

Gendered Collegiate Sports: Athlete-Student or Student-Athlete?

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ABSTRACT. This study examined the effects of gendered sports programs on the academic success of college athletics using data from the 2003-2012 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) survey and interviews with six athletic professionals. Data for the 2003-12 periods were disaggregated into two groups, 2003-2010 and 2011-2012, to capture the potential relevance of the Academic Progress Rates revisions made by NCAA in 2011. Programs that reported higher academic success rates received public recognition and fewer penalties. However, only larger male sports programs had lower academic success rates. Private, rather than public, institutions received more public approbation and had better academic success. These findings, not only illustrated the Structural Conflict and the manifest-latent dysfunctional (Merton) nature of collegiate athletics, but also added to literature in the sociology of collegiate sports.

INTRODUCTION

American society, throughout its history, has placed a huge emphasis on sports in academic institutions (Shulman and Bowen 2011). The National Collegiate Athlete Association (NCAA) was created in 1906 to provide college students with a unified athletic conference within which to compete. The NCAA, a non-profit organization, oversees student-athletes from over 1,200 institutions in the U.S. and their 450,000 students. Participating schools are organized into conferences based on geographical location and school size. Sports programs are categorized as Division I, II, or III. Larger sports programs generally belong to a Division I conference while smaller programs tend to compete in Division II or III. Under the NCAA's rules, only Division I and Division II schools (not Division III) can offer NCAA athletic scholarships to their athletes. Another dimension of college sports programs is whether they belong to "powerhouse sports conferences"; these conferences, which include the Pac-12, Southeastern Conference (SEC), and Big 12, all compete in Division I athletics. As a member of a powerhouse conference, institutions receive more media coverage and recognition by the public. They are also often prestigious and have strong athletic programs. No doubt, colleges from smaller conferences, on the contrary, do not place as strong of an emphasis on athletics as the bigger programs.

Yet another important dimension of college athletics is gendered programs. For example, men's sports, such as men's basketball and football, often have large groups

of fans and generate profits for the school. Women's sports, on the other hand, have not received the same public or academic attention. In an effort to bring gender equality in collegiate athletics, in 1972, the United States Congress passed and enacted Title IX. As a direct result of Title IX, institutions of higher education are required to have the same number of varsity teams for both men and women. For some colleges, this meant getting rid of some male sports teams (Thomas 2011). No doubt, since the introduction of Title IX, women's collegiate athletics have benefitted, but they still linger in the shadows of their male counterparts, particularly when it comes to revenue. It is well known that female sports typically draw little to no fans and commensurate media blackout. But, how do female athletes do academically, the other, but important, function of college athletics? Gender equality in college sports is a work in progress. In this context, it is important to scrutinize and address the gender inequalities in academics that might be present in college athletics.

The dynamic tension between academics and athletics is relevant not only to institutions of higher education, but also to college athletes. This tension is one that persists throughout their academic career and perhaps beyond. Over the years, both the NCAA and collegiate athletes have been criticized for pressuring (and succeeding) in getting colleges and universities to dilute the academic requirements for admitting and graduating athletes, undermining the academic side of being a student-athlete. For example, dominant football and basketball programs within powerhouse conferences, such as the Pac-12 Conference, are often under media and social scrutiny for this problem. One common critique is that the NCAA's athletes would not be academically eligible for general admittance to colleges and yet are expected to succeed in college. Many skeptics posit that the only reason star athletes have been accepted is for the benefit of the athletic program. As noted earlier, sports can be a major source of revenue for universities and help place their name on the map for prospective students. The criticisms also extend to the NCAA for their less than stellar standards for academic progress rates (APR) of sports programs and the public approbation (both public recognition and/or penalties) programs receive. In response, the NCAA has begun raising the threshold for what it defines as academic success for student athletes and their sports programs.

It is against this background that this study examined the academic progress rates (APR) of college athletic programs and public approbations they received over a 10-year period from 2003 to 2013. APRs are derived using athlete eligibility rates, retention rates, and squad sizes in the various athletic conferences within the NCAA (NCAA 2014.a). These progress rates measure the academic success of collegiate athletic programs. Athletes and athletic programs are also subject to penalties or public recognition based upon their academic progress rates.

DEFINING TERMS

Academic Progress Rate (APR)¹⁸ is an annual quantitative measurement used by the NCAA to measure a school or university's athletic program's efforts to track student-athletes advancement towards on-time graduation. As noted above, in any given year, a program's APR includes athlete eligibility rates, retention rates, and squad size. Eligibility rate is the number of student-athletes academically eligible to compete for a specific sport within an institution. Similarly, retention rate is the number of athletes that were retained at the end of a given academic year. A student athlete earns one retention point for remaining at the institution and another for being academically eligible. The squad size is the total number of student-athletes who contributed their individual retention and eligibility rate to the institution's APR. The total number of points that a team received is divided by the total number of possible points, then multiplied by one thousand in order to put the score on a scale ranging from 0-1000. A score of 1000 points is a perfect score; 925 is roughly the equivalent to a 50% graduation rate of athletes. Athletic programs falling beneath this threshold may be penalized in a number of ways, including loss of scholarships, loss of practice time, and post-season ineligibility or even being stripped of a conference title.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The issues covered in the extant literature are broken down into APR, public approbation, and the issue of gendered differences in student athletes. Males are seen as athlete-students while females are students first and athletes second.

Academic Progress Rates

Academic Progress Rate (APR), NCAA's metric for calculating student athlete academic success, coincide with the Federal Graduation Rate (FGR) and Graduation Success Rate (GSR) as metrics to quantify academic progress (LaForge and Hodge 2011). Up until 2012, schools were required to have a score of 925, or a 50% graduation rate to meet the NCAA and institution's academic requirements. Widespread critique of the NCAA's standards by the media and public for athlete academic success resulted in the minimum APR score being raised to 930 in 2012.

¹⁸ Academic progress rates are calculated in a multi-step formula. The first step involves multiplying the number of, student-athletes that are academically eligible and retained, by a factor of two because of the two variables used. This product is then added to the number of students who are academically ineligible but retained and multiplied by a factor of one half. Next, the sum of these values is added to the number of athletes that leave the school while academically eligible, multiplied by a factor of one half. The newly added total is combined with the number of student-athletes that leave the school while academically ineligible, multiplied by a factor of zero. Together this sum represents the numerator in the calculation of the APR, which is then divided by the total number of student-athletes to put the metric into percentage form and multiplied by 1000 to put the value on a scale of 0-1000.

Despite the restructuring APR scores, there continue to be critiques of the effectiveness of this tool to measure athlete's academic achievement. For one, "a student athlete who leaves the university prematurely for a professional sports career is considered in the same manner as a student athlete who leaves the university for academic reasons" (LaForge and Hodge 2011:224). For example, many star athletes that plan on going professional choose to enter a draft before their graduation. These actions negatively affect the APR of a program because a point for retention is lost even though it does not necessarily mean the athlete was failing to meet academic standards. In short, since APR is calculated using eligibility and retention rates, the validity of APR measurement could potentially be jeopardized as a way of measuring academic success by the lack of attention to loopholes in the equation.

Another flaw in the APR calculations is that APR only considers students who are receiving athletic financial aid from their Division I schools. This means that student athletes who do not receive athletic scholarships and walk-ons do not count towards a program's APR (Hale 2014:32). The end result is that many student-athletes compete within non-Division I athletic programs but their academic success, or lack thereof, is not taken into account in the team's APR rate. Even if these athletes struggle academically, since their results do not affect the APR, omitting their academic success can help a program hyper-inflate their APRs. Thinking bigger picture, this could potentially be a loophole for institutions, helping them maintain legitimacy with the NCAA, remain eligible for post-season play without being penalized, and derive profits through media, advertisements, and sales of sports paraphernalia. Future research should broaden the scope of the issue, considering the academic progress of all athletes within an athletic program to get more complete results rather than focusing only on those receiving athletic scholarships.

Public Approbation

Academic success of a sports program is also indicated by the public approbation the program receives in the media, from the college and from the NCAA. For one, the NCAA holds institutions accountable for their student-athletes' success through the penalties and public recognition they afford programs (Weston 2011). These approbations, based on their APRs from the previous academic school years, can either help the program receive public recognition for academic success or strip it of its achievements or opportunities for athletic achievements. For example, if an athletic program does not meet the threshold of an APR score of 925 for four consecutive academic years or have two back-to-back school years with an APR score of 940 it will be penalized with post-season ineligibility during the following season (LaForge and Hodge 2011). With some sports such as men's basketball and football being so vital for an institution's financial profitability, meeting these expectations is in the school's best financial interest. For example, in 2014, the University of Connecticut won both the men's and women's basketball national championship. However, during the previous year, the men's team was ineligible for post-season play because of their disturbingly low APR scores of 826 and 844 between 2008 and 2010. Since then the program has

improved their scores to 978 in 2010-2011, 947 in 2011-2012, and 1,000 in the past two seasons (Amore 2015).

On the other hand, some universities have sometimes placed their financial interests over the academic success of their athletes. Two recent cases in point: It was discovered in late October 2014 that the University of North Carolina had been boosting student-athlete grade point averages by having them take paper classes for over 18 years. This scandal, termed the biggest student-athlete scandal in history, included two football coaches, at least five advisors, and over 3,100 students (Ganim and Sayers 2014). The University of Southern California (USC) is another school that has been publically criticized for its academic violations. "Finding USC a "repeat violator" with respect to its football program, the NCAA imposed stringent sanctions, including a two-year ban on postseason football competition and bowls, for seasons 2010 and 2011" (McLaughlin 2011:263). These penalties take away from the institution's profitability because the lack of post-season competition reduces sales of team merchandise. Penalties also harm the reputation of the school because student athletes may not want to be associated with an institution that is ridiculed in the media, often times deterring recruitment of talented athletes and pushing students to other universities. Unfortunately, there may be other schools in similar situations that have yet to be unveiled.

While theoretically it is possible for female programs to have the same problems or recognition as their male counterparts, they typically do not receive much recognition or penalties. This gendered phenomenon is partly because female sports are not as favored in the media as male sports. However, during the 2010-2011 academic school year, of the five national champions that received public recognition for their academic excellence four were women's teams; only one was a male team. These teams included Notre Dame women's soccer, UCLA women's golf, Brown women's rowing, Arizona State softball, and Ohio State men's volleyball. This overrepresentation of women's teams being publicly recognized for high achievement continued in 2011; 560 women's teams were recognized in contrast to only 394 men's or mixed squads (NCAA 2012).

The Student-Athlete or Athlete-Student?

With the amount of emphasis placed on male collegiate athletics, male student athletes often place athletics before academics. Females, on the other hand, experience the opposite.

The Male College Athlete-Student

It is obvious that male collegiate sports, such as basketball and football, are a highly publicized and profitable industry. With so much at stake for these two sports, many schools recruit very heavily. While it is the NCAA and the university institutions' responsibility to ensure that all student-athletes are held to the same standards as the

general student body, the recruiting process sometimes jeopardizes the academic admission standards for male athletes. Unfortunately, this double standard continues throughout the career of student-athletes as they progress through their college career. For example, in order to maintain the media publicity and profitability that their sports teams bring, universities sometimes turn a blind eye to a star who is not meeting academic standards. Issues like these have been prevalent since the inception of the NCAA, placing more emphasis on athletics than on the students' academic abilities, ultimately compromising the integrity of what it means to be a student-athlete.

The recorded mismatches between APR scores and approbation are good examples of the Male Athlete-Student. Between the year 2004-2012, men's football and basketball held the lowest APR scores, 949 and 952 respectively (Ramsey 2014). Yet, most of the male athletes and programs received much attention. Popular male collegiate sports, such as basketball and football, amass huge crowds and fans and generate large amounts of media attention and revenue for the university. As a result, the incentives for schools to keep recruiting talented athletes have increased even as the standards for being academically qualified for entrance into the institution have become more flexible. No doubt athletic programs are expensive for their institution; but the expenses are overshadowed by revenue generated from team merchandise sales of successful sports teams. Consequently, recruiting athletic talent becomes one of the priorities, even if it means sacrificing the educational credentials. Besides, there are incentives for the university and athletic program to allow star athletes who are struggling academically to continue playing and maintaining the school's reputation so that it is not tarnished for other athletes and regular students alike. Even the athletes feel these tensions. As Harrison reported in his study of African American college students, "Forty-four percent of the African American participants felt that the recruiting process is skewed towards athletic glamorization versus academic building" (2009:46).

Northwestern University was another example of how financial interests can change the academic-athletic priorities of one institution (Bowen and Levin 2011:27). For a long time, the university had issues prioritizing what it wanted to focus its efforts on, the student or the athlete. Although the college competes in one of the powerhouse conferences, The Big Ten, they had never been a consistent major contender in the conference. "With an undergraduate population of only 7,400 students, the Wildcats bore the scars of trying to maintain a team able to compete within the Big Ten and still meet Northwestern's academic standards" (Bowen and Levin 2011:27). There was a short-lived stint in which their football team was successful, and had aspirations of reaching the Rose Bowl. During these three years, the school created a new football stadium, had dramatic surges in revenue, and saw an increase in the student applicant pool. The university football team's success brought major media attention to the school and put the school in the spotlight for both public recognition and scrutiny. Unfortunately, for the first time in the school's history, the admission standards were lowered for athletes. Fortunately, this stint was short lived.

Female College Student-Athlete

Female sports programs rarely undergo the same scrutiny and criticism that their male counterparts, in say basketball and football, encounter. Why is this so? For one, if male athletes and their sports programs are not doing well academically, the same cannot be said of female athletes or their programs. An added explanation is the limited media attention and corresponding profitability of female collegiate sports. This differential media attention is partly a direct result of the favored status of spectating male sports. But, in the process, female sports tend to avoid the conflict of interest between money and athletics that male programs face. Another reason for the limited scrutiny of female sports is that female athletic programs do well academically. NCAA's APR score comparisons between 2004 and 2012 showed that female programs had higher scores in each of the following sports: baseball/softball, basketball, cross country, golf, indoor track, outdoor track, soccer, swimming and diving, and tennis (Ramsey 2014).

It is then not surprising that the case of female college athletes seems to be the opposite of their male counterparts. The female college athlete is more often a student-athlete than an athlete-student. A study by McLaughlin (2011:1) of female collegiate athletics found that "When controlling for all other variables, female teams were positively associated with APRs while male teams from high profile sports and teams with larger squad sizes were negatively associated with APRs". Gendered APR differences disaggregated by specific sports (Ramsey 2014) portrayed a similar picture. Female sports APR scores during 2004-2012 were overall consistently higher than male scores. Such APR disparities were also evident in specific sports. Softball teams had an average score of 978 compared to 965 of baseball; women's basketball APR score 972 was higher than the 952 APR of men's basketball; and women's cross country teams scored a 983 APR while the APR was only 965 for their male counterparts. Additionally, the female sport programs with the highest average scores in the 2004-2012 periods were gymnastics at 989, golf at 986, and swimming and diving at 986. In fact, over the span of eight years, the lowest average score for female sports was women's basketball at 972. Male sports, on the other hand, had a low score of 949 for football. Unfortunately, these gendered differences have continued in the NCAA's 2014 list of APR rates by gender and sport (NCAA 2014.b). Female sports programs averaged 971-990 while male sports programs averaged 947-984.

Why is there such a universal discrepancy in the academic achievements of male and female sports programs? For one, the gendered inequalities in professional sports reduce the likelihood of female athletes making a career out of their sport. There is significantly less financial incentive for females to play professional sports. The average female basketball player in the WNBA makes \$51,000 a year, with rookies earning an average of \$35,000 a year (WNBA Salaries 2015). In contrast, out of 425 listed NBA salaries, the low was \$29,500 with the high over \$23,000,000. And out of the 425 NBA listed salaries, 419 were over \$100,000 a year (ESPN 2015).

Another reason for the gendered academic discrepancy is the unintended academic consequences of the financial dimension of college athletics. No doubt, collegiate

athletes are not supposed to receive payment for their participation, but the financial dimension of college sports is common knowledge. That is, despite their higher APR scores, female sports programs generally have received little to no public recognition, penalties or media attention, or profits. Universities do not have the same financial stakes in female programs that they have in male sports programs. But, female athletes, being members of non-revenue generating sports teams, often benefit from the unintended consequence of the college athlete selection processes. If colleges do not have to heavily recruit star female athletes, they might not be willing to be as flexible with admission standards for recruiting. And if female college athletes are academically stronger than male athletes when they enter college, it stands to reason that they do better academically once they are in college.

The women's lacrosse team competition between Williams College and Amherst College in 1996 offers a good illustration of the female student-athlete. "On May 18, 1996, while Members of the Amherst College women's lacrosse team were in Alabama playing in the NCAA Division III championship tournament, the players from the Williams team were in Williamstown taking their spring term final exams" (Bowen and Levin 2011:24). While eligible for a national title, Williams College deemed it more important that their women's lacrosse team take their final examinations, denying them the right to compete in the national tournament despite their perfect 12-0 record. As a medium-sized club sport in a small athletic conference, the women's lacrosse team receives virtually no public approbation. In fact, Williams College values the academics so much more than the competitiveness of their athletics that the team was forced to miss the national tournament in order to complete their final exams at the school.

Williams' value of academics in sports was, in fact, rooted in the New England Small College Athletic Conference founding principles, which read as follows: "intercollegiate athletics are to be kept in harmony with the educational purposes of the institution, athletes represent the student body; and each school is in control of the intercollegiate athletic policy" (Bowen and Levin 2011:31). Besides, no athletic scholarships are given out in Division III schools. And many of these institutions place a higher emphasis on academics and education, making athletics to be simply an extra-curricular activity.

Summary and Future Research Directions

Studies reviewed above have documented the "Athlete-Student" model in male sports programs and their respective universities. The male sports programs in larger powerhouse conferences are more likely to receive public approbations and reap the associated financial benefits than smaller male or female sports programs. The financial interests of colleges in their revenue generating male sports programs has led many to create flexible (even diluted) admissions standards for athletes in certain highly profitable sports. The University of North Carolina and the University of Southern California were classic examples of the male athlete-student model, until they were caught for violating admission regulations. In contrast, since female sports do not draw the same number of fans and revenues as male programs, female sports programs can

adhere to the ideal Student-Athlete model. They can uphold stricter admission policies for female athletes, yielding higher APR than male sports teams. It is ironic that despite all the attention to male sports programs, roughly two thirds of the teams publically recognized for academic achievement in the 2010-2011 academic year were female. However, despite the recent overrepresentation of female teams in public recognition, they continue to be ignored by the institutions and NCAA.

Writers have noted other contradictions in the academic dimension of college athletics. On the one hand, to NCAA's credit, they have introduced revisions to tighten the academic standards for athletic programs; the APR structure was revised in 2012 to raise the academic standards of college athletic programs. These changes could potentially reduce the amount of public approbation a team receives in the form of public recognition and/or increase the penalties they receive for falling beneath the academic standards. But, another recent change, revamping of the college football bowl games in 2014 to become a playoff system in which the top four seeded teams compete (Dinich 2012), might continue to compromise the academic component of college athletics. The shift to a play-off system brought more revenue; more games were played, teams got more media time, and team gear sales shot up. But, the winner of the 2015 collegiate football national championships, Ohio State University, had previously been banned from the post-season two years ago for academic violations. A similar instance is that of the University of Connecticut, the winner of the 2014 NCAA men's basketball championship, who had been disqualified the year before. Despite their academic struggles, the NCAA allowed the team to compete in the 2013-2014 season so long as their APR rates were above the NCAA's threshold.

With postseason play and play-off systems becoming increasingly profitable, continued scrutiny of college athletes' academic success is paramount. Previous studies have examined the relationship between male and female sports programs through APR, but have not done so after the APR revisions in the 2012 academic school year. This research will compare team academic success in the pre-APR revision years with the one year after the revisions were introduced.

RESEARCH QUESTION

A set of related questions will be explored in this paper linking academic success and collegiate athletic programs over a span of nine years, 2003-2012. First, how much more academically successful are larger sports programs in comparison to smaller ones? Second, how do male sports programs differ in their academic success from their female counterparts? Academic success will be measured using their APR and approbations (recognitions and penalties). Because of changes in APR over the years, separate analyses will be run for two time periods: the first is from 2003-2010 prior to the APR revision and the second in 2011-2012, the year that the APR revision was implemented. School type (whether public or private) will be controlled.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESIS

This research about gendered inequalities in college athletics was premised in two conflicting set of theories. They were: Structured Gender Conflicts contrasted with Gender Role Theory.

Theories of Structured Gender Conflicts and Associated Hypothesis

Men's sports, compared to women's sports, were predicted to received more public approbation, and have higher APRs, after controlling for the type of institution. Structured gender inequalities have existed for thousands of years. Patriarchal values within society have trickled down throughout the generations. A case in point: male college students have always received a disproportionate amount of attention, especially when it comes to sports. Because women's sports were underrepresented and undervalued, there was the social need for correcting the imbalance. Title IX, which was introduced in June 23, 1972, was the public policy solution to this imbalance; Title IX was supposed to promote gender equality in collegiate athletics by having an equal number of male and female sports teams. As a result, many schools had to cut male sports teams in order to balance out the number of teams per sex.

Despite such progress in policy, female sports still receive fewer scholarships, draw smaller crowds, and receive less media attention. The persistent inequality between male and female sports is a by-product of structural conflicts in higher education. Structural conflict theory (Taylor) captures the tension that occurs when various structured groups compete for the same scarce resources. When applied to collegiate sports, after the introduction of Title IX, male and female sports teams had to share scarce resources. Unfortunately, despite the structural policy changes, pre-Title IX gendered and financial values have remained intact, continuing the resource inequalities that women athletes face, even if in more indirect ways. For one, since female sports do not draw the same crowds and media interests, they do not receive the same resources, recognition and penalties that male teams do. In contrast, the financial resources that can be derived from profitable sports such as men's basketball and football, have led academic institutions and the NCAA to continue to permit (academically) failing sports teams to "falsify" academic success reports. If this pattern holds true, larger male sports teams will report higher APR rates and public approbation than female programs, net of school type and academic year.

Conversely, women's sports, compared to men's sports, were predicted to have higher APRs and approbations, after controlling for the type of institution and the academic school year. Females have tended to do better academically than males (Heyder 2013), irrespective of whether they were athletes or not. In addition to the lack of financial incentives in college, professional sports are far less profitable for women than for men.

As a result, female athletes are more likely to place a larger emphasis on academics than athletics.

METHODS AND DATA SOURCES

While the bulk of this study was done using secondary data, primary data, in the form of interviews conducted, were used to supplement the findings of the secondary data. The goal was to gain insight into the relationship between public approbation, academic progress rates, and gendered sports programs.

Secondary Data

The secondary data came from the National Collegiate Athletic Association's "NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate" study; this is a public access database that documented student-athlete academic progress rates (APR), eligibility rates, retention rates, penalty and award information between 2003 and 2012 (Paskus 2013). To limit the potential complications that might arise from the restructuring penalty definitions and assessments after 2011, the analyses were separated by two time periods: 2003-2010 and the 2011-2012 academic years. This disaggregation also helped evaluate the potential positive effects of the APR revisions.

The NCAA survey sampled at least one school from each of the Division I conferences in order to capture a wide range of athletic programs. There were 6,446 universities who participated in the survey with a 100% response rate. Roughly two thirds of colleges surveyed were public (65.2%), while about a third were private (34.8%; Appendix A. Table). Because athletes and non-athletes are typically better prepared academically in private schools than public schools, school type will be controlled in the multivariate analyses.

Primary Qualitative Interviews

To gain more insights into the survey findings about the academic success of college athletic programs, six interviews were conducted with professionals who work in the realm of collegiate athletics. In order to gain a well-rounded sample, people were interviewed from various positions within different athletic programs. The NCAA survey sampled Division I schools; in order to fit within these parameters, professionals chosen for interviews work in this division. Interviewees included an assistant athletic director, professional soccer player, women's soccer head coach, softball player, a basketball coach, and a football coach. Each of these interviews, which lasted around 20 to 30 minutes, was conducted over the phone in order to accommodate their schedules. See Appendix B for the consent form and interview protocol.

DATA ANALYSES

Operationalization and Descriptive Analyses

Athlete academic-success was measured using academic progress rates and public approbation. Academic progress rates (team size, eligibility rates, and retention rates) measured the likelihood of an athletic program's student athletes to graduate on time. Approbation consisted of the number of public recognition and/or penalties athletic programs received based upon their academic success.

Public Approbation

The indicators presented in Table 1.A. captured the public approbation, or official approval or sanction the teams received. In keeping with the research design, survey results were broken down into two time periods: 2003-2010 and 2011-2012 to represent the NCAA's restructuring revisions to APR standards that took place in August of 2011.

Between 2003-2010, most sports teams did not receive a penalty (92.3%). Interestingly, almost none of athletic programs received a penalty in 2011-2012 (99.5%), the year after the minimum APR threshold for meeting the NCAA standards was later raised.

Another important factor to public approbation is the severity of penalties over time. Penalty severity was measured only in the 2003-2010 time period. Almost all sports programs did not receive a penalty during 2003-2010 (92.3%). But a few did receive Level 1 Penalties (3%), a combination of Level 1 and 2 Penalties (1.5%), and a combination of Level 1, 2, and 3 Penalties (3.3%). The severity of penalties directly affected the punishment associated with the penalty levels. Level 1 Penalties resulted in a reduction of practice time from 20 hours a week over five days to 16; the reduced hours must be replaced with academic activities. A Level 2 Penalty reduced the number of competitions in which a team can participate. Finally, the Level 3 Penalties; these include coaching suspensions, financial aid reductions, restricted NCAA membership, and even post-season ineligibility (NCAA 2014).

In 2011, NCAA announced that teams falling underneath the APR threshold of 930 would be ineligible for the postseason. However, virtually all of teams were eligible for postseason competition in 2011-12. In addition to penalties, schools also receive public recognition. Most teams reported that they did not receive any public recognition awards (95.1% in 2003-2010 and 85.2% in 2011-2012).

The mean () on the Index of Public Approbation was low for both time periods, sitting at 0.34-0.86 on a scale of 0-5 and 0-4. These low means indicated that the average team in each year grouping, received either no penalty or at the minimum a Level 1 Penalty, were eligible for the postseason, and did not receive any public recognition awards.

TABLE 1.A. Descriptive Statistics for Public Approbation

NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013 (n=6442)

Concept	Dimensions	Variables	Responses	Statistics	
				2003-2010	2011-2012
Public Approbation	Penalties	Penalty Level earned	0 = None	92.3%	99.5%
			1 = Level 1	4.5	0.4
		2 = Level 2	0.8	0.1	
		3 = Level 3	2.5	0.1	
		Sustained penalty severity 2003-2010	0 = None	92.3%	N/A
		1 = Level 1	3.0		
		2 = Level 1 and 2	1.5		
		3-13 = Level 1, 2, and 3	3.3		
		Mean (SD)	0.16 (0.60)	N/A	
	Postseason ineligibility		0 = Eligible for the 2013-2014 postseason	NA	99.8%
			1 = Ineligible for the 2013-2014 postseason		0.2
	Public Recogn- ition	Did the institution receive any public recognition awards? ¹	0 = Team did not receive award	95.1%	85.2%
			1 = Team received award	4.9	14.8
		Index of Approbation ²	Mean (SD)	0.86 (0.39)	0.34 (0.69)
			Min-Max	0-5	0-4

¹ Reversed the responses;

² Index of Public Approbation = Penalty + Post-Season Ineligibility + Public Recognition; Range 0 (no approbation) to 5 (high approbation).

Academic Progress

As noted earlier, one predictor of a university's public approbation record is its athletic academic progress. In Table 1.B., the indicators represent the academic progress rates (APR) of an institution's athletic programs. To recap, an institution's APR is derived from eligibility rate from the previous academic year, school's retention rate of student-athletes, and the squad size of each sport. Academic progress and its derivatives were measured in two groups, years 2003-2010 and 2011-2012 to represent the revision to the NCAA's threshold for minimum APR in August of 2011.

As seen in Table 1.B., virtually all student-athletes were academically eligible to participate in their respective sport (97% and 98%). Additionally, retention rates were almost perfect (96% and 97%). This meant that aside from students who graduated, most student athletes were academically eligible to compete and returned to the school the following year. High eligibility and retention rates meant that athletes at colleges and

universities were on track to graduate, directly supporting the reasoning for why APR is used as a metric for student-athlete success.

An average APR for the collegiate athletes in the study sits at 966.2 from 2003-2010 and 976.2 in 2011-2012. The average APR score jumped 10 points after the NCAA's revision to APR in 2011. These averages translate to roughly a 75% graduation rate. While this may seem very high, it is important to remember that a score of 925 is roughly the equivalent of a 50% graduation rate. Only athletic programs which fall beneath that threshold are penalized, and that too depending on the severity and duration of the failure.

**TABLE 1.B. Descriptive Statistics for Student-Athlete Academic Progress
NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013 (n=6375)**

Concept	Dimension	Variables (Questions)	Values/ Responses	Statistics	
				2003-2010	2011-2012
Academic Progress	APR ¹	What is the school's eligibility rate?	Mean (SD) Min-Max	0.97 (0.03) 0-1	0.98 (0.04) 0-1
		What is the school's retention rate?	Mean (SD) Min-Max	0.96 (0.03) 0-1	0.97 (0.04) 0-1
		What is the squad-size?	Mean (SD) Min-Max	19.2 (15.5) 3-452	19.5 (15.8) 3-447
		Index of Academic Progress Rates ²	Mean (SD) Min-Max	966.2 (24.7) 808-1000	976.2 (32.1) 500-1000

1 APR's Numeric formula: $1000((\# \text{ of student-athletes academically eligible and retained} \times 2) + (\# \text{ of student-athletes retained, but academically ineligible} \times 0.5) + (\# \text{ of student-athletes that leave the school while academically eligible} \times 0.5) + (\# \text{ of student-athletes that leave the school while academically ineligible} \times 0.0)) / \text{total} \# \text{ of student-athletes}$;

2 Index of APR = taken straight from survey for sophisticated calculation reasons; Range 500 (low APR) to 1000 (high APR).

Men's Sports

Gendered sports programs, broken down into male and female athletics, can be influencing factors in a university's public approbation and APR. In Table 1.C. male athletic programs were broken down into types three subcategories of sport by size: small, medium, and large. The distinctions between sport sizes were made by how much income they generated and media attention they received. Small sports include club sports such as sailing and bowling. These accounted for less than 0.09% of the athletic programs. Medium sports were the traditional sports, but not the ones that receive the most media attention. They included swimming, tennis, and golf. Together, these made up roughly two thirds of the sports (61.7%). Last, were the large sports: these are mainstream sports that receive large amounts of media attention and are also

the most heavily recruited. Large sports include baseball, basketball, football, and soccer (37.3%).

Among male sports, this study also took note of the school's primary and football conference, if applicable. Primary athletic conferences were pretty evenly spread amongst medium and powerhouse conferences, with more weight on the small conferences (47.6%) over the medium (24.2%) and powerhouse conferences (28.2%). There were fewer schools in the football conferences, especially at the small and mid-major conference level; some schools chose not to have a football team for financial reasons. Schools with football teams tended to jumped up in conference size for football compared to their normal conference division.

Overall, the distribution of schools in football conferences was pretty even: 27% did not have a football team; 33.4% belonged to a small conference; 17.4% were in a mid-major conference; and 22.2% belonged to a powerhouse conference. The mean of the Index of Men's Sports was 3.5 on a scale that ranges from 0-9.

**TABLE 1C. Descriptive Statistics for Men's Sports
NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013 (n=2952)**

Concepts	Dimensions	Variables (questions)	Values/ Responses	Statistics
Men's Sports Program	Sport	What type of men's sport?	1 = Small sport	0.0%
			2 = Medium sport	61.7
			3 = Large sport	37.3
	Conference	Type of primary conference	1 = Small conference	47.6%
2 = Mid-major conference 3 = Powerhouse conference			24.2 28.2	
	Conference	Type of football conference	0 = No football team	27.0%
			1 = Small conference	33.4
			2 = Mid-major conference	17.4
			3 = Powerhouse conference	22.2
		Index of Men's Sports Program ²	Mean (SD) Min-Max	3.5 (2.7) 0-9

¹ Index of Male Sports Programs = (Type of Men's Sport + Primary Conference Type + Type of Football Conference)/3; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference).

Women's Sports

A third factor considered in an institution's public recognition or penalization was women's athletics. In Table 1.D. female athletic programs were disaggregated into types three subcategories based on size, small, medium, and large. Identical to the male counterparts, small programs represented club sports, the medium were less mainstream sports such as swimming and golf, and the large sports consisted of basketball, soccer, and softball. Very few female sports fell under the small category (4.3%), most were in the category of medium (68.4%), and about a quarter in the large

category (27.3%). Majority of responses came from medium-sized female sports such as golf, swimming, gymnastics, etc. (68.4%).

Also included in women’s sports programs was the school’s primary conference. About half of the schools fell within the boundaries of a small conference (50.2%), roughly a quarter in a mid-major (23.7%), and approximately another fourth in a powerhouse conference (26.1%). The index mean on the women’s sports program was 3.5 on a scale of 1-6; the average university female sports program is a medium sport, within a small or mid-major conference.

**TABLE 1D. Descriptive Statistics for Women’s Sports
NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013 (n=3522)**

Concepts	Dimensions	Variables (questions)	Values/ Responses	Statistics
Women’s Sports Program		What type of women’s sport?	1 = Small sport	4.3%
			2 = Medium sport	68.4
			3 = Large sport	27.3
		Type of primary conference	1 = Small conference	50.2%
			2 = Mid-major conference	23.7
			3 = Powerhouse conference	26.1
		Index of Women’s Sports Program ¹	Mean (SD) Min-Max	3.5 (1.3) 1-6

1 Index of Female Sports Programs = (Type of Female Sport + Primary Conference Type)/2; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference).

Summary

On balance, most schools did not earn penalties, or post-season ineligibilities, and also did not receive public recognition awards. Academic progress rates tended to yield high athlete eligibility and retention rates. The male sports programs tended to be medium sized sports, in a small, primary conference, and either did not have a football team or if they did were in a smaller conference. Lastly female athletic programs tended to consist of medium sized sports in small primary conferences.

Bivariate Analysis

The bivariate correlations presented in Appendix C showed early hints at the relationship between public approbation, APR, male sports programs, female sports programs, and institution type. During 2003-2010, the lower an athletic programs’ APRs, the more public approbation they received ($r=-0.08^{***}$). In the 2011-2012 school year (after the NCAA’s 2011 APR revision), the amount of public approbation was associated with even lower APRs ($r=-0.23^{***}$). After the APR revisions, teams from public

universities received more public approbation than teams from private schools ($r=0.27^{***}$).

Larger male sports programs belonging to powerhouse conferences reported lower APR rates both before and after the revision ($r=-0.33^{***}$ and -0.19^{***}). On the other hand, larger female sports programs competing in larger conferences tended to do better academically ($r=0.16^{***}$ and $r=0.09^{***}$). Private schools received higher APRs than public schools ($r=0.35^{***}$ and $r=0.17^{***}$).

Linear Multiple Regression

In the final step of the statistical analyses, a two-step multivariate analysis was conducted. A university's public approbation and academic progress rates were regressed, in sequence, on gendered athletic programs and school type, disaggregated by two separate time periods, 2003-2010 and 2011-2012. The results are presented in Table 2 and modeled in Figure 1.

**Table 2: Regression Analyses of Gendered Collegiate Athlete Academic Success
NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate 2013, National Collegiate Athletic Association**

	2003-2010		2011-2012	
	Model 1: APR ² Beta (β)	Model 2: Public Approbation ¹ Beta (β)	Model 1: APR ² Beta (β)	Model 2: Public Approbation ¹ Beta (β)
Academic Progress Rates²	---	-0.09 ^{***}	---	-0.17 ^{***}
Male Sports Programs³	-0.30 ^{***}	-0.07 ^{***}	-0.19 ^{***}	-0.08 ^{***}
Female Sports Programs⁴	NS	NS	NS	NS
Private Institution⁵	0.30 ^{***}	NS	0.14 ^{***}	-0.14 ^{***}
Constant	1.46 ^{***}	0.65 ^{***}	1.93 ^{***}	0.23 ^{***}
Adjusted R²	0.20 ^{***}	0.01 ^{***}	0.06 ^{***}	0.18 ^{***}
DF 1 & 2	3 & 5808	4 & 5808	3 & 6403	4 & 6395

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$; NS indicates a non-significant value.

¹ Index of Public Approbation = Penalty + Post-Season Ineligibility + Public Recognition; Range 0 (no approbation) to 5 (high approbation);

² Index of APR = taken straight from survey for sophisticated calculation reasons including eligibility rate, retention rate, and squad size; Range 500 (low APR) to 1000 (high APR);

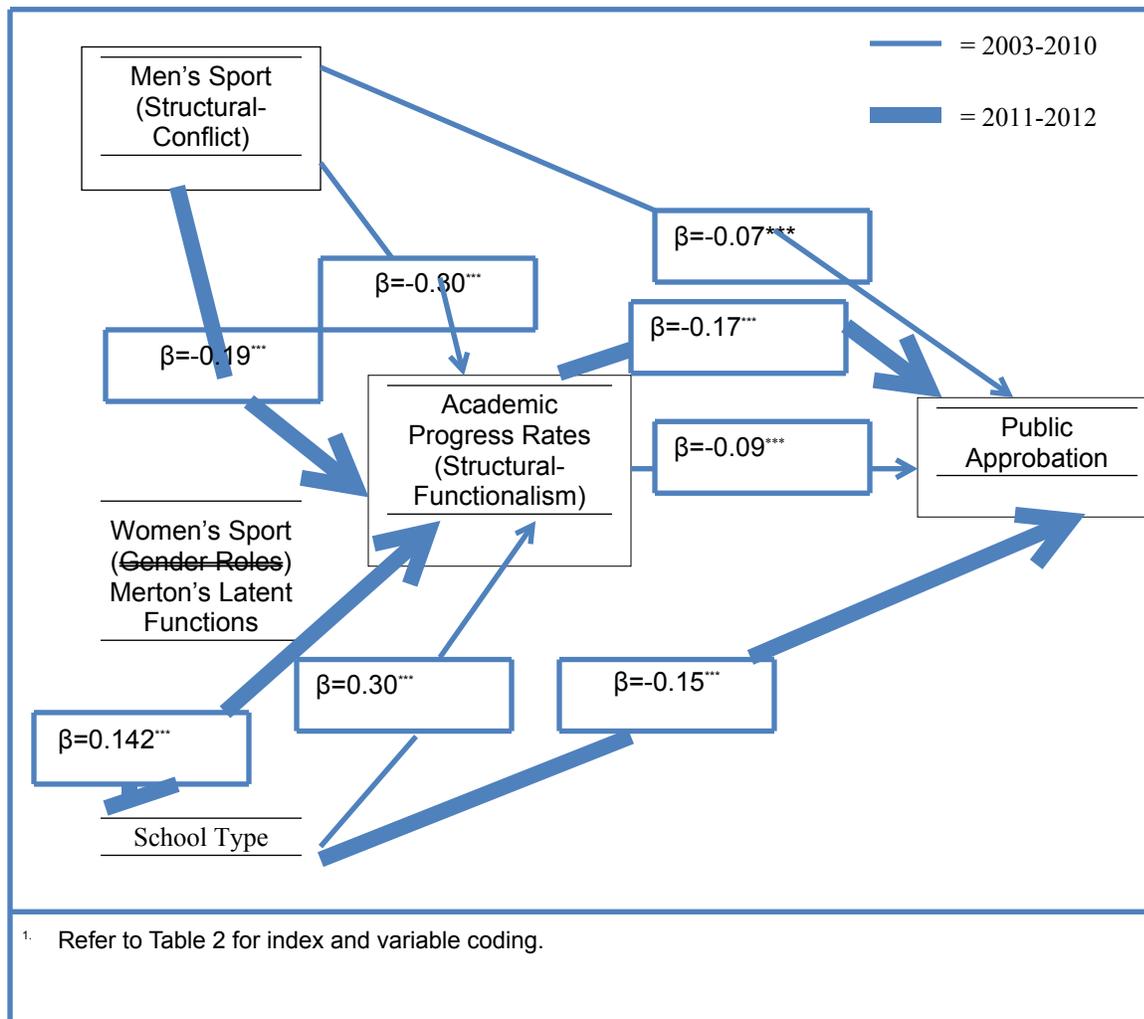
³ Index of Male Sports Programs = (Type of Men's Sport + Primary Conference Type + Type of Football Conference)/3; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference);

⁴ Index of Female Sports Programs = (Type of Female Sport + Primary Conference Type)/2; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference);

⁵ Private institution = 1 versus Public = 0.

As seen in Model 1 for both the 2003-2010 and 2011-2012 time periods, the larger the size of male sports and the conferences they competed in, the lower their APRs. This connection, however, was stronger ($\beta = -0.30^{***}$) in the pre-APR revision period than after ($\beta = -0.19^{***}$). Similarly, while private institutions reported higher APR rates than public institutions, the effect was much stronger in the pre-APR revision era (2003-10 $\beta = 0.30^{***}$) than after (2011-12 $\beta = 0.14^{***}$). These shifts between the two time periods were indicative of the expected (manifest function) positive academic consequences of NCAA's tightening the APR standards.

Figure 1. Empirical Model of the Effects of Gendered Sports and School Type on Academic Progress Rates and Public Approval



When public approbation was the focus (in Model 2), similar patterns emerged that highlighted the potential positive effects of tightening the APR scores. One, teams that earned higher APRs were the ones that received fewer public approbations, more so

after the APR revisions in 2011-2012 ($\beta = -0.17^{***}$) than before from 2003-2010 ($\beta = -0.09^{***}$). Second, the larger the male sports program and conference they competed within, the fewer approbation the teams received between 2003-2010 and 2011-2012 ($\beta = -0.07^{***}$ and $\beta = -0.08^{***}$). Third, in keeping with the tightening of APR standards theme, public institutions received more approbation than private institutions, but only after the APR revision ($\beta = -.15^{***}$).

The different pictures that have emerged between the pre and post APR revisions in male sports perhaps reflected a movement towards reversing the athlete-student model. In other words, while the male model is still one of Athlete-Student even post APR revisions, the emphasis might be shifting more toward the student in male sports programs. In contrast, the female sports programs were not more or less likely to receive approbations depending on their size, confirming the Student-Athlete model of female college athletes.

The professional interviews confirmed the Male Athlete-Student and Female Student-Athlete models. One interviewee, an assistant athletic director, noted that male athletes struggle in the classroom while female students succeed. He explained that most males go onto play collegiate athletics with the goal of playing pro; "The basketball players' major at the University of Kentucky's is basketball." The financial incentives for men to play professional athletics simply outweigh comparable incentives for women. He went on to add, "the majority of the WNBA athletes play overseas in the off-season because they don't make enough money to sustain themselves in the US." The WNBA places a salary cap of just over \$100,000 to its top stars, whereas the NBA's highest player makes over \$20 million. This imbalance causes female athletes to focus on the academics. Another interviewee, a female professional soccer player, also commented on the financial incentives that create a difference in priorities. She said that even though Title IX was passed in 1972 to promote gender equality within athletics, colleges were not always in compliance until the last 15 or 20 years. A third interviewee, the head coach of a women's soccer team, noted that most of the student-athletes he coaches do not go onto play professional sports, but would become professionals in fields other than their sport. He said playing competitive sports helps these athletes "bring their competitiveness to other aspects of their life."

CONCLUSIONS

Empirical Implications

The survey research and analysis presented in this paper, that analyzed how the size of the sports program and type of conference had gendered effects on the academic success of its athletes, contributed to the understanding of gendered athletics and academics in several ways. One, female sports programs of different sizes did not differ either in their academic progress rates or in approbations received. On the other hand, larger male sports programs reported lower academic progress rates than their smaller

sports counterparts, particularly after the 2011 APR revisions. That is, male athletes were more likely to struggle academically, jeopardizing their chances of graduating from their respective college. That this pattern might be weakening is in keeping with the expected or manifest purpose of the APR revisions in 2011.-

Second, private schools reported significantly higher academic progress rates than public schools. The higher academic success means that student-athletes at private schools are more likely to graduate than those at public universities. This is most likely a result of the social demographics of private schools. Since private schools primarily attract middle class to upper-middle class students they are already placed in a category that is more likely to succeed academically. In addition, private schools tend to have a smaller class sizes and more available resources for students to take advantage of. Student-athletes may have more resources to tap into to get the help and individual tutoring they require in order to keep up in the classroom and succeed. Another variable was school type. Private schools received less public approbation than public schools ($\beta=-0.145^{***}$). This was only the case for the 2011-2012 school year.

Third, athletic programs with higher academic progress rates generally receive less public approbation, but more so after the revision ($\beta=-0.094^{***}$ and $\beta=-0.166^{***}$). Public approbation includes both public recognition and penalties. It makes sense that sports programs receiving higher progress rates receive less public approbation. Athletic programs and teams are rarely recognized when they succeed in the classroom. On the other hand, the media largely criticizes athletic programs for their penalties and punishments to comply with academic standards. In this case, the NCAA will penalize an athletic program if they are not meeting the standards of academic progress rates because it taints their mission goals. However, when these programs meet or succeed in this goal they go unnoticed.

Fourth, it was also discovered that the larger the male sports program was the less approbation they received. As previously stated, approbation is primarily received in the form of penalties. Larger male sports programs such as basketball and football have a lot of financial incentives, which make it counterintuitive for the NCAA and the institutions to penalize them. The assistant athletic director, who was interviewed for this study, supported this idea when he said, "everything in the NCAA revolves around money."

Theoretical Implications

These findings have important theoretical implications. Following --- perspective, the original prediction was that larger male sports programs would report more academic success than smaller programs. After conducting the statistical analysis it is clear that this is not the case. Furthermore, male sports programs reported lower academic progress rates than female sports programs. This finding can be explained using Merton's manifest and latent functions paradigm. The NCAA set out to create gender equality in collegiate athletics by introducing Title IX. Their intentions and purpose were

good, but the results of the gendered academic progress stray away from the initial goals (Powers 2010:163). The difference in gendered sports programs academic progress can be explained by Merton's latent dysfunction. Essentially, male sports programs failing to achieve equally to their female counterparts academically was an unforeseen consequence from previous values widely held by society.

My other hypothesis was that female sports programs would find higher rates of academic success than male sports after controlling for the institution type and the academic school year. The data analysis conducted using the survey results showed there was no relationship between the two. However, previous research and the qualitative interviews point to females succeeding academically, especially when compared to males.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

As with any study that used secondary data, this study too had some limits. The data set in which I used limited my ability to measure the full extent of the concepts. In the case of public approbation, I had to create variables from existing variables in order to learn more. Future research should sample a wider range (such as?) of questions to get a better understanding of the concepts and the relationship. This notion is supported by the adjusted R^2 values which answered between 1% and 20% of the relationships studied.

Another hindrance is that academic progress rates only monitor student-athletes that receive financial aid in Division I schools. I believe this is a loophole that is exploited to protect the interests of the athletic program by only highlighting a portion of the athletes. The assistant athletic director said, "if you look carefully, you'll start to see the loopholes exploited everywhere." Essentially, monitoring the academic progress only of athletes receiving financial aid hinders the ability of the NCAA and institutions to protect and enforce the mission of what it means to be a student-athlete. Future research should include a more holistic approach to this, taking into account the entirety of the student-athletic body. This would give a much better picture of how the athletic programs are faring in the classroom. The NCAA, athletic programs, and institutions should be held accountable for all student-athletes, not just those receiving financial aid.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. TABLE Descriptive Statistics for School Type and Year

NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013 (n=6446')

Concepts	Dimensions	Variables (questions)	Values/ Responses	Statistics
Institution Demographics	School Type	Is the institution public or private?	0 = Public 1 = Private	65.2% 34.8

Appendix B Consent Forms and Interview Protocol

LETTER OF CONSENT

Dear _____:

My name is Derek Eng. I am a Sociology Senior working on my Research Capstone Paper under the direction of Professor Marilyn Fernandez in the Department of Sociology at Santa Clara University. I am conducting my research on understanding the potential differences in the academic success of men's and women's NCAA sports programs.

You were selected for this interview, because of your knowledge of and experience working in the area of collegiate athletics.

I am requesting your participating, which will involve responding to questions about collegiate athletics, gendered sports programs, and academic success. The interview will last about 20 minutes. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose to not participate or to withdraw from the interview at any time. The results of the research study may be presented at SCU's Annual Anthropology/Sociology Undergraduate Research Conference and published (in a Sociology department publication). Pseudonyms will be used in lieu of your name and the name of your organization in the written paper. You will also not be asked (nor recorded) questions about your specific characteristics, such as age, race, sex, and religion.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call/e-mail me at ___ or Dr. Fernandez at ___

Sincerely,

Derek Eng

By signing below you are giving consent to participate in the above study.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Committee, through Office of Research Compliance and Integrity at (408) 554-5591.

Interview Protocol

Interview Date and Time: _____

Respondent ID#: __ (1-6)

33. What is the Name of the Agency/Organization/Association/Institution where you learned about (and/or worked) with this issue: _____
34. What is your position in this organization? _____
35. How long have you been in this position and in this organization?

36. Based on what you know of collegiate athletics, how many colleges have problems with their academic progress rates?
Probe: Could you give me some examples?
How often do college athletic programs have these problems? Could you provide me with some examples?
37. In your opinion, why do some colleges have problems with their APR and commendation/penalties? How do other colleges avoid similar problems?
Probe: Could you expand and give me some examples?
38. Do male sports programs contribute to the APR problems of colleges? How so?
Probe: Are male sports programs more likely to get commendations than female sports programs? If so, why do you think so? Could you provide some examples?
How about penalties? Are male sort programs more likely to get penalties than female sports programs? If so, what makes you say this? Could you give me some examples?
39. How about female sports programs?
Probe: Do female sports programs do better with their academic rates and commendations? If so, why do you think that? Can you provide some examples?
How about penalties? Are male sort programs more likely to get penalties than female sports programs? If so, why do you think that? Can you give me some examples?
40. Is there anything else about college athletics, APRs, and commendations and penalties I should know more about?

Thank you very much for your time. If you wish to see a copy of my final paper, I would be glad to share it with you at the end of the winter quarter. If you have any further questions or comments for me, I can be contacted at _____. Or if you wish to speak to my faculty advisor, Dr. Marilyn Fernandez, she can be reached at _____.

Appendix C. Correlation Matrix

NCAA Division I Academic Progress Rate, 2013, National Collegiate Athletic Association
(n=6410-6446)

	Index of Public Approbation 2003-2010 ¹	Index of Public Approbation 2011-2012 ¹	Index of APR 2003- 2010 ²	Index of APR 2011- 2012 ²	Index of Male Sports Programs ³	Index of Female Sports Programs ⁴	Public or Private Institution ⁵
Index of Public Approbation 2003- 2010	1.0						
Index of Public Approbation 2011- 2012	NS	1.0					
Index of APR 2003- 2010	-0.082***	-0.384***	1.0				
Index of APR 2011- 2012	-0.040***	-0.233***	0.379***	1.0			
Index of Male Sports Programs	NS	0.064***	-0.333***	-0.193***	1.0		
Index of Female Sports Programs	NS	NS	0.163***	0.091***	-0.625***	1.0	
Public or Private Institution	-0.042***	-0.265***	0.346***	0.168***	-0.135***	-0.033***	1.0

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

¹ Index of Public Approbation = Penalty + Post-Season Ineligibility + Public Recognition; Range 0 (no approbation) to 5 (high approbation);

² Index of APR = taken straight from survey for sophisticated calculation reasons; Range 500 (low APR) to 1000 (high APR);

³ Index of Male Sports Programs = (Type of Men's Sport + Primary Conference Type + Type of Football Conference)/3; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference);

⁴ Index of Female Sports Programs = (Type of Female Sport + Primary Conference Type)/2; Range 0 (small sport and conference) to 3 (large sport and conference);

⁵ Private institution = 1 versus Public = 0.

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SCU SOCIOLOGY MAJOR REQUIREMENTS

(Cohort 2010 and forward)

Foundation: (2 lower division courses) **REQUIRED**

Sociology 1	Principles of Sociology
Anthropology 3	Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology

Lower division elective (recommended but not required):

Sociology 33	Social Problems in the United States
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Inquiry Sequence: (3 Theory/ Methods courses)

Sociology 119	Sociological Theory (winter quarter of junior year)
Sociology 120	Survey Research and Statistical Analysis (winter quarter Junior Yr)
Sociology 118	Qualitative Methods (spring quarter of Junior year)

Capstone Courses: (*Majors must take EITHER*)

Sociology 121	Research Capstone (fall quarter of senior year)
---------------	--

OR

Sociology 122	Applied Capstone (in the senior year)
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FIVE Upper Division Sociology Electives: Including at least TWO each from 2 OF 4 CLUSTERS

Criminology/Criminal Justice Cluster

Sociology 158	Sociology of Deviance
Sociology 159	Sociology of Crime
Sociology 160	Sociology of Law
Sociology 161	Sociology of the Criminal Justice System
Sociology 162	Gender & Justice

Immigrant Communities Cluster

Sociology 137	Social Change
Sociology 138	Populations of India, China and the United States (was Demography)
Sociology 150	Immigrant Businesses in the United States (was Ethnic Enterprises)
Sociology 180	Immigrant Communities

Inequalities Cluster

Sociology 132	Social Stratification
Sociology 134	Globalization and Inequality
Sociology 135	Gender and Social Change in Latin America
Sociology 140	Urban Society and Social Conflict
Sociology 153	Race, Class, and Gender in the United States
Sociology 165	Human Services
Sociology 175	Race and Inequality

Organizations/Institutions Cluster

Sociology 127	Group Dynamics
Sociology 148	Stakeholder Diversity in Contemporary American Organizations
Sociology 149	Business, Technology, and Society
Sociology 152	Women and Men in the Workplace
Sociology 157	Sociology of Family
Sociology 163	Sociology of Work and Occupation
Sociology 164	Collective Behavior
Sociology 172	Management of Health Care Organizations

Other Recommended (but not required) Outward Bound Courses (after 118, 119, 120 & 121)

Sociology 125	Honors Thesis
Sociology 198	Internship (Preferably in the Senior year)
Sociology 199	Directed Reading/Directed Research

Up-dated 5/20/13. If you have any questions regarding the above listed requirements, please feel free to give us a call in the Sociology Department and we will be happy to answer your questions. The department phone number is 408/554/279.

Credits: Cover design credits go to Mr. Chris Zamarripa, class '13 and student of graphic design and art at Santa Clara University.