A Thesis

entitled

Women's College Sports: Redefining Amateurism through the Institutionalization of Title IX at the University of Michigan, 1898-1978

by

Andrew Joseph Miller

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in History

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An Abstract of

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The focus of this thesis encompasses a developing history of collegiate women's sports at a single institution. I trace the history of the University of Michigan's women's sports from women as participants to achieving equality as amateurs. Female students began participating in sport in the 1890s. This was a result of many factors including European influences, sporting organizations, and the sport of basketball. This was followed by a second wave of collegiate women's sports resulting from local, regional, and national sporting organizations. These institutions organized equality through advancing women's sport to include intersocial and intersorority sporting activity. Furthermore, these developments culminated in a transition to women's intercollegiate sporting competition.

I emphasize national sporting organizations and Title IX as tools for institutionalizing equality for collegiate women's sports. The AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) and the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) both provided structure for collegiate sport. I recount each organizations' impact on women's sporting equality. I also emphasize the legal implications of these organizations' stance on women's competition. This

harmonizes with the passing of Title IX in 1972. This legislation, an education amendment banning sex discrimination, was defined by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1975. The HEW required schools to adhere to their interpretation of the amendment. I recount the impact of this call for compliance by urging consideration of legal exogeneity for institutions' adherence. Women's teams received more funding and resources as schools complied with the HEW and NCAA's vision for women's sport. The main conclusion is women achieved sporting equality through both legal endogeneity and changing ideals for amateurism from 1898 to 1978. I recount this progress at a single institution, the University of Michigan.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to everyone for their support in helping me with this project. This includes the faculty at UT, family, and friends. This was difficult, but fulfilling. I'm grateful for this opportunity.

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List of Abbreviations

AAHPER..... American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation
AAU..... Amateur Athletic Union
ACACW..... Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women
AIAW..... Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women

CSIAW..... Committee to Study Intercollegiate Athletics for Women

DGWS..... Division of Girls and Women's Sports

NAAF..... National Amateur Athletic Foundation
NCAA..... National Collegiate Athletic Association

WAA ..... Women's Athletic Association

Introduction

Women's improved equality in collegiate sports has been a process 90 years in the making. Women achieved sporting equality through the institutionalization of collegiate women's sports. This process emerged because of social acceptance and organizing sporting activity at the local, regional, and national levels. Furthermore, these expansive measures contributed to formal equality in sport at a specific institution, the University of Michigan. Many people, organizations, and entities contributed to this development.

Physical educators such as Smith College's Senda Berenson employed the first traces of women's sporting development. This led to a national expansion of women's sport. Organizations such as the Women's Athletic Association (WAA) at U of M provided structure. The U.S. Office of Civil Rights' Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) sought equality through by enforcing legal compliance to Title IX. Finally, the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) and the National Collegiate Athletic Association(NCAA) institutionalized collegiate women's sports through a process of "legal exogeneity."[1] These actors were part of achieving equality for female athletes nationwide and

[1] Following Edelman and others, legal historian Amanda Bell Hughett defines legal endogeneity as "the process in which courts defer to organizational policies and practices designed to symbolize compliance with the law without scrutinizing their effectiveness." In the case of the University of Michigan, "legal exogeneity" suggests the opposite process, with the University of Michigan's compliance with Title IX through its membership first in the AIAW and later in the NCAA. See Amanda Bell Hughett, "A 'Safe Outlet' for Prisoner Discontent: How Prison Grievance Procedures Helped Stymie Prison Organizing During the 1970s," *Law and Social Inquiry* Vol. 44, No. 4 (Nov. 2019): 893-921, esp. 896; and Lauren B. Edelman, Christopher Uggen, and Howard S. Erlanger. "The Endogeneity of Legal Regulation: Grievance Procedures as Rational Myth." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 2 (1999): 406-54.

specifically at U of M. The national and Michigan specific developments of women's college sports is part of a national history of women's equality.

Women's collegiate sports history fits within a national history of institutions adapting in response to laws. This included labor unions in the 1930s, but also the desegregation following Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.[2] The legal proceedings of Title IX echo how institutions adapt to law enforcement. As the government supported equality for collegiate female athletes, universities followed suit. At U of M, administrators and officials changed their stance as the Office of Civil Rights defined equality of resources for collegiate female athletes. This dovetails with labor unions in accordance with Franklin D. Roosevelt's pro-union stance. Collegiate women's equality improved through the established standard of Title IX. The institutionalization by the AIAW and NCAA echo the dismantling of legal segregation after Brown v. Board of education. Institutions such as U of M complied because they feared the loss of funding. This is significant as women had the opportunity for widespread intercollegiate competition. Women's collegiate sporting equality is contextualized in U.S. history. It also, however, has extraordinary value in present-day discussions.

The story of women's collegiate sporting equality at U of M bears significance as part of the present. Officials and players continue calling for equal resources as of

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[2] The literature on labor un "Labor Unions During the Great Depression and New Deal: Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945: U.S. History Primary Source Timeline: Classroom Materials at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. Accessed April 08, 2021. https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/labor-unions-during-great-depression-and-new-deal/.

2021. At U of M, inadequate funding occluded women's intercollegiate competition. Today, women's basketball teams still highlight disparities in weight room provisions for female basketball teams.[3] This call for better accommodations is significant because it is as important now as it was during the proliferation of women's collegiate sport in the 1970s. Legal implications of equality are nothing new. The U.S. Office of Civil Rights' Department of Health, Education, and Welfare charged U of M with unequal provisions for women's sporting teams in 1974. Today, current legal battles of equal pay for U.S. women's soccer highlight these same struggles under the auspices of Title IX.[4] I cover all not only monetary equality, but also opportunity and proper sporting allocations. I reflect on the history of collegiate women's sports at the University of Michigan from 1888-1978.

I cover the emergence and organizing of equality in the first two chapters of this paper. In chapter one, I argue three major factors facilitated the issue of sporting equality for collegiate women at U of M. These influences included basketball, European origins, and the AAU (Amateur Athletic Union). The sport of basketball, invented in 1891, played a significant role in an emerging equality for female students. University educators offered basketball and European exercises in their gymnasium classes. This was a way for collegiate female students to become immersed in athletics specifically at U of M. In chapter two, I argue that national and

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3 Becky Sullivan. "Under Fire, The NCAA Apologizes And Unveils New Weight Room For Women's Tournament." NPR. March 21, 2021. Accessed April 08, 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/03/20/979596524/under-fire-the-ncaa-apologizes-and-unveils-new-weight-room-for-womens-tournament.

4 This ongoing legal battle for the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team imbues the current interpretive discussions of Title IX in sport.

local organizations impacted collegiate women's sport. The WAA (Women's Athletic Association), the ACACW (Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women), and the NAAF (National Amateur Athletic Foundation) all played a role in organizing equality. The WAA, internal organization at U of M, offered various ways for women's sports participation. The ACACW's impact on sporting organization included intersorority, intersocial, and interclass sports, which fostered greater equality. This dovetailed with the NAAF's vision for expansion of women's collegiate sports organizations. The NAAF supported unity and physicality in sport to oversee the entirety of collegiate women's sport. All these organizations demonstrate a local and national development of organizing equality. They served as a precursor to achieving equality.

In the final two chapters, I argue Title IX achieved equality through the institutionalization of collegiate women's sports. In chapter three, I argue national developments played a significant role in achieving equality for collegiate women's sports nationwide and specifically at U of M. This included both the DGWS' (Division of Girls and Women's Sports) advocacy for women's full-sport participation and the passing of Title IX in 1972. The DGWS released a statement in 1963 declaring their support for women's intercollegiate competition. At U of M, their role in achieving equality dovetailed with the DGWS's vision. Title IX was also instrumental in achieving equality. The civil rights legislation made sex discrimination in education illegal. necessitated changes in resource allocation at U of M. Both the DGWS and Title IX were were sparks of improvements and greater equality. In chapter four, I argue the AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics

for Women) institutionalized equality. I recount Title IX compliance dovetailing with the NCAA's takeover of collegiate sport. The AIAW's organizational structure had implications for institutionalizing women's sport. This proved impactful at U of M as officials followed the AIAW's guidelines. The NCAA took control of collegiate sports as they provided an all-encompassing organization. This process highlights U of M's sports. Women received greater resources, accommodations, and opportunities than they had in the past as the HEW called for compliance. The AIAW and NCAA both had an impact on institutionalizing equality nationwide, and at U of M.

Chapter One

Origins: Collegiate Women's Sporting Amateurism

The long history of a fight for women's sporting equality at U of M began in 1898. The University of Michigan constructed Barbour Gymnasium for women's sports participation.[5] U of M trusted both Alice Snyder and Dr. Eliza Mosher to oversee the development of female students' athletics. U of M employed Snyder, part of the medical school at U of M, to instruct women's gym class. This is significant as women received their first collegiate opportunities in sport. Dr. Mosher presided over the entire female class to measure their athletic abilities. Mosher wanted her students to become more physically active. She divided the class into groups and incorporated new uniforms for all participants.[6] This was the first evidence of amateur sport for women at U of M.

Women took the hardwood floors and utilized a backboard-less goal in playing basketball at the University of Michigan.[7] Freshman and sophomore women held the first open exhibition championship for women's basketball in 1898. The game of basketball, invented in 1891, was a catalyst for the emergence of collegiate women's role as a sporting amateur. Coaches, administrators, and athletes all

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[5] "The Woman's Gymnasium" *Michigan Daily*, October 28, 1896, 1-2.
[6] Ibid.
[7] "A Sporting Chance: Women's Athletics at the University of Michigan". Bentley Historical Library Online. Accessed February 25, 2021.

supported women's participation in a healthful venture.[8] This was a changing ideal in the late nineteenth century. At U of M, basketball was offered as part of physical education courses for female students, albeit with modified rules.[9] Games often included competition for an eventual champion. This, however, was only the beginning of change for women's sports nationwide and specifically at U of M.

European influences and increased physical activity were both contributions for women's role as amateur sports participants. These factors meant more opportunity for physical activity and acceptance of women as athletes. European influences such as Swedish calisthenics and field hockey were both ways for collegiate women to become athletic women.[10] Play Days were another way women became more physically active as sporting participation was socially accepted.[11] These activities were playful ways for female students to compete in games such as bowling, archery, and other games. Students had these opportunities through both sport and exercise with physical education courses at U of M. These activities were also a precursor to the acceptance of female athletes as organizational members.

The Amateur Athletic Union, or the AAU, was another factor in an emerging sporting equality for women's collegiate sport. The AAU, founded in 1888, was a governing body meant for a uniform coded for amateur sport. By 1914, the AAU

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[8] See J.A. Beran's *From Six-On-Six to Full Court Press* for a more detailed account of the history of women's basketball.
[9] Modified rules were a socially justifiable way for women's participation in sport. For more on this, see "A Sporting Chance: Women's Athletics at the University of Michigan".
[10] See Roberta Park's *From Fair Sex to Feminism* for context and importance of European influence on women's sport in America.
[11] For more on Play Days, see Welch Suggs' *A Place on the Team: The Triumph and Tragedy of Title IX*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.

made efforts to change the status of women's collegiate sport by accepting female members.[12] This was a result of evidence supporting the healthful benefit of women's sporting activity. The AAU supported the morality of women's participation in sport. This is significant because it led to women's swimming in international competition.[13] This culminated in America's first women's swimming team in the 1920 Olympic Games.

All these developments Women's acceptance in sport was a result of changing ideals of an emerging sporting equality and amateurism. Basketball was a way for women to become equal participants in sport through competition. European influences and Play Days were significant in a widespread support of women's physical activity. The AAU supported women's sport as being morally acceptable. This meant women were able to become immersed in competitive sport for the first time in America.

Basketball: A Sport for All

The game of basketball had a significant impact on new sporting opportunities for collegiate women at U of M. Basketball, invented in 1891, was a sport for not only men, but also women. University educators across the country sought the physical improvement of their students by incorporating basketball into

[12] Women's sporting organizations played a significant role in the acceptance of women's sports participation. For more on this development, see Allen Guttmann's *Women's Sports: A History.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1991.
[13] For more on women's acceptance in the context of Olympic participation, see "Chronicle of Participation" in Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick. *The American Woman in Sport*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub., 1974.

their physical education courses.[14] An example of this support for physical development was as Mount Holyoke college in 1899. Women played basketball "to express enthusiasm and develop muscle."[15] They were accepted as athletic amateurs as basketball was accepted as a culture defining family activity.[16] Parents, administrators, and the community all showed up to games to show their support for the women's game. Students nationwide and specifically at U of M were part of a developing equality for women's sport.

University of Michigan president James B. Angell supported female athletic participation for students, leading to participation in basketball. Angell appointed Dr. Eliza Mosher as head of female physical education. She embraced the role, and began implementing basketball in her courses for students. The first exhibition, held in 1898, consisted of both sophomore and junior participants.[17] Mosher split up the court. The most talented players would face off with the winners of each class. This was an early indication of amateurism. Women's basketball games drew more attention in the following years. In 1904, women's basketball games at U of M attracted student athletes from all classes.[18] Instructors recruited more women for sports participation. Freshmen were encouraged to take part in this interclass contest to promote women's sporting participation. Furthermore, students of all

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[14] See Alan Guttmann's "From Swedish Drill to Field Hockey" in *Women's Sports* for more on the origins of basketball for women's sport. Also see; "Smith College", *The Michigan Daily,* December 6, 1899, 8.
[15] "Mount Holyoke College" *The Michigan Daily*, December 16, 1899, 8.
[16] For more on the importance of women's basketball as a community builder, see Beran's *From Six-On-Six.*
[17] "Girls Will Play Basketball" *The Michigan Daily,* April 7, 1898, 1.
[18] "Basketball Game, *Michigan Daily*, January 15, 1904, 1.

classes were welcome. These examples show that basketball became a part of physical education for female students at U of M.

Collegiate women's participation in basketball demonstrated a nationwide trend towards accepting women's athletic amateurism. Women's teams nationwide and specifically at U of M played a distinct version of the game. In other words, this time preceded women's acceptance as amateur athletic participants. At Smith College, teams included seven women, while courts were split up to avoid the roughness of the men's game.[19] Mosher split up the court into three sections, preventing women from leaving their section to defend another player.[20] This, however, was an opportunity for women to become more accepted as amateur athletes. It was the first widely accepted sport for American collegiate women.[21] It was accepted as a way for women to promote physical endurance and teamwork.[22] This was evident nationwide and specifically at U of M in during the origins of women's collegiate sport.

U of M officials' support for women's basketball led to greater acceptance of women's competitive sport. Physical educators Eliza Mosher and Margaret Bell both encouraged their students to compete in interclass matchups. Contests featured sophomore vs. senior and junior vs. freshman matchups to receive a class

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[19] "Physical Culture for Girl Students at Smith College" *The Washington Post*, March 11, 1906.
[20] This modified form of the game was implemented to prevent overexertion for female students. For more on this, see Beran's *From Six-On-Six.*
[21] For more on basketball as an impetus for accepting women's participation in intercollegiate sport, see Welch Suggs' *A Place On the Team*.
[22] See *From Fair Sex to Feminism* for a complete discussion of the emergence of American collegiate women's sports during the nineteenth century.

cup .[23] Practice for these matches included time on the court outside of the classroom.[24] This exemplified origin for women's sports competition for U of M women. By 1925, female basketball players at U of M were applauded for their attention to technical prowess. Dr. Bell, member of the health service, noted, "The playing is excellent, the passing fast and accurate, and the technique good."[25] Furthermore, Bell stated, "I cannot see how any of us can miss the intramural finals".[26] Women were encouraged to participate as full competitors.[27] It also meant these students participated in a more competitive version of the game.

European Influences

European physical exercises were key as collegiate women's sport became socially acceptable for American women. Swedish exercises were the first example of these influences. European instructors Henrik Ling and Bergman Österberg promoted these physical activities for bettering health overseas.[28] These exercises also, however, were influential across America. At Smith College, students went through Swedish exercises. These exercises were, "chiefly using the movements of the body designed to exercise the back and arms, and strengthen the muscles of the neck."[29] This acceptance of women's participation in athletic activity encouraged for

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[23] "Hold Girls' Court Games Wednesday", *Michigan Daily*, March 23, 1920, 3.
[24] Ibid.
[25] "Dr. Bell Praises Teams for Basketball Skill", *Michigan Daily* March 28, 1925, 5.
[26] Ibid.
[27] "Official Program and Newsletter of the Sixth National Conference of American College Women Held at the University of Michigan." Book. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1930.
[28] For more on this development, see Jennifer Hargreaves' "Victorian Familism and the Formative Years if Female Sport"
[29] "Physical Culture", 6.

women to participate as an adjunct to other sports, while fostering physical fitness.[30] This also applied at U of M.

Swedish exercises improved? women's status as amateur athletes at U of M. This method of physical fitness was essential as physical educators implemented them in their courses. The first example of this impact was in 1896. Eliza Mosher, head of female physical education at U of M, offered European exercises in her class. Even more influential, however, was in 1898. Miss Daley and Safford, faculty at U of M, held an open gymnasium for female students. This included over 100 women. Every student participated in the Swedish exercise drills.[31] Mosher promoted the physical well-being of her students, but also the emergence of equality for female students interested in sport.

Field Hockey was another factor in the development of women's sporting equality nationwide and specifically at U of M. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the sport played a role in social acceptance of women's sport.[32] It was a more physically demanding sport. It also aligned with ideals of elite status in Europe.[33] Field hockey, known as the "Old English Game", was played by more than 500 women in the United States in 1902. Furthermore, the game was as popular in England as Baseball was in America.[34] This is significant as female students began

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[30] See Sheila Fletcher's "The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880-1980 for more on women's breakthrough in American sport during the 1890s and into the early 1900s.
[31] "Open Exercises in Women's Gym", *The Michigan Daily*, April 15, 1898, 4.
[32] For more on this social development, see Jennifer A. Hargreaves. "Victorian Familism and the Formative Years if Female Sport" in Park and Mangan's *From Fair Sex to Feminism.*
[33] See Cahn's *Coming On Strong* for an in-depth look to the social acceptance of women's sport in the late nineteenth century.
[34] "Field Hockey Popular", New York Times, October 6, 1902.

participating in competitive contests. Colleges such as Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Radcliffe all adopted the game for their students. U of M also offered the sport to their students. Physical educators held interclass contests between the junior and senior classes.[35] Furthermore, the sport was part of a tournament for students. The players were supported for their offensive prowess and accurate fieldwork.[36] This emphasis on female athletes as amateurs played a role in the acceptance of women's sporting participation. Field Hockey was also part of other sporting activities popular amongst female students.

Play Days were another factor in an emerging equality as women increased athletic participation. These festivities included fast walking, volleyball, field hockey, marbles, and baseball throwing for accuracy.[37] Play Days were an opportunity for female students to participate in sports and have fun. At Baylor University, women participated in athletic fun as those who are physically gifted excel in the activities.[38] Teams were divided into captains, and female students could register for up to five games during the day.[39] They were also part of women's collegiate sports as opportunity, and were common well into the 1960s.[40] Play Days were also part of U of M's first sporting activities.

U of M's also supported women's sporting amateurism through Play Days. The first event was in 1903. It was part of an interclass event held at the Barbour

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[35] "Juniors, Seniors Win First Game" *Michigan Daily,* October 21, 1927.
[36] Ibid.
[37] "Official Program", 35.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] This non-competitive venture was an early example of women's place in sport. For more on this national trend, see Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team*.

Gymnasium.[41] The meet had great success due to the interest of the female participants.[42] A large crowd of female participants came for different competitions including 30-meter hurdles, a ring toss, and a potato sack race. [43] Play Days continued at U of M through 1930. On March 27th, women competed on Palmer Field in various activities. These included instruction in archery, fencing, golf, and riflery.[44] Women's role in sport continued to grow as national organizations continued supporting their inclusion.

The AAU and YWCA's

Founded in 1888, the Amateur Athletic Union fostered women's sporting amateurism.[45] The AAU began sponsoring women's collegiate sport in 1913. They accepted female registration, and by 1914, focused on creating women's industrial leagues with an ergonomic set-up.[46] Industrial sponsored leagues were ways for women to compete as laborers and amateur sporting athletes. This was a transition for women's sport as the AAU accepted women's participation. Furthermore, the organization began offering indoor and outdoor championships for women in 1924. This is a precursor to national structure of women's collegiate sport. In other words, this acceptance of women's participation led to organizational advocacy and a profound impact on sporting equality at U of M.[47]

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[41] "First Annual Track Contest Held Yesterday", *The Michigan Daily*, March 29, 1903, 1.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] "Sixth National Conference", 39.
[45] For more on the context of this development, see Alan Guttman's *Women's Sports: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991.
[46] For more on the AAU as one of the first women's organizations responsible for the growth of women's sport, see Cahn's *Coming On* Strong.
[47] Ibid.

Female athletics at U of M mirrored the AAU's vision for amateur athletics. Beginning in 1896, U of M's plans for women's athletic participation were significantly enhanced. Officials called for the construction of the Woman's Building.[48] This vision coincided with encouraging women to improve physical training. By 1914, women's status as amateur athletes were solidified through emphasis on their place in sport. The Women's League at the University gave athletic awards and recognition for players. Female students who met sport-specific requirements were rewarded with an insignia.[49] Women's status as amateur athletes changed at U of M. It also coincided with the AAU's support for female membership in 1914. The AAU's support for women's athletics also created pressure for national change.

The AAU's support for women's swimming resulted in greater sporting opportunity for women nationwide and specifically at U of M. As the AAU supported women's swimming in the late 1910s, women sought a role in the games.[50] Thelma Payne Sanborn, American swimmer in the 1920s, is an example of this process. She remembered her membership in the AAU dating back to at least 1915.[51] Furthermore, Sanborn recalled her participation in AAU championships in 1918, '19, and '20, all leading up to her participation in the 1920 Olympic games.[52] This linked the AAU's support for women's swimming and American women's participation in

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[48] "The Women's Building" *Michigan Daily Archives,* January 25, 1896, 2.
[49] Ibid.
[50] For more on the AAU's role in American women's participation in the Olympics, see Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick's *American Women in Sport.*
[51] Thelma Payne Sanborn, "An Olympian's Oral History", interview by George A. Hodak. *Olympian Oral History Collection*, LA 84 Foundation, March 1987. Accessed February 15, 2021.
[52] Ibid.

the games. It also showed as U of M received news of interest from a swimming sensation. Mary Woodbridge, American swimmer at the 1920 games, attended U of M.[53] University officials recognized the implications of her decision, "The presence of a swimmer with her caliber would greatly encourage other women to take the sport seriously".[54] Both echo the culmination of women's involvement in the Olympics.

Conclusion

Collegiate women's role as amateur athletes dovetailed with a new sporting equality nationwide. Factors of this emerging acceptance were the invention of basketball, European inspirations, and the impact of the Amateur Athletic Union. Basketball increased physical activity for female collegiate students. It also provided opportunity for social acceptance as women played similar role as amateur athletes. European inspirations resembled the beginnings of American women's sport. Bergman Österberg and Henrik Ling's exercise philosophies were practiced in universities nationwide. Female physical educators taught classes including these philosophies. Furthermore, English sports such as field hockey had an impact on American collegiate women's sports. It was played by over 500 women at American universities, among other physical activities included in university-sponsored Play Days. The AAU also played a role in an emerging equality through their acceptance of women's swimming. Women, members of the AAU, competed in championships, leading up to their participation in the 1920 Olympic

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[53] "Women Star May Enter School" *Michigan Daily,* February 27, 1920, 3.
[54] Ibid.

games in Antwerp. All these developments encouraged women's sport nationwide and specifically at U of M.

At the University of Michigan, these factors were equally significant in an emerging sporting equality. Basketball, European influence, and the AAU all specifically contributed to change. Basketball was introduced initially as a way for female students to become more physically active. This changed, however, as the women competed in interclass contests as amateur athletes. European influences were also fundamental in catalyzing women's sporting equality at U of M. Instructors offered Swedish exercises to their students. This developed as women began playing Field Hockey in what became athletic competition. Play Days were also a precursor to organizational support. The AAU provided means for equality. They advocated for women's swimming. This dovetailed with the recruitment of Olympian hopefuls at U of M. This is significant for recognizing the growth of collegiate women's sports under amateurism. It was also a precursor to the organization of sporting equality.

Equality through amateurism was significant in the development of women's collegiate sporting organizations. Women were accepted as athletes, which provided an impetus for national and local organizations to do what? . Basketball was an impetus for organizing equality. It led to U of M's sporting organization incorporating it as an activity for recruiting purposes. European influence was part of national and regional sporting organization. These entities incorporated these exercises to advocate for women's sport. Lastly, the AAU's support for female members was a precursor to organizing sport nationwide and specifically at U of M.

Chapter Two

Sporting Organizations: A Way for Competition

On the fourth week of March in 1905, women gathered in the Barbour gymnasium to draft a constitution for the founding of the Girls' Athletic Association. The meeting not only emphasized organizing sport but included gathering most of the female student population. This is significant as the association had goals of stimulating interest in sport, to appoint officers, schedule awards, and include sport for their members. This was a crucial moment at the University of Michigan. Organizations such as the WAA advocated for women's inclusion These entities also provided a tool for membership. [55]

The founding of the WAA was the first signs of the emergence for collegiate women's sport at U of M.[56] They advocated for greater opportunity, organization, and physicality in sport.[57] The WAA played a significant part in women's athletic participation.[58] First-year women considered multiple sports as the association promoted their inclusion.[59] The WAA also held events for various sporting groups. This included field hockey, basketball, and other sports for student athletes. These sports played a role in the development of increased physicality in women's sport.

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[55] "Girls' Athletic Association" *The Michigan Daily*, May 24, 1905, 1; The WAA and GAA are the same organization.
[56] The GAA, later named the WAA, is the same organization.
[57] This refers to the NAAF, who supported women's healthful participation in physical sport as part of the second wave of collegiate women's sports, from 1925-1935.
[58] "Large Enrollment Promises Big Year in Women's Sports" *Michigan Daily, October* 1, 1919, 6.
[59] Ibid.

Beginners and experts alike had access for improving their knowledge of sports. The WAA was crucial in the development of women's sports at U of M.

An important regional sporting organization fostered structure beginning in 1917. The ACACW and NAAF both played a role in this process. The ACACW, or the Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women, promoted amateur athletics for collegiate women. This included Play Days, and organization of schools from Michigan to schools in Texas, and even the Dakotas.[60] The ACACW supported women's participation in sport as concern for men's competition became a factor in the following years.[61] Furthermore, the organization held conferences as part of their support for women's organized athletics.

The NAAF (National Amateur Athletic Foundation), founded in 1924, was also instrumental in the organization of women's sport through healthful activity. [62] This vision for sporting amateurism dovetailed with a second wave of women's participation during the 1920s and 1930s.[63] Their goals of organizational uniformity and physical fitness played a role in the organization of collegiate women's sporting equality nationwide and specifically at U of M.

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[60] "Midwestern Athletic Conference Attracted a Large Number from WAA", *Michigan Daily*, May 2, 1928.
[61] Women's Athletics are Menaced by Commercialized Competition" *Michigan Daily*, July 19, 1929.
[62] "Women's Athletics", 3.
[63] For more on the second-wave of women's collegiate sports participation, see Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick's *American Women in Sport*.

Women's Athletic Association

The WAA, or Women's Athletic Association, was impactful in organizing collegiate women's sports at U of M. The WAA, having origins dating to 1893, was the first women's sporting organization at the university.[64] The WAA began as an athletic committee. This, changed, however, as the committee created their own association to foster women's sports participation. The WAA's first meeting, held in 1905, resulted in official proceedings for UM's collegiate women's sports organization. There was elected officers, and the association included sports such as baseball and basketball. This is important because WAA sparked female interest in sport through activities and membership. In other words, the WAA recruited female students to become athletes, and encouraged collegiate women's sports at U of M under the WAA.[65]

The WAA was a consistent factor in the emergence of women's collegiate sports interest at U of M. Their role in organizing women's interest included providing fun activities and awards to stimulate greater participation. By 1918, the WAA introduced a Tag Day for members. This planned activity was a playful technique in which female students were encouraged to purchase tags.[66] The WAA emphasized" Be prepared to buy one, because those interested in athletics will be after you."[67] The organization's effort to include female students in sport was a

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[64] "WAA had Humble Start in 1893 as Athletic Committee of League" *Michigan Daily,* May 15, 1942.
[65] "W.A.A. Plans Tag Day Tomorrow" *The Michigan Daily*, October 30, 1918.
[66] Play Days were offered as a way of fun sports participation. This contrasted, however, as women's collegiate sports became nationally organized. For more on this development, see Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick's *American Women in Sport*.
[67] Ibid.

factor in sparking interest. The WAA also prompted interest through awards and accolades. These included an award and point system for female students. Members earned points through participation in WAA activities and events.[68] Furthermore, the WAA spurred greater interest by giving more points to members playing major sports such as field hockey and basketball.[69] This point system, with the WAA's planned activities, inspired women's interest in sport via fun activity.

The WAA flourished as they continued organizing sporting equality in the 1920s and 1930s through new methodology. The organization both actively provided more activities and membership awards. This included offering students a plethora of sports. The WAA gave students occasions to both participate in sport and obtain coaching.[70] The first example of these is a larger sport selection. These opportunities included archery, field hockey, and basketball. All these sports were part of the organization's vision to provide intercollegiate sports for their female students.[71] It also dovetailed with a new membership system. This included additional awards and honors. The WAA gave sororities a class cup to the most frequented participants.[72] Other accolades included the university insignia to qualified WAA members.[73] These were significant in attracting not only greater participation, but also the organizing of sporting equality at U of M. Opportunities and membership were only the beginning.

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[68] "Point System Awards Granted in Both Class Activities and in Major Sports, The Michigan Daily, October 28, 1927.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "Sports Schedule Announced", *The Michigan Daily*, October 13, 1934, 3.
[71] Ibid.
[72] "W.A.A. Names Recipients of Year's Awards", *Michigan Daily*, June 7, 1936
[73] Ibid.

The WAA continued organizing equality in through the late 1940s through various organizational fundraising activities.[74] Their methods for recruitment included providing sport for all skill levels and individuals. The WAA offered instruction to incoming students for all beginners.[75] In 1948, the organization emphasized their commitment to newcomers through, "providing opportunities for activity in almost every athletic field desired. In most of the clubs' beginners are welcomed, and instruction sessions are held regularly for the amateurs".[76] Furthermore, clubs offered programs for newcomers on campus.[77] This is significant as the WAA continued efforts for incoming freshmen.

Other organizing activity included scheduled events and fundraising. These included Lantern Nights and Coed Night.[78] Lantern Nights, an annual WAA gathering, was a celebration of success for women's athletic participation. This included Greek house party tournaments and the honoring of senior WAA members.[79] Another event was Coed Night. Those interested in sports had a choice of basketball, volleyball, and swimming to play with the opposite sex.[80] This is significant as it spurred social acceptance of women's sport.

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[74] The 1940s were a less popular time for interest in women's collegiate sport, given WWII. Women participated mostly through industrial-sponsored sporting leagues. For more on this, see *American Women in Sport*.
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Athletic Groups Provide All Sports Activities for Women", *Michigan Daily*, September 26, 1948, 14.
[77] Ibid.
[78] "Athletic Groups Provide All Sports", 14.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women

The Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women, founded in 1917, was the first regional organization of women's collegiate sport. [81] The ACACW included schools such as the University of Michigan, Ohio State University, Friends University, and Rollins College, and 19 other universities.[82] These member colleges promoted women's athletic inclusion.[83] Furthermore, delegates from Ypsilanti and Hillsdale colleges endorsed these views by sharing the success of internal sporting participation. This included intersorority, interclass, and intersocial competition.[84] The AIAW was responsible for these various innovations. Furthermore, these developments led to greater equality at U of M.

At U of M, Margaret Bell's vision for women's engagement? in sport dovetailed with the ideals of the ACACW's view of women's sports participation. Both Margaret Bell and the ACACW fostered a participation-first ideal for women's sport. Bell, as head of physical education at U of M, spoke addressed the ACACW at a conference in 1925. She emphasized the importance of women's athletics, albeit sans intercollegiate competition.[85] This aligned with her vision for women's participation in healthful sport, but apart from commercialization of men's collegiate sports. Bell also highlights this during the ACACW's conference in 1928.[86] Namely, intersocial and interclass activity was the limit for both Bell and the

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[81] Athletic Conference of American College Women, "Official Program", 27.
[82] Ibid, 20.
[83] This included sports activity such as Play Days and other sporting activity. For more on this, see" Sixth National Conference".
[84] Ibid.
[85] "Dr. Bell Speaks Before A.C.A.C.W", *Michigan Daily*, November 22, 1925.
[86] "Athletic Magazine Will Come Out Soon" *Michigan Daily*, March 29, 1928, 5.

ACACW. women's athletics dovetailed with the organization's platform. This played a role in organizing equality for female athletes through continued analysis of women's sport at the university. U of M's club sport correlated with a growing interest in women's sport under the organization of the ACACW.

The ACACW led to a flourishing of regional women's collegiate sport through focusing on women's health and recruitment. This constituted a reestablishment of their goals. The organization produced resolutions for advancing women's collegiate sport. The first of these aims was improving the general health of women.[87] The ACACW established physical requirements for instructors and advisors and proper training for female students.[88] The ACACW also emphasized offering intramural sport and Play Days for students. This is significant as the organization bolstered participation through enjoyable sporting activity nationwide. The ACACW recognized a beneficial method of recruitment entailed fostering fun in club sport, yet non-exhaustive physical requirements.[89] This had a profound effect in regional sports. At the University of Wisconsin women had an opportunity to join any sporting club.[90] Member schools fostered the growth of women's sporting interest. The ACACW's views since its inception were to foster women's sports participation through events and recruitment. This development was revamped as the ACACW renewed their platform.

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[87] "Delegates Report on ACACW Conference" *Michigan Daily*, April 27, 1927.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] "Greater Interest in Athletics Manifest on Wisconsin Campus" *Michigan Daily*, April 29, 1931.

The ACACW changed their platform in 1931. This led to significant improvements in sports offerings regionally and specifically at U of M. Their new motto was "every woman student on a team and every student in competition." .[91] Furthermore, the organization suggested membership on the Women's Division of the NAAF (National Amateur Athletic Foundation).[92] This paved the way for change at U of M. Elsworth, executive board member of the WAA at U of M, took note of the importance of adopting new methods at a conference, "the biggest thing one gets out of such a conference is the opportunity of meeting people from every college and finding out how things are done at other schools".[93] This led to outdoor club sports programs at U of M. Multiple clubs including skating, rambler groups, and cooking groups all gathered to continue these changes in sporting activity.[94] This is significant as the WAA focused on continued offerings of outdoor festivities. Furthermore, it correlated with the ACACW's ideals for every woman in a sport.

National Women's Collegiate Sports Organizations

The National Amateur Athletic Foundation, or the NAAF, was the first national organization of women's collegiate sports.[95] Their standard for collegiate women's sports oversight included national uniformity and supportive ideals for

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[91] The new platform for the ACACW emphasized both improved physical well-being and mass sports participation.
[92] This was part of a national structuring of women's collegiate sport.
[93] "ACACW Changes Official Platform", *Michigan Daily*, April 29, 1931.
[94] "Individual Clubs Will Hold Second Outdoor Program" *Michigan Daily*, January 13, 1932, 5.
[95] The NAAF widened the scope of organizing equality for collegiate women's sport. This distinguishes the ACACW as a singular, overarching organization. For more on national women's sports organizations, see Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team*.

women's physical fitness.[96] This unifying governing body's goal included stimulating wider interest in physical recreation for the average individual through intelligent, friendly cooperation and the adoption of standardized methods.[97] This is significant as college women were accepted as athletes.[98] The NAAF contributed to women's acceptance through applying a 16-point proposal, including eliminating individual honors and decreasing sensational publicity.[99] Furthermore, these points of emphasis included physical fitness for all women despite their athletic prowess.[100] The NAAF played a role in organizing equality nationwide and specifically at U of M.

The NAAF emphasized uniformity. U of M exemplified this stance with their commitment to women's organized sport. In 1926, the NAAF recommended that U of M focus on intramural, rather than extramural sport, because of its benefit for the physical well-being of female students.[101] The university responded by discouraging any extramural competition for collegiate female athletes. In 1931, U of M echoed these goals with a public statement. "The Women's Division aims to promote competition for all, and competition that stresses the enjoyment of sport... rather than those types that emphasize the making and breaking of records and the

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[96] "Will Standardize Nation's Athletics: NAAF in First Annual Meeting, Takes Action into Furthering Uniformity of Rules" *NY Times*, December 22, 1922, 16.
[97] Ibid.
[98] For more on this acceptance because of social change, see Park, and Mangan's *From "Fair Sex" to Feminism*.
[99] See Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick's *American Women in Sport* for more on the NAAF's impact on women's collegiate sports organization.
[100] See Suggs' "A Segregated History" in *A Place on the Team* for more on the development of collegiate women's sports organizations.
[101] These views echo the ACACW's vision of intersocial sport. The NAAF, however, became one entity overseeing the entirety of collegiate women's sports rather than a school-by-school membership.

winning of championships for the enjoyment of spectators." This statement is a representation of a developing idea of amateurism. The NAAF's antiquated goal of women's health begins deteriorating as women's competition thrives throughout the 1920 and 1930s. It also dovetailed with a new wave of participation. [102]

The NAAF's support for women's collegiate sport dovetailed with a second wave in sport for collegiate women in America. This period, from 1925-1935, was socially acceptable for a physically intensive version of women's collegiate sport.[103] At Vassar College, Dr. MacCracken spoke for the system in place," Proper athletic training improves a girl's health and physical condition... Athletics are nothing more than strong, muscular exercise.[104] This was the doctor's way of downplaying the dangers of women's exercise. the NAAF's ideals of physical health. Furthermore, sports such as basketball, volleyball, and softball all became widespread nationwide, and specifically at U of M.

The second wave of collegiate women's sport also played a role in the increase of physically intensive sport at U of M. Margaret Bell, female physical educator at U of M from 1923-1957, exemplified this development with her accounts of women's sport. Bell's views echoed this second-wave of participation of women in basketball at U of M. She said, "I can understand to some extent why we didn't have galleries at our championship games. This year [1925] the games have style, and they are real examples of 'how to play basketball'." [105] This shows two

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[102] "Report Made on NAAF Meet", *The Michigan Daily,* January 5, 1926.
[103] Ibid, 8.
[104] "College Sports and Motherhood" *NY Times,* July 3, 1921, 42.
[105] Ibid.

changes: Bell's view on women's competitive sport, and the physicality evident during the second wave of collegiate women's sports participation. She goes on to say, "the keenness of competition and the sportsmanship are thrilling." Furthermore, she added, "the playing is excellent, the passing fast, and accurate and technique good".[106] This evidence was proof for women 's increased athletic prowess during the second-wave of women 's collegiate sport. Bell encouraged women at U of M to choose the type of work they like, and then make athletics a hobby. These examples demonstrate U of M's role in the second wave of women's sports participation.

Conclusion

Organizations made the difference in solidifying women's collegiate sporting competition 19XX – 19XX. The ACACW and NAAF both played an active role in organizing sports for female athletes regionally and nationwide. The ACACW, the first regional women's sports organization, fostered the development of women's club? collegiate sport by their supporting physical activity and recruitment. Their vision for member schools was proper physical development of female students through sports activity. This equated to the recruitment of athletes. The ACACW flourished as their platform consisted of offering a variety of sports and activities. Furthermore, the ACACW supported member schools in offering club sport, intramural activity, and Play Days. The NAAF was also significant in advocating women's collegiate sporting participation. Since its inception in 1924, the NAAF

[106] "Dr. Bell", 5.

aimed at maintaining ideals of uniformity and healthful sporting activity. This included fostering organized sport through uniformity and emphasis on physical improvement. This dovetailed with a second wave of collegiate women's sport. Both the ACACW and NAAF championed women's collegiate sport through organizing equality.

At the University of Michigan, three organizations were consequential in organizing women's sports. The WAA, ACACW, and NAAF all affected women's sports development. The WAA, internal association at U of M, fostered the development of women's sports through providing opportunity and stimulating interest. Furthermore, the WAA held events to members, while awarding active members with accolades. This is paramount to the recruitment of sporting participants at the university. The ACACW also affected sports development at U of M. Their emphasis on interclass athletics led to greater involvement for female students. Furthermore, its vision of "every woman student on a team" fostered a renewed support for club sport. The NAAF was also meaningful in organizing equality at U of M. Their goals included an overarching organization and improved physical health for female athletes. This ideal dovetailed with internal support for women's sports participation. All these organizations led to greater female engagement in sport through fostering uniformity and healthful participation. Women's collegiate sporting organizations revamped women's sporting interest. Namely, the NAAF advocated for collegiate women's sports participation, which led to nationwide acceptance of intercollegiate competition. The NAAF's ideal of women's physical activity was particularly influential as they became the DGWS

(Division of Girls and Women s Sports). Their emphasis on healthful sporting activity led to public support for intercollegiate competition. This is significant as the DGWS officially supported collegiate women's full athletic participation in 1957.

Chapter Three

National Developments: Women's Intercollegiate Competition

In 1957, the DGWS (Division of Girls and Women's Sports) initiated the contemporary framework for collegiate sports when it released a statement. This national organization released a statement detailing their public support for intercollegiate competition.[107] It said, "The Division for Girls and Women's Sports of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation believes the competitive element in sports activities can be used constructively for achievement of desirable educational and recreational objectives. When favorable conditions are present, competitive experiences may be wholesome and beneficial and result in acceptable conduct and attitudes. Competition in and of itself does not automatically result it desirable or undesirable outcomes."[108] This played a significant role in advancing the ideals for collegiate women's sports to accept nationally competitive sport.

In 1963, the DGWS officially advocated the creation of varsity sports programs for women.[109] This advanced the support for intersocial sport by

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[107] The war efforts of World War II and social dynamics played a significant role in the stagnation of collegiate women's sports during the 1930s and 1940s. More women were in the labor force, while there was also a rise in industrial-sponsored sports leagues. For more on this period, see Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick's *The American Woman in Sport*.

[108] Revision of "Statement of Policies and Procedures for Competition in Girls and Women's Sports" which was published in September of 1957 in the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation in Philosophy of Standards for Girl and Women's Sports (Washington AAHPER), 1969.

[109] Division for Girls and Women's Sports. "Statement of Policies and Procedures for Competition in Girls and Women's Sports". *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*. 28:57-59. September 1957.

expanding the NAAF and ACACW's ideals to include intercollegiate competition. The DGWS had an opportunity to test the ideals of competition by regulating a national structure for women's sporting teams? . Their stances played a significant role in achieving equality for women's collegiate sport nationwide and specifically at U of M.[110]

U of M officials answered calls for achieving equality in collegiate women's sport by addressing inequalities for their women's sports programs. Multiple entities played a role in this process. The WAA president acknowledged the need for intercollegiate status for women's sports. This meant increased funding for club teams as they sought adequate travel arrangements. Furthermore, the Board for Intercollegiate Competition supported greater accommodations for club sports teams. Some of the women's coaches were volunteers and teams needed full-time positions. Margaret Bell also sparked change for women's sports at U of M as she provided new direction. As head of physical education, she suggested adhering to the DGWS' ideals as part of her tenure. This is significant as the DGWS began supporting intercollegiate competition. These examples of addressing inequality also dovetailed with a monumental legislation, affecting the future of collegiate women's sport.

Title IX, part of the education amendments passed by Congress in 1972, was a catalyst for achieving collegiate women's sports equality. The amendment and its subsequent legal implications led to widespread changes in provisions for women's

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[110] Operating under the auspices of the AAHPER, the DGWS was the first organization for advancing intercollegiate competition during social movements.

sports resources. Title IX applied to female college students seeking athletic opportunities. Furthermore, the Office of Civil Rights' Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) defined the legislative reach of Title IX from 1972-1974. This led to a legal framework for compliance with sporting equality, and achieving it. Institutions like U of M implemented internal reforms to meet those guidelines and avoid penalties from failing to do it. This watershed moment in women's sports was only the beginning of greater equality for female student athletes nationwide and specifically at U of M.

The DGWS and Equality at U of M

In March of 1970, the U of M women's swimming team competed in a meet equivalent to and containing the same rules as the men's teams.[111] This change from the early days of collegiate women's sports participation embodies the DGWS' impact on collegiate women's sport.[112] Beginning in 1963, the DGWS spearheaded a movement towards supporting women's intercollegiate competition. The DGWS laid out their ideals. This included a framework for schools to follow: Appoint the proper leadership, have working facilities, funds for travel, and provide resources for female student athletes. Furthermore, their vision included physical education departments overseeing the finances and control of women's sports, and the students' time shall not interfere with academic work.[113] These guidelines provided

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[111] "Mermaids Go National" *The Michigan Daily, March* 18, 1970, 6.
[112] Men and women's teams played with a different set of rules during the early onset of collegiate sport. For more of this discussion, see Beran's *Six-On-Six*.
[113] "Philosophy and Standard for Girls and Women's Sports", Division of Girl and Women's Sports of the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Accessed 11/28/20, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED080466.pdf

a definition of equality for women's sports programs nationwide and specifically at U of M.

The Women's Athletic Association at U of M, or the WAA, reflected the DGWS' ideals of women's full athletic participation. Austin, head of the WAA in 1958, recognized the shortcomings of women's sports. She highlighted one of these deficiencies in a statement, "For instance, the clubs cannot enter intercollegiate women's competition and be paid for transportation unless it is within a 75-mile radius…This greatly limits our ability to get with other schools from the Big Ten."[114] She called for her successor to make changes to accommodate women's extramural competition. This coalesces with the DGWS' calls for equal resources for women's teams. Furthermore, the WAA offered sports such as women's tennis, field hockey, and swimming in 1967.[115] These expansions dovetailed with the DGWS' support for competition. They also, however, preceded institutional change for U of M's intercollegiate women's sport.

U of M organizations called for a grassroots improvement for women's sports development. Multiple entities at U of M shared their vision for change. In 1968, the Board for Intercollegiate Athletics called for an "all-out" effort to secure accommodations for all club teams.[116] Club sports were a more competitive style of sports for all students. Furthermore, writers and officials both agreed for new vision for sports at U of M. AD H.O. Crisler spoke to this new vision for club teams,

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[114] Sue Robinson, "WAA President Sees Change in Traditions", *The Michigan Daily*, April 1, 1958, 5.
[115] "WAA Sponsors Athletics", Opens Gym to 'U' Coeds", *Michigan Daily*, August 29, 1967, 75.
[116] Dave Weir, "Board Calls for IM, Clubs Facilities", *The Michigan Daily*, March 16, 1968, 9.

"It is our understanding the advisory board provided for in the new organizational structure regarding club sports, intramurals, and recreation will be formed in the near future."[117] The AD recognized the needs of lacrosse, rugby, and other club teams to build new facilities. Another call for change was made by the Students Publication Board. "I support increased allotments for women's sports.[118] In September of 1972, the Intramural and Recreational Sports Program offered both men and women's self-directed sports programs.[119] Their emphasis on providing IM sports for all students meant greater club development. This is significant as these clubs sought intercollegiate athletic status. These examples of support were only a few in achieving equality for women's sport at U of M. They also appointed a new leader for women's sport oversight.

U of M women's sports dovetailed with the DGWS' vision for women's equality under new leadership in 1969. The CSIAW, or the Committee to Study Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, recommended Marie Hartwig, head of female physical education, to oversee women's sports at the university.[120] She identified key issues with women's sports such as inadequate funding, facilities, and minimal interest from female students.[121] This was significant because women's sports were no longer receiving financial assistance. Furthermore, the Physical Education

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[117] Ibid.
[118] "Club Sports" in "Board for Intercollegiate Athletics", *The Michigan Daily,* March 27, 1971, 19.
[119] "IMS is a Fun Time", *The Michigan Daily*, September 7, 1972, 52.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid, The factor of women's interest in competitive sports arose in 1978 as part of the "three-prong" test of proportionality of compliance. Schools were asked to prove their dedication to meeting female students' desire to play intercollegiate sports.

department were unwilling to support these programs.[122] Bell proposed a separation from the athletics department to adhere to the guidelines of the DGWS.[123] This coincided with the DGWS' vision for women's intercollegiate sport.

University employees at U of M also recognized the need for greater equality in 1970. Two university employees directly spoke UM's failure to provide financial support for women's university sports teams. . Sandy Hittleman, a teaching fellow at U of M, noted "the girls [women's swimming team] would like to go to nationals in Chicago, but there's no money".[124] This is significant as women's teams lacked the financial backing to establish intercollegiate programs. Funding was necessary for basic travel provisions to support women's sports travel. Another U of M official, Athletic Director Don Canham, also acknowledged the need for more resources, "Money, is of course, the problem. There are several club sports which would like to become intercollegiate but there just isn't the money to let them."[125] Both individuals concluded the university needed significant rule changes for progress. This demonstrates the importance of the various individuals to achieve equality of resources for women's sports.

Title IX: An Amendment for Sex Equality

The phrase included in Title IX, "any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance," meant female student athletes were protected from sex discrimination in sport. Title IX, part of the education amendments passed in

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[122] Ibid.
[123] For more on Bell's role as head of female physical education at U of M, see Szady, "The History of Intercollegiate".
[124] "Poverty Amidst Plenty-Women's Teams and the Dollar", *Michigan Daily,* February 27, 1970, 6.
[125] Ibid.

1972, is federal law prohibiting sex discrimination within all federally funded programs. Representative Edith Green of Oregon and Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana were responsible for inserting this anti-sex-discrimination clause.[126] Title IX is, "No person in the United States, shall, on the basis of sex, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance".[127] As Title IX passed in 1972, many questioned its role in women's sports. This continued as the language of Title IX specifically addressed women's sports programs.

The U.S. Office of Civil Rights declared if any part of a school received aid, then all programs were covered. In other words, if any student or program of the school received government aid, then the entire school was subject to the amendment. It included all vocational, professional, and graduate schools, and institutions of public undergraduate education. The phrase "any education or activity" applied to most schools and specifically U of M.[128] Furthermore, the Office for Civil Rights defined equality for college athletes nationwide.

From 1972-1975, the Office for Civil Rights interpreted Title IX and clarified their definition of equality per the law. The HEW's definition was a framework for schools to provide equal equipment and accommodations for their female student athletes. The Office of Civil Rights' HEW, or Department of Health, Education, and

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[126] Title IX was sought after by part-time University of Maryland professor Bernice Sandler. Her intention was to prohibit sex discrimination in the workplace. It was originally intended as an anti-discriminatory measure for employment at a university. For more on the creation of Title IX see "Title IX: A Sea Change in Gender Equity in Education."

[127] "Title IX and Sex Discrimination", About ED, Department of Education, Accessed 8/19/19, https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/tix_dis.html

[128] Military and religious institutions were exempt from certain provisions in Title IX.

Welfare further defined Title IX's role in achieving equality for government activities and programs.[129] Their interpretation is, "No person shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, be treated differently from another person or otherwise be discriminated against in any interscholastic, intercollegiate, club or intramural athletics offered by a recipient, and no recipient shall provide any such athletics separately on such basis.".[130] This specifically addressed women's needs in university programs. It clarified equality as equal provisions of equipment rather than funding.[131] This is significant because sports programs were responsible for providing these resources for their female athletes. The HEW also provided specific guidelines for sports equality.

In 1974, the HEW's Office for Civil Rights submitted draft regulations to Congress for Title IX's application to collegiate sports. The regulations included clarifying equal opportunity as measured across several factors: accommodating athletic interests and abilities of both sexes, provision of equivalent equipment, scheduling of games and practices, travel and per diem allowances, access to coaching and academic tutoring, practice facilities, locker rooms, medical and training facilities, housing and dining facilities, and publicity.[132] The HEW clarified

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[129] The written decisions of numerous judges also suggest separate but comparable equality for men and women's teams are both reasonable and constitutional. For more on the legal implications, see Fields' *Female Gladiators*.

[130] "Section 86.41. Athletics", Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School, Accessed 6/10/20, https://www.law.cornell.edu/cfr/text/45/86.41

[131] A contentious topic in the 1970s was equality vs. equity. Some argued equality meant equal funding, while opponents presented the argument women's teams didn't need as much to support their team i.e. Football men's team.

[132] For more on Title IX in the context of collegiate women's sports, See Chudacoff's *Changing the Playbook*.

equality as opportunity and resources. Congress formally accepted them on July 21, 1975. This definition was also followed by a call for schools to achieve compliance. Schools then adjusted to the law. [133] This reflected legal exogeneity as U of M feared financial repercussions for non-compliance.

Achieving Equality at U of M

Women's collegiate sports teams lacked equality in resources in the early 1970s. Teams struggled to transition from club sports to intercollegiate programs. This was a result of inadequate accommodations for travel, equipment, or funding. Furthermore, this lack of institutional support left teams desperate for accommodations. Some teams were still confined to self-transportation for after game meals at fast food restaurants, while men's teams ate steak and used charter flights.[134] Other examples included limited equipment for women's teams.[135] These inequalities were evident nationwide and specifically at U of M in the early 1970s.

At U of M, women's teams lacked enough resources to become intercollegiate sports teams. These inadequacies included a lack of proper transportation and appropriate practice times. Women's teams were unable to compete in regional competition because their teams couldn't afford to travel for contests. For example, women's teams could only travel to away games if they found a cheap rental or have

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[133] For more context on this process of legal exogeneity see Lauren B. Edelman, Christopher Uggen, and Howard S. Erlanger, "The Endogeneity of Legal Regulation". Grievance Procedures as Rational Myth." American Journal of Sociology 105, no. 2 (1999): 406-54. Accessed April 9, 2021. doi:10.1086/210316.

[134] See Welch Sugg's "Chapter Three: Heroines" from *A Place on the Team* for a discussion about unrealized progress for collegiate women's sports in the early 1970s.

[135] Ibid.

enough gas money to get them to their destination.[136] Other concerns for women's teams were practice times. Swimmers practiced early in the morning and weeknights after dinner, while men's basketball teams were prioritized over women for court times.[137] These inequalities demonstrated a greater need for equality of resources for women's sports teams at U of M. They also, however, were a secondary concern.

Perhaps the most significant inequality for women's teams at U of M was a lack of funding for women's sports. Many female athletes at U of M voiced their concerns about it. U of M swimmers Tanja Lahti and Cathy Mancino elaborated on the status of funding in 1970, "We don't receive any money from anyone… We keep trying to think of ways to raise money."[138] This is significant because the WAA, defunct in 1970, no longer supported women's sports. The teams were in desperate need of funding. Another female swimmer, Lani Loken, specifically addressed the issue with transition to intercollegiate sports. She stated the team needed a basis of funding, proper uniforms, and travel accommodations.[139] This is significant because women were not receiving the same accommodations as the men's teams. A few years later, a more detailed account of the financial deficiencies was uncovered by a U of M committee.

In 1973, the HEW uncovered significant financial inequalities for women's sports at U of M. The Department for Health, Education, and Welfare's internal

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[136] "Poverty Amidst Plenty", *The Michigan Daily*, February 27, 1070, 7.
[137] Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team*, 53; "Update on Title IX for 1975", Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.
[138] "Poverty Amidst Plenty", 7.
[139] Ibid.

group, The Committee to Bring About Equal Opportunity in Athletics, filed a suit against the University of Michigan. They found blatant financial inequalities in the U of M sports programs, namely that men's teams received north of 100 times the funding than women's.[140] Marcia Federbush, author of the suit, stated men and women should have the same facilities and coach.[141] Eunice Burns, head of a committee to oversee equality in intercollegiate athletics at the university, said "she wants to avoid the mistakes of the men's game. Furthermore, she stated, "this component could be too integrated".[142] This suit was meaningful as the HEW pushed for schools to adhere to their regulations of Title IX.

Conclusion

National developments played a significant role in achieving equality for collegiate women's sports nationwide. Both the DGWS' support for women's full sports participation and the passing of Title IX were influential in this process. The DGWS released a statement in 1957 detailing their support for women's full participation in competitive sport. This led to widespread change in achieving equality through support for women's intercollegiate sport. Furthermore, this support led to some increased funding, emphasis on competition, and national structure for intercollegiate sport. Another development was the passing of Title IX. Passed in 1972, it made illegal sex discrimination for all federally funded programs. This included women's sports programs. Beginning in 1975, the OCR's HEW

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[140] Men's teams received $2.6 million dollars, while the most funded women's team were provided with $2,600; "'U' Charged with Sex Bias in Intercollegiate Athletics", *Michigan Daily*, August 24, 1973, 3.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.

required schools to comply with their definition of equality. Both these national developments had a significant impact on achieving equality for women's sports.

U of M's role in achieving equality dovetailed with their need for intercollegiate women's sports at U of M through supporting the DGWS' ideals. The WAA, Board for Intercollegiate Competition, and officials all played a role in this process. The WAA, an internal sports organization at U of M, released a statement in favor of the DGWS in 1967. This action portrays the university's need for funding for women's intercollegiate sport. The BIC also played a role in this process as they supported accommodations for club sports. Furthermore, university officials echoed these calls for improvement. Marie Hartwig, Don Catham, and WAA president Austin supported the DGWS by recognizing room for improvement, and calling for intercollegiate women's sport. These examples were only the beginning of improving women's equality in sport at U of M.

In 1975, the OCR's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's began their enforcement of Title IX compliance. These tests measured sports programs equality of equipment, practice times, scheduling, and coaching staffs. This is significant as the university had not made strides towards achieving greater equality for their female student athletes, and the law and lawsuit forced UM to act. Furthermore, Title IX compliance dovetailed with another development in collegiate women's sports, institutionalization.

Chapter Four

The Institutionalization of Collegiate Women's Sports

On February 25, 1975, Lori Hughes, a U of M swimmer, was interviewed by the Michigan Daily in 1975 about the origins of her interest in swimming.[143] Hughes remembered having the opportunity to swim at the local YMCA and AAU as a child. She continued to pursue the sport into high school. This venture became difficult, however, as her high school didn't offer a girls' swim team. She gathered her friends and created one. Although her journey was difficult, her opportunities changed as a freshman in 1975. As women's collegiate sport was institutionalized, the AIAW (Association or Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) began offering scholarships. Hughes became the one of the first women to receive an athletic scholarship to U of M. This was indicative of the institutionalization of equality for collegiate women's sport.

U of M women's sport continued their development towards intercollegiate competition. This was the result of multiple factors: joining the AIAW, increasing attention for women's sports at all levels, and Title IX compliance. U of M joined a regional section of the AIAW in 1972. This decision coincided with their support for the ideals of amateurism.[144] Furthermore, U of M increased their focus on providing

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[143] Jamie Turner, "Wonder Women Star" *Michigan Daily*, February 23, 1977, 7.
[144] The AIAW's goals for amateurism differed from the NCAA's vision for sole oversight of both men and women's collegiate sport.

sport for women at all stages of development. This included advancing club sport, funding women's sports, and forming the Burns Committee. U of M also complied with the HEW's Title IX compliance. Self-testing led to greater equality for women's teams seeking intercollegiate status. These actions taken by leadership demonstrates the impact of institutionalized equality specifically at U of M.

The AIAW changed their platform as collegiate women sought not only equality of opportunity, but also structure. Changes included support for athletic scholarships, intercollegiate competition, and budget considerations.[145] These proved difficult, however, as the NCAA sought sole oversight of both men and women's sport. Furthermore, their role dovetailed with associations conforming to the established law of Title IX.[146] The AIAW knew their ideals collided with federal law. This proved challenging as women's sports became institutionalized.

The AIAW

The institutionalization of collegiate women's sports began in 1971 with the founding of the AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women). The AIAW was founded with the intention of overseeing collegiate women's sports.[147] A total of 275 colleges and universities signed on as charter members, including junior

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[145] These ideals echoed the NAAF's goals to provide women's sports as a healthful and activity for women's well-being. Furthermore, the goals of the AIAW were challenged as Title IX required equality of resources for men and women's teams. For more on this, see Kelly Belanger, "Identity Crisis: The Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women." In *Invisible Seasons: Title IX and the Fight for Equity in College Sports*, 27-50. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2016. Accessed April 2, 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctt1ht4wk1.9.

[146] Again, this reflects the idea of legal exogeneity, or the compliance of U of M to avoid financial hardship.

[147] The AIAW was formerly known as the DGWS. For more history on collegiate sporting organizations nationally and specifically at U of M, see Szady's "The History of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women at the University of Michigan".

colleges, women's colleges, liberal-arts colleges, regional universities, and state flagship institutions.[148] Schools supported competition as they began training and holding intercollegiate sporting contests.[149] The AIAW also increased their membership to over 800 within three years.[150] This represented the proliferation of collegiate women's sports in the early 1970s.[151] It also resonated at U of M.

The AIAW's institutionalization of women's competitive university sports had a significant impact at U of M. This resulted in change for development of club sports at U of M. First, the AIAW urged the university to increase funding for their club sports teams. A letter from the AIAW to U of M club sports stated, "You need to generate monies and retain coaches before you can participate in competitive sport."[152] U of M and AIAW remained in contact as the university aimed at transitioning to intercollegiate sports. The focus of these discussions was the need for greater funding for women's sports. Club sports at U of M lacked any full-time coaches. Furthermore, there was only one coach with a tenure lasting longer than three years in all women's programs.[153]. These developments at U of M embody the AIAW's impact on equality for collegiate women's sports.

The AIAW's requirements had a significant impact on U of M's internal adherence to structure. The AIAW insisted on members' compliance. The

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[148] For more on the founding of the AIAW in the context of preventing male takeover of the establishment, see Chudacoff's *Changing the Playbook*.
[149] For more on the realization of progress for women's collegiate sports, See "Heroines" in Suggs' *A Place on the Team*.
[150] Roach, "Issue and Debate".
[151] The proliferation of collegiate women's sports correlated with the social movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and the passing of Title IX.
[152] Club Sports, 91438. Bimu. F84 2, Box 2
[153] Ibid.

organization required schools to pay dues and participate in a minimum number of contests. U of M missed the first of these requirements by not paying their dues as members. This became a concern because schools were only allowed competition with other schools of the AIAW. Therefore, U of M couldn't compete because they didn't pay their membership fees. Another concern for U of M women's sports was their lack of interorganizational contests. The MAIAW required these matches for schools to be active members of the organization. U of M women's sports, however, were yet to fulfill these requirements. This led to the question of funding for women's club sports.

U of M's transition to women's intercollegiate sport continued as officials called for change. A women's sports coordinator at U of M wrote a letter to the Intramural and Recreational Sports director requesting for the creation of intercollegiate sports at U of M in 1972.154 This action was important as greater funding led to a more stable platform for women's sports. Furthermore, the AIAW recognized the need for funding women' s sports insisted on changes for women's sporting financial changes.[155] These changes increased budgets and preceded greater funding to create teams and provide opportunities for female athletes nationwide and specifically at U of M.

The AIAW's Changing Views

In 1966, Peachy Kellmeyer, hired as physical education director at Marymount College, filed a lawsuit against the AIAW's failure to provide women's

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[154] Ibid.
[155] Merker, "Gals' Sports Ailing".

scholarships.[156] She was successful in her suit and it changed the course of AIAW's policy on offering aid to female collegiate athletes. The NCAA provided structure for the entirety of women's collegiate sport.[157] Furthermore, AAHPER president Celeste Ulrich, recognized the importance of a single governing body in collegiate sport.[158] The AIAW officially changed its policy and allowed scholarships in the spring of 1973. This was significant as the ideals of amateurism were challenged as collegiate women's sports became institutionalized.

The AIAW's ideals changed as they institutionalized collegiate women's sports. This included developing their stances on scholarships and recruiting. The AIAW's vision of women's sports was to distance themselves from the commercialization and structure of the men's game. This changed, however, as the notion of scholarships set amateurism and equality opposite each other.[159] The AIAW's views on recruiting were also challenged during the institutionalization of equality. They maintained the belief female athletes shouldn't be recruited.[160] The AIAW supported female students receiving need-based resources and support, but

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[156] The significance of this lawsuit was also the impact it had on the creation of the WTA, or the Women's Tennis Association in 1973. For more on Kellmeyer's role in women's sport, and tennis specifically, see "Fern 'Peachy' Kellmeyer." ITA Women's Hall of Fame. Accessed November 24, 2020. http://itahalloffame.org/inductees/fern-peachy-kellmeyer/

[157] The NCAA's ideals matched with the HEW's call for compliance.

[158] "NCAA and AIAW", 48.

[159] Institutionalization was a challenge for the AIAW. Conceptually, their ideals of amateurism conflicted with providing equal resources such as scholarships.

[160] Chris Cobbs, "Women Criticize NCAA for Athletic Piracy." *The Atlanta Constitution (1946-1984),* Jan 08, 1975. http://libproxy.library.wmich.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/docview/1631970597?accountid=15099.For more on the AIAW's philosophy to combat the commercialization of men's collegiate sports, see Kelly Belanger's "Full-Court Press: The National Collegiate Athletic Association." In *Invisible Seasons: Title IX and the Fight for Equity in College Sports*, 51-72. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2016. Accessed June 30, 2020. doi:10.2307/j.ctt1ht4wk1.10.

their new vision had to correlate with the advancement of collegiate women's sports equality. Since the NCAA lifted its ban on women's sports in 1974, the AIAW was subject to make decisions quickly as their future was uncertain.

The Burns Committee, also had a in advocating for greater funding for women's sports at U of M. Formed in 1973, this entity was formed by the Committee to Study Intercollegiate Athletics. Their analysis uncovered financial inequality between men and women's programs. In 1973, the committee elaborated on this predicament, "Our endorsement for intercollegiate athletics for women carries with departments in the red…[161] In other words, women's sports needed greater funding. The committee also recognized the advantages of men's' teams in acquiring funds from multiple sources, "O[162] This conclusion was significant as women's teams vied for greater equality in funding. It also dovetailed with the HEW's call for compliance.

In 1975, over 275 members of the AIAW gathered to discuss the future of collegiate women's sports at a convention in Houston.[163] They group discussed the pros and cons of important topics such as scholarships, the growth of championships, and women's athletic programs.[164] These topics were significant in shaping the future growth of women's athletics. Furthermore, women's sports were in danger of commercialization as basketball teams drew gate receipts. This and

[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Hogan, "NCAA and AIAW".
[164] Ibid.

other concerns highlighted the antiquated vision of the AIAW.[165] The NCAA also understood their role in the future of collegiate women's sports by holding a conference of their own. Both organizations sought governance.

Title IX Compliance: Making Way for the NCAA

In 1975, the OCR's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare called for schools nationwide to administer self-tests to check for Title IX compliance. This process spanned from 1975 to 1978. The HEW put forth parameters to begin testing by July 21, 1976 and reach total conformity by July 21st, 1978.[166] Tests included measurements of compliance based on sports equipment, per diem allowances, scheduling of sports games, practice times, coaching staffs, etc. These self-examinations were to be completed every year. Designated school officers were sent questionnaires to self-test their sports programs to check for equality. Repercussions for non-compliance included ceasing government funding for the entire school. Therefore, schools began conforming to the law to avoid financial ruin.[167] These additional measures were a way for the HEW to ensure resources, opportunity, and expansion were provided for women's sports programs. Furthermore, this process dovetailed with the AIAW's downfall.

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[165] The AIAW's ideals of amateurism and need-based scholarships didn't match the direction of women's sports in the 1970s. The HEW defined equality as including athletic scholarships. This was significant because the NCAA already had a structure in place for men's teams.
[166] Although these tests are outside of the scope of this project, it is essential to recognize their role in achieving equality for collegiate women's sports throughout the late 1970s; Update on Title IX for 1978. 91438 Bimu F84 2, Box 6. The Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI, United States.
[167] Again, the framework of legal exogeneity plays a role in achieving equality at U of M. Their choice was to adhere to the law, or suffer financial loss because of non-compliance.

The AIAW faced financial difficulties leading to a dissolving of the organization. The AIAW sought protection from the NCAA's takeover. This led to financial ruin as costs ran into significant losses. Furthermore, the majority of the AIAW's overall operating costs were legal costs.[168] In turn, the AIAW struggled to support their operating costs. Therefore, the logistical struggles led to a lack of funding, scheduling, and inability to self-sustain. This led the AIAW to consult the NCAA for a joint oversight of women's sports. Meanwhile, U of M was tasked with proving their compliance with Title IX.

U of M's first self-evaluation in 1975 included mostly negative findings. The University of Michigan prioritized men's teams and paid unequal salaries for coaches. The first of these concerns was about a lack of accommodations for women's teams. The first observation was the female basketball team was unable to practice at reasonable times.[169] In other words, men's teams were prioritized over women's teams for better practice times. Another critique was the lack of funding for women's sports coaches. Teams were disproportionately compensated compared to the men's teams.[170] . Better coaching salaries meant greater equality for the entire team. Findings from the first test, however, were not all negative. U of M's first evaluation also revealed positive results for female athletes. The report

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[168] The AIAW's sole philosophy was to battle the over commercialization of men's sports. Their difficulties, however, were monetary costs to maintain their organization. Furthermore, the AIAW ended up spending more on legal fees in 1975-1978 than their total costs for providing women's sporting championships. For more on the financial downfall of the AIAW, see Ying Wushanley's *Playing Nice and Losing: the Struggle for Control of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, 1960-2000.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.

[169] Update on Title IX for 1975. 91438 Bimu F84 2, Box 6. The Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI, United States.

[170] Ibid.

summary contained information stating both men and women's teams were provided with enough equipment for participation.[171] This equal access to equipment was a positive note for women's teams hoping to make the transition to competitive sports. It also marked the institutional transition of collegiate women's sport.

In January of 1976, the NCAA planned to conduct women's competitions under the banner of the N.C.A.A. without consulting the AIAW.[172] This pitted both organizations against each other. Carol Gordon, athletic chair of a joint NCAA-AIAW committee, spoke of the dilemma, "Schools will have to choose between the two [AIAW and NCAA]. Of course, it would be easier for schools to answer to one organization instead of two".[173] The NCAA dissolved the joint committee with the AIAW without notification.[174] This led to a falling-through of discussions between the AIAW and NCAA. Meanwhile, U of M continued refining their women's sporting equality through a self-test of their programs.

U of M's Title IX compliance tests in 1976 reflected this institutional change towards intercollegiate competition. The test resulted in promising findings. These improvements included new women's teams, travel accommodations, and calling for more women's coaches. The first improvement for women's sports at U of M was the addition of new teams. U of M added softball, track, and golf.[175] . Another positive note from the 1976 test was a proposal for women's teams to increase

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[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Hogan, "NCAA and AIAW".
[175] Ibid.

travel. Officials said, "Developmental teams will travel greater distances, and more established programs can do home and aways."[176] An additional note of improvement for the 1976 summary is the call to hire more women's coaches. Officials recommended full-time employees and more oversight be provided for women's teams.[177] These positive findings and recommendations equated to improvement for U of M's women's sports. The NCAA, however, continued their takeover of governing the entirety of collegiate sport.

The NCAA offered the AIAW an opportunity to become a division of it in 1977.[178] This didn't sit well with the AIAW. Margo Polivy, lawyer for the AIAW, explained this disagreement, "They, [the AIAW] feel very strongly about having the opportunity to put into effect their own system of intercollegiate athletics".[179] The AIAW clashed with the NCAA's view of amateur sport. This is significant because one of these organizations was bound to succeed, while the other faced extinction.[180] The NCAA also proposed a division II offering of women's sports championships in 1977.[181] The AIAW refused, however, with an emphasis on the idea of working together for the benefit of women's sports.[182] The AIAW was no longer willing to discuss joint oversight. This is the beginning of the end for the

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[176] Ibid.
[177] Update on Title IX for 1976. 91438 Bimu F84 2, Box 6. The Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI, United States
[178] Margaret Roach, "Women Hope to be NCAA's Friend", *NY Times*, May 22, 1977, 175.
[179] Ibid.
[180] The combination of Title IX's push for equality and the NCAA's vision for both men and women's oversight made the eventual demise of the AIAW all but eminent.
[181] Gordon White Jr., "Women Fear Interference by the NCAA", *NY Times,* January 10, 1978 ,43.
[182] Ibid.

organization. It also dovetails with U of M's adherence to the HEW's call for equality.

U of M's 1977 self-examination showed vast improvements for U of M's women's sports. Officials noted several improvements from the previous year. The first of these was an increase in per diem expenses for their female athletes. [183] These allowances were part of the HEW's definition of equality for Title IX compliance. Another positive note from the test is an increase in provisions for travel and equipment. [184] Women received equal accommodations as men's teams. Furthermore, it also shows the university was willing to make improvements and adjustments to their previous year's report an opportunity to travel to other colleges for competitions. A final note about the positive adjustments is U of M's call for equal scholarships in non-revenue producing sports.[185] This is significant as the AIAW changed their views for women's scholarships. This fit in line with the NCAA's ideals established as the overarching organization for institutionalization.

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[183] Update on Title IX for 1977. 91438 Bimu F84 2, Box 6. The Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI, United States.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.

Conclusion: The Road Ahead

Institutionalizing Collegiate Women's Sporting Equality through Amateurism

American collegiate women's sports history dates to the 1890s. This led to an emerging equality as women became accepted as amateur athletes. Sports historians recount this process by emphasizing women' emergence in sport. Both Alan Gutmann and Susan Cahn exemplify this historiographical method. In *Women's Sport: A History*, Guttman offers an all-encompassing history about the origins of women's sport. This covers seventh century Egypt to Title IX. His studies especially highlight the importance of European influences. Cahn's work recollects the development of women's sports from its origins in America. This demonstrates her capability of recount women's collegiate sport from the 1890s to the 1990s. Her work is instrumental in highlighting the emerging equality as women became amateur athletes. My first chapter of the emergence of sporting equality at U of M dovetails with Cahn's recollection of collegiate women's sports origins. I add, however, the context and importance of European influences. Furthermore, I contextualize this development at U of M, with the incorporation of physical education courses. This served as a steppingstone to organizing equality.

From 1925-1957, women's sporting organizations expanded opportunities for collegiate athletes locally, regionally, and nationwide. Two works in the field of women's sports history encapsulate this process. The first of these works is Ellen

Gerber, Jan Felshin, Paul Berlin, and Waneen Wyrick's *The American Woman in Sport*. This work details the development of women's sports organizations. More specifically, these authors emphasize the significance of the National Amateur Athletic Foundation's congruence with amateurism. This work sheds light on the transition from women's participation to competitive sport. Another monograph, Welch Suggs' *A Place on the Team*, also encompasses the organizing of collegiate women's sports equality. His work is instrumental in uncovering the importance of Play Days and the National Amateur Athletic Foundation in women's sporting history. My thesis dovetails with both these sources. Furthermore, however, I contextualize the regional importance of the Athletic Conference of American Collegiate Women. This organization was key in the transition from participation to intersocial and intersorority competition. I also place U of M as a crucial factor in organizing women's equality through the Women's Athletic Association. These entities were instrumental as women's intercollegiate competition became socially accepted.

Achieving equality for collegiate women's sport resulted from two key developments. These were the DGWS and the effects of Title IX. The most influential work about this development is Susan Cahn's *Coming On Strong*. Her monograph contextualizes collegiate women's advance in sporting equality under Title IX. The parameters include the late nineteenth century up to the 1990s. Furthermore, her emphasis on equality in sport correlates with my work. I discuss Title IX as a catalyst for achieving equality in women's collegiate sport. This, however, is far from complete. Therefore, the context of the amendment is in a

broader development of acceptance for collegiate women in competition. I place my work as an extension of Cahn's recognition of a persisting inequality. The DGWS also represents a national representation of it.

The institutionalization of collegiate women's sports resulted from the efforts of both the NCAA and AIAW. Howard Chudacoff's *Changing the Playbook* captures the financial developments arising from this process. He examines the legality of Title IX as schools and individuals sought greater equality. More specifically, Chudacoff focuses on the HEW's definition of equality. This led to students becoming athletes first, rather than student-athletes. My work coalesces with his study about Title IX and sporting equality. I recount a historical narration of women's collegiate sport. This leads to a wider view of the development of equality. Unlike Chudacoff, however, I distance my study within the context of legal impact outside of Title IX compliance. Furthermore, I specifically address the AIAW and NCAA on the institutionalization of collegiate women's sporting equality at U of M.

Potential for Future Studies

I addressed the development of collegiate women's sports at a single institution in the Midwest United States. This represents an opportunity to expand the scope of the project. I posit opening the study to include more schools within the region. My study of the University of Michigan showed the development of collegiate women's sports at a minimal level. I posit an expansion will uncover regional correlations. The first of these is the ACACW's role in women's sports. Their support for interclass and intersorority athletics covers more than only U of

M. Another choice for study encompasses the NAAF. This means any school with ties in the organizations represents another potential facet of evidence. Furthermore, these parameters are contextually linked to the institutionalization of collegiate women's sports. Other avenues include chronological changes.

The scope of a future project of collegiate women's sports include extending the timeline into the 1980s. This is appropriate for two reasons: the NCAA completed sole oversight of collegiate women's sports and U of M women competed as members in the Big Ten beginning in 1981. The NCAA's oversight of collegiate sports represents a transition of sorts. Their overarching structure redefined women's amateurism. Furthermore, their offering of championships also contributes to this development. Another angle is U of M's membership in the Big Ten. Their activity in the conference opens a variety of correlations with both equal resources and the NCAA. Both organizations were significant as women's collegiate sports developed throughout the twentieth century. I posit the 1980s are another avenue of study for Midwest history of collegiate women's sport.

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