

1 **Article Type:** *Research Article*

2 **Article Category:** *Sports Studies*

3 **Title:** Athlete Support for Title IX

4 **Running Head:** Support for Title IX

5 **Authors:** James N. Druckman  
6 Department of Political Science  
7 601 University Drive  
8 Evanston, IL 60208  
9 847-475-5089  
10 Northwestern University  
11 [druckman@northwestern.edu](mailto:druckman@northwestern.edu)

12  
13 James N. Druckman is the Payson S. Wild Professor of Political Science at Northwestern  
14 University and PI of Time Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences and was elected to the  
15 American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2012.

16  
17 Mauro Gilli  
18 Northwestern University  
19 [Mauro.Gilli@u.northwestern.edu](mailto:Mauro.Gilli@u.northwestern.edu)

20  
21 Mauro Gilli is a Doctoral candidate in Political Science at Northwestern University.

22  
23 Samara Klar  
24 University of Arizona  
25 [klar@email.arizona.edu](mailto:klar@email.arizona.edu)

26  
27 Samara Klar is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona School of  
28 Government and Public Policy.

29  
30 Joshua Robison  
31 Northwestern University  
32 [jarobiso@gmail.com](mailto:jarobiso@gmail.com)

33  
34 Joshua Robison is a Doctoral candidate in Political Science at Northwestern University

35 January 24, 2014

36

37 Key Words: Title IX, Women and Sports, Public Opinion, Public Policy

38

39 **Abstract:**

40 *Purpose:* Few policies have been deemed as successful as Title IX, which, in theory, ensures  
41 equal educational opportunities for women. While the language of the law makes no mention of  
42 athletics, Title IX has nonetheless become a cornerstone of equality in athletics and the basis of  
43 expansion of sports programs for female athletes. As with any public policy, however, there is  
44 much debate about the ramifications, potential, and implementation of Title IX. Additionally,  
45 change and interpretation can be traced back, to a large extent, to public support or opposition.  
46 Yet, virtually no work explores public opinion about Title IX, particularly among the very issue  
47 public most affected by the law: college athletes.

48 *Methods:* A wide-scale survey of opinion and knowledge of Title IX among college athletes.

49 *Results:* The key correlates explaining support for Title IX are identified. A key finding is that  
50 nearly half of college respondents do not fully grasp the breadth of Title IX, which potentially  
51 limits the impact of the law.

52 *Conclusions:* Much educational efforts are needed concerning Title IX.

53 *Application in Sport:* The results show what characteristics shape support for Title IX, thereby  
54 providing guidance to individuals interested in promoting (or arguing against) the law. Perhaps  
55 most importantly, many affected student-athletes do not fully understand Title IX and thus  
56 educational efforts continue to be needed.

57

58

59

60 Key Words: Title IX, Women and Sports, Public Opinion, Public Policy

61

62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85

## Athlete Support for Title IX

### Introduction

Public policy refers to the actions or inactions taken by the government with regard to an issue (e.g., laws, regulations, funding). Scholars explore public policies from a variety of perspectives ranging from the ways in which mass preferences impact policies to investigating how policies affect citizens, or both (18). The term policy feedback describes this process and refers to situations in which some types of political mobilization lead to the implementation of a new policy, resulting in subsequent social or political change, and potentially in the stimulation of further mobilization (15). The development of public policy is thus intimately intertwined with public opinion.

Title IX is one of the most noted and often celebrated public policies resulting in massive social change. The law, which was enacted in June of 1972, states that, “No person shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” The goal of Title IX is to ensure that women have equal access to education funding. The initial implications of the law for athletics were unclear given that athletics was not formally mentioned in the Act. This ambiguity can be seen in a letter from University of Michigan football coach Bo Schembechler to President Ford in 1975 in which Schembechler asks the President for clarification concerning the implications of the law for athletics. However, the impact of Title IX on athletics is no longer ambiguous. In high school athletics, for example, just 7.4% of athletes prior to the passage of Title IX were women; by 2011, the percentage of females among high school athletes reached 41.4% (13). Indeed, Title IX is widely celebrated for influencing this trend— such that the Act graced the cover of Sports Illustrated on the Act’s 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

86 with a story that began, “Title IX’s impact has reached well beyond the playing field, forever  
87 changing the role of women in society” (20).

88         While there is no doubt that Title IX has successfully broadened participation in athletics  
89 by women, gender disparities persist. Women remain under-represented in participation in  
90 sports, e.g., by about 10% (13), and sports played by female athletes are often treated as  
91 secondary to sports played by men, in terms of coverage and resources (7, 11). Moreover, a non-  
92 trivial number of individuals continue to oppose Title IX because many schools have chosen to  
93 eliminate programs for male athletes, rather than add programs for female athletes, in order to  
94 achieve compliance. As California Assemblyman Chris Norby stated in 2012, “We need to be  
95 honest about the effects of what I believe are the faulty court interpretations of federal  
96 enforcement of Title IX because it has led to abolition of many male sports across the board” (9).  
97 A particularly publicized loss to male athletics is wrestling. The New York Times reported in  
98 2003 that, due to Title IX regulations, the number of male wrestling teams had fallen from 363 in  
99 1982 to just 229 in 2001, while the total number of institutions in the NCAA had grown from  
100 787 to 1049 during that same time period (12). Finally, enforcement of Title IX is, by nearly all  
101 accounts, far from successful. For example, the penalty for violating Title IX is the withdrawal  
102 of federal funds but, according to the Women’s Sports Foundation, “Despite the fact that most  
103 estimates are that 80 to 90 percent of all educational institutions are not in compliance with Title  
104 IX as it applies to athletics, such withdrawal of federal moneys has never been initiated” (24).

105         To consider the future of Title IX, there is perhaps no better place to start than with  
106 public opinion and, in particular, with the very issue public most likely to mobilize to ensure  
107 change (see 14 for more discussion of “issue publics,” which are those individuals most affected  
108 by an issue and most likely to see the issue as important). This is captured in the aforementioned

109 policy feedback model (21) that emphasizes how policy “effects depend ultimately on how  
110 public policies fit into the lives of individuals...” (15).

111         The issue public for Title IX concerns mostly college (but also high school) athletes and  
112 particularly female athletes. Whether an issue public can effectively mobilize to expand or alter  
113 the policy in question is ultimately determined by the following considerations. Do issue public  
114 members have similar opinions on whether to expand or alter the policy in question in a  
115 particular manner? For instance, if female athletes are starkly divided as to whether the policy  
116 should be expanded, then this would presumably limit the ability of these students to organize for  
117 that end. Moreover, affected athletes need to understand the policy so that potential violations  
118 and novel mobilization possibilities can be identified. These mobilization efforts may entail  
119 individual actions such as lawsuits or, on a larger scale, a collective social movement that then  
120 must deal with the difficulty of collective action mobilization (16). As far as the authors know,  
121 scant work has addressed whether student-athletes meet these criteria. The focus of this paper is  
122 on public support and understanding – leaving the question of action (individual or collective)  
123 for future work, as that issue cannot be addressed without first exploring public thinking. In  
124 essence, this approach follows the strong statement by Disch (6) that political representation  
125 works by “paying attention to the question of whether affected parties recognize themselves as  
126 such and, so, mobilize to demand a response.”

### 127 **Introduction to Title IX**

128         A number of excellent books detail the history of Title IX. This account will not repeat  
129 these stellar reviews (3) other than to note two aspects. First, as mentioned, Title IX covers all  
130 educational activities including access to curricula, health care, clubs, and so forth. Second, the  
131 implementation of the law has proven extremely complex, generating much legal discussion, (1).

132 Concerning athletics, a common, albeit not universal and sometimes controversial, strategy has  
133 been to employ a three-pronged approach such that a school must: (a) provide athletic  
134 participation opportunities that are substantially proportionate to the student enrollment, OR (b)  
135 demonstrate a continual expansion of athletic opportunities for the underrepresented sex, OR (c)  
136 fully and effectively accommodate the interest and ability of the underrepresented sex.

137 A school found to violate Title IX could in theory lose federal funding and students or  
138 parents could sue for violations. However, while some lawsuits have been successful, ultimately  
139 no school has lost federal funding. Other than individual settlements, the typical cost to a  
140 university for non-compliance is delayed federal funding and legal fees for cases brought to court  
141 (8). In short, this article seeks to understand whether student-athletes understand the law and  
142 whether athletes also support the law, as these are necessary components of action.

143 Surprisingly, there exists virtually no work on public opinion toward Title IX in general,  
144 much less on opinion among the key issue public (the students). The main existing scholarly  
145 work on public opinion about Title IX comes from those who explore public opinion about  
146 gender equality more generally (17). This work finds fairly broad support for equal funding but  
147 there exists some fluctuation across surveys depending on question wording. Notably,  
148 individuals with more education or income sometimes support greater equality in funding and,  
149 perhaps not surprisingly, women are more supportive than men although not always to a large  
150 degree.

151 The authors of this study conducted an expansive search using the Roper Center iPOLL  
152 archive and found that, among the few questions regarding support for Title IX, only five did not  
153 explicitly explain to respondents what the law does. These five polls ask about overall approval  
154 of the law but none offer detailed analysis of who supports Title IX and thus existing work does

155 not explain support, much less knowledge, concerning Title IX. General findings are mixed and  
156 depend on whether the possibility of cutting male athletic programs is stated. When not  
157 mentioned, substantially more than 50% support the law, with women and liberals substantially  
158 more supportive than men and conservatives respectively. One notable finding is a March 2011  
159 New York Times poll showing that a full 47% of respondents indicated having heard nothing at  
160 all about Title IX. This begs the question: even if many in the general public have not heard of  
161 Title IX, is there wide awareness among those who are directly affected? Unfortunately, none of  
162 these surveys focus on those most affected by the law: student-athletes.

### 163 **Methods**

164 The survey used here is novel in that the survey focuses on a class of issue publics:  
165 college student-athletes. The survey focuses on both female athletes who may not have  
166 otherwise had athletic opportunities and male athletes who may face athletic cuts. As explained,  
167 the attitudes and understanding of these individuals are important for moving forward in terms of  
168 possible feedback (12).

169 In particular, this current survey focuses on athletes in the National Collegiate Athletic  
170 Association (NCAA) Big Ten conference. This is an ideal starting place since this conference  
171 includes a large amount of variance among Universities (e.g., in terms of such factors as size,  
172 demographics, and national media coverage). The Big Ten conference is located primarily in the  
173 Midwest and at the time of the survey included twelve major universities – with the University of  
174 Nebraska as the western-most point and Penn State as the eastern anchor of the conference.  
175 After the completion of this survey, the Big Ten announced that Rutgers and the University of  
176 Maryland would be joining the conference in 2014. Every university in this conference has an  
177 athletic program that competes in Division I NCAA athletics.

178           In the spring of 2012, the authors accessed the athletic websites of all twelve Big Ten  
179 schools and obtained the full rosters for every sport at every school. The authors then accessed  
180 the website for each school to find the email address of every student-athlete listed on those  
181 rosters, thus creating the only current directory of Big Ten student-athletes known to the authors.  
182 This information was publicly available at all schools except for the University of Nebraska.  
183 Officials at the University of Nebraska were contacted in order to obtain directory information  
184 but the university declined access and thus athletes from the University of Nebraska are excluded  
185 from the sample. In addition, months before the survey, the authors wrote to the Big Ten  
186 commissioner to alert the official of the survey, asking for any input, but did not receive a  
187 response.

188           In the end, the authors located 6,375 names on rosters. No e-mails were found for 479  
189 student-athletes (who, presumably, were no longer enrolled). Of the 5,896 emails sent out, 1,803  
190 bounced back, likely because these students had left the school or, alternatively, had mis-listed  
191 emails. Thus, a total of 4,093 e-mails were successfully sent out and, to the best of the authors’  
192 knowledge, reached the intended targets. Reminder emails were also sent out to all respondents.  
193 Sample size varied across schools for a variety of reasons. First, schools have different numbers  
194 of sports and thus some schools simply have significantly more student-athletes. Second, the  
195 survey took place during early spring of 2012 and thus some of the schools were near the end of  
196 the term which may have made responding more or less likely. Of more relevance is that some  
197 sports may have been affected if in season or in the playoffs and thus these student-athletes may  
198 have had less time to respond. Third, based upon the volume of “returned e-mails,” schools  
199 appear to vary in how frequently email lists are updated; that is, some schools had out-of-date e-  
200 mail addresses listed for students who were no longer enrolled but had previously been on a



224 college surveys and reflects the reality that there are more females enrolled in universities than  
225 males (9). The additional demographics largely reflect the reality of Big Ten student-athletes  
226 when compared to reported features of schools. Perhaps most interesting is the heterogeneity in  
227 partisan and ideological identity, which stands in contrast to the stereotype of the liberal college  
228 student. Note that respondents had the choice to not respond to a particular question and thus the  
229 sample size varies across different questions as a result.

## 230 **Results and Discussion**

231 The first question of interest was whether the respondent had heard of Title IX; all exact  
232 question wordings are available from the authors. Nearly 84% (944) of respondents claimed to  
233 have heard of Title IX, while 12% (137) reportedly had not and 4% (49) were not sure. Perhaps  
234 of much greater interest are the two questions that follow. The first asked “Do you know if Title  
235 IX applies to college spending on athletics, on education, on both, or on neither?” and the second  
236 asked “Do you know if Title IX applies to gender, race, both, or neither?” The results for each  
237 question appear in Table 4.

238 **[Insert Table 4 About Here]**

239 The starkest finding is the evident lack of knowledge among athletes about the content  
240 and target of Title IX – a law that directly impacts student-athletes. Despite no explicit mention  
241 of athletics in the Act, 44% of athletes believe Title IX regulations apply only to athletics and not  
242 also to education. Notably, there is no evidence this relates to political knowledge more  
243 generally; for example, the survey included a measure of political interest and the results suggest  
244 that interest is equally distributed among those who answered the question correctly or not.  
245 Approximately half of all respondents recognized Title IX covers both athletics and education.  
246 This could be seen as a concerning finding because constituencies targeted by the Act (e.g.,

247 women athletes, of whom – like men – only 50% had the correct answers) fail to see the  
248 protections offered by the Act on a host of educational issues including sexual harassment,  
249 sexual graffiti and language, handling of rape cases, use of standardized testing such as the  
250 National Merit Examination (where “even the test-makers own research admits that the test  
251 under-predicts the performance of females and over-predicts the performance of males” see note  
252 for source of quote), and protections of pregnant students (25). In terms of the second question,  
253 significant majorities (73%) correctly recognize that Title IX applies only to gender, but over one  
254 fifth (21.4%) or respondents believe Title IX also applies to race, suggesting that knowledge is  
255 nowhere near complete on what Title IX can and cannot do.

256         An additional focus of this survey is support among student-athletes for Title IX.  
257 Respondents were asked, “Given your own knowledge about Title IX, do you disagree or agree  
258 with its main tenets?” on a 7-point fully labeled scale ranging from definitely disagree (1) to  
259 definitely agree (7). The mean response among is 4.35 (std. dev. = 1.90; n = 1,080). To  
260 understand who supports the Act, responses were analyzed using an ordered probit model to  
261 regress the support score on the main demographics listed in Table 3 (with “other minority”  
262 ethnicity as the excluded group), along with four other relevant variables. These include the two  
263 variables listed in Table 4 coded as whether the respondent had a correct or incorrect  
264 understanding of the application and knowledge of Title IX, since greater knowledge may  
265 increase support. Dummy variables for two sports were also included: wrestling and football.  
266 The wrestling variable was included because, as explained, this is the most often targeted sport  
267 cut for men when schools eliminate male teams to comply with Title IX. The football variable  
268 was included because football is the only sport with no female counterpart (i.e. only males are  
269 eligible to play). Since softball is an analogous option to baseball, there is no reason to expect

270 the dynamics observed in football also in the case of baseball (as indicated by the recent joining  
271 of the national federations of baseball national federations for an Olympic bid).

272 **[Insert Table 5 About Here]**

273 Results are reported in Table 5 using conservative two-tailed tests since no definitive  
274 predicts were advanced other than for gender. The central dependent variable explored here is  
275 support for Title IX, as knowledge about Title IX (i.e., to whom the Act applies and for what the  
276 Act applies) logically comes prior to whether or not one supports the Act. With these analyses,  
277 the authors explored correlates of knowledge and found that, in terms of knowledge of whether  
278 Title IX applies to education and athletics, there are no significant determinants aside from  
279 income, which has only a marginally negative relationship (that is, higher income is weakly  
280 correlated with lower knowledge of Title IX). The investigation focused also on correct answers  
281 to whether Title IX applies only to gender or also to other categories (or none). The results  
282 suggest that, perhaps surprisingly, women were more likely to be incorrect. This complete set of  
283 analyses is available from the authors.

284 The most striking result presented in Table 5 concerns gender, which has a large and  
285 significant effect of women showing much greater support for Title IX, as compared with men.  
286 Using the Clarify statistical program, and setting all other predictor variables to mean values, the  
287 probability that a woman would support Title IX (meaning a support score of 5, 6, or 7) is 76%,  
288 whereas the analogous probability for a male is dramatically reduced, at only 26% (when  
289 merged, the overall probability is 51%). Perhaps the second most notable variable is knowledge  
290 that Title IX applies to both education and athletics. Someone with that knowledge, all else  
291 constant, has a 56% chance of supporting Title IX, whereas someone lacking the knowledge has  
292 a 45% likelihood of support.

293 Politics also matter. Republicans are less supportive of the Act and those more  
294 supportive of unionizing college athletes are more supportive of Title IX. This is not surprising  
295 given that Republicans tend, generally speaking, to be more averse to additional regulations or  
296 government complexity. Thus, Title IX, even in the public opinion domain, is a partisan issue.  
297 Finally, not surprisingly given the above discussion, wrestlers strongly oppose Title IX. This is  
298 not true for football players who, in fact, substantially support Title IX, perhaps because these  
299 athletes have little reason to see the law as threatening the sport they play, which is one of the  
300 few that often generate revenue.

301 **Conclusions**

302 While a broader sample would be an obvious next step, the findings presented in this  
303 study have important implications for future efforts aimed at both legal and social change (i.e.,  
304 policy feedback) regarding this contemporary legislation. What is often hailed as one of the  
305 most successful public policies in the last half century is, in many respects, poorly understood by  
306 the exact constituents who have the most at stake. This lack of understanding is likely caused by  
307 poor athletic compliance with the Act as well as other possible educational inequalities  
308 unexplored here. Regardless, an important result of this study is that a key issue public – female  
309 athletes – is significantly more supportive of Title IX, which provides a baseline for some  
310 movement and feedback. These results suggest that this key group is most susceptible to  
311 mobilization attempts – if policy change is seen as a desirable necessity. The goal of this study  
312 was not to advance an argument in support or opposition of Title IX, but rather to illustrate that  
313 one of the most important public policies in recent times continues to be misconstrued and  
314 broadly understudied, even by those who are most affected by the law. This has critical  
315 implications for the implementation of this legislation, for future policies, and for the assurance

316 of equal access in education (a fundamental element of democracy) (15). This study lays the  
317 ground work to move from excellent critical histories and anecdotes to being to incorporate  
318 survey methodology and opinion data as methods for policy evaluation and action (whether  
319 individual or collective). Given that Title IX is a political issue, as seen from the role of  
320 partisanship and union support, steps forward are bound to be colored by politics. This study  
321 provides the first evidence concerning the preferences among college-athletes with regards to  
322 Title IX.

### 323 **Applications In Sport**

324         These findings have important and straightforward public policy implications. The  
325 results demonstrate which characteristics shape support for Title IX, thereby providing guidance  
326 to individuals interested in promoting (or arguing against) the law. Perhaps most importantly,  
327 many college student-athletes clearly do not fully understand Title IX and thus educational  
328 efforts continue to be needed.

329

330 **Acknowledgment:** The authors thank the many students who helped identify contact  
331 information for the survey respondents.

### 332 **References**

- 333 1. Anderson, P.M. (2013). Gender equity forty years later. *The International Sports Law*  
334 *Journal, 13*, 3-8.
- 335 2. Boyce, R. (2008). Cheerleading in the context of Title IX and gendering in sport. *The Sport*  
336 *Journal, 11*, 1-1
- 337 3. Brake, D.L. (2010). *Getting in the game*. New York: New York University Press.
- 338 4. Carter, S.D. (2011). How to comply with the Department of Education's Title IX sexual  
339 violence guidance. *Campus Safety Magazine*. Retrieved from:  
340 [http://www.campussafetymagazine.com/channel/university-](http://www.campussafetymagazine.com/channel/university-security/articles/2011/04/how-to-comply-with-the-dept-of-ed-s-title-ix-s-sexual-violence-guidance.aspx)  
341 [security/articles/2011/04/how-to-comply-with-the-dept-of-ed-s-title-ix-s-sexual-violence-](http://www.campussafetymagazine.com/channel/university-security/articles/2011/04/how-to-comply-with-the-dept-of-ed-s-title-ix-s-sexual-violence-guidance.aspx)  
342 [guidance.aspx](http://www.campussafetymagazine.com/channel/university-security/articles/2011/04/how-to-comply-with-the-dept-of-ed-s-title-ix-s-sexual-violence-guidance.aspx)
- 343 5. Couper, M.P. (2008). *Designing effective web surveys*. New York: Cambridge University  
344 | Press.
- 345
- 346 6. Disch, L. (2012). Democratic representation and the constituency paradox. *Perspectives on*  
347 *Politics, 12*, 599-616.
- 348
- 349 7. Eastman, S.T., & Billings, A.C. (2001). Biased voices of sports. *The Howard Journal of*  
350 *Communications, 12*, 183-201.
- 351
- 352 8. *Feminist Majority Foundation*. (n.d.). Education Equality: Winning Title IX Cases.  
353 Retrieved from: <http://www.feminist.org/education/consequences.asp>
- 354
- 355 9. Fox Sports. (2012, May 15). Chastain bristles at Title IX attack. Retrieved from  
356 [http://msn.foxsports.com/foxsoccer/usa/story/brandi-chastain-uswnt-bristles-at-chris-](http://msn.foxsports.com/foxsoccer/usa/story/brandi-chastain-uswnt-bristles-at-chris-norby-comments-title-IX-051512)  
357 [norby-comments-title-IX-051512](http://msn.foxsports.com/foxsoccer/usa/story/brandi-chastain-uswnt-bristles-at-chris-norby-comments-title-IX-051512).
- 358
- 359 10. Franke, R., S. Ruiz, J. Sharkness, L. DeAngelo, & J. Pryor. (2010). Findings from the 2009  
360 administration of the college senior survey (CSS). Retrieved from:  
361 [http://www.heri.ucla.edu/PDFs/pubs/Reports/2009\\_CSS\\_Report.pdf](http://www.heri.ucla.edu/PDFs/pubs/Reports/2009_CSS_Report.pdf).
- 362
- 363 11. Higgs, C.T., Weiller K.H., & Martin, S.B. (2003). Gender bias in the 1996 Olympic games.  
364 *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 27*, 52-64.
- 365 12. Irving, J. (2003, January 28). Wrestling with Title IX. *New York Times*. Retrieved from  
366 [http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/28/opinion/wrestling-with-title-](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/28/opinion/wrestling-with-title-ix.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm)  
367 [ix.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/28/opinion/wrestling-with-title-ix.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm).

- 368  
369 13. Keilman, J. (2012, May 31). Title IX's gains stall in sports. *Chicago Tribune*, 1, 6.  
370  
371 14. Krosnick, J.A. (1990). Government policy and citizen passion. *Political Behavior*, 12, 59-  
372 92.  
373  
374 15. Mettler, S., & Soss, J. (2004). The consequences of public policy for democratic  
375 citizenship. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2, 55-73.
- 376 16. Olson, M. (1965). *The logic of collective action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- 377 17. Sigelman, L., & Wilcox, C. (2001). Public support for gender equality in athletics  
378 programs. *Women & Politics*, 22, 85-96.
- 379 18. Soroka, S.N., & Wlezien, C. (2010). *Degrees of democracy*. New York: Cambridge  
380 University Press.
- 381 19. Anderson, Kelli. (2012, May 7). The power of play. *Sports Illustrated*, 44.  
382
- 383 20. Shih, T.H., & Fan, X. (2008). Comparing response rates from web and mail surveys. *Field*  
384 *Methods* 20, 249-271.  
385
- 386 21. Soss, J., & Schram, S.F. (2007). A public transformed? *American Political Science*  
387 *Review* 101, 111-127.  
388
- 389 22. Sue, V.M., & Ritter, L.A. (2007). *Conducting online surveys*. Sage publications.  
390
- 391 23. Volpe, M. (2010). Title IX. *Examiner.com*.  
392 April 24, 2010. Retrieved from: [http://www.examiner.com/article/title-ix-new-](http://www.examiner.com/article/title-ix-new-developments-old-problems-and-the-need-for-change)  
393 [developments-old-problems-and-the-need-for-change](http://www.examiner.com/article/title-ix-new-developments-old-problems-and-the-need-for-change).  
394
- 395 24. *Women's Sports Foundation*. A Title IX Primer. Retrieved from:  
396 [http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-](http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-ix/title-ix-primer)  
397 [ix/title-ix-primer](http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-ix/title-ix-primer)  
398
- 399 25. *Women's Sports Foundation*. What is Title IX? Retrieved from:  
400 [http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-](http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-ix/title-ix-primer)  
401 [ix/title-ix-primer](http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/en/home/advocate/title-ix-and-issues/what-is-title-ix/title-ix-primer)  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407

408

409

410

411 **Table 1. University Attended**

<b>University<sup>A</sup></b>	<b>Number of Respondents from Given School</b>	<b>Percentage of Respondents from Given School</b>
Indiana University	128	9.82
Ohio State University	122	9.36
University of Illinois	104	7.98
University of Minnesota	120	9.21
Michigan State University	100	7.67
Purdue University	100	7.67
University of Iowa	110	8.44
University of Wisconsin	154	11.82
Northwestern University	122	9.36
Pennsylvania State University	116	8.90
University of Michigan	127	9.75
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,303</b>	<b>100.00</b>

412 <sup>A</sup>As noted, the email addresses of student-athletes at the University of Nebraska were not accessible

413

414 **Table 2. Sport Played**

<b>Sport</b>	<b>Number of Respondents from Given Sport</b>	<b>Percentage of Respondents from Given Sport</b>
Baseball	30	2.30
Football	105	8.06
Lightweight Rowing	7	0.54
Softball	49	3.76
Wrestling	47	3.61
Basketball	36	2.76
Golf	48	3.68
Pistol	4	0.31
Swimming	169	12.97
Cross Country	117	8.98
Gymnastics	34	2.61
Rifle	3	0.23
Tennis	35	2.69
Diving	33	2.53
Rowing	116	8.90
Track/Field	197	15.12
Fencing	18	1.38
Ice Hockey	33	2.53
Synchronized Swimming	4	0.31
Volleyball	33	2.53
Field Hockey	39	2.99
Lacrosse	29	2.23
Soccer	101	7.75

Water Polo	13	1.00
Other	3	0.23
Total	1,303	100

415 Note: Athletes who played multiple sports were allowed to enter a second sport played. A total of 166  
416 respondents played a second sport. The focus here is strictly on the first choice. Co-ed sports were also  
417 | merged for simplicity but a break down by gender X sport is available from the authors.  
418  
419

420 **Table 3. Respondent Demographics**

<b>Attribute</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Female	60.7% (N = 1217)
White	86.5% (N = 1262)
African-American	6.5% (N = 1262)
Other Minority	7% (N= 1262)
Year	First Year = 27.5% Second Year = 26% Third Year = 23.5% Fourth Year = 22% Beyond Fourth Year = 1.0% (N = 1,222)
Income	<30,000 = 4% 30,000-69,999 = 16% 70,000-99,999 = 26% 100,000-200,000 = 35.5% =>200,000 = 18.5% (N = 1,177)
Percentage on Athletic Scholarship	51% (N = 1,147)
Support for Unionizing College Athletics	Definitely Oppose Unionizing College Athletics = 8% Moderately Oppose = 9% Slightly Oppose = 9% Neither Oppose Nor Support = 50% Slightly Support = 11% Moderately Support = 8% Definitely Support = 5% (N = 1,024)
Ideology	Very Liberal = 6% Moderately Liberal = 17% Somewhat Liberal = 12% Moderate = 26% Somewhat Conservative = 14% Moderately Conservative = 19% Very Conservative = 6% (N = 1,183)
Party Identification	Strong Democrat = 8% Weak Democrat = 15% Independent Leans Democrat = 14% Independent = 17% Independent Leans Republican = 12% Weak Republican = 22% Strong Republican = 12% (N = 1,175)

421

422

423

424  
425  
426

**Table 4. The Application of Title IX**

<b>To what does Title IX Apply?</b>		<b>To what demographics does Title IX Apply?</b>	
Both Athletics and Education	50.70% (543)	Only Gender	73.03% (788)
Only Athletics	44.07% (472)	Only Race	1.76% (19)
Only Education	1.87% (20)	Both Gender and Race	21.41% (231)
Neither	3.36% (36)	Neither	3.80% (41)

427  
428  
429

430 **Table 5. Support for Title IX**

431

Variable	Coefficient (Standard Error)
Female	1.67*** (.09)
White	.15 (.16)
African-American	.27 (.22)
Year	.01 (.03)
Income	-.05 (.04)
Athletic Scholarship	.01 (.04)
Support for Unionizing College Athletics	.05* (.03)
Ideology	-.001 (.04)
Partisanship	-.06* (.03)
Correct Answer to What Title IX Applies	.30*** (.08)
Correct Answer to Demographics to What Title IX Applies	.12 (.09)
Wrestling	-.98*** (.22)
Football	.50*** (.15)
Log Likelihood	-1382.18
N	844
Cut 1	1.09*** (.33)
Cut 2	1.83*** (.33)
Cut 3	2.38*** (.33)
Cut 4	2.83*** (.33)
Cut 5	3.38*** (.34)
Cut 6	4.32*** (.34)

432 \*\*\*p≤.01; \*\*p≤.05; \*p≤.10 for two-tailed tests.

433 Entries are ordered probit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

434