

Title IX and Career Pathways of Coaches Across NCAA Women's Basketball Programs: An Intersectional Approach to Human Capital in Hiring

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The purpose of this article is to examine the career pathways of NCAA women basketball coaches after the passage of Title IX, with a special attention to the relationship between human capital (i.e., job related qualifications), race, and gender of coaches in the sample population. As such, we looked at job related qualifications of incoming and outgoing coaching hires from 1984-2020 at universities within the Power Five Conferences and HBCUs at the Division I level, considering nine different variables. These variables include a coach's immediate previous position, number of years as an NCAA coach, years of overall coaching experience prior to hire, highest prior division coached, NCAA championship win as a coach, NCAA championship win as a player, highest level of play, highest division played as an athlete, and highest educational degree. Regarding the overall impact of Title IX on women head coaching opportunities, our data show relatively consistent opportunities for female coaches across the Power Five Conferences and Division I HBCU schools since 1984. Although the opportunities for women were consistent, they do not seem equitable at the Power Five level when considering a coach's race as Black women were hired at a much lower rate compared to their White counterparts. Our data also reveal that despite more women being hired overall, on average, women have greater qualifications as NCAA women's basketball coaches compared to male coaches. This finding shows that women need more human capital than men to obtain head coaching positions, which marks the presence of gender discrimination in the NCAA coaching labor market.

Keywords: Title IX, intercollegiate athletics, women and human capital in coaching, women's basketball

Title IX of the Education Amendments—also known as the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act—was passed nearly 50 years ago in 1972. One of the main goals of Title IX was to ensure that no individual would be denied access to or prevented from participating in federally funded programs in the United States on



the basis of sex. To that end, Title IX has helped increase the number of girls and women participating in sport and physical activity (Naughton, 1997) and has created more athletic opportunities at the collegiate level for women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2000). While Title IX discussions generally involve students' access to athletic and academic opportunities, Title IX provisions are equally applicable to educational employees and administrators (Lanser, 2016). However, when it comes to the representation of women in coaching and leadership positions, Title IX seems to have fallen short of ensuring equitable access to all genders. In fact, despite the growing number of coaching positions in women's athletic programs, the number of women coaches leading those programs has plummeted since the passage of Title IX (Larsen & Clayton, 2019). A longitudinal work by Acosta and Carpenter (2014) revealed that the percentage of women's intercollegiate teams in the United States that were coached by women had fallen from 90% in the 1970s to 42.9% in 2014. In 2020-2021, women held 41% of head coaching positions at women's Division I athletic programs while only holding 4.2% and 4.5% of the head coaching positions in men's Division I and II athletic programs, respectively (Lapchick, 2021).

While Title IX was not initially devised to combat gender discrimination in coaching, as Lanser (2016) argued, no conversation in the United States about women in sport can be separated from Title IX. Relatedly, the decline of women in leadership and coaching positions after Title IX has been well documented (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002; Heishman et al., 1990; Holmen & Parkhouse, 1981; LaVoi, 2013; Rhode & Walker, 2008). Additionally, a number of scholars have developed theoretical frameworks to analyze the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions (Burton 2015; Lavoie, 2016; Cunningham 2010; Knoppers, 1987; Yiamouyiannis & Osborne, 2012). Most findings illustrate that women face discrimination in the hiring process (Knoppers, 1992; Lovett & Lowry, 1988; Stangl & Kane, 1991) and that there is an absence of a support network for women to mitigate workplace discrimination (Inglis et al., 2000).

Furthermore, research on leadership diversity in intercollegiate athletics also shows that access discrimination and treatment discrimination can have negative impacts on hiring opportunities and work experiences of minoritized employees (Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; Fink et al., 2001). Access discrimination occurs at the time a job is advertised and filled which prevents certain groups from acquiring that job or entering that organization (Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; Ilgen & Youtz, 1986). Treatment discrimination occurs when specific groups receive fewer rewards, recourses, or opportunities than they deserve during their employment (Greenhaus et al., 1990).

In addition to societal and structural barriers such as access and treatment discrimination, another explanation for the underrepresentation of women in leadership and coaching positions rests in the potentially different qualifications, also referred to as human capital, possessed by men and women (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002). Human capital theory (Becker, 1975) suggests that individuals with more personal job-related investments such as education, experience, and training will have more career success (Becker, 1975; Nordhaug, 1993), career satisfaction (Judge et al., 1995; Wayne et al., 1999; Yap et al., 2010), and higher salaries (Veum, 1995) than

people who invested less in those areas throughout their lifetime. For example, from an educational standpoint, individuals with a graduate degree possess greater human capital and a broader knowledge base than their counterparts who lack such educational training (Cunningham & Sagas, 2004). In the context of coaching, studies have shown that prior playing and coaching experience serve as crucial sources of human capital as they relate to a coach's professional socialization, occupational commitment, and occupational turnover intent (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Cunningham et al., 2001; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005).

Consequently, from a human capital standpoint, gender and racial differences in the career success of female coaches might be explained by differences in coaches' investments in their human capital rather than by access or treatment discrimination. For example, human capital explanations such as that of Becker (1985) suggest that the reason for the gender pay gap and the overrepresentation of women in low paid occupations is not due to discrimination but because they invest less in the development of their human capital and, as a result, develop fewer skills and fewer qualifications and have less labor market experience compared to men (Hakim, 1996).

On the contrary, in the coaching realm, Acosta and Carpenter (1985) surveyed 307 male and female athletic administrators and found that athletic administrators, who were mostly men, *perceived* women to be less qualified than their male counterparts. Nevertheless, researchers have shown that despite low returns, women often have higher human capital investments than men (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002). In two independent studies of interscholastic coaches, Hasbrook et al. (1990) showed that women in fact had better professional training and greater experience when considering professional experience in the organization, delivery, and evaluation of sport skills and strategies. Likewise, drawing from human capital theory, Cunningham and Sagas (2002) found no differences in educational training between male and female intercollegiate basketball assistants but indicated that women had considerably greater playing experience and received more honors (e.g., academic honors, team captain, etc.) than their male counterparts. Similarly, in their study of racial differences in the career success of assistant football coaches from a human and social capital standpoint, Sagas and Cunningham (2005) observed that discrimination had a greater impact than human capital differences for creating disparities in the career success of Black assistant coaches.

Despite its limitations, many consider Title IX as a victory for women in sport. However, as critics have noted, for the most part, middle and upper-class White women have been the main beneficiaries of Title IX (Brake, 2010; McGovern, 2021). Research has shown that National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) coaches from racialized backgrounds are more likely to experience race as a barrier in their career success (Kopkin, 2014; Nessler et al., 2021). Borland and Bruening (2010), for example, identified access discrimination, lack of support, and pervasive stereotypes as the most common barriers impacting the underrepresentation of Black women in head coaching jobs in Division I women's basketball programs. This means gender inequality is not uniformly distributed as the impacts of access discrimination are much more severe for racial minority women (Cunningham, 2019). Consequent-

ly, a thorough consideration of the inequitable distribution of the benefits of Title IX requires an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) to assess how race and gender interact with each other to impact the opportunities and experiences of racialized women in leadership roles in sport (Cunningham et al., 2021).

Intersectionality was a term originally coined in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a law professor and social theorist, to make sense of the ways in which a person's experiences can be influenced by the interaction of multiple identities which can then result in relative privilege and oppression of those identities. Put simply, intersectionality maps out how systemic inequalities based on race, gender, and class enable Whites to be perceived as superior to Blacks, men to women, and rich to poor (Collins, 2002). Crenshaw (1989) utilized intersectionality to investigate the ways in which the lived experiences of women of color were absent from different political and social discourses. As such, intersectionality is a critical framework which aims to examine and promote "fairness and desires to understand, confront, and transform systems of exploitation and oppression in social life" (Coakley, 2004, p. 49). In the context of sport, intersectionality can function as a theoretical framework for understanding the structural dynamics of Black women within the institution of sport (Flowers, 2015).

Crenshaw (1991) introduces three constructs of intersectionality to understand the challenges and barriers that women of color face within social and cultural institutions. These constructs include representational intersectionality, political intersectionality, and structural intersectionality. Representational intersectionality examines how the marginalization of women of color is linked to historical and contemporary representation of marginalized people in cultural imagery. Political intersectionality examines how policy and practice often function in a way to marginalize one categorical oppression (i.e., race) over another (i.e., gender) while structural intersectionality is concerned with how hierarchical power structures create differential treatment and experiences for marginalized groups (Crenshaw, 1991). In other words, political intersectionality is concerned with the intersection of political projects and agendas such as feminism and antiracism while structural intersectionality concerns the intersection of unequal social groups and the differentiating experiences of Black and White women (Borchorst & Teigen, 2010; Walby et al., 2012).

In this study, an intersectional approach allows for a more robust analysis of the impacts of Title IX on women of all races and ethnicities in coaching positions, especially in sports such as women's basketball where Black women make up a large number of women basketball players, but only a small fraction of women basketball coaches within the NCAA. In 2021, for example, around 40.7% of NCAA Division I women's basketball players identified as Black or African American while only 18.5% of the head coaches at the same level identified as Black or African American women, and 4.6% as Black or African American men (Lapchick, 2021).

Drawing from NCAA data, Cunningham (2019) also showed that women are underrepresented in leadership positions compared to their male counterparts while this disparity is even greater when considering race. Case in point, in Cunningham's (2019) study, White women were 11.2 times more likely than their Black counter-

parts to be an intercollegiate head coach and 90.5 times more likely to serve as intercollegiate athletic directors. Similarly, Bruening (2005) examined multiple marginalized identities in sport and found that Black female athletes often face different types of discrimination compared to White female and Black male athletes. Moreover, Walker and Melton (2015) conducted in-depth interviews with NCAA coaches and observed that race intersected with women's gender and sexual orientation while impacting a coach's identity disclosure, career mobility, and job satisfaction. Previous research also reveals that Black women in sport face obstacles and barriers (e.g., good old boys' networks, racism, sexism) that hinder their ability to obtain leadership roles in sport (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; Nelson, 1999; Wicker 2008). McDowell and Carter-Francique (2017) particularly emphasized the value of intersectionality when they demonstrated the ways in which race and gender coalesce with each other to impact societal perceptions towards leadership abilities of Black women athletic directors.

As such, one of the purposes of this study is to examine the career pathways of NCAA Division I basketball coaches—after Title IX was fully in effect—with a special attention to job-related qualifications of hired coaches. By focusing on coaches' qualifications, this study particularly aims to explore the extent to which the underrepresentation of women in NCAA women basketball coaching positions might be due to differences between human capital investments among male and female coaches. Whereas scholars such as Cunningham and Sagas (2002); Sagas & Cunningham (2004, 2005) looked at either gender or racial differences with respect to human capital among assistant coaches and athletic administrators, this study takes an intersectional approach which considers both race and gender as significant determinants of career success among head coaches. This study particularly targets NCAA Division I women's basketball because of its relatively better media coverage in comparison to other women's intercollegiate sports and its high participation levels, especially among racial minorities (Lapchick, 2017). Media coverage is generally considered as an important factor in increasing revenues and popularity. Additionally, as Acosta and Carpenter (2014) argued, further popularity of women's intercollegiate sport has resulted in the decline of women coaches in the NCAA. Moreover, gender representation trends seem slightly more encouraging in NCAA Division I women's basketball, notwithstanding the unfortunate fact that women of color continue to be underrepresented in these positions. As Larsen and Clayton (2019) indicated, despite making up over 60% of athletes in DI women basketball programs, only 17.6% of the head coaches in their study were women of color.

Consequently, utilizing an intersectional approach, this study considers not only gender, but also racial differences in the career pathways and qualifications (human capital investments) of coaches across Division I women basketball programs from 1984 (when Title IX was in full effect) to 2020. This study adds to the literature in a number of ways by examining the impacts of Title IX on hiring patterns of women basketball coaches across Power Five and Historically Black College or University (HBCU) schools, the representation of women of color across those coaching positions, and the relationship between coaches' job-related qualifications and hiring pat-

terns. This study is led by a foundational inquiry about the representation of women as head basketball coaches in the NCAA, and a more specific question focused on hiring patterns and the qualifications of hired candidates:

RQ: What is the relationship between hiring patterns of women basketball coaches and their job-related qualifications?

Methods and Coaching Data

For this study, we looked at incoming and outgoing NCAA women's basketball coaching hires at universities within the Power Five conferences ($n = 240$) according to their conference membership status for the 2020-2021 season in addition to HBCUs at the Division I level ($n = 127$) for a total of ($n = 367$) hires. Black head coaches have historically faced and continue to face barriers in becoming—or continuing as—head coaches across various sports, both at the collegiate and professional levels (Lapchick, 2020). Given that HBCUs tend to hire Black coaches and administrators at much higher rates compared to primarily White institutions (PWIs), we included HBCUs in our sample to increase the number of Black head coaches in our study which would provide us with another level of understanding about head coach trajectories broadly. More importantly, including HBCUs could potentially deepen the discussion around inclusion and social justice. As Hawkins et al. (2015) suggest, “HBCUs are not irrelevant and inaccessible in their ideals, nor should they be expected to replicate or assimilate the ideals and images of [Historically White Colleges and Universities] HWCUs” (p. 252). Additionally, several HBCUs compete at the Division I level and yet they are often left out of the college sport discussions, which exacerbates their current invisibility and undermines their ability to broker media deals and other financial opportunities that are critical in developing competitive and sustainable athletic programs (Hawkins et al., 2015).

To answer our research question, we employed a coefficients test, one-way ANOVA tests, and post-hoc tests. These tests are based on nine human capital qualifications across gender and race/ethnicity—analyzing hiring choices amongst schools in the Power Five and HBCUs and for Power Five head coaching hires exclusively. Each of these tests were used to examine a set of hypotheses related to our research question regarding the association between human capital qualifications and hiring practices in NCAA women's basketball.

Data on coaching tenure was gathered from the NCAA statistics database, university athletic department websites, team yearbooks and media guides, as well as from story highlights in regional and local newspapers. Data from the 1980s and 1990s were more difficult to collate, particularly for HBCUs, due to the limited sport reporting for these universities. Further, we gathered data from the end of the 1984 season to the end of the 2020 season, capturing only incoming hires and outgoing coaches. Although Title IX was passed in 1972, it was not immediately enforced until 1984 which marks an important milestone in the enforcement of Title IX for two reasons. First, the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act was passed in 1984,

earmarking about 10.5% of its budget to eliminate sex bias and stereotyping (Stromquist, 2013). Second, *Grove City College v. Bell* 1984 was the first Supreme Court Title IX case which had two major accomplishments, even though its ruling has been perceived by members of the Congress and Title IX advocates as not being interpreted within the spirit of the Amendment. With that Supreme Court ruling, courts began enforcing Title IX, even if it was not as far reaching as it was intended to be (Rice, 1986).

The *Grove City College v. Bell* decision held that the enforcement of Title IX applied only to the specific educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance, not to the entirety of the educational institution (Stromquist, 2013). While *Grove City* may have arguably had a positive impact on Title IX enforcement generally, it had a negative impact on Title IX's application to athletic departments. The result was a relaxation of Title IX efforts in athletic programs and a slowing or reversal of progress to provide equitable opportunities and treatment to women athletes. According to Villabos (1990), "Without the threat of Title IX, several schools responded to financial pressures by cutting women's sports teams and reducing their budgets for women's athletic programs" (p. 151).

This holding, however, was overturned when Congress passed the *Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987*, also known as the *Grove City Bill*, which specified that entities who are recipients of federal funds must comply with civil rights laws across all areas of their operations, not just the program or activity receiving federal aid. This decision was meant to restore the broad and institution-wide application of Title IX in laws such as Education Amendments of 1972, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Civil Rights Act, 1987).

Additionally, we defined a "hire" as coaches who were officially hired by the university to serve as the head women's basketball coach. We excluded interim coaches from our sample due to the transient nature of their position. Table 1 shows there were 367 head coach changes across nine conferences between 1984 and 2020, which included 86 universities between the Power Five conferences and HBCUs. The Power Five had 240 hiring changes across six conferences, which included 63 universities, while HBCUs had 127 hiring changes across 3 conferences, which included 23 universities.

Table 2 reveals that Blacks compose just 17% of all Power Five hires, but 98% of HBCU hires. White men and women composed 82% of all Power Five hires, while Black men were hired at a rate of 2% of all incoming hires. At the HBCUs, white men made up less than 2% of the incoming HBCU hires and White women were not hired to lead those programs. Table 3 highlights the number of incoming NCAA women's basketball head coaches at HBCUs and Power Five schools in five-year intervals by race/ethnicity and gender. Between 1996 and 2000, the hiring of Black women grew to be on par with White women, with a continued increase up to 2020 in which Black women composed 17% of head coaching hires compared to the 11% of White women.

Table 1

Number of NCAA women's basketball head coach changes at HBCU and Power Five schools by year, 1984-2020.

Year	No. of Head Coach Changes
1984-1985	23
1986-1990	45
1991-1995	41
1996-2000	57
2001-2005	54
2006-2010	42
2011-2015	54
2016-2020	51
Total	367

Table 2

Number of women and male Division I women's basketball coaching hires in the Power Five and HBCUs, by race and ethnicity, 1984-2020.

Conference	Race/Ethnicity	Woman	Men	Total
Power Five	Black	36 (20.93)	5 (7.35)	41 (17.08)
	Latino/a	1 (0.58)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.42)
	White	135 (78.49)	63 (92.65)	198 (82.50)
	Total	172 (68.53)	68 (58.62)	240 (65.40)
Historically Black Colleges and Universities	Black	79 (100.00)	46 (95.83)	125 (98.34)
	Latino/a	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
	White	0 (0.00)	2 (4.17)	2 (1.57)
	Total	79 (31.47)	48 (41.38)	127 (34.60)
Grand Total		251 (100.00)	116 (100.00)	367 (100.00)

Note. Percentages are reflected in parentheses under the raw number.

Table 3

Number of incoming NCAA women's basketball head coaches at HBCUs and Power Five schools in 5-year intervals by race/ethnicity and gender for 1984-2020.

Gender	Year	Race/Ethnicity			Total
		Black	Latino/a	White	
Women	1984-1985	4 (3.47)	-	14 (10.37)	18 (7.17)
	1986-1990	7 (6.09)	-	18 (13.33)	25 (9.96)
	1991-1995	11 (9.57)	-	17 (12.59)	28 (11.16)
	1996-2000	23 (20.00)	1 (100.00)	23 (17.08)	47 (18.73)
	2001-2005	14 (12.17)	-	24 (17.78)	38 (15.14)
	2006-2010	17 (14.78)	-	10 (7.41)	27 (10.76)
	2011-2015	19 (16.52)	-	14 (10.37)	33 (13.15)
	2016-2020	20 (17.39)	-	15 (11.11)	35 (13.94)
Total	1984-2020	115 (69.28)	1 (100.00)	135 (67.50)	251 (68.39)
Men	1984-1985	1 (1.96)	-	4 (6.15)	5 (4.31)
	1986-1990	14 (27.45)	-	6 (9.23)	20 (17.24)
	1991-1995	5 (9.80)	-	8 (12.31)	13 (11.21)
	1996-2000	4 (7.84)	-	6 (9.23)	10 (8.62)
	2001-2005	8 (15.69)	-	8 (12.31)	16 (13.79)
	2006-2010	6 (11.76)	-	9 (13.85)	15 (12.93)
	2011-2015	4 (7.84)	-	17 (26.15)	21 (18.10)
	2016-2020	9 (17.65)	-	7 (10.77)	16 (13.79)
Total	1984-2020	51 (30.72)	-	65 (32.50)	116 (32.49)
Grand Total	1984-2020	166 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	200 (100.00)	367 (100.00)

Note: Percentages are reflected in parentheses under the raw number.

We created a database of all incoming and outgoing Power 5 and HBCU women's basketball coaches with data that were collated from media guides, regional and local newspapers, and the NCAA and university media guides and yearbooks. We found that more women (251) were hired compared to men (116) between 1984 and 2020. Only one Latina woman was hired during this timeframe. Although White women have experienced a decline in their incoming numbers since 2006, they remain the most hired. Similarly, White male head coaches are hired more than Black male coaches. These preliminary findings informed our research in examining the career pathways and hiring criteria of women's Division I basketball coaches, within the sample size of Power Five conferences and Division I HBCUs.

To identify a coach's racial/ethnic identity we utilized indicators from the coach's professional association memberships (ex. African American Coaches Association), minority-specific awards, interviews, and news articles. Coaches' qualifications or their human capital investments were measured across nine variables, including coaches' immediate prior position to being hired into the head coaching position at a Power Five school or HBCU, number of years of NCAA coaching experience, coaching experience prior to hire at all levels (e.g., WNBA, head coaching experience at the DI, DII, DIII levels, Associate, Assistant, National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), National Junior College Athletic Association (NJCAA), and high school levels), highest prior division coached, winning an NCAA championship as a coach, winning an NCAA championship as a player, highest level of play (e.g. NBA or WNBA, overseas, NCAA Division I, II, III, NJCAA, or high school), highest division played as an athlete, and highest education degree obtained (PhD, JD, Masters, Bachelors). While playing experience does not necessarily determine a candidate's success as a coach, more elite or professional playing experience provides a potential coaching candidate with more social capital to be recognized within the hiring process (Peterson, 2018). This suggests that candidates who are more recognized within the basketball network, are more likely to be valued by the athletic program to bring in a fan base, and consequently hired.

Results

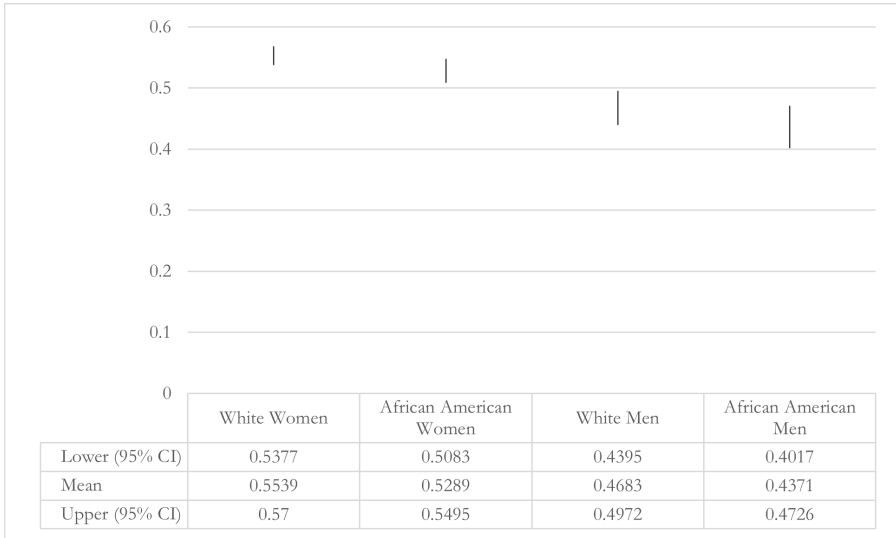
As mentioned in the previous section, our analysis is based on a coefficients test, one-way ANOVAs, and post-hoc tests. Results from these tests for the Power Five and HBCUs appear in Tables 4 and 5, and Power Five head coaching hires exclusively are found in Tables 6 and 7, and further discussed later in this section. We also conducted one-way ANOVA tests using a weighted average of years of coaching experience at different coaching levels as a head coach, associate, and assistant within the ranks of the NBA/WNBA, DI, DII, DIII, NJCAA, and high school. Division I coaching positions also included positions at the associate and assistant coaching levels in addition to that of head coaches. Years of coaching experience was split across nine coaching levels, with weights ranging from one to nine. Coaching experience at the NBA and WNBA levels were weighted the highest with a score of nine, since serving as a head coach within the NBA and WNBA is the most elite level

of coaching possible within professional basketball. A head coach at NCAA Division I level had a score of eight as this is the next highest coaching position within our basketball coaching sample in intercollegiate athletics, followed by an associate head coach at the Division I level with a score of seven. Assistant coaches at the DI level were ranked higher than Division II head coaches. This decision was based on several factors. Within our sample size, assistant coaches all coached at the NCAA Division I level. Division I schools typically have more funding than Division II programs, which results in better facilities, higher-paid coaches, more scholarship money, and more considerable resources.

The competition level for Division I athletes is also more rigorous compared to Division II and Division III programs which offers greater flexibility for athletes to participate in another sport or activity. That said, due to the competition level and funding capabilities, coaches at Division I schools have higher salaries, which suggests that Division I coaches can be of a higher caliber than a Division II or Division III coach, who may have even hold other job responsibilities in addition to coaching. This suggests that while a head coach is generally a higher-ranking position than an assistant coach, there is greater potential for an assistant coach to successfully move across different conferences at the Division I level, gaining the experience needed to become a head coach at a Division I school, compared to that of a head coach at Division II. Based on the potential for career mobility and familiarity with the expectations of a Division I program, it was decided that assistant coaches at the Division I level should be weighted slightly higher with a score of six compared to head coaches at the Division II level, who were given a score of five. Coaches at the NAIA level were also given a score of five. NAIA consists of 300 schools and 13 sports, and is a smaller association than the NCAA, which includes two divisions, Division I and Division II. NAIA Division I is comparable to NCAA Division II in which students are still provided small athletic scholarships. Based on the similarities between the two divisions, NAIA head coaches received the same weight as Division II head coaches. Division I in the NAIA is comparable to Division II in the NCAA. Similarly, Division III head coaches were ranked slightly lower than Division II head coaches with a score of four, due to the flexibility in coaching expectations and different compliance regulations from the NCAA. Head coaches at the junior college level, NJCAA, were given a weighted score of two, while high school coaches are the lowest ranked within the sample size and were provided with a score of one. The number of years coached at each of these levels was multiplied by the indicated score, and an average was calculated across the nine coaching levels for each coaching hire.

In comparing the lower and upper bounds of confidence intervals of the average hiring qualifications of NCAA Division I women's basketball coaches as displayed in Figure 1, we found that, on average, there were no significant differences in the hiring qualifications of coaches across racial groups, but rather across gender. White women and Black women did not have a significant difference in qualifications when being hired for NCAA Division I head coaching positions. The lower bound and upper bounds of the confidence intervals for White women were 0.5377 and 0.577 respectively, while the lower and upper bounds of the confidence intervals for Black

Figure 1
Coefficients testing of average head coaching qualifications.



women were 0.5083 and 0.5495. The overlap of the upper bound of Black women and lower bounds of White women suggests that from the sample size, White women and Black women do not have significantly different qualifications. Similarly, the lower and upper bounds of the confidence intervals for White men were 0.4395 and 0.4972, respectively, while the lower and upper bounds of the confidence intervals for Black men were 0.4017 and 0.4726, respectively. The overlap between the upper bound of the confidence interval for Black men and the lower bound of the confidence interval for White men suggests that there is no significant difference in qualifications between White and Black men in this sample size. Since there is no overlap of confidence intervals between women and men, we can infer that on average, women have greater qualifications as NCAA Division I women’s basketball coaches based on the nine qualifications selected for this study compared to their male counterparts. Despite the initial results from the confidence interval tests, we decided to also run a one-way ANOVA to determine whether the overlap between White and Black women and those of White and Black men were significant.

The one-way ANOVA test was also used to determine differences in coaching qualifications across the four demographics (White women, Black women, White men, Black men). Of the nine variables listed in Table 4, the highest degree obtained (HDO), was the only variable that did not have a statistically significant difference between the four demographic groups. This suggests that educational attainment may not have played a major factor in the hiring process of Division I women’s basketball coaches.

Table 4
One-way ANOVA test of NCAA Division I women's basketball coaching hires among Power Five and HBCUs, 1984-2020.

Variable	White Women		Black Women		White Men		Black Men		F	p
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Average	0.5539	0.0947	0.5289	0.11207	0.4683	0.11641	0.4371	0.126	19.025	0.001***
IPP	0.6933	0.21413	0.5034	0.26701	0.6369	0.25222	0.4353	0.28483	19.772	0.001***
YPC	0.3662	0.19255	0.2575	0.19063	0.4111	0.28626	0.2656	0.23404	10.016	0.001***
HPD	0.9585	0.15472	0.869	0.31219	0.9754	0.13466	0.851	0.3221	5.499	0.001***
WinNCAAC	0.3901	0.189	0.3477	0.16087	0.4051	0.21644	0.3333	0.11547	2.756	0.042**
HLP	0.6163	0.15072	0.6828	0.19394	0.4123	0.29554	0.502	0.20928	28.201	0.001***
HNCAAD	0.7511	0.36851	0.8448	0.3274	0.3631	0.44566	0.5216	0.4597	26.185	0.001***
WinNCAAP	0.3457	0.18397	0.4397	0.25481	0.241	0.17187	0.2941	0.10847	15.593	0.001***
HDO	0.3096	0.09991	0.2862	0.10624	0.3015	0.10077	0.2941	0.16176	0.944	0.420

Note. IPP (immediate previous position), YPC (years prior coaching experience), HPD (highest prior division coached), WinNCAAC (won an NCAA championship as a coach), HLP (highest level of playing experience), HNCAAD (highest NCAA division played), WinNCAAP (won an NCAA championship as a player), HDO (highest degree obtained).

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

Tukey's HSD post-hoc tests (see Table 5) were then used to determine which demographic groups had statistically different means scores across the nine variables. After normalizing each variable, an average was taken to determine statistical difference across the four demographic groups. Based on the ANOVA testing between groups, we found that on average, there is no statistically significant difference between White and Black women's overall coaching qualifications. However, when comparing White women with both White men and Black men, as well as Black women with White men and Black men, women were found to have higher coaching qualifications than both male groups. On average, White men and Black men did not have statistically significant different coaching qualifications to one another. Once again, these results demonstrate that there is no statistically significant difference in the average coaching qualifications across racial groups, but rather across gender.

In respect to the weighted average for women's basketball coaches across the Power Five and HBCUs, in which we weighted coaching experience based on years coached from professional basketball, different levels across the NCAA down to high school basketball, we found that White women and White men had more years of coaching experience at the higher weighted levels compared to Black women and men. Interestingly, we also found that more White men coached at higher weighted NCAA levels than White women, which demonstrates that compared to their Black counterparts, White women and men had significantly greater weighted levels of experience across the Power Five conference and HBCUs combined. This illustrates that there is a larger concentration of Black coaches at the lower weighted coaching levels. We found that White coaches, both women and men, had higher ranking immediate previous positions prior to being hired to the current head coaching position at a school within a Division I Power Five conference or Division I HBCU. We also observed that White women have the most years of experience coaching at the various levels across the NCAA. It is also interesting to note that White coaches, both men and women, have more years of experience coaching in the NCAA, compared to their Black counterparts, which could suggest a historical bias in the hiring of people of color with more employment opportunities granted to White coaches in general. This also highlights that White candidates were more likely to have a lateral move as head coach or were coaching within the NBA or WNBA compared to their Black counterparts.

Similarly, with respect to years of previous coaching experience, prior to being hired, White women were shown to have more years of coaching experience compared to Black women, although they did not possess more years of coaching experience compared to White men. Interestingly, Black women's years of coaching experience was not statistically different compared to Black men. This highlights that when considering years of coaching experience as a component of the overall hiring criteria for Division I basketball coaches, White women and White men had more years of coaching experience compared to their Black counterparts, demonstrating greater differences across race as opposed to gender in years of experience. This could imply that White candidates were given more opportunities throughout their coaching careers to accumulate greater years of coaching experience, again,

contributing to a possible historic bias in college sports hiring.

Moreover, when it comes to the highest level of coaching experience, White women were more likely to have coached at the highest basketball divisions prior to their current appointment compared to Black women and men. There is no significant difference between White women and White men in respect to the highest prior division coached. White men and women coached at higher levels than their Black counterparts, which highlights a racial difference as opposed to a gender difference for this variable within the overall hiring process. This suggests that White women and men were given more opportunities to coach at highly ranked universities compared to their Black counterparts.

For the criteria of winning an NCAA championship as a coach, we found no statistically significant difference across the four demographic groups. It can be inferred that because winning an NCAA championship is quite rare, not one demographic group is outperforming the other for this specific criterion. It could also be inferred that if a coach wins an NCAA championship, it is less likely that they would willingly leave that school, or alternatively, be fired and hired somewhere else. Schools tend to retain coaches who win championships, therefore in our dataset which studies hiring trends, it is likely that we did not capture groups of coaches who may have won one or more NCAA championships during their coaching tenure—since they probably did not leave the university during our timeframe, or if they did move universities, it was not captured within the Power Five conferences or amongst HBCUs. Furthermore, for this study, we did not capture assistant coaches who may have been on the coaching staff of a team who won an NCAA championship. This might have shown a greater correlation, as schools provide assistant coaches from successful Division I programs more opportunities to transition to head coaching positions.

Additionally, highest level of play was categorized as playing within the NBA and WNBA as the highest with a score of six, and high school as the lowest with a score of one. Consequently, we found White and Black women having higher levels of playing experience compared to White and Black men. Highest level of playing experience demonstrates there is more of a gender divide for this variable as there was no significant difference in highest level of play between White and Black men.

Table 4 indicates that there is also no significant difference in highest level of play between White and Black women. That said, while the data reveal no significant difference, Black women have a slightly higher playing experience mean score compared to White women at the 0.051 significance level. The higher levels of playing experience among both groups of women could suggest that there are higher standards and expectations of women hires to have a higher level of playing experience compared to men.

For highest NCAA division played (DI, DII, DIII), there was no significant difference between White and Black women. White men and Black men also did not demonstrate a large difference in highest division of basketball played. However, there is a significant difference between women and men. Women coaches played both at a higher overall professional level than men and within the NCAA ranks. Moreover, White and Black women were also more likely to have won an NCAA

Table 5
Tukey HSD post-hoc analysis on NCAA women's basketball coaching hiring criteria among Power Five and HBCUs, 1984-2020.

Variable	WW-BW		WW-WM		WW-BM		BW-WM		BW-BM		WM-BM	
	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p
Average	0.02497	0.27	0.08556*	0.001	0.11674*	0.001	0.06058*	0.002	0.09176*	0.001	0.03118	0.42
Weighted Average	0.11529*	0.001	-0.05692	0.03113	0.10687*	0.03389	-0.17221*	0.001	-0.00841	0.995	0.16380*	0.001***
IPP	0.18989*	0.001	0.05641	0.437	0.25804*	0.001	-0.13347*	0.001	0.06815	0.003	0.20163*	0.001***
YPC	0.10866*	0.001	-0.04485	0.521	0.10058*	0.026	-0.15351*	0.001	-0.00808	0.996	0.14543*	0.002
HPD	0.08955*	0.017	-0.01687	0.966	0.10754*	0.033	-0.10642*	0.022	0.01799	0.029	0.12440*	0.029
WinNCAAC	0.04242	0.235	-0.01500	0.944	0.05679	0.21	-0.05743	0.159	0.01437	0.963	0.07179	0.136
HLP	-0.06646	0.051	0.20399*	0.001	0.11434*	0.004	0.27045*	0.001	0.18080*	0.001	-0.08965	0.090
HNCAAD	-0.09372	0.22	0.38803*	0.001	0.22954*	0.002	0.48175*	0.001	0.32326*	0.001	-0.15849	0.125
WinNCAAP	-0.09398*	0.001	0.10465*	0.003	0.05156	0.397	0.19863*	0.001	0.14554*	0.001	-0.05309	0.487
HDO	0.02342	0.355	0.00809	0.964	0.01551	0.836	-0.01533	0.815	-0.00791	0.975	0.00742	0.985

Note. Note: IPP (immediate previous position), YPC (years prior coaching experience), HPD (highest prior division coached), WinNCAAC (won an NCAA championship as a coach), HLP (highest level of playing experience), HNCAAD (highest NCAA division played), WinNCAAP (won an NCAA championship as a player), HDO (highest degree obtained).

^aWW (White Women), BW (Black Women), WM (White Men), BM (Black Men)

^bMD (mean difference)

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

championship as players compared to both White and Black men. Yet, Black women demonstrated higher levels of winning an NCAA championship compared to White women. This may reveal that women coaches must have more playing experience at more elite levels and have won an NCAA Championship as a player to be considered for a head coaching position within NCAA Division I women's basketball, compared to their male competition.

We also analyzed hiring criteria of Division I women's basketball coaches exclusively across the Power Five conferences since both Black women and men coaches were concentrated within the HBCUs and therefore decided it was important to determine whether there were qualification differences for Black coaches across the Power Five. Table 6 shows that across the different hiring criteria, the significant differences across the four demographics are evident for variables including highest level of play, highest NCAA division played, and whether the candidate won an NCAA championship as a player.

Variables such as immediate previous position, years of previous coaching experience, highest prior division coached, and winning an NCAA championship as a coach did not provide a statistically significant difference across the demographic groups, as they had when Power Five universities and HBCUs were analyzed together. In observing the mean scores across the four demographics, Black coaches still had less years of coaching experience. Black women had a mean score of 0.3108 and Black men a score of 0.2625, compared to their White counterparts, 0.3662 and 0.4043 for women and men, respectively. The sample size of Black coaches within the Power Five conferences is quite small and therefore the mean estimates for qualifications based on years of experience are uncertain. Due to the small sample size of Black coaches in the Power Five, we cannot prove that there are discriminatory hiring practices occurring, but these results can show that Blacks are an underrepresented group within the hiring pool for Power Five universities.

Table 6
One-way ANOVA test of NCAA Division I women's basketball coaching hires among Power Five Schools only, 1984-2020.

Variable	White Women		Black Women		White Men		Black Men		F	Total	p
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Average	0.5539	0.09470	0.5814	0.08499	0.4689	0.11628	0.5211	0.05951	13.727	0.001***	
IPP	0.6933	0.21413	0.5568	0.20621	0.6508	0.24088	0.5600	0.32863	4.026	0.008	
YPC	0.3662	0.19255	0.3108	0.17004	0.4043	0.28469	0.2625	0.29778	1.785	0.151	
HPD	0.9585	0.15472	0.9459	0.22924	0.9746	0.13675	0.8000	0.44721	1.644	0.180	
WinNCAAC	0.3901	0.18900	0.4054	0.22409	0.4074	0.21952	0.3333	0.0000	0.294	0.830	
HLP	0.6163	0.15072	0.7459	0.18042	0.4159	0.29469	0.7200	0.17889	24.127	0.001***	
HNCAAD	0.7511	0.36851	0.9405	0.18776	0.3587	0.4431	0.9200	0.17889	24.725	0.001***	
WinNCAAP	0.3457	0.18397	0.4865	0.31026	0.2381	0.17381	0.3333	0.000	11.572	0.001***	
HDO	0.3096	0.09991	0.2595	0.10398	0.3016	0.10079	0.2400	0.08944	2.991	0.032	

Note. IPP (immediate previous position), YPC (years prior coaching experience), HPD (highest prior division coached), WinNCAAC (won an NCAA championship as a coach), HLP (highest level of playing experience), HNCAAD (highest NCAA division played), WinNCAAP (won an NCAA championship as a player), HDO (highest degree obtained).

^aWW (White Women), BW (Black Women), WM (White Man), BM (Black Man).

^bMD (mean difference)

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

Table 7
Tukey HSD post-hoc analysis on NCAA women's basketball coaching hiring criteria for Power Five Schools only, 1984-2020.

Variable	WW-BW		WW-WM		WW-BM		BW-WM		BW-BM		WM-BM	
	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p	MD	p
Average	-0.02756	0.439	0.08494*	0.001	0.03272	0.887	0.11250*	0.001	0.06027	0.578	-0.05223	0.668
Weighted Average	0.08095	0.166	-0.05073	0.393	0.06335	0.912	-0.13168*	0.015	-0.01761	0.998	0.11407	0.649
IPP	0.13658*	0.006	0.04254	0.594	0.1333	0.555	-0.09404	0.177	-0.00324	1.000	0.09079	0.177
YPC	0.05539	0.526	-0.03806	0.668	0.1307	0.728	-0.09346	0.171	0.0481	0.967	0.14177	0.508
HPD	0.01257	0.980	-0.01608	0.929	0.15852	0.186	-0.02866	0.854	0.14595	0.290	0.17460	0.134
WinNCAAC	-0.01528	0.977	-0.01728	0.943	0.05679	0.926	-0.002	1.000	0.07207	0.876	0.07407	0.858
HLP	-0.12965*	0.004	0.20042*	0.001	-0.1037	0.677	0.33007*	0.001	0.02595	0.993	-0.30413*	0.008
HNCAAD	-0.18943*	0.030	0.39238*	0.001	-0.16889	0.743	0.58181*	0.001	0.02054	0.999	-0.56127	0.006
WinNCAAP	-0.14081*	0.001	0.17058*	0.004	0.01235	0.999	0.24839*	0.001	0.15315	0.397	-0.09524	0.748
HDO	0.05017*	0.038	0.00804	0.953	0.06963	0.427	-0.04213	0.183	0.01946	0.977	0.06159	0.553

Note. IPP (immediate previous position), YPC (years prior coaching experience), HPD (highest prior division coached), WinNCAAC (won an NCAA championship as a coach), HLP (highest level of playing experience), HNCAAD (highest NCAA division played), WinNCAAP (won an NCAA championship as a player), HDO (highest degree obtained).

^aWW (White Women), BW (Black Women), WM (White Men), BM (Black Men)

^bMD (mean difference)

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

Table 6 presents which hiring criterion had significantly different mean scores by demographic group across the Power Five conferences. We found that across the nine hiring criteria, using both a normalized average and a weighted average, there is no statistically significant difference in overall coaching experience between White and Black women. White women, however, on average have more experience across the nine criteria compared to all four demographic groups. Women also had more experience across the nine variables compared to men. When analyzing the weighted average of years of coaching experience by division, White men were found to have more coaching experience at higher division levels compared to Black women. There is, however, uncertainty to this weighted average estimate due to the small sample size. We also found that White women had higher level immediate previous positions than Black women, but there was no statistical difference for the other demographic groups. Moreover, women had significantly higher playing experience overall compared to their male counterparts, while Black women had the highest levels of playing experience compared to the four demographic groups. Black women coaching hires within the Power Five conferences also played at higher divisions compared to White women and White men. Similarly, Black women coaching hires won more NCAA championships as players than White women, and White and Black men.

By analyzing the hiring criteria of women's Division I basketball coaches hired into the Power Five conference schools exclusively, we find that the number of Black coaches hired overall is very small. That is, out of a pool of 240 coaching hires, only 41 Black men and Black women coaches were hired. This small number of coaches suggests that the uncertainty of these provided estimates is wide, and concrete differences are difficult to detect. Furthermore, the overall sample size of the study in general is quite small which adds to the uncertainty in determining actual differences in qualifications across the nine chosen hiring criteria.

Discussion

While previous studies have either studied gender or racial differences with respect to human capital among assistant coaches and athletic administrators, this study provides an intersectional approach which considers both race and gender as significant determinants of career success among head coaches. Based on our one-way ANOVA and the Tukey post-hoc tests, in comparing women's basketball coaching hires across the Power Five universities and HBCUs, our results demonstrate that there is a clear intersection between gender and race in terms of coaching qualifications. However, when analyzing overall coaching qualifications, our results demonstrated a more significant split on gender. On the other hand, when analyzing the estimates from the weighted average of years of coaching experience across the different divisions, there was a greater racial divide. Across the nine hiring criteria selected, on average, White women and Black women had more coaching qualifications than their male counterparts. Additionally, when analyzing the estimates from the weighted average of the nine criteria, the racial divide was more prominent. Black coaches in general, have less years of coaching experience due to less opportunities provided

than their White counterparts. Despite Black women having higher playing level experience at the professional levels as well as within the NCAA, White coaches consistently had more opportunities to coach at higher levels within the NCAA and were therefore provided with more opportunities to improve their coaching resumes than Black women. Besides, this also means that women Division I basketball coaching candidates need greater playing experiences than men to be hired into their current positions. From our estimates, to be validated as a coach, overall playing experience is divided along gender lines. Black women coaches, in particular, are found to be exceptional players, having played at more competitive levels than White women and have won more NCAA championships as players than all other demographics. Despite these qualifications, Black women are provided less opportunities at the head coaching levels and therefore there is a greater concentration of Black women and Black men coaches as either assistant coaches at the Division I level or coaching within the DII, DIII, NJCAA, or high school level. This illustrates that while Title IX was intended to provide equal opportunities for all members of an underrepresented sex in educational settings, White women have been the main beneficiaries of Title IX in the NCAA coaching realm. This is emphasized in our results that despite Black women having played at more competitive levels than White women, and having won more NCAA championships, they have still not been provided the same number of opportunities to progress into head coaching positions. This allows White women to progress faster up the coaching ladder, leaving Black women having to coach for longer periods with lower salaries at the assistant head coaching level.

Human Capital Implications

The main purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between human capital and the race and gender of coaches in the sample population. This effort was mainly due to some proponents of human capital model relegating the underrepresentation of women and people of color in labor markets to individuals' job-related qualifications and/or preferences (see Hakim, 2002) as opposed to access and/or treatment discrimination and other institutional constraints. In doing so, we looked at coaches' qualifications or their human capital investments across nine different variables. With respect to our research question, our data indicate that, on average, women have greater job-related qualifications as NCAA women's basketball coaches compared to their male counterparts. This finding shows that women candidates need more human capital than men candidates to obtain head coaching positions which marks the presence of gender discrimination in the NCAA coaching labor market. Nevertheless, when looking at the ratio of White women ($n = 135$) to Black women coaches ($n = 36$) hired at the Power Five level, we see that Black women were hired at a much lower rate compared to their White counterparts. When looking at qualifications across race, we see that White women had more coaching experience while Black women had more playing experience and won more championships as players. While occupational experience is a valuable human capital (Nordhaug, 1993), in the athletic context, prior playing experience is also known to function as a salient source of human capital (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Cunningham et

al., 2001). Nevertheless, more playing experience and winning more championships is not translating to more coaching opportunities for women of color which might attest to the presence of discrimination as a factor in the hiring process of women of color basketball coaches. As Smith (1992) argues, racialized perceptions towards the athleticism of women of color might fuel their popularity as athletes, but those same perceptions can hinder their consideration as coaches. Our results are also in line with the findings of Sagas and Cunningham (2005) and Cunningham (2021) who found that while White coaches possessed more occupational tenure compared to Black coaches and racial minorities in general, racial minority coaches held more experience in the form of professional playing experience. Nevertheless, as Sagas and Cunningham (2005) suggest, less occupational experience in the form of tenure by Black coaches compared to White coaches is often because White coaches are given more chances to accrue occupational experience. Indeed, this represents evidence for the presence of access discrimination in the NCAA women's basketball coaching labor market, especially as it relates to coaching opportunities for women of color.

Underrepresentation of Women of Color

With 50 years passed since the enactment of Title IX, this study was also led by a foundational inquiry about the representation of women as head basketball coaches in the NCAA. As such, we looked at the hiring patterns of NCAA women's basketball head coaches across Power Five and Division I HBCU colleges with a special attention to coaches' job-related qualifications. Consequently, we found that out of the 367 incoming Power Five and Division I HBCU head coaches between 1984 and 2020, 251 (68.39%) were indeed women. While a more robust examination would consider the representation of women in coaching positions across all NCAA divisions, our data show relatively consistent opportunities for female coaches across Power Five and DI HBCU schools since the passage of Title IX. Nevertheless, these opportunities do not seem equitable when considering a coach's race. That is, Black women represented just 21% (36 out of 172) of the women hired as head coaches of Power Five schools between 1984 and 2020 even though, in 2019-2020, Black women made up 48.1% of women basketball players at the same level (Kalman-Lamb et al., 2021). This lack of representation of women coaches of color in comparison to their White counterparts shows the relevancy and significance of both structural and political intersectionality discussed earlier (Crenshaw, 1991). On one hand, the underrepresentation of Black women as head coaches of women basketball programs manifests the implications of structural intersectionality as it demonstrates how different social factors like gender and racism work together to negatively impact coaching opportunities for women of color (Rhoden, 2012; Carter-Francique & Olushola, 2016). On the other hand, this lack of representation exposes the need for political intersectionality, revealing how by providing more head coaching opportunities to White women over women of color, Title IX as a policy and a political project, might have failed to enact gender equity for women of color in athletics. This effect is especially pernicious in a sport such as women's basketball where many players identify as women of color. As Flowers (2015) argues, increasing opportunities for women

in college athletics can indeed be attributed to the passage of Title IX, but Title IX has also been associated with decreasing opportunities and increasing discrimination against Black women in college athletics.

Limitations and Future Research

One of the biggest limitations of this research study is the sample size. We concentrated on hiring transitions of incoming and outgoing women's Division I basketball coaches in the Power Five conferences and Division I HBCUs from 1984-2020 which means this study did not capture the entire head coaching personnel across the Power Five schools and HBCUs during that time period. This study should be further extended to smaller conferences across Division I schools where more diversity might be present in the hiring process. Moreover, since HBCUs are more likely to hire minority candidates, the inclusion of HBCUs somewhat skewed our estimations of racial impacts compared to analyzing the data exclusively across the Power Five. Similarly, given our small sample size for the Power Five, particularly those of Black coaches, the estimates are uncertain. While we cannot conclude, with certainty, that there are discriminatory hiring practices occurring across the Power Five conferences, we can note that coaches of color are indeed underrepresented within the hiring pool relative to the number of Black players competing within the NCAA or at the professional levels. For this reason, it is important to extend the study to the other Division I conferences to determine whether coaches of color are underrepresented across all women's basketball program hires.

Another limitation that we did not consider in this study is the university's overall budget allocation for Athletics. Universities will typically pay more for their coaches if they have historically better performing teams. This suggests that the popularization of coaches may determine higher wages. These universities will therefore want to hire the most experienced coaches and are less likely to provide opportunities to up and coming coaches who are hoping to gather more experience. Moreover, Power Five universities have the most resource rich women's basketball programs within Division I, and therefore there might be more opportunities and lateral hiring moves occurring at universities outside of the Power Five conferences. Finally, our study did not contain a control group, nor do we know who else was being considered for the same positions that were being filled between 1984 and 2020. We do not know for instance, what percentage of minority candidates applied, and who was not considered for the position overall.

Lastly, it should also be noted that hiring more women/people of color for head coaching or other leadership positions, without concrete efforts (i.e., substantial support systems) towards retaining these candidates, does not necessarily mean that anti-discrimination laws such as Title IX have served their full purpose. As several studies have shown, coaches of color are often the last hired and the first fired (Cochran & Mehri, 2002; Madden, 2004; Shropshire, 2004). As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of Title IX, we should recognize that increasing coaching opportunities for women should be an intersectional goal which takes the interests of all women

into consideration while pushing for meaningful change within organizations with the aim of providing long-lasting support networks for women and coaches of color to not only get hired, but to succeed in the long run.

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