approval of \$400.00 for season expenses.

**Sweaters and eligibility.** The tasks of maintaining an athletics program grew rapidly as each meeting was presented with new challenges for an evolving athletic department. Meetings appeared to occur the first or second week of every month, with larger meetings at the start and conclusion of every season. These meetings took on a routine of approving schedules, maintaining budgets (ticket sales and expenses), and awarding sweaters to “eligible” athletes (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910, October 5, p. na). Determining eligibility did not exist prior to Beyerman’s tenure, suggesting his role in regulating eligibility as a primary task to the position. With so few men on MSNC campus, it came as no surprise that soliciting non-MSNC students would help fill competitive teams. Previously, talented the Normal training school (high school) and MSNC students could compete on the MSNC varsity teams. These students varied in part-time, full-time, and no-time status. Several motions were approved clarifying the status of a legitimate athlete. Eligibility was often symbolized with an awarded varsity ‘N’ sweater. Early on, the athletic recognition in the form of a sweater was synonymous with eligibility. Instead of regulating who could and could not participate, the award of a Varsity sweater served as a symbol for those that certifiably competed on MSNC teams as MSNC students. One may have assumed that no-time students could compete for MSNC but were not eligible to receive the ‘N’ sweater. This evolving discussion began in 1907 when the school adopted an official ‘N’ (*Normal News*, 1907, April 25). As Beyerman’s main objective to regulate athlete participation, the policies were documented in the following decisions:

Nov. 9, 1911 – Article III, Section 6. Members of teams to whom sweaters have been awarded shall receive the same when they have completed six courses of regular work in not more than two full terms of attendance at college.

Apr. 13, 1911 – Moved and seconded that track athletes be considered a two term affair and that award of sweaters be made at the end of the year. Motion carried.

- Motion made and seconded that beginning with next year all students competing in athletics must have a passing standing in three studies at the close of the term to receive the sweaters awarded them. Motion carried.

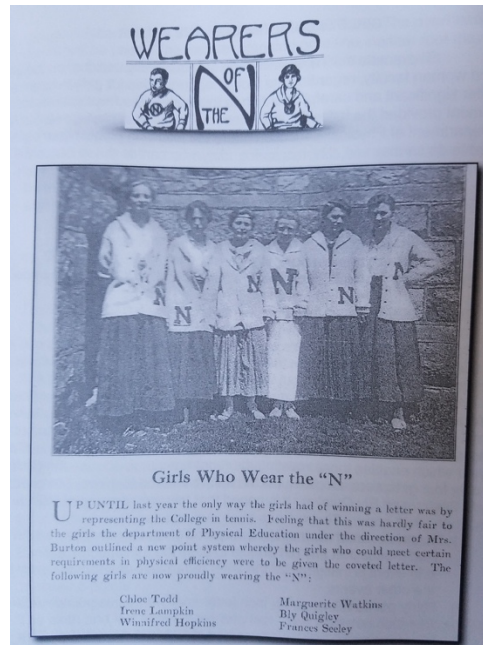
May 9, 1911 – Motion made and seconded that the motion be amended to allow the students to receive their sweaters after completing the three subjects at some future time.

(Athletics Executive Council Secretary Book 1, 1901-1924)

The sweater became a symbol of eligibility. Motions were made and carried altering the student's ability to receive a sweater based on academic course enrollment, progress and completion. In a 1912 joint decision by Professor Peet and Mr. Beyerman, local preparatory students were barred from college teams (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1912). This decision suggested a blurred relationship between the young high school students and those at Michigan State Normal College. Eventually, the integration of high school athletes competing on Michigan State Normal College teams led to a reconciliation of rules for the high school and Normal athletic programs in 1915 (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1915). Lincoln, Ypsilanti High, and Roosevelt presented a unique relationship with MSNC. Both Lincoln and Roosevelt were training schools for teacher preparation and Ypsilanti High shared many of their athletic facilities with the Normalites. The training schools provided men and women PE majors and opportunity to teach and coach. However, they also provided the men's athletic program

access to more men to fuel their athletic teams. The close-knit relationship between the preparatory schools and Normal athletics and more specifically with their physical education program remained until the training schools closed in 1960 (Pedersen, 1996).

While the men's sports were establishing rules and regulations to control their team's eligibility and conference participation, the women were marginally involved. They attended meetings, but motions and conversations addressed only the men's interests (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910-1924). Few meeting records included decisions and items on behalf of women. For instance, Burton advocated for women to receive a varsity 'N' letter for satisfactory performance in their physical education examination (*Aurora*, 1916). This was presented as a comparable way for women to earn the Varsity sweater compared to the men earning theirs in athletics competition. This model was approved and how men and women earned their letter was indicative of the philosophies shared in their segregated PE departments. Consequently, the women did not have to deal with issuing sweaters as a symbol of eligibility, instead it became a symbol of physical education excellence (*Aurora*, 1917). Figure 23 introduces the first six women to earn the varsity 'N' sweater, two for their performance in tennis and the other four for satisfactorily completing the physical examination.



*Figure 23.* Image of the first women to earn the varsity letter. *Source* "Wearers of the N," in Aurora, 1917, Eastern Michigan University Archives, Ypsilanti, MI, p. 87.

A *Normal News* article published on November 10, 1916 shared:

Normal girls, as well as Normal men, may win that which may aspire to but which comparatively few ever gain—the coveted 'N'. An efficiency test for girls was established last year which enables those meeting the requirements to acquire the College letter. Last year only four girls were successful in the test, Winnifred Hopkins Marguerite Watkins, Francis Seeley, and Bly Quigley. It is hoped that this year many girls will carry off this year much worth while honor. (p. na).

The quote suggested this honor available to both men and women as if women were extending an olive branch to the men who mastered the physical examination. During this period, however, most, if not all men, were receiving their varsity letter through external athletic competition. This provided women an opportunity for athletic recognition defined internally, congruent with their PE philosophy. Other than the award decision, women's role in the Athletic Executive Council

appeared to be symbolic at best. They did not interfere with the organization of men's athletics and only contributed on policies directly affecting women's athletic initiatives.

**Athletic Executive Council.** Under Beyerman's leadership the Athletic Executive Council began to take form. The newly branded council, only slightly different than the 15-member council previously mentioned (Table 1), consisted of seven faculty representatives and seven student representatives. Of the faculty were President Charles McKenny; Professors Roberts, Peet, Gorton, Pearce, Beyerman; and the only woman, Mrs. F. C. Burton (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910, October 5). The purpose of the Athletic Executive Council established leadership and support of Michigan State Normal College athletics. The council comprised of both students, faculty, and administrators ensured student athletes were properly funded, had schedules, and were receiving rewards for their athletic efforts. Nearly every athletics council meeting was occupied by decision pertaining to men's athletics (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1910-1924). Occasionally, a motion was made on behalf of awarding a female athlete a sweater or recognition for success in basketball, tennis, and the physical fitness examination (*Normal News*, 1916, April 21).

While the women were earning recognition for their physical fitness performance within the PE department, men were earning recognition for their athletic performance within the public MIAA conference (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1912:1924). This model of recognition was congruent with national trends and mimicked historical patterns of gender—men in public spheres while women remained in private to the institution. Men were being credited for athletic efforts on the field and women for their ability to demonstrate the educational outcomes of a physical education program (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Pope, 1997; Powers, 1946; Park, 1995; Park 2010; Stanley 1996).

The Athletic Executive Council underwent several leadership changes throughout the years. Michigan State Normal College 1908 graduate LeRoy N. Brown, succeeded Beyerman in 1911 for the directorship (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1911). Beyerman's combined teaching and coaching responsibilities remained until in the spring of 1915 when he went to coach basketball at Bowling Green (*Aurora*, 1915). Brown remained in charge of athletics and coached football and basketball until Dr. Ransom assumed the role in 1914 (*Aurora*, 1914). Dr. Ransom coached football for only one year (*Aurora*, 1915). He also was an instructor in the Physical Education program and served as the health inspector at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1915). Even though turnover occurred in the athletic director position, the role remained cemented within Men's PE structure. Figure 24 demonstrates the evolution of the PE function at MSNC.

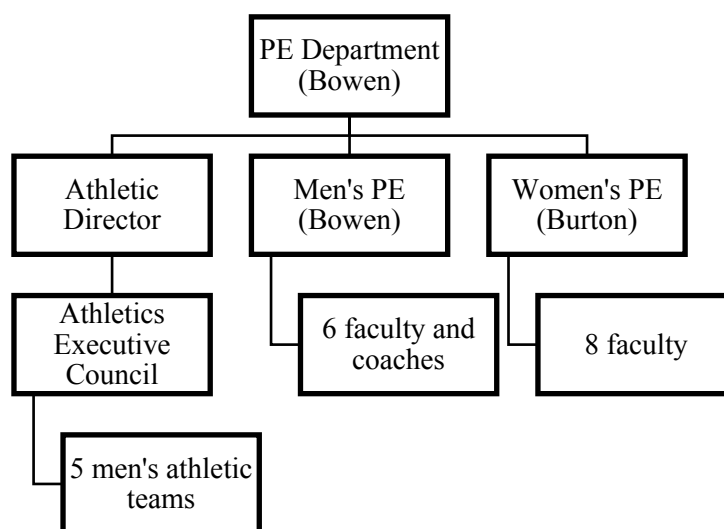


Figure 24. Growth of organizational leadership with the adoption of an athletic director position.

As the presence of men's athletics increased so did the number of male faculty and coaches. There was an additional four men added to the faculty by 1915 compared to two, five years earlier.

Professor Bowen eventually took on the role as athletic director and director of the men's physical education division. Under the auspices of his leadership, the athletic and physical

education programs flourished. Bowen saw games and contests as an extension of the classroom, a laboratory for sportsmanship and citizenship (*Aurora*, 1916). Residents near campus were turning over their land and the State Board of Education approved another \$5,000 to purchase land for athletic field expansion (*Aurora*, 1916). The leadership structure and timeline of athletic directors for men and women's athletics are illustrated in Figure 25.

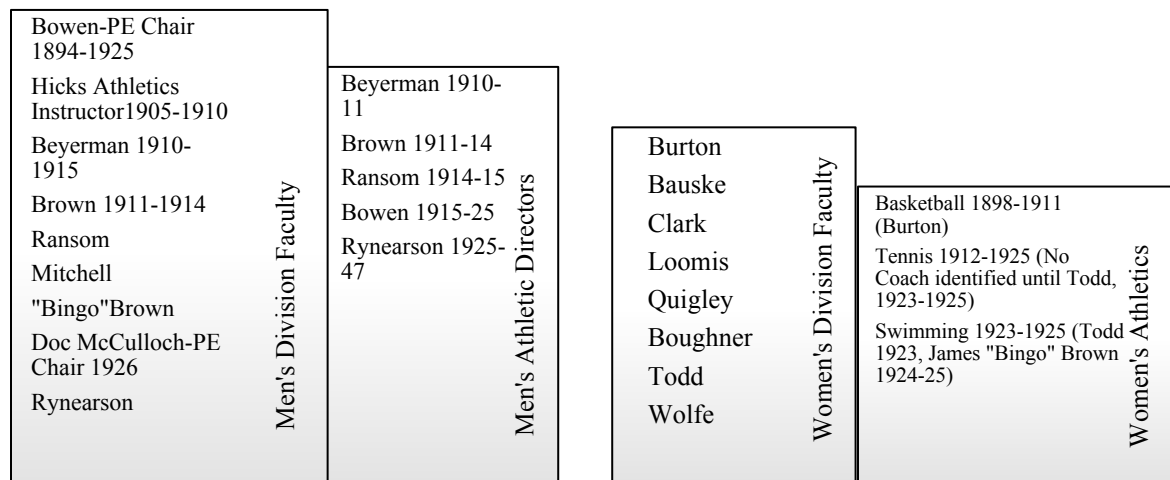


Figure 25. MSNC men's and women's physical education faculty and coaches.

Figure 25 illustrates the interplay of men's PE faculty and athletic directors and women's PE faculty and intercollegiate athletic coaches. Interestingly, the women's swimming coach in 1924-1925 was the men's head football coach, "Bingo" Brown (*Aurora*, 1924, 1925). On average, women maintained a larger PE faculty compared to men due in part to the proportion of male and female students on campus.

**The interplay of PE and athletics at MSNC.** The 1920s and 1930s marked major growth for the physical education department. Every student at MSNC was required to take two years of physical training (four terms) unless they were home economics or industrial arts majors, for which only three terms were required (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920). The bulletin recorded an increase of PE course offerings to over twenty courses for both the men and women's PE department (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920). Students



could track into courses designed for teaching physical education for high school, junior high, or primary grades. Volleyball, baseball for women, and camp fire activities were newly added activity courses along with remedial exercises, “special exercises adapted to the needs of those found physically deficient” (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920, p. 184). Physical training for the men’s courses adopted a dominant athletics theme. The sport activity classes described in the 1920 bulletin were clearly described in a manner to prepare and train a varsity team for athletic competition. For instance,

*Tennis* – The college courts afford opportunity for from 40 to 50 men to play tennis, and in the Spring term a team plays several games with teams from other colleges. When the weather in the Fall and Spring prevents the playing of tennis, some work in the gymnasium, such as basket ball, volley ball or swimming is substituted so as to permit the earning of a full unit of credit.

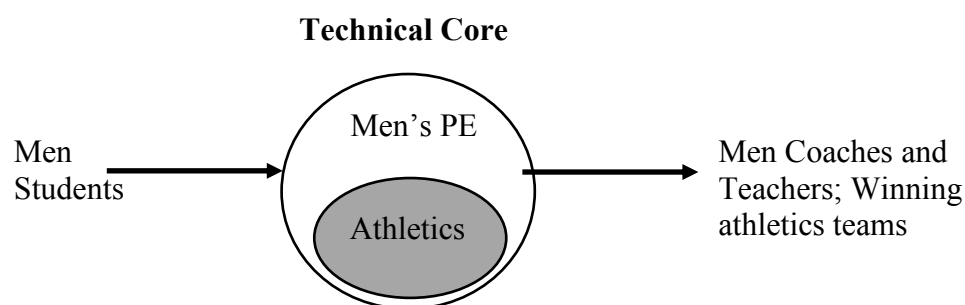
*Basketball* – We usually have 50 men or more enrolled in basketball. A college team is selected and a second team, each playing a schedule of games with the teams of other institutions. Men not making these teams are organized into a class league of six or eight teams and they play a tournament among themselves and with other local teams.

*Football* – Instruction is given each fall to 40-60 men in the college game of football. A first team plays about seven games with the teams of other colleges and a second team usually has a shorter schedule. The other men in the squad have the same instructor and practice daily on the field and can play on teams that scrimmage against the regulars or not as they prefer. Many men learn the game for purposes of coaching who are not physically fit to play in all phases of it. (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, p. 185-

6)

Physical training courses were used to evaluate all male students in order to construct the most competitive and viable athletic teams. Varsity athletic teams were created from within the physical education department. All students were required to take at least four courses in physical training, which served as a steady stream of students in physical education courses and men's athletic teams at Michigan State Normal College. Men's enrollment steadily increased as the opportunities for athletic participation also increased.

During this time period, Michigan State Normal College men's PE was taking on more of an athletics identity with a purpose to prepare graduates to coach and teach in interscholastic and intercollegiate athletic programs. Coaching in athletics was a fundamental pillar of the Men's Division of Physical Education, but less emphasized in the women's courses. Men offered teaching and theory courses in athletics where, "rules, methods of training and coaching and the techniques and strategy of each game and event are studied" (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920, p. 189). An 'M' or 'W' along with a *Men only* or *Women only* differentiated these courses. Figure 26 highlights the growing influence the athletics function had on the greater men's PE function.



*Figure 26.* Technical core of men's physical education department.

The focus on training PE teachers transformed to more athletic-centric tasks. Students were required to take physical training, were exposed to a sport based curriculum, and expected

to produce winning programs. As a result, the men graduated prepared to teach and coach in high schools or remained at MSNC for advanced training for a collegiate coaching track.

**Todd's contributions.** Chloe Todd, niece to F. C. Burton, was the first to teach a course offered to women with interest in coaching athletics. Todd had been competing in intercollegiate athletics at MSNC since she was in high school (*Aurora*, 1913). Following graduation at MSNC, she coached the women's tennis team and taught activity classes (*Aurora*, 1919). Her relation to Burton gave her some liberty with the PE curriculum. In 1919, she launched a Theory of Girl's Athletics course changing to Teachers' Course in Athletics a year later (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1919; *Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920). Todd's course was described as: "A course designed to give women who intend to coach and manage girls' athletics and officiate in such sports a full technical knowledge of the rules, ways of playing and coaching, and the handling of large numbers in exercise" (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1920, p. 191). This course served as the first of its kind at the MSNC to orientate women to the world of athletic coaching.

Advancing women's involvement with sport coaching was tempered at Michigan State Normal College. Ten years earlier, Burton withdrew intercollegiate basketball. However, records showed that women's intercollegiate athletics was not totally barred. Women's tennis competed in intercollegiate play from 1912 to 1925. Starring on the MSNC women's tennis team was none other than Todd, who would go on to teach in the PE department and design the first coaching class for the MSNC women. Todd demonstrated a new competitive role within athletics at MSNC. As noted in the national history, tennis was an acceptable feminine sport.

Todd was born in Ypsilanti, and attended the Normal High School training school (*Aurora*, 1917). While there she became familiar with life at Michigan State Normal College and

had access to PE teachers in training. The opportunities for young girls to participate in sports at Normal High School were limited compared to the boys. Chloe Todd attended Normal High School and in 1913 and 1914 and competed with the Michigan State Normal College tennis programs, an arrangement that was outlawed by men's athletics a year earlier (*Aurora*, 1913, 1914). The *Normal News* touted her performance as one of the only women to travel and compete against other schools. Few women had opportunities to compete outside of organized field days. Competing in both singles and doubles, Todd traveled with the men's MSNC program to competition events. Records show Todd competing for the school in 1913, 1914, 1916, and 1917 (*Aurora* 1913, 1914, 1916, 1917). She was the only female athlete to win three varsity letters in tennis as a member of the combined MSNC men's and women's tennis team (*Aurora*, 1917).

Receiving her life certificate in 1917, Todd returned to MSNC for a third year and fourth year degree, graduating in 1923 with a Bachelor of Science (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1923). While in pursuit of the degrees she taught several courses for the PE program particularly those involving athletics and play for women. Todd remained on faculty at MSNC and supervised over 30 years of physical education majors (*Aurora*, 1955). Todd's story was one of many that illustrated the cycle of MSNC graduates becoming Women's Division Physical Education faculty. Nearly all of the faculty to lead and teach in the departments were products of an MSNC education—evidence of cultural reproduction. This network of Michigan State Normal College graduates generated a strong PE culture among the women. Sometimes the clan even extended along family lines as it did with Todd and Burton. The presence of networks also existed among the men's PE division.

**Coaching clans.** There appeared a secure lineage of graduates hired as coaches and PE faculty. Hiring who you know and trust was a theme for both the men's athletic program and women's physical education faculty. The women trained their new faculty from teaching assistants, whereas the men's faculty and coaches trained and recruited their successors. One of those stars was Elton James Rynearson "Ryne" (*Aurora*, 1918, p. 226). Ryne played football, basketball and baseball at MSNC and served as head coach of the 1917 football team. In 1925, he became the athletic director and head coach of football, basketball and baseball (*Aurora*, 1925). The path from player, coach, to athletic director was a common path for men's intercollegiate athletics (Powers, 1946). Football coach and Athletic Director were particularly linked at Michigan State Normal College as every director since Beyerman also served as the head football coach. Ryne also formed loyal relationships with his athletes hiring several of them to serve as assistant coaches: Harry Ockerman in 1927, Ray Stites in 1935, and Bill Crouch in 1947, all of whom served as coaches in their own right at Michigan State Normal College (Fountain, 2004). As Director of Athletics, Rynearson was positioned to make all the athletic hires and preferred hiring Michigan State Normal College athletics graduates. Maintaining an incestuous hiring process also embedded a culture of maintaining tradition or status quo, making radical changes unlikely and difficult (Schein, 2004).

**The clash.** As enrollment grew following WWI, so did the problems related to intercollegiate athletics. Nationally, men's physical education directors were aware of the need to control intercollegiate athletics and better define its partnership with physical education (Fauver, 1922). By 1923, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching had launched an investigation on the concerns associated with intercollegiate athletics (Fauver, 1923). These sentiments were also expressed at MSNC. In 1926, Doc McCulloch replaced Wilbur Bowen as

the Men's Division Physical Education Chair and called to discussion the function and powers of the council to a sensitive subject—Normal School Eligibility Rules (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1926, March 26). Issues regarding eligibility became more frequent for the athletic council and prompted the need for eligibility bylaws.

Nationally, intercollegiate athletics were being scrutinized by educational bodies for valuing winning and the commercialization of sports above education (Fauver, 1922). In his 1921 address to the all-male Society of Directors of Physical Education in Colleges, Fauver (1922) rebuked, "I can find no place for intercollegiate athletics, as at present conducted in most colleges, in a physical education program," (p. 273). Unfortunately, many men's PE programs had adapted their curriculum to match the increased attention on games and sports (Athletic Research Society, 1925). Many of the male PE educators identified also as coaches and believed athletics improved psycho-social and physical health (Bowen as stated in *Aurora*, 1901; Park, 2010). This philosophical belief was largely connected to the return of men from WWI (Fauver, 1922). Leading the charge in this effort at Michigan State Normal College, were Lloyd Olds and Elton Rynearson, both of whom had graduated from MSNC and served in the First World War (*Aurora*, 1921). Olds and Rynearson championed the increase of sport and games in the men's PE program at Michigan State Normal College (*Aurora*, 1921). This convergence of the physical education department with athletics was exemplary of Men's PE trends nationally (Fauver, 1923). Outspoken and determined, both Olds and Rynearson changed athletics at Michigan State Normal College for years to come.

### **Women's PE and Athletics at Michigan State Normal College**

Women's PE educators at MSNC were concerned about the attention placed on women's athletics (Burton, 1911, January 22). The faculty feared if they focused on a small group of

women athletes that it would diminish their goals of providing sport opportunities for the many and resemble the practices of men's PE programs. Therefore, the staff promoted athletics as a source of fitness and fun condemning organized competitive events (Burton, 1911, January 22). The women of MSNC engaged in interclass activities and trained for the opportunity to earn the varsity sweater. By 1917, eighteen women succeeded in earning the desirable 'N' insignia (*Normal News*, 1917, June 15). The same year, three new sporting events were added—swimming, girls indoor and outdoor track, and volleyball (*Normal News*, 1917, April 13). The adopted PE philosophy focusing on exercise and denouncing athletic games was evidenced by the fact that women's athletics were not mentioned in either the *Aurora* yearbook or *Normal News* college paper from 1918 to 1923. Instead, women were recognized for putting on the annual Junior-Senior meet, May Day on the Green, the College Circus, and promotion of the Physical Education Club.

**Physical Education Club at MSNC.** Ruth Bauske, another 1908 graduate from MSNC continued teaching in the department until 1912 while completing a fourth year degree (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1912). Bauske had a unique relationship with her students and in 1910 was a catalyst for a women's physical education organizations at Michigan State Normal (*Aurora*, 1911). She organized a club for an enthusiastic class of PE majors to, "bring the members of the department together socially and to promote interests, enthusiasm and co-operation among the faculty and students of the department" (*Aurora*, 1925, p. 193). The club, cleverly named "Bauske Club" eventually evolved into the Physical Education Club in 1912. Organized by women students, members would meet in the gymnasium and participate in games and physical activities outside of their academic courses (*Aurora*, 1910). Other classes of students also formed clubs and by 1912 seven different women's clubs engaged in sporting and

social activities were formed (*Aurora*, 1912). Such clubs earned the support of the faculty and College President as it was, “affording opportunities for experiencing the pleasure of college sisterhood” (*Aurora*, 1910, p. 203). The sisterhood foraged in these experiences closely resembled that experienced in the early years of the student run Normal Athletic Association. The emphasis on sisterhood and collaboration demonstrated a different approach to organizing sports for women, one that was socially and culturally acceptable.

Mrs. Burton saw a need to organize these student-led groups and advocated for a better direction of purpose between faculty and students. The PE club began to help coordinate events like the May Day on the Green festival and Campus Circus events (*Aurora*, 1912). The club functioned as a women’s only club until 1914 when it became “officially recognized” after men joined (*Aurora*, 1915, p. 210). When men joined in 1914, it helped legitimize the right for the club to exist and be taken seriously by MSN administrators. This was evident in how the club was portrayed in the yearbook and growing interest of both men and women PE students.

Since PE majors were the largest teaching major at the college the club instantly became the largest and most active on campus (*Aurora*, 1915). Club publications stated: “Its purpose was to further the interest in physical training, and to create a closer fraternal spirit among its members” (*Aurora*, 1915, p. 201). Social meetings included games, dancing, singing, presentations, and dinners amongst the faculty and students (*Aurora*, 1915). Not all of their meetings were social, as this club also had responsibility in sponsoring several campus-wide events. Students helped organize the College Circus and performed in gymnastic routines, displays of strength, and dances as entertainment for the student body (*Aurora*, 1915). The annual event presented yet another activity for the women and men to prepare for in their physical education courses.



*College Circus.* One of the most famous PE rituals was the College Circus event (Harwick Crouch, 1995, January 10). The event became a staple to life at Michigan State Normal College and Bowen was the mastermind behind it all (Pedersen, 1996). He was known for supporting financially strapped students and decided to use the circus to generate funds to keep those needy students in school (Pedersen, 1996). In 1916, the first College Circus occurred and was deemed a success (*Aurora*, 1916). The event was planned for every two years until the PE curriculum moved from a two-year degree to a four-year program in 1921 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1921). Every PE student was expected to plan and perform in the circus event before graduating from MSN (Pedersen, 1996). Eventually, the circus was available for every MSNC student and became an effort to unite faculty with students across campus. Together they set up equipment, sold tickets, and made costumes (*Aurora*, 1921). Another benefit to participating in the circus ceremony was the reward of job placement assistance (*Aurora*, 1921). Every circus participant, regardless of major, was provided the opportunity to prepare a brief employment vita to be published in a prospective teacher booklet (*Aurora*, 1921). The booklet was distributed to every school district in Michigan, Northern Ohio, and Indiana (*Aurora*, 1921).

Not only did the men's and women's physical education department have a monopoly on teaching all MSNC students in the required physical training course, but they incentivized them with access to job placement in the Midwest. The circus also served as a primary fundraiser for the department, allowing Bowen and Burton to purchase equipment for the facility (Pedersen, 1996). Establishing a funding model for the women's PE department seemed to underscore the sponsored Junior-Senior meet, May Day on the Green, and College Circus. Increased funds aided in the support of the greatest good for the greatest number philosophy. Publishing MSNC

graduates in the prospective teaching booklet only reinforced Michigan State Normal College's PE presence in the Midwest and reputation in the field (Pedersen, 1996).

**Women's athletics at MSNC.** Although women's athletics disappeared from record between 1918 to 1923, an experimental female model of athletics returned in 1923 (*Normal News*, 1923, February 9; *Normal News*, 1923, April 13). The next generation of women's PE leaders, Todd and Bauske, prompted a resurgence of a female model of athletics far from the form of men's athletics (*Normal News*, 1924, June 20; Festle, 1996). Historian Festle (1996), reported this change in women's PE programs across the nation, which promoted women to be strong and confident, yet refined and feminine, and give consideration to the women athletes. Therefore, women's athletics returned with advertisements recruiting women swimmers and tennis players for 1923 competition (*Normal News*, 1923, February 9; *Normal News*, 1923, April 13). As a former MSNC tennis athlete and proponent of women's athletics, Todd advocated for this change and coached the swimming and tennis teams in the first few seasons (Neve, 2016).

Numerous newspaper articles touted the success of the Michigan State Normal College tennis and swimming teams. In 1924 and 1925, the women's tennis team won the MIAA conference championship (*Normal News*, 1924, June 20; "Girls Bring M.I.A.A. Tennis Banner" *Normal News*, 1925, June 12). This was the first record of women's athletics being associated with an organized intercollegiate league. The headline "Girls Bring M.I.A.A. Tennis Banner" announced the championship as part of a field day meet where Chloe Todd coached the team to a two-year tennis championship ("Girls Bring M.I.A.A. Tennis Banner" *Normal News*, 1925, June 12).

Todd also coached first swimming season but did not return the following season for reasons unknown. The head football coach, James "Bingo" Brown, was an unexpected candidate

as head coach of the new women's swim team. In the article titled "Girl Swimmers State Champions" the "Ypsilanti tankettes" closed the season undefeated in the four meets they competed in ("Girl Swimmers State Champions" *Normal News*, 1924, May 30). The article goes on to write, "Coach Brown is consequently out to claim the State Championship for his team," clearly placing an emphasis on winning. Another article repudiated a rumor that MSNC "girls" swimming was exclusively for PE majors. Instead the article claimed, "Coach Brown wants it understood that any girl taking at least three subjects at the Normal is eligible to try for the team," (*Normal News*, 1925, January 30). Not only was it unique to have a man coaching a women's team, but the head football coach of all people. In addition to coaching football, Brown coached men's baseball and boxing and became the first Dean of Men at Michigan State Normal College (*Aurora*, 1925). As evidenced in these two articles, Bingo Brown was wanting to attract the best talent to his team in order to cinch a state championship. A philosophy and model that was counter to the women's department philosophy.

***Conflict between AAU and NAAF.*** Not only was there a philosophical divide festering between the men and women at MSNC, a conflict erupted nationally on women's involvement in athletics. Compared to the American Physical Education Association (APEA), the AAU was acknowledged as a progressive entity for their acceptance and promotion of women's competitive athletics (Korsgaard, 1952). By 1923, the AAU had accepted women in track and field, swimming, gymnastics, basketball, and handball (Korsgaard, 1952). Not only did they invite sport sponsorship, they mandated that a woman hold at least one officer position with each AAU women's sport committee (Korsgaard, 1952). The women members of the American Physical Education and Recreation were outraged by the furtherance of women in competitive athletics. Reports from a 1923 conference in Washington DC meeting reported, "lamentable

failure to safeguard the physical and even moral well-being of the girls of the country in their athletic contests” (Korsgaard, 1923, p. 285-6). As a result of this perceived threat on women from athletic participation, a new organization emerged. The Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation formed and campaigned a 16-point athletic creed (Perrin, 1924). The creed accentuated the motto that, “athletics activities should be for play for play’s sake” (Perrin, 1924, p. 116). The organization rebuked, “exploitation for the enjoyment of the spectator or for the athletic reputation or commercial advantage of any school or other organization,” (Perrin, 1924, p.117). A line was drawn between these two regulatory agencies.

The NAAF advocated for a “sports for all philosophy” in the women’s physical education movement, while the AAU was advancing women in a competitive and public forum. Women broke into the Olympic Games as members of the track and field team in 1928 and the watershed moment was publicly scrutinized (Rogers, 1929). Rogers (1929) wrote about the physical and psychological damage intense forms of activity can have on one’s ability to reproduce. The NAAF only amplified this dominant belief which fueled their campaign to end intercollegiate athletics for women. The women at Michigan State Normal were one of many PE programs across the country that would adopt this ethos.

Consequently, conversations about women and competition were taking place at the Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) in Chicago April 1925 (*Normal News*, 1925, April 17). NAAF council and members disapproved competition for college women (*Normal News*, 1925, April 17). Collectively, NAAF favored “group competition in place of individual, and the use of point systems rather than records” because the point system did not encourage “the use of the girl’s maximum strength, and she does not ‘have to kill herself’ as in individual competition” (*Normal News*, 1925, , April 17, p. 2). A \$25,000 fund for

scientific investigation on the impacts of athletics on women and girls was generated as a result of these concerns (*Normal News*, 1925, April 17). In keeping with the NAAF recommendations, Michigan State Normal College women's PE faculty decided to discontinue women's intercollegiate athletics. The official announcement came in October 1925, where the "faculty members of the physical education department voted against inter-collegiate athletics for women" (*Normal News*, 1925, October 23). It was conceded that intercollegiate athletics did not align with the teachings of the department and that intramural athletics carried greater benefits (*Normal News*, 1925, October 23). For years to come the narrative surrounding women at MSNC was that of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (*Normal News*, 1925, April 17 ; Perrin, 1924; Lee, 1924).

***Women's Athletic Association.*** The decision to disband intercollegiate athletics in 1911 automatically removed women from holding seats on the Athletics Executive Council. Efforts to engage more women in intramural play was not a new concept for Michigan State Normal. By 1915, the Michigan State Normal College women's involvement in campus competition was an essential part of the college life (*Aurora*, 1915). Stated in the yearbook: "About one hundred girls enroll in tennis classes and about as many more play the games for pleasure at others hours. Hockey and swimming also attract large numbers" (*Aurora*, 1915 p. 111). Michigan State Normal hosted a girls' meet in March and enrolled nearly 500 girls from the freshman and sophomore classes (*Aurora*, 1915). The thrill of competition for women existed within an inter-class spring time meet and presented to the female student body in the spirit of fun not for winning. The few intercollegiate swimming meets and tennis matches were halted in 1925 and the women's athletic focus returned exclusively to campus (*Normal News*, 1925, October 23).

Women's concern over competition and physical exertion was not at all a worry to men's athletics. The men's PE department were maximizing their physical and athletic training by aligning curriculum with athletic seasons (*Michigan State Normal College Gymnasium Manual*, 1910-11). By the mid 1920s, the women on the Athletic Executive Council recognized a need for their own organization of sporting activities. Their priorities of physical training, health education and fitness for all, were being overlooked by Athletics Executive Council as the attention was exclusively placed on the men's athletic initiatives. Throughout the meetings, records detailed long discussion on funds for intercollegiate travel, approved schedules, and awarding athletes the varsity 'N' sweater. The last time girls were documented for receiving the letter 'N' for swimming came on the evening of June 4, 1923 (Athletic Executive Council Minutes, 1923, June 4).

Detailed in a June 1925 meeting, the council discussed the duties of the council, "and to whom should be represented and why" (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1925, June 18, p. 52). It was decided that the council, "was for the deciding and giving away of awards to managers and teams of Varsity sports" (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1925, June 18). "Varsity sports" did not include those activities the women were participating. Consequently, the women were pushed out just as much as they resigned from the council. The debate of athletics for the few or athletics for all was an important philosophical distinction between the men and women and ultimately contributed to women's departure from the Athletics Executive Council.

By November of 1925, President McKenny motioned, "that as a Women's Athletic Association had been formed on the confines that they should have representation on the Athletic Council" and elected two representatives to serve (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1925, p. na). The motion was seconded and carried, releasing the women to have their own athletic

association but to maintain representation with the Athletics Executive Council, perhaps serving as a checks and balance to men's athletics. Control and regulation of the women's athletic entity was removed from the Athletics Executive Council and resurrected as the Women's Athletic Association (WAA), where women maintained full control. Figure 27 illustrates the relationship over time for men's and women's athletics and men's and women's PE department.

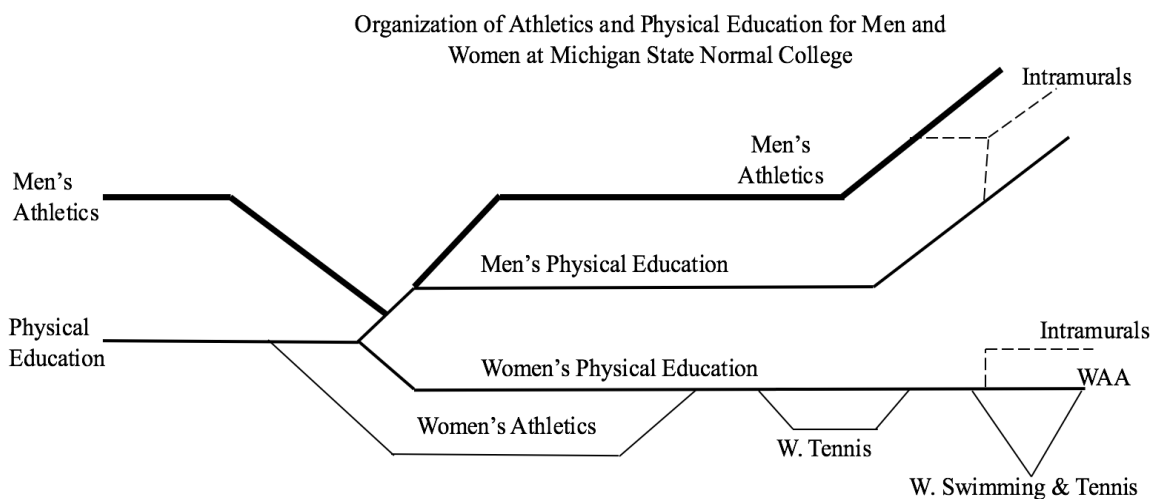


Figure 27. Linear representation of the organizational change of men's and women's athletics.

As depicted in Figure 27 the men's PE department and athletics, each led by men, move in sync with each other adding intramurals as a third function. The women's division led by women, however, maintained a different story with the experimentation of intercollegiate sports. By 1925, the PE faculty banned intercollegiate competition and introduced the Women's Athletic Association to meet the needs of the PE philosophy and educational objectives.

The WAA's purpose was to promote efficiency, leadership and a spirit of true sportsmanship and unity among the female student (*Normal News*, 1926, September 21). The article also stated:

The association is for the benefit of all girls enrolled in the college who are interested in wholesome athletics. It aims to encourage participation in team sports as well as interests

in individual physical efficiency. It hopes to be a medium for social gatherings with the making of new friendships as well as to furnish generous opportunity for athletics contests. (*Normal News*, 1926, September 21, p. 3)

Emphasis was placed on opportunities for all students and not just those in the PE major. Twenty-three major and minor sports were available to students as clubs, sororities, college teams, and classes (*Normal News*, 1926, September 21). Students competed on a point system and could individually accumulate points based on performance and standings (*Normal News*, 1927, October 13). This was a similar system that Dr. Lloyd Old's used in the men's intramural program. Earning a certain number of points awarded women either a medal, emblem, sweater, or blanket (*Normal News*, 1927, October 13).

In 1925, the Normal 'N' was changed to the Ypsilanti 'Y' so the competing men were differentiated from all the other Michigan State Normal College athletes from around the state (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1925, June 18). At the same meeting a decision was made that women could wear the green block 'Y' on their sweaters as "long as it was distinctive from the men" (Athletics Executive Council Minutes, 1925, June 18, p. na). The varsity letter seemed to serve as a symbol of status for the WAA women and motivated them to participate in multiple leagues each season (*Normal News*, 1930, January 1). While the men were earning their own letters in intercollegiate competition, the women were participating in major and minor sport season all year long. This was just one of several distinctions between the men's and women's athletics department—athletic structures, philosophies and symbols of participation.

### **Physical Education departmental divide**

By 1921, the two-year PE program had grown into a four-year Bachelor of Science degree (State Board of Education, 1920). Activity courses for both men and women were added



along with an institutional commitment to intramural activity. Women enjoyed access to gymnastics, school games, dancing, swimming, and tennis, whereas the men participated in track and field sports, basketball, cross-country, baseball and football (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1924). By 1923, MSNC was training all of their male physical educators based on a model with a knowledge foundation in physical education, broad-based application in intramurals, and elite competition in collegiate athletics. The men's physical education department operated on a model described as a pyramid (Olds as cited in Pedersen, 1996). Figure 28 demonstrates the relationship between physical education and its athletics ethos.

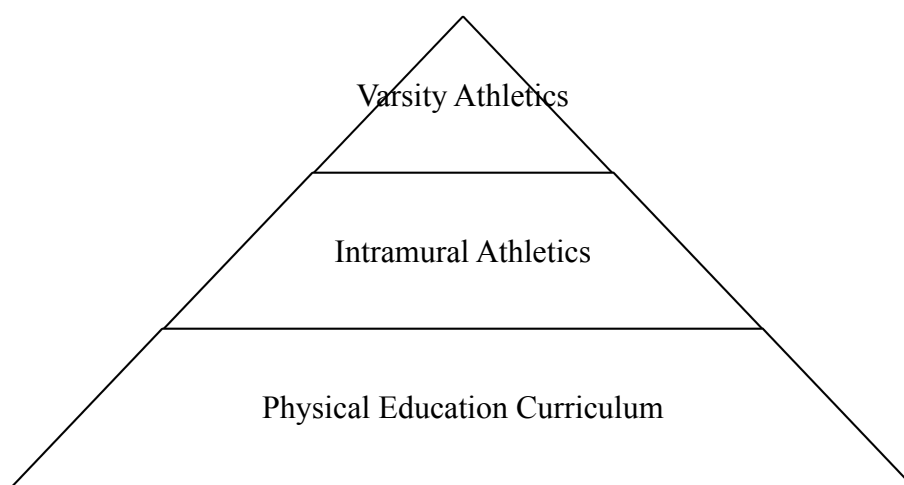
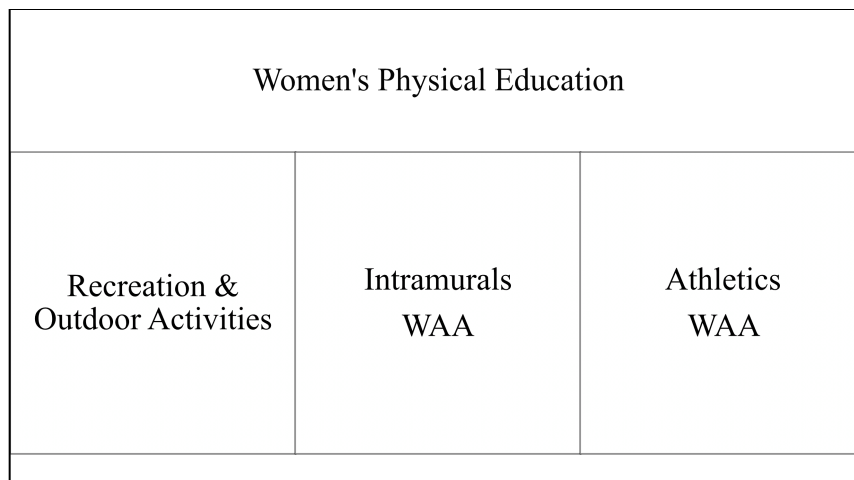


Figure 28. Pyramid of men's physical education departmental values and priorities.

This model portrayed a departmental philosophy with students receiving a foundation of PE curriculum and access to more competitive opportunities of either intramural or varsity athletics. Introduced by the men at MSNC, this arrangement directed attention to the need for organized and professional leadership of the three main tasks within men's PE. MSNC administrators sought to create leadership roles and tasks to uphold the priority of athletics for the few, most talented, and able to win. PE curriculum and intramural offerings became a function to support MSNC intercollegiate athletics. James "Doc" McCullough succeeded Wilber

P. Bowen's reign at the PE chair in 1926 (Pedersen, 1996). Doc coached five sports as the new PE chair and further fastened the men's PE division with men's athletics.

The intentional effort to create formal leadership structures in men's athletics was not as evident with the women's division. Burton remained the chair of the women's PE department until she retired in 1923 (Neve, 2016). Interestingly, the director position of the women's division remained open from 1923 to 1941 (Neve, 2016). During this time, the faculty worked collaboratively to manage the department, representing a non-hierarchical leadership structure. Leadership was much more informal and laissez faire compared to the formal leadership structured in the men's division. The women continued to maintain a broad-based educational approach incorporating health, hygiene, movement mechanics, dance, and sporting activities. Although their curriculum was never described as a pyramid, it was a flat structure appropriate for a non-competitive philosophy and gave equal value to all aspects of the department. They ascribed to the philosophy of athletics for all where PE/recreation, fitness, fun, and friendships were evident in every contest. Advocating for formal athletic leadership structures in the women's division did not happen since the women functioned informally. Training primary and secondary school teachers with physical education continued to serve as their main task. Figure 29 differentiates the women's model with equal attention to the values of recreation, intramurals, and athletics under the leadership and control of women's PE and the student organized WAA.



*Figure 29.* Depiction of women’s physical education values and priorities.

Where athletics were driving the men’s department, women PE faculty were firm in overseeing the students’ athletic interests. Bowen’s early emphasis on “sports for all” was clearly adopted by the women (Isbell, 1971, p.35). The men may have provided opportunities to participate in PE courses, intramurals, and/or athletics, but it clearly catered to the men with athletic talent.

Early state legislation mandated physical education in every school (State Board of Education minutes, 1911; Johnson, 1955, p. 21). This created a pipeline of students into the MSNC PE courses. The law was revised in 1919 mandating all students in public schools and Normal colleges to participate in a required physical training program (State Board of Education minutes, 1919; State of Michigan, 1919). Not only were teachers expected to teach physical education, all college-age students were required to take course. This legislation was a likely consequence to the US involvement in WWI and the desire to maintain a fit society and military presence. The law prompted an influx of men enrolled in Michigan State Normal College’s physical education teacher training program, further legitimizing the program and the school. The national emphasis on fitness and health, helped justify the need for intramural (IM) sports (Olds as cited in Athletics Executive Council, 1924). Student’s interest in sporting activities and

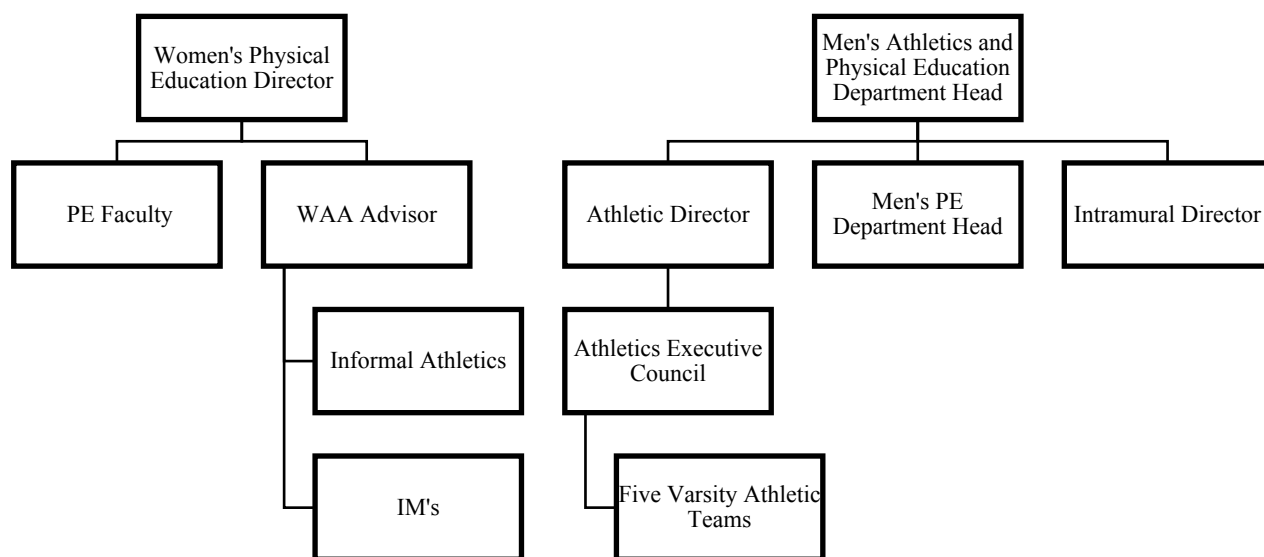
health garnered the attention of President McKenny (Isbell, 1971). Students, faculty, and coaches requested more resources to expand PE and athletic initiatives (Isbell, 1971).

President Charles McKenny, was a passionate supporter of men's athletics and the men's and women's department of physical education during his tenure 1912-1933 (Isbell, 1971). PE and athletics attracted a steady stream of resources—students—to the reputable programs (Isbell, 1971). McKenny worked closely with the Athletics Executive Council, attending many of the meetings (Athletics Executive Council Meeting Records, 1912:1933). In his tenure, McKenny expanded the facilities, increased faculty teaching and coaching appointments, and celebrated the wins for the Michigan State Normal College Men. Not only did he revel in the athletic success, but he was proud of the reputation MSNC had establish in the Midwest (Isbell, 1971; Johnson, 1955). Graduates were highly sought out for their coaching and teaching qualifications (*Aurora*, 1929). The *Michigan State Normal College Bulletin* reported a 98% placement rate of graduates into teaching or coaching positions (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1928). A women's PE graduate recalled, "We were kept very busy because we had so much outside activity, so much background to cover like they [PE majors] had to take dance, outdoor activities, they had to take all the sports in order to teach all of these things" (Harwick Crouch, 1995, January 10). All graduates received an education in physiology, kinesiology, anatomy and more in addition to methods of indoor activities, dance, outdoor activities, and sports (Harwick Crouch, 1995, January 10). Crouch's recollection of her time at MSNC reinforced the broad based curriculum and the sports for all motto.

Moving into the next several decades, 1930s and 1940s, the MSNC athletic department would find Elton Rynearson, Lloyd Olds, and Doc McCullough at the helm. Rynearson served as a combined football coach, athletic director, and faculty, while Lloyd Olds established a track

and field/cross country empire and directed the intramural program at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1925:1955). Joseph “Doc” McCullough directed the Physical Education department following Bowen’s prestigious tenure. Bowen’s “sports for all” motto evolved into competitive sport and winning strategies taught in the classroom and practiced on the field. McCullough, even as head of the department, managed to coach football, track, tennis, basketball, and baseball in his 38 years of service at Michigan State Normal College (*Aurora*, 1950). Together these three men would set the course for MSNC to be an athletically-minded institution for men’s athletics.

Men’s athletics flourished, and a formal structure for athletics was adopted at MSNC. Figure 30 illustrates the formal institutionalization of men’s athletics and informal presence of women’s athletics within PE at Michigan State Normal College.



*Figure 30.* Organizational leadership structure comparison between men’s and women’s physical education departments.

Figure 31 documents the timeline between men’s and women’s athletics from 1910 with the hiring of the first athletic director to 1927 when men’s athletics competed independently and women’s athletics solely operated as the WAA.

Timeline of Men's and Women's Athletics  
from 1910-1930

	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918-19	1921	1923	1924	1927
Men's	First Director of Athletics and Coach; Est. Executive Athletic Council	Eligibility Policy	Men Join PE Club; College Circus; Men's Gym expansion	Host First H.S State Basketball tourney	Bowen retires, "Doc" PE Chair & Coaches five sports	Est. Intramural Program	Lloyd Olds joins PE/Ath.	Elton Rynearson joins PE/Ath.	Compete independently, no athletic league
Women's	Ban Basketball	Women's PE Club	Women's Tennis	Women receive "N" insignia	Athletics Disappears	Athletics reemerges with Swimming & Tennis	Swimming & Tennis Win Titles	Athletics Banned	Resign from EAC, Est. WAA

Figure 31. Timeline of men's and women's athletics from 1910 to 1930.

Despite the women's back and forth of intercollegiate athletic competition, they finally settled on a women-only athletics model. A model congruent with their educational philosophy and feminine values. Leadership for this new era of women's intramural oriented athletics would fall on Chloe Todd, Ruth Boughner "Booffie," and Gussie Harris. These women would go on to shape the PE program and educational experiences for the next generation of MSNC grads.

### Conclusions

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, students flocked to MSNC because of its reputation and training unmatched by any other school in the Midwest (Bowen as cited in Isbell, 1971). The new gymnasium and training facility enabled physical education to grow rapidly. As the quality and reputation gained national attention, the enrollment to Michigan State Normal College doubled from 1918 to 1930 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1918:1930). In 1910, only 16 years after the new gym, the State Board of Visitors complained that "the existing gym was entirely too small and that it offered opportunity for less than two-thirds of the student body to receive its benefits" (Isbell, 1971, p. 95). Four years later the facility was updated with a new men's gymnasium and swimming pool. Since the women banned intercollegiate athletics it was

acceptable for them to occupy the old men's gym. Allocating the new space for men's athletic competition and training became a fissure between the men's and women's program. Men's athletics legitimized the institution and attracted more programs and opportunities associated with masculine ideals.

Changes and conflict were experienced by both the men and women of Michigan State Normal College. While both started the 1900s with competitive intercollegiate athletic programs, Burton's decision to withdraw the women from competition was done so to provide greater opportunities for greater numbers of women. This decision blossomed into massive annual events where the women competed in interclass competitions and hosted events to entertain all of campus. Such events were ticketed and independently generated funds for the women's division. Figure 32 highlights the organizational progression of men's athletics as it related to PE and intramurals (IMs).

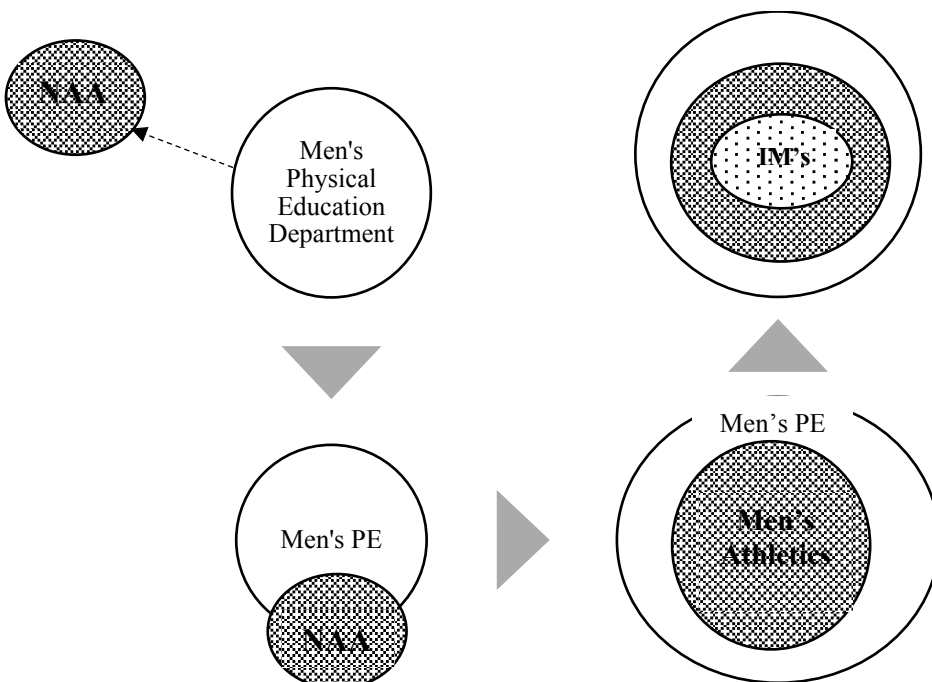


Figure 32. The change in relationship between men's athletics and men's physical education.

While the women focused their energy and interests inward, the men were experiencing growth and challenges with controlling their athletic programs outward. The instability in funds and control of the mostly student led entity prompted the hiring of a Director of Athletics. The director oversaw the sporting activities, coached, taught PE courses, and led a 15-member faculty and student athletics committee. The committee assumed the function to write bylaws on eligibility, approve schedules, and award varsity 'N' insignia. Three positions on the committee were allocated for women, and they maintained a seat at the table from 1906 until 1923. It was quite clear the women's marginal representation on the committee did not serve their athletic interests. Instead, Burton created a physical examination of various events as a comparable accomplishment to the men receiving varsity sweaters in athletic competition. Women were able to earn sweaters starting in 1916 for producing a satisfactory performance on the examination. Establishment of the Physical Education Club also gave women an organization to train, play, and socialize just as the men had with their varsity sport teams. However, only after two years as a women's only club, male students joined, and the club appeared to take on a more social mission. The new coed PE club was credited with hosting the College Circus, which proved widely successful charity and social event.

World War I ushered in growth and prosperity for America and the integration of men's sports in physical education programs became a more permanent fixture. The men's division adopted an athletics educational model training the men for coaching excellence and sport instructions. The women, on the other hand, continued to offer a broad based curriculum offering hygiene, health, dance, sports activities, outdoor recreation, and gymnastics. The two programs were quite divergent, only cooperating on the major campus-wide events of College Circus and PE club.



The burgeoning of women's sports throughout the 1920s began to alter perceptions of women in athletics. Volleyball, indoor and outdoor track, and swimming were added to the physical education department courses. With these new offerings came the resurgence of women's intercollegiate athletics. This time it was expected that women maintain "feminine, beautiful, strong, and self-confident yet always fully cognizant of her delicate reproductive system" ideals (Festle, 1996, p.83). The shifting cultural environment allowed students and PE leaders to modify and adjust the relationship between gender roles in relation to sport and physical activity.

This era reintroduced athletics in moderation and gave rise to interclass competition and female-appropriate sports. Tennis and swimming returned as intercollegiate athletics and the women of MSNC were unstoppable. Todd led the Tennis squad while the men's football coach, Bingo Brown coached women's swimming. This was the first record of a man coaching a women's sport, but it was short lived. In 1926, the women's PE faculty voted to completely withdraw from intercollegiate athletics and focus on interclass activities, fitness, and fun. Records and timed events were replaced with point systems to reduce women maximizing their physiology with the enticement of competition. Although they maintained representation with the men's executive athletic council per the request of President McKenny, the women formed their own Women's Athletic Association. Men's and women's athletics and men's and women's PE has never been as disparate as they were at this time in history. The divergence of philosophies manifested into separate leadership structures, regulatory bodies, and physical gymnasium spaces, reinforcing a distinct track for men and women at Michigan State Normal College. Figure 33 illustrates an organizational representation of the existent divergence between the two programs.

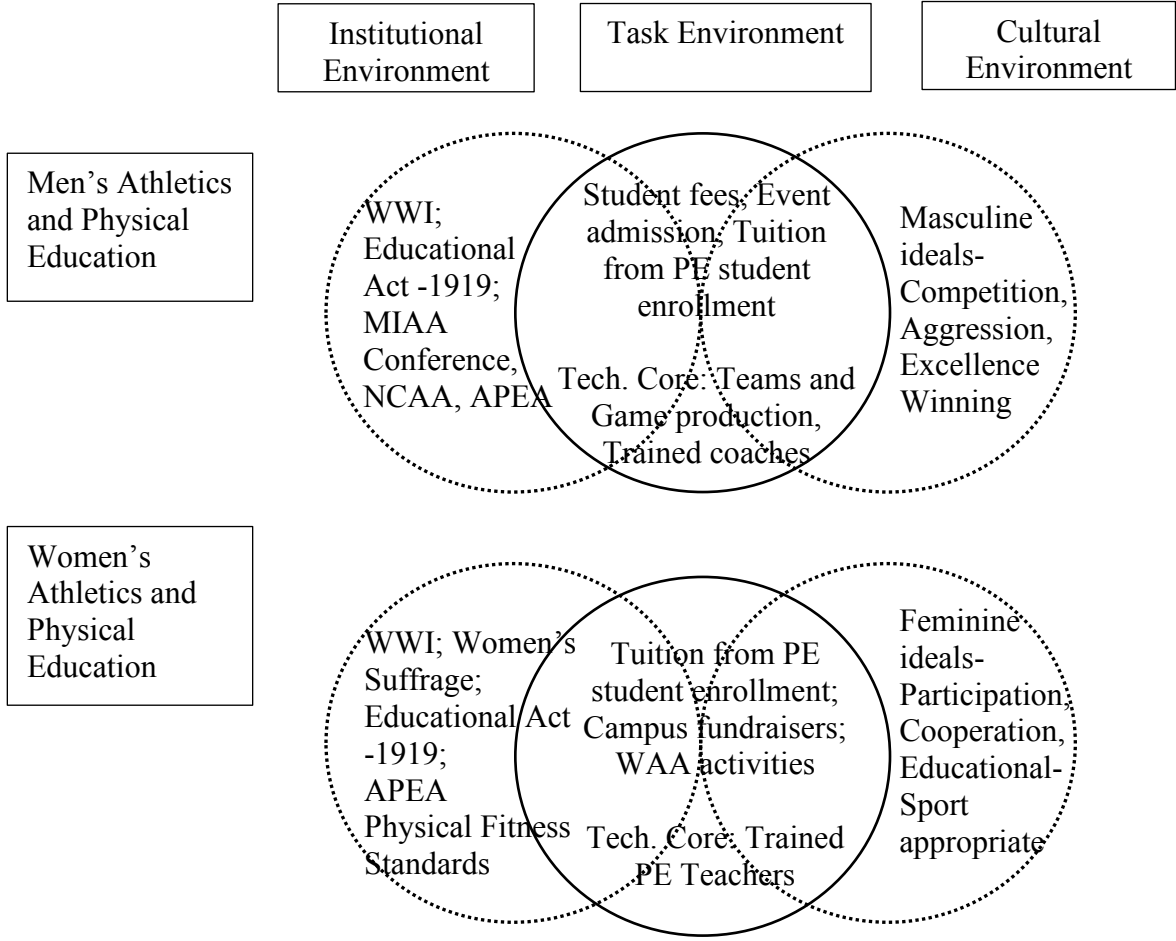


Figure 33. Organizational representation of the institutional, task, and cultural environments for men's and women's PE departments through the 1920s.

## Section 4: Charting a Separate Course (1930–1950)

### Introduction

Women's evolving roles from the previous 20 years were halted due to the strife experienced in the Great Depression and WWII of the 1930s and 1940s. Economic hardships of the 1930's returned some women from the workforce back home, whereas war times drove millions of women to the assembly plants to make up for a vacant workforce turned servicemen (Guttmann, 1991). The attitudes towards women in sports changed slowly in this time period. Women's roles in relation to intercollegiate athletics would follow a similar trajectory. From a women's place being in the home to new liberties and confidence gained in the work force, women's exploration of new social territory and the gradual expansion of women in sport would come to define the era.

In 1930, enrollment at Michigan State Normal had just crested 2,000 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1930). The Michigan Physical Education Association partnered with the American Physical Education Association (APEA; Johnson, 1955). Three years later the state director of health and Michigan Physical Education Association folded due to the Depression (Johnson, 1955). Despite the loss of a professional organization, Bowen's and Burton's philosophy, "fitness for all," continued to influence the development of the men and women at MSNC. As previously mentioned the women firmly adopted the educational model to justify diverse sport offerings, whereas the men limited their offerings to concentrate on competitive athletic teams. This philosophical conflict was an abstraction of a conflict occurring in the greater society on the understanding of changing gender roles. As a result of the challenges of the time, Michigan State Normal College and many other colleges across the country were in the

midst of negotiating the aforementioned conflict of being a women and participate in competition (Hult, 1980).

The men's PE division had migrated to a sports for all ethos, with intercollegiate athletics gaining national prominence and the legitimacy of competition and winning athletic teams (Athletics Executive Council Annual Report, 1929). The "Golden Age of Sport" was a moniker of the 1920's sports movement. In the wake of WWI the era emerged with prosperity, increased time for leisure, and a decade of heroic sports figures (Beard, 1928). The men of MSNC experienced the "golden years" of athletics from 1925 to 1933, with winning programs and a new mascot, the Hurons (Athletics Executive Council Annual Report, 1929; 1933). According to sport historian, Hult (1980), the major philosophical conflicts between men and women emerged from the use of PE and intercollegiate athletics for commercial gain. However, this commercial gain was only a tool to secure competitive dominance and winning programs. The production of games provided the greatest right for an athletic department to exist. In order to produce games, departments had to have inputs and resources.

Enrollment during the years of the Depression experienced a dip of 500 students, but had rebounded by 1938 (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1938). The school weathered the dip as teaching jobs were some of the only jobs available throughout the Depression (Isbell, 1971). The stable numbers of students protected the school's survival and right to exist (Parson, 1960b). A required 12-credit policy of physical education courses contributed to the largest department, most faculty, and the largest number of majors on campus (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1935). The physical education continued to attract students to the major, which supplied a steady stream of students necessary to maintain competitive men's athletic programs and droves of trained women teachers (*Aurora*, 1938). By this time, the men and women were

firmly operating independent programs at Michigan State Normal College. The relationship between the two departments and the development of their purpose at MSNC will be presented throughout this section.

The early 1940s presented another challenge with WWII. Nearly all the men at Michigan State Normal College were drafted or joined the war efforts (*Aurora*, 1942). Few men remained on campus, but not enough to maintain an athletic program. Instead areas of campus were dedicated to military training camps and even a few of the male coaching faculty, Olds and Rynearson, served in training the soldiers (*Aurora*, 1942). Preparation for athletics translated well in the training of young soldiers; it was just another form of competition.

Due to the male faculty and student's occupancy in WWII activities, women's roles and functions in society also changed (Lucas & Smith, 1982). Nationally, women left their domestic roles to fill the void left by men in the workforce. The term "Rosie the Riveter" was earned by the women working in factories once occupied by men (Chafe, 1972, p. 14). Women demonstrated their skills as comparable to men and began resulting in increased self-esteem and confidence. These new roles and functions propelled the women's athletic movement, providing access to competitive sports in the absence of their fighting male counterpart. Women's exposure to similar competitive levels as men, was the impetus for radical change in women's athletics. Although on campuses, competition remained in moderation and in the form of Play Days, the war served as a window of opportunity for women to demonstrate their considerable leadership and athletic abilities (Neve, 2016). It was the vanguard moment in women's access to athletic competition. Women's leadership growth was experienced at all levels from the campus WAA to state, regional, and national physical education associations. Attention given to women's sport

strayed from broad-based participation and plunged into competitive women's athletics (Guttman, 1991).

### **By Women, for Women: WAA**

The WAA evolved from the junior and senior indoor meets of the 1920s to moderately-competitive opportunities for women year round in the 1930s. By the second year of the WAA, intramural competition included hundreds of students (*Aurora*, 1926). The popular organization continued to grow throughout the 1930s. WAA adopted a comprehensive model, where students elected to administer one of the fifteen sport areas (*Normal News*, 1930, January 1). Each student was responsible for scheduling competition and organizing teams between sororities, clubs, and class groups. Every sport and activity was directed by an elected student member, but advised by faculty of the women's PE program (*Aurora*, 1934). The entire association was managed by women for women.

The purpose of the women's PE department was to prepare women as PE educators for a diverse curriculum of activities, dance, health, and hygiene. The WAA was a mechanism to support this endeavor by offering a wide variety of sport activities. The women faculty rejected competitive intercollegiate athletics and bowed to a philosophy influenced and propagated by national organizations such as the NAAF. This would come to change as more women would join competitive industrial leagues and relish in the competitive spirits of intramural play. Figure 34 documents this development from an organizational perspective in the shadow of strong external philosophical forces.

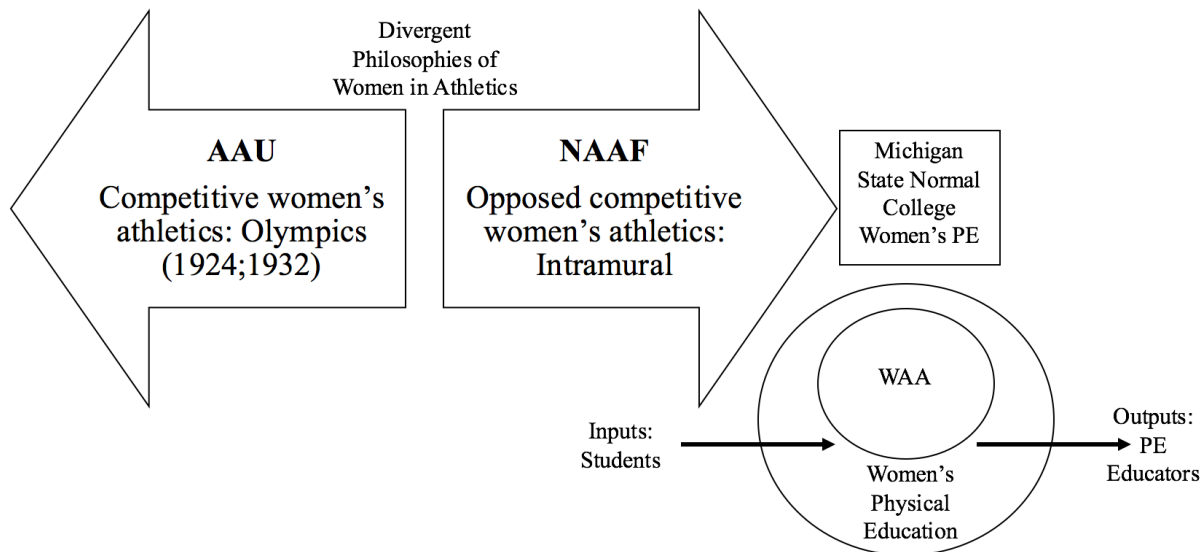


Figure 34. Demonstration of the opposing philosophies present in women's athletics.

The NAAF philosophy continued to influence the PE women's division by directing their energy internally to intramural activities and away from external competitions. Regardless of the changes experienced in athletics, the function of the department remained on training PE teachers.

**Play days.** The first few years of the WAA divided their competitions up between classes and within those classes there were two levels; Class A comprised of PE majors and Class B made up of general students (*Normal College News*, 1927, October 13). Events were organized accordingly:

Each class will have its own schedule. Class A will play field ball, soccer, tennis, and volleyball. Class B will play hockey, volleyball, and quoits. Sororities play tennis archery, quoits, and volleyball. Clubs play hockey, tennis, and volleyball. (*Normal College News*, 1927, October 13, p. 40).

In preparation for the girls,' intramural activities were published days and times for each class and club to occupy the training facilities. Freshmen, sophomore, junior, and senior participants were able to attend designated hour long training sessions for the various sports being offered

(*Normal College News*, 1927, October 13). These practice sessions adopted a model similar to the men's athletic team practice schedule, taking place after classes every day (*Aurora*, 1927).

Eventually, play grew from an intramural focus to Play Days. Play Days occurred at a college and were organized between three or more schools. To diminish the temptation of competition, the women would be divided equally among the schools present (Hult, 1989; Guttmann, 1991). Scores were kept among the teams and a winner was recognized, but since the teams were comprised of various schools, the joy of competition was emphasized over an individual team's success. This was a counter structure to that experienced in men's athletics, where teams either decisively won or lost. Records support MSNC participating in a few Play Day events at Michigan State University (*Normal College News*, 1931, May 7) and University of Michigan (*Normal College News*, 1935).

Few articles appeared in the *Normal College News* publication under the heading WAA between 1931 to 1935. More articles appeared in 1935, reporting play days at U of M, Battle Creek, and on campus. Oral histories of women students of this time period helped to fill in the gaps of women's involvement in athletics. A 1935 graduate, Gertrude Montgomery (1995), recalled having play days and intramurals, but no athletic programs for women. "There was no intercollegiate competition, just play days and fun days" (Montgomery, 1995, January 8). Montgomery mentioned that competition in the early 1930s was not looked upon as favorable for women. Instead her comments on games for fun and the sake of play were consistent with the traditional PE philosophy.

**Play days to sport days.** Throughout the 1930s and 1940s women regularly participated in intramural volleyball, archery, tennis, basketball, soccer, swimming, field hockey, and track events (*Aurora*, 1938). The *Normal College News* documented the few "friendly" intercollegiate



competition throughout the 1930s as Play Day's (*Normal College News*, 1931, 1935, 1937).

Shifting from play days to sports days was embraced with the addition of intercollegiate golf and track and field (*Normal College News*, 1937, October 7). Sports days allowed teams to compete on behalf of their school and in their colors, but were not awarded recognition for winning (Hult, 1989; Guttmann, 1991). The strategy was intended to reduce women's motivation for winning based on a prize. Women's track and field, referred to as athletics, gained traction at the 1936 Olympic games (Hargreaves, 2007). While in 1934, Helen Hicks became the first professionally sponsored female golfer (Berkley, 2001:2018). Together, these national trends impacted the sport offerings at MSNC.

In 1937, Michigan State Normal added golf and track and field as an intercollegiate sport and sponsored their first college golf tournament (*Normal College News*, 1937, October 7). The sports attracted media attention from the *Detroit Free Press*, with a spread on "Normal's Feminine Athletes," ("Normal's Feminine Athletes," *Detroit Free Press*, 1937, May 16, p. 5). The article featured several pictures of women throwing discus, javelin, and shot put and had a quote from men's track and field coach, Lloyd Olds. Olds justified women's involvement in intercollegiate athletics, saying, "...women learn track fundamentals about as readily as men. If we are going to maintain our leadership in athletics, we must develop means of proper instruction to youngsters...our graduates will be able to provide better instruction and promote development" (Normal's Feminine Athletes," *Detroit Free Press*, 1937, May 16, p. 5). His message echoed support for women in intercollegiate athletics as a means for preparing youth in sports. Women participating in athletics was justified as better preparing them to teach in primary and secondary schools.

Lloyd Olds appeared to have represented a shift that was occurring in the women's athletic association under the PE department. The highly skilled and competitive women athletes gained a sound foundation with the WAA but sought a platform to display their talents. One of those women was a talented golfer by the name of Shirley Spork. Spork competed for MSNC throughout the 1940s and won the National Women's Intercollegiate Golf Championship in 1947 (*Normal College News*, 1947, October 2). Golf served as the first sport for which women could compete in a National Intercollegiate Championship and Michigan State Normal touted a champion within the first six years. Spork also played baseball, field hockey, and basketball as a PE major at Michigan State Normal College and was the first women to be recognized as "Athlete of the Week" in the *Normal College News* (*Normal College News*, 1948, May 6). Spork's athletic experience at MSNC demonstrated the advancement of women's athletics throughout the 1940s. Finally, her athletic fame was only possible, due to societies changing perceptions of women and a growing acceptance of women in sporting activities.

Montgomery (1995) described the relationship between PE majors and all other students as, "anyone who was not a Physical Education major was an outsider," (Montgomery, 1995, January 8). These "outsiders" could participate in sports through the WAA, but many did not feel welcome. The exclusionary practice commonly associated with men's intercollegiate athletics, also seemed present among the women athletes at MSNC. Montgomery (1995) recalled a few playing in basketball and volleyball; however, PE majors always served as managers and organizers of the leagues and teams applying preferential status to their peers. In addition, women were informally gaining coaching and managing skills throughout the intramural leagues run as part of the WAA.

By 1940, the largest number of women participated in organized sport opportunities through the WAA (*Aurora*, 1940). A critical mass of student participated in basketball, baseball, bowling, swimming, badminton, field hockey, and volleyball intramural contests for sorority and independent teams. Nearly 270 women participated in the volleyball tournament and 150 in the basketball tournament (*Aurora*, 1940). All competition remained on campus exclusive for MSNC students, aside from a few organized sport days. The explosion of women participating in sport competition mimicked college men's ascent to sport 40 years earlier (Lucas & Smith, 1978).

The public's acceptance of women in sport lagged behind the men, but this era marked a coming of age for women to define their own relationship with sport. MSNC graduate Gertrude Montgomery (1995) recalled a time from the early 1930s another student shared her athletic experience from the 1940s. Student Jean Cione attended MSNC after a career playing professional baseball (Cione, 1995, October 24). Cione competed in the All-American Girls Baseball League, which began in 1943 and ended shortly after the war when the men's Major League Baseball league returned (Neve, 2016). Miss Cione was a pitcher and played first base for Kenosha Comets, Battle Creek Belles, and Muskegon Lassies (Neve, 2016). Jean came to MSNC because "[MSNC] had a very very good reputation in women's PE in the professional world and I met people who have gone to EMU while I played hardball [baseball] and encouraged me to choose EMU..." (Cione, 1995). Cione was grateful for her time at Michigan State Normal College, and like many others, accepted a position on staff and served as a faculty member for 29 years (Neve, 2016). As a student, she recalled:

I can remember getting a scrub field hockey team to play Central Michigan University, who came down with uniforms and the whole works and it was our field hockey class

that played them and beat ‘em. We beat ‘em because we had a lot of Detroit PE majors who were out of Detroit which was a hot bed for field hockey and it was really fun.

(Cione, 1995, October 24)

Cione’s memory illustrated the informal structures of intercollegiate competition, here a class competing with a club team. Events of competition demonstrated a possible divergence between the students and faculty in physical education. Guttmann’s (1991) work also supported this notion that the women student’s desired competition, for which the physical educators were threatened. Cione (1995) identified as an athlete and had a competitive baseball career before returning to MSNC. Her experience represented yet another conflict within the MSNC physical education department.

Cione (1995) shared her athletic experience as a member of the volleyball team competing against the University of Michigan: “Once in a while, Augusta Harris would take our volleyball team over and play the U of M women. It was a fun thing, but it was very important for us at Eastern Michigan [Michigan State Normal College] to beat them, very important” (Cione, 1995, October 24). The importance of winning against the larger school down the road was symbolic of having to prove one’s status. U of M’s women enrollment was dire compared to that of the men. The men at U of M would often travel to Ypsilanti to meet women stoking the riff between U of M and MSNC women, as evidenced by the *Normal College News* cartoon’s and opinion columns.

Rivalries were present in both the men’s and women’s athletics programs and were essential to sport culture of the time. However, the rivalries experienced between the women’s teams were more representative of rivalries between PE programs. The rivalries that existed were not spiteful or malicious as they could be between the men jockeying for conference standing.

Instead, the rivalries between the PE programs were collegial and depended on each other to maintain Sport Day participation. Two of the women responsible for coordinating events and fostering a healthy competitive environment were Boofie and Gussie.

**Boofie and Gussie.** Ruth Boughner “Boofie” and Augusta “Gussie” Harris followed in Burton’s foot steps to champion the women’s division throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Graduates such as, Harwick-Crouch, Montgomery, Cione, and Ridgeway have credited these two for contributing to MSNC reputation and prestige in the field of physical education. These two women advised all the PE majors making sure they took the toughest instructors in their academic courses (Cione, 1995). This showed their high expectations for the PE graduates and the field.

Despite separate domains, there was a shared ideology between Boofie and Doc McCulloch, Chair of the Men’s Division, to emphasize school-based teams for all students (Pedersen, 1996; Neve, 2016). The intention for school-based teams was an attempt to create parity between women’s intramural activity and men’s intercollegiate and intramural activity. Aligning with the school team motto, Boofie and Gussie instituted unique colored PE uniforms for the different enrollment classes (Pedersen, 1996; Neve, 2016). All freshman women were required to take PE courses and assigned a specific class color (Pedersen, 1996; Neve, 2016). These colors fostered the inter-class rivalry between classes, whereas the men adorn in green and white Huron uniforms participated in rivalries with other institutions.

***Pressed and proper.*** Every major wore a nicely pressed activity suit consisting of knee length shorts, a white blouse, and white tennis shoes (Aurora, 1940). Boofie inspected every student’s uniform striking fear for not having an adequately pressed uniform and polished shoes (Cione, 1995). Cione (1995) shared, “I remember standing in a line and having my shoes

polished and uniform pressed, and when we taught [in the training school] we wore whites, white shorts and white blouse.” Women PE teachers and student teachers taught in an all-white uniform (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1945). The uniforms were a symbol of professionalism and coveted by the female PE majors. Earning the right to wear all whites was similar to earning a white coat in the medical profession.

Despite a slow emergence into athletics, women were still expected to balance feminine ideals. Importance of appearance and behaving as a proper woman was a core belief held by Boofie and other PE instructors. A 1949 graduate, Valerie Moffett, remembered Boofie talking with the PE major every week: “You are now to look professional. You know the old stigma that all PE’s are to look like cruddy old men or ‘Jock’ there is no such word, I can’t stand that word,” (Moffett, 1995, October 29). Appearing professional, compared to the male PE staff that dressed like coaches, was a stance of legitimacy. Boofie also preached at the women students: “You are to dress like ladies and look like them” (Moffett, 1995). Moffett (1995) also shared a memory of two women wearing slacks who were ridiculed by Boofie and instructed to change into more appropriate women’s clothing, saying, “You will not look that way on this campus.”

Pictures and accounts from MSNC graduates confirmed that women on campus only wore skirts, blouses, and dresses throughout the 1940s. Cultural expectations for men and women were controlling forces at the time. Women were never to be seen in their activity outfits outside of the gym. Cione (1995), another MSNC graduate, recalled throwing on her rain jacket in order to grab a soda at the drugstore between activity classes to avoid changing into their proper feminine attire. The women were scorned for compromising the professionalism of the PE program if seen by men in their uniform. Women PE instructor’s attempt to control the student’s appearance, curriculum, and intramural activities was symptomatic of greater external pressures

dictating socially appropriate behavior. Consequently, men were also subject to the external pressures of masculinity and competitive athletic programs. Figure 35 compares the external pressures that were present after WWII for both men's and women's PE programs at MSNC.

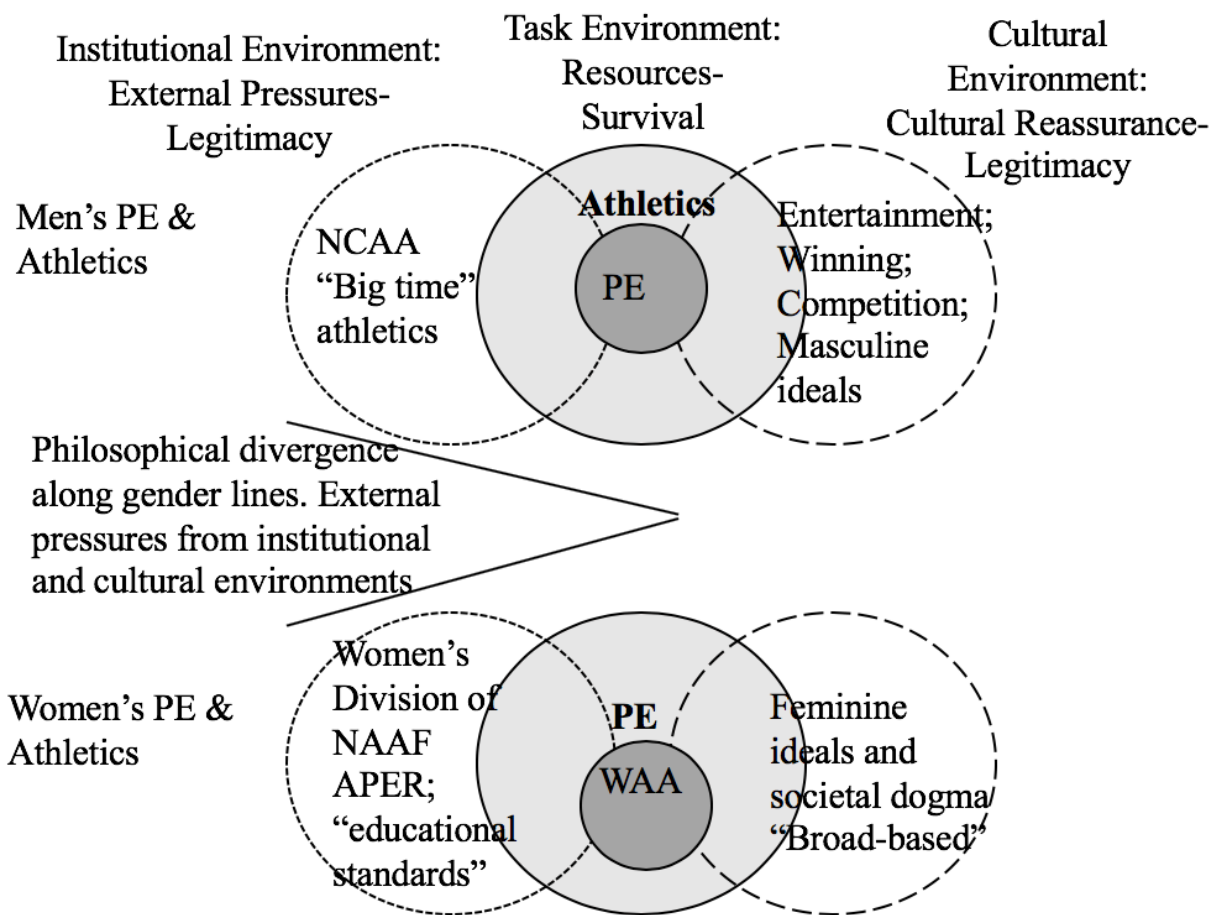


Figure 35. Organizational divergence between men's and women's PE and athletics.

Figure 35 shows the two departments and their athletic components drawing on the unique institutional and cultural factors for men and women. While the men's PE function was marginal to their athletic program, the women's athletics function was integrated into their broad-based PE curriculum. However, it was done so to uphold educational standards and contribute to the development of all women on campus. Men's athletics was shaped by the external forces of big-time intercollegiate athletics, making athletics the front porch to an

institution to attract students, and the legitimacy associated with winning athletic programs. Maintaining a prominent and competitive athletic program over an educational PE program emerged as a source of friction between the men's and women's departments.

### **WWII: Friction**

As seen in Figure 35, a philosophical divergence continued to widen between the men's and women's PE programs. This was experienced as "friction" between the two divisions as remembered by Moffett (1995). Prior to 1940, physiology, anatomy, and teaching methodology used to be co-ed courses with activity courses separate. Moffett (1995) recalled how this seemed to change in the 1940s when men and women rarely shared the classroom previously established PE standards also faded. She explained her perceptions of the men's PE training as inadequate compared to the women:

There was almost a friction, not competition, but it was like the men seem to be on the short end of the stick, they really didn't get the training that they felt the women were getting. We always had more training, more activities and the men always sort of seemed to do a lot with their area of sports, but as far as getting them the theory on how to teach or what to teach, the methodology, they really did not get a lot of that. (Moffett, 1995)

The perceived inadequacy was assessed from Moffett's perspective of teacher training and not the training of coaches, which dominated the men's PE production function. Her recollection was a way for her to rationalize her preparation despite their place as secondary to men's athletics. This also occurred during WWII, where the function of PE adopted a strong military-training approach (*Aurora*, 1944). The present Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) on campus had all of their physical training directed by the college athletic staff (*Aurora*, 1944). The war itself invited conflict and friction to the function of men's PE at MSNC. Moffett's



recount could have been represented the disruption experienced in the country as a whole. It was clear that the war changed the function of men's PE and athletics programs at this time.

**War time at MSNC.** Thousands of men left Michigan State Normal College to fight in the war (*Aurora*, 1944). Men's athletics nearly collapsed only scraping together a football and basketball team with low numbers (*Aurora*, 1944). Coach Rynearson organized a modest football team of students who had never played the sport previously and Coach Stites rallied a group for a basketball squad (*Aurora*, 1944). It was clear throughout the 1944-1945 yearbooks that all the "jocks" were away fighting and those that remained were recruited to maintain the athletic programs presence at MSNC.

Meanwhile, the WAA's coverage increased in the *Aurora* Yearbook (*Aurora*, 1944; 1945). The publication provided a detailed profile of every member on the WAA board. Fifteen women in total received a paragraph on their role and contributions to the WAA (*Aurora*, 1944). Nearly all of them boasted how busy they were, but luckily agreed to take on one more responsibility with the WAA. Agnes Hansen described the appointment: "Gosh I'm awfully busy, but I'll try," she always says and she always comes through. That's why we wanted Aggie to be general chairman of our annual banquet—just to be sure we'd have our traditionally elegant dinner" (as cited in *Aurora*, 1944, p. 103). Several of the women's contributions were to organize social events and manage membership.

The yearbook also promoted the 12 sports sponsored by the WAA, including, badminton, basketball, volleyball, hockey, swimming, fencing, camping, archery, soccer, golf, tennis, and softball. The array of sports continued to uphold a sport for every girl motto at MSNC. Six pages of WAA coverage adorned with photos was a different backdrop to those previously occupied by the men's sports. This was likely a response to the absence of men on campus, on the sports field

and serving as editors of the yearbook. While the men were away, the women got to play and for the first time received the spotlight for their involvement with sports. This became a watershed moment and would be a catalyst for women's athletics in the years to come.

While women were maintaining 12 WAA sports programs, the men were struggling to keep their athletic program alive. In 1945, there were only two men's sports offered, basketball and baseball (*Aurora*, 1945). The previous year men's athletics was represented in a two-game football season and an abbreviated basketball season (*Aurora*, 1944). Men's sports were close to non-existent due to the large number of them fighting overseas. This void in men's sports seemed to spur women's sports activities on campus.

*Women wax, men wane.* Although the men's function shifted to military preparation, there still remained an emphasis on recreation and athletics. The men continued to receive training for an athletics emphasis, whereas the women maintained a broad-based educational foundation. While the number of men were absent during the war, women were busy organizing a robust sport offering as part of the WAA experience. By the mid-1940's, the female students were competing in three different sports per season. The 1945 *Aurora* contributed:

This year's successful and inclusive intramural program was divided into four seasons: fall season, hockey, archery, and soccer; first winter season, volleyball, swimming, fencing, and badminton; second winter season, basketball, ping-pong, and swimming; spring season, outing [camp], softball, tennis, and swimming. Each year "M" letters are awarded to those active members who have completed three seasons of sport participation. Also, an honor award of an "M" pin is given the outstanding junior and senior woman most active in WAA. (*Aurora*, 1945, p. 96)

The WAA was the largest athletic contingent on campus throughout the 1940s and may have contributed to some of the resentment experienced by the men. *Normal College News* boasted the success of the WAA women. Articles reported their success at sports days hosted by the WAA's of University of Michigan and Bowling Grade State University (*Normal College News*, 1944, April 7; 1946, March 7). The *Normal College News* and *Aurora Yearbook* records reported women's involvement in intercollegiate activity in field hockey, golf, tennis, softball, and swimming. According to the accounts, women's athletic success contributed to their joy of competition and the social component central to the WAA.

### **The Return of Men's Athletics**

Following the war, men's athletics influenced the PE curriculum even to a greater extent than before. At this time, large numbers of men enrolled and/or returned to Michigan State Normal College on the GI Bill. The increase of male student bolstered the intramural and varsity athletic programs to campus (*Aurora*, 1946). Despite the largest major on campus being occupied by women, men's return to campus and men's athletic teams granted them access to the premier gym spaces (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1947). Athletics presence at MSNC continued to grow and reached new heights when donor Walter Briggs gifted the college \$150,000 to build an athletics field and field house for the men's teams (Pedersen, 1996).

Walter Briggs lived in Ypsilanti, was a former owner of the Detroit Tigers, and operated a plumbing manufacturing company. Although he never attended MSNC, as a resident he wanted to support men's athletics in growing their athletic facilities. Briggs promised the gift in two separate amounts (Pedersen, 1996). In addition, the Michigan State Legislature passed a bill authorizing MSNC to borrow money on the strength of Brigg's promise (State Board of Education minutes, 1936). In 1937, construction commenced immediately and the men's field

house and football stadium were completed by the fall that same year. Men's athletics at MSNC had followed suit with the rest of the big time intercollegiate athletics of the time.

The field house was a single-story structure with an indoor dirt track so small it required 26 laps to equal a mile (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1938). The dirt floor was dug down to allow for clearance for pole vault and other field events. Figure 36 captures the men's track and field team on a practice day in the early 1940s.



*Figure 36.* Image of men's track and field practicing in the Briggs Athletic Complex. *Source:* Provided by Eastern Michigan University Archives Flickr account, Ypsilanti, MI.

In the off season, the space was available for men's baseball and football practice. The facilities received much use from the male athletes. Interviews from a few of the women's PE majors shared they were not welcomed in the space and instead used outdoor fields behind the new Briggs Athletic Complex (Montgomery, 1995). Montgomery (1995) recalled the fields for women "being a good run away, way back behind the Briggs fieldhouse." Briggs Athletic

complex was only 10 years old when the men returned from the war. New facilities attracted students and increased enrollment at MSNC especially following the decline during WWII.

By 1948, male students attending MSNC reached parity with their female counterpart (*Enrollment records, 1948-2002*). Using athletics and flashy facilities as a recruiting strategy attracted droves of men after their wartime service (*Aurora, 1948*). Adorned with the Brigg's fieldhouse, football, and baseball field, MSNC became a campus for talented athletes to flock. Coach Old's use the indoor facility to produce a perennial track and field/cross country program (Pedersen, 1996). Rynearson posted an impressive post-war football record with a team of returning serviceman (*Aurora, 1946*). The yearbook detailed every football game for the Huron's and the presence of the WAA was reduced to a single page. The 1947 *Aurora* yearbook did not even feature the WAA, instead a full page spread welcoming back intramural athletics shared:

Being confronted with the reactivating of campus Intramural athletics. Director Olds appointed Bill Nuse...Harry McKitrick and Matthew Rumph, together with some fifteen organization managers. The Intramural Department, faced with a heavy male enrollment, organized for the first time on the campus competition among the residents of the dormitories. The newly-organized All-Campus Inter-Dormitory and Inter-Fraternity Leagues present a well-rounded school year program in sports for all male students. (p.

151)

The years following WWII, ballooned with men participating in intercollegiate athletics and intramurals, while women's athletics was nearly forgotten. The write-up reported, "Intramural athletics offered official competition in sixteen different types of sports for the male enrollment of the college, (*Aurora, 1947, p. 151*). By 1948, Michigan State Normal College was offering six

varsity sports—football, basketball, track and field, cross country, baseball, and tennis—several freshman companion teams, and a robust intramural program (*Aurora*, 1948).

President Munson and faculty of the institution promoted competition and an athletics culture offering a wide range of physical activities for both men and women. However, the women's intramural program—WAA—remained secondary to the valiant return of men's IM and varsity athletic programs (*Aurora*, 1948). In addition to the mandatory physical fitness courses, teacher education programs required 12 activity hours of physical training electives (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1948). Teacher training still remained the primary function for the school. Pipelining students through the required PE courses provided stability and resources for the PE faculty and coaches. The 1949 *Aurora* centennial edition introduced the physical education department:

The courses prepare students in the field of physical education and health education, for work as teachers and supervisors in schools, as athletic directors and coaches in schools and colleges, as teachers and supervisors of recreation and as camp and scout leaders. In addition to preparation in the major field of physical education, the college aims to give the student a professional and cultural background that will enable him to play his part in the general education program of any of the fields of activity above mentioned. (p. 88)

The description outlined the main tasks and outputs of the PE department. Male graduates were becoming coaches and teachers, while the women were fulfilling teaching appointments. These tasks were paralleled by the faculty structure. The men shared duties between coaching athletic teams and teaching male only courses, whereas the women taught a number of courses and supervised intramural involvement and the occasional intercollegiate game (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1949). Required courses and a robust IM and athletic program

explained why the department was the largest on campus and allocated resources for athletic equipment and facility expansion.

According to sports historian, the public's interest in sports following WWII bolstered the commercial appeal and desire to produce intercollegiate athletic games (R. K. Smith, 2000). This coupled with the arrival of broadcasted sports advanced the expansion of existing intercollegiate sports programs (R. K. Smith, 2000). Influenced by commercialization, competitiveness, and enormous stadiums associated with big time programs, even MSNC was looking to grow (R. K. Smith, 2000). At this time, the school was still considered a small school compared to larger universities, like University of Michigan. By 1950, the coaches and athletes desired an update to the Brigg's athletic complex. Following the path of competitive big time athletics only further legitimized the presences of men's athletics at MSNC and the college's right to be an academic institution.

Friction continued to manifest between the men's and women's PE curriculum was also felt in the physical spaces. Michigan State Normal College graduates often discussed the distinction between the men's and women's PE domains. Referring to the men's south gym or the "large gym," Moffett (1995) described their territory as a place "you really didn't go in there, you didn't feel comfortable... that was the men's gym." Later as an instructor in the 1960s, she shared, "My office was right off that south gym and it was sort of a strange thing to go into that gym to get to my office" (Moffett, 1995). Gertrude Montgomery, like Moffett, was a MSNC graduate and then returned to serve as PE faculty in 1951. Montgomery (1995) echoed Moffett's sentiment: "I never felt comfortable going into the big gym and I'm sure they didn't feel comfortable into ours." She remembered, "being really upset if they [men] came in to use the small track around the small gym, but they didn't do that all the time" (Montgomery, 1995).

Protecting their own territory and learning environment preserved the separate and unique gendered qualities of each division.

The establishment of the WAA existed in the shadows of the men's athletic program. As a gender appropriate alternative to the men's intercollegiate athletic offerings, the WAA was subject to societal dogma of femininity and presented a counter culture to men's competitive dominance. Not only was there a major philosophical divide erupting between the men's and women's PE departments, differences among the women students and their older faculty were appearing. Athletic success of some of the MSNC female students, such as Spork and Cione, started to challenge the boundaries of the restrictive PE program. Female faculty were controlling the women's academic and athletic programs as they perceived the men's PE division letting the influence of big time athletics direct their programs and facilities. Efforts to gain campus-wide support for women's athletics was the impetus to the new PE club.

**PE club.** The PE club had been an outlet where students had a voice at MSNC (*Aurora*, 1948). Little was heard from the PE Club during the inactive years of the depression and WWII. However, the club reemerged after the war, strong in numbers to encourage "participation in major sports and other recreational activity for social broadening and better knowledge of athletics in general" (*Aurora*, 1949, p. 88). A few years later the organization separated into a men's and women's organization (*Aurora*, 1952). The PE club was still widely popular and maintained the greatest number of student members compared to any other student club on campus (*Aurora*, 1952). Popularity of the club represented the strong presence of athletics, IM's and PE majors on campus.

As the interest and attention placed on men's athletics increased post-war, the direction of the PE department diverged farther away from its educational mission. Throughout the 1920s,



the philosophical divide experienced between the men's and women's division was bridged by the student-organized, faculty-assisted PE Club (*Aurora*, 1928, 1952). Like the separation of the departments, dividing of the PE Club resulted differently for the men and women students.

Women maintained active women's sport and physical education club involvement throughout the 1940s and into the next several decades (*Aurora*, 1952). Consequently, the men's PE club dissolved during this time, only to revive in 1971 for a few years and eventually faded due to the lack of student interest (Pedersen, 1996). The interest and resources were overshadowed by the growing emphasis on competitive varsity athletic programs (Isbell, 1971). Prioritizing the few talented athletes over the many in PE and IM's presented another conflict in the department. This story will continue to unfold into the next era under the leadership of a new president, Eugene B. Elliot (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1948).

### **Women's Recreation Association (WRA)**

The women's involvement in intercollegiate athletics began to resurface at the end of the 1940s and into the 1950s as play days and sports days gained popularity (Park, 1995). The Women's PE club prospered and those with specific interest in athletics and recreations also joined the WAA. The addition of recreational activities in the late 1940s served as the impetus for changing the WAA to the Women's Recreation Association (WRA; *Normal News*, 1947, November 6). By 1948, the women's PE department had added outdoor recreation courses to the PE teacher training curriculum, contributing to the name change (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1948). Although the WRA remained a student run organization, it was under the auspices of the department and in accordance to the primary task of producing well-trained PE teachers in a variety of activities.

Val Moffett recalled the WRA camping experience as one of her favorites: “Spring camp in Chelsea, MI...here all the students [pointing to her WRA scrapbook]...our honored guest Pete Hartwick from the University of Michigan, and even President Munson would come out to greet the students” (Moffett, 1995). Moffett (1995) added that both the PE director, Doc McCullough, and WRA faculty advisor, Kay Batchelet, came to honor the awards delivered to the students at the end of intramural athletic seasons at the spring camping retreat. The women received their “M” letters and pins away at camp, while the men received theirs from coaches at an annual athletic banquet (Moffett, 1995).

As elected members of the WRA, students scheduled and supervised intra-mural activities for women at Michigan State Normal College (*Aurora*, 1949). Aside from co-recreational nights in the gymnasium, the WRA also sponsored two weekend camping trips in the spring and fall. Membership was open to all women on campus and by the 1950s the group had grown to hundreds (*Aurora*, 1952). Each year a new executive board was elected and women ran campus-wide campaigns to lead the popular organization (*Normal News*, 1947, November 6). Leadership structures maintained a women led and operated organization. The club was advised by a faculty member within the physical education department that also coordinated the camping trips off campus.

The college newspaper posted weekly athletic schedules for both men and women’s athletics activities. The WRA women’s basketball schedule would state:

Thursday, March 19<sup>th</sup>, the CB’s will play the Swishers while Dennison plays Howell at 7 p.m. At 8 p.m Logie will play Sigma Nu Scorers while the Jets will play the Alpha Sigs...(*Normal News*, 1953, March 19, p. 6)

Although the WRA received space in the school paper, it was marginal compared to that dedicated to the varsity, intramural, and club activities for the MSNC men. The men's schedules were published with weekly scores, conference standings, and performance results. Roughly once a month, the WRA would post a small article on upcoming events, compared to the full pages on men's athletics adorn with pictures of coaches and captains.

The WRA women remained grounded in their guidelines and purpose, which read:

1. To promote and foster an extracurricular program of wholesome recreational activities for all Michigan State Normal women;
2. To encourage co-recreational activities whenever possible;
3. To foster and create good sportsmanship, leadership, and a spirit of unity among women students;
4. To secure and further opportunities of co-operation between faculty, students, and other student organizations on this campus (*WRA Guidelines*, 1952, p. 2)

Values of sportsmanship, unity, and well-rounded development radiated from the WRA organization. These values were consistent with general PE perceptions of the era, as well as perceptions of women (Gerber et al., 1974). Gradually, women's involvement in sport began to increase as more competitive intercollegiate and interscholastic competition emerged (Gerber et al., 1974) marking a change in socially acceptable behaviors and attitudes around gender.

Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, reports of WRA intercollegiate competition appeared more frequently in the *Normal News* newspaper. Field hockey and swimming were among the few sports that regularly appeared in the newspaper. Between 1950 and 1953, the field hockey team, loosely coached by women's PE faculty, maintained an intercollegiate athletics schedule (Neve, 2016). Schedules varied year to year with five competitions in 1950,

only two in 1951, and six in 1953 (Neve, 2016). Throughout the 1950s these competitions were played in the spirit of “Sport Days” and eventually gave rise to intercollegiate competition decades later. Figure 37 presents the PE organizational structure and athletic leadership at MSNC following the return from WWII and the rapid increase in student enrollment.

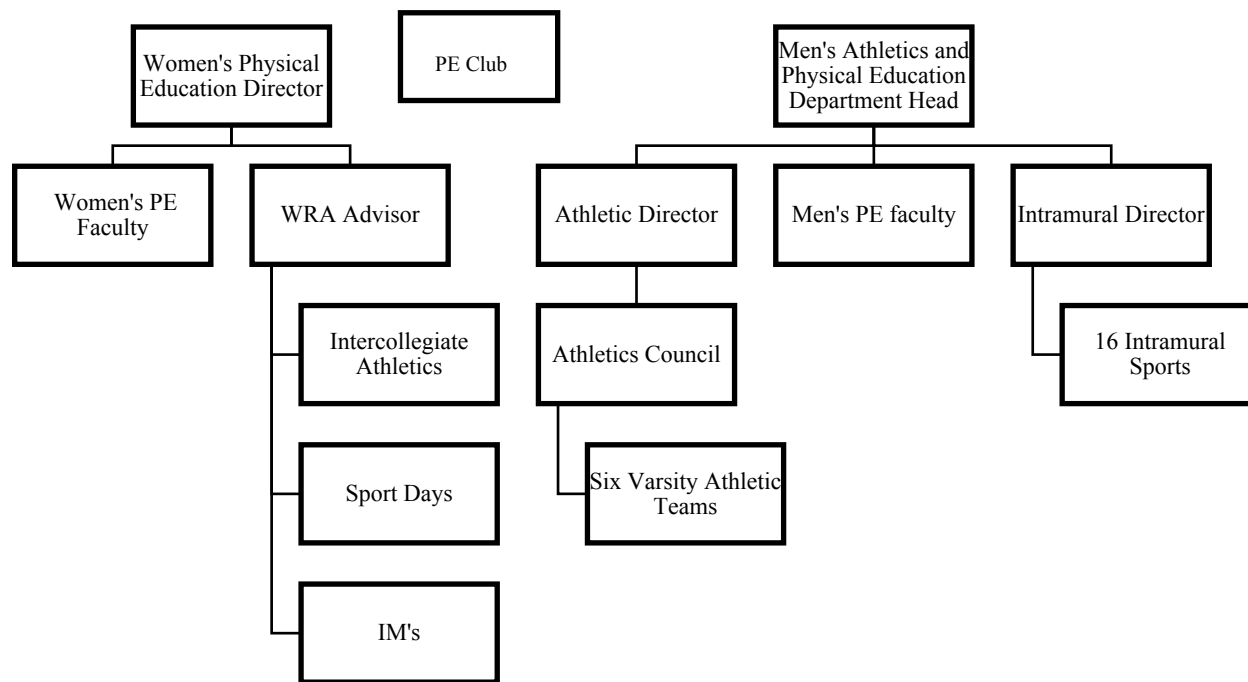


Figure 37. Men's and women's organizational structure and functions.

Figure 37 draws the expansion of IM sport offerings and the return of informal return of intercollegiate athletics for women.

## Conclusions

Cultural and environmental implications contributed to the existent divergence between men's and women's PE and athletic developments at MSNC. From the cultural environment, women went from their place being in the home or in a classroom to public places of labor throughout WWII. As the country was thrust into war, gender roles and expectations were forced to change. The men returned to the labor force and women were betwixt outdated cultural expectations and new defined roles. The external environment, driven by the challenges of war,

the GI Bill, and trends in intercollegiate athletics at large universities shaped how the men at MSNC organized their athletic program. The same was true for the women who also looked for the external environment for guidance. Women PE leaders followed recommendations from the Women's Division of NAAF and medical journals reporting the ill-effects of physical activity on women's bodies, mainly reproduction. Each division responded to different environmental and cultural narratives external to the MSNC organization, essentially Michigan State Normal College was a microcosm of the greater American story.

Part 2, 1849 to 1950, highlighted the changes to the men's and women's PE and men's and women's athletic function at MSN. The athletic function for men began external to the core function of the organization, whereas women's athletic activities originated internal to the academic core as part of the PE production function. The regulatory institutional environment required every teacher to be trained in physical training amplifying the MSNC mission of health, fitness, and hygiene. This in turn justified maintaining a robust PE faculty at MSN and was the impetus for a joint men's and women's physical culture department in 1894. However, soon after the establishment of the physical culture department, the department split into men's and women's division, separating the production function by gender. This made each division susceptible to outside forces mentioned above. Gender, sexism, and culturally appropriate roles influenced how the men's and women's department were structured and the task they produced. More importantly, it influenced the relationship PE had with intercollegiate athletics.

By the 1910's the men's PE division fully adopted athletics as a core component to their curriculum. The women approached athletics with reservations and experimented a few times with intercollegiate athletics before dissolving organized intercollegiate athletics all together. Instead they participated in more recreational activities such as intramurals, play days, and sports

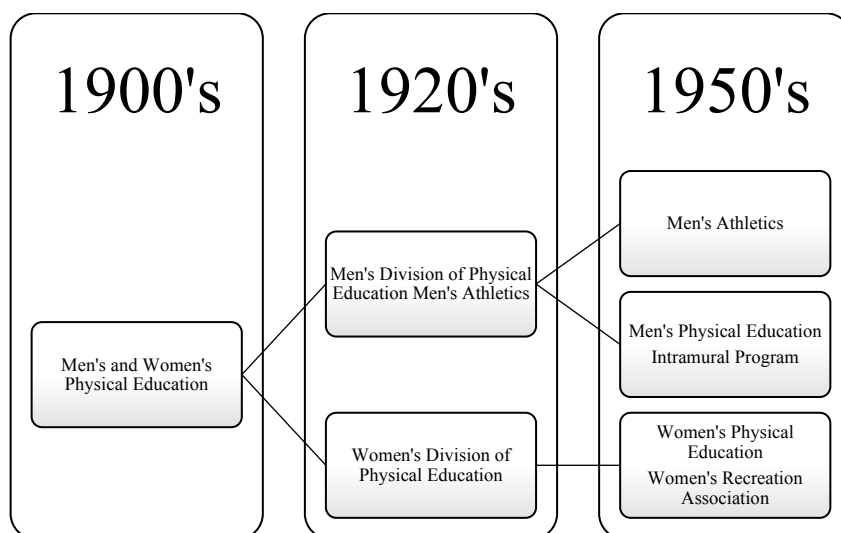
days that upheld a philosophy of sports for all. The men, however, were more closely aligning with a sports for the few in order to maintain competitive teams and winning seasons congruent with the national trend. This was also a mechanism to masculinize the institution, making it more legitimate in the field of higher education.

Funding streams for men's and women's athletics emerged differently as well. Since the men's athletics function originated external to the organization, the students procured funding via membership fees, ticket sales, alumni, donors, and community sponsors. Early sporting events often came with cash prizes for top finishes and proved to be lucrative to the Normal Athletic Association (NAA). However, funding was inconsistent and often varied by the number of active NAA members. During this time, men made up 20% of campus compared to the women overwhelmingly pursuing jobs as teachers. Whereas the male students were managing their own operation, the female students never had financial autonomy over their sporting endeavors. Instead, the funds were managed internal to the PE department and institution. It was not until the introduction of the Women's Athletic Association (WAA) that a small budget was allocated for women's athletic activities. Still, the women participated in fundraisers in order to meet basic needs for their few intercollegiate activities. Even though the institution prepared a majority of women compared to men to be teachers, funding for athletics disproportionately favored men. Men's presence in leadership at Michigan State Normal College was incommensurate with the numbers of women professors and students. Perhaps the funding associated with the minority of men contributed to their dominance of the institution.

The technical training of men and women teachers varied as well. Women were trained to be primary and secondary teachers, equipped to teach PE as part of the school's curriculum. Once specialization in teaching occurred, more women pursued a PE major specific for teaching

physical education. The male students, however, not only received training to teach PE, they were being trained as athletic coaches for the growing interscholastic and intercollegiate athletic programs. Again, these factors in the external environment—growing Michigan population, new school districts and the addition of interscholastic sports—influenced the tasks of Michigan State Normal College. There was a demand for women to teach and men to teach and coach in schools.

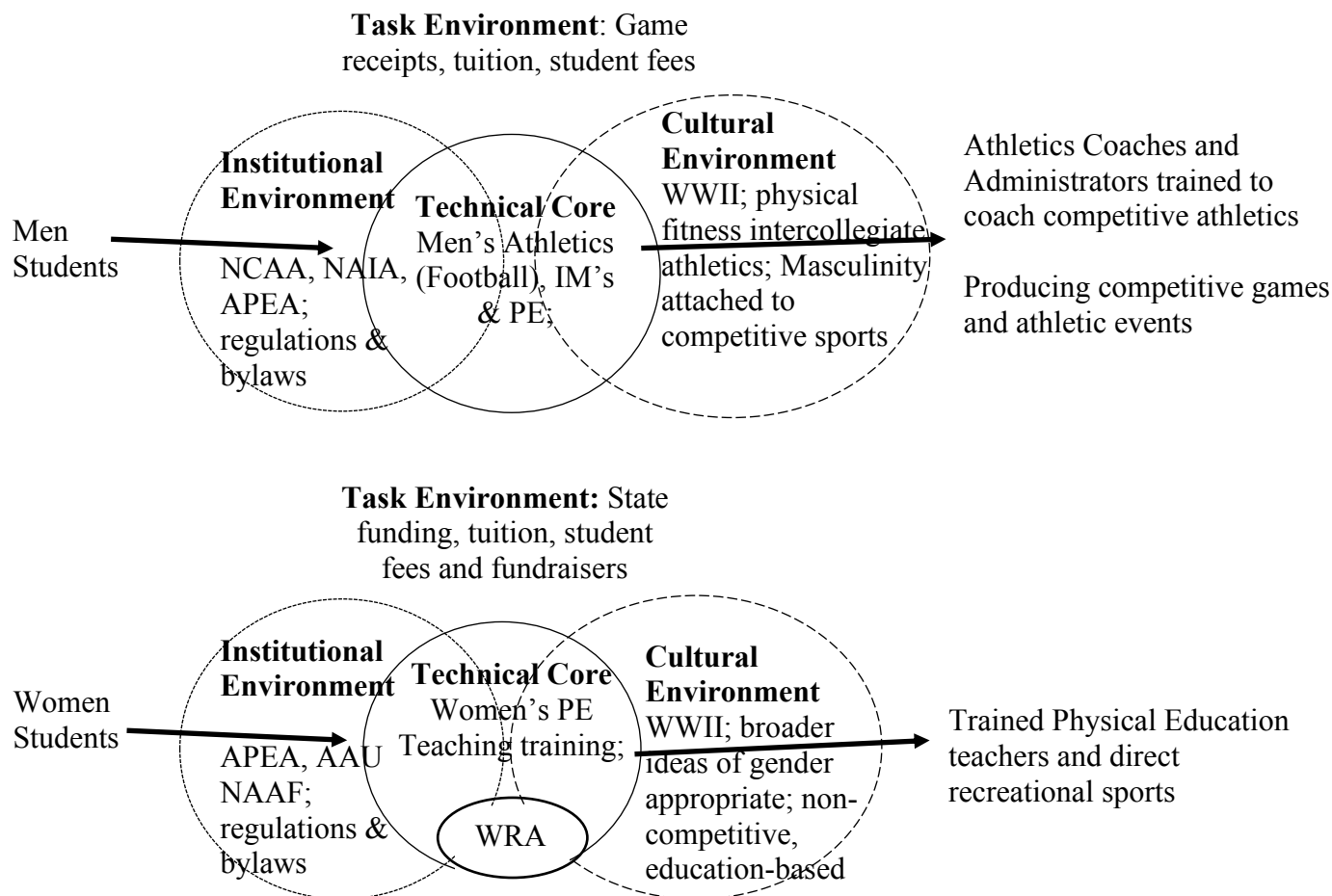
Although the athletics movement at MSNC had transformed greatly over the 50 years, the men's evolution started to resemble that of other intercollegiate athletic programs. These transitions, however, did not occur with ease. Conflict existed between the men's and women's division, PE students and PE faculty, as well as the PE faculty and non-PE faculty. Figure 38 highlights the divide not only between the men's and women's programs, but between the men's PE department and athletics that started to occur throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The figure also attempts to illustrate a stratification of priority and resources allocated to these organizational tasks.



*Figure 38.* Bifurcation of the physical education department at MSNC.

The divisions illustrated here occurs as a result of many cultural factors that have been pervasive throughout 20<sup>th</sup> century. Masculinity and femininity in society played out at Michigan State Normal College in the form of culturally appropriate roles and tasks for the male and female graduates. The gender dichotomy found its way into the curriculum as well as the guiding philosophies. Men adopted a winning ethos, whereas the women emphasized participation, rejecting winning and competition. Resources for the athletics program at MSNC became contingent on their ability to win. This accelerated the addition of new athletic complexes and regulating player eligibility for men's athletics. Game production of men's athletics was realized early on as athletic meetings documented the evolution of regulations and policies to protect athletics presence at MSNC. Figure 39 presents the change in tasks for men's and women's PE programs throughout this era.





*Figure 39.* Comparison of the institutional, technical, and cultural environments between men's and women's athletic departments at MSNC.

Men's PE fully integrated athletics and intramurals into the technical core in part to support the training of men coaches and administrators for interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics. The curriculum reflected broader cultural sport themes of competitiveness and winning, whereas the women maintained a commitment to broad-based sporting opportunities. The introduction of the Women's Athletic Association and eventual Women's Recreation Association slightly shifted the core to include non-competitive recreational roles for MSNC graduates. Influential regulatory bodies of the era, mainly NCAA and NAIA for men and PE-

related organizations for men and women, along with cultural genders norms affirmed these separate production functions.

As the emphasis on winning and competition grew for intercollegiate men's athletics, so did the conflicts. Conflicts mainly experienced between the men and women's PE division diverted the men's and women's PE and athletic functions to pursue different tasks. Although this conflict existed internal to the organization, they were susceptible to those existent in the external environment. These internal and external conflicts will become more clear over the next 30 years as the influence of big time men's athletics and the social dogma of women in sports changes. Conflict over resources and legitimacy, which result in organizational changes and diversification of production function, drives a greater wedge between the divergent philosophies of the men's and women's PE and athletic functions.

### **Part 3: Intercollegiate Athletics and Athletic Leadership at Eastern Michigan University**

In 1949, Michigan State Normal College celebrated 100 years and welcomed a new president, Eugene B. Elliot. Under Elliot's leadership, enrollment exploded from 2,601 in 1950 to 10,226 in 1965 (*Enrollment records, 1948-2002*). Dramatic expansion also gave rise to two institutional name changes—Eastern Michigan College to Eastern Michigan University—which included the addition of a graduate school in 1953 and the College of Arts and Sciences in 1959 (Isbell, 1971). Offering graduate programs advanced the school's core function and was the start to academic program diversification throughout the 1950s and 1960s (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin, 1956-1964*).

The change in women's roles in society during and after WWII, began to shift the predominant PE ideology (Cahn, 1994). Within the women's PE profession, a new progressive philosophy to women's athletics challenged the traditional philosophy opposed to competition (Cahn, 1994; Park, 1996). Around the country, disagreements and disruption to the status quo, began to redefine women in competition as well as in other social institutions and vocations. By the late 1950s, women were allowed to engage in competitive athletics through "sound, carefully planned, and well-directed program of extramural sports" (Cahn, 1994, p. 88). This change not adopted universally. The limiting culturally defined gender expectation, unequal opportunities, and image of women as housewives still dominated the mainstream throughout the 1950s (Stanley, 1996). Ideals around feminine weakness and subordination continued; however, the context was changing. The 1950s and 1960s were marked by the fight of minorities and later women for equal rights. Adopted legislation began to recognize women's and minority rights. Brown versus the Board of Education in 1954, the civil rights movement, Equal Pay Act in 1963,

and the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 were cornerstones to the changes experienced in society (Brinkley, 1995).

This section draws particular attention to the developments at Michigan State Normal College (Eastern Michigan University) between the years 1950 to 1980. Part 3 introduces the evolution of men's and women's athletics and athletic leadership structures throughout the next 30 years. This story will highlight and analyze the organizational changes as it pertains to seeking legitimacy in the institutional, cultural, and task environments.

## Section 1: Elliot: From Normal to Eastern (1948–1965)

### Introduction

Postwar life in the America had a tremendous impact on higher education. The GI Bill gave young men access to a college education. The perception of college being an exclusive right to the wealthy or elite classes began to shift to a universal right. Federal, state, and local governments saw education as essential to economic growth, which reinforced national security, and a steady workforce (Brinkley, 1995). High school graduates were to fill a demand of skilled and professional labor in American industries prompting a surge in post-secondary education. This led to rapid growth in college campus all over America (Isbell, 1971; Thelin, 2004). Most institutions were not prepared for such growth, and universities had to adapt quickly to the demands (Thelin, 2004). Problems such as space—classroom, housing, buildings—as well as instructions and program offerings responded to the change and new student profiles (Isbell, 1971).

In 1948, the State Board of Education appointed Eugene B. Elliot to serve as Michigan State Normal College's fourteenth resident. Elliot came with "a reputation fit for the Education God's" (Isbell, 1971, p. 207). He was a Michigan native who received his doctorate from University of Michigan and served several years with the Michigan State Board of Education for research, public instruction, and finance (Isbell, 1971). The faculty favored Elliot and upon his arrival they expected him to exercise more decision-making control on campus (Isbell, 1971). Non-PE faculty were concerned of the athletic presence at MSNC and hoped their new leader would uphold their wishes (Isbell, 1971). PE faculty overseeing the men's athletic program would prove to be a point of contention in Elliot's tenure. Interestingly, women's athletic involvement on campus was exactly what Elliot hoped to promote.

### **All in a Name**

In 1948 upon Elliot's arrival, enrollment was at an all-time high of 2,800 (MSN Bulletin, 1948). In the years following, specifically, 1952, 1955, 1957, and 1958, more men than women were enrolled (*Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002). This contributed to a change in the production function and explained the rapid growth for the institution. By 1964, enrollment exploded to over 8,000 and he anticipated 10,000 as the magic number for campus capacity (*Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002). Campus swelled from 18 to 37 buildings and acreage nearly doubled (Isbell, 1971). Consistent with growing racial diversity and minorities attendance on campus, there was diversification in the academic curriculum and student extracurricular interests (*Aurora*, 1956).

Changes in the academic offerings prompted a discussion around the MSNC identity and task. For years, there was much consideration in dropping the "Normal" from the name and MSNC was the only of the three normal schools in Michigan to retain the label (Isbell, 1971). Central State Normal dropped "Normal" prior to WWII and Western State Normal in 1927. Some thought the "Normal" was antiquated and associated with two-year programs from an earlier era and unfairly represented the current academic offerings. In all actuality, Normal was synonymous with women, and this was a college attempting to be more masculine. The men's track and field team even struggled to gain entrance to certain intercollegiate contests because the Normal name was perceived as illegitimate (Athletics Executive Council minutes, 1947, October 5). After receiving State Board approval to change the name, Eastern Michigan College was selected as the new name and effective July 1, 1956 (Isbell, 1971). Three years later the name changed again from Eastern Michigan College to Eastern Michigan University (EMU) like their sister institutions—Central Michigan University and Western Michigan University.

Historian Isbell recalled the changes in academics and athletics at EMU. Faculty teaching loads were said to be unmanageable with a teaching load of 15 credits and class sizes up to 60 students (Isbell, 1971). In March of 1958, the Interfaculty Council of the Michigan Colleges of Education recommended a reduced load from 15 to 12 credit hours (Isbell, 1971). EMU accepted the recommendation in 1960 after a self-study. Teaching loads were reduced and offset by hiring more faculty to keep up with growing enrollment (Isbell, 1971).

**Searching for identity.** President Elliot directed the institution since 1948 and maintained its function to prepare educators for K-12 public schools in Southeast Michigan (*Aurora*, 1949). The institution offered teaching training in the arts, business, early elementary, upper elementary, high school, home economics, industrial arts, library studies, music, physical education, recreation, and special education (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1956-57). Eastern Michigan College, also expanded into pre-professional training offering preparation for dentistry, engineering, forestry, law, medicine and osteopathy, mortuary sciences, pharmacy, social work, and occupational therapy. All of the pre-professional programs were added to Eastern Michigan College during Elliot's presidency. Rapid diversification occurred throughout the 1950s attracting more students and graduating students with non-teaching degrees, which also contributed to the EMC name change in 1956 (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1956-57).

Southeast Michigan had undergone tremendous change following WWII that led to population growth and economic transformation. Historian Alan Brinkley (1995) posited four powerful changes in American life throughout the 1950s. These changes included the Red Scare of Communism and the Cold War; economic growth and affluence as a result of government spending and capitalism; and two cultural movements including one that felt restricted by the

current culture and norms, and a counterculture that was emerging underneath the surface (Brinkley, 1995). The change most relevant to Southeast Michigan and EMC was the growing economy from auto manufacturing and necessary labor force to keep up with the demand (Martelle, 2012). The postwar era between 1945 and 1970 marked the most prosperous time due in part to the automobile industry (Martelle, 2012). The stability of the auto industry was coupled by a population boom and suburban sprawl (Martelle, 2012). By 1960, 16% of the automobile workforce were African American, giving rise to a black middle class in Southeast Michigan (Martelle, 2012). Together, the factors of a strong auto industry, expansion of the highway system throughout Michigan and the U.S., and a prosperous middle class, aided in the advancement of Eastern Michigan University.

Brinkley (1995) further added during this time, annual household incomes tripled and population grew at twice the rate in the 1950s giving rise to the baby boom era. Brinkley (1995) also reported that 10% of the country's population—18 million—moved to the suburbs giving rise to the prominent sectors of the economy, housing, automobile, infrastructure and consumer industries. Expanding neighborhoods and urban sprawl from Detroit's industrial center, generated professional needs that EMC graduates could serve. These new demands amplified a need for a diverse workforce and skills. By adding pre-professional programs while maintaining the primary task of teacher training, Eastern Michigan College was able to recruit more students and resources to the institution (Isbell, 1971). Ultimately, this diversified the college's function, from a primarily education to pre-professional training institution (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1958-59).

Physical Education continued to be the largest program at Eastern Michigan College (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1958-59). For decades, the department was able to rely on



federally mandated physical education requirements as a stable pipeline for course enrollment. Every student pursuing a teaching degree was required to complete 16 credits of Group VII Physical Education, whereas students going into non-teaching degrees (i.e., occupational therapy or pre-professional degrees) required four semester hours (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1949-50). These mandatory activity and fitness classes served as a primary recruiting tool for men and women into the PE major or other PE elective courses.

The men's department used the courses to screen talented men for either intramural or school sponsored athletics competition (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1950-51). The women's department used their general PE courses to recruit students to the broad-based Women's Recreation Association (*Aurora*, 1951). The PE and Recreation Club were available for all students in physical education and brought in speakers in the field as well as organized recruiting events for the major (*Aurora*, 1951). If the credit production were illustrated as a pie, the PE faculty had a hefty piece, eventually attracting criticism from faculty in non-PE and athletics related departments for the number of required hours PE (Pedersen, 1996). As remembered by Pedersen (1996), non-PE faculty perceived the mandatory PE courses as a way to bolster the resources for PE faculty creating conflict and competition within the faculty at EMC.

Eastern Michigan College expanded from teacher preparation to include other fields altering the history and tradition of Michigan State Normal College. In the 1956-58 *Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, educational aims and objectives promised its patrons "that the college has not changed its function in its century-old history but has expanded and broadened it. The basic education that produces good teachers produces good citizens" (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1956-58, p. 9). The statement appeared to be an attempt to curb faculty

concerns over new programs competing for resources and a deviation from the education first identity. From Elliot's perspective, expanding degree offerings was a strategy for seeking congruency with the changing economy and labor force of the time (Isbell, 1971). Diversifying the degrees at EMC had the hope of attracting new resources and students necessary to adapt to a growing Michigan economy.

### **Men's Athletics and an Elliot Presidency**

Under the new leadership of President Elliot, PE faculty anticipated growth and advancements to the intercollegiate athletic program (Athletic Board of Control minutes, 1948). Men's athletics at Michigan State Normal College, prior to the name change, were inclined to keep up with trends in intercollegiate athletics. Elite athletic programs were building massive stadiums and training facilities for athletes, coaches were being hired and fired, and winning teams were analogous with steady streams of money (R. K. Smith, 1996). Those driving this narrative were the large, powerful, and prominent universities (R. K. Smith, 1996). All of these large institutions were members of the NCAA that served as a regulatory body in charge of the ongoing rules and regulations for all intercollegiate athletics (R. K. Smith, 1996). The NCAA was comprised of the colleges and universities who paid their dues to become members. The NCAA entity was created to codify rules and protect larger institutions control over intercollegiate athletics, particularly the money it was generating for those schools (Washington, 2004). Therefore, the NCAA wrote rules and regulations in order to create a mechanism that ensured their rights to control athletics for the institutions at the top. And those at the top were those who could produce the most winning games.

One mechanism for maintaining power and legitimacy was in the establishment of amateurism as a guiding principle (Flath, 1964). However, in 1950, this long-standing principle

was tested with the introduction of the athletic scholarship (Hakim, 2000). Although accounts of paying athletes and receiving back door deals for competing existed, the 1950 NCAA decision to authorize scholarship legitimized this practice (Hakim, 2000). The NCAA approved member institutions to award grants in aid for athletic talent (Hakim, 2000). The aid became a way to pay and recruit prospective players and quickly began to separate the schools that could afford scholarship from those that could not. For 20 years, scholarship amounts and numbers went unregulated, widening the competitive gap between institutions that could buy talent (Hakim, 2000). Hakim (2000) detailed how the ability to grant scholarship was contingent on the financial wealth of an institutions.

This open market operation only widened the gap between the have and have not institutions. Not every university and college administration agreed with the idea of scholarships for athletes. One of those adversaries was Michigan State Normal College's President Eugene Elliot. Elliot wanted to maintain the academic and educational component as the primary focus for every student at MSNC (*Michigan State Normal College Bulletin*, 1950). Elliot was concerned preferential athletic scholarships would send a poor message to the student body (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1950). Instead, he adhered to a spirit of play for all philosophy, which aligned more closely to the women's model. Despite the trend to offer intercollegiate athletics aid, the Hurons remained a non-scholarship institution (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1950). Joining an official athletic conference, however, was a compromise made by Elliot to provide the Huron's with their first athletic conference in 16 years (Isbell, 1971).

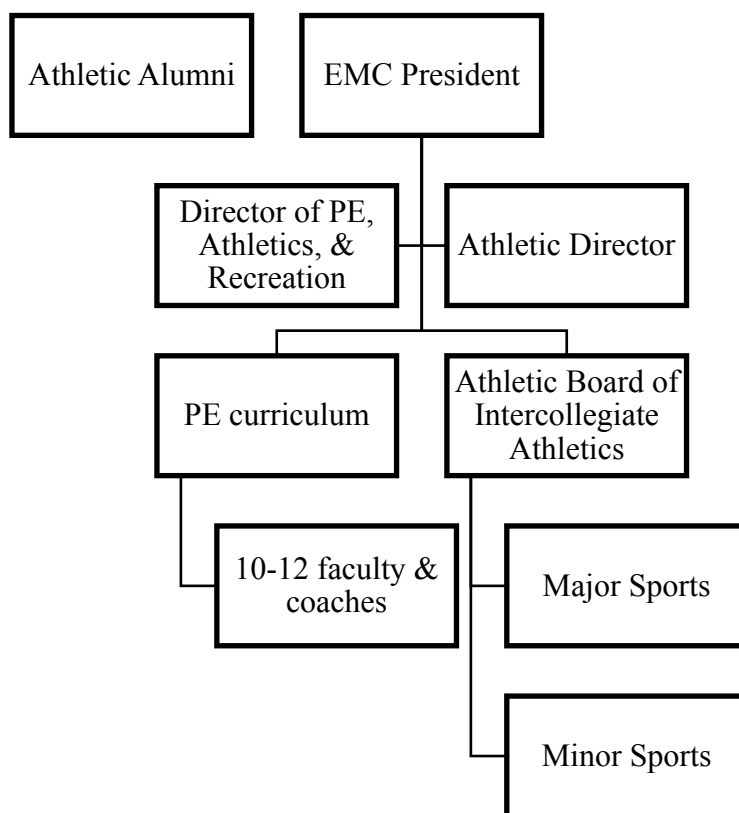
**IIAC.** The Hurons officially joined the Interstate Intercollegiate Athletics Conference (IIAC) in 1950 after competing as an independent school (Isbell, 1971). Operating as an

independent allowed for the athletic and physical education department to maintain a symbiotic relationship. This provided the coaching/PE teaching faculty the autonomy to manage their teams as they wished. The joining of a conference, however, appeared to change this dynamic. By 1950, the PE coaching faculty were managing the athletic schedule, training, travel, and finances for their sport's teams (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1950). Association with a conference would add new expectations of rules and regulations.

Competing as a member of the IIAC and NCAA introduced the school to the pressures of being accountable for their performance compared to peer institutions. Between 1950 and 1951, efforts to add athletic publicity staff on campus was an example of "trying to keep up with Jones's" in intercollegiate athletics. Tom Jacobowski, a student athletic publicity director, was appointed by Mr. Gilden in January of 1952 (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, January 21). Gilden stated that, "there seems to be a divergence of opinion regarding this job [athletic publicist] among the coaches, administration, and faculty" (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, January 21, 1952). The board in control of intercollegiate athletics consisted of professor/coach; Gilden, Olds, Marshall, Anderson, Cole, Chapman, and Ryneerson (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, January 21, 1952). All were in favor of implementing a position for sports publicity, but the idea met resistance by other faculty in the PE department.

Evidence of the disagreement served as the first real break within the men's PE department. The decision for an athletics publicist was championed and urged by none other than Elton Ryneerson, head football coach and athletic director at the time (Athletics Board of Control Minutes<sup>1</sup>, 1952, January 21). Ryneerson's was pressured by faculty to resign (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, January 21). A special meeting was called with the Board of Control of Intercollegiate Athletics asking to suspend a call for Ryneerson's resignation

(Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, January 21). The committee decided to hold off until President Elliot, the board of control, physical education department head, and Ryneerson had a chance to discuss the issue further. Ultimately, Ryneerson remained at MSNC (EMU) and continued to lead the charge for the “slow” advance intercollegiate athletics. This spat between the male PE faculty and coaches represented the beginning of the end of the physical education and athletics structure for the men’s division. Figure 40 shows the organizational structure of the men’s athletics to include the growing influence of alumni and the eventual separation of physical education and athletics functions.



*Figure 40.* Organizational leadership of men’s athletics in relation to men’s PE in the 1950s.

On the contrary, the women’s PE department was much more collegial as they continued to push a broad-based program.

A philosophical divide between competitive athletic programs and the educational value embedded in the PE department would only become more pronounced over the next 15 years. Rynearson, the head football coach, had expressed interest to follow the competitive trends of intercollegiate athletics witnessed around the country. His impassioned vision included athletic scholarships, increased ticket prices, police attendance at games, and school issued identification to regulate admission—far too costly for MSNC budgets—and more money for his football budget. In support of this proposal, Rynearson provided evidence of a stagnant athletic budget since 1948 (*Aurora*, 1952). Even though athletics was still organized as part of the PE department, there was internal and external pressure to break from the academic unit. Ultimately, the greatest conflict would be over the use of grant-in-aid for athletics (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1950-1955).

Budgets and rules authorized by the NCAA were not adopted at MSNC illustrated the tug-of-war between coaches desire for legitimacy and faculty prioritizing student learning. Meeting minutes from the Board of Control of Intercollegiate Athletics cited Rynearson's compromising efforts to cut down expenses in baseball conference play with a Friday to Saturday away game schedule (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, March 3) to demonstrate cooperation to faculty. All the while he was directing extra funds to football. Rynearson did all he could to change the perceptions of intercollegiate athletics by touting successes such as a second successive year of increased revenue from gate receipts for the 1951 football season (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, March 10). Ultimately, all of these initiatives put forth by Rynearson, represented his desire to follow big time athletics.

With joining the IIAC came the increased pressure to improve facilities in order to maintain a competitive program and keep up with the facilities arm's race (R. K Smith, 1996).

Track and field coach Olds, was engaged in efforts to raise \$120,000 for athletic facilities (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, March 3). Soliciting the help of athletics booster groups was necessary. The Quarterback Club was first booster-like group and emerged in April, 1952 (Athletics Board of Control Minutes). It was agreed upon that the chairman of the board of control, and the director of athletics meet with the local Quarterback Club “to determine and discuss their methods of operation and future plans” (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, April 21). President Elliot and Dean Isbell were present for this particular meeting and heard the cries from the men’s coaches regarding their athletic facilities and need for more resources. Requests included water for the baseball dugout, repairing the outfield fence of the baseball field, new grass on the football pitch, and a concession booth and storage for track and field equipment (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, April 21). In a meeting regarding athletic fundraising between President Elliot, the board chairmen, athletic director, and Quarterback Club, Elliot, agreed to a “hands off” policy under the known present conditions (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, June 9). Elliot may have endorsed the potential of outside funding for the advancement of athletics, but the Quarterback Club folded for reasons unknown a year later.

President Elliot and PE department head, Doc McCullough, remained firm in an educational based athletics philosophy (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, July 13). They did not wish to travel down the path of big time athletics and could easily look to the University of Michigan athletic program as a reminder of what not to do. They feared that big time athletics compromised the integrity of the academic mission (Eugene B. Elliot Memorandum, 1952, July 20). Little did they know that following big time athletics would only make the institution more legitimate in the field of higher education.

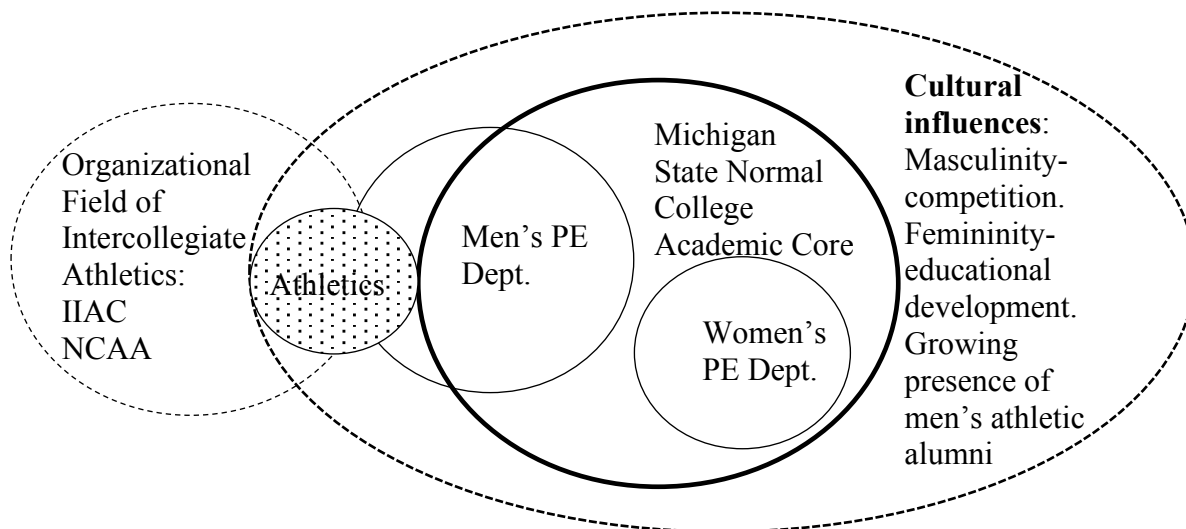
**Men's athletic conflicts.** Values held by administrative leadership, contrasted those of the greater intercollegiate athletics culture, where the desire for money and power symbolized prestige (R. K. Smith, 1996; Pope, 1997). From inside the walls of the "old gym" where both the athletic department and PE departments were located, the appeal of big time athletics was potent. The implementation of medical insurance for athletes, mandated by the NCAA, seemed to be a catalyst and strategic win for the athletics department. Small policy changes eventually lead to major athletic reform for the institution. In May of 1952, the Athletics Board of Control approved medical insurance for athletes (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952). Rynearson negotiated the contracts outlined by the NCAA, and shortly thereafter, medical budget expenses appeared in the athletic budget (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952). By August 1952, Michigan State Normal College had fully adopted the NCAA intercollegiate athletic insurance program (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1952, August 13).

In 1952, the department institutionalized their first athletics handbook. A committee was to write a Michigan State Normal Intercollegiate Athletics handbook to keep all of the new policy changes organized. By January 1953, the intercollegiate manual was completed and 500 copies were issued for faculty, staff, and students (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1953, January 5). This was the first sign of an official governance structure for MSNC athletics. The manual, however, only described the men's athletic model. The women's model remained to be student-led, faculty-advised, and intramural in nature.

The Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics, comprised of men's athletic coaches and student representatives, continued to operate as a separate entity within the PE umbrella. Elton Rynearson, who had been re-appointed athletic director in 1948 by Elliot and remained in the position until 1957, taught in the PE department and managed the men's 12 sports (*Aurora*,



1957). Rynearson influenced the trajectory of men's athletics by advocating for NCAA policies and change. The Michigan State Normal College men continued to compete within the Interstate Intercollegiate Athletic Conference and were members of the NCAA. Both regulatory bodies presented new expectations for the Hurons to meet. Figure 41 illustrates the relationship between the men's PE and athletics functions at MSNC.



*Figure 41.* Change in athletics production function at Michigan State Normal College.

Figure 41 depicts the changing relationship between athletics and men's PE. Athletics was mimicking other athletic organizations within their IAC conference including other NCAA membership schools. Contrary to the men, the women's department remained within the educational core of the institutions and was steadfast to their philosophical ideals and function of training certified PE teachers.

Rynearson aimed to identify the discrepancies between funding for MSNC athletics compared to their conference peers. He requested every coach track expenses for their sport by keeping receipts and itemize expenses (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1953, March 23). This information obtained from sporting expenses was used to build a case for athletics and highlight how under supported the athletic budget was compared to other programs. Budgets

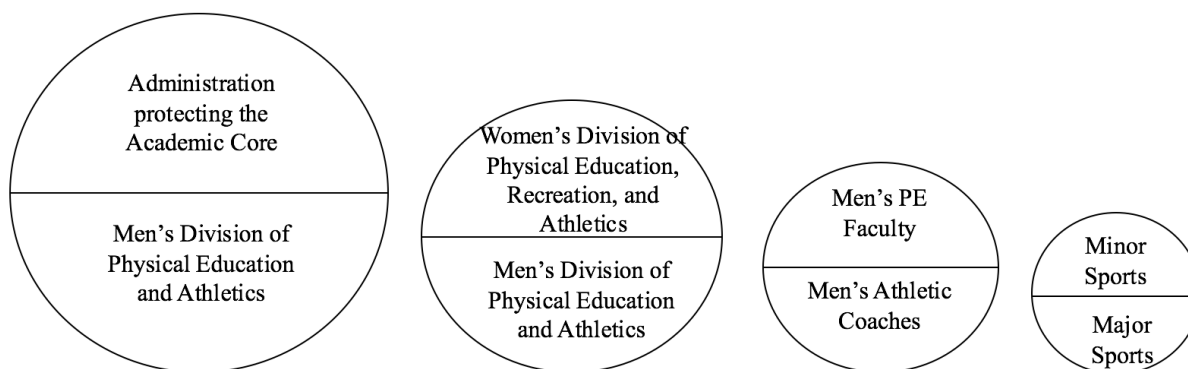
concerns were only amplified by the difficulty in retaining assistant coaches necessary to establish winning programs. Many MSNC graduates coached for a season or two, to then leave for other institutions and interscholastic programs. Several meeting minute records outlined the constant approval of hiring another assistant to replace the former (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1950-1956). Head coaches continually asked for more assistant coaches, while Rynearson understood the request he suggested doubling up and hiring shared appointments. The struggles to retain talented young coaches added to the conflicts and Rynearson's perceptions that MSNC athletics was falling behind.

Tensions were evident between sports in the board meetings. Arguments between football-baseball and Track and field prompted a motioned amendment to the athletic body. The motion read:

And in giving approval, the Board in Control of Inter-collegiate Athletics states that it can find no evidence that any major inter-collegiate sport is being over-emphasized at Michigan State Normal College. The Board believes that present and immediately past allotments of finance and personnel have been reasonably fair; and directs that the Athletic Director should continue to allot money and hire and assign personnel so that there is no decrease for any major sport. (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1953, July 15)

Major sports at Michigan State Normal included football, basketball, and baseball. Despite having one of the best records in the country, Lloyd Old's Track and Field/Cross Country teams were considered minor. Marshall, Cole, Rynearson, Hershey, Di Biaggio, Gilden, Leib, Trosko, and Crouch were among those present and the five Board members unanimously voted to carry the amendment (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1953, July 15). Ironically, all of those

present for this vote were coaches, assistants, or students within the identified major sports. Not only was conflict erupting between the administration and athletics, PE faculty and athletic coaches, but even between the athletic programs. Figure 42 depicts the conflicts associated with the men's intercollegiate athletic program.



*Figure 42.* Conflicts between and within the men's athletic department.

There was the resistance and reluctance from administration to travel down the road to big time athletics and held a strong commitment to their academic core. For decades, the men's and women's divisions were completely independent and operating with separate philosophies and guiding principles. In the 1950s, a conflict between the PE branch and athletic branch of the division took root. Faculty emphasized an educational preparation, whereas the coaching faculty advocated for the resources to necessary for winning athletic teams. Rynearson and other athletic board members advocated for the use of scholarships, improved athletic facilities, increased gate receipts, and police presence to regulate game attendance. Such request led to more conflicts between athletic programs; mainly the major and minor programs. Despite the success of the program (i.e., cross country/track and field) sports were categorized as major or minor based on national popularity and their ability to generate revenue (R. K. Smith, 1996). Therefore, football, basketball, and baseball became major sports, and the other programs were perceived as minor

(R. K. Smith, 1996; Pope, 1997). This dichotomy produced many fissures within the athletic department and across campus.

In January of 1954, the Athletics Board of Control discussed the increasing need of campus jobs for “needy athletes.” Rynearson met with the President Elliot, for which prompted further investigation on the hours worked, jobs held, supervision, and relation of each to the campus as a whole (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954, January 5). A subcommittee was appointed to gather the information and later found that athletes were being discriminated against in employment on campus (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1958, January 8). Evidence was produced and shared by the Director of Physical Education five years later comparing 45 employed student athletes to 805 employed students (Report on Financial Aid and Work Opportunities, 1962-63). The finding aimed to build a case for awarding student athlete’s employment on campus. This was just a symptom of a deeper issue, coach’s desire for bargaining power to attract prospective student athletes. Since scholarships were against Elliot’s philosophical order, offering campus jobs served as a loophole. The conflict over student athletes occupying campus employment played out as a microcosm of a larger trend—athletics pulling farther away from the educational mission.

The board also recommended that a member of the Alumni Association serve on the Board of Control of Intercollegiate Athletics. This motion passed and marked the first time the athletics body bridged with another campus department in hopes of attracting resources (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954, January 25). Foraging a partnership with the Alumni Association also allowed the athletic department to work around Elliot’s strict educational dogma. Instead coaches could work through alumni networks to attract Michigan State Normal College’s next talent while coaxing donations for equipment and other athletic expenses.

Athletics access to alumni increased their power and access to resources. President Elliot countered the power wielding partnership with a new college constitution requiring the board to balance its membership (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954, October 18). Recommendations were to have six elected faculty members with three ex-officio faculty members; two appointed by President Elliot, and one elected by the PE department; and two students (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954, October 18). Months following this legislative action, nominations and votes were received for a few appointments to the athletics board. Those already serving were automatically re-elected. No representatives from the women's division were included in this new structure (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954, October 18). Meanwhile the women continued to direct their PE division, advise the WRA, and organize informal competitions with PE colleagues at other institutions.

While enrollment into the WRA and PE Club were record high, the interest in the men's Varsity Club was waning (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, January 17). Athletics emphasis on competition and less broad-based appealed to fewer students and may have been the reason for a diminishing Varsity Club numbers. Recreational activities carried values more closely associate with the femininity—fun, friendly, non-competitive, and cooperative. Having an athletic program for the few talented athletes represented values of competitiveness and excellence aligned with masculine behaviors. Men at MSNC were more interested in the competitive offerings. The presence of men's intercollegiate athletics was palpable. Men wore block 'M' on their varsity sweaters as artifacts to their varsity status, an odd resemblance to the block 'M' worn by University of Michigan athletes (*Aurora*, 1957). By 1957, the Athletics Board of Control urged the Varsity Club take over distribution of the 'M' pins as an attempt to

return some control to the student-organization (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957). Such symbols and rituals served to reinforce the athletic culture at EMU and beyond.

**Financial aid and Huron athletics.** Athletic program across the nation were starting to implement grant in aid or scholarships to intercollegiate athletes (R. K. Smith, 2000). Fellow members in the IIAC were using athletic aid as recruiting tools and incentives to retain athletic talent. The Board of Control of Intercollegiate Athletics at Eastern Michigan University explored the use of aid through the Student Aid Corporation (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954). The Student Aid Corporation operated as the financial aid office allocating aid to students based on need and merit (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1954). Recommendations by the committee included donor's ability to earmark funds to athletes and that applications/requests made by the Student Aid Corporation can be directed toward qualified students (who show extracurricular promise) (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955). This proposal came conveniently after the Alumni Association partnership with athletics in 1954. Although this was a proposed model for directing grant-in-aid to athletes, the board agreed that grant-in-aid would not be harmful if they were handled through the regular scholarship office avoiding preferential consideration of athletes (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, May 14).

At this same time, proposals were passed allowing high school bands and football teams to attend games (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, September 22). Complimentary tickets were issued in the name of "community relations," to athletes, former varsity award winners, and coaches associated with interscholastic sports (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, September 22). The list of approved recipients of complimentary tickets continued to grow over the years. The board also approved a spring football camp and coaching clinic put on by Head Coach Fred Trosko (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955). Outside groups rented

athletic facilities and produced yet another revenue generating opportunity for men's athletics (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, October 19). The clinics, complimentary tickets, facility rental, earmarked scholarships to athletes were recruiting tools for future athletic talent and athletic dollars. Collectively, the efforts to generate revenue and attract athletic talent demonstrated the national trend of athletics as a commercial enterprise.

### **Decline in Teaching Certification: Impacts on Eastern Michigan College**

Legislation effective July 1, 1956 officially changed Michigan State Normal College to Eastern Michigan College (Minutes of General Faculty, 1955, June 1). A national decline in students pursuing secondary education was cited as a reason for the name change (Minutes of General Faculty, 1955, June 1). A 1956 report issued by the American Council on Education (ACE) highlighted the reduction of students enrolling and graduating from teacher certification programs (Minute of General Faculty, 1956, October 31). Figures detailed a 36% decrease in degree earning secondary education teachers since 1950 (ACE Report referenced in Minute of General Faculty, October 31, 1956). The ACE report illustrated the percent decline in those six years for each department, posting a 12.7% decline in women's physical education and a 46.9% decline in men's physical education (ACE Report referenced in Minute of General Faculty, 1956, October 31). Evidenced by these figures, men's interest in pursuing physical education was declining at a much faster rate than women.

The teaching profession still attracted high numbers of women, whereas other career paths were attracting men away from physical education and teaching all together. The men's PE division reported this trend as "the demand to employ present male PE graduates is not excessive, though one expects a certain amount of this since there are presently more men being trained in Physical Education than are needed, in the nation's schools at large" (Bowen, 1965, p

1-2). Previously, physical education was the primary path for men to enter into coaching careers and compete as student athletes. The men's division report expanded from the years of 1956 to 1963 detailing the downward trend of men pursuing PE degrees. The report credited the intercollegiate athletic experiences and the intramural programs as "part of their training perhaps more than the Physical Education emphasis" (Bowen, 1965, p 1). Coincidentally, Eastern Michigan College began to offer non-teaching degree's as men's interest in PE and teaching declined. By 1963, the men's division of physical education was studying ways to revitalize the men's program in order to remain legitimate.

National figures illustrated the decline of men and women pursuing PE. The numbers of student pursuing teaching degrees at EMC were also declining forcing administrations to diversify EMC's degree offerings to retain students. The pressure to diversify was also met by a financial crisis for the State of Michigan (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28). In 1959, Governor Williams called a special conference to discuss how to address a 27.6% cut (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28). Campuses were scrambling for ways to make up the state budget deficit. At EMC, an unanticipated drop in student enrollment from 5,400 to 4,800 exacerbated the budget crisis with pressures to make up for lost monies (*Enrollment records*, 1948-2002). Low enrollment trends affected Wayne State University and University of Michigan as well (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28). Proposal to off-set the loss included relaxation of admissions policies to "encourage a slight increase" (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28, p 2-3). Three years after the Eastern Michigan College name change, the school updated to Eastern Michigan University to account for the growing emphasis on graduate school programs (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28).



The university name change reflected the change in function; the addition of graduate education and the increased diversity in the degree offerings. Growth in men's enrollment preceded the 1956 and 1959 name change (*Enrollment records*, 1948-2002). A stagnation in men's enrollment followed and the athletic department was also managing the challenge of attracting men to their teams. Ryneerson advocated for making athletics the front porch of the university (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1960). The plea was dismissed by Elliot and faculty opposition. Instead, faculty wanted to maintain an emphasis on quality instruction rather than quantity, and this created an organizational conflict between procuring resources and the mission of the institution (Minutes of General Faculty, 1959, October 28).

A decade after the introduction of the GI Bill in 1945, the mission of American Universities was transformed with subsidized access to higher education for WWII veteran (Kiestler, 1994). Male students surpassed those of women in 1952 and slowly increased through 1958 (*Enrollment records*, 1948-2002). Thelin (2004) discussed, "one consequence of the GI Bill was to masculinize the postwar campus—both in terms of sheer numbers of new male students matriculating, and by intensifying the split between typically male fields of study and those now deemed appropriate for women" (p. 267). Teaching degrees were one of the few professions appropriate for women and retention of a teacher training core function was perceived as threatening to the institutions survival. Coincidentally, in 1958 enrollment figures for male students dropped. By 1961, enrollment reflected 300 fewer male students (*Enrollment records*, 1948-2002). For the first-time women occupied a majority by over 500 since the end of the war (*Enrollment records*, 1948-2002). Administrators and particularly men's athletics feared being perceived as a women's only institution and worked to increase men's enrollment. Making the institution more masculine legitimized its place in higher education and among the other

institutions in the state (Thelin, 2004). Elliot diversified majors and degree offerings in hopes of attracting more male students (*Eastern Michigan College Bulletin*, 1964). Rynearson contributed that the growth of men's athletic opportunities would also improve EMU's ability to compete, thus attracting prospective athletes.

On the contrary, the women's division maintained robust numbers of interested women pursuing teaching and PE degrees. A report on the women's division under the supervision of Augusta Harris from 1928 to 1955 described the program: "Almost without opposition or criticism it exists today as the leading recognized women's teacher preparation program in Physical Education in Michigan, and perhaps even in the nation (Bowen, 1965, p 1). The program's reputation and alumni networks upheld the quality of the degree readily attracting students and placing graduates into teaching positions.

The activity requirements for earning a PE degree was found to have a major discrepancy between the men's and women's division (Bowen, 1965). Men were required to complete 26 hours towards a PE major, whereas women had to fulfill 49 hours, each equating to four credit hours (Bowen, 1965). No other institution of higher education in the US was known to have this stringent of a requirement (Bowen, 1965). The report could not explain the rationale for the high requirements but concluded that the morale of the students and faculty remained strong along with the programs reputation. The discrepancy in credit hours for men and women would become a point of contention in the years to come. The report also credited the quality of the leadership, instruction, and choosing the "right" staff members to maintain a successful and prestigious PE program. Since the inception of the PE program a majority of "right" staff members have been graduates of the program (Bowen, 1965, p. 2).

**Combatting low enrollment and funding.** The NCAA annual meeting in November 1955 was occupied with discussion on the problems with athletic funding. Small colleges were dependent on gate receipts, mainly from football, for managing all athletic programs (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, December 14). Ryneanson shared his relief that his athletic department received funds from student fees, taking the pressure off the football team. This funding structure allowed EMC to offer a more “balanced” athletic program (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955, December 14). However, Ryneanson’s concerns remained as Eastern Michigan College and other member institutions of the IAC conference identified as small colleges. This was a disadvantage in terms of funding and recruitment compared to the elite large universities driving the intercollegiate athletic trend. Coincidentally, IAC member, Northern Illinois University (NIU), announced providing, “board, room, and tuition to prospective athletes in order to field the caliber of athletic teams needed to compete successfully with other members of the IAC” (Ryneanson as cited in Athletic Board of Control Minutes, 1955, February 15, p. 2). This announcement came as a big change to the conference and several schools in the IAC followed NIU’s decision. NIU’s decision exemplified a rapid trend of the small colleges behaving like the large universities.

In efforts to boost male enrollment, EMC’s athletics welcomed men’s wrestling, men’s swimming, and men’s gymnastics to their varsity profile (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, January 23). Ryneanson sought to expand athletic offerings and attract more male athletes to campus. Small schools that choose not to offer scholarship looked to expand athletic offerings as a strategy to boost enrollment (*NCAA Annual Conference proceedings*, 1955). More sport teams meant more creative recruitment practices. Coaches distributed brochures highlighting the men’s intercollegiate athletic offerings as well as intramural programs to high schools, especially

those they had established connections (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, February 15). Women had their own WRA trifold brochure they shared to prospective female students attending the on campus Major Day event. The women's division had a steady stream of women interested in the PE major and their intramural program.

High school interest in utilizing Eastern Michigan College's athletic facilities increased and regulations were quickly codified. All possible contests were to be approved by the department head of PE and profits were sent to the State Treasurer, all other funds were at the discretion of the department (Regulations Concerning the Use of College Athletic Facilities, 1956). Funds generated by athletic teams using athletics playing fields was a contention issue. Athletics would eventually fight for the money to be placed in an auxiliary account and spent to maintain and staff the high school events.

The emphasis on producing competitive and winning intercollegiate athletic program was iterated by the athletic staff at Eastern Michigan College in their bi-monthly meetings. Although the budget was made stable through student fee's there were evident limitations—one of those being coaching salaries. Since all head coaches were also PE teaching faculty, the PE department budget paid their salary (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, March 28). Yet, all coaching responsibilities were paid out of the athletic budget from student fees. Interestingly, all assistant coaches received small stipends from the PE department budget and nearly all were enrolled as graduate students (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, March 28). Members of the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics considered this budgetary model a bit restricting and requested that salaries for coaching personnel be supported in the physical education department budget rather than the student activity fee-based budget (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, March 28). On the contrary, women coaches were not compensated for their coaching or

training duties outside of teaching. Their advisory roles over the PE club and WRA were perceived as service in their faculty positions. Coaching was a paying profession for men whereas for the women it was recreational and a service duty for the institution.

All of these desired changes for men's athletics triggered a self-evaluation of the Board in Control of Athletics. Members were to review the purposes of the board and make recommendations for bylaw updates in the *College Faculty Handbook*.

The original purposes from 1953 included the following:

1. To promote a sound intercollegiate athletic policy.
2. To regulate athletic relations with other colleges.
3. To make recommendations to the Presidents concerning personnel for coaching.
4. To make recommendations concerning an adequate freshman athletic program.
5. To survey indoor and outdoor athletics facilities and make recommendations.
6. To make recommendations concerning athletic budgets.
7. To preserve intercollegiate athletic records.

In 1956, an additional purpose was added by the board:

8. To uphold the principle of institutional control of, and responsibility for, all intercollegiate sports, in conformity with the Interstate Intercollegiate Athletic Conference; the National Collegiate Athletic Association; the Amateur Athletic Union; the Central Intercollegiate Association; and the North Central Association.

(Athletics Board of Control Bylaws, 1956, May 2, p. 1).

Review of the bylaws suggested deleting item 3, 6, and 7 to align with the format used by the *Student Personnel Services Handbook*. The decision to model their handbook after the student personnel reaffirmed athletics position as an extra-curricular venture. However, the 1956

addition suggested the power over athletics resides within the department with a commitment to follow the rules and policies of the regulatory bodies, mainly the IAC conference and NCAA.

IAC competitors were following the NCAA regulations, while EMC remained in a stalemate with the administration. EMC athletic coaches remarked falling farther behind their IAC opponents (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, November 20). The Illinois and Indiana schools were implementing grant in aid policies for their athletes and the EMC board expressed a need for athletic aid in order to remain competitive. This prompted an internal debate on the role of athletics at EMC. The major sport coaches including football, baseball, basketball, and even track and field desired winning and placed value on maintaining competitive programs (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, November 20). The board on A=athletics appointed yet another task force to explore the implementation of grant in aid programs at EMC. Table 3 summarizes the findings of the task force drawing comparisons to the grant-in-aid programs throughout the conference.

Table 3.  
*Grant-in-Aid, Jan. 7, 1959*  
*Student Athlete Employment*

Institutions	Grant In-Aid		Athletes Employed		
	No.	Amt.	Number	Rate	Yearly Pay
Central Michigan	50	\$215 max.	50	.80-.85	\$358
Eastern Illinois	29	\$37 per quarter	----No Information----		
Eastern Michigan	0		8	.80-.85	
I.S.N.U	7	\$37 per quarter	----No Information----		
Illinois State Normal University					
Northern Illinois	9	\$400		.75	\$400
Southern Illinois	-----No Information-----				
Western Illinois	40	\$37 per quarter	----No Information----		

*Note:* Eastern Michigan University Archives: Taken from the original source at which can be found in Appendix A. A summary of athletic grant-in-aid and student employment at the member institutions in the IAC. Information obtained from faculty representatives of member schools at the Chicago meeting of the IAC.

Recommendations concluded that aid be available to any qualified prospective student or current academically eligible student. Grants should be given yearly and funds cannot be earmarked for specific individuals but can be directed to a specified purpose (i.e., sports team; Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, November 20). These recommendations fell on the administration's deaf ears and given no consideration.

**Conference tension.** Eastern Michigan was the last institution within the IIAC to resist the use of athletic aid. This resistance was met with rumors and inquiry on conference membership. In fact, EMC was approached by the President's Athletic Conference (PAC) inquiring membership (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, December 5-6). The PAC opposed athletic aid of any sort in attempts to maintain the amateurism ethos of intercollegiate sport. EMC issued a statement defending the accusations made by members of the IIAC:

The Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics concludes that consideration is not appropriate at this time due to the lack of a full, competitive athletic program in the President's Conference. The concept of a conference based on a comprehensive, well balanced athletic program limited to comparable institutions within this geographical area is considered very desirable. However, any conference to which this institution belongs must allow the development of the type of graduate this college desires to produce. At this time, Eastern Michigan College is well satisfied with membership to the IIAC. (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1956, December 5-6)

Preference of the Tri-State (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan) geographical area, institution type (many of them with origins as normal schools), and competitive athletic programs were expressed priorities from the EMC athletic department (Athletic Board in Control Minutes, 1956,

December 5-6). Although there was discord expressed between IAC schools offering athletic scholarships, EMC wanted to remain with the conference. IAC's adoption of athletic aid was consistent with larger intercollegiate programs. EMC coaches expressed optimism with Elliot and the administration's agreement on the eventual use of athletic aid; this, however, would prove difficult. Meanwhile the women continued to build their grassroots athletic presence.

The debates around aid and recruiting practices continued between the EMC administration and athletic staff. One Board in Control of Athletics meeting included strict opposition to withdrawal from the IAC. The committee instead demanded the right to recruit athletes similar to how on-campus academic programs recruit students (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, January 8).

Tension mounted around the future of athletics at EMC. One report referred to the men's intercollegiate athletic program as having, "a difficult and bumpy history, particularly since World War II" (Bowen, 1965, p. 1). The major men's sport coaches—football, basketball, and baseball—desired an alignment with other major sport programs, offering aid and ensuring competitive programs, whereas minor sport coaches and educators desired their traditional educational based model. The pyramid model (Figure 26) was a historical representation of the athletics and physical education philosophy. These purist coaches, mainly Lloyd Olds, wanted to maintain an athletic program without the use of aid and active recruiting. Lloyd Olds also happened to be the acting PE Department Head and had the only winning sports program since 1939 (Bowen, 1965).

While Rynearson was still proposing grant in aid options to Elliot and the administration, recruiting became the topic of discussion at the 1957 IAC annual meeting. Eastern Michigan College recommended to the conference that "no conference coaches should recruit or offer jobs



to prospective students” (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, March 14). The IIAC did not negotiate this offer. Instead, EMC coaches recommended following the NCAA guidelines, suggesting access to travel expenses, and offering prospective students assistance with work opportunities to their own administration (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, March 14).

This initiated yet another debate on athletic membership to either remain in the NCAA or join the NAIA, where the small colleges existed. Lloyd Olds and minor sports coaches wished to align with the NAIA regulatory body (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, March 14). The NAIA provided a home for smaller institutions that did not appear to be advancing big time athletics like those institutions driving the NCAA. As a form of compromise, EMC choose to compete in both NCAA and NAIA sponsored events. Coaches had the autonomy to select which championship and post-season play fit their interest. On February 13, 1957, the board agreed to apply for membership with the NAIA (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, February 13) and by May the track and field team was competing in their first NAIA track meet (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, May 8). Eastern Michigan College [University] athletics maintained membership fees to both NCAA and NAIA for the next 15 years.

Despite the growing pressures from the administration to join the Presidents Athletic Conference and a new affiliation with the NAIA, Rynearson received his requests for a larger athletic department budget. Athletic budget records produced an increase in athletic expenses for travel, equipment, facilities, and maintenance (Athletics Board of Control Athletic budget, 1956-57). In the 1956-57 academic year the Board of Athletics was concerned with growing the intercollegiate athletic program by adding three new sports. Athletics desired more control over their budget to attract male athletes and in turn boost male student representation on campus (Memo to Faculty Council from Athletics Board of Control, 1957, May 29).

William C. Lawrence, Vice President in charge of Student Affairs, oversaw the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics and approved their budget (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1957, May 29). For the 1957-58 academic year money generated from student fee's fully funded eight sporting budgets, maintenance, game operations, miscellaneous expenses, medical services, and medical supplies for EMC athletics. The allocation of funds for athletics, exclusive to faculty salaries, flowed through the office of the Vice President for Student Affairs (Bowen, 1965). The PE department and other departments for which coaches occupied were responsible for paying coaches' salaries. Table 4 illustrates the boost in the athletic budget requested by the department head, Lloyd Olds from 1957-58 to 1958-59.

Table 4.  
*Men's Athletics Budget 1957-1959*

Department	1957-58	Requested 1958-1959	Approved
Football	\$15,500.00	\$16,300.00	\$15,500.00
Cross Country	\$1,000.00	\$1,750.45	\$1,500.00
Basketball	\$7,200.00	\$7,725.50	\$7,200.00
Track	\$5,300.00	\$6,757.70	\$6,500.00
Wrestling	\$1,500.00	\$6,395.75	\$3,200.00
Golf	\$1,400.00	\$1,331.60	\$1,400.00
Baseball	\$7,300.00	\$8,027.00	\$7,300.00
Athletic Supplies	\$1,700.00	\$2,219.34	\$2,000.00
Tennis	\$1,200.00	\$1,206.00	\$1,200.00
Gymnastics	\$450.00	\$815.00	\$700.00
Game Operating Expenses	\$2,857.00	\$2,425.00	\$2,425.00
Plant Maintenance	\$2,250.00	\$2,142.00	\$2,142.00
Special Projects	\$7,440.00	\$6,300.00	\$6,300.00
Common Budget Items	\$730.00	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
Publicity	\$820.00	\$1,885.00	\$1,500.00
Special Publicity for Conference	\$-	\$750.00	\$750.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$56,647.00</b>	<b>\$67,030.34</b>	<b>\$60,617.00</b>

*Note:* Eastern Michigan University Archives: Taken from the original source at which can be found in the Appendix B. Mr. Olds presented the 1958-1959 coaches' athletic budget and discussed each briefly. Break-down copies will be prepared and distributed to board members for further study.

Interest from faculty grew around the operations and organization of athletics at EMC. In 1957, the board meeting minutes were being distributed to the following stakeholders: board members, coaching staff, president's policy council, secretary of the alumni board, library staff, secretary of the faculty council, director of athletic publicity, and athletics director (Athletic Board of Control Minutes, 1957, October 8). In the same year, Ryneerson stepped down from the athletic director and the vacancy was filled by PE department chair, Lloyd Olds (Pedersen, 1996). A memo from the General Faculty Council shared concerns about the management of the athletic program (General Faculty Council Memorandum, 1958, April 3). Faculty expressed apprehension over athletic sponsored correspondence in the form of a letter and athletic brochure to a large number of prospective students (General Faculty Council Memorandum, 1958, April 3). Coaches were permitted to discuss intercollegiate athletic opportunities with high school students if they were attending a contest or visiting the school for an EMC academic sponsored event.

The controversy between faculty and athletic staff erupted on the function of athletics at EMC. This divergence between faculty and athletic coaching staff continued for years and was described as "unclear within the Department by whom such Direction was held or to whom delegated, and outside the Department to whom reported, and in what order" (Bowen, 1965, p. 3). While the athletic staff desired more control over their programs and budgets, the institution's administration appeared to want athletics to maintain a marginal position in the institution. Conflict and struggle seemed to define men's intercollegiate athletics throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, whereas the women's experience was much different.

### **Women's Athletics and an Elliot Presidency**

Elliot was resolute that the values taught in the classroom were to be shared on the playing field. This philosophy and attitude resonated with the women's PE program of the time. On October 1957, Elliot delivered a speech regarding his philosophy and attitudes concerning intercollegiate athletics (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, October 15). He distinguished, "We like to win games as much as anyone else but we are not willing to compromise our educational values as a price for winning games," (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, October 15, p. 4). Elliot took a firm stance on the educational value of intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan and saw athletics contributing to "the health of a college or university" (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, October 15, p. 4). It was not clear what Elliot meant by the health of the university, but the women continued towards preparing a healthy and prepared graduate workforce. The men's PE program saw athletics perhaps contributing resources and a commercialized value to EMU. Unfortunately, this was not a recognized value to Elliot. While the men were bemoaning the challenges of keeping up with their competitors in the IIAC, the women's athletic program as run through the PE program prevailed throughout the 1950s (Neve, 2016).

Although the men experienced a lack of support from Elliot, women's athletic activities made gradual gains. Women athletes participated in limited competitions arranged by women's PE educators at nearby institutions. Such events relied on the networks formed within the women's PE community. While competition and tournaments were being coordinated by the professors, the athletes continued to operate their grassroots athletic teams off of bake sales and fundraisers (Neve, 2016). Jean Cione recalled her years of coaching softball:

Yes, that was during the cookie sale bake sales era of women's athletics before Title IX, way before Title IX. And we had kids that were good and wanted to play other teams that

were available for us to play so we kinda threw something together and we played other schools and schools came here. It was very informal kind of competition by very intense and the primary goal was winning. (Cione, 1995)

PE majors, like Cione, augmented their major and minor programs with intramural and extramural activities. A main point by Cione, was the desire to win and compete. This sentiment was shared by many of the PE majors and athletes of the time. Joyce Ridgeway who played professional basketball internationally commented on the competitive nature of the women athletes conflicting with the philosophy of the PE educators:

It's just that when you have been out of the country playing a sport and you come back to a college and see that their attitude was behind the times... a lot of the old time PE teachers could not believe that young women could or should do these things. Like you might hurt yourself or you might never have babies or you might physical problems if you tried to run a mile. (Ridgeway, 1995)

Compared to the athletic freedoms of the men, the women were limited. They competed far less and under different circumstances. Women had the opportunity to participate in a number of seasonal intramural sports and an occasional WRA sponsored extramural play and sports days. They held scheduled practices Monday through Friday in "almost miserable physical facilities which existed for several decades," before the new Warner gymnasium in 1964 was erected (Bowen, 1965, p. 1). Extramural activities and athletic competitions with other schools were conducted on weekends and occasionally during the school week. Invitations to events were shared in the school newspaper: "WRA—the University of Michigan women sent us an invitation to come over for a playday, February 19<sup>th</sup>" (*Normal News*, 1955, January 13, p. 4). Published a month in advance, the invitation allowed students to prepare for the events "fencing,

badminton, modern dance, ballet, speed swimming, synchronized swimming and basketball,” (*Normal News*, 1955, January 13, p. 4).

**Play days versus sports days.** Play Days and Sports Days continued to be organized in conjunction with other schools until the mid-1960s (Neve, 2016). Although these two terms were often used interchangeably, they differed in formats. Play Days included two to five sports, no winner was declared, and competition was secondary. Sports Days emphasized competition where a winner was declared and awarded appropriate recognition (Neve, 2016). Physical educators at EMU attempted to differentiate their women’s intercollegiate athletics from that of the men to avoid the conflicts present between the administration and coaching staff (Neve, 2016). While women athletes were fundraising for uniforms and basic travel expenses, they remained resolute to their beliefs of athletics as educational and avoiding the conflicts associated with the men’s program.

There were many transitions taking place on campus. In 1956, the school had changed its name to Eastern Michigan and the newspaper adopted the *Eastern Echo* as its publication, replacing *Normal News* (*Eastern Echo*, 1956, October 11). An increase of women’s sports day activity was attracting positive and negative attention from their peers. The *Eastern Echo* (December 10, 1959) wrote an article titled “Can You Spot ‘Em – or Do Looks Lie?” illustrating the obvious appearance of women athletes, mostly PE majors, at EMU (p. 6). The article mocked women’s physical appearance, “stocky, muscular legs, masculine walk, energetic spirit, boisterous, and generally unfemininity are certainly words which are commonly associated with female Physical Education majors” (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, December 10, p. 6). Confronting stereotypes was not lost on these physically active women. Despite social dogma of feminine

ideals and the cultural pushback, women's participation in PE and athletics persisted (Cahn, 1994).

Against the pervasive belief that athletic women were viewed as unfeminine, these women paved the way for athletics to expand at Eastern Michigan University (Neve, 2016). Engagement in extramural competition became the foundation to launch women's intercollegiate athletics. Throughout the 1950s, sports days dominated the extramural landscape and eventually were replaced by organized tournaments with individual colleges and universities (Neve, 2016). By the mid-1950s, the women's PE department introduced the first inklings of a governance structure to conduct intercollegiate athletics and organized tournament play (Neve, 2016). Women's athletics still existed as part of the WRA and was managed by Martha Verda from 1952 to 1963 (Neve, 2016). Verda also served as the head coach of the first intercollegiate sport, field hockey.

By 1960, field hockey, basketball, swimming, and volleyball were among the most popular sports competing against the following teams: Adrian, Albion, Central Michigan College, Hillsdale College, Michigan State College, Port Huron Junior College, University of Michigan, Wayne State, Western Michigan College, and teams from Canada, Illinois, and Ohio (Neve, 2016). Although there was no formal conference to organize these competition, individual PE instructors scheduled competitions contingent on funds and available dates (Neve, 2016). The next decade brought on a formal expansion and limited investment in women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University while the men struggled to keep up with larger athletic trends.

*Wee r. able to play varsity.* Interestingly, around 1955, the WRA started using the name "Wee R. Able" (*Eastern Echo*, 1955, November 10, p. 5). Wee R. Able moniker continued to be

published until March 13, 1958. The publication also advertised 125 women from nine different schools attending the first ever State Play Day sponsored by the Athletics and Recreation Federation of Michigan College Women (ARFMCW; *Eastern Echo*, 1958, March 13). On March 15, the event was held on Eastern Michigan's campus. By 1959, the National Joint Committee for Extramural Sports for College Women (NJCESCW) was founded and established guidelines for women's intercollegiate athletic competition. The NJCESCW emphasized student needs and rejected commercialization synonymous with the men's model (Neve, 2016).

In 1961, the first official varsity sport, field hockey, debuted and was paired with the first women athlete to be featured in the school paper (*Eastern Echo*, 1961, November 9). Captain, Sharlene Taylor was pictured with a caption announcing Eastern Michigan women's varsity and junior varsity field hockey teams (*Eastern Echo*, 1961, November 9). This was the first indication of a women's intercollegiate varsity sport. With the introduction of a varsity team, came the organization of a field hockey league. Albion College, Central Michigan University, Eastern Michigan University, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo College, Michigan State University, and University of Michigan formed a grassroots intercollegiate league (*Eastern Echo*, 1961, November 9). Figure 43 indicates the organization of women's athletics and PE at this time. Note that physical education evolved into health, physical education, recreation, and dance for the women and health, physical education, recreation, dance, and athletics for men (Pedersen, 1996).



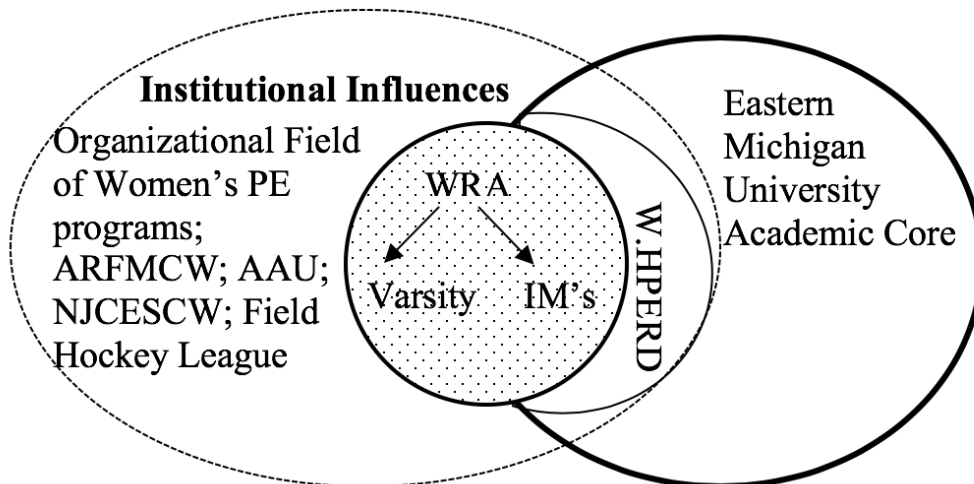


Figure 43. Women's physical education and athletics institutional influences on technical core.

Figure 43 demonstrates the shift in the organization of athletics at EMU. Although women's PE faculty remained closely connected to the women's athletics movement, there were external athletic bodies influencing a varsity intercollegiate athletic movement. The opportunity for women to demonstrate their elite skills took place in women's athletics within competing institutions, a statewide organization sponsoring official competition, and women participating in AAU or sport club external to the university (Festle, 1996; Guttman, 1991; Park, 1995). Together, these outlets increased interest for women's intercollegiate athletics. The next decade brought on a formal expansion and small investment in women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University.

### **Turmoil and Tranquility**

By the late 1950s, Eastern Michigan University President, Elliot, received backlash for not progressing the men's athletic program along with national intercollegiate athletic trends. The choice to retain 1940s era athletic policies was perceived by the major sport coaches as strict regulations placed on men's athletics (Isbell, 1971; Pedersen, 1996). Alumni and coaches expressed frustration with the decision and direction of the athletic department in not keeping up with other programs (Bowen, 1965). All athletic programs aside from the track and field teams

were falling behind their conference opponents and producing abysmal performances (Isbell, 1971; Bowen, 1965). Complaints of poor team performances and low conference standings were attributed to the lack of “tools, which have become common to their profession” (*Eastern Echo*, 1960, February 18, p.5). Tools defined as recruiting privileges, scholarships, and jobs for athletes, allegedly used by other institutions, were denied to Eastern Michigan coaches by the administration (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955:1959).

Elliot expected the same level of academic achievement for student athletes and did not see granting special privileges as necessary to maintain a “healthy program of intercollegiate athletics” (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, October 15, p. 4). It was not entirely clear what Elliot meant by healthy, but he was explicit about maintaining an educational value central to intercollegiate athletics. Unfortunately, the Hurons were not in a healthy position in terms of wins and were questioning their membership with the Interstate Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (Bowen, 1965). The IIAC consisted of nine institutions in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan and although EMU had success early on in the league, the other schools were investing in athletics to win (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1955:1959). This created friction between the athletic staff and administrative leadership at EMU. The administration questioned whether the IIAC was an appropriate fit for the Hurons. The director of the men’s physical education department and track and field coach, Lloyd Olds, proposed to President Elliot five suggestions for improving the health of men’s athletics:

1. Action for building a “badly needed” gymnasium
2. Need for an athletic bulletin which has been discontinued since 1916
3. A budget for interscholastic sports which Eastern sponsors

4. A program to expand available playing fields and keep the present one “in proper condition.”
5. The athletic budget should be increased in order to expand with the also increasing enrollment. (*Eastern Echo*, 1960, February 11, p. 4)

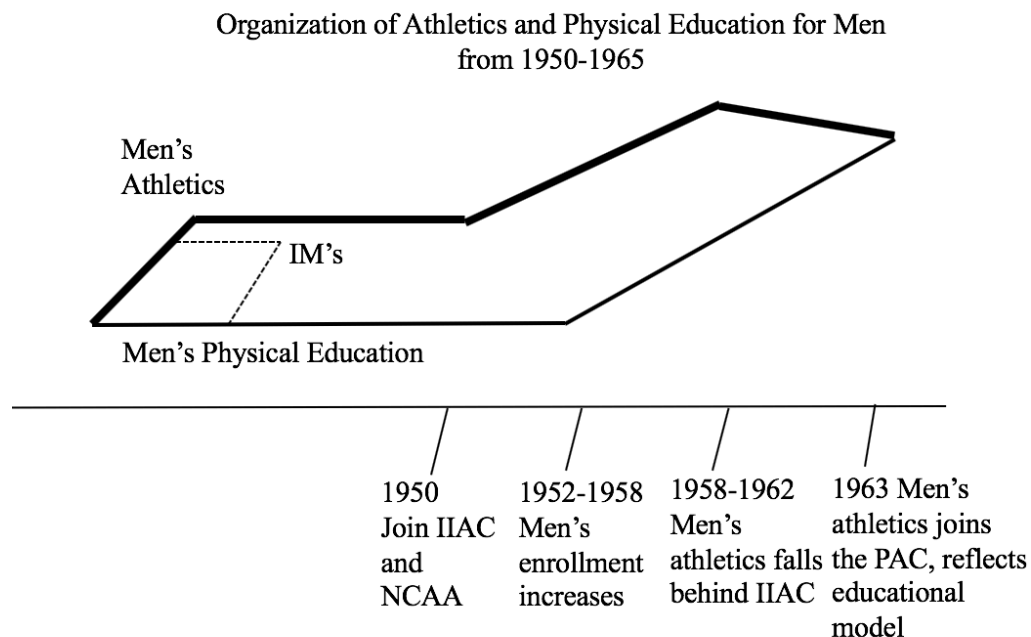
These suggestions came after Elliot denied the coach’s request for securing job commitments on and off campus for prospective and current athletes, and reimbursement for travel expenses incurred for recruitment (Athletics Board of Control, 1959). The coaches were handcuffed, and the athletic board felt powerless.

The growing economic demands and requests made by the athletics department continued to rise despite Elliot’s restrictions. Not only were the cost going up within the department, but the costs for membership and insurance issued through the NCAA were rising. Insurance premiums went from \$250 per year in 1954-55 to \$550 in 1959-60 (Olds, 1959, June 12). The team that appeared to be affected the most was the Cross Country and Track and Field. Travel expenses grew as these teams were gaining national prominence and qualifying for high status events such as the Drake Relays, Penn Relays, National AAU meets, and NCAA/NAIA individual championships (Athletics Board of Control, 1960). The correlation of successful athletic programs with increased athletic expenditures was not a direction the EMU administration was ready to go. Elliot disapproved this direction stating, “we like to win games as much as anyone else, but we are not willing to compromise our educational values as a price for winning games” (*Eastern Echo*, 1959, October 15, p. 4). This message halted any thought of edging the athletic department toward a commercial model.

Discussions of moving to the Presidential Athletic Conference (PAC) became more frequent. On April 20, 1959, the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics issued a statement

“violently opposed” to leaving the IIAC and joining the weaker Presidential Athletic Conference (PAC; Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1959, April 20, p.1). Athletic members urged Vice President Lawrence to contact PAC commissioner on policies regarding jobs, grant-in-aid, and scholarship (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1959, April 20). No information was provided from this request and all additional athletic budget requests were denied by administration. The wedge grew wider between the athletic coaches representing the men’s PE department and the university administration. Just three days later, President Elliot agreed to join the PAC with the intent that “institution educational policies and personnel shall control phases of the administration of athletics” and to establish “a sane and reasonably economical program of competitive athletics” (Copy of the PAC agreement, 1959, April 23, p. 2).

In the last 10 years, the organizational athletic structure had gone from an athletics centric model to a PE-centric model. Figure 44 elucidates the organizational transitions the men’s athletic department has undergone from 1950 to 1965.



*Figure 44.* Linear representation of men’s athletic organizational trajectory against policy and conference membership changes.

Figure 44 captures the path of PE, IMs, and athletics. Joining the IAC was followed by increased enrollments at the institution. Coincidentally men's enrollment dropped the same time as their IAC conference ranking. Elliot's decision to join the PAC is shown with moving the athletics function closer to the educational mission of PE.

Elliot's decision to join the PAC was intended to redirect control of athletics back to faculty and administration. A decision, perhaps, intended to save the institution money by denying coaches the amenities of scholarships, work study, and recruiting funds. The PAC supported an educational value for all students to have the opportunity to participate in recreation and athletics. Such philosophy opposed the recruitment of talented athletes for which was viewed as a privileged right for few rather than many. The men's athletic program was to provide intercollegiate and intramural competition to as many students on campus as possible. Similar to the women's broad-based program, student ran, faculty advised, and operated on a minimal budget.

President Elliot greatly opposed the national athletics movement and attempted to retain the amateur-like and educational elements of athletics at EMU. Elliot resisted the pressures to allow for scholarships and financial aid awarded to athletes and believed it still possible to maintain a pure athletic program; he was a traditionalist. In an October 15, 1959 memo, Elliot reflected on the responsibility of education and the role of athletics:

During the last two years, since the advent of Sputnik, education has been a matter of much public concern and has become a field, like politics, foreign affairs, the weather, and the cure of the common cold, in which everyone is an expert...In any educational system, there will always be areas in which practice does not measure up to ideas. I think the American educational system is solving and can continue to solve its problem. A

healthy intercollegiate athletic program can contribute to the health of a college or university. It can become an important part of its educational program in the same values which are taught in its classroom are implemented on its playing fields. We at Eastern Michigan hope that this is what we are doing. It is certainly what we are trying to do, and instead to continue to try to do. (Eugene B. Elliot Memo, 1959, October 15, p. 4)

Elliot's integrity for an education first ethos appeared naïve to the Athletics staff for wanting both a successful athletic program and esteemed institution. He believed that maintaining a strong academic model without the threat of corruption evidenced in big-time athletics was admired by his faculty, but created acrimony with the coaching faculty in the PE department.

**Huron's defeat.** Intercollegiate athletics nationally was transformed throughout the 1950s with the increase of professional sports teams, mainly football and basketball, and the commercialization of sporting events with the introduction of radio and television broadcasts (R. K. Smith, 2000). Smith identified two main factors that catapulted this shift. The hiring of Walter Byers as the NCAA Executive Director prioritized sanctioning authority over non-compliant practices, particularly with football (R. K. Smith, 2000). Byers beefed up the enforcement division of the NCAA and authorized infractions for members in violations. Previously, the only sanction was expulsion which was rarely enforced due to its severity (R. K. Smith, 2000). Secondly, the era brought in the first million dollars plus television contract, solidifying big time college football's financial appeal. Small colleges were concerned with the pressure to compete with crowds interested in professional teams and regional broadcasts networks covering big time college games (W. Lawrence, Memo from Dean of Students, 1987). Throughout this time period many small schools feared not being able to maintain their place in intercollegiate athletics; EMU being one of them.

The EMU coaches were aware of these changing tides and were concerned their athletic tradition would degrade if they did not keep up. Hiring of a new basketball coach was one event that exemplified this conflict. The Dean of College of Arts and Science sent a letter recommending a new basketball coaching candidate. His request was dismissed within the athletics department as Department Head Lloyd Olds had already extended an offer to another candidate. Dean Albert Brown wished to revoke the offer in order to offer the position to Mr. Adams who was described as “highly intelligent, competent, and alert person who will contribute a great deal to our institution in keeping with our present athletic policy” (Brown, Correspondence to Nelson, 1960, August 1, p. 1). This embodied the sense of mistrust and misunderstanding between the athletics program and academic functions on campus. Elliot accused Olds of losing sight of the teaching core when hiring new coaching staff and expressed concern for the operation of the department, particularly with athletics (Elliot Memorandum, 1960, August 3). The wedge between the academic philosophy and the athletic philosophy continued to widen.

Without the financial and philosophical support from the administration the Huron’s fell further and further behind their IIAC opponents. A recent IIAC decision to adopt unlimited subsidization for athletics was the impetus for conference realignment and Eastern Michigan University’s exit. In 1963, the Hurons joined the Presidents Athletic Conference (PAC) where the philosophical approach to athletics was better supported by the EMU’s administration (*Eastern Echo*, 1962, April 21). EMU became a member with Allegheny College, Bethany College, Case Institute of Technology, John Carroll University, Thiel College, Washington and Jefferson College, Wayne State University, and Western Reserve University to make up the PAC (Code of the Presidents’ Athletic Conference, 1963). Academics remained a priority and no aid

was granted to student athletes. Postseason play required approval from the President, and coaches were not allowed to actively recruit prospective student athletes or offer student employment to offset their tuition (Code of the Presidents' Athletic Conference, 1963).

Sanctions on recruiting, aid, and post-season play was devastating to the men's coaching faculty at EMU. As an alternative, they relied on their alumni connections and established partnership with hosting interscholastic events, but even this was threatened. On March 10, 1964, the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics requested a special meeting and invited President Elliot. As a new member of the PAC, Eastern were pressured to making decision such as this:

The sponsorship of AAU tournaments was discussed. It was the Board's opinion that, according to Chapter 10, paragraph 2 of the President's Athletic Conference Code, sponsorship of such events by Eastern Michigan University would no longer be permissible. (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1963, September 14).

The strict PAC rules put EMU in violation from hosting competitive interscholastic events on their campus. Unfortunately, this also cut EMU out of the possible revenue attached with such events. PAC regulations restricted EMU from having spring football practices and even limited athletic contests because PAC opponents cancelled games citing expensive travel costs (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1964, March 10). EMU sought non-conference competition to make up for schedule gaps. However, non-conference schools operated under NCAA regulations and made use of the rules for competitive advantage. The Huron's and EMU coaching staff experienced defeat on every level, triggering the argument for leaving the PAC. Interestingly, this was closest the men's athletics/PE organization operated to the women's educational model.



Exponential advancements in men's intercollegiate athletics were taking place nationally. The NCAA hosted nine football bowl game in 1960 with revenue in the millions. Big time intercollegiate athletics managed a football and basketball business. EMU men's athletics was far from a business. After a year of being in the PAC, the athletic staff had grown tired of the limitation on practice time, competition, recruiting, freshman participation, and financial aid. By 1964, the coaches and the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics acted for change. They called a special meeting with President Elliot to discuss Eastern Michigan University's membership in the President's Athletic Council and to determine the future of Eastern athletic involvements (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1964, March 10). There were three questions presented that would influence the decision to either remain in a non-scholarship granting conference or to consider alternative options:

1. Can Eastern complete an athletic schedule as an independent if it leaves the PAC, and how soon?
2. What are the possibilities for forming leagues in which Eastern may become a member?
3. What is the possibility for more alumni and local support for Eastern's intercollegiate athletics program in the future? (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1964, March 10, p. 3)

Concern for more resources and a competitive conference affiliation were central to these questions. Questions were submitted for review to the members of the Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Dance and Athletics (HPERDA) department. The department postponed their action until the Board of Regents meeting on June 1, 1964.

Due to the limitations placed on the athletic coaches by Elliot and his administration, the men's organizational model of HPERDA had shifted dramatically in the last 10 years. Figure 45 illustrates the changes in the men's athletic program compared to the structure of the women's.

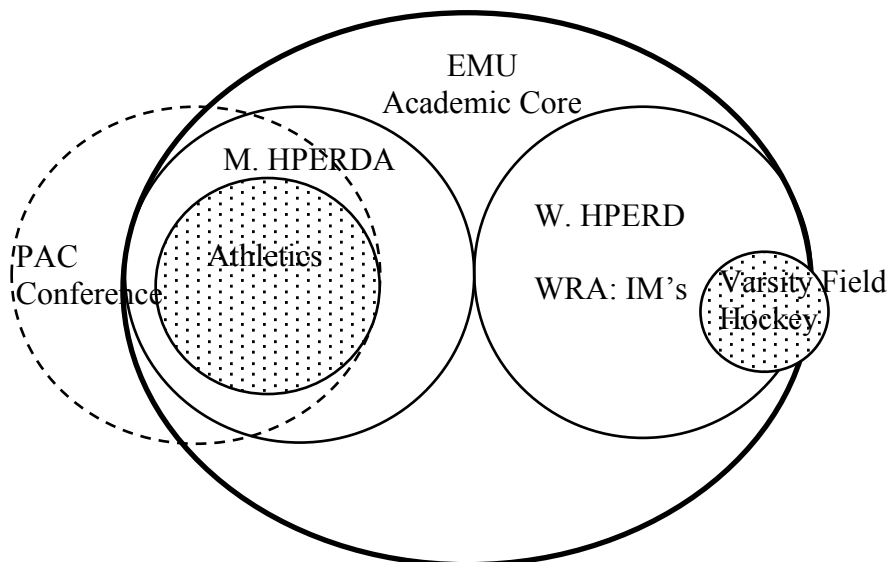


Figure 45. Task environment for men's HPERDA and women's HPERD during the 1960s.

Figure 45 shows how the men's athletic function has been pulled back into EMU's academic core. Previously, athletics was drifting away from the core to align closer to IIAC, NCAA, and NAIA organizations. However, with switching to the PAC conference and restricting EMU from following NCAA and NAIA policies, the department has moved closer to the academic core where educational values ranked higher than competitive values. The women's model was much more familiar with this arrangement and grew their "varsity" athletics, mainly field hockey, with educational benefits and a frugal budget. Records did not support any discussion of women's athletics forming leagues or organizing in the same way as the men. Elliot attempted to halt men's athletics from going down the path of commercialized big time athletics, but his efforts would be short lived.

One year of PAC play, Eastern Michigan University withdrew from the conference. Difficulty in travel from East Coast schools to Ypsilanti, and Wayne State's decision to withdraw from the PAC were used to justify Eastern Michigan University's departure (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965, June 1). In the meantime, the Huron's requested an independent status until a better conference fit was possible. Withdrawal from the PAC was effective June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1965 (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965, June 1) for which prompted, professor Bowen to prepare a reasonable policy for the role of men's intercollegiate athletics at EMU (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965, June 1).

Previously, EMU's stance was echoed in a statement by Bowen on April 8, 1964 on EMU's strong reputation for preparing teachers of physical education and in particular coaches (K. Bowen, 1964). The men's division expressed a pride in their program through the symbiotic relationship between athletics and physical education training. Athletics had always been central to the men's PE curriculum, but when the athletic core swung from a trend of rapid growth back to its academic roots, the division entered into yet another identity crisis. The program's strength was realized because of the organizational structure uniting the Department of Health, Physical Education Recreation and Athletics. Athletics used PE facilities, resources and trained experts with a PE background. This partnership reinforced support to build the athletic presence at EMU citing, "a strong athletic program promotes high morale in all segments of the University and its publics" (K. Bowen, 1964). Also noted was the ability of a strong athletic presence to attract students and faculty and provide a sense of pride with employees and alumni (K. Bowen, 1964).

Withdrawing from the PAC provided Bowen another opportunity to redirect the HPERDA department. Bowen's proposed policies and implementation of EMU intercollegiate athletics reflected the wants and needs from the athletic coaches. Requests included grant-in-aid

and work opportunities for athletes at a ratio of 10 per 1,000 students, appointment of a full time sports publicist, and a five-member Athletic Council to replace the Board in Control of Athletics (K. Bowen, 1964). The new council comprised of the director of athletics, the head of the department of health, physical education, recreation, and athletics, and three male faculty members at large appointed by the president. Bowen's attempt to propose a new Athletic Council was to retain athletics within the academic core. Bowen feared, that without the faculty's perspective, athletics may try to break off from PE (K. Bowen, 1964). Their primary function was to advise athletic matters and serve as a liaison between the department, faculty, and administration. This shift moved the control of athletics closer to the academic core with oversight coming from faculty appointed by the President. However, all of this changed when new decision making power shifted from the President to a new Board of Regents.

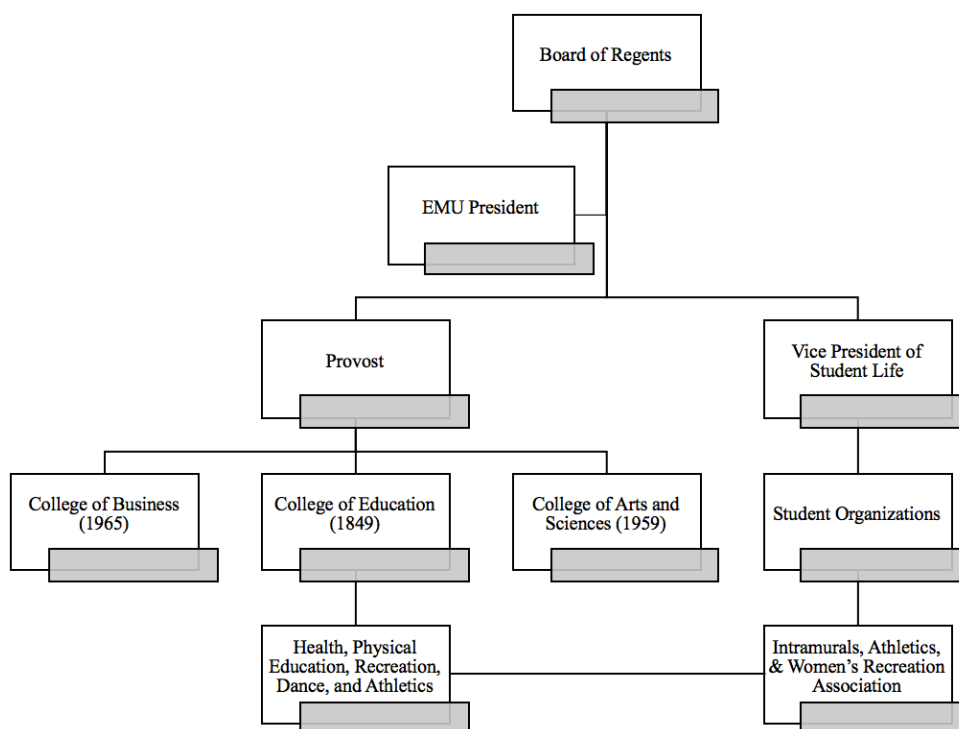
### **Board of Regents**

Michigan governor George Romney appointed eight Board of Regents in 1964 (*Eastern Echo*, 1964, January 9). These appointments provided EMU an independent governing body to meet the new state constitution. The new state constitution of 1963 Article VIII section 6 stated:

The board shall have general supervision of the institution and the control and direction of all expenditures from the institution's funds. It shall, as often as necessary, elect a president of the institution under its supervision. He shall be the principal executive officer of the institution and be ex-officio a member of the board without the right to vote...Each board of control shall consists of eight members who shall hold office for terms of eight years, not more than two of which shall expire in the same year, and who shall be appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate.

(Const. 1963, Art. VIII, § 6, Eff. Jan. 1, 1964)

The previous 114 years, the university reported to a centralized State Board of Education. This board retained their control over public school education, but relinquished oversight of the colleges and universities to a new Board of Regents model. Figure 46 presents the new institutional structure with the Board of Regents and two newly added colleges: the College of Business and the College of Art and Science.



*Figure 46.* Leadership structure for EMU demonstrating expansion of academic core.

Athletics and athletic-related activities maintained a unique relationship between the academic core and Student Life. Men's athletics existed solely under the HPERDA, while women's athletics was advised by HPERD but operated as a student organization—WRA. However, the organization of athletics was about to change under the Board of Regent's control and direction.

The eight Board of Regents included three individuals with ties to EMU, the other five were described as “people of integrity, sound thinking, and long standing service in their own

communities” (Elliot as cited in *Eastern Echo*, 1964, January 9, p. 1). Members represented Ypsilanti, Willow Run, Flint, Wyandotte, Mt. Pleasant, and Monroe communities (*Eastern Echo*, 1964, January 9). These were regions well represented by the student body at EMU (*Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002).

In their first year of operation, the board met six times. At the inaugural meeting on January 27, President Elliot submitted a resignation effective June 30, 1965 (Board of Regents Minutes, 1965, June 30). Elliot surrendered his loss of power and control to the Board of Regents. His request was approved providing the board time to do their first presidential search. By April, the board had drafted 10 procedures for selection of a new president (Board of Regents Minutes, 1964, April 6). The Board became busy with approving appointments, promotions, resignations, budgets, policies, fees, and authorizing facility expansion.

Among the laundry list of responsibilities, the board reviewed the policy on intercollegiate athletics crafted by the HPERDA department head, Keith Bowen. The Board of Regents codified an athletics policy of 17 action items that would guide the future of EMU athletics (Board of Regents Eastern Michigan University Minutes, 1964, June 1, p. 8). The first item, “‘Big time’ athletics is not contemplated for the Eastern Michigan University intercollegiate athletic program,” sent a powerful message in opposition to what athletics was becoming nation-wide (Board of Regents Eastern Michigan University Minutes, 1964, June 1, p. 8). Throughout this time period the member institutions of the NCAA’s increased law enforcement annually (R. K. Smith, 2000). The commercialized emphasis on sports was amplified with televised games and a cultural appeal to men’s college athletics (R. K. Smith, 2000; Pope, 1997). Due in part to the growing athletics culture to win at all cost, the board progressed with caution and initially supported Bowen’s requests. Concerns of winning for

winning's sake, undue pressure on coaches and students that would compromise academic standards, and any sort of split in athletics from its physical education roots were supported by the board in the following document:

3. Intercollegiate athletics and physical education shall not be separated.

Intercollegiate athletics should be regarded as an integral part of the physical education program, an adjunct to the instructional program.

4. The combined program of men and women's athletics, involving the "one family" emphasis of men's and women's teacher preparation programs, shall be continued.

5. Persons who coach shall continue to hold faculty rank, together with the expectation that they also teach in the academic and/or activity area. (Board of Regents Eastern Michigan University Minutes, 1964, June 1, p. 8)

The board's agreement with Bowen, the men's director of the HPERA department, gave the impression that the control of men's athletics would remain within the academic core.

Meanwhile men's athletics gained more autonomy with a commitment to the NCAA constitution and bylaws. No longer would EMU men's athletics be limited by EMU institutional regulation and treated differently than conference peers. By 1965, the men's athletics program committed solely to the NCAA and divested from the NAIA. These shifts in philosophy and policy initiated by the board ultimately directed power back to the HPERA department and the control over men's athletics. Women's athletics remained in the shadows as there was no formal organization or structure for them to exist and play.

The Board of Regent's stance to maintain men's athletics within PE and appeased faculty critical of "big time" athletics earned front page press of the *Eastern Echo* "Regents Announce

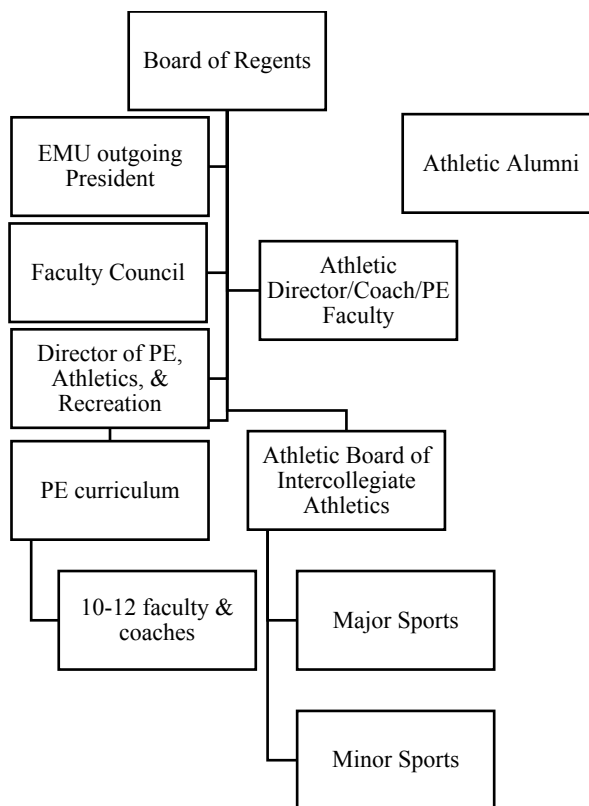
New Athletic Program” (*Eastern Echo*, 1964, June 4, p. 1). The article reinforced the philosophical decision to remain a united men’s athletic program with physical education. They saw this as their attempt to resist big time athletics and a winning at all cost ethos dominating intercollegiate athletics. The policy referenced a commitment to bylaws consistent with the NCAA and future conference affiliation. Financial assistance from alumni and university friends, employment of student athletes, recruiting practices, and scholarship opportunities set the course for the new direction for EMU men’s athletics (*Eastern Echo*, 1964, June 4, p. 1).

New policies of the “New Athletics Plan” endorsed by the Board of Regents added fuel to the ripe contention between Elliot and the department of physical education and athletics. Elliot battled against the rapid expansion of athletics and NCAA policies such as athletics scholarships and compensation for recruiting since he took office. Recognizing his defeat, Elliot submitted a letter of resignation when leadership of a newly appointed board embraced athletics as essential to the institution.

**Times of change.** EMU experienced growth in enrollment, campus buildings, and an expanded core functions which included a graduate school (1953), a college of arts and science (1959), and a college of business (1965) (Board of Regents Minutes, 1965, June 30). As stated earlier, the 1963-64 academic year welcomed a new head of the department of health, physical education, recreation, and athletics (HPERA; *Aurora*, 1964). Dr. Keith Bowen joined the staff with a value of efficiency. In his first year, he was removing himself from athletic decisions and relying on the acting athletic director, William Crouch: “The purpose was to place athletic functions in the area where they would be most expeditious” (Athletics Board of Control, 1963-1964 Annual Report, 1964, June 9, p. 2). This was the first indication of PE distancing itself from the management of Athletics. Figure 47 displays the growing distance between the Director



Bowen and athletic director, baseball coach, and PE instructor Bill Crouch. The director of athletics had access to athletic alumni/donors and interest from the Board of Regents.



*Figure 47.* Shifting leadership structure for men's athletics and the influence of athletic alumni.

Management of the men's athletics budgets also changed in 1964. The board asked to have the budget placed under HPERA and removed from Student Life. Learning of this request the student council president Ralph Herren requested "the student body be represented through the student council on any board or council designated to advise or control athletics at Eastern Michigan University" (Herren, Correspondence, 1964, April 21). The appeal was shared with the board but dismissed to discuss more valuable items such as the PAC membership contract. In response to student representation at athletic meetings, the athletic council instead issued a statement to outgoing President Elliot:

Established procedure at Eastern Michigan University in the area of athletic policy and change in athletic policy requires that recommendations for change in athletic policy

come from the Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics, to the Faculty Council, then through the President of the Board of Regents. (Wittke, Correspondence, Chairman Athletics Board of Control, 1964, April 21).

The statement suggested the control over athletics at MSNC/EMC/EMU has been a struggle between the president and advocates of men's athletics. It was made clear in this statement that athletic decision were to travel from the athletics board to the Board of Regents bypassing the president. Reports continued to detail efforts to maintain control over their athletic programs. Conflict between President Elliot; the Vice President of Student Life, William Lawrence, and the athletic department began in the mid-1950s over the grant-in-aid program and had continued until 1964 when the Board of Regents were added to the organizational model. This 10-year quarrel came to an end when the newly elected Board of Regents introduced an athletics plan similar to bigger athletic powerhouses.

The Board of Regents "new athletics program" was introduced at a time of rapidly increasing student enrollment (*Eastern Echo*, 1964, June 4, p. 1; *Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002). By January of 1965, the Board of Intercollegiate Athletics was voting on policy changes instituted by the NCAA and accepted by EMU's board leadership (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965 January 6). Amendments to the NCAA bylaws on financial aid, transfer student status, academic eligibility, and recruiting practices received votes from all the NCAA member institutions (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965 January 6). EMU men's athletics gladly and unanimously approved the 15 new items and were becoming more like their NCAA peer institutions. The Board of Regents promised an increase in number and value for grant in aid approving a distribution of 50-35-35 for athletics, music, and drama (Athletics Board of Control

Minutes, 1965, February 15). Once the board approved the items, the coaches pounced and were actively recruiting new talent and relishing in the athletic vision of the new institution's leaders.

Meanwhile, advances in women's athletics were taking place in the shadows of the men's athletic department. Women's HPERD faculty managed the academic curriculum, served as coaches, and supported the WRA advisor position. Funds for women's athletics and the WRA, including intramurals for women, were received from the Office of Student Life, suggesting an auxiliary status. The organization of women's leadership in athletics was quite different than the men's arrangement. Figure 48 illustrates the position of women's athletics at EMU.

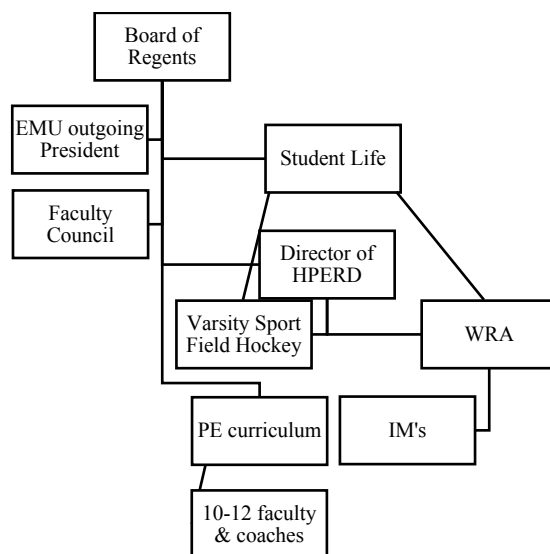


Figure 48. Leadership structure for women's athletics under the HPERD department.

The only women's intercollegiate varsity team, field hockey, was experiencing much success. The *Eastern Echo* touted the accomplishments of the Eastern Michigan women's field hockey team, including their undefeated 1967 and 1968 season (Neve, 2016). Women's success in track and field, gymnastics, bowling, and swimming was also reported in the *Eastern Echo*, between October 22, 1962 to May 24, 1968. Articles and publications on women's athletics rose throughout the 1960s. The HPERD department added nine women's Varsity sports under the

WRA throughout the 1960s (Neve, 2016). These sports were coached by the women's HPERD faculty. An increase of attention on women's athletics gained momentum in the 1960s leading up to the 1970s. The change experienced by the women's program will be shared in a later section.

The men's athletic department gained resources and continued to manage the HPERD department as a combined unit. Athletic meetings consisted of responsibilities for alumni relations, approving schedules, and game management divided up among the coaching staff (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965). This structure illustrated how tasks were distributed among coaching faculty and that coaches maintained responsibilities beyond their own sport team. This would eventually change in the coming years as the athletic department structure would break away from its physical education roots.

A year after Elliot resigned, EMU athletics withdrew from the PAC effective June 1, 1966 (Athletics Board of Control Minutes, 1965, June 1). The meeting reported EMU's application to re-join the IIAC as a possible conference home, but there was much pending with the Board of Regents and a forthcoming new president for the university. The athletic staff were hoping to return to the IIAC conference now armed with the same liberties as the other schools, but the Board of Regents at EMU had other plans. Figure 49 summarizes the changes experienced for both the men's and women's HPERDA departments, and EMU throughout Elliot's tenure. Reflected in the timeline were organizational structural changes related to athletics for men and women as well as larger organizational diversification of production function. The addition of three colleges, graduate, arts and sciences, and business, marked a change in the original production function of teacher preparation. The institution was adapting to the needs in the greater community for skilled workers and pre-professional tasks.

Men's and Women's HPERDA, and MSNC/EMU Timeline (1947-1970)								
Men's	1950	1952	1953	1957	1958	1963	1965	1971
	Athletics joined the IIAC and NCAA	Add NCAA medial insurance	Athletics adds Alumni involvement	Become NALA members; Restructure Board in Control of Athletics	Rynearson steps down and Olds becomes AD	Keith Bowen HPERDA Chair; Huron's join the PAC	Frosty becomes first AD; Huron's leave the PAC and adopt 15 NCAA rules and regulations	Huron's join the MAC
Women's	1947	1948	1952		1961		1965	1967-68
	WRA replaces WAA; supports intramural & extramural competition; Field Hockey "Varsity" Sport	First woman, Shirley Spork, to earn "Athlete of the Week"	Augusta "Gussie" Harris HPERD Chair; ARFMCW All State Play Days		Varsity & JV Field Hockey		Varsity Volleyball; Gymnastics	Varsity Tennis; Softball; Golf; Track & Field; Swimming; Basketball
Organization	1948	1953	1955	1956	1959	1964	1965	
	President Elliot	Graduate School	Bowen Fieldhouse	Eastern Michigan College; Eastern Echo	Eastern Michigan University; College of Arts and Sciences	Board of Regents; Elliot resigns	College of Business; President Sponberg	

Figure 49. Comparative timelines of men's, women's, and the EMU organization as it relates to structural and leadership changes.

Figure 49 illustrates changes to the men's HPERA, women's HPERDA, and MSNC/EMU organization. Major changes for the men include conference affiliation, and athletic leadership structure. Coincidentally, with the addition of a new Board of Regent's model, the resignation of Elliot, and hiring of Sponberg created a window of opportunity for men's athletics to also undergo new organizational structure separate from the PE department. Changes in the women's department were marked with growth of sporting opportunities and the recognition of extramural varsity sports, but nothing like the advancements of men's athletics. Both men's and women's HPERDA departments were becoming more athletically focused, a model supported by the regents and new president. Men's and women's athletic transformation will be explored further as the influence of a Sponberg presidency unfolds.

## Section 2: Radical Change During the Sponberg Presidency (1965-1974)

### Introduction

In July of 1965, Harold E. Sponberg became the 16<sup>th</sup> president to preside over EMU (Isbell, 1971). Sponberg came to Ypsilanti in a time of national and local turmoil. The US was engaged in the Vietnam War sparking civil unrest and protests, the civil rights movement with racial tensions exploding into the 1965 Detroit riot, and an arms race with Soviet Union (Smith & Heaton, 1999). The Vietnam War, race riots, and assassination of some of the country's leaders disrupted America's internal state. Much of the tension within the country existed between generations of the old and young. EMU became a microcosm of these cultural disruptions experienced throughout the American landscape. Tensions manifested themselves in student protests calling for race and eventually gender equality.

All of these tensions in the cultural environment placed pressures on the institution to seek legitimacy. The institutional environment responded with rules and regulations in order to mitigate conflicts and reinforce social order on campus. Masculinizing the institution continued to legitimize its place in higher education. However, concepts of femininity and masculinity were being challenged in the current cultural environment. The construction of gender roles and identity underwent a sense of reform as previously held social dogmas were criticized by a younger generation. Social expectation between administrators clashed with those of the students providing a window of opportunity.

On campus, staff and faculty were encouraged with the greatest growth in student enrollment (*Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002) and the appointment of President Sponberg. Sponberg assured campus that his mission was to maintain the high quality education that EMU had built in its 115-year history (Smith & Heaton, 1999). He also recognized "an emphasis on

academics to the exclusion of all other areas” was detrimental to the campus experience (p. 86). Sponberg promised to expand all areas of campus—athletics, community and alumni relations, facilities, and fundraising—in order to keep up with demands and competition in southeast Michigan (*Eastern Echo*, 1965, September 23). President Sponberg spoke music to the ears of the men’s athletic coaches with concerted efforts to boost athletics at EMU.

There was dramatic growth under Sponberg’s leadership. Enrollment growth went from 10,226 in 1965 to 18,568 in 1974, his final year (*Enrollment Records*, 1948-2002). Monies generated with enrollment from the baby boomer generation led to faculty salary increases, new faculty hires, new curricular design with graduate specialist programs, enhanced academic and student buildings, and more financial aid for students (Smith & Heaton, 1999; *Eastern Michigan University Bulletin*, 1970). The addition of the College of Arts and Science and College of Business, diversified degrees earned by EMU graduates. EMU was still known for teacher preparation but continued to add pre-professional graduates to Southeast Michigan. Figure 50 illustrates the production function for EMU during the 1960s.

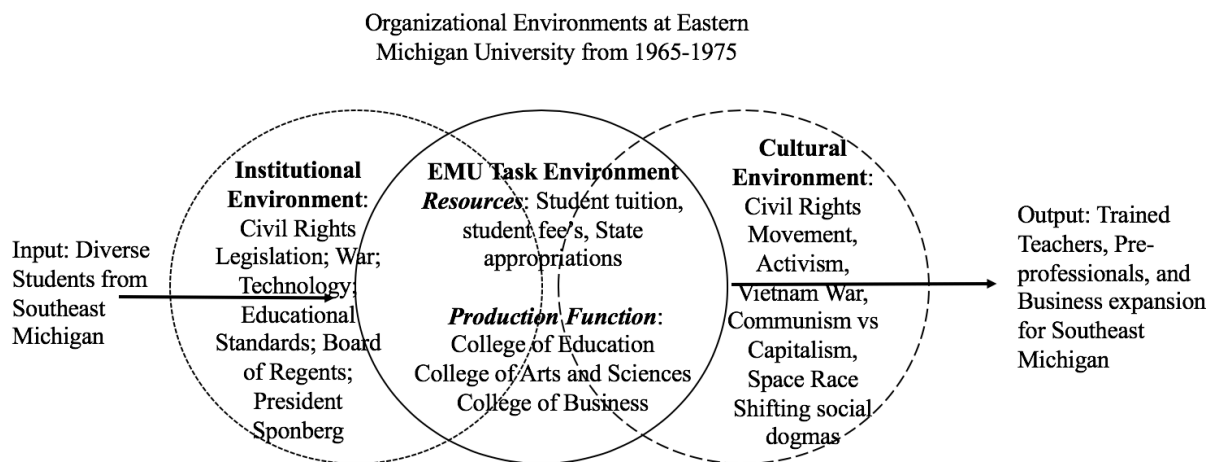


Figure 50. Organizational environments of EMU including institutional, task, and cultural from 1965-1975.

The production function of EMU was influenced by the new institutional regulatory structure, Board of Regents and President Sponberg, as well as the cultural environment marked by the Cold War, an on-going ideological battle between the East and West, and revolution (Marwick, 1998).

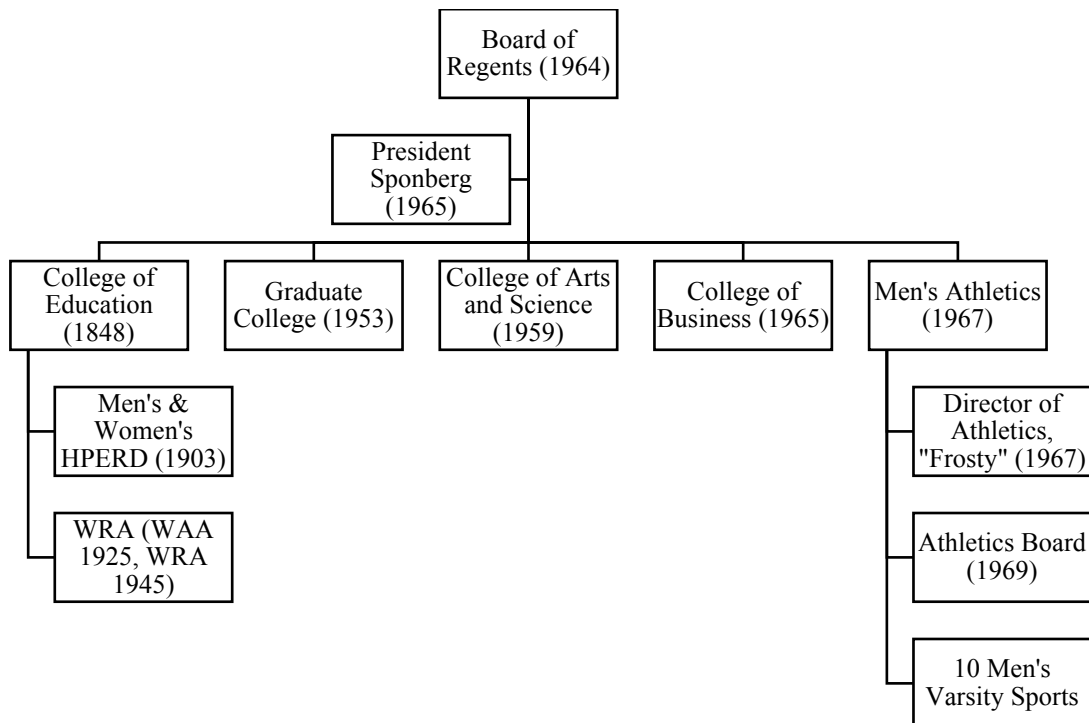
Throughout the country change manifested on college campuses as protests from students. EMU students exercised their activism for promoting civil rights, protesting the Vietnam war, and advocating for cultural change on campus. Several organized protest expressed being fed up with an arbitrary and an out of touch administration (Smith & Heaton, 1999). The *Eastern Echo* reported protests over parking, cafeteria food, residence hall conditions, and racial representation. Students denounced the administration's policies and focus on institutional growth, when they perceived their needs as being unmet and voices silenced (Smith & Heaton, 1999).

### **Men's Athletics and an Sponberg Presidency**

Both Sponberg and the Board of Regents leadership coincided to create a radical change to athletics at Eastern Michigan University. Sponberg had a personal interest in athletics as he too was a football star in his earlier years and was a fan of intercollegiate football (Smith & Heaton, 1999). By 1967, a major philosophical shift from the united Physical Education, Health, Recreation, Dance and Athletics Department had fractured. The abrupt change in leadership structures—addition of a Board of Regents and a new president—provided an opportunity for reorganizing. Previously, Sponberg led an institution with a separate athletics department. Therefore, reorganization quickly followed after he arrived with the hiring of a Director of Athletics (Board of Regents Minutes, 1966). The title of Director of Athletics at EMU had existed since 1910, but this position was different in that there was no teaching responsibility.



The Director of Athletics was purely an administrative appointment for the production function of the newly established Department of Intercollegiate Athletics—men’s athletics—in 1967 (Isbell, 1971; Board of Regents Minutes, 1967). Figure 51 displays the new organizational structure of men’s and women’s athletics under Sponberg’s direction, including dates each were added.



*Figure 51.* EMU’s organizational chart displaying men’s and women’s athletics in two different colleges.

This figure shows the immediate separation of men’s athletics from the academic core. Sponberg hired a long-time friend, Faust Luigi Ferzacca or “Frosty” from Green Bay, WI, to establish the first athletics department at EMU (Smith & Heaton, 1999; Board of Regents Minutes, 1967). The appointment of Frosty was followed by the decision to separate athletics from the men’s health, physical education, and recreation. Sponberg had called on Frosty, a former football coach and athletic director to manage the men’s athletic enterprise. Coincidentally, HPERD department head, Keith Bowen, resigned this same year, 1967 (Board of

Regents Minutes, 1967). The hiring of Frosty, a division of function between intercollegiate athletics and physical education, and the resignation of Bowen catapulted EMU on a path of competitive athletics. Wilber P. Bowen's legacy of physical education for all—including women—encompassing health, hygiene, and competition had faded. Athletics was no longer a core component of the men's physical education department, instead it was independent of the academic core all together. However, the women's PE program and athletics remained steadfast to an "athletics for all women" ethos. Figure 52 illustrates the organizational changes for men's athletics at this time.

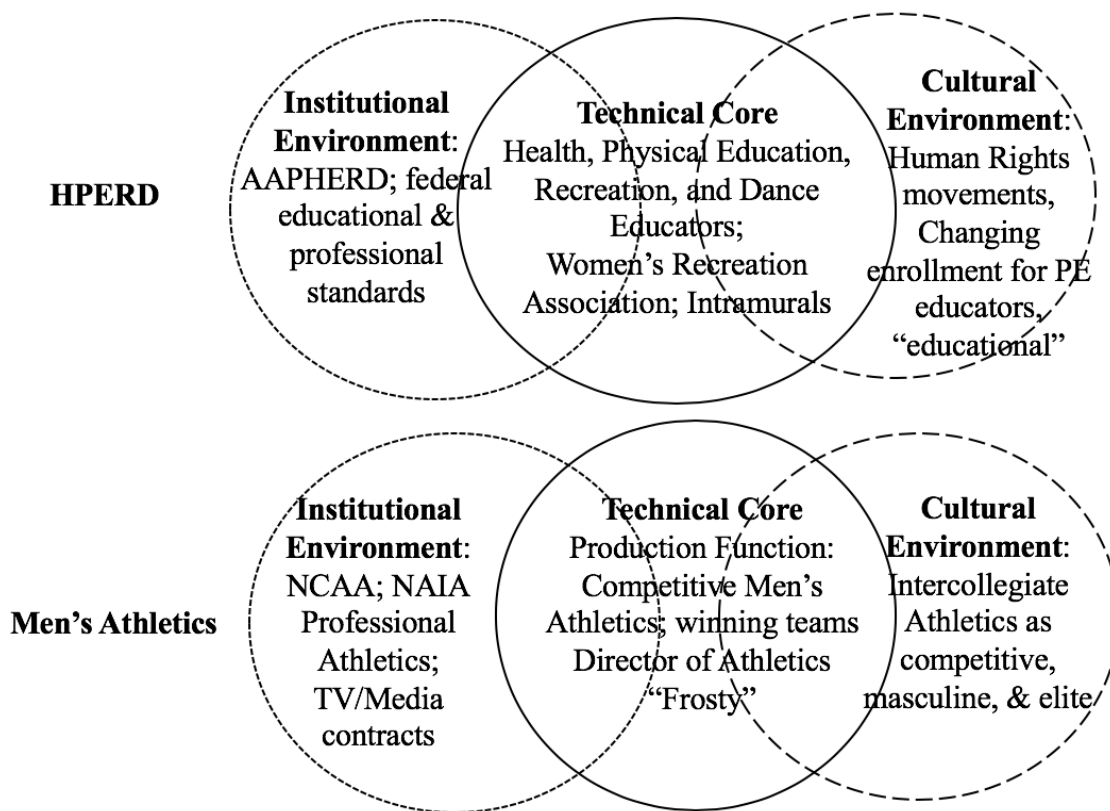


Figure 52. A comparison of production functions between men's athletics and women's HPERD departments.

Significant changes internal and external to the institution influenced the choice to separate men's athletics from the academic department of health, physical education, recreation,

and dance. The boost in enrollment generated funds for the campus to expand. Sponberg along with the regents chose to make expansions to athletics. Investing in athletics was a trends across other institutions of higher education (Thelin, 1996; R. A. Smith, 1990). Unlike the men, the women's athletic program remained with the academic unit along with intramural athletics. Changes in the leadership structures created a window of opportunity for organizational structure and policy changes. These changes continued to unfold in the next decade.

The decision point to separate men's athletics from its physical education roots, had lasting effects on both departments. This adopted model closely represented other institutions including University of Michigan, seven miles down the road (Thelin, 2004). According to Eastern Michigan University historian Isbell (1971), EMU athletics was among the last colleges and universities to adopt athletic scholarships. Essentially, the Huron's were late to the intercollegiate athletics movement, and spent the next several decades trying to catch up in the major sports. Some may argue they still lag behind.

In 1968, Pat Cavanaugh was hired as the new Department Head of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (Board of Regents Minutes, 1968 June 26). Cavanaugh was tasked with the difficult job of sorting athletics equipment, resources, and coaches from the PE faculty. Male faculty whom held coaching positions were given the choice to either join the intercollegiate athletic department or remain teaching in the PE department (Pedersen, 1996). Nearly all of the men's coaches elected to join athletics and transitioned their offices into Bowen Fieldhouse, where the new athletic department resided. Bowen Fieldhouse was constructed in honor of Wilbur P. Bowen in 1955 and was home to basketball and indoor track, and it accommodated practice space for baseball, badminton, and tennis (Pedersen, 1996). The fieldhouse was one of the largest in the country and had classroom spaces for physical education

(Pedersen, 1996). Those coaches who chose to work exclusively in athletics did so without the responsibilities of teaching. Instead, they were expected to recruit and prepare winning teams (Isbell, 1971).

Choosing between athletics and PE was difficult for a few. In 1967, the coaches who remained aligned with PE included Lloyd Olds, emeritus coach to his protégé George Marshall in track and field; Marvin Johnson of wrestling; and Russ Bush of gymnastics (Pederson, 1996). Olds was an apprentice of Wilbur P. Bowen and adhered to his philosophy of broad-based athletics for all (Isbell, 1971). Olds decision to remain with PE demonstrated his commitment to education and a transition away from coaching. The wedge created between intercollegiate athletics and PE illustrated the radical shift away from its former guiding values. Athletics began to model trends in intercollegiate athletics and conference peers, emphasizing winning, competitive gains, and commercialization of sport (Isbell, 1971). Meanwhile the women were making strides in the shadows of the men's athletic restructure. Within the existing WRA, intramural and extramural sports became more formalized with the help of national governing agencies (Division of Girls and Women in Sport, 1965). In 1962, the Michigan Division of Girls and Women in Sport played an active role in advancing competition with rules and regulation (Neve, 2016).

Governance structures for the men's athletics department continued to evolve under Frosty and Sponberg's leadership. By March 3, 1969, a proposed constitution for the athletic council (formerly Athletics Board of Control) introduced "a practical, functional, and workable framework for the governance of intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University" (Anderson, Justification of proposed revision of the Constitution governing Board, responsibilities, etc., 1969, March 3). The constitution was consistent with NCAA policies,

practices, and recommendations regarding the institutional environment listing three justifications:

1. NCAA bylaws require control and responsibility to be exercised by the institution.
2. NCAA legislation will be sent to the Presidents of member institutions and voting delegates must be certified NCAA members.
3. Athletic board, council, or committee membership represents various segments of the university. (Anderson, Justification of proposed revision of the Constitution governing Board, responsibilities, etc., 1969, March 3)

Explanations served to justify the structure of EMU's athletic board as functioning differently than other faculty boards. The Athletic Council listed their functions as communication, recommendations, approval, review, and decision-making that needed to take place on a spontaneous timeline. Minutes captured, "At times decisions are required within a matter of hours or days, e.g. acceptance of tournament invitations and eligibility decisions.... Approval functions on behalf of the council do not fall within the jurisdiction of any Faculty Council Committee," (Anderson, Justification of proposed revision of the Constitution governing Board, responsibilities, etc., 1969, March 3, p. 2). The *Athletic Council Constitution* was approved by the Faculty Council on April 3, 1969 and the council began reporting directly to President Sponberg.

**Athletic council constitution.** The constitution detailed the council's purpose, responsibilities, membership, meeting, committees, and bylaws for each post-season play in each sponsored sport at EMU. In 1969, the major sports still included football, basketball, and baseball, whereas cross-country, track and field (outdoor and indoor), golf, tennis, wrestling, swimming, and gymnastics rounded out the varsity sport offerings (*Athletic Council*

*Constitution*, 1969). The constitutions also detailed eligibility requirements and transfer rules consistent with NCAA and NAIA governance, since teams were competing in both governing bodies. Whether teams competed in the NCAA championships or NAIA championships depended on the preference of the coach (*Athletic Council Constitution*, 1969). For instance, golf, cross-country, and indoor track and field registered for NAIA and NCAA post-season play. Men's tennis preferred the NAIA championships while swimming qualified for NCAA play. Maintaining membership dues to both the NAIA and NCAA not only proved costly for the department but exemplified the divergent preferences among coaches. At times this came in conflict with the athletic administrators. Eventually, in 1971, EMU would affiliate solely with the NCAA as a member institution of the Mid-American Conference (Board of Regents Minutes, 1970).

Frosty's charge from Sponberg and the Board of Regents, was to establish a successful men's athletic program and that was what he sought to do (*Athletic Council Constitution*, 1969). In his second year at the helm, the Huron's competed in 11 sports comprised of 682 male student athletes and contended in 240 contests across the country (Ferzacca, Department of Intercollegiate Athletics Justification for 1968-69 budget request, 1967, October 19). There was a tremendous increase of expenditures to maintain this athletic vision at EMU. Frosty outlined 19 expenditures in the justification for 1968-1969 budget request (Ferzacca, Department of Intercollegiate Athletics, 1967). The justification read:

It is apparent since Eastern Michigan University is presently operating as an independent in intercollegiate athletic competition the athletics teams will be required to travel farther and more frequently...It will be necessary for our athletics squads to more frequently use air travel, commercial, and/or charter in order to fulfill our schedule obligations, plus

avoiding the missing of minimum of class. Beside the increase in expenditures for transportation, there naturally will be a tremendous increase in expenditures. (Ferzacca, Department of Intercollegiate Athletics Memorandum, 1967, October 19, p. 1)

The justification clearly identified the commercialized nature of intercollegiate athletics, somewhat of a new experience for the Huron's on the wake of the PAC departure. Budget requests included much more than transportation costs. Expenditures for recruiting, filming of athletics contests, scouting, additional maintenance, and game management illustrated the production value of intercollegiate athletics (Ferzacca, Department of Intercollegiate Athletics Memorandum, 1967, October 19). In the justification for these expenditures, were the attached travel schedules for each team including post-season competition. No dollars were attached to this document, but the intent of supporting a viable and competitive athletic department was evident.

Sponberg endorsed his friend Frosty's request and soon thereafter the Board of Regents authorized the expenditures (Board of Regents Minutes, 1968). This was the beginning of a new era of EMU men's athletics. Frosty's task was to generate resources in order to produce games and wins. Establishing a winning program was the way to establishing a legitimate athletic department. The change from educational to legitimate was also reflected by the change in the head football coaches of this time. Fred Trosko followed long-time coach Rynearson. He retired from coaching the same year Frosty joined the staff as athletic director, but remained teaching in the PE department (Pedersen, 1996). Alum and former assistant coach to Trosko, Jerry Raymond, coached the Huron's for the 1965 and 1966 seasons (Fountain, 2004). Once the Huron's were released from the PAC, they competed as an independent striving to be a competitive program.

Frosty sought to establish a competitive football program with the hiring of Dan Boisture from Michigan State University (Fountain, 2004). Unlike Trosko and Raymond, Boisture was hired to exclusively coach football and came from a big-time athletics culture. Together Boisture and Frosty urged EMU administration to join the Mid-American Conference (MAC). By 1971, the EMU Huron's became a member of the MAC, and Boisture led EMU football to their first post-season bowl game (Smith & Heaton, 1999). Success among the men's basketball team also materialized with appearances to the finals of the NAIA tournament and quarterfinals of the NCAA tournament (*Aurora*, 1968:1973). Track and field maintained their perennial presence in the NAIA and swimming and baseball were also gaining national attention. Sponberg's intention to make athletics a priority at EMU was rewarded with initial success. He trusted Frosty in hiring non-teaching assistant coaches, and competitive head coaches such as Bob Parks (track and field), Mike Jones (men's swimming), and Ron Oestrike (baseball) (*Salary Records*, 1971). Sponberg allocated funds to build a new football, baseball, and outdoor track complex (Smith & Heaton, 1999). Eastern Michigan University had increased the commercialization of intercollegiate athletics to reflect the practices of other institutions of higher education at the time. This was not entirely supported by everyone at Eastern Michigan University. In fact, campus newspaper opinion editorials denigrated men's athletics and expressed outrage toward athletic spending compared to women (*Eastern Echo*, 1969:1973; *Aurora*, 1970). Several outspoken faculty, also expressed that increased athletic spending was taking away from educational opportunities for more students (*Eastern Echo*, 1969). Concern over athletics spending would become more tumultuous, with the joining of the MAC conference.

**Mid-American Conference.** After five years of competing as an independent in both the NAIA and NCAA, Eastern Michigan University found a home in the Mid-American Conference



(MAC; Athletic Council Minutes, 1971, July 19). On July of 1971, the athletics council accepted the invitation to become a member of the MAC and respectfully withdrew their membership from the NAIA (Athletic Council Minutes, 1971, July 19). The MAC was a member of the NCAA and dual membership with the NCAA and NAIA was cited as a conflict of interest (Athletic Council Minutes, 1971, July 19). Joining the MAC further legitimized men's athletics and Eastern Michigan University as an institution.

EMU athletics tried to sell the campus on the joint athletic and academic benefits as a new member of the MAC. An *Eastern Echo* article touted "MAC will benefit academics" as a justification for MAC membership (*Eastern Echo*, 1971, September 6). Vice President for Instruction, Dr. Bruce Nelson, shared, "This conference means that the University's image as a whole will be improved; there will be more recognition of our graduates" (as cited in *Eastern Echo*, September 6, 1971, p. 4). Nelson went on to share that athletic events are "bound to lead to acquaintances among students, faculty and administrative members of the different schools and thus expand the horizons for all" (as cited in *Eastern Echo*, 1971, September 6, p. 4). Identifying as a MAC school provided the institution an academic community as much as an athletic conference.

Opportunities for academic recognition and collaboration were publicized benefits to joining the MAC. President Sponberg proudly announced, "The student body has been very anxious that we associate with a conference. It gives them a sense of pride and dignity and a chance for exchange of faculty and graduate students, which is another benefit" (*Eastern Echo*, 1971, September 6, p. 7). Choosing to join the MAC put EMU in a conference with similar institutions including Western Michigan University, Bowling Green State University, Toledo, Ohio University, Central Michigan University, Miami University, and Kent State University.

Western Michigan was the first of the Normal sister schools to join the MAC in 1948 (“History of the MAC,” 2018). Together, Central Michigan and Eastern Michigan marked the 1972 MAC season as new members (“History of the MAC,” 2018).

***MAC play and NCAA violations.*** Return of a winning football program in 1971, reinvigorated the athletics department and affirmed EMU’s path of commercialization. R. K. Smith (2000) wrote of the growing excess and interest associated with intercollegiate athletics throughout the 1960s, such that NCAA enforcement intensified with athletics desire to maintain competitive and lucrative programs. Colleges and universities argued that NCAA enforcement was unfair in the role of advising colleges and universities and imposing sanctions (R. K. Smith, 2000). The criticism continued to fester and one consequence was from a committee on infractions recommending three divisions within the NCAA to “better reflect their competitive capacity” (R. K. Smith, 1987, p. 993). In 1973, the NCAA created Division I, Division II, and Division III as a strategy to minimize conflict and maximize competitiveness among similar athletics programs (R. K. Smith, 1987).

In 1956, the NCAA introduced a divisional split between university and colleges, separating large schools from smaller colleges (R. K. Smith, 1987). Historically, EMU competed among the small school division (Fountain, 2004). However, with the separation of athletics from PE and Sponberg’s investment in competitive athletic, the Huron’s joined the major universities. EMU men’s athletics as a member of the MAC were among the Division I institutions vying for competitive greatness, TV/broadcast contracts, and money (Fountain, 2004). Sponberg’s dream for an outstanding athletic program was nearly derailed when the school was placed on probation by the NCAA in 1972 (Fountain, 2004). Sanctions prohibited EMU in post-season play and basketball coach Jim Dutcher resigned after a star player assaulted

an opposing player in an NCAA tournament loss (Fountain, 2004). This was the first public infraction EMU had confronted, and it drew concern from the regents.

Two years after joining the MAC, Regent George E. Stripp “had hoped the association would have brought about academic exchanges as well as athletic exchange” (Board of Regents Minutes, 1973, December 5, p. 7). Stripp suggested organizing a joint board meeting with presidents from the MAC schools to discuss faculty and student exchanges. His comments came after the first MAC season featuring a poor performing Huron football squad and the disappointment of men’s basketball. Dr. Nelson mentioned that the potential academic exchanges could take time to develop; however, the regents were impatient (Board of Regents Minutes, 1973, December 5). Regent Dyer also added in the December 5, 1973 Board meeting his disappointment in the Women’s Athletic Programs at Eastern Michigan University. Dyer did not explain what or where this disappointment stemmed from, but suggested taking it to the Mid-American Conference retreat (Board of Regents Minutes, 1973, December 5). This was the first mention of women’s athletics at the board level. Dyer’s request to take this concern to the MAC retreat suggested that women’s athletics should be considered by the MAC.

In spite of the statement, the president and regents were anticipating changes, but mainly for the men’s sports. The MAC affiliation allowed for benchmarking between peer institutions. EMU’s men’s athletic history most recently emerged from its PE department, and has only been an independent athletic department for six years (Pedersen, 1996). Regent Stripp requested a comparative report on salaries of MAC athletic coaches (Board of Regents Minutes, 1973, February 21). This report illustrated the added competitive pressure to keep up with financing athletic programs. EMU trailed behind their MAC peers and the athletic programs served as a training ground for coaches ascending to higher level programs. Because coaches in the revenue

sports viewed the MAC as a stepping stone to big time athletics and its associated financial glories, the days where coaches invested time to build programs was a thing of the past. Athletics was a business (R. K. Smith, 1987). Although minor sports like track and field, swimming and diving, and cross country maintained their dominance, they were categorized as non-revenue generating and secondary to football and basketball.

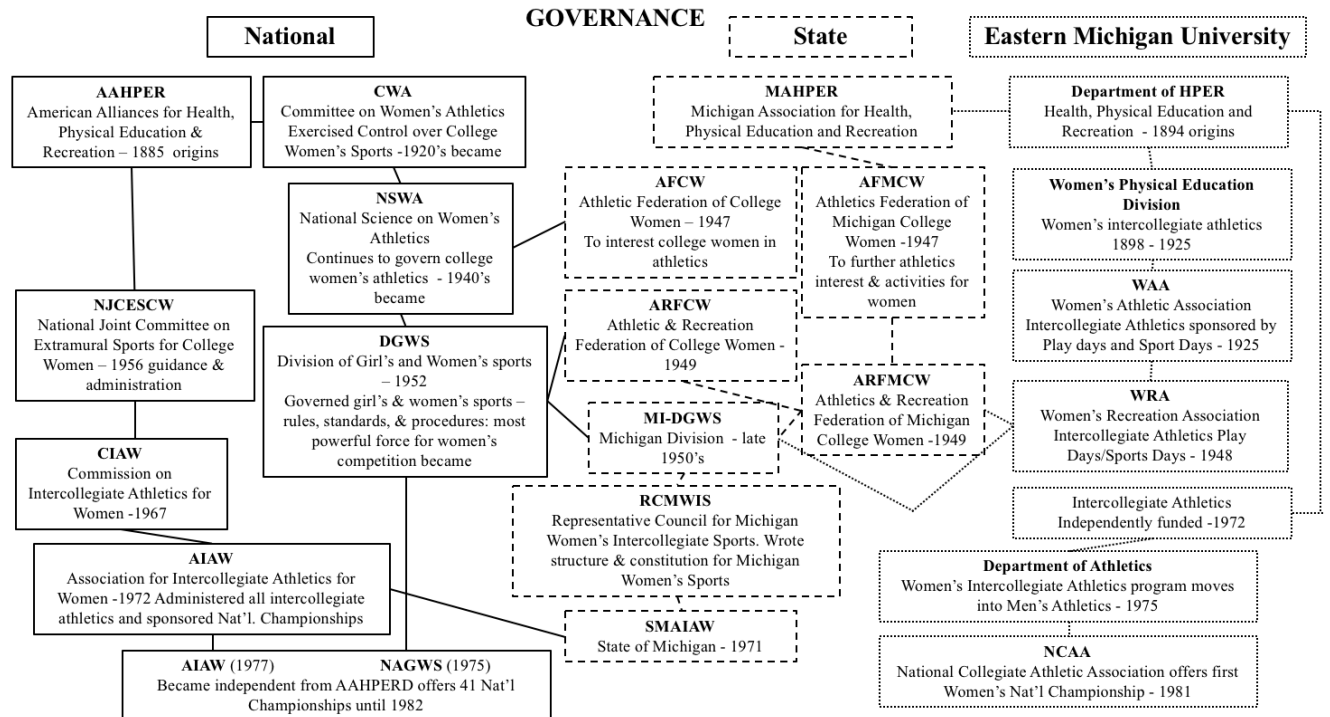
The 1970s introduced EMU athletics to a new world of intercollegiate athletics. Frosty, with the support of Sponberg, organized men's athletics as separate unit independent of academics and student life at Eastern Michigan University. He served as athletic director from 1967-1974 when he accepted a position at Florida International University (Board of Regents Minutes, 1974, October 16). EMU athletics under his leadership achieved 16 National Championships and won the NAIA all-sports award in 1970 and 1971, elevating EMU athletics to national prominence (Board of Regents Minutes, 1974, October 16). Interestingly, once the men's program joined the MAC and were exclusive members with the NCAA, success for the major sports—football and basketball—gradually declined. Athletic growth and success for the minor sports was steady but appeared to be a drain on already stretched resources. Meanwhile the women's athletic movement at EMU was quite competitive among their PE institutional colleagues. EMU women's athletics was representative of a nation-wide grassroots effort to establish women's athletics in a more legitimate way.

This marked a change in the production function of PE programs across the country. PE instructors who also coached were able to train better women players, leading to winning varsity programs, attracting more women and possibly donor contributions to the program. Procuring meager funds through alumni donations and mainly student organized fundraiser helped sustain women's athletics within the PE department without PE carrying the financial burden. A burden

all too familiar with men's athletics and the need to produce winning programs (R. K. Smith, 1987; *Athletics Council Constitution*, 1967). Men's athletic programs pioneered this funding structure, where winning teams attracted more money from donors, merchandize, and ticket sales (Pope, 1997; R. K. Smith, 1987; Thelin 1996). However, this was not the case at EMU. Instead, the school invested money in men's athletics in hopes of creating winning programs. The "if you build it they will come" philosophy was not paying off. In fact, men's athletics became a money pit for the institution, and no one wanted to believe it (*Eastern Echo*, 1972; *Budget Records* 1968:1975).

### **Governance of Women's Athletics**

The narrative around the women's athletics movement at EMU emerged from the physical education department; however, it existed with the support of a formal national, state and local PE governance structure (Neve, 2016; Park, 1995). The organizational link between physical education and athletics became a permanent fixture through these governance agencies. Agencies such as the DGWS, ARFMCW, and WRA were instrumental in establishing women's intercollegiate athletics at EMU. For decades MSNC/EMU graduates and faculty served on these boards and influenced their priorities (Neve, 2016). An adaptation of Neve's (2016) illustration in figure 53, presents the intricate relationship between national, state, and EMU agencies that provided guidelines, rules, and regulations around women's athletics. All of the agencies worked in accordance to advance women's physical education, recreation, and athletics. The governing agencies gave local athletic programs an opportunity to share national standards and to organize WAA/WRA associations in support of college women in athletics (Neve, 2016).



*Figure 53.* National, state, and local governance of the women's athletic movement. Adapted from Neve (2016) *The History of Women's Athletics at Eastern Michigan University*, Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University.

Understanding the development of these institutional structures will help explain how women's athletics developed relative to men's, the conflicts within women's athletics on direction and the impact this would have on women in leadership.

**WRA: Athletics for all.** The advancement of women's athletics had very different objectives than the men. While the men's athletics programs experienced trouble and toil establishing competitive programs in the early 1960s, the women's programs appeared to find their stride in finally organizing intercollegiate athletics. The purpose of the WRA remained firm to promoting extracurricular activities that foster "good sportsmanship, leadership and a spirit of unity among women students" (WRA constitution as cited in Neve, 2016). The intramural division of the department of physical education provided athletic activities for the entire student body. Offerings included tennis, football, basketball, cross country, softball, table tennis, golf,

badminton, bowling, and volleyball (*Aurora*, 1960). Intramurals for sorority, dormitory, and physical education majors were comprised of these sports (*Aurora*, 1961). The 1961 yearbook introduced extramural women's sports organized in part by the Women's Recreation Association to provide more competitive experiences for women (*Aurora*, 1961). The three goals for WRA members were "meeting other college students, having fun, and winning" (*Aurora*, 1961, p. 83). Eastern Michigan University hosted beginner, intermediate, and advanced player tournaments in tennis as well as intercollegiate competition in field hockey. Extramurals at EMU ignited as the women experienced success and competition among their WRA opponents. Women played against Adrian College, University of Michigan, Bowling Green State University, and Michigan State University in hockey contests and a host of other schools in various sports (*Aurora*, 1961).

In the early 1960s, Eastern Michigan University's WRA field hockey, basketball, softball, and bowling teams were reported as popular sports to compete in Sport Day contests (*Aurora*, 1962). Nearly 40 girls made up a first and second field hockey team and earned a 4-1 record over other Michigan teams (*Aurora*, 1962). Intramural bowling was also quite popular supporting 21 teams and eleven individuals to compete in a telegraphic Division of Girls and Women in Sport (DGWS) meet, where scores were mailed in (*Aurora*, 1962). Twenty-one other universities and colleges also participated in the DGWS sponsored bowling competition around the state (*Aurora*, 1962). There was no question that women at EMU were interested in sports. All of these efforts were coordinated and advised by the WRA faculty advisor, Geraldine Barnes, and the elected WRA board (*Aurora*, 1962).

Twenty-seven institutional members participated in the Athletic Recreation Federation of Michigan College Women (ARFMCW; Neve, 2016). Although there was a robust number of programs represented by the ARFMCW, WRA resources determined participation in

extracurricular competitions (WRA Brochure, 1962). The ARFMCW was comprised of PE faculty from the collegiate PE departments across the state (*ARFMCW Conference Proceedings*, 1959). Discussions at the state and national levels brought up concerns of finances, transportation, event operations, officials, competition date and times, and facilities (*ARFMCW Conference Proceedings*, 1959). Despite the constraints, WRA programs advised and funded through physical education programs and competed on an ad hoc basis. The opportunity to compete in extramural competition was contingent on fundraising efforts and affordable travel. EMU maintained an active WRA and extramural presence advertising that every woman had the opportunity to be involved with competition on campus (WRA Brochure, 1962). One of the primary ways women recruited students to the PE department was through the “Major Day” events. Here, faculty and current students would talk with prospective students and even organized open gym like sporting events to attract new women PE interest (WRA Major Day Brochure, 1964).

Competition throughout the 1960s ranged from intercollegiate play between other WRA programs, hosted Sports Days, mail archery and bowling tournaments, and sponsored ARFMCW state tournaments (*Aurora*, 1962). Participation in such events was contingent on the financial viability of the WRA. The women paid WRA dues that helped with basic expenditures, but most of their revenue was generated by fundraising efforts throughout the year (WRA Brochure, 1962).

By the mid-1960s representatives from several governing agencies formed the National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women (NJCESCW) and wrote a belief statement, and policy and procedures for the conduct of women’s intercollegiate sporting events (Neve, 2016). The belief statement echoed that of the WRA mission, but added,



The provisions for extramural sports opportunities should be broad, including such events as sport days, meets and tournaments. Ideally they should take into account every level of skill. The heart of any sound program will be found in the conduct of the event, which reflects the leadership afforded. (NJCESCW Statement of Belief, 1963)

The belief statement reinforced a philosophy consistent with PE tradition, that PE and sport be afforded for all women. However, some contemporary physical educators desired an opportunity for competitive varsity sports, a model that was different than the men's (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). One that emphasized the students physical and educational development and rejected the conflict and principles of masculinity common with men's intercollegiate athletics (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). The NJCESCW attempted to organize the many PE programs that supported intercollegiate athletics. The organization proposed 19 policies for administrating sporting event supporting current DGWS rules for all events. The DGWS produced guidelines and standards for women's athletics since 1952 (DGWS Statement of Competition for Girls and Women, 1965). In an effort to consolidate governance of women's intercollegiate athletics, the short-lived NJCESCW folded to allow DGWS control over extramural competition (Su, 2002).

At the annual DGWS conference in February 1965, intercollegiate and interscholastic leaders formed to "determine the problem and develop guidelines in the best interests of girls and women who desire competition in sports and games" (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965, p. 36). The committee identified three major problems:

- Differences in philosophy as to what is appropriate for girls. Women tend to resist studying competitions because of tradition, prejudice, or fear of the unknown.
- Providing adequate facilities and finances (without relying on gate receipts).

- Providing a sufficient number of women leaders, or competent coaches and officials. (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965)

Given these identified issues, the DGWS constructed thorough guidelines addressing administration, budget, scheduling, health and safety, tournaments, leadership, and participation (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965). The document established clear and careful consideration of the student's interest, the institutions available budget, and access to leaders/coaches (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965). The administration section stated, "The intercollegiate athletic program should be specifically designed for women, and its administration and organization should be the responsibility of the department of physical education for women" (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965 published online 2013, p. 36). The guidelines went on to suggest that expansion of the program must be led by PE faculty and that a "primary concern for the welfare of the participants" be demonstrated with integrity (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965, p. 36).

The DGWS policies represented a much different approach from those directing men's athletics. Whereas men's athletic legislation and policies appeared to be a reactive in attempts to control and manage corruption, the women were able to be proactive while using the men's model as a reference. Participating in intercollegiate athletics could not interfere with educational objectives and to reinforce the educational benefit, DGWS prohibited the financial assistance of athletic scholarships (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965). The document was instrumental in formalizing the structures around women's athletics. By 1965, the AAHPER had adopted DGWS's guidelines for intercollegiate programs with a purpose to meet the students' needs. DGWS guidelines were made available through the National Education

Association (NEA) and sent to the ARFMCW state organization (Neve, 2016). The EMU women's HPERD department embraced the document and within three years added eight intercollegiate varsity sports (Neve, 2016).

An emphasis on student welfare operated as a counterculture to what was driving the highly competitive culture dominating men's intercollegiate athletics (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Hult, 1989; Park & Hult, 1993). Adoption of the DGWS standards served as a departure from the singular philosophy of broad-based participation and gave schools permission for women to compete, but on their own terms. Neve (2016) stated that the DGWS guidelines solidified programs supporting intercollegiate athletics and provided a nudge to those considering women's sport programs. Change happened rapidly throughout the 1960s and even though women's sport grew nationally, receiving support on campus proved challenging.

### **Women's Athletics in a Sponberg Presidency**

While Sponberg and Frosty were a catalytic force in updating the men's intercollegiate athletic program, there was little attention given to women's athletics. Hult (1989) posited this as an economic argument and there being no financial gain in women's sports. Beyond the economic theory was that of cultural legitimacy, competitive athletics was synonymous with masculinity and recreational play reflected fairness and femininity. Historically, women were thought to be the "fairer sex," of maintaining a haven in a heartless and competitive world. Women were not perceived as being legitimate in competitive athletics. Therefore, the PE program continued to manage intramural and extramural athletics on meager budgets and resources (Neve, 2016). Women's athletics occupied a marginal place compared to men, which was representative of the greater cultural environment of the time. Women were rarely perceived to be of equal status to men in society, let alone equal in a intercollegiate athletics or athletic

leadership. Cultural myths reinforced a reality that women were not as interested as men in athletics. The institution upheld the tilted perceptions of men and women as they related to sport with providing different sporting opportunities for men and women. A philosophy based on fun and participation championed by women leaders within PE did not pull on the competitive desires of President Sponberg or other university presidents for that matter. Instead Sponberg joined the trends of other institutions and was occupied with new facilities, building a men's athletic enterprise, and hiring competitive coaches (Pope, 1997; Lucas & Smith, 1978; Athletics Council Minutes, 1967:1969). Although the WRA's field hockey successes received ink in the student paper, they lacked in comparison to the big-time athletics developing at EMU. For instance, Figure 54 illustrates how the WRA kept record of the season's success. This picture was taken from the WRA yearbook from the 1967-68 season.

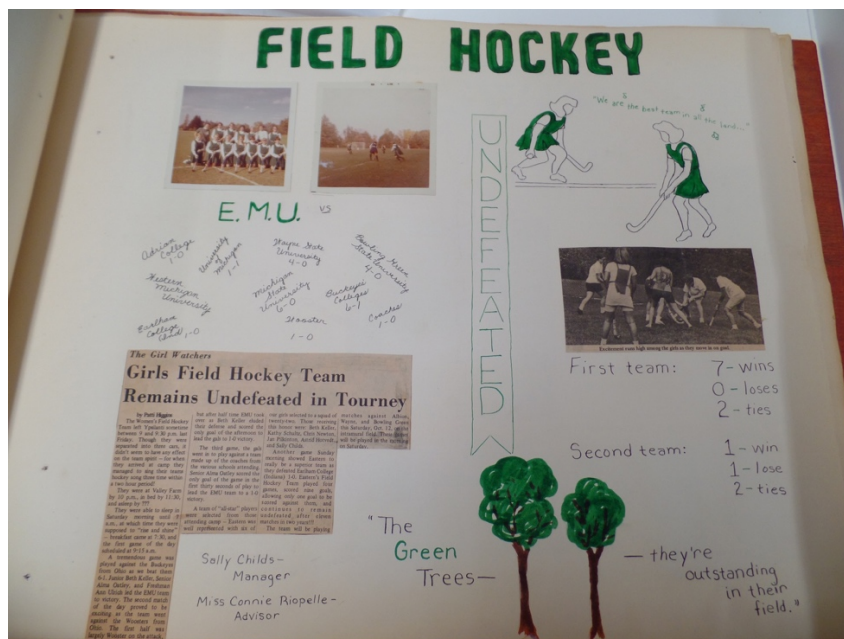


Figure 54. Picture of the WRA 1967-68 scrapbook featuring the field hockey team. Personal photo taken at Eastern Michigan University Archives, Ypsilanti, MI.

Sport cultures between the men and women were radically different, and it was intended to be that way. The women PE faculty and staff observed the men's model as corrupt and to be

avoided (Ridgeway, (1995); R. Baun, personal communication (September 3, 2015); Harwick Crouch (1995); Hult, 1989). Assuming this stance reinforced the greater culturally defined expectations of what it meant to be a women. Physical educators united in organizing women's athletics around the participant's welfare and the spirit of the game (Park & Hult, 1993). They sought to establish a culture that was congruent with how women were supposed to act in society as well as athletics at the time.

By the late 1960s, women's involvement in athletics and recreation dropped off. In 1967, WRA member, Roberta Huckaby, wrote an article on woman's sports calling for more women to participate (Huckaby, *Eastern Echo*, 1967, April 14). Huckaby challenged, "Why are you co-eds so lazy?" in hopes of urging more women to participate in open swimming and gymnastics or even a weekend badminton tournament (Huckaby, *Eastern Echo*, 1967, April 14, p. 14). Each new season brought on more activities for the women and students were encouraged to visit the WRA office for more information; however, there were fewer women seeking out these opportunities (*Eastern Echo*, 1967:1970). It appeared that most of the correspondence on athletic activities were solicited in the school newspaper and within the halls of the women's physical education department. Were fewer women majoring in PE? Were the opportunities for women perceived as too juvenile for college women? Each week a short article titled "Gals on the Go" or the "The Girl Watcher," later the "Women Watcher," updated the WRA varsity sport results. Volleyball, swimming, field hockey, tennis, gymnastics, and softball athletes received recognition (*Eastern Echo*, 1966-1969). In 1970, another article questioned the falling participation numbers in women's intercollegiate athletics (*Eastern Echo*, 1970, April 17). Expressed concern was shared in a final line: "Intercollegiate sports may well be a thing of the past for Eastern Michigan University women" (*Eastern Echo*, 1970, April 17, p. 6). Many

questions could be raised in response to this article, if whether it was a matter of budgets, a philosophical divide among the faculty and students interest, or the marginalization of women's sports compared to the men (*Eastern Echo*, 1967:1970). Neve (2016) posited it to be a result of athletes competing on a bare bone budget. However, the outcome fed a greater cultural belief that women were to be behaving different than men and should not be engaging in athletics. Athletic competition for women was not culturally congruent to their expected gender norms (Gordon, 2001). For men, athletic competition was synonymous for expressing masculinity (Pope, 1997; R. K. Smith, 1987).

Following a nearly 100-year trend of women represented in the MSN/EMU yearbook for their athletic and physical training activities came to a halt in 1963 (*Michigan State Normal School Bulletin*, 1863; *Aurora*, 1893:1969). In 1963, women disappeared completely only to be overshadowed by the achievements of the men's athletic program (*Aurora*, 1963).

Coincidentally, this was the era men's athletics made their biggest push for expansion in financial aid, student employment and budget requests (Athletics Board of Control Minutes 1959:1965). A leadership change eventually led to a verifiable intercollegiate men's athletic program. Meanwhile, the women organized with the WRA within the PE department remained an academic enterprise. This was apparent with the only women featured in the sports section were the cheerleaders of men's athletics (*Aurora*, 1963). Coverage of the WRA was either not included or tucked into to the "Organizations" section of the yearbook until 1969 (*Aurora*, 1963:1969).

In 1969, women's intramurals and sports reappeared praising the social and health benefits to participation:

Women's sports at Eastern include a wide variety of activities. Everyone from the most unskilled beginner to the most proficient athlete is encompassed somewhere in the vast program. Intramurals are the most basic programs, set up in teams of interested volunteers. Skill is no factor in who may participate, as long as there is interest... Women students with previous experience and a higher degree of skill often prefer to go out for varsity sports, which involves hours of grueling practice to perfect skills and get into condition. These outstanding teams then compete with women of other colleges. (*Aurora*, 1969, p. 211)

The sentiments were a plea to join and generate interest in women's sports. This was published the same timeframe of *Eastern Echo* articles recruiting participants and athletes. Nonetheless, the message remained on broad based efforts to involve all women in physical activity and athletics affirm athletics position within the department of HPERD. From 1967 to 1969, the WRA claimed to increase the intramural volleyball from 25 to 80 teams (*Eastern Echo*, 1970, April 24). The article titled "WRA is not dying" challenged earlier assumptions that women were losing interests, or perhaps choosing tasks and roles more in line with femininity.

Nineteen sixty-nine brought on another monumental change. Gussie Harris of the old regime retired from her HPERD appointment and turned the reigns over to Dr. Peggy Steig (Neve, 2016). Harris was an alumnae of Michigan State Normal College and served as department chair from 1951 to 1969 (Pedersen, 1996; Neve, 2016). Steig's appointment represented a regime change and philosophical shift to embrace intercollegiate athletics (Neve, 2016). Steig played field hockey at Miami University of Ohio and coached tennis, swimming, and volleyball as a PE instructor at Ohio Wesleyan (Neve, 2016). She became a HPERD professor at EMU in 1956 until she was appointed director in 1969 (Neve, 2016). Figure 55

represents EMU's organizational structure of women's athletics and the corresponding governing agency throughout the late 1960s, all of which were led by women.

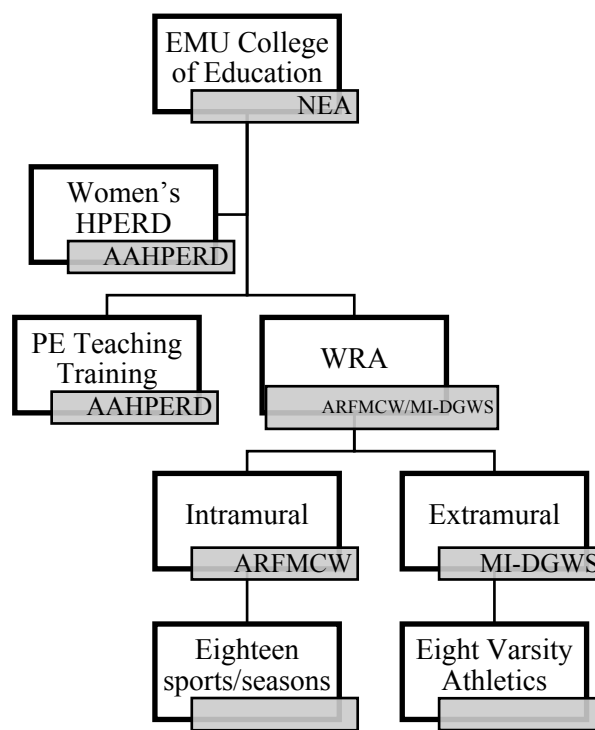


Figure 55. Leadership of women's HPERD department and the corresponding governing agencies in 1969.

Growth of women's athletics emerged within the academic core of HPERD, and sought to maintain a strong connection with the core function of producing PE teachers, what the faculty viewed as the educational mission of the institution. As the DGWS intended, only trained physical educators were to coach, manage, and lead women's athletic programs—a women's only affair (DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women, 1965).

PE instructors continued to train and coach young EMU women for competition (*Eastern Echo*, 1966-1969). In 1967, Geraldine K. Barnes was appointed the first "advisor" of women's athletics, an antecedent to director of athletics, and similar to Frosty's role (Neve, 2016). Barnes was instrumental in adding eight intercollegiate sports programs: basketball, golf, softball, swimming, tennis, track and field, and volleyball (*Aurora*, 1968) The women practiced 2-3 times



a week in the intramural Warner gym. WRA alumnae, Robin Baun, remembered having a single set of uniforms that were passed down from basketball to volleyball and to hockey each year (Baun, 2015). Athletic resources were bleak compared to men's athletics. Baun shared stories of driving personal vehicles to competitions and hosting bake sales to fundraise for equipment and travel expenses (Baun, 2015). These conditions, however, did not stop the women from competing and only seemed to further separate the competitive women athletes from those recreationally involved.

The prevailing cultural attitudes around women in sport were growing more complex. There was an increase divide between the PE leadership and those who sought competitive opportunities. Young girls were encouraged to do interscholastic sports thereby generating a demand to continue through college (Guttmann, 1991). Perhaps this was a consequence of well-trained physical educators encouraging girls to sprint, jump, catch, and compete. Colleges offered a variety of sporting opportunities as intramurals, but were limited by budget constraints to offer competitive intercollegiate programs (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). Many women were choosing not to participate in sport resulting in lower participation numbers in organizations like the WRA. The perceptions around women in sport became more divergent, where many sought out more competitive and aggressive opportunities, while others were convinced intercollegiate athletics was exclusively a men's domain (Guttmann, 1991; Park & Hult, 1993).

**Women's athletic alliances.** Following the DGWS 1965 guidelines, women's sports teams grew and intercollegiate competition flourished (Hult, 1989; Guttmann, 1991). In 1966, the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) formed to develop guidelines and standards for national championships (Suggs, 2001). This agency was an extension of the efforts already established by the DGWS. The CIAW conducted national championships in

seven women's sports and served as the women's equivalent at the time to the men's NCAA (Suggs, 2001). Physical education leaders involved with the organization of a centralized agency were aware of the NCAA and NAIA's role in effectuating athletic control (Wilson, 2013). Early leaders saw the CIAW as an opportunity to regulate women's intercollegiate athletics by approving competition, but rejecting commercialization (Lopiano, 1981). The intention was for women to govern women avoiding scandals and corruption permeating men's intercollegiate athletics (Lopiano, 1981; Wilson, 2013; Park, 1995; Hult, 1989). The perceived corruption of men's athletics was culturally justified as boys being boys, a clear sign that rough and tumble athletics was acceptable for men (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Women, on the other hand, complied with female appropriate behavior of playing fair and nice (Wushanley, 2004).

Sex segregation has been a fundamental construct in the emergence of sport. Men leading men and women leading women was culturally congruent and technically rational for athletic organizations (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). This position was made clear in DGWS chair JoAnne Thorpe's 1972 speech at the NCAA Annual Convention stating, "We are daily accused of being against athletics, whereas in truth we are against the evils that are often associated with athletics, principally the exploitation of talent for money" (p. 78-79). Women athletic leadership desired a morally sound approach to intercollegiate athletics. If they acted like boys, they were considered not very lady-like and easily scrutinized by the established social ideology of gender. Efforts to maintain feminine-appropriate organization would eventually be the down fall to women's athletics as they were to be measured against men's athletics (Hill, 1993).

Originally, the CIAW did not organize with a membership model as suggested by the NCAA (Suggs, 2005). Instead, they organized competition and tournaments for all participating women's teams. Lopiano (1981) recalled how the "CIAW was handicapped administratively and

economically by its lack of an identifiable membership to provide a direct communication channel to individual institutions and a source of dues to finance its operations,” a structure that the NCAA had established 50 years earlier (p. 22). Lopiano (1981) expressed the fear of financial control and power turning over to the men’s athletics departments if the CIAW required membership dues. Denying a membership dues model created two types of organizational models for governing intercollegiate athletics—the institution membership model associated with the NCAA and the individual participant model of the CIAW. Like many female sport leaders of the time, they feared that the exchange of money would attract corruption as it has in men’s athletics and women would be viewed inappropriately for behaving like the men. Resistance to organize with a secure funding structure eventually led to a difficult start to the CIAW.

After four years of organizing national championships, the CIAW recognized a need for localized state chapters to assist with championships and to distribute some of the costs (Suggs, 2005; Wilson, 2013). This served as an impetus for the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), which administered championships at state, regional, and eventually national levels (Suggs, 2005; Wilson, 2013; Hult, 1989). The AIAW was officially founded in 1971, and by the first 1972-73 season, the organization had over 280-member institutions participating in AIAW events (Suggs, 2005). Seven women’s national championships included badminton, basketball, golf, gymnastics, swimming and diving, track and field, and volleyball (Hult, 1989).

Competition in the state of Michigan accelerated with the establishment of governing agencies. The AIAW issued a publication *AIAW Handbook of Policies and Operating Procedures* to guide state, regional, and national tournaments (Neve, 2016). The guidelines

prompted educators at the Michigan Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (MAHPER) to develop a structure for intercollegiate athletic competition (Neve, 2016). By 1972, a constitution and bylaws were drafted for a State of Michigan Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (SMAIAW; Neve, 2016).

The SMAIAW commission was comprised of members from university, college, junior college; a Michigan representative; and a non-voting secretary of the 19 institutional members (Neve, 2016). Eight women in total were charged to do the following:

1. To serve in a resource capacity and disseminate pertinent information to member institutions concerning national, regional and state policies on intercollegiate competition for women.
2. To evaluate, interpret, and enforce Michigan's Standards and Policies and to present new policies for the approval for the membership.
3. To decide in which sports State Tournaments were necessary and; a) arrange for a hostess school to conduct such tournaments; b) determine the policies for conduct of these tournaments – using the AIAW policies as minimal standards; c) Fix the time and place for holding the tournaments. (Neve, 2016, p. 45)

The standards cited closely aligned with those originally published by DGWS and by the AIAW (Neve, 2016). Additional SMAIAW guidelines included rules of eligibility, no practices on Sundays, and clarifying one sport per season (Neve, 2016). Physical educators and coaches set into motion an all-women's leadership structure, guiding policies, and a mechanism for women's athletics to compete.

***All about the funding.*** EMU women may have had organized intercollegiate competition, but without proper resource streams, they could not compete as freely as the men. A

1972 article titled “Women’s athletics lack money at the ‘U’” identified the conspicuous inequality in athletic spending for men and women (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, March 22). The article detailed, the spending of \$499,825.15 on men’s intercollegiate athletics and \$8,024 on intramural athletics, compared to \$6,200 for both women’s intercollegiate and intramural activities (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, March 22). Also noted was a cut to the WRA operating budget thwarting their ability to travel and participate in a spring sports season (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, March 22). In conclusion, the author plead, “If they [University] can spend a half a million dollars on just a few people in Men’s Intercollegiate Athletics, why can they not afford to give more money to the rest of the students on campus to meet their...needs” (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, March 22 p. 4).

More and more student articles brought to light the inequality men’s athletics presented at Eastern Michigan University. This argument of inequality was ripe for the era as the fervor of revolution defined the 1960s and 1970s. Several students submitted opinion pieces to the *Eastern Echo* on unfair treatment to women’s athletics. The article, “Budget for women’s athletics inadequate,” exposed the hardships placed on women athletes having to subsidize their own competitions (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, August 27). This particular student detailed three accounts where women had to raise funds for state championship performances and field repair (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, August 27). A difference in philosophy was cited as an explanation for the injustices:

The men’s program has long been an established and proven one, perpetuated by the well-known recruiting process. Recruiting alone, with the scholarships it entails, is a very costly process and this is only the beginning of University involvement in the men’s athletics expenses. Recruiting for women is unheard of and it is doubtful whether many people would want to add that kind of costly burden to the University budget, but the

program...is hardly one to attract more outstanding women competitors. The girls have to put up with the program because they possess sportsmanship and like to participate in competitive events. (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, August 27, p. 9)

This illustrated the competing values of this era, men's trajectory for a winning program, and women's desire to participate with just a bit more financial support. The author stated that they did not expect the same funding as the men "just want something a little more in line with their program and competitive potential" (*Eastern Echo*, 1972, August 27, p. 9). These requests seemed to fall on deaf ears. The women were not only pushing the cultural boundaries of womanhood, the requests may pose a threat to the athletic funding and opportunities of men. This was a perceived concern of the men in athletics, already declaring there was not enough for their athletics organization, let alone having to share with the women.

Change was imminent for women's athletics at EMU. Baun (2015) recalled, "We knew something big was occurring, the PE instructors just kept saying, 'be patient things are going to change'." This was the current flowing throughout the women's PE division in 1971. Robin Baun, a 1975 EMU graduate and PE major, felt the shift taking place in women's athletics:

I came to Eastern to be a Phys. Ed major, it was my dream to teach. I had no idea that it would be an option to coach. I came from a high school where there were no sports for girls. So, one day I came up to the gym and there were some girls playing volleyball and they all were wearing the same shirt. (Baun, 2015)

Baun watched the women's volleyball team practice and decided to join the following year. She was a three-sport athlete with the Women's Recreation Association (WRA), competing in basketball, volleyball, and softball (Baun, 2015). She shared, "We had one uniform for all the

sports...we just had no money” (Baun, 2015). Baun’s lived experience illustrated the discrepancies between men’s and women’s athletics.

The conditions for women’s athletics reflected what the PE instructors, teaching full time, were able to support. They coached on their free time, with little or no compensation; called their peers at other institutions to arrange contests; and rented vans when available with limited budgets. Baun remembered playing anyone who had a program: “My sport was softball, but there weren’t too many schools with teams back then” (Baun, 2015). The SMAIAW had recently organized and many schools were in the process of building their women’s intercollegiate athletics program with limited resources (Neve, 2016). All the while, men’s athletics departments were making arguments against women’s athletics. Their function remained in developing a deep bench of coaches and leadership trained in the competitive model of intercollegiate athletics.

### **Section 3: Title IX: The Incompatible Truth of Legislation and Culture**

#### **Introduction**

The women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s identified the second-class treatment of women in all industries and institutions (Guttmann, 1991). Issues associated with women's sexuality, reproductive rights, family roles, and working inequalities challenged the male-centered social order of the time and previous eon (Cott, 2004). Introduction and discussions of the patriarchal society brought to light the othering of women compared to men (Cott, 2004). The momentum behind women demanding equality in the workforce, created a window of opportunity for the Educational Amendment Act of 1972 commonly known as Title IX (Carpenter & Acosta, 2005; Hult, 1989). Title IX declared to eliminate sexual discrimination in federally funded educational institutions particularly with access to academic degrees. However, the amendment was most famously associated with women's access to intercollegiate athletics. Title IX forever changed the direction and philosophy of women in sports not only at EMU but across the county (Hult, 1989). Women's intercollegiate athletics were universally affected by legislation in the institutional environment.

In 1973, women students at Eastern Michigan University rejoiced the legislative change in the following way:

Woman is: being confined to the doll corner in nursery school when you really like tinker toys. Inch by inch, the door to the sport's world is opening up to women. And even if you are the home-making type, it's comforting to know that the door is opening not only to sports, but a whole new world of activities where a women was previously thought to have no place. Now that the opportunities to prove their worth in recreation are rising,



women are challenging the traditional value that ‘a woman’s place is in the home’.

Women! It’s time to get out and show people what you can do. (*Aurora*, 1973, p.188)

The statement was a call to action for all women on campus to explore opportunities where they had previously been denied. This was yet another example of EMU serving as a microcosm to the greater cultural transformation taking place in America. Social attitudes towards women were changing. Although the yearbook proclaimed men and women can compete as equals the institutional support proved differently. The men had new found freedom in athletics with scholarships, recruitment, and hefty travel budgets, but the women appeared fed up with operating on bake sales and fundraiser. The new legislation invited expected and unexpected change. Institutional policy was being used to influence deeply ingrained cultural values and norms as related to gender.

Wilson (2013) described the passing of Title IX as a “fortuitous step with the newly formed AIAW’s efforts to establish women’s intercollegiate participation and championship opportunities” (p. 5). Title IX was passed to improve women’s access to higher education and graduate school programs (Blumenthal, 2005). Few recognized at the time, that the law would controversially be applied to women’s intercollegiate athletic involvement, fueling an already controversial relationship between the NCAA and AIAW (Blumenthal, 2005). Simultaneously, the AIAW and Title IX both emerged in the early 1970s radically changing women’s sports for decades to come. Historian Wilson (2013) interpreted this as a coincidence of the women’s movement, second-wave feminism, and a women’s sport revolution for the advancement of women in sport. Following the publishing of Friedan’s (1963) *The Feminine Mystique*, women became more active in organizing local, state, and national organizations for women. The

emergence of women's sport-oriented organizations preceded this movement and only gained from the political and cultural attention of women's liberation.

Over time, two different men's and women's athletic production functions had emerged as part of the physical education department. The men's technical core was to produce games, teams, and competition. Money from the institution, game receipts, student fees, and alumni donations in the task environment protected this production function. The leadership within the technical core were once outputs from this very technical core, generating a socialization process that was congruent to both the institutional and cultural environment. Cultural reassurance of masculine appropriate activities and roles—competition, excellence, winning—made up the values, beliefs, and philosophies of the cultural environment. This was further supported by the regulatory bodies and legislation within the institutional environment, led by institutional members of the NCAA.

It is important to note that the women's athletic movement evolved with a different set of cultural principles legitimized by a separate institutional environment. Like the men, leaders supporting the women's production function were trained with a particular set of values, beliefs, and philosophies recognized and reinforced by the cultural environment. Therefore, the production function of women's athletics were to train appropriate women educators—participation, education-based, cooperative—for teaching positions. The task environment varied from the men, as women's athletics was funded on WRA membership fees, fundraisers, and funds allocated from Student Life. Legitimacy and regulation was influenced by the ideals of national PE associations which served to promote feminine appropriate activities. Figure 56 illustrates the two independent production functions and supportive environments as an athletics core evolved between the 1940s to the 1970s at EMU.

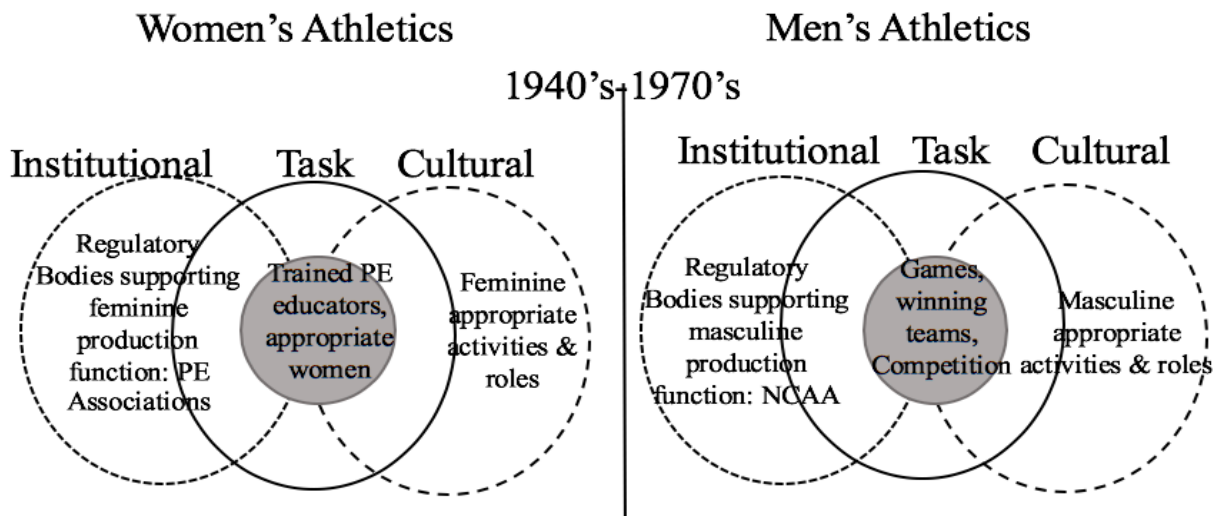


Figure 56. Institutional, task, and cultural environment for men's and women's athletics from 1940s-1970s.

These independent production function's provided reassurance and legitimacy to the institutional and cultural environments.

At Eastern Michigan University, and similar to other colleges and universities, the women's sports movement emerged from PE as a grassroots effort to provide non-competitive sporting opportunities for women (Park & Hult, 1993). Associations such as the WRA and PE club were organized to provide women with gaming outlets; however, received less financial support from the institution compared to men. Women's HPERD chair Dr. Steig addressed the College of Education dean Dr. Al Myers, on the status of women's athletics (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). Her letter provided a brief history on women's sports and its growth and reputation, and the letter concluded with a request to separate the women's intramural budget from the women's intercollegiate athletic fund, a similar move made by the men a few years earlier (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). Steig also requested greater support and recognition of women's athletics by the university. Four steps were outlined to improve women's athletics at EMU:

1. Recognition by the Dean of the College of Education, Vice President for Instruction and the President of the University that our department will sponsor women's intercollegiate athletics under the leadership of the HPERD department as vested in the chairman of the Women's Division.
2. In financial support of this program, monies are necessary for travel, for equipment, medical and travel insurance, medical supplies and physical examinations which are very vital when competing on any organized level.
3. ...recognition of coaching responsibilities of faculty members as a part of their load. Certainly, this is not to the same degree as the men's athletic program, but their work should be recognized as part of the responsibility to the University...
4. A fourth and very important facet, is that of facilities for the program...As programs continue to grow, this matter of facilities will be an important one. (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15, p. 3)

It was not surprising to read her request of "not to the same degree as the men's athletics," as if that request would be absurd, reflecting the cultural difference between men's and women's athletics (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15, p. 3). Although, Steig makes the distinction that this is different from the men's athletics program, the request echoed those of the men's athletics program from the late 1930s. Facility improvements, coaching salaries, comparable resources, and recognition of competitive women's intercollegiate athletics were similar requests the men made as they were bolstering their program. Included was the 1970-71 budget of \$2,133.30 compared to a requested budget of \$4,034.36 for the 1972-73 season (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). The hope was to double their budget, while gaining respect and recognition on campus.

This era marked the greatest divergences between men's and women's athletics. While the women were asking for a boost of \$2,000.00 to their budget, the men's budget was operating at 100 times higher than the women's. In addition to Steig's letter were a handful of *Eastern Echo* articles complaining of the lack of coverage and attention directed to women's athletics and the condition of the facilities (*Eastern Echo*, 31, 1973, January; *Eastern Echo*, 1973, October 1). Steig and other PE faculty were clear that they did not desire the scholarships, commercialization, or even the level of competition comparable to the men. They had their own vision for women's athletics that aligned with the broader cultural and historical roots as related to gender. More financial support, a commitment to women's athletics from the administration, and more opportunities for women to also participate defined their athletic vision (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). Underlining these request was the structural change to split the funds for women's intramurals from women's intercollegiate athletics (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). Separating the funding stream symbolized a divergence in the women's athletics production function, thus creeping closer to the men' model.

The university approved Steig's request, and the women's athletics officially separated from the WRA, which continued to organize intramural activities (Neve, 2016). Separating the two functions allowed for the WRA to maintain a recreational outlet for women while building competitive athletics for women out of the HPERD department. The funding line for women's intercollegiate athletics was moved to the university's budget, a budget model similar to what men's athletics underwent in 1967. Although women's athletics were still managed by faculty and operated from the HPERD department, there was a clear distinction from the recreational and intramural functions which remained under the WRA. Figure 57 highlights this new structural arrangement with both men's and women's intercollegiate athletics receiving funding

through the university budget as opposed to the academic unit. Even though women's athletics was receiving their funds, like the men, through the university budget, the administration of funds remained in the academic unit of women's HPERD. This arrangement introduced the first blurring of lines for control of women's athletics. At this time, a male president and male-led men's athletics department were coupled with a female-led women's athletics program marking a shift in the women's PE production function.

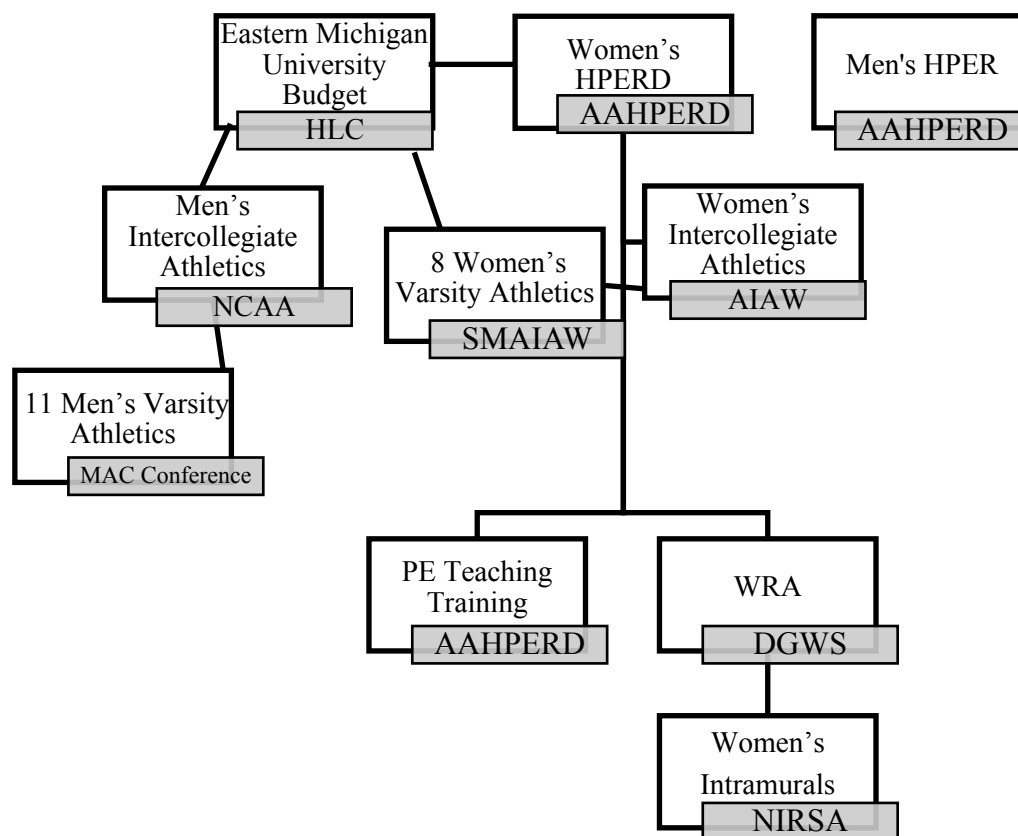


Figure 57. Organizational chart of men's and women's athletics throughout the 1970s.

The new budgeting structure demonstrates the slight paralleling of Men's and Women's athletics in 1972 yet differentiates where they existed within the university structure; women remained under the control of the HPERD department.

**Scholarship paradox.** The addition of women's intercollegiate athletic programs around the state of Michigan sparked a change in the state, regional, and national governing structures.

In 1972, the State of Michigan Association for Intercollegiate Women's Athletics (SMAIAW) had replaced the former Athletics and Recreation Federation for Michigan College Women (ARFMCW; Neve, 2016). Disbanding the ARFMCW, was another indicator of institutions and colleges moving away from PE structures in managing athletics. Evidently, the limited investment in women's athletics (compared to men) and new attitudes on women's sports invited conversations on financial aid and scholarships for women. In May of 1973, The Division of Girls and Women in Sport issued a response regarding athletic scholarships for women. The statement

...reaffirms its concern that the provisions of Scholarship or other financial assistance specifically designated for athletes may create a potential for abuses which could prove detrimental to the development of quality programs of athletics, specifically, the DGWS deplores the evils of pressure recruiting and performer exploitation which frequently accompany the administration of financial aid for athletes. (DGWS, Update, AAHPER Journal May, 1973)

The statement emphasized the DGWS and AIAW's commitment to an educational model of college athletics that was perceived to be more appropriate for women. Avoiding the pressure recruiting and the exploitation of athletic talent were lessons taken from the reality of men's athletic (DGWS, Update, AAHPER Journal May, 1973). For the women, these practices did not align with the cultural norms related to appropriate behavior for women.

In retrospect, there are those who have argued that by adopting an educational model and denying scholarships to women was actually a violation of equal rights for women (Wu, 2004). At EMU, Steig requested additional funding for women's athletics (Steig, Correspondence, 1972, March 15). According to Wu (2004), women were requesting general funding, but because

of their commitment to non-competitive athletics, they could not justify scholarships. Therefore, Wu (2004) identified a paradox created by the women's PE faculty, where women educators were actually contributing to the marginalization of women's athletics compared to men, by denying athletes scholarships. Leaders of women's athletics thought they were advocating for the advancement of women in athletics, but it appeared to create more limitations on them at least compared to the men's competitive athletic system. Women leaders of the time were attempting to balance the culturally appropriate ideals of what it means to be a woman and athlete. They were upholding a status quo of cultural norms. This underscored the cultural paradox of women's athletics.

The DGWS statement came in the wake of a lawsuit (*Kellmeyer et al., v. NEA et al.*) against DGWS/AIAW for the restriction of women's access to athletic scholarships (Wu, 2004). The rules organization, DGWS, elected to oppose scholarships; however, the governing body, AIAW, saw this as a losing legal battle. Therefore, to avoid ongoing litigation, the DGWS and AIAW conceded to allow for athletic scholarships. The addition of athletic scholarships presented a major internal conflict for the organizations. The AIAW and DGWS knew that allowing scholarship would advantage some programs while disadvantaging others, directly challenging their athletic ethos built on fairness. In a statement, DGWS admitted, "While a curtailment of programs of financial aid to female students involved in athletics does eliminate the potential for abuses...it operates inequitably to deny to female students benefits available to their male counterparts" (DGWS, Update, AAHPER Journal May, 1973). Concessions were made to avoid losing institutional membership and to retain control over women's intercollegiate athletics (Wu, 2004).



AIAW was forced to shift their model, marking a divergence from the women's PE model and closer to that of the men's competitive and game producing model (Wu, 2004). Aligning women's athletics closer to that of the men's was strongly opposed by some of the women leaders, because they resisted conforming to competitive and masculine cultural norms. The idea of pulling back of men's athletics closer to the women's non-competitive brand was simply not going to happen. Men's athletics had set course on a competitive path long ago and there would be no turning back. Men's coaches have been offering NCAA scholarships and recruiting to sport teams for 20 years at this point (Crowley, 2006). Recruiting with athletic scholarships was a foreign and fraught frontier for women (Wu, 2004). This marked a significant change in the production function of women's PE and athletics programs across the country. If permitted and funded by institutions, women athletes could receive scholarships like the male athletes. However, this technical shift of scholarships was confronted by the embedded cultural dogma of women as nurturing and men as aggressive (Hult, 1985). Essentially, with the offering of scholarships, women were entering into uncharted territory of aggressive athletic play, counter to a culture of feminine gender roles (Lorber, 1996).

The lengthy DGWS revised philosophical statement recommended seven guidelines to appropriately administer financial aid. Guidelines emphasized a careful approach to financial aid, encouraging women to participate in sports for reasons other than financial benefit, or to not show favoritism among scholarship and non-scholarship athletes (DGWS, Update, AAHPER Journal May, 1973). Such requests reflected an attachment to the old philosophy of playing nice and fair. However, the rules governing this switch were nothing of the sort. The territory had already been defined by the men adding scholarships in the 1950s, a mechanism for adding competitive value to intercollegiate athletics (R. A. Smith, 1990). A win at all cost mentality

legitimized athletic departments to produce games at its core. Finally, the report included recommendations on recruiting practices, reserving the rights for the AIAW to enforce infractions, and that all recruiting practices be approved through the administrator of women's athletics (DGWS, Update, AAHPER Journal May, 1973). Bylaws surrounding recruiting practices and scholarship were tasks required for a position of women's athletic administrator. This was evident even at EMU as new positions formed and the funding stream began to resemble that of the men's. In 1973, Jean Cione replaced Geraldine Barnes as the advisor and became the first Athletic Director for Women's Sports, maintaining a 50/50-teaching/athletics administration load (Neve, 2016). Barnes went on to serve as commissioner of the SMAIAW and remained teaching full-time in HPERD (Neve, 2016). EMU graduates and educators were well entrenched in the women's intercollegiate athletics movement for the State of Michigan.

**AIAW: A perceived threat to the NCAA.** In a 1964 meeting between DGWS representatives and Walter Byers of the NCAA, the NCAA's leadership clearly expressed having no interest in women's intercollegiate athletics (Wu, 1999; Park, 1995; Hult 1989). Byers and his constituents offered to advise in the organization of women's athletics. As the CIAW emerged in 1967, economic and administrative struggles occurred prompting a paid membership structure to replace the former models comprised of individual educators (Lopiano, 1981; Wu, 1999). The need for a reliable financial structure transformed the CIAW to the AIAW, to operate as an institutional membership organization along with state chapters such as the SMAIAW (Lopiano, 1981). Institutional memberships allowed for women's intercollegiate athletic program to organize around a financial structure, which reflected their athletic philosophy. Creation of a women's intercollegiate athletic organization, which paralleled that of the NCAA called for a legal agreement (Lopiano, 1981; Wu, 1999).

In 1971, directors of the DGWS, AAHPER, and CIAW (months prior to the formation of the AIAW) requested that the NCAA not support women's intercollegiate athletic meets or tournaments to avoid future conflicts and establish separate domains, a well-established practice in the field by this point (Wu, 1999). Byers' indeterminate response alluded to "a difficult legal position" and a future where the NCAA will "remove such barriers and, in fact, provide competitive opportunities for women as well as men" (Byers, Letter to Elizabeth Hoyt, 1971, January 15). This confused the women representatives and demonstrated NCAA's concern for legal charges of discrimination if they did not provide provisions accepting women's athletics competition (Wu, 1999).

Based on the interaction between leadership of the AIAW and NCAA, there was an attempt to contractually keep the NCAA from overreaching the AIAW's function of providing athletic championships for women. However, the NCAA was concerned that unequal athletic opportunities offered at the institutions would create endless civil rights legal battles. In this case, separate would not be seen as equal; therefore, the NCAA could not allow for a competing organization to control women's athletics. Byers saw that the only answer was to offer women's athletics from a singular governing body—NCAA (NCAA Meeting on Women's Athletics, 1971). The male run organization NCAA would be the single governing body and control how equity would be defined and implemented.

Legal arrangements were discussed in a July 1971 meeting between five NCAA representatives (Byers, Gangwere, Neinas, Boydston, and Czekaj) and three DGWS/CIAW chairs (Thorpe, Oglesby, and Bryant; NCAA Meeting on Women's Athletics, 1971). The meeting ended with a proposed NCAA-AIAW affiliation to avoid legal litigation (Wu, 1999). Bryant, the women's legal consultant, suggested the NCAA was "looking for an out" in

providing women the opportunity to compete in intercollegiate athletics (NCAA Meeting on Women's Athletics, 1971). NCAA's lawyer, Gangwere, did not trust that the AIAW would accept the proposal and instead amended the agreement allowing for the NCAA to authorize their own division for women's intercollegiate athletics (Wu, 1999). Disagreement drove the NCAA leadership to consider forming their own women's division in order to compete with the AIAW and control how equity would be defined. Wu (1999) described Byers as the architect behind this arrangement motivated by the prevailing struggle to control all of amateur athletics decades before. Byers knew that if he did make exceptions to women's athletics, he could potentially concede to the AAU, a battle that has long existed between the NCAA and AAU for control over amateur athletics. The growing momentum behind women's athletics only propelled the AAU position in sponsoring women's athletics at an international level.

The AIAW hesitated with the NCAA's proposed AIAW-NCAA affiliation over the concern of women's athletics remaining under women's control (Wu, 1999). The proposal framed the AIAW as "subject to NCAA control" and to operate as a subdivision rather than an autonomous division (Gangwere Letter to Byers, 1971, August 14). Instead the women desired "liaison relationship" with "no controls or no ties" with the NCAA, NAIA, NJCAA for greater publicity (Minutes of Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, November 12-14, 1971, p. 9-10). Ultimately, the NCAA's Byers and Gangwere bullied AIAW to join the NCAA, threatening the creation of their own women's division if they did not comply (Wu, 1999). Nonetheless, eligibility and financial assistances proved to be an incompatible difference between men's and women's athletics. The women were firm in their disapproval of scholarships and financial assistance to women athletics because they saw this not only as an invitation for corruption, but anti-feminine. However, all of this changed with the *Kellymeyer* lawsuit

following Title IX (DGWS Guidelines, 1967; Wu, 1999). The passing of Title IX only incited the battle between the NCAA and the AIAW.

Title IX presented women in athletics with a great paradox. Wu (1999) described the irony as “While women cheered for Title IX and foreseeable increase in athletic opportunities for female students, the legal system and most feminists would soon judge women’s parity in sport by using the men’s model” (p. 597). Comparing women’s athletics to men’s would eventually open the floodgates to men for coaching women’s teams and administrative positions (Hill, 1993). Essentially, women would be and would choose to be sidelined from these positions primarily from a lack of intercollegiate athletic experience compared to the generation of men socialized into intercollegiate play (Hill, 1993; Wu, 1999; Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Park 1995; Hult, 1985).

The AIAW policies from the beginning were created to align women athletes with acceptable social norms and tasks. Leaders in the organization framed it as protection from the corruptions and misuse of athletes they associated with men’s intercollegiate athletics. By the inaugural transition meeting, the AIAW had 278 members (Hult, 1985). These numbers continued to grow, quickly outpacing the NCAA’s membership by nearly double. Membership numbers only seemed to add to the fight for power and control between the two organizations. The events at EMU represented a microcosm of the conflict playing out at the national level.

**Title IX at EMU.** Women’s athletics held no comparison to the men’s. Funding, resources (Men-\$220,000; Women-\$4,200), full-time coaches (Men-12; Women-0), and press coverage varied dramatically between the men’s and women’s programs (*Budget Records*, 1970). By 1970, men’s athletics had severed all connection from the HPERD department. The athletic department reported directly to the office of the president, and coaches and

administrators were hired specifically to manage athletics (Pedersen, 1996). Men's athletics had securely found their home in the Mid-American Conference (MAC) and NCAA after years of institutional turmoil and resistance to adopt an athletics enterprise. The production function of men's athletics underwent a shift from attracting men to the institution and training them for coaching/teaching positions, to the production of games and winning teams. The addition of a Board of Regents and ongoing presidential change at EMU also effected the evolution of athletics. In 1974, Sponberg resigned from EMU and James Brickley joined as the 17<sup>th</sup> president at EMU (University Presidents, 2017, February 14). Despite the challenges between the administration and men's athletics, the following remained true. Generations of men had still been trained and initiated into the men's competitive club of interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics, which reflected pervasive cultural values. The women; however, participated in AIAW state, regional and national sponsored events, and they did so on a frugal budget which reflected their philosophy. The *Eastern Echo* issued articles on the lack of women's coverage, while drawing attention to the outstanding performance of women athletes (January 3, 1974; April 15, 1974). EMU had national and Olympic athletes represented on their field hockey, swimming, and track & field sport teams (*Eastern Echo*, 1973:1975; Neve, 2016). Despite the athletic notoriety, their efforts to seek legitimacy and receive funding continued as a battle for the women's program.

Longtime coach, faculty, and administrator, Lucy Parker, compared men's and women's athletics access to championship funds: "Unlike the NCAA paying for championships, schools had to support themselves in AIAW championship events" (Parker, 2005). Parker (2005) furthered, "If the [men's] basketball team qualified for the national championship, NCAA would pay their way, but the women's teams had to pay out of the athletic budget!" Parker (2005)

reported pride in the AIAW's efforts to advance women's intercollegiate athletics. These comments did not seem to be directed at the AIAW, but rather at the EMU administration to procure funds for women's athletics. Parker appeared to direct her frustration of the inequity at EMU and men's athletics rather than the organization sponsoring the events. Parker (2005) could have demanded equitable financial support from the AIAW for championships, but this was not discussed on record.

Parker's (2005) comments followed the 1972 men's basketball run to the NCAA tournament semi-finals game. The men received full funding from the NCAA for tournament play, whereas the AIAW did not have the funding structure to support any of their championship expenses. AIAW leaders expressed concern in charging membership fees, fully aware of the already distressed budgets for women's athletics (Lopiano, 1981). AIAW leaders were concerned of inhibiting a program's ability to participate in intercollegiate athletics if membership fees were required (Lopiano, 1981). The AIAW's rationale was based on the membership of all formal and informal programs wanting to participate in AIAW events rather than an institutional fee paid by the university administrators (Lopiano, 1981; Suggs, 2005). Such thinking reflected the minimization of their athletic presence compared to their male counterparts. Leaders of the AIAW recognized that funding was essential to their operation and instituted a modest annual membership fee, a recommendation made by the NCAA years earlier (Suggs, 2005). At the height of their operation, the AIAW had over 900 member institutions compared to the NCAA's 500 men's athletic members (Wu, 1999). The NAIA reached peak membership of 561 schools in 1971-72 season (Salwasser, 2018) resulting in 1,061 men's athletic programs. According to these figures, men's intercollegiate athletic member institutions

were divvied up between the two national athletics regulatory bodies, whereas the women were centralized into one, the AIAW.

Parker's (2005) frustration echoed that of many EMU women's coaches and administrators. The inequality experienced between the men and women often raised the question of athletic scholarships. Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, Jean Cione, responded to an *Eastern Echo* reporter, "Hopefully, we will be offering nine sports this year: volleyball, field hockey, tennis, basketball, gymnastics, speed swimming, track and field, softball and golf" (Cione, 1974, September 4, p. 5-F). When asked about scholarships for women athletes, Cione remarked, "We're really soul searching because we're not sure that offering scholarships is the best thing for the students" (Cione, 1974, September 4, p. 5-F). Reflected in Cione's response was her commitment to the educational and non-commercial ideals of women's athletics from a historical PE perspective. This interview followed the AIAW's 1973 lifting of the scholarship ban (Neve 2016). While the AIAW allowed for institutions to provide scholarships, it remained a cultural and economic decision for each institution. Women's athletics at EMU were still jockeying for budget increases to cover basic expenses such as uniforms, travel, and equipment let alone scholarships. Sentiments shared reflected a dominant ideology of fairness and equity among the women PE leaders. This ideology fueled PE leaders to seek their own version of "competitive" athletic arrangements more in line with culturally defined gender roles. Yet, the rules governing competitive athletics have already been set by men and reinforced masculine ideals.

The offering of athletic scholarships in 1973 unofficially marked the inception of women's intercollegiate athletics nationwide. The AIAW authorized each institution the decision to offer scholarship, but was rigid in their stance against pressure recruiting. Therefore,



promotional materials could be mailed out, but coaches were not allowed to scout players. It was the responsibility of the high school athlete to contact the college coach and seek scholarship opportunities. This presented a stark contrast to the NCAA members, as blue chip athletes were receiving sometimes over 200 scholarship offers from schools (Vruggink, 1975, September 3). Despite AIAW allowing scholarships, Michigan State University, University of Michigan, and Eastern Michigan University did not provide scholarship (Vruggink, 1975, September 3). For many programs faced with tight budgets, the risk of offering scholarships could threaten a reduction in varsity sport teams for women (Vruggink, 1975, September 3). Al Smith, EMU's men's Director of Athletics, explained the discrepancy in funding due in part to an unsuccessful football program: "We can increase monies available to the women's athletic program through the success of the men's program. You see the tragedy on Eastern Michigan University's campus has been that football has never carried its own weight" (Vruggink, 1975, September 3, p. 8-E). It was unclear if this comment was intended to secure more funding for men's football as a way to improve competitiveness or if it was a criticism directed to the coaching staff. Ironically, the same year Smith made these comments the athletic funding difference for women compared to men was \$5,000 to \$260,000 (*Budget Records*, 1968:1975). Despite Director Smith's comments about the underperforming football team and the drastic budget differential, these artifacts underscored perception of women's athletics.

The benefits of athletics for men and women presented a double standard (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Everhart and Pemberton (2001) posited: "Historically and traditionally sport and the inherent life-skill lessons learned and practiced, have for men and boys, provided an expressway to socio-cultural access, power, prestige, and success" (p. 6). Women did not receive the same benefits in participating in sport. Instead, playing sports for women and girls placed

them in the midst of a conflict with gender specific sociocultural norms and values (Everhart & Pemberton, 2001). Women athletics emerged secondary to men's athletics and were perceived as an undue burden and potential threat to men's intercollegiate athletics. Intercollegiate athletics had become sacred male domain and inviting women in violated cultural norms. The prevailing cultural and social concern of who wants to see women compete in athletics when they could be watching men was a hard reality to overcome.

The disparities between the two were palpable. There was a hope among the administrators that an increase of funds would appear for the administration of women's athletics. This was not the case for EMU. "Women's athletic program appears to be in a state of uncertainty. With recent budget cuts, some sports may be reduced from Intercollegiate to club levels," said sports writer Vruggink, (Vruggink, 1975, September 3). Women's athletics maintained a secondary status to the men's program, and it was never more obvious than in their budgets. Men's athletic coaches received salaries and benefits, and they were not expected to teach courses, whereas women coaches were employed as teaching faculty and coaching on their free time (*Budget Records*, 1968:1975). Nationally, scholarships and a fair interpretation of "equal opportunity" for women in athletics continued to inch women's athletics closer to their male counterparts. Cione anticipated that the future of women's athletics at EMU was not in her control (Cione, 1995). According to the women PE faculty at EMU, the influence of men's athletics was growing too powerful on society and even at Eastern (Cione, 1995).

**Budgets.** The years following Title IX were forecasted to have detrimental effects on the men's athletic program. At some institutions this may have been the case, but at EMU "the effects of Title IX have not been as dire as the wording of the law might suggest" (Sherwood, 1975, February 12, p. 14). Sports writer Sherwood went on to compare the budgets for men's and

women's athletics making the argument that women have received 50% of their requested budget. Respectively, Cione requested \$9,000 and received \$5,000 in 1973-74 and received \$20,000 of the \$40,000 requested a year later (Sherwood, 1975, February 12). The \$20,000 was compared to the \$260,000 the men's program had received each year for the past four years (Sherwood, 1975, February 12).

Between 1973-1975, Cione served as the Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics still within the HPERD department. She budgeted out monies for each of the nine sports; However, this did not account for AIAW Championship expenses. Unlike the men's championships with the NCAA, the women did not receive support for AIAW championship play (Hult, 1980; Parker, 2005). The women were expected to support travel and expenses through university budgets. This challenge was realized when four swimming athletes qualified for the AIAW Swimming and Diving Championships in Tempe, Arizona (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, March 14). In order to afford plane tickets, Cione had to move funds from a spring sport to pay for their trip (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, March 14). Cione requested funds from the university administration to make up for the shortage in the women's spring sports. Her request was denied and instead had to cut competition to make up for the loss (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, March 14).

Cione was all too familiar with the budget challenges associated with women's sports and remained hopeful that things were improving, as long as they did not follow the path of men's athletics (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, February 2). She makes this distinction stating, "We are trying to operate prudently without inflicting hardship on our girls," later adding, "We don't feel we are in the entertainment business, but it may evolve to that" (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, February 2, p. 14). Cione attempted to run the women's athletic program with less money and by providing as many athletic opportunities for interested women. She claimed to have maintained a good working

relationship with the men's athletic department: "They have told us some of the pitfalls to avoid, but at present time our direction is not certain" (Cione as cited in *Eastern Echo*, 1975, February 2, p. 14). Cione questioned whether women's athletics could remain viable without the financial support, full-time staff, and competitive nature that upholds the men's model. Such concerns indicated a change in the production function of women's PE and women's athletics. Women PE faculty could no longer carry the load of teaching and managing a varsity athletic team due to a growing pressures to train more competitive teams in hopes of generating revenue.

The direction was not certain and six months later Cione stepped down from the role, citing a 50% administrative and 50% teaching responsibility "could not give justice to either job under the conditions" (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, September 5, p. 13). On September 5, 1975, "Cione ended her two-year tenure as women's athletic director...Cione resigned to return to full-time teaching" (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, September 5, p. 13). The hiring of women athletic trainers was one of Cione's greatest accomplishments—a step towards establishing a legitimate athletics program. Cione's 50/50 administration and teaching appointment was replaced by a first full-time women's athletic administrator, Carole Huston (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, September 5). Huston's appointment included responsibilities of "arranging contracts and facilities, and keeping in contact with coaches" at other institutions with women's athletic programs (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, September 5, p. 13). Committing to a full-time female administrator was a departure from the former teaching and coaching/administration model. All the coaches were women's PE faculty assisted by department graduate assistants. Huston would bring a new perspective to women's intercollegiate athletics and become a pioneer for securing scholarships for EMU women's athletics.

Changes to the institutional, task, and cultural environment occurred throughout the early 1970's. Title IX federal legislations served as the greatest disruptor in the institutional environment requiring federally funded institutions to adjust the athletics core. The mandate slightly altered the task environment because now it was to support both the men's and women's programs. However, the cultural environment was not changed and actually symbolically reassured independent and segregated programs.

Nationally, women received legislative access to competitive intercollegiate athletics, denial of such threatened litigation on the institution. Many institutions responded with the addition of intercollegiate athletics funded by the institutions. At EMU, the production function of preparing female appropriate educators and graduates was forced by the institutional environment to initially recognize eight varsity "competitive" athletic teams. This was only possible by the added support in the task environment which realigned the budget from Student Life to the university budget. Women's funding also increased and was being supported in the same way men's athletics was—tuition, student fees, game receipts, sponsorships, and donations. Although funds were provided by the same budget, the distribution varied greatly. Women were still receiving roughly 10%-15% of the total men's budget.

In the initial years following Title IX, women remained leading, managing, and organizing the growing competitive experience, but it was not easy. Pressure mounted as the increase in competitive women's intercollegiate athletics demanded educational leaders to bridge and buffer the new athletic core with the cultural environment. Social dogmas of masculine and feminine appropriate roles and behaviors were deeply embedded in the cultural environment. Competition and aggressiveness were not socially acceptable behaviors for women. However, women's intercollegiate athletics were forced to adopt a production function of competition and

winning like then men. This shift in the production function did not reflect cultural values nor were the outputs relative to women's athletics available. The new set standards imposed by the institutional environment and federal regulation, was an attempt to create fairness, but the standards were incongruent with the cultural environment. Figure 58 further illustrates this transformation of the institutional, task, and cultural environments of men's and women's athletics.

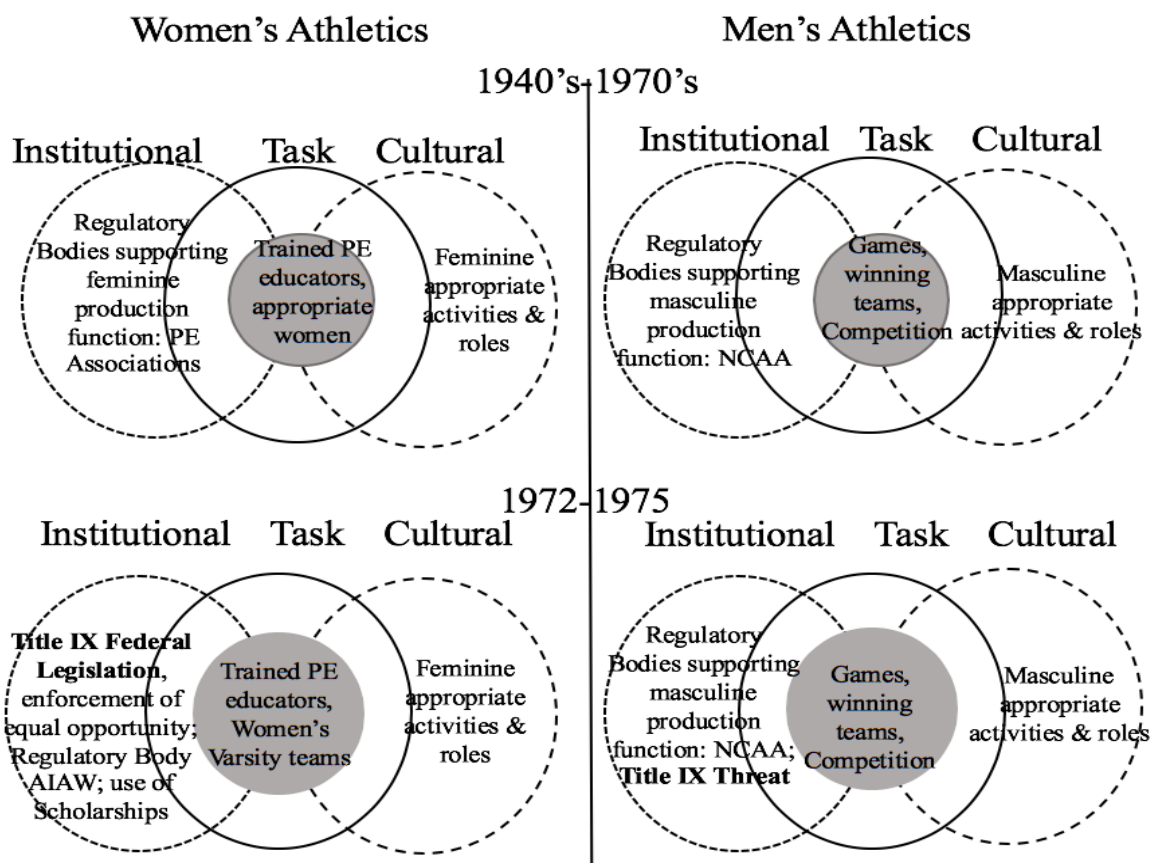


Figure 58. Change in the institutional task and cultural environment following Title IX.

Following Title IX, both men's and women's athletics attempted to maintain a production function supported by the cultural environment. However, the change imposed by the institutional environment would change the athletics core at EMU and across the country.

**Carole Huston.** In 1970, Carole Huston joined the PE staff as a women's swimming and tennis coach and HPERD instructor (Neve, 2016). Five years later she replaced Cione as the Director of Women's Athletics and became the first full-time female administrator at EMU. Huston reflected, "There were not athletic opportunities available then, as far as administration. I started teaching and coaching at the college level and I was just totally smitten by it" (Huston as cited in *Eastern Echo*, 1992, April 9). Carole knew that coaching was temporary and had her sights set on intercollegiate athletic administration, a position women have not yet occupied in the same way as men. In 1976, the Board of Regents approved Carole J. Huston be changed from HPERD instructor to Assistant Director in Intercollegiate Athletics (Board of Regents Minutes, 1976, January 21). Huston earned \$18,750 a year coordinating eight women's sports and established the grant-in-aid program for women (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, May 5). She admitted that she had no administrative skills, but she was the first to volunteer for the role: "You just kind of worked your way through it. The men had their own athletic department. The women were under the umbrella of physical education and dance" (Huston as cited in *Detroit Free Press*, 2003, May 18). Huston's training did not necessarily prepare her for the administrative role like male administrators had received. However, she was willing to learn the men's model to advance women in sport. She personally elected to enter into a male athletic domain and carved a new path for women athletic administrators.

***Athletics and HPER reorganization.*** Huston's appointment symbolized yet another major organizational change for EMU athletics and the HPERD department. In 1975, nearly 10 years after the men's athletic department broke away from the HPERD department, the women's athletic function joined the men under the umbrella of "Intercollegiate Athletics" prompting Cione to remain in HPERD and Huston to join as an assistant athletic director. Meanwhile, for

the first time since 1904, the men's and women's HPERD united under one roof where the men's chair, Pat Cavanaugh, continued to manage the department. Figure 59 displays the organizational relationship between athletics and HPERD and men and women.

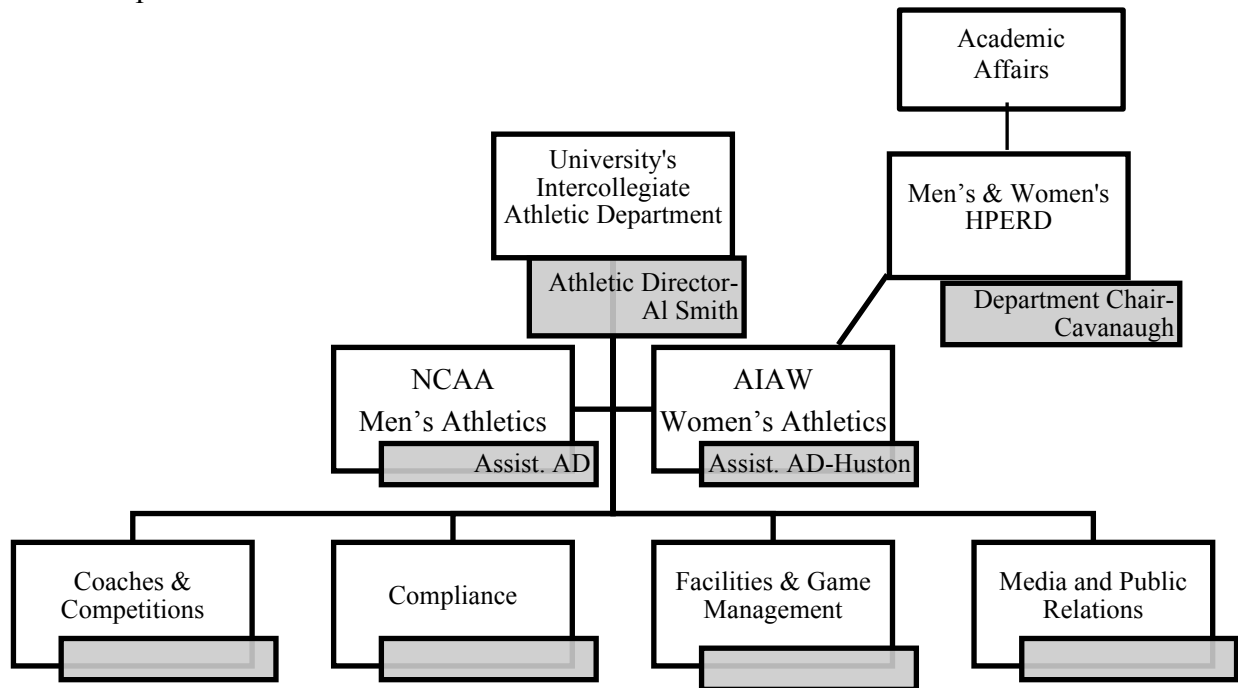


Figure 59. Organizational structure of women's athletics between intercollegiate athletics and HPERD.

EMU's reorganization grouped men's and women's athletics and men's and women's HPERD departments together. The restructuring added complication to some of the women in the HPERD department who also coached (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, May 5). Huston's responsibilities existed under athletics, but she coordinated with the coaches still in the HPERD department. While the men who were given the choice to move into athletics or remain teaching in PE, the women remained teaching in PE. They were not given the choice due in part coaching only positions did not exist for the women. Huston was the only position entirely in athletics (Neve, 2016). Her roles with the AIAW paled in comparison to those mandated by the NCAA and MAC for men's athletics. Huston coordinated contracts and schedules for competition, the



women's budgets, and practice times. However, functions such as compliance, eligibility, scholarships, facilities, marketing, sponsorships, broadcasting, coaches, travel arrangements, budget, and competitions were major tasks associated with the men's department (R. K. Smith, 2000; Pedersen, 1996). This was the reality of men's athletics all over the country.

**Modeling the men.** A study conducted by Hanford (1974) presented four major criticisms to men's intercollegiate athletics. Criticisms included the emphasis on winning at all cost driven by mass commercialization, excess recruiting, an exploitation of athletics under the veil of education, and a disregard to student athlete welfare. The AIAW continued to tout its commitment to broad base programs with educational aims, but they too would become captured by the allure of money and commercialized athletics. This became evident after the first 1972 Women's Basketball Championship, where 3,000 fans showed up to cheer on Immaculata vs. Queens (Hult & Trekell, 1991). Profits for the first game were \$4,500, and two years later over 12,000 fans attended increasing the proceeds tenfold (Hult & Trekell, 1991). By 1975, the women leaders of the AIAW were also making deals with corporate sponsors and television contracts, just as the men did 20 years earlier (Hult & Trekell, 1991).

Attachment to their educational model was never more challenged than with the decision to offer athletic scholarships (Hult, 1980). Authorization of scholarships was a pragmatic decision to avoid discriminatory law suits under Title IX. In 1976, the same AIAW leaders issued a "Sanity in Sport" policy suggesting legislative action be built on four principles:

1. fair competition for all,
2. concern for the health and welfare of the participants,
3. equality for women, and

4. institutional autonomy (Official minutes of the executive board and delegate assembly meeting, January 1976).

These principles underlined the fundamental basis for AIAW policies and adherence to the values in the cultural environment, but they led to contentious debates on recruiting between male and female coaches (Hult, 1980). Policy differences regularly came down to a comparison with the men's structure. Question of retaining the AIAW educational roots in the era of Title IX appeared impossible. Hult (1980) presented the 1976 challenges, including "compliance legislation, increased funding, loss of decision-making power, the internal and external pressures for economic concerns, and the phenomenal growth of women's intercollegiate athletics (206 members to 970 members in 9 years)" (p. 84). EMU's women's athletic coaches were also pressured by these constraints and the university demonstrated its support of women's athletics by providing funds for athletic aid.

***Scholarships for Huron women.*** In Huston's first few months, she was instrumental in securing full scholarships for women athletes. Scholarships were a legitimate tool used to attract talented players in producing competitive teams. In addition to the grouping of women's athletics within intercollegiate athletics came the university's commitment to awarding athletic scholarships for women (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, May 5). Huston shared, "All tuition and fees will be paid for one year, and can be renewed for four," (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, May 5, p. 4). A total of 84 scholarships were to be issued after three years (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, May 5, 1976). Scholarships were divided up between the eight official women's varsity sports. By June of 1976, EMU signed their first scholarship athlete to women's basketball (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, June 16). Consequently, that same year Claudia Wasik, HPERD instructor and volleyball coach, resigned stating, "I will no longer continue to have a voice in determining the destiny of the

women's athletic program and therefore, my resignation is in order" (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, February 23, p. 6). Wasik's concern for the direction of women's athletics at EMU revealed separation between physical education and women's athletics, PE purists from athletic competitors. This trajectory would eventually determine the fate of women's leadership in athletics at EMU.

Although Huston has much to be proud of her appointment at EMU, it was short lived. She was only at EMU in this position for six months before accepting an associate athletic director role at her alma mater, Bowling Green State University (BGSU; Carole Huston Faculty File, June 2, 2003). Surprisingly, several EMU women's coaches housed in HPERD were unhappy with her appointment in athletics by Al Smith (*Detroit News*, 1976, August 10). They claimed she has had no voice and that the appointment was political and perhaps symbolic at best (*Detroit News*, 1976, August 10). Huston countered the critiques from her women faculty peers and further asserted the decision to go to BGSU was a good career move for a women in athletics: "It is definitely a move upward for me and I can't afford to pass it up," (Huston interview with Kevin Allen *Eastern Echo* August 30, 1976). Before she left, Huston co-authored a plan for women's athletic scholarships with Athletic Director Al Smith (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, August 30). The plan was to offer equal men's (minus football and basketball) and women's scholarships by the 1978-79 school year (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, August 30). Fulfilling Huston's roles was coach and PE instructor Lucy Parker (Neve, 2016). There was no doubt that Huston was instrumental in initiating women's athletics scholarships at EMU and also paving the way toward big-time athletics for women.

At BGSU, Huston coordinated the non-revenue sports—12 women's sports and 10 men's sport (*Detroit News*, 1976, August 10). She was the only woman to attend the Mid-American

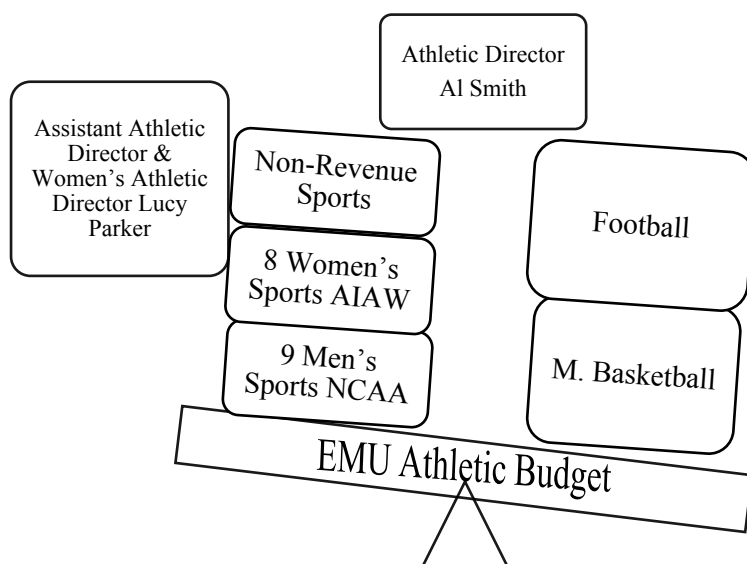
Conference Athletic Director meetings. Sitting around a table of men, she felt lucky to have been able to tag along. Huston recalled being treated with respect and learning a lot, as it was the first time that women have been able to see inside the men's athletic world (Ryan, 2003, May 18).

Huston was one of the first women that were allowed to see the inner workings of men's big time athletic administration. Socialized in the men's athletic world was just the training a woman like Huston needed to be accepted into intercollegiate athletic leadership.

As the first women in the nation at a major university, Huston administered the men's and women's nonrevenue sports programs at BGSU (*Detroit News*, 1976, August 10). She recalled it as "the most innovative concept in intercollegiate athletics, where all the men's and women's non-revenue sports were lumped under one umbrella and the revenue sports were under another" (as cited in *Eastern Echo*, 1992, April 9). Like the BGSU model, athletics at EMU operated on a revenue and non-revenue basis. As adopted by the MAC, revenue sports included football, basketball, and hockey, and the remaining men's sports and all the women's sports were grouped into a non-revenue category.

**Separate and unequal.** Legitimacy of the sport teams determined their hierarchy. Men's football and basketball had the greatest opportunity to generate resources in order to produce games. This structure was adopted by the MAC and was similar to other institutions across the country. Men retained control over the sports with more legitimacy in athletic administrations models, whereas women who occupied assistant roles managed less legitimate sports and tasks (Hoffman, 2010; Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Figure 60 emphasizes the imbalance of the revenue and non-revenue sports, many times leaving the assistant athletic director (female or male) to manage several more teams.

Leadership gender disparity was even greater. As women's athletics was under the control of men's athletics, many of the women's coaches chose to reinforce gender roles by remaining in the HPERD department as faculty. Seven HPERD women's faculty committed to a teaching and coaching appointment, but as women's athletics became absorbed by men's athletics, this number decreased (see Table 5). This departmental transformation is explained later in this section.



*Figure 60.* Sport oversight responsibilities for Athletic Director, Al Smith, and Assistant Athletic Director, Lucy Parker.

The figure displays the “balance” between sports that have more access to resources and those that are less legitimacy in producing competitive games. Figure 60 illustrates the pressure placed on both football and men's basketball to produce winning and profitable seasons. The addition of 84 women's scholarship at EMU added stress to the department's finances and would eventually contribute to the cutting of women's field hockey and men's gymnastics ten years later (Official Memo Intercollegiate Athletics, 1987).

Between 1975 and 1980, women's athletics officially merged with men's athletics. This structural change was brought on by Title IX and legislation imposed by the institutional

environment. Leadership for the women's athletics production function remained connected to the HPERD department drawing on coaches and supplying a female assistant athletic director. Leadership for the men's production function were legitimized as outputs that emerged from a cultural environment that promoted excellence, competition, and aggressiveness congruent with masculinity. The now combined task environment supported the athletic technical core with the use of athletic scholarships and a budget funded by student fees, state appropriations, tuition, alumni donations, and game receipts. Figure 61 builds on Figure 56 and Figure 58 to illustrate the changing institutional and task environments with a rigid cultural environment.

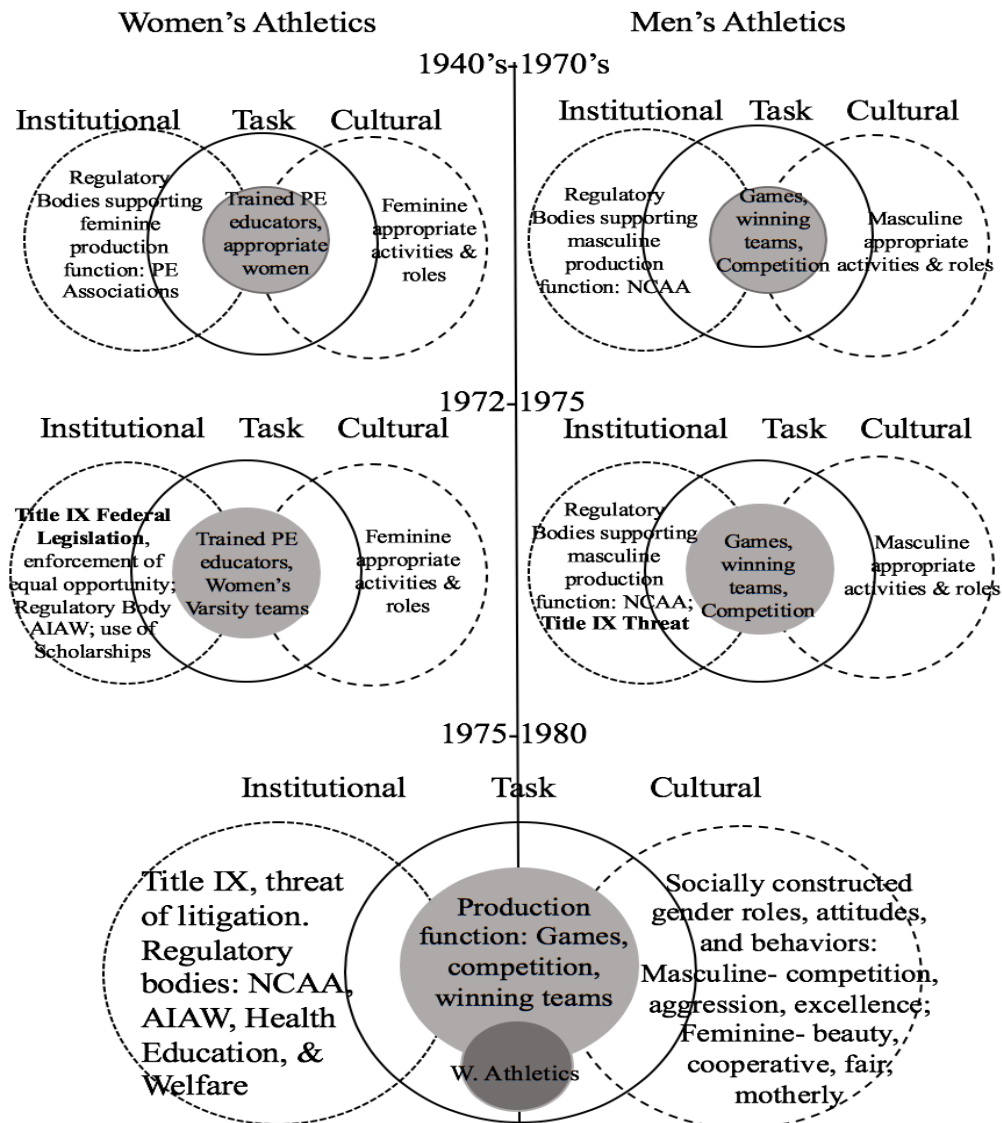


Figure 61. Change in institutional and task environments compared to cultural.

Figure 61 shows the merging of women's athletics (dark circle) with men's athletic and the attempt to align with a production function of producing games, winning teams, and competition. This foreign and unnatural production function was in part supported by the institutional environment, lacked resources from the task environment, and rejected by the cultural environment. Ultimately, this divergence in the task and cultural environments would impact the leadership pipeline for women's intercollegiate athletics. Even the leadership, AIAW,

in the institutional environment was struggling to seek equilibrium in the task and cultural environments.

Following the inception of Title IX, the national tension between the NCAA and AIAW spiked. By 1976, the AIAW membership was nearly twice that of the NCAA. They secured their first TV contracts and commercial sponsors, adopting similar practice as their NCAA counterpart (Wu, 2001). At the 1976 Delegates Assembly, the AIAW established “sole authority over the TV rights of intercollegiate athletics for women” (Wu, 2001, p. 74). The AIAW was creating a competitive commercial model for women’s athletics, quite different than its philosophical origins. Commercialization attracted institutional members, but did not provide financial stability (Wu, 2001). In order for the AIAW to maintain governance over women’s intercollegiate athletics, they would need to secure revenue and legal authority.

***Health, education, and welfare.*** Legal ramifications to Title IX did not officially go into effect until July 21, 1978. The government agency, Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was responsible for regulating the implementation of Title IX policy at institutions of higher education (Federal Regulation 24128-24145, 1975). Subparts A through F presented all possible areas where fairness between men and women were expected. Subpart D, Programs and Activities where discrimination under any “academic, extracurricular, research, occupational training, or other educational program or activity” was prohibited (Federal Regulation 24140-41, 1975). Implementation of Title IX presented a new threat of litigation to most college campus, even EMU. EMU’s administration was concerned about Title IX lawsuits. Surprisingly, few conversations existed at the Board of Regents level discussing women’s athletic or Title IX. Instead the focus was on the HEW report responsible for implementing Title IX in other sectors on campus in avoiding a loss of federal financial aid (HEW Fact Sheet, 1975). Meanwhile the



coaches and leadership under Lucy Parker were adjusting to managing women's athletic as a competitive enterprise and a divergence from their PE roots.

The Board of Regents welcomed two new members and brought with them a contemporary perspective. Linda Bernard rallied for women's rights at EMU including gender equity in sport (Smith & Heaton, 1999). In June 1979, Bernard participated in a heated discussion on budgets and equity "We achieve equity by devoting more and more resources to women's athletics or by restructuring men's athletics and the amount of money devoted to the men's program" (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20). Bernard identified clear discrepancies between the men's and women's basketball programs, reporting, "I see a difference in the treatment of two groups of citizens...it hurts, and I refuse to sit politely by and be a 'good girl'" (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20, p. 10). Bernard was the first regent to raise the concern of budgets and treatment between men's and women's sports. She proposed two options, either invest more into women's athletics or restructure men's athletics more like the women's model. Since the later would not be considered the board would have to provide more funds for women's athletics. These concerns in addition to a nearly bankrupt AIAW and the fear of litigation from the Office of Civil Rights eventually led to the ultimate change for women's athletics.

***EMU women's sport coaches.*** By the late 1970s, the women at EMU were competing in eight varsity intercollegiate athletics (Aurora, 1975). All of the sports except golf were coached by women in the HPERD department. This would continue to be the case until 1980 when women's athletics was officially and entirely united with the men's. Table 5 shares the assigned coaches of each sport from 1975 to 1982. These years were selected to illustrate the coaching staff from before (1975), during (1976-1980) and after (1981-present) women's athletics joined

the men's athletics department. Between 1976 and 1980, the women participated in the AIAW division, whereas after 1980 they joined the NCAA in aligning with the men's athletics structure and became part of the MAC conference. Women's participation in sports was not officially recorded prior to 1975 (*EMU Athletics MediaGuides*, 1981-present).

Table 5  
*Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Team Coaches from 1975- 1982*

<b>Sport Year</b>	<b>Basketball</b>	<b>Field Hockey</b>	<b>Golf</b>	<b>Gymnastics</b>	<b>Swimming</b>	<b>Tennis</b>	<b>Track &amp; Field</b>	<b>Volleyball</b>
<b>1975-76</b>	Gloria Neve	Allyson Betrand	Jim Nelson	Judy Marr	Carole Huston	Lucy Parker	Sheila Furst	Claudia Wasik
<b>1976-77</b>	Kathy Hart	Sharon Theisen		Al David	Mike Cook	Lucy Parker	Dennis Faletti	Dennis Caldwell
<b>1977-78</b>	Kathy Hart	Mariann Martin		Al David	Mike Cook	Lucy Parker	Dennis Faletti	Claudia Wasik
<b>1978-79</b>	Kathy Hart	Anne Johnston		Al David	Mike Cook	Susan Reeder	Dennis Faletti	Claudia Wasik
<b>1979-80</b>	Kathy Hart	Anne Johnston		Al David	Mike Cook	Susan Reeder	Dennis Faletti	Claudia Wasik
<b>1980-81*</b>	Kathy Hart	Anne Johnston		Al David	Mike Cook	Susan Reeder	Dennis Faletti	Lenora Lee
<b>1981-82</b>	Kathy Hart	Anne Johnston		Al David	Steve Wilce	Claudia Wasik	Dennis Faletti	Frank Fristensky

\* Softball returned as a Varsity sport after playing as a club from 1975-1980. Anne Johnston was the coach from 1980-82.

Prior to 1976, all of the women's coaches also held teaching appointments in the HPERD department. Track and field coach Dennis Faletti and women's basketball coach, Kathleen Hart were the first two coaches to appear in the intercollegiate athletic budget unassociated with the Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance (HPERD) department (*Salary Records*, 1976). Lucy Parker, who replaced Huston as the associate athletic director in charge of Women's

Intercollegiate Athletic and Catherine Ann Gross, first women's athletic trainer, made up the other two of four salaried employees listed for women's athletics (EMU Salary Records, 1976-1977, EMU Archives). Other professionals associated with athletics, including the many coaches listed in Table 5 earned their salary through the HPERD department.

EMU's adoption of women's athletics happened quickly between 1975 to 1980. The first step was to separate the women's athletic budget from that of the HPERD office and offer a small stipend to coaching faculty (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, September 3). Next, Carole Huston was hired to oversee women's athletics and left her teaching rank, becoming the first full-time woman to administer athletics. Huston was the first female administrator recognized for women's athletics and relocated her office to Bowen, along with the men's coaches. Although her time was short lived at Eastern Michigan University, she was a catalyst for women's athletic scholarships and adding a female athletic trainer for the women's teams.

Authorizing scholarships was an invitation for women's coaches to participate in the recruitment of talented athletes. The scholarships the women's coaches offered were minimal compared to men's scholarships (Neve, 2016). Athletic aid allowed the women some leverage in attracting athletes necessary for competitive programs, placing more value on the competitive aspects of intercollegiate athletics. Coincidentally, with the offering of aid and emphasis on winning attracted more men to the coaching ranks as illustrated in Table 5 As women's athletics received benefits similar to that of men's athletics, male coaches became more interested in coaching position for which they were already trained. This transformation occurred in two ways—eligible male coaches were financially supported in women's intercollegiate athletics (Uhlir, 1982) and women coaches were not prepared to engage in athletics as they emerged on the men's side (Park, 1995; Hult, 1985; Everhart & Pemberton, 2001).

The fact that men grew increasingly more interested in coaching women's sports presented a contradiction to Al Smith's athletic leadership. Athletic Director Smith, contributed to the trend away from women coaching women's sports despite claiming interest in developing women's coaches. In December 1975, the *Eastern Echo* issued an article on the firing of volunteer assistant women's basketball coach Eric Arnold because he was male (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, December 12). Arnold worked under head coach Gloria Neve as a volunteer and argued that he should have the right to assist women athletes. Athletic Director, Al Smith, did not agree stating, "We are also concerned with the development of women's coaches and women should be coached whenever possible" (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, December 12, p. 4). Smith also cited the importance for these young women to have a female role model along with a precedent of retaining women coaches in the university athletic department (*Eastern Echo*, 1975, December 12). Smith's hiring practices would prove otherwise.

Smith's stance to hire women to coach women was well received by the HPERD department until six months later he welcomed three new coaches, two men, to the women's athletic staff (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, June 8). Albert (Al) David was hired to coach gymnastics along with Dennis Caldwell to lead the volleyball team (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, June 8). A letter to the editor later on February 11, 1976, called out the hypocrisy of Al Smith and Assistant AD, Carole Huston for relieving a volunteer coach and hiring two men for women's sports. Further investigation showed that these positions were never posted and the hiring practices appeared to take place through already established networks (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, February 11). The act was criticized for being a "mockery of a reasonable drive for equality" (*Eastern Echo*, 1976, February 11, p.4). Everhart and Pemberton (2001) suggested increase financial support and recognition for women's athletics initially attracted men to apply to coaching positions for

women's teams. However, ultimately Smith and other male athletic leaders, chose men from their trusted networks and familiar clans. Coaches and administrators were those who had been trained in alignment with the cultural and institutional environments that supported the masculine production function.

This house divided model caused friction amongst the athletic and HPERD staff as well as the male and female student athletes. The 1978 yearbook captured the sentiment with a survey of the student body, titled "Who says the pie is too big?" (*Aurora*, 1978, p. 137). Featured were comments and criticisms around the direction of the athletics program at EMU, calling out, "the football team spends 23% of the entire athletic budget and does not afford enough resources to the women's sports and intramural programs" (*Aurora*, 1978, p. 137). As expenses for the football and men's basketball were rising, the other men's and women's sports were competing for their share of the pie.

Accommodations for women's sports was met with many questions. In determining the future of women's athletics at EMU, questions, such as who should coach, should they receive full or partial scholarships, do women earn the 'E' varsity letter for their participation, does the university provide transportation, do women share the men's facilities or remain in Warner gym, and finally, how does the university support financial equality for women? The questions were endless. Eastern experienced much attention regarding Title IX and the exposed inequity between men's and women's athletics as it related to treatment, media coverage, and university support (*Aurora*, 1978). This reality was also shared among other budding women's intercollegiate athletic programs. The conflict between women's athletics and men's athletics, played out nationally between the leaders of the AIAW and NCAA.

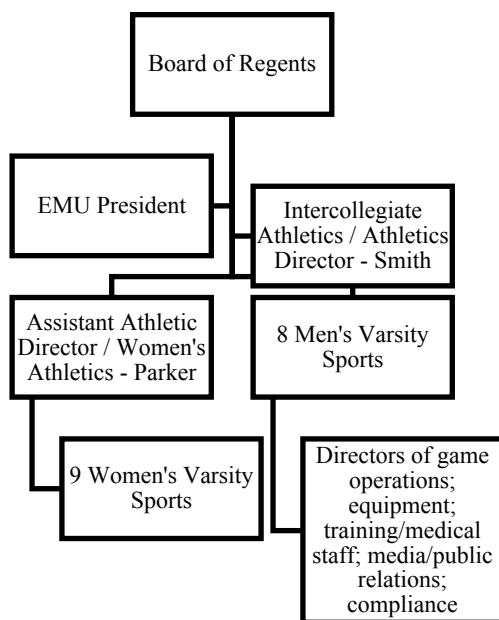
### **Competitive EMU's Women's Athletics**

The AIAW organization suffered a massive loss to the athletic powerhouse of the NCAA dominated by masculine values. The AIAW, representing feminine values, folded from an inconsistent funding structure and could not financially compete with the prosperous NCAA organization (Hult 1980; Wu, 1999). Members of the AIAW were unable to pay for women's Championships in a manner equitable with the NCAA support of men's championships (Hult 1980; Wu, 1999). Member institutions of the NCAA, with much more money, put the AIAW out of business by offering paid championships to compete with AIAW unpaid championships (Wushanley, 2004). In 1981, both the NAIA and NCAA organization officially began offering women's championships (Wu, 1999).

In order for institutions to avoid Title IX litigation, member institutions of the NCAA protected the self-interests of men's athletics and recommended that all women's programs exist within the men's model (Carpenter, 1985). At the 1980 NCAA convention, delegates voted to host championships for women's sports for Division II and III; a year later they voted to support Division I (Wu, 1999). By 1981, the NCAA members initiated the Women's Division I National Championships in nearly all of the same 19 AIAW sponsored sports (Wu, 1999). This was the last year the AIAW offered national championships and the organization folded a year later, despite an attempt to file a Sherman Anti-Trust lawsuit against the NCAA (Carpenter, 1985). The AIAW's 900 member institutions either joined their male counterparts in the NCAA, NAIA, or NJCAA governing bodies (Wu, 1999).

This public conflict between the governing bodies gave pause to EMU administrators over organizing EMU's women's athletics. Al Smith and Lucy Parker recommended aligning men's and women's athletics together separate from the HPERD department (Parker, 2005). She

anticipated that the threat of a Title IX complaint would provide some leverage to procure more funds to support the women’s athletics department (Parker, 2005). With both men’s and women’s athletics organized together, the board and university administration initiated an investigation to determine “equal athletic opportunities” (Implementing Title IX: The HEW regulations, 1976, p. 841). Figure 62 demonstrates the new athletic organizational structure with the adoption and recognition of women’s intercollegiate athletics.



*Figure 62.* Organizational structure of men’s and women’s athletics at EMU.

Women’s athletics has severed their organizational attachment to the HPERD department and joined intercollegiate athletics. Game operations, scheduling, media, athletic trainers, and budgets all existed as part of the Intercollegiate Athletic department organized for the men. Combining the men’s and women’s athletic departments occurred across the country and virtually without exception the women’s leadership was absorbed by the men’s athletic leaders (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Uhlir (1982) captured this reality:

Women lost authority over their programs...[and]...were appointed to secondary [sometimes tertiary], positions in the unified administrative structures, despite the fact

that they frequently had more experience or held higher ranks and degrees than the men.

(p. 174)

Now that women's programs existed under the control of the men's athletic department they were forfeiting their positions of leadership and coaching to men trained and prepared for intercollegiate athletics. Many of these men were intercollegiate athletes and used their playing expertise as a qualification to coaching women (Uhlir, 1982). This phenomenon also occurred at EMU as coaching positions faded to hiring pools overflowing with male candidates.

An audit on EMU's intercollegiate athletic department conducted on March 31, 1977 illuminated the major discrepancies in spending between men and women's athletics (*Audit report*, 1977, March 31). Reports showed women's intercollegiate athletics with a total revenue of \$68,920.00 compared to \$638,332.56 for the men's program (*Audit report*, 1977, March 31). This amount included nine sports, game operations, equipment, medical supplies, trainers, post-season competition, and administration. The women occupied a single line item just above intramurals. Every account ran a deficit collectively placing the athletics department \$57,303.44 over budget (*Audit report*, 1977, March 31). Ticket sales for football and basketball games were reportedly not well kept generating concern around revenue earned—perhaps it was intentional.

EMU athletics had received an 11% increase from the 1978-79 school year. Nearly half of which was going to the football team (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20). Women's sports budgets were up 38% from the previous year and increased 53% compared to the last three (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20). Regent Rush compared this spending to writing a blank check and requested the need, "to see if they can't get women's sports equity by reducing men's sports" (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20, p. 11). This was the first mentioning of minimizing men's athletics to be more equitable. Needless to say, it did not carry much support.



Interim President Evans, defended the increases as a fraction of what they should be to achieve gender equality. He also recognized athletic travel as the most significant expense and since the women were joining the MAC, travel costs should be kept low with regional competition. All members agreed to defer to the final HEW recommendations on how women's sports were to be organized. The outcome would be more money for women's athletics and viable coaching salaries.

At the Board of Regents meeting on March, 19, 1980, a new statement of purpose, goals, and guidelines were drafted for the now combined men's and women's EMU athletic program (Board of Regents Minutes, 1980, March 19). Comments between newly appointed President Porter and the Board members shared concern for sustaining the increased costs of the athletics program (Board of Regents Minutes, 1980, March 19). Porter recognized the importance of Title IX, but he was, "not sure if there are the dollars in the total budget to really do the job" (Board of Regents Minutes, 1980, March 19, p. 10). He desired a competitive athletic program and questioned if money was the only way to remain competitive, hoping the board, "would take a close look at the budget," in regards to athletic spending (Board of Regents Minutes, 1980, March 19, p. 10). These concerns came after contentious budget debates at a 1979 Board of Regents meeting, discussing the general fund budget for the 1979-80 school year. The board recommended to conduct a comprehensive report "concerning compliance with Federal requirements to women's inter-collegiate athletics" (Board of Regents Minutes, 1979, June 20 p. 9).

It was clear the administration sought compliance and were mandated by Title IX to offer equitable opportunities for men's and women's athletics. Regent Bernard suggested making equity in women's sports a priority and to avoid a bare minimum operation for compliance

purposes. Although this was well intentioned, the budget discussion presented a hard reality of major disparities between the two programs. By 1981, the women's athletic program joined the MAC and competed in a full schedule with women's athletics at other MAC schools. This same year EMU record books officially recognized NCAA sponsored women's athletics and women's athletics emerged in the men's competitive model. This organizational change supplanted the former model of sex segregated athletic programs. Adding the women's enterprise in an existing men's department essentially created more coaching opportunity for former intercollegiate athletes and coaches—men. As graduates of EMU and former intercollegiate athletes, they were members of an athletics clan prepared to coach and lead. Figure 63 illustrates the organizational change of men's and women's athletics from the 1940s to 1980.

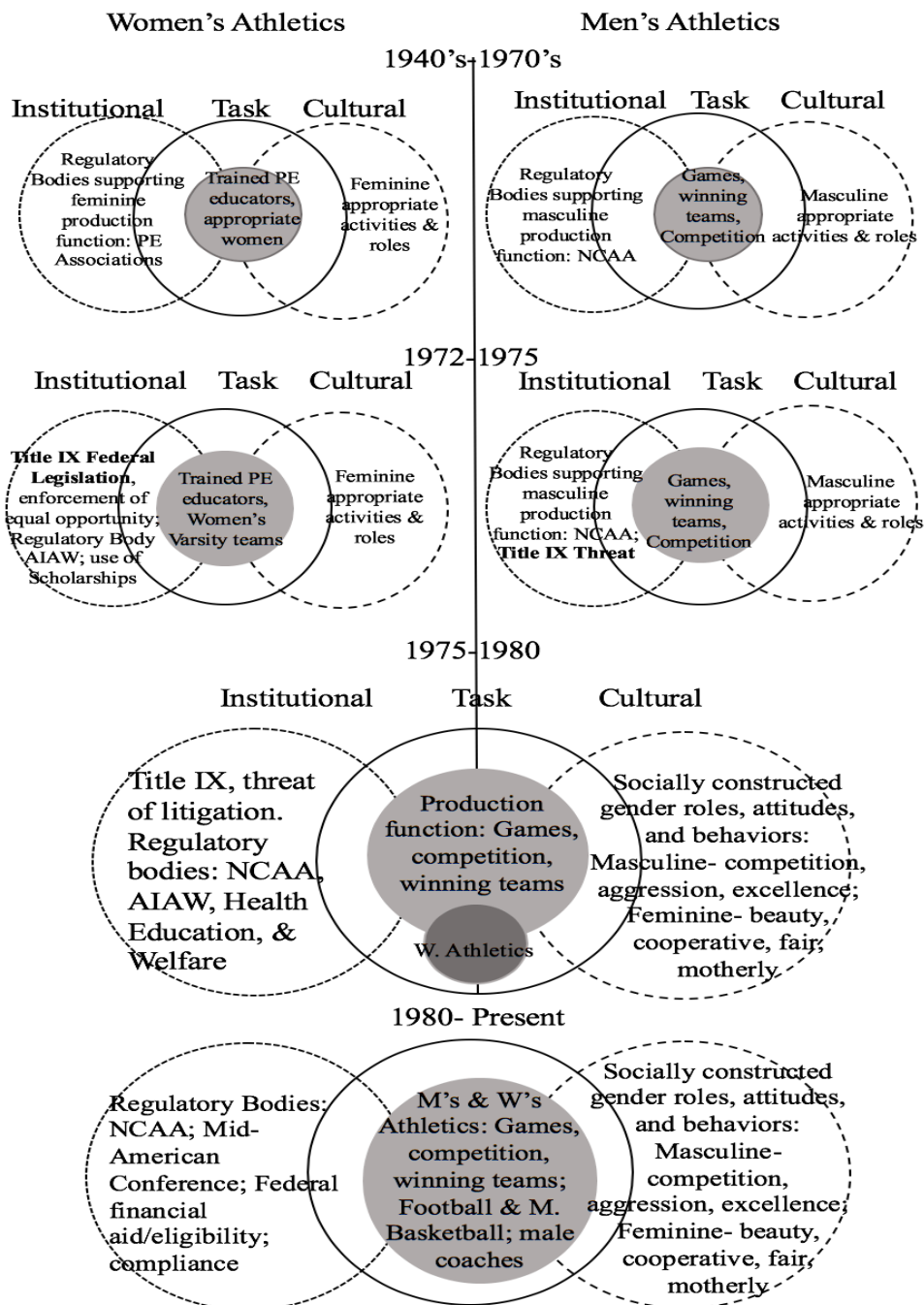


Figure 63. The convergence of men's and women's athletics over time through the evolution of the institutional, task, and cultural environments.

Women's athletics joined the men's department to avoid threat of Title IX litigation (Board of Regents Minutes, 1980, March 19). Figure 63 highlights that the men's model served as the norm holding tight to the dominant values of winning, competition, commercialization,

and greed (R. A. Smith, 1990). The nine women's sports largely existed as a compliance effort to protect men's football and basketball, while expanding the training ground for future coaches.

Aligning the men's and women's budgets away from the academic core of HPERD with the President was the beginning of this transition for EMU. At first, women remained coupled with HPERD as all of the coaches continued their coaching and teaching duty. This began to shift as Athletic Director Smith hired full-time coaches for the women's program. Like any administrator, Smith sought to hire qualified candidates for these new coaching opportunities. Apparently, qualified from Smith's perspective were those with intercollegiate coaching experience, a privilege only previously afforded to men. By the first year of MAC play, half of the women's programs were coached by men (*Salary Records*, 1981). Although the women represented half of the eligible sports at EMU, their representation in the coaching and administration ranks were diminished. In the transition, women's athletics moved away from the educational model founded in HPERD to join the competitive and commercial men's athletics program. Many of the original women's coaches elected to remain teaching in the PE department instead of join what they perceived as men's athletics (Park, 1995). Meanwhile, women occupying coaching positions grew fewer as more men were hired to coach women's varsity athletics. As budgets for women's athletics increased so did the number of men coaching them.

For an institution that began as a school for women and maintained an enrollment dominated by women for most of its existence, efforts to seek legitimacy resulted in a masculinization of the institution. Which would include the addition of men's athletics to attract more men paved the way for athletics to organize. Since men controlled and made the rules for the way athletics were organized, they also controlled the way in which coaches and administrators accessed these structures and positions. This has not diminished the presence of

women athletic leaders as they have been prevalent since the emergence of women's athletic activity at EMU. Without the presence of women leaders, evolution and change for women's athletics may have been different. The years of major transition in women's athletics were led by Lucy Parker, a graduate of the Michigan State Normal PE program, faculty, coach and administrator. Lucy Parker continued to serve as the only female administrator on staff until she retired in 1991 (Parker, 2005).

Since 1975, a woman has maintained a leadership position on the EMU athletics staff. As the leadership team grew from two administrators to ten, women's representation and voice had actually decreased. Pemberton (1996) asserted that even though women and girls have gained access to athletics opportunities since Title IX, men and boys continue to benefit. They have greater access to sport opportunities including sport accommodations, operating budgets, scholarship dollars, and access to coaching (Pemberton, 1996). Everhart and Pemberton (2001) furthered: "Ultimately, the cost of these gains has been the loss of the traditional women's sport culture and the full effective assimilation of women's sports into the existing male [sport] model" from which the bulk of athletic leadership has been drawn (p. 5). Both Lucy Parker and Carole Huston were trained in a women's model and had to adapt to the men's model. Acceptable paths to coaching were deeply embedded in the men's model that promoted values of competitiveness and masculinity (Uhlir, 1982).

Huston returned as the assistant athletic director after Parker retired in 1991 and was one of three on the executive athletic staff. Ten years after Huston retired, EMU's first female president, Susan Martin, hired the first female athletics director, Heather Lyke (Board or Regents Minutes, 2013). Heather Lyke led a team of eight administrators, six of which were male. Lyke held the post until 2017, when she accepted a position at University of Pittsburgh as their first

female athletic director (Steiner, 2017). Table 6 reports all of the women to have held positions associated with women's athletics at EMU.

Table 6  
*Women's Administrative Leaders at Michigan State Normal/Eastern Michigan University*

<b>Title</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Years Served</b>	<b>Department</b>	<b>Degrees earned</b>
Advisor of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics	Geraldine Barnes	1967-1972	HPERD	B.S. Adrian College M.A. Michigan State University Post Grad. Michigan State University
Director of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics	Jean Cione	1973-1975	HPERD	B.S. MSNC/EMU M.S. University of Illinois Post Grad. University of Michigan
Assistant Athletic Director, Women's Athletic Director	Carole Huston	1975-1976	Athletics	B.S. Bowling Green State University M.S. Akron University
Associate Athletics Director, Women's Athletic Director	Lucy Parker	1977-1991	Athletics	B.S. MSNC/EMU M.S. EMU Post Grad. EMU
Senior Associate Athletic Director, Women's Athletics	Carole Huston	1991-2003	Athletics	B.S. Bowling Green State University M.S. Akron University
Associate Athletic Director, SWA, Interim AD	Melody Reifel Werner	2011-2014	Athletics	B.S. Eastern Michigan University M.A. Eastern Michigan University EdD. Eastern Michigan University
Athletic Director	Heather Lyke	2014-2017	Athletics	B.S. University of Michigan J.D. University of Akron

Currently, three of the ten EMU athletics executive staff positions are occupied by women (EMU Athletics Staff Directory, 2018). Women made up 26% (14 of 54) of all non-coaching positions including administration, ticket office, media relations, compliance, corporate sales, development, equipment, facilities operations, marketing, sport medicine, sport performance, and student-athlete support services (EMU Athletics Staff Directory, 2018). As of 2018, the EMU Eagles had five women head coaches compared to 12 male head coaches (EMU Athletics Staff Directory, 2018). Although five of the nine head coaching positions for women's sports were women, there were no women in head or assistant coaching positions for any of the seven men's sports. The ratio of male to female coaches as a department total is, 3:1 (EMU Athletics Staff Directory, 2018).

Table 6 highlights the departmental change of women's athletics occurring in 1975 when men's and women's HPERD combined after 70 years of separation. Lucy Parker advised women's athletics through the growing pains of women's intercollegiate athletics at EMU. From losing the AIAW, to embracing the NCAA and advocating for greater resources, it was Lucy who led women's athletics with a strong PE background. Physical education trained administrator continued throughout Carole Huston's tenure. Administrators afterwards brought new backgrounds and introduced a new pedigree other than physical education to women's athletic administration.

### **Conclusion**

Historically and traditionally sporting culture and intercollegiate athletics have evolved as a male domain within the broader patriarchal culture. Both men and women emerged into intercollegiate athletics from different sport philosophies that were congruent with socially constructed gender norms. Masculine values of competition, dominance, and winning have captured the essence of men's athletics since the beginning of time. Gender roles and gender bias have affected how women have acted in society as well as in athletics. Sports for women were congruent to social stigma's and concerns of the impacts of sporting activity on women's bodies and reproductive health. Such dogma's shaped acceptable physical education practices and activity. For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, men's and women's athletics were managed and arranged as completely separate units. Therefore, socially generated dogma's and intercollegiate sport ideologies at Eastern Michigan have treated men and women differently. At MSNC/EMU, separation existed between the men's and women's physical education departments since 1904 and were forced by Title IX to reunite in 1976, when men's athletics officially severed ties with

PE. The departure of men's athletics as its own entity drastically effected the recognition of women's athletics as a function for Title IX compliance.

Men's athletics was organized to produce games and competition. As a result of this competitive ethos, winning was necessary for legitimacy and graduates were prepared to lead and coach athletic teams to win. A pathway into the profession existed for the men since the beginning of intercollegiate athletics, well before women would be considered eligible for such roles. Structures perpetuated pipelines and funding streams for men's athletics to generate a production function of competitive games and winning. Women, on the other hand, were prepared to teach physical educations first. Coaching sports was built on a non-competitive, educational foundation, which reflected values related to gender roles. Initially, funding was not as important because the production function of educating PE graduates existed within the institution's task environment. The input structure for how one became a coach, administrator and athletic leader emerged from the men's athletic model and largely determined who obtained such positions. In efforts to uphold compliance with Title IX, women's athletics benefited from more resources. More resources were converted into competitive playing opportunities for women athletes, and more coaching positions for the pipeline of men trained in intercollegiate athletics.

The external pressure to win as a mechanism for institutional prestige was not experienced in the same way as men's athletics. Historically, the women's PE program at MSNC/EMU had prestige as one of the first and largest institutions to prepare women PE teachers (Pedersen, 1996). The production functions for men's and women's PE/athletics have been disparate since their origins. This created separate clans of men and women, which supplied teachers, coaches and administrators to the appropriate output. Both were entrenched in their



own clan like practices, behaviors, values, and beliefs. Due to this divergence in function, men's athletics has constantly been creating a deep bench of intercollegiate athletic coaches and administrators trained in the commercial athletic model adopted by the NCAA. For decades, women had resisted and denigrated this model as counter to femininity. Instead, they trained women with a cooperative and participatory approach to sports, a model that some perceived actually added to inequity in sport, because it was not like the men (Wu, 2001). Following Title IX, more women and girls gained access to sporting opportunities and by the 1980s were being socialized within the established men's sport model. In exchange for women's intercollegiate athletic competition was the near extinction of women's athletic leadership and reduction in coaching positions.

The men's competitive model ultimately became the ideal for which women administrators and coaches were measured. This presented a challenge to the task and cultural environment for women who had a pedigree in education rather than competitive coaching or play. The large, well-organized, and male-dominated sport culture presented a more viable path to intercollegiate athletic coaching and leadership, all of which has been supported in the task environment. As a result, women were not prepared or culturally accepted in these roles, explaining their decision to remain in the PE department. Their presence in the leadership structure was contingent on their ability to have been socialized in an environment like men. Given the greater cultural environment accepting women in these roles were far and few between, affording most of the positions and power to men who have been groomed for these roles. Figure 64 provides a comprehensive understanding to the current institutional, task, and cultural environments impacting women's opportunity to serve in intercollegiate athletic leadership positions.

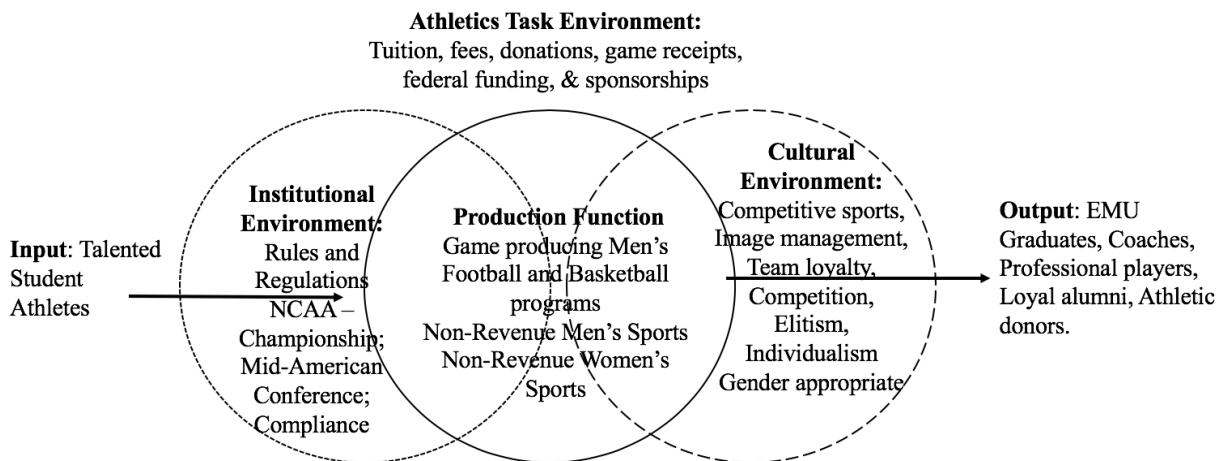


Figure 64. EMU athletic organization with institutional, task, and cultural environments.

Noted in Figure 64 is the combined production function of producing games and a competitive football and men's basketball team by maintaining eligible players and compliance with the addition of women's athletics. This men's production function has been supported by a task environment managed and controlled by men in the field. Due to federal legislation and the imposed changes from the institutional environment, women essentially aborted their production function and were expected to adopt the men's model. This, however, was not supported by the task environment women emerged from and was denounced by the cultural environment as affront to the feminine social construct. It would take years for women leaders to overcome this disruption.

Chapter 5 will summarize this analysis with the application of institutional and organizational theory to further understand the social construction of gender roles in athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University. Finally, Chapter 5 will capture what I have learned from this extensive project.

## Chapter 5: Summary of the Study and Conclusions

### Introduction

The underrepresentation of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership has received much attention in recent decades. Theoretical, empirical, and ideological frameworks have been applied to better understand why this trend persists. Such frameworks included homologous reproduction (Stangle & Kane, 1991), hegemonic masculinity (Whisenant et al., 2002), discriminatory practices (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014), and gendered organizations (Acker, 1990) to name a few. While these theories have advanced the understanding of disproportionate numbers in women in the leadership ranks, they have approached the phenomenon to either understand the psychology of women in leadership or their experience in an historically male-dominated institution. Athletic institutions have always been male dominated, as sport and competition emerged from cultural tasks and roles inherent to masculine behaviors. Feminine behaviors served a different role in society throughout the establishment of sport organization in America. Chapter 4 provided an extensive history illustrating the social construction of gender as viewed and understood through athletics. Unique to this study was understanding the organizational emergence of athletics at a female-dominated institution with a primary task to produce teachers.

Central to findings of this study was the role of culture as it related to the social construction of gender and its place at Eastern Michigan University intercollegiate athletics. Gender roles refer to the attitudes and expected behaviors held by society associated with a particular sex (Ritzer, 2010). Gender roles emerged from over 10,000 years of civilization, while gender identity has been socially constructed through modern society (Ritzer, 2010; Stearns, 2000). Varying biological functions between males and females initiated a separation of tasks in

society. Athletics evolved out of the training ground for men to develop the skills necessary to survive while women formed skills necessary to bear and raise children. From these tasks arose ideals of masculinity as culturally defined in terms of aggression, competition, and dominance. Femininity, on the other hand, took on nurturing, caring, and cooperative behaviors. With the advancement of modern societies, these tasks and roles were adopted by social institutions for men and women to perform different roles and tasks. Such function became embedded within these institutions as normative, culturally cognitive, and reinforced by regulatory mechanisms. Therefore, in examining the nature of culture and organizational concepts related to gender, I was able to address the research questions. The use of organizational and institutional theory as well as culture and gender concepts helped explain the logic behind intercollegiate athletic structures and leadership at Eastern Michigan University.

### **Statement of the Problem**

As a former intercollegiate athletics head coach and assistant athletic director, I had experienced what it was like to occupy a marginal place in an athletic department. This experience motivated me to look deeper into the issue of women as leaders in intercollegiate athletics. I am a woman that has benefitted from the opportunity to compete in interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics made possible through the passing of Title IX legislation. Yet, the experienced benefits as a student athlete did not translate to those as a head coach and administrator. Further investigation of longitudinal tracking data reinforced this sense of cognitive dissonance. While sports participation for women has increased 904% since Title IX, women occupying head coaching and administrative positions has plummeted (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; NCAA Gender and Equity Report, 2017). Today, women occupy less than 50% of head coaching positions for women's intercollegiate sports and a marginal 10.5% of athletic

director positions in NCAA division I athletic departments (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; NCAA Gender and Equity Report, 2017). This study sought to explore this relationship at an institution where women have maintained a student majority status since its origins. Other sports historians have told the story of intercollegiate sports at institutions designed for male students, for which male leadership was technically, organizationally, and institutionally rational (W. Scott, 2003; Thompson, 2003; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Masland, 1985). The research question driving this study sought to understand how the emergence of athletics at a school with its roots in normal education differed. Would a school desired to train teachers have a different story to intercollegiate athletics? The findings suggested otherwise.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to understand the social construction of gender as viewed by the development of men and women's intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University. By exploring its origins, functions, and structures, this study allowed me to offer insights on how men and women emerged as administrators and leaders. This exploration was situated in a national historical context in order to understand the greater organizational field of intercollegiate athletics on American campuses. EMU presented a case whereby women maintained a majority student status, which may have impacted women's ascent in leadership positions.

In addition and perhaps more importantly, I sought to better understand my own experiences as a female coach and administrator in a male-dominated intercollegiate athletic department. This presented a starkly different reality from my playing experience, where women were represented and encouraged to participate. Whereby, the presence and support of women in coaching and administrative roles required deeper attention. Finally, as an educational leader,

practitioner, and educator of leadership I found it invaluable to apply an organizational framework to understand the impact of organizational culture on organizational function (Masland, 1985; W. Scott, 2003). This understanding would hopefully enhance my ability to lead and influence change as well as help leaders in higher education to understand the nature of this problem and its causes. Achievement of these purposes are discussed later in this chapter.

### **Research Questions**

This research stemmed from my own experiences as a female administrator, head coach, and assistant coach of a men's sport in intercollegiate athletics and the growing body of literature. We, as researchers, have a tendency to research events we have witnessed, experienced, or internalized (Denzin, 1997). Therefore, the decision to study the construction of gender and institutionalization of athletics for women and men resonated on a personal level and sought to fill gaps in the existing literature. These questions guided this study and will be answered later in this chapter:

1. How did women and men come to participate in intercollegiate athletics at EMU?
2. How have women and men emerged as administrators in EMU intercollegiate athletics?
3. How did intercollegiate athletics become structured to shape access to administrative and coaching positions?
  - a. How did intercollegiate athletics become organized and institutionalized at Eastern Michigan University?

### **Research Tradition**

In this study, I applied a historical case study approach to explore the development and function of women's athletics, particularly their roles in leadership at Eastern Michigan University. The ontology of what can be known was derived by reality as socially constructed.

The epistemology of how we know this to be reality assumed that people socially construct meaning through symbols and shared meaning attached to those symbols. Therefore, the examination of the athletic department was analyzed through a paradigm of symbolic interactionism, interpretivism, and constructivism. These paradigms approached truth as context dependent and derived by the social interactions of people. Culture, therefore, was a byproduct of the social world and was studied within an organization or institution. Culture was historically analyzed through the study of symbols, myths, and values of an institution.

I wanted to understand the cultural realities and institutional developments of both men's and women's athletics. Assuming an interpretive and constructivist view guided my belief that the historical data could recreate the meaning constructed by the individuals in these time periods. It was necessary for me to fully understand the historical context and how people socially construct meaning that becomes embedded and reproduced within the structures of the organization. Together these ontological and epistemological orientations served to illustrate the cultural, institutional, and technical developments of men and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University.

**Research methods.** The power of story and narrative used in this study falls under a qualitative research tradition. More specifically, this study used historical research techniques to describe the perspectives and culture within two emerging athletic departments. Again, these qualitative approaches were used to describe the social product of roles, tasks, and functions of groups and institutions to address the how and why of the phenomenon. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) asserted textual analysis with a feminist perspective of culture calls to question "the location within a historical moment marked by a particular gender, race, or ideology" (p. 12). In order to understand how gender has been constructed relative to intercollegiate athletics, I used

an historical case study to explore gender and sporting activities over time. Examination of the phenomena of men and women in intercollegiate athletic leadership provided visibility to the past while enhancing my understanding of the present.

**Unit of analysis.** Although I may have overstepped my bounds with this extensive history, it was necessary to use a funneling approach to address my research questions. Therefore, I began with a general history on the origins of athletics, which led to the origins of intercollegiate athletics in America for men and women, then concentrated on the origins of men and women's athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University. My purpose of this exhausting pursuit was to understand women's role in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Miles and Huberman (1994) described a unit of analysis as bounded setting, concepts, events, and social processes—context. This study sought to understand the social construction of gender and the emergence of women as intercollegiate athletic leaders at an institution with its origins in normal school education. In order to accomplish this research objective, the men and women's athletic departments served as my unit of analysis. However, this unit was not an independent and isolated department to be easily studied over the 160 years of its existence. The athletics movement was coupled with the physical education department and administrative leadership throughout the school's history. Therefore, the unit of analysis was defined by sporting policies, athletic competition, physical education, and recreational intramurals at Eastern Michigan University.

**Case study.** The use of a historical case study to examine the evolutionary nature of a single athletic institutional structures aided in my understanding of the “how” and “why” of the men's and women's athletic departments. This included interpretation of historical data in association with Eastern Michigan University as well as archival data from the regulatory bodies



for which EMU belonged. EMU's physical education and athletic departments defined the case examined and were susceptible to internal and external events. Geertz (1973) explained the importance of historical data:

Really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to...most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined. (p. 9)

Analyzing the case from multiple perspectives and a historical backdrop allowed me to best understand the research phenomena.

**Data collection.** In the search for understanding women's emergence into intercollegiate athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University, data were collected at the EMU archives and the AIAW archives housed at University of Maryland. Triangulating data between State Board of Education meeting minutes, Board of Regents meeting minutes, the *Normal New/Eastern Echo* publications, Course Catalogs, Bulletins, the *Aurora* Yearbook, and personal biographies provided a comprehensive account of the history of intercollegiate athletics. Primary sources procured at the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women contextualized the field of physical education and intercollegiate athletics from a national level. At Eastern Michigan University, primary sources including memos, meeting minutes, photos, yearbooks, WAA/WRA scrapbooks, newspapers, reports, and brochures were used in this project. Secondary sources included a few historical texts from various department historians, physical education, past presidents, and former athletic department employees.

One of the richest pieces of data analyzed were 11 recorded oral histories of women PE graduates from Michigan State Normal College. These interviews were conducted by Claudia

Wasik, retired PE professor and coach at EMU. The women interviewed were graduates between 1929 and 1965. Included in the archives were written transcripts of interviews with Claudia Wasik and Lucy Parker. These recorded interviews provided rich detail to the story and an understanding of their experiences as educators, coaches, and leaders in women's athletics. Finally, I conducted an interview with a 1978 graduate Robin Baun to help contextualize the lived experiences of an intercollegiate female athlete. Collectively, these interviews offered a rich individual perspective of the physical education and athletic experiences between 1929 and 1978. Outside of this time period, I relied on written primary and secondary sources.

**Data analysis.** The process of data analysis existed throughout data collection. Analysis of the data was iterative and grew as time went on. I began with making initial notes on observations and patterns. Findings were documented in an extremely detailed and comprehensive timeline. The timeline documented events related to PE and intercollegiate athletics, persons involved, events, major legislation, and addition of buildings and colleges. In total, three timelines were maintained documenting the evolution of intercollegiate athletics at MSNC/EMU; a national timeline of sport in higher education; a timeline of the specific organizational changes at the institution. It is important to note, that each timeline was bifurcated by trends in men's intercollegiate athletics and women's intercollegiate athletics to build an understanding of the development of PE and athletic institutions for each.

**Validity.** As the researcher, I was the primary research instrument and responsible for verifying the conclusions to the data analyzed. The use of various timelines, interviews, historical works from multiple sources, and triangulation of data assisted in establishing validity and reliability in my findings. It was important to understand the culture and perspectives of the particular timeframe I was studying, and caution myself from applying assumptions of present

day. Suspending bias of presentism was in fact one of the hardest challenges in this project. I maintained a researcher journal to ensure I was not inserting my personal bias and able to carry the voice and experiences of the subjects I studied. The use of exemplaric description brought to life the characters and events.

Throughout the study, I triangulated findings between multiple sources including the campus newspaper publication, official meeting minutes, campus histories, and published artifacts. I actively sought disconfirming evidence as patterns began to emerge and articulated a clear conceptual framework. Seeking feedback from an historical expert at the NCAA and regular conferences with Dr. Flowers assisted in taming my bias while searching for disconfirming evidence to my interpretations of historical events. Finally, while the characteristic of this study may be specific to EMU, the use of the conceptual framework was analytically generalizable.

### **Summary of Findings**

Findings from this study became more clear as history revealed the patterns of action leading up to the existence of intercollegiate athletics in higher education. More specifically, historical events, revolutions, and cultural evolution set the backdrop for the emergence of women in intercollegiate athletic leadership at Eastern Michigan University. Exploring the social construction of gender as experienced through intercollegiate athletics at EMU aided in answering the following research questions.

**Research Question 1. How did women and men come to participate in intercollegiate athletics at EMU?** Human behavior is shaped by drivers in our evolutionary past. Competition, territory (resources), and power were elements that have allowed the human species to persist over time. As interpreted by Western perspectives, the biological tasks between

males and females necessitated a balance in procreation and survival. Biological essentialism, therefore emerged as an ideology shaping the necessary tasks of survival and reproduction between men and women (Ritzer, 2010). Such that these roles have evolved into embedded ideologies of gender associating tasks as either masculine or male and feminine or female. Since the beginning of time, Western constructs of masculinity ensured survival reflecting values of competition, aggression and dominance. Tasks and roles such as hunting, warrior training, and mate selection related to survival were the antecedents to institutionalized athletics. Athletics, adopted these values of competition and winning, which were inherently viewed as masculine and of a masculine domain. Early institutions of higher education actually coopted these “rough-and-tumble games boys played during recess and in their free time, and made these part of the official curriculum” (Sadker & Sadker, 1994, pp. 214-215). Societal dogmas recognized these behaviors as appropriate for men and other behaviors appropriate for women. It was important to recognize these gendered influences throughout this study. Gender roles continued as a powerful cultural force for which influenced the roles and tasks men and women occupied during the mid 1800’s as Michigan State Normal School emerged.

The Michigan State Normal School, had a production function to train primary and secondary school teachers, which was culturally and socially more appealing to female students than male students at the time. Nurturing and caring were behaviors closely associated with the teaching profession and inherently feminine. As a result the institution attracted women into these tasks and was essentially a women’s college. Women far outnumbered the men at Michigan State Normal School, therefore, it came as no surprise that the few men on campus formed a competitive baseball team in 1879. This baseball team and ensuing football, track and field, and basketball teams provided competition and a masculine outlet for the men at Normal.

The emergence of men's athletics at Michigan State Normal School followed a similar pattern to that of other all-male institutions of higher education. Historically, sport and games were an outlet for boys and men to expend excess energy from the rigid controls of education (R. A. Smith, 1990). Sporting activities for men have been contextually present since the origin of higher education in America, originally existing outside the technical core of the institution. Like other institutions of higher education, MSNS men's athletics began as a student-organized enterprise external to the academic technical core. The Normal Athletic Association (NAA) provided an athletic outlet for the few male students attending MSNS and eventually evolved to an athletics department managed by male faculty teaching in the physical education department. Athletic control under the academic unit, HPERDA, remained until 1965 when President Sponberg hired the first non-teaching athletic director and separated athletics from the HPERD department. This was the beginning of legitimate intercollegiate athletics for EMU men as we know today.

Women's introduction to athletic activities occurred differently, internal to the academic core and became part of the production function of Michigan State Normal School. Games, drills, and calisthenics were integrated into the technical core as physical culture in 1894. The department of physical culture originally began as a combined men and women's department but split in 1904 and remained separate until 1975. In 1975 men's and women's Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (HPERD) rejoined as a result of a separate men's and women's intercollegiate athletics department function. The separation of women's athletics from physical education occurred due to institutional intervention by a federal mandate, Title IX. This, however, caused a disruption to the cultural constructed ideals of gender roles. Federal

legislation of Title IX imposed by the institutional environment mandated a path for women's emergence into competitive intercollegiate athletics.

**Research Questions 2: How have women and men emerged as administrators in intercollegiate athletics?** Sex segregation of tasks and functions created two parallel paths for men and women into intercollegiate athletics. As noted throughout Chapter 4, the origin of these paths were discrete. Men's athletic activities emerged external to the school and were adopted and embedded within the organization. Women's access to athletic activities formed within the organization and were controlled by an all-female physical education staff. Men's athletics preceded the establishment of physical culture at Michigan State Normal School, following a similar trend of other schools across the country, evidence of a phenomenon known as isomorphic pressures. The united men's and women's physical culture program was short lived, splitting in 1904 into separate divisions. Separation of curriculum, space, staff, students, and philosophy aligned with societal and cultural norms and became an institutionalized function of the school.

Separate tracks prepared and socialized men and women to align with their own philosophies and functions as it related to sport and physical education. Each were cultural reproductions of their own training systems. Men were trained to advance as coaches and administrators, whereas women were trained to teach and later coach recreationally. Segregation of task and maintaining separate spheres represented the greater cultural environment. Education systems were a mechanism to socialize members into these distinct functions. As a result cultural dynamics were not only perpetuated, but they contributed to the culture and regulations of the education systems. The socialization process of PE educators (women) and athletic coaches (men) became the primary mechanism for cultural reproduction at MSNC and the surrounding

environment. The men's and women's PE department had particular rules and roles that trained new students and future administrators for the PE curriculum and espoused values consistent in the greater cultural environment.

This process was largely contingent on the individuals coaching, teaching and mentoring the students. Historically, MSNC's PE faculty remained in their teaching positions for 30 years or more, entrenching a culture of PE values. Educators such as Boofy, Gussie, Bowen, Olds, and Rynearson, perpetuated the same values for which they were trained under. Historically, many of the PE faculty were also graduates of the MSNC PE program. Such regurgitation of culture allowed little room for alternative views, especially since MSNC served as one of the first and largest Physical Education programs in the country. This incestuous hiring practice was less common in athletic programs as hiring was predicated on the ability to produce winning games. At MSNC/EMU, internal integration was achieved, but the external pressures to align with legitimate intercollegiate athletics became a point of contention (Schein, 2004). The men's program experienced an identity crisis trying to maintain their academic mission of being a reputable PE training school while establishing themselves as a legitimate athletic program. This tug-of-war between internal and external cultures went on for 20 years before the leadership structures of the university changed and the athletic function severed from the PE roots.

The addition of a Board of Regents leadership structure and appointment of a new president created a window of opportunity for athletic reform. New leadership adopted measures to further legitimize the men's athletic program by supporting athletics as a standalone entity. The cultural and institutional environment valued the production of games and winning teams as necessary for the existence in intercollegiate athletics. Therefore, the first athletic director was hired in 1967 to recruit and manage a competitive athletic department. Frosty was also the first

external hire since Beyerman in 1910 to solely manage the athletic production function. Frosty was socialized from a culture of intercollegiate athletics and began hiring coaches familiar with a production function of winning games and building competitive programs. This marked a shift for who and how men's athletics was managed at EMU. No longer was a PE certification required to achieve this task, but rather one's playing and coaching experience led EMU down a path of intercollegiate athletics consistent with practices of the organizational field.

Women's emergence into intercollegiate athletics occurred first through paths aligned with the WRA and recreationally based athletic programming. This path was consistent with the outputs—graduates—from the task environment. These women were faculty within the PE department and assumed roles to support intercollegiate athletics aligned with their philosophy and values. Following Title IX and merger between men's and women's athletics at EMU, women's administrative roles changed. Women's representation changed from full control to that of a token status. Due in part to the forced assimilation of a production function familiar to the men's domain, women lacked representation in the corresponding task and cultural environment.

Carole Huston was the first woman to follow the men's model and serve as an administrator of women's athletics. In order to do so, Huston had to leave the PE faculty ranks which some perceived as an objection to her philosophical conditioning. Instead, she learned to play like the men and by their rules. The women willing to do this at EMU were few and far between. Most elected to remain in their educational positions, whereas some continued as coaches in competitive intercollegiate athletics (see Table 5). Evidenced by this study was the influence of the cultural environment. Social pressures to remain in feminine appropriate roles coupled with discrimination certainly made it hard for women to emerge in these roles. Originally, women were trained and accessed sport with a background in physical education.



Now, women access intercollegiate administrative leadership through a combination of playing, networks, and training in the competitive sport industry; a path forged by the men 40 years earlier. These new ways have been adopted as legitimate ways for women to access administrative roles due in part by the fact that men at EMU have validated these routes since 1967.

Men's and women's emergence into intercollegiate athletic leadership were defined by the institutional and cultural patterns within the field (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Meyer & Scott, 1983). Since men have shaped the structures inherent to intercollegiate athletics, their ability to lead has been culturally congruent and institutionally rational, despite the department's lack of organizational rationality. Women have had to navigate into intercollegiate athletic leadership at a time when it was neither organizationally or institutionally rational. However, nearly 50 years after the passing of Title IX the acceptance of women in intercollegiate athletics is changing.

**Research Question 3. How did intercollegiate athletics become structured to shape access to administrative and coaching positions?** In answering these research questions much has been discovered. The theme of gender was significant in understanding intercollegiate athletic leadership at EMU. However, the idea of gendered structures had a significant impact on the organizational behavior of Eastern Michigan University. Since its inception, Michigan State Normal was nearly an all-female institution producing teachers while athletics was a masculine function of producing competitive games. The integration of athletics appeared to be used as a mechanism to masculinize the institution and make the school more legitimate in the greater organizational field. Being legitimate as an organization protected an institutions right to exist and essentially survive (W. Scott, 2003). Men's athletics at a school with its roots in normal

school education reinforced the institutions existence compared to other institutions. This was evident in all early publications as directed to male pupils despite the majority of readers being women.

The use of Muwonge (2012) and Shinn's (2013) theoretical adaptation of Thompson's (1967) organizational rationality model was used to address this question. Figure 65 demonstrates Muwonge (2012) and Shinn's (2013) organizational model with the findings from this study.

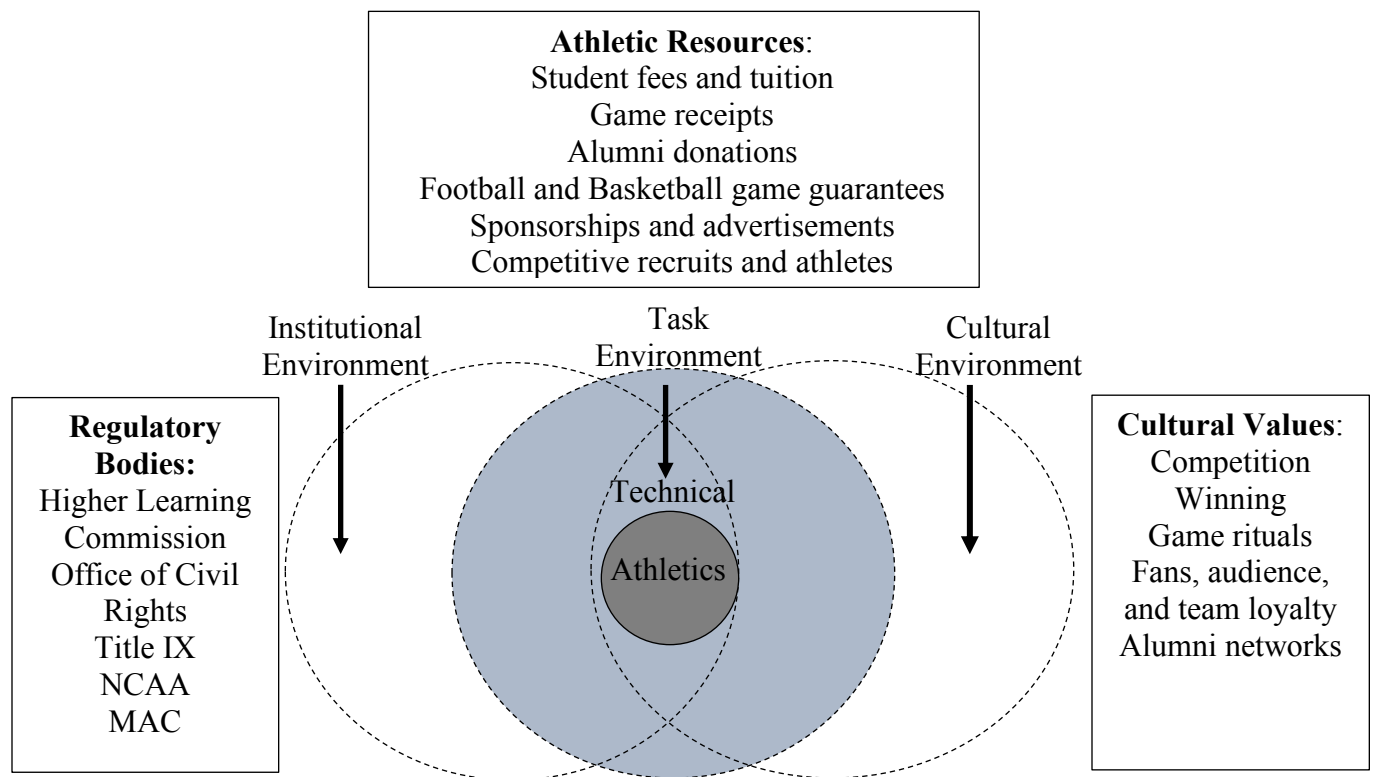


Figure 65. Exploration of the institutional, task, and cultural environments for both men's and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University. Note: Model adapted from Muwonge (2013) and Shinn (2012) framework on organizational rationality.

**Task environment.** The task environment ensured the organizations ability to survive through complexity, response to uncertainty, and interdependence (W. Scott, 2003). EMU existed in an open system whereby the environment provided vital resources for the institution to thrive. The technical and production function attracted a stream of resources or inputs and

provided outputs for the community (Hackman, 1985). The task environment supported the production function by securing resource, money, and means to sustain the technical core. The original production function of the institution was to prepare teachers. Michigan State Normal School was the first teaching school in the state and one of the largest in the country. Students mostly from Southeast Michigan, other areas of Michigan and Ohio came to MSN for a two year teaching degree. The function to produce teachers was originally supported by State Board of Education funding and adopted a tuition and fees based model.

The production function evolved over time in response to the influences from both the institutional and cultural environments. Pressures to become more masculinized required a change in the production function. This occurred through the adoption of men's athletics and a diversification in degree offerings, non-teaching, that appealed to male students. This shift to provide semi-professional workers to Southeast Michigan altered the technical core and called for diversification throughout the 1940's and 1950's. A diversification of degree offerings and the years following WWII attracted more male students and further strengthened the function of athletics. With the added numbers of men enrolled and receiving practitioner based training, ultimately led to the change from Michigan State Normal to Eastern Michigan University. All of which increased the legitimacy of the institution relative to the organizational field.

The athletic production function existed and was supported in a task environment. Early on athletics was supported by a grassroots effort of student membership fees, donations, sponsorships, and alumni. Adopting the athletics core into the men's PE department institutionalized the funding structures in alignment with the academic core. Therefore, coaches, equipment, and travel were funded by tuition and student fees within the university budget. Women's athletic activities were supported by a budget line within their PE department and

managed on a smaller scale. By in large, both men and women advanced athletics through the physical education department. Coaches were paid as faculty and maintained a teaching load throughout the year. Athletic funding was generated through the general budget made up of state funding, tuition, fee's, and donations.

The inputs of students grew over time, reflecting the cultural environments from which they came. Events such as WWII and the civil rights movement influenced the student demographic and the athletics core drew from the diverse student populations. Like other institutions, EMU athletics became more sophisticated as the organizational field of intercollegiate athletics grew more visible and powerful across the country.

In the 1960s men's athletics separated from the PE department and established paid administrators and coaches to service a new production function of producing competitive games. Funding increased to support the competitive game production function. Athletics operated as an independent department separate from the academic core and received funding directly from the university budget. Resources came in the form of tuition and student fees, alumni donations, sponsorships, advertising, and facility rentals. Outputs of the competitive athletics core were professional athletes, graduates, coaches, and drop outs. As the men's program was undergoing the change to big time athletics, the women's program remained funded and supported within the PE department. This time period marked the greatest divergences in men's and women's athletics.

Access to coaching and administrative positions occurred through networks already established in the men's intercollegiate athletic field and predicated on a reputation for winning. This function emerged and existed within the men's athletic domain. Resources were obtained by tuition and student fees, game receipts, alumni donations, sponsorships, and recruiting talented

athletes. Men's athletics has struggled to maintain a consistent funding stream and instead relied heavily on student fees through the general fund. The lack of funds to support the athletic function implied that men's athletics failed to be technically rational, however athletics existed to masculinize the institution and thus deserved to support another form of rationality—institutional rationality (W. Scott, 2003).

Women were outsiders to this male structure and had an independent production function of training graduates in a non-competitive and cooperative sports model. Sport structures were managed within the academic unit and resources were distributed through general funds and student membership fees. Only after the athletics merger did women's athletics have access to new funding streams similar to the men. Prior to the merger, funds to support women's intercollegiate athletic activities were obtained through fundraisers and a small budget line. Resources were manageable due in part to the low costs of women's athletic activities. Since women's athletic structures were institutionalized to support educational outcomes, the competitive value associated with men's athletics was not experienced until after they merged. The adoption of a competitive production function also made it more difficult for women to assume coaching and administrative positions. Women confronted not only a cultural conflict with competitive athletics, but there was a pool of trained men for the coaching and administrative tasks. In conclusion, men's athletic institutions became legitimated on producing competitive athletic teams whereas women's athletics lacked legitimacy and recognition until external legal mandates threatened the institutions right to exist.

***Institutional environment: Legitimacy.*** W. Scott (2003) defined institutional environments as activities and resources associated with the cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that provides stability and meaning through legitimacy. Therefore, an

organization must recognize society's expectations and align with the authorities regulated appropriate institutional behavior.

Federal and state agencies and regulatory bodies shaped action in higher education by imposing categories and policies of legitimacy. Agencies regulating the physical education movement passed legislation and regulations for teaching certifications. These procedures cemented clear expectations and paths for PE teaching degrees. Originally, athletic occupations were legitimized by the licensing of PE degrees, but this faded as athletics separated from the academic technical core and established a core of winning and producing games. The ability to prepare competitive teams and lead an athletic organization no longer required a PE degree, but instead to be a member of a successful and competitive intercollegiate network.

Legitimacy for men pursuing intercollegiate athletic leadership was different from women pursuing legitimacy in PE. These practices of legitimacy bred belonging through clans and networks within the men's and women's departments. The men's network maintained a production function of competitive athletics, whereas the women produced broad-based participation practitioners. The networks served two different function and answered to separate accrediting agencies, which reinforced traditional gender ideologies. Men and women were tracked into segregated PE training programs and prepared for unique tasks and regulated by separate rules.

Federal agencies such as the AAPHERD, APEA, and ARFMCW created educational and curricular standards for physical education departments. As PE departments began to incorporate athletics activities, particularly with women's, they began to regulate athletic bylaws. Due in part to men's athletics existing separate from the academic function of the men's PE department, they followed athletic specific agencies such as the NCAA, NAIA, and AAU. Each agency defined

legitimacy and the right to exist based on a set of rules defined by the most powerful actors in the field.

The institution of the NCAA connected organizations by setting common rules, norms, conferences, play-off competition, as a shared meaning system. The structure of conferences allowed for connections between local and distant organizations based on agreed upon values and patterns of action. Common technology, normative codes, and regulatory order became established through home and away travel, jersey's, rules of recruitment, eligibility, practices, competition, and compliance. Such practices became embedded and suspended by powerful myths to support the legitimacy of the organization. Now, these rules have become so complex and legally bounded that athletic administrators have adapted with certifications in Juris degrees to navigate the institutional environment.

The allocation of resources, power, and control was essential to understanding the task environment. Rules were viewed as systems of control—either constraining or empowering behavior—as a formal structure and social institution (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Over time, the PE and the athletic structures had a normative, culturally constructed, and regulatory effect on how individuals behaved. In this study men and women involved with PE and athletics behaved differently. Cultural expectations based on gender separated men and women into culturally congruent roles. The allocation of resources, power, and control precipitated into different systems of control to either constrain or reinforce gender appropriate behaviors for these two groups. Over time these behaviors became standardized and protected and reinforced by rules, regulations, and policies (W. Scott, 2003).

***Cultural environment.*** All cultures become sacred and give purpose to the tasks they produce. Cultural transmission and acquisition existed in the relationship between schools and

communities as a way to isolate and strengthen culture (Schein, 1990). The strengthening of culture occurred through socialization of students in ideologies, values, and norms congruent with the community. The larger presence of culture informed the socialization expectations of the institution and the available inputs for the institution. Due to the fact that the majority of the inputs were women and the technical core was to produce teachers, the institutionalization of athletics as it related to gender presented a fascinating case.

The athletics culture at EMU was a microcosm of the greater American culture. Rituals and ceremonies have integrated their way into what is known to be intercollegiate athletics. Despite being a women's college, men's athletics emerged in the same way men's athletics emerged across the country. Men's athletics became a way to masculinize the women's college and make it legitimate. The institutionalization of men's and women's PE programs at MSNC, legitimized athletics as an expression of masculinity for the men and controlled feminine appropriate values to be taught to the women. The tasks were distinct and separate and a mechanism to reinforce previously established and socially accepted gender norms. The women's PE department protected feminine ideals in society through the production of PE teachers and resisting competitive athletics. The men's PE department tried to prepare administrators and coaches for athletics, but ultimately lost this function to the athletic department, where the coaches and administrators were hired based on their playing experience and not necessarily their PE training. Divorcing athletics from PE required new groups to form around tasks of game production. The establishment of meaning around winning, competing, and attracting talent emerged differently for men and women. Men were much more inclined to these assumptions and expectations than the women, creating a sort of cultural obstruction for women



in intercollegiate athletics. Therefore, it was much easier for men to achieve institutional rationality with the adoption of an intercollegiate athletic department compared to the women.

Culture at MSNC/EMU manifested in multiple forms—language, symbols, behaviors, rituals, myths, and structures—served as a theoretical lens through which I explored normative and culturally cognitive systems. I used this lens to reveal the structure of social, cultural, historical, and economic influences on intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University and its athletic institution. Cultural influences on the emergence of men and women's intercollegiate athletics were inextricable. It shaped the inputs, throughputs, outputs, and feedback mechanism of the organization (Hackman, 1985). All of which were expected to comply with cultural values, ideals, expectations, and reward conventional feminine or masculine qualities. The most notable variable of culture explored in this study was gender.

***Gender construction.*** The social construction of gender roles extends thousands of years (Ritzer, 2010). Women participated in physical activities to reinforce feminine appropriate roles of attracting a mate, demonstrating fertility and their capacity to raise children. Men's roles in physical performance reinforced masculinity as survival, competition, and capacity to provide. Biological roles have been adopted and produced through social interaction, further defining what it means to be masculine and feminine. Ritzer (2010) stated: "Gender is constantly being produced by people in interaction with each other as a way of making sense of and letting the world work" (p. 202). Over time, the social construction of gender became sophisticated and buried within institutions defined by symbols, rituals, and ceremonies protected by rules and regulations established by the institutional environment. If it were not for Title IX, I am not so sure men's and women's athletics would have culturally converged to exist as a single institution.

**Research Question 3a. How did intercollegiate athletics become organized and institutionalized at Eastern Michigan University?** Parson (1960a) suggested that a system of action becomes institutionalized based on constant interaction between the actors and a common set of normative standards and value patterns. Such normative frameworks become internalized and motivated by moral authority rather than by instrumental concerns; this internalization then regulates the relations of individuals to each other (Parson, 1960a). As previously mentioned, athletic institutions were a reflection of the greater cultural landscape. Values of competition, strength, dominance, and winning defined the social action for men in athletics. Women's guiding values represented those congruent to societal expectations. Cooperation, poise, health, and fairness rounded out the vary basis of the women's PE curriculum.

All organizations share four components including goals, social structures, technologies, and actors (W. Scott, 2003). In the evolution of athletic departments at EMU, these four components existed independently. Women's goals were to prepare educators, the actors were women students and women faculty and staff, the social structure replicated that of the greater culture, and the technologies were to produce competent K-12 PE instructors. Originally, men's goals consisted of preparing PE instructors, coaches, and compete; social structures reflected the influence of national athletic movements; technologies were PE education and athletic competition; the actors were men. Following the merger, these components shifted. The goal was to producing winning sport teams and maintain eligibility. The actors included student athletes, coaches, administrators and a number of supportive staff hired to manage the core technology. Adopted social structures were those defining big-time athletics and regulated by the MAC and NCAA. Finally, the technology was to produce games by recruiting talented athletes and hiring winning coaches.

MSNC was the largest normal institution West of the Allegheny River with great influence over the national physical education curriculum (Pedersen, 1996). A crystallized formation of symbolic systems and beliefs existed among MSNC PE graduates. These ways of teaching and learning for PE majors were distinct to the men's and women's division. Each established rules, expectations and social artifacts that were reinforced by rituals and ceremonies (i.e., field days, circus, junior-senior meets, Major Day, May Day, conference athletics events). This system of beliefs and set of rules emerged different for men and women. Men's athletics reflected the rules and rituals of other more masculine institutions of higher education, whereas the women's system were reflective of the institution itself as a women's college. Due to the distinctive origins of men and women's athletics, types of authority influenced their social action. Rules became rigid systems of control and mechanistic instrument designed to achieve specified goals. This became evident throughout the policies detailing eligibility and varsity letters. As EMU athletics became more institutionalized, compliance with a set of normative and regulatory standards became more sophisticated. EMU mimicked other athletic institutions within the organizational field a phenomenon known as mimetic isomorphism in order to appear more legitimate. The adoption of these standards aligned with values evidenced in the greater cultural and institutional environment, and became protected by the rules, regulations, and policies codified by federal and national agencies.

***Environmental isomorphism.*** Demonstrated throughout this narrative was the phenomenon of institutional isomorphism. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) posited that due to the institutional pressures in the environment, organizations pursued homogeneity of structures with other larger or more established institutions. They concluded that three types of pressures influenced a need for conformity: coercive pressures from legal mandates or compliance

requirements; mimetic pressures of duplicate structures of success during uncertainty; and finally normative pressures, which homogeneity occurred through cultural reproduction (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As a result, EMU followed certain “practices” or laws to gain legitimacy.

All of these pressures were evidenced with Michigan State Normal College---Eastern Michigan University. First, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) explained conformity through coercive pressures in the form of litigation and federal regulations. Title IX threatened lawsuits to athletic departments demonstrating discrimination on the basis of sex. Federal legislation was an immense external pressure that accelerated change in men’s and women’s joint intercollegiate athletic departments. Secondly, the organization adopted institutional myths and structures similar to other institutions in order to not only gain and maintain legitimacy, but to avoid uncertainty. Separation of men’s athletics from PE came as a result of aligning practices and structures with other successful organizations. Finally, the pursuit of legitimacy occurred within the institutional and cultural environments. Michigan State Normal College began as a women’s college training teachers with a majority of female student. Teaching was a cultural role accepted by society for women. However, this task was socially less legitimate than schools, like University of Michigan, preparing men for public roles. Normal schools were not viewed as legitimate as male-dominated research and science institutions. The ability to attract men to an institution would in effect make that institution more legitimate. One way to attract men was through clubs and sports. The presence of men’s athletic activities served to legitimize the institutions right to exist as a school.

Isomorphic pressures continued throughout EMU’s history. The need to masculinize the school and diversify the technical offerings accelerated with the governor-elected Board of Regents in 1964. The newly appointed Board of Regents aligned EMU’s structures and

professional offerings with other institution in the organization field to secure legitimacy through conformity. Eastern added additional professional schools and extended its technical core from its normal roots to include business, arts and science, and other pre-professional training.

Without expansion of its core and athletic programs, the institution risked collapse. Initially, changes only affected the men's athletic program until external pressures by federal agencies forced compliance with the addition of women's athletics. Otherwise, women's athletics may have remained coupled with the PE faculty and department, maintaining their own cultural legitimacy.

Isomorphism served to legitimize the organizations new structures by copying similar structures of peer organizations. An adoption of the athletic core separate from the academic core was an attempt to establish legitimacy through congruence with other more valued organizations. Around the country, athletics were used to gain recognition, build loyalty, foster school spirit, and procure resources (Pope, 2001). Some athletic departments experienced the benefits of ticket sales, merchandise, TV contracts, and athletic talent. These types of activities and behaviors generated resources and became institutionalized as athletic processes in the organizational field. However, it is important to note that this was not the case for EMU. Athletics at MSNC/EMU had never profited from their athletics program. In fact, the ability to produce games like the profitable schools ensured the departments right to exist through institutional rationality and legitimacy, but was not a stable funding model. Finally, women's athletic coaches and administrators were forced to follow this model by Title IX compliance, mimetic pressures and normative pressures on intercollegiate athletics. This essentially became the only way for women to participate and lead in intercollegiate athletics. Nationally, the ratios of men to women in intercollegiate athletics remains 10:1 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014), thus suggesting that this

adjustment has not been easy. Findings from this study speculate this slow emergence into intercollegiate athletic leaders was a result of the imposed regulations from the institutional environment and its incompatibility with a cultural environment formed over thousands of generations.

### **Summary of EMU Intercollegiate Athletics Organizational Analysis**

The task environment eventually supported a unified men's and women's athletic department as a consequence to Title IX legislation. Internal threats over distributed resources manifested into an emotionally tense athletic environment. In response, men's athletics absorbed women's athletics to comply with coercive pressures put in place by legitimacy granting regulatory agencies. Attempts to manage the combined task environment required strategies of adaptation, adjustment, and integration experienced both by the men and women's athletic department. The institution as a whole tried to maintain organizational rationality by producing PE educators and competitive athletic teams. This in part was obtained by the EMU track and field programs led by Lloyd Olds; however, even track and field lacked legitimacy among men's sports. The higher status sports such as men's football and basketball, failed to establish a competitive program in relations to the greater organizational field and continues to bankrupt the university. Without a competitive football and basketball program the athletic department lacked and continues to lack the legitimacy and recognition by the institutional and cultural environment.

Regulatory (compliance), governmental (legal), and professional agencies (NCAA/MAC Conference) existed with the institutional layer and granted athletic departments legitimacy. Organizational rationality then became a result of an athletic department to produce winning programs. A mission that has never been at the core function of the women's program but was

adopted to legitimize their existence at the institution. Due in part to the fear of legal ramifications of Title IX, women's programs served to legitimize the existence of men's athletic programs. Although women held 100% of the coaching and administrative roles in athletics prior to Title IX, the years following experienced a mass exodus of women leaders. The new athletic task environment was a foreign model and represented much of what the women opposed over the previous 75 years. The previous task environment did not support the training of women as athletic coaches and administrators to operate within an athletic core of competition. Nor was this supported in the cultural environment which provided symbolic and cultural reassurance to feminine and masculine appropriate roles. This generated a void in qualified actors to serve in equivalent roles as male coaches and administrators. Therefore, trained male coaches filled in the gaps and began coaching women's teams and leading the departments to maintain institutional rationality. The men, therefore, maintained a supportive task and cultural environment to coach and lead competitive intercollegiate athletic programs, whereas the women lacked cultural resources to support a technical core of producing games. Table 7 displays a summary of findings a comparison of the production function for academic, athletics, and physical education units at EMU.

Table 7.  
*Organizational Rationality of Academic, Athletics, and Physical Education at Eastern Michigan University*

	Academics	Athletics	Physical Education
Technical Core	Produce graduates for semi-professional careers – teachers, business people, health workers, technicians	Produce competitive games, maintain eligible athletes	Produce trained K-12 PE teachers, coaches and athletic administrators
Task/Resource Environment	Grants, tuition, donations, state appropriations, students from southeast Michigan	Student fees from tuition, donations (business and alumni), ticket sales, game guarantees, recruited students from Midwest	Tuition, donations, state appropriations, fundraisers, students from southeast Michigan
Cultural Environment	Influenced by students and communities of southeast Michigan	Influenced by big time competitive athletics, masculine and feminine ideals, winning	Influenced by initiatives of health, wellness, fitness, hygiene, broad base participation, cooperation, sport skill development
Institutional Environment	Federal Agencies – Higher Learning Commission, NEA, Accreditation agencies	NCAA, MAC, Title IX compliance  Historically, the MIAA, AAU, NAIA, AIAW, IIAC, PAC regulated athletic activities at EMU	APEA, AAU, AAPHERD, NAAF, ARFMCW

Astonishingly, even though EMU began as a female-dominated institution producing teachers, men's intercollegiate athletics emerged and evolved just as it did at other institutions across the country.

### **Achievement of Purpose**

**Scholarly contributions.** This project studied gender in intercollegiate athletic leadership using organizational and institutional theory. Previously, studies have sought to compare women to men in their ability to lead. This approach was psychological in nature and fails to analyze the



importance of context, history, and organizational structures on cultural values attached to such roles. Therefore, this study attempted to fill the gap in research taking into consideration the long and complex history of sport, intercollegiate athletics, and the formation of women's athletic leadership at an institution with its roots in Normal education. The study detailed the influence of institutional, task, and cultural environments on men's and women's position and roles in intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University. The study furthered the application of Thompson's (1967) organizational theory adapted by Muwonge (2012) and Shinn (2013) that the cultural environment can operate in conflict with the institutional environment forcing the technical core to adjust to both demands. For instance, the institutional environment comprised of policy makers and regulatory bodies mandated policies of equity and compliance, rubbing against the embedded gender norms in the cultural environment. These socially constructed gender norms had long defined separate and different tasks and structures for women and men in sport. Following Title IX, this changed and impacted women's access to leadership positions.

**Researcher skills.** Completing a project like this has exposed me to the emotional, mental, and intellectual realities of scholarship. Not only have I learned skills in conducting research, I have learned to challenge my own ideologies and biases in order to pursue the path of truth. Many times throughout this project I had to strip myself of ideological thinking particularly when it came to ideas around fairness, equality, and rights. This project allowed me to suspend my present day reality and explore a past through artifacts, firsthand accounts, and the empirical data. I have learned a tremendous amount about our history and recognize the value in historical research to better understand today's institutions and detrimental ideologies.

**Research journey.** This project has no doubt taken me on an extensive journey through sport history as it relates to the social construction of gender identity. I have learned the

importance of establishing systems for quality research as well as the amount of personal sacrifice necessary for academic scholarship. In addition to improving my confidence in conducting research, I have gained skills for mentoring students in their pursuits of inquiry. This experience has assisted in the how and why things are the way they are. Like many Americans, I had cultural amnesia where the past was forgotten and ignored. This greatly limited my ability to lead and understand our social institutions far beyond the institution of sport. I have come to not only appreciate, but love exploring the historical roots of people, decisions, and institutional patterns of action.

This journey has presented and will continue to present rich professional opportunities. In collaboration with a team of faculty from the College of Performance and Sport Sciences at West Virginia University (WVU), we have been awarded a US State Department grant in sport diplomacy. My experience as an athletic coach and leadership educator with an academic foundation in intercollegiate athletics positioned me well for a sport for social change project between the US and Mexico. Through my networks on the grant and my historical understanding of American sport through this research, I have been offered an adjunct position in teaching sport history and philosophy in the sport management department at WVU. Together, the skills I have developed through coaching, this dissertation research, and a growing knowledge of leadership theory has led to unanticipated and exciting opportunities.

**Personal understanding.** This project has helped me better understand my own experiences and identities as a woman, athlete, former coach and administrator, and as a current educator, leader and activist. Through this research, I have learned to view the world with a new perspective. Informed by sociological and organizational frameworks, I can see phenomena as an objective observer. My biggest challenge in this study was my own understanding of gender

roles. From an early age I have consciously challenged gender roles: I raced boys and won, strength was an internal and external achievement, and I coached men's basketball, for Pete's sake. These roles have always been blurred, which presented a real challenge in understanding women of the past. In my active state of defying gender roles, I failed to see the impact these embedded roles had existed in society. As an athlete, coach, administrator privileged with the opportunity for intercollegiate play, I disregarded the long history gender roles played in organizing our major institutions. I sought to see athletics as a place for equity and fairness while upholding the competitive standards of winning. Little did I know that these were simply incompatible.

This study has also awoken me to the pressures of conformity and institutionalism that shapes our human existence. We are creatures of habit and habits lead to predictability and certainty, a preference for all institutions. Since organizations are a compilation of inputs and humans, it makes sense that organizations are driven toward isomorphism in order to seek legitimacy. The element of culture is powerful and difficult to change and therefore demands careful attention from leaders. Educational leaders must be equipped to serve as organizational analyst, scanning the cultural environment for necessary resources and assurance to support changes to the institutional environment. Aligning the culture environment with the institutional environment may be a desire for efficiency, but as the findings suggest, the institutional and cultural environment influence the task environment differently. It is suggested that educational leaders understand the function of these environments, especially the culture, before legislating policy changes.

**Better educator, practitioner, and scholar.** In the words of Dr. Barott, "Context matters" (J. Barott, personal communication November 5, 2011). As leaders seek to influence

change, continuous improvement, and create more leaders, they must do with an understanding of the context. One of the great failures in leadership is applying policies and organizational changes without fully understanding the organizational culture, historical background, and the people who occupy the organization. Although the transition for women athletic leaders was largely influenced by a national trend and federal legislation, the implementation at Eastern Michigan University lacked the consideration and insights of women's leadership. Women in athletics were not viewed as legitimate and many times chose to remain in more acceptable positions. Remaining in PE or other teaching roles contributed to the disparate numbers of women in athletic leadership at EMU. In order for me to recognize the current reality for women in intercollegiate athletics, it was necessary to first explore their emergence into the field. To understand their emergence into the field, it was necessary for me to understand their emergence into society and the social construction of gender as it related to the legitimacy of feminine and masculine roles.

Culture provides symbolic reassurance and legitimacy. Comprehension of the existing culture and objectively studying an organization for what it is and not what it should be provides a better foundation for administrative decision-making. Leaders must manage culture during times of decline because an institutions vitality is contingent on the strength of its culture. In identifying these shifts, whether through windows of opportunity or following crisis, change can and must occur. Luckily, I have gained tools to better explore and digest contextual factors to improve awareness of the organizations for which I participate. In addition, I model these tools in the classroom in hopes to inspire others to pay attention, read a book, and be curious about the often taken for granted practices in our organizations.

## **Limitations**

Limitations exist in every research study and this study is no different. In this study, the findings were specific to the case of Eastern Michigan University. Data from historical records, oral histories, and interviews reflected the experiences of students, faculty, and staff within the physical education and athletic organizations. Although these experiences were unique to Michigan State Normal College and Eastern Michigan University, the findings may be analytically generalizable to the behavior and culture surrounding the emergence of women's athletics at other universities. Being the primary research instrument collecting and analyzing the data, presented a second limitation to this study. I attempted to minimize bias and behave ethically throughout this study, but completely eliminating bias is impossible. My past experiences as a intercollegiate coach and athletic administrator may have influenced my judgments of the perceptions and experiences of the women athletic leaders at Eastern Michigan University. Though I was committed to behaving ethically and with integrity, and careful to protect the validity of the study, it is important to acknowledge that my presence as a research instrument does come with bias.

Finally, this study was incredibly immense in terms of presenting a historical background and comprehensive exploration of men's and women's athletics at Eastern Michigan University. In the nearly 400 pages and 2,000 years of history, there are bound to be events that went unexplored. Even with the use of triangulating multiple sources and archival documents, I am certain events, decision points, rules, and leader contributions were missed. Despite the possibility of missing data, I believe this study will add to the knowledge regarding women's emergence and position in intercollegiate athletics leadership. I invite the perspectives and

experiences of other researchers on this topic and believe it to only add to the comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

This study represents what I have discovered over the last four years in the pursuit to understand the social construction of gender through intercollegiate athletics at Eastern Michigan University. Regardless of these possible limitation, I believe this study contributes to the scholarship around women in leadership and women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. It provides some understanding to the organizational structures that have shaped how and in what ways women have accessed positions in athletics. With a growing interest of men and women pursuing careers in intercollegiate athletics and functional areas associated with intercollegiate athletics, this study helps advance the knowledge and practices within higher education and may offer aspiring women leaders a different perspective to navigating their leadership in athletics.

### **Recommendations for Future Study**

In this study, I sought to understand women's emergence and the social construction of gender through intercollegiate athletic leadership at an institution with its origins in normal school education. In order to do so, I explored the historical context of athletics, athletics in America, intercollegiate athletics in higher education, and eventually the emergence of women's intercollegiate athletics. Understanding the formation of women's athletics provided insights to leadership and organizational constructs. Due to the gravity of this project, many questions surfaced suggesting further investigation.

**Student experience.** During my investigation in determining how women's athletics became to be at Eastern Michigan University, I primarily focused on the leadership including coaches and administrators. The student experience throughout this transition from a female-led athletics enterprise to a male-model may have provided new insights to the athletic merger.

Acosta and Carpenter's (2014) research has shown the greatest benefit of Title IX has been afforded to women's access to intercollegiate athletic opportunities. This was, however, at the expense of women's leadership in intercollegiate athletics. If we are drawing the next generation of coaches and leaders from intercollegiate athletics, what messages and cues are they receiving that may make them more inclined to pursue athletics as a career. Therefore, understanding the experience from the student perspective may provide insights to the messages they are receiving in terms of coaching and administrative opportunities. Are women athletes encouraged to pursue a career in intercollegiate athletics? Did their playing experience prepare them for a career of coaching? How does the socialization process between male and female athletes differ? Questions such as these would help my understanding of how intercollegiate athletic are experienced by all actors involved. Nonetheless, the merger between EMU men's and women's athletics was complex and affected female student athletes and coaches differently.

**Policy effects on culture.** This study told the story of women's emergence into intercollegiate athletics at an institution with its origins in normal school education. Based on the findings, changes imposed by the institutional environment led to an adaptation in the task environment but met resistance in the cultural environment. Title IX was a policy mandating equality in a cultural environment where men and women were not perceived as being equal. Often times, policies are designed to rectify cultural issues and conflicts. Therefore, exploration of the cultural and task environments from other fairness policies may be worth investigating. In 1995, the NCAA mandated the senior women's administrator (SWA) position, requiring every intercollegiate athletics department to designate a woman as the SWA (Hoffman, 2010). The introduction of an SWA was to secure the presence and voice of a woman in a male-dominated athletic department. Initially, this helped restore women's presence in the department but was

also criticized as being a symbolic gesture at best (Hoffman, 2010). How might other policies mandating fairness and greater representation of underrepresented groups interplay with the task and cultural environments of intercollegiate athletics? Are there cultural or legislative strategies that may work best to improve representation of marginalized groups? Questions such as these may inform the interplay between institutional and cultural environment as it relates to policies on equity and fairness. Practitioners could explore how the conceptual framework explains the relationship between cultural and institutional environments and influences the development of policies for practitioners.

### **Conclusion**

The institutionalization of these acceptable behaviors maintained a sex-segregated path into intercollegiate athletics and leadership structures. It has always been socially acceptable for men to compete, train, coach, and lead competitive intercollegiate athletics. Women were socialized differently, emphasizing cooperation, broad-based participation, and that sport was to be educational. Title IX forced the hand for women to turn against these cultural norms and the supporting task environment to adopt a competitive athletics production function. Evidenced throughout this history are examples of when women worked against their own self-interest in efforts to align with powerful culturally and socially accepted gender expectations. Intervention from federal legislations forced institutions to merge the women's athletic production function with the men's. The men's task environment had more resources to support newly adopted women's intercollegiate athletics. Outputs of men trained to manage and lead competitive intercollegiate athletics assumed many of the coaching needs of women's athletics. Women confronted dissonance within the cultural environment. Many of those at EMU chose to remain faculty in PE and disassociate with an athletics core grounded in the men's domain.



The idea of Title IX falsely promoted an equal and separate athletic model. Women PE leaders desired an athletics institution that represented their feminine ideals, but this could not be achieved with the very nature of how intercollegiate athletics emerged. Without the intervention of Title IX, women may have maintained their recreational, broad-based, and educational training programs within the academic core. I understand this may be hard to believe given what we know now of women's intercollegiate athletics. It has taken time to account for the slow change in culture to recognize women in athletics and to accept women in more masculine roles. This struggle continues today and the notion of accepting women as equals rather than inferior to men is still lost on modern social institutions. Parity of women in leadership and athletic leadership will take time. Culture is ancient, powerful, and slow to change.

This study acknowledges that change takes time and can occur more quickly in the case of a major external disturbance. Merton (1936) suggested that unanticipated actions from the outside, turbulence from the external environment, had more of an impact over internal affairs and practices. Wars, major movements, and legislative changes were external forces that shifted internal institutional behaviors. For instance enrollment of college students following WWII, civil rights movements, campus protests, the women's movement, and Title IX legislation radically changed the advancement of women's participation in intercollegiate athletics, yet left leadership out. This project demonstrated change following the Educational Amendment Act in 1972 as a result and cause of social movements and disruption of traditional gender norms. Given women's lag behind men's institutionalization of athletics, it is either a matter of time or a major disturbance away from greater leadership representation for women.

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## Appendix A: Grants-in-Aid Student Athlete Employment

DAN 7 1959

### Grants-in-Aid Student Athlete Employment

*File  
Athletic Bd of  
Control.*

A summary of athletic grants-in-aid and student employment at the member institutions in the IIAC. Information obtained from faculty representatives of member schools at the Chicago meeting of the IIAC.

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Grants-in-Aid</u>		<u>Athletes Employed</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Amt.</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Rate</u>	<u>Yearly Pay</u>
Central Michigan	50	\$215 max.	52	.80-.85	\$358
Eastern Illinois	29	\$37 per quarter	- - - - -	- - - - -	No information - -
Eastern Michigan	0		8	.80-.85	
I.S.N.U.	7	\$37 per quarter	- - - - -	- - - - -	No information - -
Northern Illinois	9	\$400		.75	\$400
Southern Illinois	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	No information - - - - -
Western Illinois	40	\$37 per quarter	- - - - -	- - - - -	No information - -

## Appendix B: Justification for 1968-1969 Budget Request

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY  
Ypsilanti, Michigan - 48197  
Department of Intercollegiate Athletics

*Arthur W. J. Jr.*  
OCT. 19 1967

### Justification For 1968-1969 Budget Request

It is apparent since Eastern Michigan University is presently operating as an independent in intercollegiate athletic competition the athletic teams will be required to travel farther and more frequently to fill schedule commitments for Eastern Michigan athletic competition.

It will be necessary for our athletic squads to more frequently use air travel, commercial, and/or charter in order to fulfill our schedule obligations, plus avoiding the missing of a minimum of class time.

Besides the increase in expenditures for transportation, there naturally will be a tremendous increase in expenditures for:

1. Transportation
2. Lodging
3. Meals
4. Guarantees
5. Officials
6. Equipment
7. Recruiting
8. Medical Care
9. Insurance
10. Administration Home Athletic Activities
11. Filming Athletic contests
12. Scouting
13. Up-keep, maintenance, supervision of indoor and outdoor athletic facilities
14. Officials fees
15. Games and meet management
16. Additional secretarial and clerical help
17. Additional maintenance and custodial help
18. Additional student help
19. Additional athletic coaching personnel

The athletic department at Eastern Michigan University now sponsors the following varsity sports:

- |                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. baseball      | 7. indoor track            |
| 2. basketball    | 8. outdoor track and field |
| 3. cross-country | 9. swimming                |
| 4. football      | 10. tennis                 |
| 5. golf          | 11. wrestling              |
| 6. gymnastics    |                            |