U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

BRIEFING AND MEETING

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FRIDAY, MAY 11, 2007

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The Commission convened in Room 540 at 624 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. at 9:30 a.m., Gerald A. Reynolds, Chairperson, presiding.

PRESENT:

GERALD A. REYNOLDS, Chairperson
ABIGAIL THERNSTROM, Vice Chairperson
JENNIFER C. BRACERAS, Commissioner
GAIL L. HERIOT, Commissioner
PETER N. KIRSANOW, Commissioner
ASHLEY L. TAYLOR JR., Commissioner
MICHAEL YAKI, Commissioner (via telephone)

KENNETH L. MARCUS, Staff Director

STAFF PRESENT:

TYRO BEATTY, Director, Human Resources Division DAAVID BLACKWOOD, General Counsel

TERESA BROOKS

CHRISTOPHER BYRNES, Attorney Advisor to the Office of the Staff Director and Acting Deputy General Counsel, OGC

DEBRA CARR, ESQ., Associate Deputy Staff Director, OSD (via telephone)

PAMELA A. DUNSTON, Chief, Administrative Services and Clearinghouse Division

BARBARA FONTANA

LATRICE FOSHEE

DEREK HORNE

MAHA JWEIED

SOCK-FOON MACDOUGALL

TINALOUISE MARTIN, Director of Management

AUDREY WRIGHT

MICHELLE YORKMAN

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COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

LISA NEUDER
DOMINIQUE LUDVIGSON
RICHARD SCHMECHEL
KIMBERLY SCHULD

PANELISTS PRESENT:

- DANIEL A. COHEN, ESQ., Senior Associate, Rogers & Hardin LLP
- JESSICA L. GAVORA, Vice President, College Sports Council
- JOCELYN SAMUELS, Vice President for Education and Employment, National Women's Law Center
- JUDITH M. SWEET, Consultant, National Collegiate Athletic Association
- DAVID F. BLACK, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, Office of Civil Rights, United States Department of Education

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1	P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S
2	9:33 A.M.
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: This meeting will
4	come to order. This is a meeting of the U.S.
5	Commission on Civil Rights. This meeting is taking
6	place at 624 9th Street in Room 540, Washington, D.C.
7	With the exception of Commissioners Yaki and
8	Melendez, all Commissioners are participating here at
9	the Commission.
10	This morning we will have a brief briefing
11	meeting which includes a rechartering of one of our
12	State Advisory Committees. Afterwards, we will hold a
13	briefing on Title IX Athletics Accommodating Interest
14	and Abilities.
15	The first item on the agenda is the
16	approval of the agenda.
17	I. Approval of Agenda
18	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: May I have a motion
19	to approve the agenda.
20	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: So moved.
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Is there a second?
22	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Second.
23	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion? All in
24	favor?

(Chorus of ayes.)

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1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you. Any in
2	opposition? Any abstentions? The motion passes
3	unanimously.
4	V. State Advisory Committee Issues
5	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Next, I move to
6	amend the agenda to delete discussion of the item
7	labeled Virginia SAC under the State Advisory
8	Committee issues. Under this motion, the discussion
9	of this item will be tabled until the next business
10	meeting.
11	Is there a second?
12	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Second.
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion?
14	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes, I have
15	discussion.
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes?
17	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Commissioner Yaki
18	here. I would like to amend the motion to include the
19	Michigan SAC as well.
20	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Because?
21	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Because well, we
22	can discuss it later, but because of the inquiry from
23	Chairman Nadler of the Oversight Committee.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, we have two
25	letters. The first we received from Conyers. We

1 responded to that letter. We received a second 2 letter, I believe it was yesterday, is that right? 3 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: Last night, yes. letter 4 COMMISSIONER YAKI: The was 5 last night was because I understand the received letter from us was received from them last afternoon. 6 7 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That's correct. Quite frankly --8 9 COMMISSIONER YAKI: And I believe that that letter from Chairman Nadler raises additional 10 questions and seeks additional information on both 11 12 Michigan and Virginia and if we are postponing Virginia for reasons I would like to hear about, I 13 14 would also move that we postpone Michigan as well 15 since both of them are specific items of discussion in 16 Chairman Nadler's follow up letter to Congress --17 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Do you interpret this as a moratorium on rechartering our SACs until 18 19 this exchange of letters ceases? Or is it limited to 20 these two particular SACs? 21 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, I think that the first part of the letter, as I read it, certainly goes 22 to a more general question about SAC appointments in 23 We can discuss that, if you want to later, 24 general.

but just in terms of this motion, I would say that

that can be discussed. I don't know what the intent of the chairman is. Perhaps a meeting might facilitate clarification on that because I don't know what it means, but I do think that if Virginia is being postponed and Michigan is the subject of the same letter as Virginia in the chairman's letter, I believe that we should postpone it.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: The only reason Virginia is being postponed is because several Commissioners have asked that we consider certain individuals for Virginia SAC and so we just need additional time to go through our process to vet the So that is the reason why we have this individuals. motion to postpone Virginia and not Michigan.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, given that the letter goes exactly to that process, and if we're doing additional responses to Virginia and that would be responsive to that letter, I believe we should either include Michigan in the subject of that letter in the motion.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Any other comments around the table?

Michael, are you comfortable then voting on both SACs at this time? I mean if we do, then we would not be able to consider the request that we

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1	consider these additional individuals.
2	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Why not?
3	Why can't we consider them later?
4	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Actually, you're
5	right, we could. We could add them if they make it
6	through our vetting process.
7	So Michael, are you comfortable if we vote
8	on both SACs?
9	COMMISSIONER YAKI: No, why would I? I'm
10	supporting the motion to postpone, so why would I be
11	comfortable with voting for them right now?
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: I thought that the
13	rationale was that we were postponing one, we should
14	postpone the other?
15	COMMISSIONER YAKI: No, I'm simply saying
16	if you were moving to postpone one, we should postpone
17	the other as well, but I was going to make a motion on
18	my own to postpone both of them anyway in order for
19	the Commission to provide responses to Chairman
20	Nadler.
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, well, as a
22	technical matter, let's get a second for your motion?
23	I assume there's a second?
24	Is there a second for Commissioner Yaki's
25	motion?

1	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Mr.
2	Chairman, there doesn't seem to be.
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, well,
4	Michael, I don't believe that we can move forward with
5	your motion without a second.
6	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, then the
7	original motion stands which was to postpone Virginia,
8	correct?
9	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: That is
10	correct.
11	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes.
12	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Withdrawn?
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: No, that motion is
14	still on the table and we're going to vote on it if
15	someone wants to make an amendment to vote on both,
16	and we would consider other individuals for the
17	Virginia SAC at a later date, we can do that.
18	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I would like
19	to ask the Staff Director whether there's any downside
20	to doing simply voting on both at this time and
21	considering then additional members for the Virginia
22	SAC?
23	STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: I can't think of
24	any downside. We haven't been doing it in the past,
25	but we can certainly charter the state now and then

1 add the names later. That's within our rules. 2 There's no procedural reason we can't do it that way. 3 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, so is there a motion to that effect? 4 5 (Pause.) CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, this is what 6 7 the plan is. The plan is that the motion that was seconded is still on the table. We would just vote on 8 9 the Michigan SAC. We would table the Virginia SAC for the next meeting. All in favor, please say aye. 10 11 (Ayes.) 12 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Any opposition? COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes. 13 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Any abstentions? 14 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: 15 I abstain. 16 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Let the record 17 reflect that Commissioner Yaki voted against motion; Commissioner Heriot abstained; the remaining 18 19 Commissioners voted in favor of the motion, so the motion carries. 20 21 COMMISSIONER YAKI: I move to Mr. Chairman? 22 23 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: COMMISSIONER YAKI: I'd like to move to 24 25 postpone consideration of this item until Commissioner

_	Merendez joins. I'd like to amend the agenda to
2	postpone consideration of the Michigan SAC until
3	Commissioner Melendez joins
4	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki,
5	we just voted.
6	COMMISSIONER YAKI: No, you voted on
7	tabling Virginia. You took a vote on tabling
8	Virginia. I'm now making a new motion that for the
9	remaining agenda item that is consideration of the
10	Michigan SAC that we postpone consideration of that
11	until Commissioner Melendez joins the meeting.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, I'm
13	comfortable with that, so I will second the motion.
14	Discussion?
15	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Wait a
16	minute? So we're not going to vote on Michigan either
17	today, then?
18	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: We would vote on it
19	today. Apparently, it's my understanding that
20	Commissioner will join us and at that point we would
21	vote on the Michigan SAC.
22	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: We're expecting him
23	any minute?
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That is my
25	assumption. If that's not the case, the bottom line

1	is we will vote on this today unless the majority of
2	us decide
3	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Why don't we change
4	it to postponing it assuming that he joins us within
5	the next so many minutes.
6	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki,
7	do you have a sense of when he'll join us?
8	COMMISSIONER YAKI: No. You might want to
9	ask his assistant.
10	MR. SCHMECEL: He had a speech earlier
11	this morning, but I've been unable to reach him.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Did he intend to
13	participate by phone?
14	MR. SCHMECEL: Yes, he intended to be on
15	time.
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. All right,
17	well assuming that he well, we will vote on this
18	issue unless we decide otherwise. I think that as a
19	courtesy we should just push it back a little bit, but
20	the plan is to vote on it during this business
21	meeting.
22	Okay, next item up is the approval of the
23	minutes for the April 13th meeting.
24	II. Approval of the Minutes of the April 13, 2007
25	Meeting

1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: May I have a
2	motion?
3	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: So moved.
4	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Is there a second?
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Second.
6	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion? All in
7	favor, please say aye.
8	(Chorus of ayes.)
9	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Any in opposition?
10	Any abstentions? The motion passes unanimously.
11	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Next up we have the
12	announcements.
13	III. Announcements
14	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: The month of May
15	marks the 53rd anniversary of the Supreme Court's
16	ruling in <u>Brown v. Board of Education</u> . The landmark
17	decision declared state-sponsored racial segregation
18	in public schools unconstitutional, stating that
19	separate educational facilities are inherently
20	unequal. This decision set the stage for the modern
21	civil rights movement. Today, we honor the lasting
22	legacy of the Court's ruling in <u>Brown v. Board of</u>
23	Education.
24	Next we have the Staff Director's Report.
25	IV. Staff Director's Report

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STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: Thank you, Chairman. We have a briefing, and so I'll keep it I would like to announce two important new staff additions to the Commission. First, I'd like to introduce Kara Silverstein who joins us as an attorney advisor in the Office of the Staff Director. replaces Derek Horne who will continue to work for the Commission as attorney advisor in the Southern Regional Office. Kara previously worked attorney advisor in the Department of Energy. She received her bachelor's degree from Emory University and her law degree from Boston University School of Law and we're delighted to have her with us.

And second, I'm also pleased to introduce Dominique Ludvigson who joins the Commission Special Assistant to Chairman Reynolds and is also working with Commissioner Kirsanow. She previously served as Associate Director for Legal Affairs at the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. She's а graduate of the American University and received her law degree from Illinois College of University of Law and we're delighted to have her as well.

Last, I have to announce that in addition to some of the retirements that we discussing during

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the last month, we have another long-serving employee
who will be retiring from the Commission. I don't
know if she's here today. Barbara Fontana has served
as a Librarian of the Commission since April 1988 and
served as the Records Officer since 1994. She began
her library career at the U.S. Department of the
Interior Library and has worked as an independent
researcher for the Congressional Research Service at
the Library of Congress. We will miss her. She's
done a wonderful job here and will be retiring after
many years of service.
Those are my announcements, unless there
are questions from the Commissioners.
COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Mr. Chairman,

before we move on to the next agenda item, I had neglected to mention during the announcement phase, I wanted to note that Vice Chair Thernstrom won the Bradley Prize last week and I wanted to make sure we got that on the record and congratulate her. particularly pleased because she promised, in writing, to share some of the proceeds with me.

(Laughter.)

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: You're getting a dollar.

> COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: You moved up. Ιt

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1 was 50 cents before. 2 (Laughter.) 3 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Thank you very much, Pete. That's very gracious and lovely of 4 5 you. CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, are there any 6 7 future agenda items that need to be discussed? VI. Future Agenda Items 8 9 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, that being the case, unless there are objections, I'd like to go 10 right into the briefing. At this point, I would ask 11 12 the panelists to join us. Briefing: Title IX Athletics: 13 14 Accommodating Interest and Abilities CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, on behalf of 15 16 the Commission, I welcome everyone to this briefing on 17 IX Athletics: Title Accommodating Interest Abilities. At this briefing, the Commission has 18 19 assembled a panel of experts to discuss Title IX of 20 the Higher Education Act's prohibition of 21 discrimination on the basis of sex in any education 22 activity, including program athletics receiving 23 federal financial assistance. Beginning in 1979, the educational 24

receiving

funds

had

institutions

25

demonstrated

compliance with the Act's athletic requirements by having a program that fully and effectively accommodates the interests and abilities of a sex that's under represented. In March of 2005, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights issued further guidance to assist schools in complying with the athletic requirements.

The record of this briefing will remain open for 30 days and public comments may be submitted and mailed to the Commission.

This morning, we're pleased to welcome Daniel Cohen who is a Senior Associate with the law firm of Rogers & Hardin of Atlanta, Georgia; Jessica Gavora, Vice President of the College Sports Council and author of a book entitled Tilting the Playing Field, Schools, Sports, Sex and Title IX. Jocelyn Samuels who is Vice President Education Employment at the National Women's Center. Judith Sweet also joins us. She is the National Collegiate Athletic Association, independent contractor, and consultant. And finally, we have David Black, who is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Enforcement at the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

I am going to introduce -- well, I'm going

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to provide a brief -- I'll briefly discuss the backgrounds of each of the panelists and after that we will start, the order is -- we will start on this end and work our way down. Each panelist will have ten minutes. We have our doohickey over here. When it goes red, expect me to cut you off.

(Laughter.)

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Okay, Jessica Gavora. She authored a book which I mentioned already, Tilting the Playing Field: Schools, Sports, Sex, and Title IX. It was published in May of 2002 by Encounter Books. She is a speech writer and policy advisor at the Justice Department -she was a speech writer and policy advisor at the Justice Department. Prior to joining the Justice Department, Ms. Gavora was a Washington-based freelance political speech writer and a writer. addition to writing for a variety of governmental and nongovernmental clients, Ms. has Gavora written extensively on politics and public policy under her own byline. Her articles have appeared in The Wall Street Journal, The L.A. Times, The Washington Post, and a host of other publications.

I'm sorry, my order is wrong. I should have started with Mr. Cohen.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I was just

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going to say.

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(Pause.)

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, since 2005,

Mr. Cohen has studied the legal implications of the

Office for Civil Rights 2005 additional clarification

and its model survey. He co-authored an article

regarding compliance with prong three of the three
part tests. The Law Review article was published in

2005 in the <u>Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and</u>

Technology Law. The article is titled, "Navigating in

the New Safe Harbor, Model Interest Surveys as a New

Tool for Title IX Compliance Programs."

His work in the area of Title IX has been cited in <u>USA Today</u>, the <u>NCAA News</u>, <u>The Chronicle of Higher Education</u> and elsewhere. Mr. Cohen received his undergraduate degree from Duke University and his law degree from Vanderbilt University School of Law.

Jocelyn Samuels is President for Education and Employment at the National Women's Law Center where she supervises an active litigation docket of Title IX cases. Prior to joining the Center, Samuels was labor counsel to Senator Kennedy. She also worked for a decade as a senior policy attorney at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission where specialized of she in issues sex and race

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discrimination. Ms. Samuels received her law degree from Columbia University and her bachelor's degree from Middlebury College.

Ms. Sweet joined the NCAA as Vice President Championships for and Senior Woman Administrator in 2001 and in 2003 she was promoted to Senior Vice President for Championships and Education Services. Prior to her work with the NCAA, Ms. Sweet served as Director of Athletics at the University of California at San Diego beginning in 1975, when she became one of the first women in the nation selected to direct a combined men's and women's intercollegiate athletic program. the University of While at Wisconsin Madison, majored physical at she in education and mathematics and served as President of Women's Recreation Association and President of the Athletic and Recreation Federation of College Women. She was also elected to a two-year term as Membership President of the NCAA in January of 1999 and was Secretary-Treasurer of the NCAA from 1989 to 1991.

Finally, we have David Black. Mr. Black joined the Department of Education on November 1 of 2004. He is currently the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Enforcement in the Department's Office for Civil

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Rights. In this capacity, Mr. Black acts as principal advisor to the Secretary, Assistant Secretary on civil rights enforcement to further the mission of OCR. That mission is to ensure equal education and access to to promote educational excellence throughout the nation through vigorous enforcement of civil rights.

Specifically, Mr. Black works with the Assistant Secretary to oversee the resolution approximately 5,000 civil rights cases filed annually in 12 enforcement offices. The Office for Civil Rights enforces several federal civil rights laws that prohibit discrimination and programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance from the Department of Education. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Black worked as an attorney in the area of civil rights, labor, employment law, and litigation as a the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's member of In the Office of the Attorney General for the Corps. -- well, and the Office of the Attorney General for the State of Minnesota, amongst others.

I welcome all of you. I will, as I mentioned earlier, we are going to start from my right to left and I guess we have an oath here.

(Pause.)

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1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, we have a new
2	policy in place, so forgive me. We now require our
3	panelists to offer up an oath, so please raise your
4	right hands and repeat after me. "I hereby swear and
5	affirm"
6	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Do they get to choose
7	what kind of oath they swear or
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki,
9	please don't complicate things.
10	(Laughter.)
11	I hereby swear and affirm that the
12	information I am about to give is to the best of my
13	knowledge and belief.
14	PANELIST: Yes.
15	(The panel was sworn.)
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you very
17	much.
18	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Mr. Chairman,
19	questions will be deferred until the end of all the
20	panelists' discussions?
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That is correct.
22	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I have one question I
23	can address later, but usually we strive in these
24	meetings to have an equally-balanced panel and I have
25	asked prior to this meeting with the addition of Mr.

2 just wanted to know if any attempts were made to add an additional witness to the other side? 3 4 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, I'll let the 5 Staff Director answer that piece, but we had a panel 6 that was balanced, at least numerically, at one point, 7 but an opportunity to have a representative from OCR presented itself recently, so we did not have much 8 9 find additional panelist an to numerical balance. 10 11 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Was there any attempts 12 made because I was not made aware of that and would have certainly insisted on that effort I'm sure. 13 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Mr. Staff Director? 14 15 STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: Well, first, I 16 would agree with the Chairman's assessment which is to 17 say that we have a balanced panel, but not strictly numerically balanced and that the reason is that we 18 19 had a last minute change in availability of a witness 20 and considering that the last minute change was within 21 48 hours it was embarrassingly short notice to bring someone in. 22 23 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Perhaps we're 24 quibbling over semantics here because just on 25 observation I would say that not always numerically

Black, that the panel seems to be imbalanced and I

1 imbalanced, but it's imbalanced in terms of viewpoint, 2 but I guess it just depends on the way you view it. 3 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes, indeed. 4 Black? 5 MR. Ι BLACK: May address the 6 Commissioner's concern? I represent OCR which is a 7 law enforcement agency and we neither advocate liberal or conservative view. We interpret and apply 8 9 the law to the cases we investigate. 10 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Ι appreciate your 11 answer, Mr. Black, and this is not meant any 12 disrespect to you as an individual, but I would say that certainly events on Capitol Hill involving the 13 Attorney General might speak otherwise the position of 14 OCR in this matter. 15 16 CHAIRPERSON **REYNOLDS:** Ве nice, Commissioner Yaki. 17 Commissioner Braceras? 18 19 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Also, Ι don't 20 sense an imbalance. I mean just from reviewing the 21 statements that were submitted it's not clear to me that these witnesses and we'll hear from them, but 22 23 not clear to me that these witnesses necessarily going to agree one way or the other on the 24 25 issue presented to them. So while it may be that we

1	don't have 50 percent of the panel on one side and 50
2	percent of the panel on another side of the issue, I
3	think there will be a wide range of views and a good
4	range of views without any bias one way or the other.
5	COMMISSIONER YAKI: And Commissioner
6	Braceras, I will keep an open mind on this, as anybody
7	would. There is a concern that he strove to
8	earlier in the year to deal with issues on how we go
9	through a checklist on balance, et cetera. That's my
10	only concern and I look forward to hearing what the
11	appellant has to say.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Vice Chair
13	Thernstrom?
14	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: And I would
15	just add that whatever troubles and obviously there
16	are troubles associated with the firing of U.S.
17	Attorneys, it is completely irrelevant to the question
18	of Mr. Black's professionalism.
19	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: It's a slightly
20	different department.
21	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Yes,
22	slightly different department.
23	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: But on that note,
24	Mr. Cohen, please save us from ourselves.
25	(Laughter.)

MR. COHEN: Thank you. My name is Dan Cohen and I'm a lawyer from Atlanta who practices in the area of Title IX, among other areas. I work with the law firm of Rogers & Hardin, but I'm here today to express my own views, not necessarily the views of my firm.

I've been studying Title IX for a dozen ever since I got a hands-on experience with Title IX while serving member Duke as а University's Athletics Department oversight board. Today, most of my Title IX practice is related to colleges and universities who are looking to comply with the law. Since 2005, I've studied the OCR's additional clarification in depth and I've published on this topic.

Much of the publicity and the debate about the additional clarification is policy based, but that has limited relevance to a school that's simply trying to comply with what the law is. And that's my job, to tell my clients what the law is and how to comply with it. In that regard, I'm not for or against the additional clarification and I disagree with Commissioner Yaki's contention in that regard.

That said, I do generally favor the use of the model survey approach for schools that are

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attempting to comply with Prong Three. The additional clarification has been criticized, but much of that criticism I contend is unfair. By that I mean that it's actually criticism of Title IX as a whole or it's policy-based criticism. The result is is that the additional clarification itself has been given a bad name and I think undeservedly so.

I'm saying that the additional not clarification couldn't be improved, but it's important to separate the general policy concerns from the criticisms that are specific to the additional clarification. And today, I hope that I can help you focus on that.

I think a good starting point would be to put the additional clarification into context. let's talk about the test for measuring and compliance with Prong Three. That same test has been in place since 1979. Ιt lists three factors: interest, ability, and competition. And all of the factors must be present for a school to be considered out of compliance with Prong Three. What that means is that there must be a showing of unmet interest on campus, the students who have interest in an additional sport must have sufficient ability to sustain a team in the likelihood of sport, and there also must be а

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In measuring interest, Title IX has always been concerned only with a school's current and admitted students, not its future, potential students. For example, the 1996 clarification; in the very first paragraph introducing the discussion of Prong Three, it says that Title IX "does not require an institution to accommodate the interests and abilities of potential students." Nonetheless, since 1996, the OCR also recommended monitoring the athletic interests of local nonstudents and high school students as a way of gauging future, potential interest in a sport. Or as the test provides, perhaps that relates to the sustainability of the team.

Now it's good policy to keep nonstudents' interests in mind. But technically, it's not a part of the interest measurement requirement under the test and that's a distinction we need to focus on. Of course, the 1996 clarification went much farther. Ιt recommended that schools monitor a number of direct indicators of interest among current and admitted The list provided in the 1996 clarification students. was thorough, but it's not particularly helpful. too vague for schools to know when they've actually reached compliance. No indicators were considered

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more persuasive than others and it was not at all clear when a showing of some interest might rise to the level of sufficient unmet interest so as to require the addition of another team.

So schools came up with their subjective measures of complying with Prong Three. And the main way that they tried to measure their compliance with Prong Three was through a varying array of administered surveys. According to the OCR, approximately two-thirds of all schools investigated between 1992 and 2002 attempted to prove compliance with Title IX through Prong Three. Of those schools, approximately three-quarters of them used some form of survey mechanisms to try to measure interest campus.

Title IX and the 1996 quidance studied at length in 2002 and 2003 by Secretary of Education Rod Paige's Commission on Opportunity in Athletics. They held meetings across the country. They collected as much information as possible. they were repeatedly told by collegiate athletic administrators that the OCR's 1996 guidance, while it had its merits, was so ambiguous that they didn't know how to comply with Prong Three. Thus, many schools resorted to proportionality, simply because it was

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measurable - they could know when they had reached compliance with the law. Thus, the Commission unanimously recommended that OCR study the possibility of allowing institutions to use surveys to measure compliance with Prong Three. This idea was adopted by the OCR and it was specifically mentioned in the 2003 further clarification.

thereafter, the OCR commissioned Soon expert independent statisticians to study the various survey mechanisms that schools had used and submitted to the OCR between 1992 and 2002. As a result of this the statisticians designed a streamlined analysis, web-based model survey that was based on the best practices and the collective learnings of schools over the previous decade. That interest measurement tool centerpiece of became the the additional clarification.

Then, in the additional clarification, the OCR gave guidance and built in safeguards for how to administer the model survey - to ensure reliable data and how to measure the responses. One of the key safeguards built into the additional clarification for how to administer the model survey - and this is the key safeguard that's almost always overlooked - is that the model survey must be administered "in a

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that is designed to generate high response If this is not satisfied, the OCR will not assume that the model survey results are reliable, and they will consider other indicia of interest, including those listed in the 1996 clarification. most direct indicia of interest will be picked up by a well-administered model survey, which is why additional clarification is not inconsistent with the 1996 quidance. The model survey simply provides a more direct way to measure the same thing.

That safeguard related to response rates is why the pejorative titling of the model survey as an email survey is just plain wrong. That criticism implies that a school can simply pretend as if sending out one email that does not generate a high response rate is good enough for a school to sit back and pretend as if it's in compliance with the law. That's not accurate.

Moreover, the preferred method of Model Survey administration is one in which students must complete the survey or purposefully choose to bypass it. That generates a 100 percent response rate. The OCR recommends making the model survey a part of the student's mandatory class registration process. I know of another school that instead has integrated the

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model survey into its on-line application process. even if a school instead decides to initially email, distribute the model survey via permitted under the additional clarification, the OCR continues to require that sufficient follow-up efforts be made with an eye toward generating that high response rate. Now that is another area that's gotten some criticism. When has the school engaged in sufficient follow-up efforts as so to ensure reliability of the model survey? Ι don't know. That's an area of subjectivity. And that's one that's open for debate. But it's important to keep in mind that the preferred method of administration is not via The preferred method of administration is via email. a mandatory response methodology.

mentioned. the additional As clarification also gives quidance largely on objective way to measure the responses. And if the responses indicate that there is sufficient interest on campus, then the additional clarification provides further quidance on the assessment process that must place is sufficient to gauge whether there ability on campus and the other factors. important to keep in mind the model survey truly only relates to the interest part of the test. Ability,

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sustainability, competition in the region, that still need to be measured, even if there is a showing of interest. And that's under any scheme.

The result of the OCR's quidance is that schools now have a relatively clear road map compliance with Pronq Three. There's huge improvement over 1996. It makes Prong Three useable and it makes Prong Three practical. But the key to all of this is that you've got to follow the OCR's Indeed, if a school properly follows the advice. OCR's instructions, including administering the model survey in that manner, "in a manner that is designed to generate high response rates", then the OCR will defer to the model survey results. That gives another potentially huge benefit. It gives schools comfort that they know when they've reached compliance.

In the past, they would do their best to subjectively gauge interest and try to meet that interest. But just because a school engaged in good faith efforts or it's best faith efforts, the school couldn't feel comfortable or satisfied that a judge or an OCR investigator would agree with its judgments. There was always a risk there because it was subjective.

Now on the other hand, if a school does

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34 not properly administer the model survey, the OCR will not defer to its results. We instead go back to the any event, even under scheme. But in additional clarification, there's nothing to prevent a school from continuing to monitor other indicia of interest, and I encourage schools to do that. The majority of schools rely on Prong Three for their compliance efforts. And

Three for their compliance efforts. And the additional clarification lays out a better path to compliance with Prong Three. It lays out a more demonstrable way to compliance. In one way it lays out an objective path to compliance. It explains when a school can feel secure that it has complied and it allows a school deference to its efforts when the additional clarification is properly followed.

I would argue that most schools that are relying on Prong Three should at least consider whether their compliance efforts would benefit from following the OCR's guidance in the additional clarification.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you, Mr. Cohen.

Ms. Gavora?

MS. GAVORA: Thanks. Thank you for the opportunity to be here. My statement has changed

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slightly, but substantially from the statement that I believe is in your briefing books, but it's been redistributed to you.

It's gratifying to me that after over ten years of studying Title IX that we are here today talking about the issue that is at the issue of heart of Title IX in athletics which is interest. For over a decade now, Title IX compliance has been based on a very different standard, statistical proportionality. triumph of statistical proportionality, The argument that absent discrimination, men and women would play athletics at the same rate, has been achieved not by proving that men and women have identical interests. The data and the participation rates themselves fall far short of that. It has been achieved by making the whole question of interest irrelevant to Title IX compliance.

As you know, statistical proportionality demands that schools manipulate their athletic programs so that their gender ratios match that of their undergraduate student population. In this way, proportionality ignores student interests in favor of an arbitrary numerical formula. No other opportunity in education, be it in the engineering department or the drama or dance programs is apportioned in this

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way, even opportunities that are apportioned, that are segregated by sex, like student housing, are apportioned according to student interest.

And this brings me to the Commission's first question, that of the strengths and the weaknesses of the 2005 model survey. Its strength and I think its only strength is that it is for the first time in a decade reinforces the notion that government should view women as thinking, discerning individuals, capable of expressing and acting on their interest, when judging an institution under Title IX.

The 2005 policy clarification was an attempt, as Daniel has said, to respond to a long-expressed desire on the part of college administrators for more specific guidance in complying with Prong Three. Prong Three asks that schools "demonstrate that the interests and abilities of the members of the under represented sex have been fully and effectively accommodated by the present athletic program."

For decades schools have complained that the government's guidance is subjective and so in 2005, the Department of Education provided this guidance, but the reaction of the model test critics has been curious to say the least. Groups like the Women's Sports Foundation and the National Women's Law

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Center have long insisted that there are three equally valid ways to comply with Title IX and that assessing the interests of women is one of them. And yet, their reaction to the model survey has been to refute interest as a measure of compliance on two fronts. They have argued first that women's interests cannot be discerned, and second, even when they are discerned, fulfilling the interest of women on campus is insufficient to comply with Title IX.

On the first objection, two prominent defenders of the Title IX status quo wrote that gauge men's and women's surveys can't interests in sports because "culturally men are simply more likely than women to profess an interest sports." Women, on the other hand, "are less likely to profess an interest in sports, even if they are In other words, women are as interested interested." in sports as men, they just can't bring themselves to admit it.

The critics' second objection to the model survey is that surveying current students' interest in athletics only serves to freeze the school's sports program in the status quo. The theory is that women who are interested in a particular sport will not attend an institution that does not already offer that

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sport. Critics do not explain, however, why this same phenomenon does not likewise adversely impact men's college choices.

To the extent that there is some merit in this argument, the remedies suggested by critics are so broad and ill-defined that they serve to return Prong Three to its previous vague and unworkable status. The critics demand that in addition to the survey, schools also consult with local club sports, youth coaches, high schools, junior high schools, elementary schools, as well as considering national trends in determining women's opportunities.

The amorphousness and the scope of these requirements serves to put Prong Three compliance once again out of reach of well-meaning administrators and more importantly guarantees that their lawyers and Title IX consultants will continue to advise them to adhere to substantial proportionality. And here, I think the role of the National Collegiate Athletic Administration deserves some scrutiny. Like many of the single-issue critics of the model survey, the NCAA has long maintained that measuring and fulfilling interest is a valid method of compliance with Title IX.

And like these groups, the NCAA has

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vehemently denounced the model survey. But the NCAA bears a burden that the National Women's Law Center does not. It exists to represent all collegiate athletes, not just female athletes. And yet, just yesterday, the NCAA president participated in a news conference with the Women's Sports Foundation and others designed to pre-empt this discussion of the model survey.

Groups like the Women's Sports Foundation and the National Women's Law Center have been clear in their expressions of support for the status quo in Title IX enforcement. Indeed, their only objection is that statistical proportionality is not applied aggressively enough. This is their right as special interest groups, but what is the responsibility of the NCAA?

In just the past year alone, hundreds of athletes at Rutgers, James Madison, Ohio University, Butler, Clarion, Slippery Rock, have all lost their opportunity in full or in part due to Title IX. Does the NCAA support this status quo?

Which brings me to the Commission's second question, no school, to my knowledge, has used the model survey to demonstrate compliance with Title IX.

They haven't because the NCAA, which periodically

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examines its member institutions for their commitment to gender equity, has told them expressly not to. because haven't the interest groups routinely sue colleges and universities under Title publicly deemed the IX, have model survey illegitimate and illegal tool, promising still more law suits for the brave administrator who dare uses the survey.

important than the negative But more public relations and legal campaign targeting schools employing the model survey, is the fact that the survey relies on Prong Three and Prong Three is in itself flawed. Remember, that Prong Three only where schools have not applies in cases statistical proportionality. And for these schools, it requires that they accommodate only the interest of the under represented sex; in most cases, in virtually all cases, women.

So if a school has reached statistical proportionality and it surveys its students and finds some unmet interest among women and massive unmet interest among men, it is obligated only to fully accommodate the women's interest. What's more, a school that is not proportional and has a women's club team, that requests varsity status, regardless of how

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many men's club teams request the same, must accommodate that interest and that interest only.

James Madison University is a perfect case in point. Last fall, James Madison offered athletic teams to its students, 13 for men and 15 for Only six schools in Division I offered more opportunities, but JMU's female student population was 61 percent and growing and its athletic rosters couldn't keep pace. JMU was in no position to add teams, but the model survey offered women's protection for its existing teams. And when two women club teams petitioned for varsity status, JMU had no recourse but to achieve statistical proportionality by cutting ten teams.

The College Sports Council and others have proposed a remedy for this absurd and senseless loss of opportunity that is occurring under Title IX today. It's a small change, not to the law, but to the implementing regulation that will return Title IX to its original anti-discrimination purpose, protect the gains of women and above all, reflect the interests in students in athletics when judging an institution under the law.

Prong Three should be modified from its current requirement that only the interest of the

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under represented sex be accommodated to a requirement that schools equally accommodate the interests of both Under this approach, the results of the model survey become the qualified pool against which an equal accommodation standard is measured. So if a school finds that 40 percent of its students who are interested in athletics are women, it would apportion 40 percent of its opportunities to women. students who shouldn't be considered disparate impact determination of discrimination like older students, students with families, students who simply lack the interest and ability to compete in sports would rightly be excluded

Thank you again for this opportunity. I'm happy to answer any questions you have. I will conclude by saying that speaking for myself and the College Sports Council, we wholeheartedly support the spirit and intention of Title IX. We believe that the changes that I've just described to the law will guarantee that is preserved and protected for new generations of American athletes, both men and women, boys and girls. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you, Ms. Gavora.

Ms. Samuels?

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MS. SAMUELS: Thank you very much. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today. Fundamentally, I believe that the 2005 clarification conflicts with long standing Department of Education policy, violates basic principles of equality under the law, and threatens to stall or reverse the progress that women have made under the Title IX since its enactment.

We call on the Department to rescind this clarification and return to prior policies for the reasons that I'll discuss in my testimony. As you all compliance with Title IX's participation know, requirements is assessed by means of a three-part Frequent attacks on the three-part test have resoundingly rejected. The test has been uniformly upheld by nine out of nine Federal Appellate Courts that have considered it, and uniformly applied by prior Administrations. In fact, in July of 2003, the Department of Education reaffirmed its commitment to applying long standing Department interpretations of the law, rejecting in the wake of a massive public outcry recommendations made by the Commission Opportunity in Athletics that would have dramatically reduced and undermined women's rights to equal opportunity.

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Ι'd like to discuss several specific reasons that the 2005 clarification is so inconsistent with the law and with prior policies. The first is this, it impermissibly allows schools to rely on surveys alone to measure student interest. The 2005 clarification permits schools that haven't offered equal opportunity to their students and haven't been able to show that they have been continuously improving opportunities for their under represented sex, to measure the interests of those students by results of an email survey alone to evaluate whether they've satisfied their obligation to provide equal opportunity.

Courts have consistently recognized, interest can't be measured apart from opportunity. Interest and ability, as the First Circuit has said, rarely develop in a vacuum. They evolve as function of opportunity and experience. As a result, surveys are likely only to measure the discrimination limited and continues limit that has to opportunities to participate in sports. Basing women's future opportunities on responses to surveys that measure their prior lack of exposure thus will perpetuate the cycle of discrimination only enshrine the status quo of women's lower participation

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It's for these reasons that the 1996 clarification Department and prior policies have endorsed a range of factors that schools must consider in evaluating women's interests. Contrary to being ill-defined, and these are very requests by students to elevate a team from club to varsity status; requests by students to start a team; opinions of coaches and athletics administrators; a survey of what's being played in the high schools from which the schools typically draw their students; a survey of what's being played in the communities from which the university typically draws its students. Those all provide additional indicia of the interests that would exist on the campus if the school were offering equal opportunity to its current students.

The Department's decision to eliminate the obligation to consider these factors is a real disservice to students and I think contrary to the basic principles of Title IX.

Here's the second problem. The 2005 clarification allows schools to restrict the surveys to admitted and enrolled students. This approach ignores the reality that students interested in a sport not offered by a school are unlikely to attend

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that school. By failing to require schools to look beyond their own campuses to, for example, the high schools from which they typically draw students, the clarification rewards schools with a presumption of compliance, that OCR will not look behind for in effect wearing blinders -- that is, for restricting their sports offerings and then claiming that they are satisfying the interests of those who attend the school and are therefore content with those restricted sports offerings.

The clarification also ignores the ways that schools typically recruit for men's teams. Most prospective players, offer colleges assess them various incentives and inducements, bring campus for visits. The clarification effectively requires women to show that they can fill a new team by relying on students already within their schools' current student bodies, a requirement that isn't imposed on men.

As the Fifth Circuit has noted, the heart of this contention is that "an institution with no coach, no facilities, no varsity team, no scholarships and no recruiting in a given sport must have on campus enough national caliber athletes to field a competitive varsity team in that sport before a Court

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can find sufficient interest and abilities to exist. It should go without saying that adopting this criteria would eliminate an effective accommodation claimed by any plaintiff at any time." That's precisely what the 2005 clarification has done.

Third, the survey methodology chosen by the clarification is deeply flawed for at least two The first is the fact that the school is reasons. permitted to accept as evidence of lack of interest a nonresponse to the survey. There are numerous reasons entirely unrelated to their level of interest participating in sport that students may respond to an email survey. They may not receive it. It may get caught in their spam filter. They may not have time to respond. They may think that it contains They may put it aside to respond to it later and then have it get lost in their massive amount of email.

To treat nonresponses as evidence of lack of interest is methodologically unsound and unfair. It also violates basic principles governing survey response rates. One Court has said that a 39 percent response rate was insufficient to justify a school's reliance on a survey purporting to measure athletic interest. The NCAA guidelines say that response rates

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below 60 percent are suspect. But what the clarification does effectively is to allow schools to the fiction that 100 percent of students have, in fact, responded. That should not be allowed to obscure the reality that the clarification permits schools to deny opportunities to students based on actual response rates that would likely be rejected by a court that examined the evidence.

Equally troubling is the clarification's authorization for schools to rely on a woman's self-assessment of lack of ability to compete as evidence of that student's actual ability. Many students who played different sports at the high school level can play varsity-level sports in college if given the opportunity to do so. To accept that a student who had no expectation of playing upon her arrival lacks the ability without consulting coaches, administrators and others who are in a position to make that assessment is again a disservice to young women.

Another problem is that the clarification shifts the burden to female students to prove that they are interested in sports. We never asked women whether they were interested in voting before we passed the amendment giving them the right to do so. To say that a person's civil rights are dependent on

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their carrying the burden of proving that they are interested in and entitled to them, is an inversion of basic civil rights principles and a real change from prior law.

It's also contrary to the requirement of full accommodation of female athletes' interest and Opponents of the three-part test and Ms. abilities. Gavora today have argued that Prong Three should be read only to require that schools accommodate the relative interests of students on their campus. the relative interests argument ignores the fact that a school relying on Prong Three to comply with the three-part test is by definition failing to offer students, female students, equal opportunities participate. It also relies on the inaccurate and impermissible stereotype that women are inherently less interested in sports than men, a stereotype that is unlawful under Title IX and has been disproved by the vast explosion in women's participation since Title IX was passed.

Finally, the 2005 clarification provides for absolutely inadequate oversight by the Department of Education. As Mr. Cohen has noted, the Department will presume compliance and so if schools have questions or thoughts about what is sufficient follow

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mechanism in place up, there is no under the clarification for OCR to qo behind а school's assertion that it has, in fact, done enough to satisfy itself that the interest survey was representative and in fact delivered to an adequate number of students and that efforts were made to gain an That is an inadequate response by an response rate. enforcement agency the role of which is not to make it easy for regulated entities to comply, not to set bright line rules so that schools can be certain of when they are treading close to the line, but enforce the law and to ensure that all students get their equal opportunity to participate in sports and are entitled to the civil rights that the law gives them.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you, Ms. Samuels.

Ms. Sweet?

MS. SWEET: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you Commissioners. Before I share my statement with you, I do want to point out that I am probably the only panelist who has had the experience of being on a college campus prior to Title IX and post-Title Ι life without IX. have experienced campus

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opportunities and after Title IX's enactment have had an opportunity to provide opportunities. I can tell you first hand that post-Title IX is a lot better than it was prior to the passage of Title IX.

behalf of the National On Collegiate Athletic Association and its more than 1200 member colleges, universities, conferences, and affiliated organizations who are committed to equal opportunity for both men and women, I am pleased to have the opportunity to provide the Commission with information about the impact of Title IX on intercollegiate athletics, comments about the application of the law, particularly Prong Three, the three-part test, and any other assistance wherever possible, as you undertake this review.

I have been involved in inter-collegiate athletics and higher education for more than 30 years as an athletics director, faculty member, and leadership roles within the NCAA. During my tenure in the field of intercollegiate athletics, I have worked extensively matters involving of on growth opportunities and advancement of both men and women in Through my work, I have seen first hand athletics. the commitment of the NCAA and many universities to promote equity and consequently the resulting strides

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that have been made in the pursuit of gender equity on campuses and NCAA programs. I'm pleased with the progress, but wary of efforts to undo more than three decades of work.

The gap in opportunities and support remain significant for women and thus more needs to be done to ensure parity. The goals of Title IX are far from realized.

I would like to comment on the questions that you identified. Shortly after the additional clarification was issued on March 17, 2005, the NCAA Executive Committee, which consists of university presidents and chancellors representing all divisions of the NCAA and NCAA President Myles Brand, reviewed the 2005 Department of Education's quidance and found it to be an inappropriate means of assessing interest and Title IX compliance.

The Executive Committee and President Brand submitted a letter to Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings, and issued a resolution distributed to the NCAA membership outlining the most glaring flaws of the 2005 clarification. Both the letter and resolution have been submitted with my statement.

The Department of Education's previous

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clarification in 1996 acknowledged that surveys are to be one element of several measures that provide a thorough and complete evaluation of interest by women in sports participation. By contrast, the 2005 clarification allows the survey to be a sole method of measurement and appears contrived to show that females interested in participation. not These strikingly different approaches. The 2005 methodology permits institutional manipulation to prove disinterest, an approach contrary to the spirit and the 35 year history of Title IX.

While I would like to believe that all universities are committed to equal opportunity and Title IX compliance, a review of Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act data shows this is not the case. is much work to be done to address the existing The reality is that 35 inequities. years Title IX women still only receive passage of percent of athletics participation opportunities; of operating budgets; and 33 percent recruiting budgets. All this is despite the welldocumented and burgeoning interest by women in sports since the passage of Title IX.

At the high school level, participants have increased ten fold and six fold at the college

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level as new opportunities have been provided and societal attitudes toward female participation in sports has improved. In 2005-06, there were close to three million female high school student athletes and 180,000 NCAA collegiate female student athletics.

The pool of high school female student athletics suggests that if more opportunities were provided at the collegiate level, there would be a larger number of interested participants. The bottom line is this, women are still the under represented gender in college sports and less funding is devoted to the support of women's programs. The spirit of Title IX with regard to athletics and other campus opportunities recognizes that participation has educational and life developmental value for both men and women and benefits society as a result.

The 2005 additional clarification provides an easy way for noncompliant institutions to claim compliance with Prong Three by merely administering an electronic survey that by its nature measures inattention or neglect as disinterest. The effect of the survey approach potentially would be to freeze participation opportunities at their current level, or worse, to roll back the progress made over the last 35 years.

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One of the greatest weaknesses of this electronic survey approach is counting a nonresponse as a lack of interest. Researchers have repeatedly stated that a nonresponse is just that, a nonresponse, and should not be interpreted in any other way. I've submitted a report from the NCAA data analysis research network which consists of university faculty researchers throughout the country identifying the flaws in the 2005 clarification. The overall tenor of that report is that the 2005 clarification allows for the use of a survey method that does not meet accepted professional standards for conducting this type of addition, students have consistently study. In indicated that they rarely, if ever, respond to online surveys. Oftentimes such surveys are filed in spam folders and/or totally ignored.

The NCAA leadership and its membership strongly support the 1996 clarification which considers many factors in determining interest of the under represented sex and has urged the withdrawal of the 2005 additional clarification. Under the 2005 guidance, even if there was a favorable response from the under represented sex, indicating interest in sports not currently sponsored by the college or university, there would be many other conditions that

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would need to be present, including a demonstration of acceptable skill before an institution might add the identified sport team.

Since the sport doesn't exist on the respective campus, there would be no coach to even fairly evaluate skill level.

Furthermore, this approach sampling of ignores the fact that athletics team members recruited to a campus from regional or national pools high school and community college students. Sampling the existing student population eliminates input of students who potentially would have attended that university or college their had preferred sport been sponsored.

The consistent and uniform opinion of college presidents, chancellors and athletics administrators is that the 2005 guidance is contrary to the original intent of Title IX in that it provides an incomplete means of measuring interest. I'm not aware of how OCR has used the survey data, but I do know that very few universities or colleges have acknowledged using the model survey.

The 2005 clarification is cumbersome, confusing and unprecedented in length, detail and method of dissemination. It covers one part of one

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program component of the 13 program components reviewed for compliance under Title IX, but exceeds the length of OCR's 166-page 1990 Title IX Athletics Investigators Manual which addresses all 13 program components.

At various national meetings, NCAA members asked if they have used the 2005 have been clarification and almost responded no one has affirmatively. The extent to which each of the three prongs are used has been proven through OCR's own review of campuses prior to 2005 where it was shown that close to two thirds of those reviewed were using Prong Three to achieve Title IX compliance. that suggests that Prong Three has been working and those facts came prior to the 2005 clarification.

Most university presidents, chancellors and athletics administrators believe that the new guidance inappropriately has made it easier to comply with Title IX and at the same time not truly comply with the spirit and intent of the law. It may be easier, but it's not fair. The new guidance is viewed as a flawed means of compliance for the reasons stated previously.

In addition, OCR's clarification acknowledges that the model survey narrows the scope

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of OCR's analysis for interests and abilities. My understanding of the creation of the three-part test is that it was intended to provide institutions flexibility in meeting the goals of Title IX, but not to make one prong a means for easier compliance, especially when the results are not consistent with the true spirit of providing equal opportunity.

In a perfect world Title IX would not be necessary.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Please sum up.

MS. SWEET: I plan to do that. In a perfect world Title IX would not be necessary. There would be resources well enough to do the right thing and meet everyone's needs both for our male and female student athletes. The model survey does not allow for this to happen. Thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you, Ms. Sweet.

Mr. Black?

MR. BLACK: Mr. Chairman, before I deliver my opening remarks, let me thank the Commission for sponsoring this hearing on Title IX. Regardless of the views of Title IX, I think such open, public discussion of Title IX brings attention to the issue which hopefully furthers compliance with Title IX.

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I also want to thank the other panel members. Clearly from the remarks we've had you see that we have a number of experts here on Title IX and I think it's going to further the spirited discussion when it comes to questions and hopefully help clarify some of your questions, both the additional clarification.

I'm going to reserve most of my time to answer those questions because the reason I'm here today is to clarify any misperceptions about our policy.

I appreciate the opportunity again to meet with you to discuss the additional clarification which the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights issued in March of 2005. Ι want to begin by emphasizing that OCR is committed to ensuring that no student, regardless of race, national origin, sex, disability or age is denied or limited in his or her educational opportunities because of discrimination. fulfill this commitment law as а enforcement agency, OCR must fairly and vigorously enforce the civil rights laws and seek compliance of educational institutions at all levels of education nationwide.

As you know, Congress entrusted OCR with the responsibility of enforcing Title IX, one of the

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nation's landmark civil rights laws. In response to growing concern about disparities in educational experiences of male and female students, Congress enacted the law to eliminate sex discrimination in all aspects of education; in the classroom, in class offerings, in employment, and all extracurricular It was also clear as early as 1974 that activities. Congress intended for this prohibition to extend to athletics programs as well.

Although Title IX prohibits a broad range of discriminatory actions, it is perhaps this later intercollegiate athletics, for which it is context, Thanks to Title IX, more women than ever best known. participating in sports and attending and excelling in college and graduate programs. For example, when Title IX was enacted, women comprised 43 percent of college enrollment, but only accounted for 15 percent of intercollegiate athletic participants. Nearly 35 years later, female participation in intercollegiate athletics has increased by over 400 percent and women account for well over 50 percent of students enrolled in college.

Despite the significant progress, no one disputes discrimination continues to exist across the nation in education programs and activities.

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Discrimination occurs in access to programs and activities in the classrooms and in opportunities for participation in athletics. The Department is working diligently to address complaints of Title IX violations in all areas, and in particular athletics. To ensure that students are not discriminated against in athletics, we also provide technical assistance and tools to institutions so that they can determine for themselves without an investigation whether they are in compliance with the law. I believe the additional clarification furthers that mission.

I know that some members of this panel the additional have expressed concerns about clarification, that it weakens protections for female I believe some of this controversy is the result of misunderstanding the policy. The additional clarification does establish new not substantive standards under Title IX. Instead, it provides schools with additional quidance of OCR athletic policies and practices that have been established over the last 35 years.

The intercollegiate athletics policy interpretation, which the Department issued in 1979, established a three-part test as a standard that OCR would use to determine if post-secondary institutions

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are providing nondiscriminatory athletic opportunities to their male and female athletes. The test identified three separate methods of complying and permitted schools to choose any one of those methods to choose Title IX compliance.

Under the third compliance option, part the three-part test, schools have been three of permitted to demonstrate compliance with Title IX by showing that they were accommodating the athletic interests and abilities of their male and female students. Thus, ever since 1979, one means of Title compliance has always been dependent the of student athletic interests assessment and abilities.

An important principle of OCR's enforcement is that schools have the flexibility to select the means they will use to achieve compliance with the three-part test. One method schools have chosen to use for a number of years in the past is athletic interest surveys. In fact, the model survey guide accompanying additional and user's and clarification are based on the statistical analysis of OCR cases involving the use of surveys under the three-part test during a ten-year period, specifically 1992 to 2002.

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NCES evaluated 130 of OCR's cases. Twothirds of those institutions used part three to comply
with the three-part test. And more than half of those
used interest surveys. After an extensive review and
analysis of these cases, the National Center for
Education Statistics concluded in the user's guide
that survey instruments used by these schools were
flawed and often were administered to limited pools of
students and resulted in very low response rates.

The Department issued the model survey and user's guide accompanying the additional clarification address these deficiencies. The additional clarification provides schools for the first time with a practical tool, the model survey. They may now choose to use it to assess athletic interest, using effective, unbiased methods, rather than having the burden of developing their own surveys as they did in the past, and as I said, were not very good. is more important to emphasize that schools can rely on the model survey as an acceptable method to measure students' athletic interests is only administered consistent with the recommendations developed by NCES in the user's guide.

I believe the additional clarification promotes compliance with Title IX by clarifying the

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obligations of educational entities under the threepart test, a commitment which OCR made both in the 1996 clarification and the 2003 Dear Colleague letter. number We know that schools have faced а challenges in their efforts to ensure that they do not discriminate in the athletics programs that they offer and how they operate those programs. This quidance and additional clarification promotes Title IX compliance by making it easier for schools to assess whether their own athletic programs are in compliance with part three and how they can bring themselves into compliance.

Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you. Okay, the first question will come from Commissioner Kirsanow.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes, I want to thank the panelists for a very fine presentation. I also want to thank the staff for assembling a very fine panel.

I just want to clarify the record, some technical matters. I think Mr. Cohen indicated that in terms of the model survey, simple -- and correct me if I'm wrong, simple email solicitation of responses may not be sufficient to comply with the third prong

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insofar as there has to be some method used to increase the probability of response. I think you used the term a mandatory response methodology. And that very often these kinds of surveys were done in conjunction with registration or application to ensure the greatest or maximize the response rate.

Ms. Samuels, on the other hand, and I think Ms. Sweet indicated that it sounded as if it was simply an email solicitation and that was the end of the story. Where are we on this? What are the facts?

MR. COHEN: The fact remains that simply sending email is not permissible under an additional clarification and the arguments that are based on that assumption are inaccurate. Under the OCR's quidance, yes, it's true that a school initially distribute the model survey via email, but that cannot be the end. The school has got to engage in sufficient follow-up efforts. It's an area of subjectivity and that's why it's an area where there's some discomfort.

What follow-up efforts are sufficient to comply with the law, to satisfy the OCR that the follow-up efforts have been sufficient? Should a school send follow-up emails to the entirety of the student body? If so, how many? Does the school have

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1 the capability of targeting only those students who --2 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: You said send them to the entirety of the student body, I want to be 3 4 clear on this. Is it the case that the third prong 5 mandates sending the surveys only to under represented athletes or is it sent to the entire student body? 6 7 The additional clarification MR. COHEN: provides for two alternatives in that regard. The 8 9 first one - and the recommended method under additional clarification - is that the model survey be 10 administered to the entirety of the student body. 11 12 Alternatively, the model survey can be administered to all members of the under represented gender, 13 14 sampling is permitted under the additional not clarification. 15 16 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Do you know what 17 the practice is? MR. COHEN: Well, yes, let me address that 18 19 because you hear all these attacks about the "email" I'm not aware of a single school that's 20 21 email methodology for the additional employed an clarification. 22 Ι am aware of mandatory response 23 methods. If a school administers the model survey, 24 25 for example, as part of its application process, (that

didn't come from the OCR, that came from a school that made it part of the application process) every student must respond to the survey. Or they can click on a button to say no, I'm not interested, after -- and again, this comes back to the requirements of the OCR:

A nonresponse is only treated as an actual lack of interest if all students have been given easy access to respond to the census, if the purpose of the census has been made clear, and if students have been informed that the school will take nonresponses as an indication of lack of interest.

So if you've got a mandatory response methodology set up where the first screen complies with that and says those things, you don't have to flip through the other seven screens. The model survey is only eight screens long. You don't have to flip through the other seven screens. After being informed of that, you can click on a different button and "bypass" the survey - but that's a response. And so if schools administer the model survey via a mandatory response method, all of these concerns fall away. And that is the preferred methodology for administering the model survey.

MS. SAMUELS: I wonder if I might follow up on what Mr. Cohen said on a couple of fronts. The

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first is I am not a statistician and in fact, I'd like to submit for the record a report done by the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education which contains a statistical analysis and a methodological analysis of what we perceive to be the flaws with the survey methodology. But my understanding is that there are statistical problems with administering a survey in a mandatory form. They are different from the ones that OCR has adopted by allowing the survey to be done in this discretionary way.

I think there are several problems with the email survey. It is true that the additional clarification calls for schools to undertake effort to ensure that there is a reasonable response rate. as Mr. Cohen notes, there's no quidance as to how that should be done. It can be done by the same methods that students have disregarded in ignoring or not receiving the initial email. So if a school sends an email and it gets caught in someone's spam filter or the student deletes it because they think it's a virus or because they get 400 emails a day from different parts of the school or from their friends, there is nothing that will enable the school to -- or there's nothing that would require the school to follow up with that student to find out why she or he has not

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responded. If they send another email saying we really meant it, you should really respond this time, that is liable to end up in the same recycling trash bin that the original email did. And a significant gap in the additional clarification is that there is no oversight or monitoring by OCR to evaluate whether schools have engaged in a sufficient effort to ensure that students respond.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Braceras?

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I wanted to ask another question.

MS. SWEET: I'd like to respond. Based on practical experience that I have had, first of all, I have had an opportunity to talk with students, undergraduate and graduate students. Almost all of them have had some interest in sports or are current student athletes. When I've asked them the question how many of you respond to an email survey, I spoke to 200 undergraduates students. Not one hand went up. spoke with 50 graduate students and asked the same One hand went up and she immediately stated question. I'm in marketing and I understand that it's important based respond to surveys. So on those 250 students, the conclusion would be none of them have an

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interest in athletics participation, even though they currently are participating.

Secondly, the question came up in regards to is anybody using the survey? I am aware of one institution and I reference it in my statement that has used the survey. They used the survey and modeled it to a certain degree because they felt that they had to adapt it to their specific situation, but they didn't use it to determine if there was because they were looking at a number of other What they used it for was to get some information on what sports they might consider adding to their program in the future. The response that I heard from that institution was that it was cumbersome and they had to offer a \$10 gift certificate to the campus bookstore in order to ensure response and even with that, they only had a 25 percent response.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Is it the case that the survey is only -- it is a minimal means by which to gauge interest? In other words, there's nothing that prohibits the university from using any other type of means by which it wants to gauge interest, correct?

MS. SWEET: You make a very good point and that's really what the concern is. If an institution

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is fully committed to Title IX compliance, I believe that they would use a variety of approaches to determining interest. But if an institution is looking for as one of the questions asked an easy way to meet the three prong test, this is an easy way because it doesn't require them to go any further.

MR. BLACK: May I address the issue of email surveys?

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes.

MR. BLACK: The Department has looked at a universities' handbooks number of and most universities have email policies. lot universities, such as Purdue, University of Texas, Syracuse, New York University, have email policies that require students to read their email. They tell students it's a presumed mode of communication. this email survey or notice of the survey is not going to come from OCR. It's not going to come from a vendor. It's going to from the private come university in the form of an official email. The universities also have email policies regarding spam. Stanford University, which I looked at recently, has the ability to turn on a spam filter or turn off a spam filter to recognize a university email. It is not going to end up in a spam folder.

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in order to use the model again, the preferred method, as Mr. Cohen pointed out, is a mandatory event such as registering for classes, getting your grades, being admitted to the university. But email is an option, but only if you follow the strict quidance of the user's quide: one, that it's a census; two, that students are informed of the purpose of the survey; three, they're informed of the fact that if they do not respond, it will be recognized as a lack of response and then fourth, that there is a reasonable effort to follow up, and it could be an additional email, official email. Ιt could be contacting those students who haven't responded.

COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: So simply sending out an email and then sitting back and not do anything, would that satisfy OCR?

MR. BLACK: No. And to say that OCR will not look behind the survey, that's incorrect. If we have a complaint that we are going to investigate and they say, "We administered your survey," we get the presumption; we're not going to turn around and walk away. We're going to look at whether they actually follow our user's guide. Did they do the reasonable efforts to follow up?

I also want to clarify what this survey

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is. There's а lot of confusion of what measuring here. This is not a survey to identify the extent to which women are interested in sports or to measure whether they continue to be interested in sports or even interested in sports to the same degree This is only meant as a way of identifying that interested in those women on campus are additional opportunities.

I don't know of any other better way to contact a student than to email them directly. These surveys that we looked at, they would put a flyer in the gymnasium and hope the student would pick it up. This is a direct means of communicating with each and every student to ask them if they're interested and again what it's measuring is an X factor. So if what you need to have a softball team is 25 students, we would love the highest response rate possible, but this email survey is trying to find those 25 students if you find those 25 students who because interested in softball and that's all it takes to add softball, now the university has a responsibility to now assess the ability and look for competition. So you could have a response rate at two percent, but if it's 25 students interested in softball and you don't have softball, you now have got to go the extra step

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and look at ability. So we want a high response rate, but this is only looking for an X number of students interested in a particular sport.

So if it's tennis and there's only six people to have a tennis team -- Judith would be the expert on NCAA rules of how many it takes for a particularly NCAA championship team, but you may be only looking for six students on your campus and what better way to find those six students than to email them and ask them directly.

MR. COHEN: May I make one more very brief comment?

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Go ahead.

MR. COHEN: As a lawyer, I tend to be a textualist and there's one point that's been missed here and I just want to read from the additional clarification because I think it's important and I think it's a point that's often overlooked. This is another quote. "Schools may either require students to complete the census" -- the model survey -- "or provide the census in a context in which most students will complete it." That's a quote off of page 7 of the additional clarification.

So the assumption that schools can simply send out one email and then just response rates will

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1	be what they may be, it's not accurate. The OCR will
2	not defer if it's not administered in a context in
3	which most students would complete it.
4	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay, we have a few
5	questions lined up. Ms. Braceras, Commissioner
6	Braceras?
7	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I just
8	wanted one follow-up question on this specifically
9	are you
10	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I have a few
11	questions, but why don't you go ahead.
12	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Yes, just
13	the one question. I don't quite understand why we
14	haven't heard from any of you except we got two
15	anecdotes from Ms. Sweet what exactly the survey
16	response rate has been. Are we talking have we got
17	a serious problem here or not in terms of the level of
18	the response rate?
19	MS. SAMUELS: The problem is that there is
20	no mechanism to systematically assess which schools or
21	whether any schools are in fact using the model
22	survey.
23	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Do you know of any
24	that are using it?
25	MS. SAMUELS: I do not. I think Ms. Sweet

1	knows of one. Research shows
2	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's the first
3	question.
4	MS. SAMUELS: that responses to email
5	surveys are extremely low.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I know, but that's
7	not the question on the table that the Vice Chair
8	posed. The Vice Chair wants to know specifically has
9	it been used, who has it been used by and in those
10	cases where it has been used, what has been the
11	response rate?
12	Grand platitudes about whether or not
13	email surveys work or whether or not this is an email
14	survey are really not relevant. She wants the facts.
15	Has it been used?
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: It's an empirical
17	question.
18	MS. SWEET: I'd like to try to answer that
19	question.
20	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: As opposed to
21	predicting the problems that could unfold in the
22	future, we're trying to get at what the data says now
23	and the fact that this is such a new approach and also
24	the fact that the NCAA has urged colleges not to use
25	it. Some time may go by, I suspect some time will go

1	by before we have data, but the question that Vice
2	Chair Thernstrom asked is still on the table. Any one
3	is welcome to respond.
4	MS. SWEET: I can share with you my
5	experiences as a presenter at several NCAA meetings
6	and conventions where I have asked those in
7	attendance, which range
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Again we're
9	into anecdotes there. Really, there has got to be
LO	some harder data than that.
11	MS. SWEET: Well, I don't believe that
12	there would be any way of knowing
13	MS. GAVORA: The relevant question is, has
L4	the model survey been used to defend against
15	Department of Education investigation or a lawsuit?
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: And we have a
L7	representative from OCR. So Mr. Black?
18	MR. BLACK: Well, first let me address the
19	point that Ms. Samuels raised, which is there is no
20	mechanism for gathering that data other than the
21	context of an active OCR investigation.
22	We ask all institutions when they receive
23	federal funds to sign an assurance that they will
24	comply with federal civil rights laws, but we don't
25	ask them how they are going to comply with Title VI

1	504, the ADA, and we don't ask them how they're going
2	to comply with Title IX.
3	In the three-part test that we're talking
4	about today, there is that flexibility factor. You
5	might one month be compliant with prong one. And then
6	your enrollment changes. So you want to shift to
7	comply with part three and assess interest and see if
8	you have it and add a team. So it would be difficult
9	to gather or require schools to have that reporting
10	requirement.
11	In the context of open investigations, I
12	can't, of course, comment on open investigations. We
13	have had schools express interest in surveys. And in
14	the past, OCR has even mandated the use of surveys
15	once we have found a violation in order to continue to
16	monitor unmet interest.
17	We have not required anyone to use our
18	model survey. And, to my knowledge, no one has used
19	the model survey that we have found in any of our
20	investigations.
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Mr. Black, would
22	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Mr. Chairman, I just
23	want to be recognized to be put in line for

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS:

questioning at some point.

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Mr. Black,

Okay.

1	OCR does have the capability, say, through a
2	compliance review to gather this data, I would
3	imagine?
4	MR. BLACK: Through a compliance review.
5	Our compliance reviews would normally target a
6	specific institution. And we can in doing that say,
7	"Are you using the model survey?" Yes, just
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Not just are you
9	using it but what is your response rate? And if you
10	chose the right group of schools and got a
11	representative sample, you could extrapolate from that
12	data.
13	MR. BLACK: Assuming that they're using
14	part three and then assuming they're using a survey to
15	comply with part three and then assuming that they're
16	using our model survey. We've seen schools use
17	surveys. That was clear. We've seen an example of a
18	survey that got a response rate of two percent. And
19	it required the addition of a team.
20	So, as I said, you can have a low response
21	rate. And it may require the addition of a team.
22	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Commissioner
23	Thernstrom?
24	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I think Mr.
25	Cohen has something to say on the subject.

1 MR. COHEN: I did just have a brief 2 response to the Commissioner's prior question with respect to response rates. Response rates are going 3 4 to depend on the method of administration. And, as I 5 believe I said before, I'm not aware of a single 6 school that has administered the model survey via 7 e-mail. I am aware, however, of instances where 8 9 the preferred methodology has been adopted; in other words, like I said before, a school has used it via 10 the mandatory application process. You're talking 11 12 about 100 percent response rate. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What school does 13 14 that? MR. COHEN: I'm not in a position where I 15 16 am going to give any identifications. 17 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But anybody who applies would see it. It's public information. 18 19 were to apply, if I were of the age to apply to school 20 and did so, it would be right there. So that doesn't 21 seem too confidential. 22 Well, if the school feels like MR. COHEN: 23 disclosing it, I'll leave that to the school disclose. That's not a situation I'm going to get 24 25 into here.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I don't know why.

MR. COHEN: One quick note to complete my that thought is with respect administration of the Model Survey, schools see some of the concerns that have been expressed about e-mail administration. And schools look to avoid that. Subjectivity was the problem under the '96 scheme. Schools didn't know when they had complied, when they had done enough. Today when is their response rate high enough is the present corollary. That's not helpful to a school that's looking to know "I am in compliance. I am not in compliance." And that's why whole idea of response this rates assumes existence of a situation that schools are actually looking to avoid.

And I do briefly want to return to your other point. That is that this is a contentious area of the law. Schools are subject to attack at any time based on simply their good faith efforts to comply with the law. And I'll give you an example.

It's a school that I have not worked with.

I don't have any information beyond the media reports. But what I have is a school that I'm aware of that implemented a survey. And the first response that came back from one of the groups was a quote

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	someching akin to, chomping at the bit to make this
2	school its "test case" for litigation over the model
3	survey.
4	This was a school that was looking to
5	comply with the law in a legal method. It turns out
6	that this school was not even using the model survey.
7	Rather, it had already decided to add a women's team.
8	It was looking to comply with proportionality and add
9	additional teams. But, yet, here it was subject to
10	attack. For that reason, schools do not go public
11	with what their compliance efforts are.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Commissioner
13	Yaki?
14	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: No, no.
15	Wait a minute. It's Commissioner Braceras. She
16	allowed me to have a question.
17	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Oh, I'm sorry. I'm
18	sorry.
19	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes. That's true.
20	It's Commissioner Braceras first.
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I have a few
22	questions. And they're not as specific or as
23	empirical as the questions that have previously been
24	asked. They're more policy-oriented questions.
25	But I would like to preface my questioning

1	by saying that I'm privileged to sit on the Board of
2	Trustees of the University of Massachusetts, where I
3	am a member of the Athletic Committee. So I'm very
4	much aware of these issues and aware of the fact that
5	schools are trying mightily to comply with Title IX
6	and looking for as much guidance as they can get from
7	the Department of Education.
8	I would also add that I am the mother of
9	three daughters, all of whom play ice hockey. So,
10	with that in mind, I also teach a course on Title IX
11	at Boston College Law School. So I do have a
12	background in this.
13	COMMISSIONER YAKI: So when your children
14	misbehave, do you spend them to the penalty box?
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Yes, I do. It's
16	what's known as the naughty chair.
17	I am interested in hearing from Ms.
18	Samuels whether her objections are to this survey in
19	particular or to surveys generally under the third
20	prong. In other words, if the survey measured
21	interest level of an applicant pool or of potential
22	applicants, would you support the use of such a survey
23	in complying with Title IX?
24	MS. SAMUELS: Well, I think, for the
25	reasons that I described in my testimony, surveys are

1 inherently unreliable as the sole means to evaluate 2 whether there is sufficient interest to 3 additional opportunities for women because they tend to measure not whether there would be interest had 4 5 fully women been exposed and had they had 6 nondiscriminatory opportunities to participate in the 7 past but the lack of exposure. COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, 8 and 9 that's --10 MS. SAMUELS: That's why --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 11 And that's what 12 I'm trying to get at because there's been a lot of criticism about this particular survey and from all 13 four panelists, it other than the 14 seems, 15 representative of the Department of Education. 16 But what I sense from your testimony is 17 that that is not the real issue for you. And my sense is -- and you feel free to correct me if I am wrong --18 19 is that you would be satisfied with very little other 20 than close to full proportionality. 21 MS. SAMUELS: We firmly believe that there are three independent means to comply, one of which is 22 23 prong three. If that is 24 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay. 25

1	MS. SAMOELS: Under the '96 Clarification,
2	which we believe sets forth the appropriate and lawful
3	standards under Title IX, surveys are permissible as
4	long as
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay. Let me stop
6	you there. Let me stop you there. That's fine. But
7	then you go on to say that surveys are generally not a
8	good measure because they reflect current
9	discriminatory patterns.
10	MS. SAMUELS: That's why the 1996
11	clarification requires schools to go further. They
12	can use a survey as one component of their scan of
13	whether they are providing adequate and fair and equal
14	opportunities to women.
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But ultimately for
16	you it comes back to proportionality?
17	MS. SAMUELS: Ultimately what we are
18	interested in
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It's a "Yes" or
20	"No" question.
21	MS. SAMUELS: is providing equal
22	opportunity to women.
23	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay.
24	MS. SAMUELS: The law asks schools to
25	comply

1	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I guess I would
2	like I would like
3	MS. SAMUELS: by one of three different
4	prongs.
5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Oh, I understand
6	that.
7	MS. SAMUELS: If a school is in compliance
8	with prong three, we have no problem.
9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And it would be in
10	compliance with prong three by doing what?
11	MS. SAMUELS: If it followed the guidance
12	of the 1996 clarification.
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: So is the 1996
14	guidance, is that sacrosanct? Is there anything that
15	we can do to the current survey, not going back to the
16	exact approach used in 1996 because that does not
17	provide the guidance that administrators need?
18	MS. SAMUELS: Well, although, as Ms. Sweet
19	noted, the GAO has found that most schools, I think
20	two-thirds or somewhere in that neighborhood, complied
21	with prong three under the 1996
22	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Can I
23	MS. SAMUELS: So to suggest that it didn't
24	provide adequate guidance I think is misguided.
25	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Excuse me. I want

1	to hear from Ms. Gavora, but before we do, I just want
2	to, frankly, nail you down for the record, Ms.
3	Samuels, as to whether or not you think, generally
4	speaking, interest and ability is an appropriate
5	method of proving compliance with Title IX.
6	MS. SAMUELS: I believe that full
7	accommodation of the interests and abilities of the
8	under-represented sex is a means of complying through
9	prong three. I also fully support the idea that
10	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, we know that
11	it is a means. That's what the guidance in the law
12	says. We know that it is a means. My question is
13	whether you support that
14	MS. SAMUELS: Yes.
15	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: as a policy
16	matter, whether you think that is a legitimate way of
17	showing nondiscrimination
18	MS. SAMUELS: I do.
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: in your policy
20	
21	MS. SAMUELS: If it is done in compliance
22	with the standard set in the 1996 clarification and
23	provides for the full accommodation of the interests
24	of the under-represented
25	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I'm confused now.

1 Exactly how do you think one could comply with prong 2 What's the preferred way that you would see? The 1996 clarification sets 3 MS. SAMUELS: 4 forth a very detailed road map for that very question. 5 It says you can do surveys. You also must do other coaches 6 including talking to your 7 administrators, looking at what high schools in your area and in your recruiting area do, looking at what 8 9 rec leagues in the area from which you recruit do, 10 looking at the kinds of requests you have gotten from female students with --11 12 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And if that is all done but it still turns out that only 43 percent of 13 14 athletic opportunities are provided to women on a 15 campus with 60 percent females, are you satisfied with 16 that? 17 MS. SAMUELS: If all of that is done and schools, in fact, comply with the law, then yes. 18 19 suspect that that will not be the case and that, fact, we believe there is widespread noncompliance 20 21 with the law, which accounts for --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: 22 I would like to 23 I would like to hear Ms. Gavora. hear Ms. Gavora. CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: 24 Hold on now. Let 25 me play traffic cop here. Ms. Gavora, you are next

1	and then Mr. Black and then Vice Chair Thernstrom.
2	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Well, I was
3	just going to say
4	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: I'm sorry.
5	Commissioner Yaki.
6	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I was just
7	going to say you didn't get an answer to a crucial
8	question. But okay.
9	MS. GAVORA: I just want to point out that
LO	the letter that transmitted the 1996 policy
L1	clarification to colleges and universities, in that
L2	letter, the assistant secretary declared
L3	proportionality a safe harbor for schools seeking to
L4	comply with Title IX.
L5	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think it's
L6	important to define what that harbor is.
L7	MS. GAVORA: I took a look at this. I
L8	heard this two-thirds number bantied about, two-thirds
L9	of schools choosing prong three to comply with the
20	law. And when I was writing my book, I took a look at
21	this because this runs contrary to every statement of
22	every athletic director on the record, the Commission,
23	the President's Commission on Title IX. It runs
24	contrary to the advice of every Title IX consultant

out there that they use prong three.

And what happens is Ι FOIA'd the Department of Education's investigations, compliance reviews at schools under Title IX athletic and found that, in fact, around 64 percent of these institutions chose prong three, but they ended up. These investigations were all to the letter ended with agreements between the schools and the Department of Education to add women's teams or to eliminate men's teams to move further towards proportionality. So there is a kind of "Oh, yeah. trying to see work under prong three. Nudge, nudge.

So there is a kind of "Oh, yeah. We're trying to see work under prong three. Nudge, nudge. You've got to do this. You've got to add these teams. You've got to eliminate these teams" and with the end result always being proportionality.

Ms. Samuels herself defined equity as proportionality. She did so several times in her statement. I think it's a fiction to say that there are three ways to comply with the law, and that is one of the things we have to get around before we can have a rational discussion of this survey or prong three.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay.

MS. SAMUELS: Could I just respond to the -- my testimony speaks for itself. Proportionality means that every student on campus, whatever his or her gender, has an equal chance of participating in

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1	sports. That's why it is in the law. That's why it
2	is a permissible means of compliance.
3	MS. GAVORA: That's proportionality.
4	MS. SAMUELS: It is not the only means of
5	compliance.
6	MS. GAVORA: You define it as equal
7	participation. You do not define it as opportunity.
8	The 1996 policy clarification says that opportunities
9	in teams will not be considered, only students on the
10	field.
11	MS. SAMUELS: Well, that is because
12	MS. GAVORA: That is not opportunity.
13	That is
14	MS. SAMUELS: That is to avoid the
15	possibility that schools that are not, in fact,
16	interested in full compliance with Title IX will
17	provide so-called opportunities but do insufficient
18	recruitment, provide insufficient coaching, provide
19	second-rate facilities and scheduling and fields.
20	One of our coalition partners often says,
21	"You know, if a guy invites me out to the Four
22	Seasons, I'm likely to go. If a guy invites me to
23	McDonald's, I'm going to think twice about it." If
24	women are being provided a McDonald's-level
25	opportunity that's going to be substantially less

1 appealing. 2 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Did you --3 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: The order is Mr. Black, then Commissioner Yaki. 4 5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm not done. Well, I think I can clarify a 6 MR. BLACK: 7 few things and get us on track. Number one is to clarify the '96 policy. What is really controlling is 8 9 the '79 policy, which went through notice and comment under the Administrative Procedures Act. 10 The clarification, 11 '96 although it 12 solicited feedback from institutions, didn't qo 13 through formal notice and comment. And '96 does not 14 mandate certain things. It says things OCR may look 15 at. What is controlling is the '79 policy, 16 17 which says institutions may determine the athletic 18 interest and abilities of the students by 19 nondiscriminatory methods of their choosing. And in '96, all it did is talk about some 20 21 things OCR may look at, but it doesn't say any of them 22 It doesn't say one is preferred over are required. 23 The only language is, really, is that it is still up to the university. They don't need to do any 24

expensive survey methods. And there has been a lot of

93 1 attention paid to high schools. That's important, 2 again, to plan for your athletic department. But the requirement of Title IX, as Mr. 3 4 Cohen I think pointed out previously, is only to 5 provide equal opportunity for your students, enrolled students. 6 admitted or So while 7 important to know what is going on in high schools, you don't owe the high school students or someone from 8 9 across the country a responsibility under Title IX. I want to also talk about the two-thirds. 10 That two-thirds have been batted around. 11 It was 12 recognized through looking at OCR that cases two-thirds complied with part three, but you have to 13 understand the context of an OCR investigation. 14 Ιf 15 they were in compliance with 16 proportionality, we probably wouldn't have an OCR 17 investigation. It's only because they were proportional that we had an investigation and brought 18 19 them into compliance one way or the other. And most chose the third part of 20 21 three-part test. But you can't really extrapolate 22

that and say all colleges are using the three-part test.

MS. GAVORA: But were they as Commissioner said? Braceras Did they prove themselves in

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1 compliance with the law with the 43 percent 2 participation rate with a 60 percent female student 3 Were they able to prove their compliance with 4 the law as their programs existed? That was 5 emphatically not what I found. Most of them moved towards 6 MR. BLACK: 7 part three with OCR helping them get there. MS. GAVORA: Yes. 8 Okay. 9 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: 10 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Could I just ask 11 one more question? 12 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Braceras? 13 Yes. 14 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I just have one more question, which, again, you know, we can talk all 15 16 day about the best survey methods and the best method 17 of evaluating interest and ability and the best method of complying overall. 18 19 again I'm left with this feeling, But 20 particularly from Ms. Samuels, that anything less than 21 proportionality is a failure. And, actually, I think 22 it was even Ms. Sweet who mentioned as evidence of 23 discrimination, she said that only 43 percent athletic opportunities are worded to women as if this 24

was proof positive that somebody is purposely denying

opportunities to women.

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Now, that may be or it may not be, but I don't think that those statistics tell the whole story or answer the question as to whether there's been discrimination in the way that you presented it.

So why is it that that 43 percent number gives you pause and raises eyebrows and makes you concerned?

MS. SWEET: statement My was really reflective of the number of participants at the high school level, that there are millions of young girls that are participating in high school sports. only have 43 percent of our athletic yet, we participants on campus being --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But isn't that, in part, just a matter of time? I mean, for example, as I sit here today, I can tell you that, you know, the University of Massachusetts is working mightily to establish a women's ice hockey program.

I mean, we believe that as a New England university, that it would be a travesty for us not to have a women's ice hockey program. All we have to do is pick up the newspapers to see that female youth hockey is growing every day in our own state, tripling year after year the numbers of enrollees.

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The fact that we don't have one now is not reflective of discrimination. It's reflective of the fact that the interest is percolating up from the bottom. We observe it. We're working on it.

By the time those eight and nine-year-old girls, like my daughter, get to college, I'm pretty confident that U. Mass. will have a women's ice hockey program and many other things.

So I'm not sure that when you take those statistics and compare it to the population of high school athletes or youth sport athletes that that reflects discrimination.

MS. SWEET: Well, I think what it reflects

-- and I think it's important to put this in the

context of it's been 35 years that Title IX has been

law, we're talking about how we measure interest and

ability. This model survey approach allows for an

institution to use a non-response to a survey as

indicating non-interest.

The context of my comments was based on the fact that we know that there is interest. And you gave a perfect example. And I applaud the University of Massachusetts for looking and hopefully adding a women's ice hockey team. That's what we would like for all institutions to do.

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1	And I want to go on record because there
2	has been some reference to the NCAA perhaps
3	misdirecting its membership, the NCAA is committed to
4	opportunity for both men and women. The NCAA has
5	repeatedly stated that we do not favor institutions
6	dropping men's sports.
7	Those are institutional decisions. That
8	gives us all great pain when institutions make those
9	decisions. They're making them primarily for
10	financial reasons because they choose to put more
11	resources into a couple of select programs that they
12	want to be more competitive, as opposed to giving a
13	broad-based participation opportunity to both their
14	male and female student athletes.
15	I also want to mention that you are
16	hearing from college presidents and chancellors who
17	are suggesting that this approach of the electronic
18	model survey does not work and that they feel that it
19	should be withdrawn.
20	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Commissioner
21	Yaki?
22	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I have a general
23	question for the panelists. And then I have some
24	specific questions for individual panelists.

My general question, we have been seeing

here rather -- and forgive me if I describe it as such -- dryly discussing e-mail surveys, three-prong tests. I want to know -- and the reason I voted to have this hearing on the briefing list is that I want to know why people believe that there is a problem that requires clarification in how Title IX is administered.

I mean, as far as I know from my limited history with this, GAO did a survey in 2001 and showed no real impact from Title IX on men's programs. I have not seen anything that would say that there is a problem in this administration or, indeed, anything other than this is the type of program that as a nation we embrace and we continue to work to expand.

I never thought that we would start until perhaps I joined this commission, that we would start setting bars of how high people should go, rather than simply urging, you know, continuing onward and upward.

So for the panelists -- and I will just throw it open to all of you, but then I have some questions for Ms. Sweet and Ms. Samuels -- is what apparently is the issue that is attempting to be resolved here when the data doesn't seem to support that there is a problem in how Title IX has worked on behalf of young women and girls in this country?

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MS. SAMUELS: This is Jocelyn Samuels.

I will say I agree with you. All of the data that has been made available to date -- and there will be a report being released in early June that updates data that was looked at by the Government Accountability Office in 2001 -- shows that both men's and women's opportunities have grown since Title IX. Women's opportunities have grown faster because they had more ground to make up, but men's opportunities overall have grown.

There are some men's sports that have suffered declines. And, as Ms. Sweet said, we regard that as a deeply unfortunate thing. But it is not Title IX that is responsible for those declines.

Schools make all kinds of decisions about the sports to offer based on factors that include popularity of the sports; liability concerns; whether they have adequate coaching; and, most importantly, the budgets that they have.

And when we are in a climate, which the report that I would like to submit for the record shows that we are, where football and men's basketball are consuming three-quarters of the budgets for men's sports, there is very little left over for schools to offer the broad-based opportunities that I think

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1	everybody at this table would like to see them do.
2	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Aren't those
3	sports also providing three-quarters of the revenue?
4	I mean
5	MS. SAMUELS: What our data show is that
6	the vast majority of schools do not even cover their
7	costs, much less provide subsidies for other sports.
8	MS. SWEET: There's a difference between
9	revenue-producing and profit-producing. And a week
10	ago, I heard Myles Brand, President of the NCAA, say
11	that recent research that they have done indicates
12	that there may be 6 schools, 6 out of close to 1,000,
13	that will actually have a net profit.
14	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: But that's not
15	really my point. Schools make assessments as to where
16	they are going to direct revenue for a variety of
17	reasons, not necessarily to make a profit. But you
18	have Ohio State, stadium of 100,000, a team that maybe
19	should have won the national championship. And they
20	
21	PARTICIPANT: Where are you from?
22	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I'm not from
23	Florida.
24	(Laughter.)
25	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: And they make a

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decision and hundreds of schools make a decision as to where they are going to direct their revenue because they have made a choice, not because it's necessarily for discriminating against one race or one sex by the -- well, forget that. But they make a decision because it highlights the school. That goes beyond that particular sport or the sports program in general.

They do it because they think that it is something that is the draw in terms of alumni dollars, not necessarily ticket revenue but alumni dollars, applications to the school, the prestige lot of other school. and а reasons that are market-based reasons that go far beyond.

In fact, I would think that if I were an alumni and I had a vote, I would be very upset at a board of trustees or a university chancellor or president who decided he is going to lose money on football, despite the fact that it doesn't do anything in terms of generating more alumni contributions.

I know, for example, that there are a lot of alumni out there for a variety of schools that if their football or basketball or whatever their chosen sports program goes downhill, they start withholding donations. And that is where the real money is, not

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1	the ticket revenue. That's chump change.
2	MS. SWEET: If I may give you some
3	statistics?
4	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Sure.
5	MS. SWEET: In 2005 in Division I-A, which
6	is the major football division of the NCAA, the
7	deficit average at I-A schools was \$5.7 million.
8	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: And that's chump
9	change because I know at my alma mater, there are 50
10	people who put down that kind of money in donations
11	alone. I'm not talking about ticket revenue. That's
12	not my point.
13	There are programs out there. And you
14	know them, University of Alabama, University of
15	Oklahoma, Florida, Florida State, Ohio State, where
16	the alumni are out there and going, "We've got a
17	national championship. And here come the
18	contributions." The ticket revenues are maybe one-one
19	hundredth of what the program generates in terms of,
20	for lack of a better term, good will.
21	MS. SWEET: This is the overall athletic
22	budget, which includes
23	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Is that a market-based
24	approach
25	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No. I'm simply

1 talking about in terms of --2 COMMISSIONER YAKI: -- in terms of whether or not we should allocate funds --3 4 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No, not at all. 5 COMMISSIONER YAKI: among sports budgets? 6 7 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: No, not all at Commissioner Yaki. It was simply a response to how 8 9 the administrators are allocating their dollars and somehow that this is being done in a way that may be 10 perhaps discriminatory or have a disparate impact on, 11 12 say, female sports. Maybe that is, but I'm not so sure that that is what the data prove. 13 14 MS. SWEET: Actually --15 COMMISSIONER YAKI: I'm not sure 16 that's exactly where Ms. Sweet or Ms. Samuels was 17 coming from. I think that what they were saying is that -- I don't think they were going into the area of 18 19 saying that this is a perfect issue. I think what they're saying is that we have a program in place now 20 21 that is working and, instead, continuing a program that the NCAA endorses and others endorse and the NCAA 22 23 includes all those campuses and universities that do

the alumni and do -- I think the point they are trying

to make is that why are we taking this work and

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1 fiddling with it to make it work less better. I think 2 that's a different point than what you are trying to make here. 3 4 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Ms. Gavora? 5 GAVORA: Ιf I could address MS. Yes. 6 I mean, the GAO has a troubling tendency of 7 producing sometimes the results that it has asked for. But single GAO study, study of men's 8 when 9 athletics, that corrected -- the problem is that the NCAA is the sole repositor of these data. 10 The NCAA except for limited circumstances 11 12 when it's measuring men's and women's participation does not correct for new institutions entering the 13 14 When the GAO corrected for that, they found a NCAA. 15 12 percent decline in men's opportunities for the late '80s and to the mid '90s. 16 17 When those data are corrected, as they were recently by the College Sports Council, the 18 19 decline for men's opportunities are clear. Now, that's not saying it's all due to Title IX, but men's 20 21 opportunities are declining. There are 17 men's collegiate gymnastic programs left in the country 22 23 today. opportunities 24 Men's in track, men's 25 opportunities minority athletics

male

for

are

	deciming precipitously. And big-time rootball, NCAA
2	football, the kinds of football that we have been
3	talking about raising or not raising revenue, counts
4	for 11 percent of NCAA teams, 11 percent.
5	So this notion that this is a money issue,
6	that they are throwing good money after bad for
7	football, is a distraction. This is a system-wide
8	failure.
9	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Commissioner
10	Kirsanow, then Vice Chair Thernstrom.
11	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Wait, wait, wait,
12	wait, wait. Hello. I only had one question, I think.
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, Commissioner
14	Yaki, your presence is needed here.
15	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Just because you don't
16	see me doesn't mean I'm not there.
17	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes, that is true.
18	(Laughter.)
19	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: I hear you.
20	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: By the way,
21	I want to know if Commissioner Melendez is with us or
22	not.
23	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I just tried calling
24	his office. He is just leaving a speech or something
25	and is on his way to the airport. I have no idea.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Okay.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: I have one question for Ms. Sweet, one question for Ms. Samuels. Then we'll -- why does the NCAA support the 1996 clarification and not the 2005 clarification?

MS. SWEET: As has been identified earlier, the 1996 clarification is a complete way of assessing interest and ability. The 2005 clarification allows -- even though Mr. Black has indicated that OCR might encourage institutions look at information beyond the e-mail survey or beyond a survey, it allows for only surveying your existing student population. And the NCAA feels that that is a flawed method of truly evaluating interest.

And I think it's really important to point out that in intercollegiate athletics, you recruit. You don't just look at the students that are on your campus. Depending on the profile of the institution, that might be regional. It might be national.

So to just expect that people are going to show up on your campus if they have an interest in a sport that you're not offering and then they're going to tell you, "I would like to have this experience," there is not going to be a team that could be put together in time for them to have that experience.

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They will go someplace else.

Bottom line is the 2005 clarification is not complete.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki, do you have another question?

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I think there were other responses to that.

MR. BLACK: Yes. I would like to add on to that. The recruiting issue is a separate issue that OCR looks at and requires equity in recruiting as well. This principle of getting away from the fact that you're required to meet the needs of your student is meeting the needs of premier athletes around the United States. If you are going to focus on who you can recruit in, you're ignoring the fact that the university has an obligation to its students.

And what we see in some of our cases, we may have a viable club team at a university, but those students don't want to be elevated to a varsity status. So it's not necessarily the best indicator of unmet interest. And the reason they don't want to be elevated is because then most of them are going to lose their opportunity to compete because you are going to recruit in the premier athlete that is going to replace them.

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So a student could work hard to elevate their club team or intramural team to varsity status when they are a freshman. By the time they are a junior, hopefully it is a varsity team. But then they will see most of their teammates eliminated from competition that senior year because they aren't good enough.

The recruiting ideals brought in the more premier athletes. And so the students who started the initiative, the students who were the students on campus whose interest you had to meet, they're no longer having an opportunity to compete.

Now, I want to also say that this survey lot of those factors of that 1996 The 1996 clarification said, "Look at clarification. national trends." Well, the survey requires you to ask students about every single sport recognized by the three major athletic associations. If they're not capturing national trends, then I don't know who is. It allows athletic directors' and coaches' opinions to come in because it allows them to add sports to the survey.

OCR just requires that you can't take them away because we don't want a situation where the university is just going to ask if you are interested

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1 in tennis. We require that you ask if they 2 interested in all the sports recognized the athletic associations. 3 Schools can add to it, thereby capturing 4 5 school participation rates, national trends, hiqh 6 coaches' opinions and athletic directors' opinions. 7 So a lot of the factors that we are talking about in '96, which, again, are not required, are rolled into 8 9 this survey. 10 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Mr. Cohen? MR. COHEN: Yes. First of all, I would 11 12 like to say that I agree with Ms. Sweet in the sense that it is an important societal goal to continue to 13 try to expand opportunities for women. But the place 14 15 where I want to stop is that that is a policy concern. 16 That criticism of is not а the additional clarification. 17 As Mr. Black noted, the law has always 18 19 you accommodate your current that and your 20 admitted students. Once you get beyond that, you get 21 into sample size problems. And, again, I'm a textualist. Let me go 22 23 back to what the actual experts have said about this. I'm going to quote out of the users' guide, which was 24

designed by the NCES, the expert statisticians that

the OCR commissioned.

"The catchment area." That's what they called the survey sample area that you would have to look at in terms of high school interest or interest of others in the community.

The catchment area might be local for a rural community college, national for a small state college, and international for a large four-year and doctoral institution. Even if definable, such a large target population is almost surely unreachable in any meaningful way and thus is not recommended here."

Let me also try to give an example that's a little bit closer to me. I'm from Atlanta. We have Georgia Tech there. We have Georgia up the road in Athens, pretty close by; Emory; Spelman; Mercer. We have a ton of schools in the Atlanta area. Which one is supposed to add, say, equestrian if there is interest in that?

It is a very important societal goal to expand opportunities for women in athletics. And everyone agrees with that, I believe. But it's not a point that is germane to the additional clarification.

The additional clarification simply tracks the law in regards to meeting the interests and abilities of your current students and your admitted

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students. It's been that way since 1979.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: My last question -thank you very much. And let me first say to Mr.
Black if I am guilty by association, I apologize.
Needless to say, as my colleagues know, I am quite a partisan on these kinds of things.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: No, no.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: And I apologize. One of the issues that I have on the e-mail -- and, actually, I think it is a criticism of government in general -- is that we tend to look at technology as a means to achieve an end, not knowing, of course, that technology that we're looking at has actually gone five years ahead. And I think that one of the problems with e-mail as it stands right now -- you heard Ms. Sweet and Ms. Samuels talk about it.

There's an unfortunate real life experience not too far from here, where now the issue being discussed is that e-mail alerts are not the way to go. Text message alerts are much better in terms of informing the population about a problem that may be going on in any one time. And e-mail is taking a much bigger back seat among young men and women than what they can do with their cell phone, Sidekicks, and things like that.

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But. for Ms. Samuels -and this does follow Mr. Black. And Ι know this probably on occurred well before you were there, sir, but this to define clarification is not the first time that the current administration has tried to make changes to the three-prong test.

I think a little historical background on that I think is important to understand the context of this hearing. So if you could explain a little bit about that, that would be helpful.

MS. SAMUELS: Sure. I think. as most people are aware, in 2002, the Department of Education created the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, 15-member commission which which а was the was majority of the commissioners were representatives of division I-A schools, which I think we all acknowledge have had the hardest time complying with Title IX and, therefore, the greatest incentive in weakening the standards for it.

After a series of regional hearings, where the witnesses opposed to Title IX vastly outweighed the witnesses in support of it, the commission came up with 22 recommendations, a significant number of which would have brought really damaging changes in the longstanding athletics policies, which had been

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applied by prior administrations and accepted by every
court that had looked at them.
The Department of Education after what I

characterize can only as а massive public demonstration of support for the then prevailing Title standards July issued IX in 2003 the clarification, which said that they would reject the commission's recommendations and, instead, enforce and provide technical assistance on the longstanding policies.

We regard this 2005 clarification, which, by the way, was issued on a Friday afternoon without notice and without any opportunity for public comment

COMMISSIONER YAKI: You mean trash day?

MS. SAMUELS: The Friday afternoon timing I quess speaks for itself, but, in any event, direct regard that in conflict with the as department's July 2003 commitment to keep the policies, which they had spent \$750,000 year-long process reexamining, in place to strongly enforce them.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay. Can I just interject for a second? You referred to schools that you believe have an incentive to weaken Title IX. Do

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1	you honestly believe that universities are attempting
2	to weaken Title IX? Because in my experience,
3	universities want only to expand opportunities for
4	women and are grappling with how to do so in a time of
5	limited budgets.
6	MS. SAMUELS: I believe that universities
7	that offer big football and men's basketball programs
8	are facing financial constraints.
9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And do you believe
10	they want to weaken Title IX, as you have said?
11	MS. SAMUELS: I believe they want to make
12	it easier to comply with Title IX so that they can
13	continue to run their football and basketball programs
14	in the same way that they have and not have to offer
15	additional opportunities to women on their campuses.
16	I think there
17	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I have to tell you
18	I take it as fighting words when you accuse somebody
19	of wanting to weaken or undermine a civil rights
20	statute.
21	I think that that is an extreme accusation
22	to make, one that is a little bit different than
23	saying they have a vested interest in preserving
24	football, which is, whether it's true or not, a
25	nonpartisan, non-accusatory statement.

nonpartisan, non-accusatory statement.

1 When you say that you believe there are 2 universities out there that wish to undermine the 3 civil rights of women, that is an extremely strong 4 accusation. You had better be prepared to back that 5 up. 6 SAMUELS: I am not suggesting that 7 universities are malicious. I believe they --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That is what you 8 were suggesting. 9 10 MS. SAMUELS: -- are seeking easier ways 11 to comply and ways that they can demonstrate that they 12 are already fully satisfying the women's interests on their campuses. 13 COMMISSIONER YAKI: With all due respect 14 to Commissioner Braceras, I believe I join her when I 15 16 say anyone who is attempting to undermine the civil 17 rights law is fighting words to me, as she well knows. it begs a question and one that 18 19 continues through the course of this to naq me 20 hearing, which is why, then, are we attempting -- not 21 "we." Why is the administration putting into place clarification and procedures that would make it easier 22 on institutions they say to comply with Title IX, 23 which advocates believe would result in a weakening of 24

the program?

1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: I agree. Quick
2	question well, statement. It seems to me that with
3	a survey, it could increase the burdens on schools if
4	over time the interest and ability of women continue
5	to increase.
6	Well, if this is a method for avoiding an
7	obligation to add teams for women, Mr. Black, I have
8	to say it's a dumb idea. It's a vehicle that has the
9	potential and I suspect will increase the burdens on
10	schools over time.
11	MR. BLACK: If I may comment? The whole
12	purpose, again, is to give the schools a tool to look
13	for that unmet interest. And I agree with you. Large
14	universities do not want to use this tool because they
15	will find unmet interest.
16	MS. GAVORA: And it points to the current
17	bias behind proportionality. When schools hit that
18	magic number, they don't want anything to push them
19	off it. And that means adding women's teams if unmet
20	interest is there. They worked hard to get to
21	proportionality. And they're not going to add women's
22	teams to
23	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Vice Chair
24	Thernstrom?
25	MS. SAMUELS: Excuse me. Schools that are

1	in compliance with the proportionality prong do not
2	need to add any teams. The third prong occurs when
3	schools have not met either substantial
4	proportionality or been able to show that there is a
5	continuing pattern of adding teams for the
6	under-represented sex.
7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: So you believe that
8	you have to go down the line? A university
9	MS. SAMUELS: Not at all.
10	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, a university
11	
12	MS. SAMUELS: It's at the school's
13	discretion which prong they comply with.
14	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay.
15	MS. GAVORA: That's impossible for a
16	school to have more e-mail athletic interest on their
17	campus than is represented in their student body
18	MS. SAMUELS: If they are offering
19	MS. GAVORA: is what you are saying.
20	MS. SAMUELS: No. If they are offering
21	proportional opportunity
22	MS. GAVORA: Again, they will be
23	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: If they offered no
24	sports, that would be proportional opportunity. But
25	there would be greater interest than was being met.

	MS. SAMUELS: Unfortunately, no college
2	athletics program is likely to be able to satisfy the
3	universe of interest that exists among both men and
4	women.
5	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: But it's also
6	ability, too. It's not just interest. I mean, a lot
7	of people may be interested in it, but they're not
8	going to be able to cut it on a varsity team.
9	MS. SAMUELS: Well, it's true, but there
10	are 3 million high school girls playing sports and
11	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: High school is
12	different than college.
13	MS. SAMUELS: only 200,000 or so
14	college athletes.
15	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: We have that's
16	true finite resources and
17	MS. SWEET: I think this conversation
18	really goes back to a comment that Ms. Gavora made
19	earlier in regards to safe harbor and the
20	misunderstanding that goes along with it.
21	There are three opportunities for
22	compliance with the participation aspect of Title IX.
23	If you start with prong one and if you meet
24	proportionality, you don't have to go any further.
25	That's what safe harbor means. It doesn't mean it's

1	the only place that you can be safe.
2	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Can we talk about
3	this and use different language? For me, it is as an
4	administrator, the question is what is the probability
5	that I am going to have to incur additional
6	transaction costs by going through door number one,
7	door number two, door number three?
8	Now, the transaction cost associated with
9	complying with prong three, if you hit your numbers,
10	it's over.
11	MS. SWEET: Prong one.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That's right.
13	MS. SWEET: If you reach proportionality,
14	you don't have to go any further.
15	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: It's over. You
16	pick two or prong number three before we have the
17	model survey. You have to hire Mr. Cohen. You have
18	to hire experts. You have to have back and forth with
19	OCR. Would schools have complained about for decades,
20	they want clear guidance. They want to know when they
21	have complied with the law without incurring a lot of
22	transaction costs.
23	And prong one, substantial
24	proportionality, that provides a way of complying
25	without incurring too many transaction costs. Prongs

two and three prior to the model survey were approaches where you could not get a high level of comfort. Many athletic directors would hire lawyers in their departments to provide them with advice and counsel on when they satisfied two or three.

If you have to hire a lawyer to have on your staff to tell you whether you are in compliance with the law, that is an expensive approach to complying with the law.

MS. SWEET: Well, I can tell you that I spent 24 years as a director of athletics. And I never had to hire an attorney to tell me that I was meeting the responsibilities of equal opportunity.

But I want to speak specifically to prong two. Prong two allows you to be in transition. If you haven't yet reached prong one, if that's your goal, you could use two. You could use three.

Prong two really is what Title IX about. You're adding opportunities. If you go back Title 1972, when IX was passed if as law, institutions were adding sports, which we have good documentation that that is what has happened over the last 35 years, they would be in compliance with Title IX because they have been adding sports, which is what we should be trying to do to meet the unmet interests.

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1	If you're fully meeting all of the
2	interests and abilities of your student population,
3	you would meet prong three. So you have three very
4	flexible ways.
5	Now, if you're saying that you're looking
6	for a way that institutions don't have to spend any
7	more money in order to be in compliance with Title IX,
8	to me that suggests discrimination because we have
9	already shown that we're not spending as much money on
10	our women as we are on our men.
11	And we are still needing to add
12	opportunities. We are still needing to support the
13	benefits of our female student athletes.
14	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: So I guess, at
15	bottom, what we are talking about here is a
16	disagreement over the numbers. One side believes
17	proportionality, that we should have statistical
18	equality. And that, in itself, constitutes
19	nondiscrimination versus another school of thought
20	that believes that the numbers may or may not be an
21	indication of discrimination.
22	MS. SWEET: In my opinion, there are three
23	separate ways of complying with Title IX. The
24	argument

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: I wasn't referring

to --

MS. SWEET: The argument that I have heard in respect to the numbers is that there are some institutions who have claimed that the only way that they can be in compliance with Title IX is by reaching proportionality.

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, that's the only safe harbor, so to speak, but that's --

MS. SAMUELS: The Department of Education actually has now explicitly said in the July 2003 clarification that it is not the only safe harbor, that each way of complying is an equally --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But, in fact, I mean, as somebody who sits on a university board, the easiest way of complying is actually to cut men's teams. We have been talking about what is easiest, what is burdensome, what has more transaction costs. That is the easiest way. Nobody wants to do that, but that is the easiest way.

MS. SAMUELS: Well, I guess what I would say in response to that is what I alluded to in my testimony, which is I am all for providing technical assistance and guidance and help to schools that want to figure out how to comply with Title IX within the context of the three-part test. I think what the 2005

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1	clarification does is to elevate ease of compliance
2	over fair adherence to the standards of equal
3	opportunity.
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. I think ease
5	of compliance is what we had before. Ease of
6	compliance was to cut. This is more difficult.
7	MS. SAMUELS: I beg to differ since we
8	think that, in fact, a huge loophole is opened by this
9	2005 clarification. It is not necessarily that every
10	school will administer a survey in a way that would be
11	inadequate, not that every school will inappropriately
12	act on findings. But the clarification authorizes and
13	allows schools to deny additional opportunity for
14	women in circumstances where interest would exist
15	under prong three properly administered.
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Vice Chair
17	Thernstrom?
18	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Well, the
19	Chairman has partially made the point that I was going
20	to make. And I was going to be building on
21	Commissioner Braceras. And it seems to me a question
22	that you posed earlier was not properly answered.
23	There are enormous incentives here to
24	institute policies that will ensure proportionality.

And it does seem to me that Ms. Samuels in her

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1	previous comment had collapsed the whole notion of
2	result and opportunity, two very different concepts.
3	And you have simply merged them. And the definition
4	of equity, of gender equity, has become
5	proportionality. I mean, I think that is the running
6	theme through what you have had to say.
7	And Commissioner Braceras earlier said to
8	you, posed the question directly to you, "Do you
9	believe that the definition of equity is
10	proportionality?" And she did not get a satisfactory
11	answer.

But I think that the answer has become very clear in this testimony. So I don't --

MS. SAMUELS: If I could just respond?

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: No. Wait a minute. I would like to pose a question also to Ms. Sweet and then have the two of you answer both of them.

Ms. Sweet, you said earlier that Title IX has resulted in a huge increase in women's interest in sports. Now, I mean, lots of things have, including an entire cultural change in this country with respect to the status of women, the definition of being female and so forth has, resulted in much more participation in athletics on the part of young women. So to say

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1 that we know exactly how much Title IX has whole 2 contributed, opposed to a lot of other as factors, seems to me ridiculous. 3 4 And you also said that the survey was --5 you charged it with being contrived. And I would like to know what that word "contrived" means. 6 7 So I have got questions to Ms. Samuels on the table and to Ms. Sweet. 8 9 SAMUELS: Well, I will just respond MS. 10 first. And Ι don't want there be to any misunderstanding about my testimony or my position. 11 12 believe that equity is satisfied when an institution meets any one of the three prongs of the three-part 13 test as long as those prongs are appropriately and 14 15 lawfully applied and interpreted. 16 Proportionality is one important way in 17 which a school can show that it is offering equality of opportunity. To eliminate proportionality would 18 19 freeze the status quo, would deny the opportunity for women to participate in sports based on the principle 20 21 that men and women are equally interested in and able to compete in athletics. It is not the only means of 22 23 compliance. COMMISSIONER Equally 24 BRACERAS:

interested?

1	MS. SAMUELS: There is no reason to assume
2	that they are not.
3	PARTICIPANT: What are the data?
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think that's a
5	very critical question right there.
6	MS. SAMUELS: On what basis would you say
7	that they are not?
8	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It's a very
9	MS. SAMUELS: I can only answer one
10	question at
11	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It's a very
12	specific question. And I have no assumptions, one way
13	or the other, because I have three daughters who are
14	very interested in sports. My question is simply,
15	what data do you have that shows that girls and boys
16	are interested in sports at the same levels, both
17	either as spectators or as participants?
18	MS. SAMUELS: Well, I think that that
19	question is an inversion of the basic civil rights
20	concept that everyone is entitled to equality of
21	opportunity. The notion
22	PARTICIPANT: It's an empirical question.
23	MS. SAMUELS: Could I finish? The notion
24	
25	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But not everybody

	is elicitied to
2	MS. SAMUELS: The notion
3	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Everybody is
4	entitled to
5	MS. SAMUELS: that women are inherently
6	less interested in sports, which I think underlies a
7	lot of what opponents to Title IX say, is based on
8	stereotypes that are both impermissible under the law
9	and disproved by the facts.
10	Women's participation in sports has
11	continued to grow over the last 35 years, since Title
12	IX was enacted. Every time an opportunity is offered,
13	women show up in droves to fill it.
14	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But not in the
15	same proportion as men with respect to sports. I
16	mean, look, I've got to be honest with you. I am on
17	the soccer fields and the softball fields every night
18	of the week. And the fact of the matter is yes, there
19	are a lot of little girls out there that love to play,
20	but there are also a lot of little girls out there
21	that don't. There are a lot of
22	MS. SAMUELS: That is true.
23	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: It is not that the
24	opportunities aren't
25	MS. SAMUELS: And there are a lot of

little boys who do and don't want to play.
COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, no, no, no.
MS. SAMUELS: The culture is still and the
school availability of opportunities in school is
still
COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm sorry.
MS. SAMUELS: geared toward male
participation.
COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I'm sorry. You
are wrong about that. You are absolutely wrong
because I have four children: one boy and three
girls. I am out there every day. The opportunities
for the boys and the girls in the town in which I live
are exactly the same.
And, yes, there are double the number of
girls out there playing than there were ten years ago.
And I applaud that. And there probably will be even
more in the future, but there are still many, many
girls that don't want to play. And that is fine.
That is their choice.
My daughter has a lot of friends that
don't play sports. And to the extent that they don't,
that has nothing to do with the opportunities that are
being provided them by the town organizations. Maybe

that is a cultural thing within their families, but

1	the law can't change that.
2	MS. SAMUELS: Well, the fact of the matter
3	is
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: The opportunities
5	are exactly the same.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And, in fact, in
7	fact, there are so many fewer girls that play softball
8	than boys who play baseball that they have to combine
9	grade levels. So, whereas, the boys have a third
10	grade team, a fourth grade team, a fifth grade team,
11	the boys have third grade, fourth grade, fifth grade,
12	girls have to play third and fourth combined, fifth
13	and sixth combined because there aren't enough girls
14	to field a team per grade.
15	MS. SAMUELS: I think fundamentally I
16	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Is the answer, then,
17	Commissioner Braceras, to simply eliminate the girls'
18	teams because they can't fill them up within their age
19	grades?
20	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, absolutely
21	not.
22	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I don't understand
23	what you mean.
24	MS. SAMUELS: Can I just respond?
25	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Simply because, again,

1	I'm getting this idea about market-based Title IX, and
2	I don't quite understand. We're talking about, again,
3	a civil rights issue, which is not based on the
4	market, is not based on ability, is based on one
5	access to that.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: You can't force
7	people to do something they don't want to do, Michael.
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay.
9	MS. SAMUELS: Could I finish in response
10	to Commissioner Braceras?
11	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Hold on. Hold on.
12	Mr. Cohen, are you aware of data that discusses the
13	relative interests between boys and girls with respect
14	to athletics?
15	MR. COHEN: You know, I'm glad that you
16	returned to me here. I can't escape the irony. I
17	mean, we've gone far afield from the additional
18	clarification here. We're talking about societal
19	issues. We're talking about policy issues.
20	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Welcome to Title
21	IX.
22	MR. COHEN: Well, what does the model
23	survey do? It asks them. If you want to get
24	empirical evidence on whether or not women are
25	interested at the same level, more or less, ask them.

That's what a well-administered model survey is designed to do.

Ms. Samuels mentioned that compliance is easier under the additional clarification. There is absolutely no basis for that statement. There is no empirical evidence that supports that statement. It's based on an assumption. And it's based on the assumption that I began my statement with, which is that the model survey be administered via e-mail and it generates a low response rate.

Yes, if you have a poorly administered model survey, it's not going to be robust enough to give you true information, but return to what the model survey is trying to do, what the additional clarification is trying to do.

If you administer it via a mandatory response method, you are going to get 100 percent response rates. Here comes your empirical data.

MS. GAVORA: And there are data. There are data. The University of California system surveyed its members as part of the consent agreement with the National Organization for Women. And they found about a 60/40 split. Sixty percent of the people interested in athletics in colleges were men, 40 percent women.

1	And that's the same data that Brown
2	presented in defending itself in the lawsuit, the
3	landmark lawsuit, that they found on their campus.
4	It's the same basic breakdown that the College Board
5	finds when it asks people that take the PSAT and the
6	SAT about their interest in sports, the gender
7	breakdown.
8	There is more data, overwhelming data, on
9	participation in club sports, in intramural sports,
LO	where boys outnumber girls by about three to one, four
L1	to one, five to one, and those completely voluntary
L2	opportunities on college campuses.
L3	Now, I'm not arguing that this level can't
L4	change. I'm just saying that it's there. There are
L5	data that show it. There's
L6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think what we're
L7	hearing is that you don't like the data.
L8	MS. GAVORA: No.
L9	MS. SAMUELS: Can I
20	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And you believe
21	the data is socially constructed.
22	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Ms. Samuels,
23	please respond.
24	MS. SAMUELS: Thank you.
25	I vehemently disagree with the notion that

1	there is evidence that women are inherently less
2	interested in sports than men.
3	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Nobody said
4	anything
5	MS. SAMUELS: Excuse me.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: time right now,
7	not inherently.
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Take away
9	the word "inherently."
LO	MS. SAMUELS: I disagree with the premise
L1	that they are less interested. To the extent that
L2	their responses to surveys show less interest or that
L3	they are participating at lower levels, I believe that
L4	that is a product of the lingering lack of exposure
L5	and the second-class nature of the opportunities they
L6	get.
L7	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And whose fault is
L8	that? Whose fault is that?
L9	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: And so if
20	MS. SAMUELS: Can I just finish? But the
21	bottom line is I disagree with the premise. And I
22	believe that it will be disproved in circumstances
23	where surveys and analyses are done in an appropriate
24	way. But if it is right that on a particular campus
5	women in fact are satisfied with less than

1 proportional opportunities, that is what the third 2 prong is all about. And we support use of the third prong as 3 4 long as the evidence that is used to evaluate whether 5 is you are fully meeting women's interests 6 sufficiently analytical and takes account the indications of interest to give you a true picture --7 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But you just said 8 9 because it has that interest, the current interest, as reflected 10 by empirical data, is the product discrimination and, therefore, you're not satisfied 11 12 with that status quo, even if an institution meets it, fully and completely meets it. 13 SAMUELS: If the status quo for an 14 institution shows after they have done all of the 15 16 of analyses required kinds under the 1996 17 clarification that they are fully satisfying interest that exists on their campus --18 19 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Even if it's a product of, as you believe, discrimination? 20 21 MS. SAMUELS: Correct. The law accepts that as compliance with the equal opportunity --22 23 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: And Ι suppose you think that if you survey men and women on 24 25 how many hours of sports competition that they watch

1	on television, that there would be equal interests
2	between men and women. I mean, that's ridiculous.
3	Men obsessively watch sports on television
4	and women not to the same degree. A college professor
5	can walk into his barber. And they've got a
6	conversation about the latest results about whatever
7	sports event is going on. Women do not walk into
8	their hairdresser and have the same conversation.
9	There is a difference in the level of interest between
10	men and women in athletics.
11	MS. SAMUELS: With all due respect, Title
12	IX prohibits that kind of stereotyping, which is why
13	it is so important that you have a
14	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: That's
15	empirical evidence.
16	MS. SAMUELS: robust evidentiary basis
17	for
18	COMMISSIONER YAKI: In my law office, I've
19	got a bunch of crazy Giants fans. And they're all
20	women. So what does that mean? I mean, does that
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Of course. Of
22	course, there are women who are sports fans, Michael.
23	That's the whole point.
24	COMMISSIONER YAKI: We can't go by what
25	someone says in the beauty parlor

1	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I'm just
2	saying, Michael
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: You could rely on
4	surveys.
5	COMMISSIONER YAKI: in the Commission
6	on Civil Rights. And the idea that we are going down
7	that path is just completely ridiculous.
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I'm just
9	saying, Michael, if you gathered data, you would find
LO	gender differences.
L1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Let's ask the
L2	women. Let's just ask the women "Are you interested
L3	in participating in intercollegiate sports?"
L4	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: That's a nice segue
L5	into my question. I have two questions. The first is
L6	this question of interest. It sounds like we have a
L7	disagreement on interest and what it means in the
L8	Title IX context.
L9	We have I think Ms. Samuels saying
20	interest has a secondary component to it. That is,
21	you must establish if you have diminished interest,
22	whether or not that diminished interest is a result of
23	active discrimination, society, lack of exposure.
24	And that requires you to go beyond simply
25	asking the students on your campus, but you have to go

to their communities to determine whether or not they were exposed to the sport in their community. And if they weren't exposed to the sport in their community, then you can come back to campus and say, "Well, you found insufficient interest, but let's now substitute a cohort for lack of exposure to move that number." Is that accurate?

MS. SAMUELS: I'm not sure if I exactly understand your question, but let me say how I believe the third prong ought to operate. A school, as Mr. Cohen said, is only obligated to accommodate the interests and abilities of its current and its admitted students.

But in evaluating what the interests of those students are or will be for future admissions purposes, taking account of the sports that are played in feeder schools, the sports that are played in rec leagues in the areas from which the school draws its students -- I mean, as Commissioner Braceras said, the University of Massachusetts is looking around and realizing everyone and her sister is playing ice hockey.

It would be foolish and I think ignoring the fact that there is very clearly an interest in playing ice hockey that would be subscribed to were

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1 the university to offer a team to say, "We're just 2 going to look exclusively at what exists now." 3 COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: But what you just 4 described, though, are two different scenarios. The 5 first is in my view measuring current interest. The 6 second is measuring what is going on in society to 7 project and determine what you will need future. 8 9 And so I'm wondering, would you use that evidence of what she sees in the pipeline in her 10 11 community to support moving your measurement of 12 current interest? MS. SAMUELS: Well, as Ms. Sweet said, the 13 14 three-part test recognizes and allows for transition 15 periods and recognizes that you cannot necessarily 16 one morning and have equality on your up 17 campuses. That's why it allows for prong two to say, 18 19 "Yes, we are planning to offer additional teams and additional opportunities for the under-represented 20 21 gender, which, as we all agree, in the vast majority of cases is women," and do so over time. 22 23 says, "If you three satisfying the interests that exist on your campuses, 24 25 compliance." under 1996 are in But the you

1	clarification, schools were under an obligation to
2	regularly make that assessment and to evaluate on an
3	ongoing basis whether interest is developing or
4	whether they are still continuing to fully accommodate
5	that interest.
6	The 2005 clarification relieves schools of
7	any obligation to do that as long as they have
8	administered a survey on some unspecified periodic
9	basis.
10	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Is the position that
11	we have a law and there are three ways to comply and
12	the three prongs are all equally sufficient in your
13	view to comply?
14	MS. SAMUELS: That's correct.
15	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: But I thought you
16	said if you eliminated the first prong, that you would
17	freeze the status quo?
18	MS. SAMUELS: Well, that's why you need to
19	preserve it as one of the three options for
20	compliance.
21	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: This is my question.
22	If all three are equal; that is, proportionality is
23	no better or no worse in prong two and prong three, if
24	you eliminate prong one, why do you freeze the status
25	quo?

1	MS. SAMUELS: Because prong one embodies
2	the notion that every student on campus will have an
3	equal opportunity to play sports.
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Of course not.
5	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: And that's not
6	reflected in two and three?
7	MS. SAMUELS: Two and three are based on
8	the premise that women have less than equal
9	opportunity but that there are ways that you can
10	satisfy the law either because you are continuing to
11	add teams for women and you have a history of doing so
12	or because you happen to be a campus on which you are
13	fully satisfying those interests, even though you are
14	not
15	MS. GAVORA: Prong one emphatically does
16	not speak to opportunity. It emphatically speaks to
17	result. Prong one is a result-based measure of
18	compliance.
19	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: I mean, I am just
20	trying to get a sense of whether or not we
21	MS. GAVORA: It simply does not speak to
22	opportunity.
23	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Yes. You know, is
24	it first among equals or are they all three equal? If
25	they're all three equal, I'm just having a difficult

1	time understanding why if you eliminate one prong and
2	they're all
3	MS. SWEET: You're eliminating one
4	approach. As Ms. Gavora indicated, even her
5	misunderstanding was that if you did prong three and
6	you did a model survey, that you were in compliance
7	with prong one, proportionality, and you found that
8	there was unmet interest in your female population,
9	that you would need to add more opportunities for
0	women.
.1	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. No, that's
2	not what she said.
_3	MS. GAVORA: My point was that you have
4	every incentive not to add those opportunities if you
_5	have reached proportionality, which
-6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But expansion
.7	stops
8_	MS. GAVORA: That's right.
_9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: once you reach
20	proportionality.
21	MS. GAVORA: That was my point.
22	MS. SWEET: So in that respect, if you're
23	meeting one of the opportunities, one of the parts of
24	Title IX
25	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: That's

1	results, not opportunities.
2	PARTICIPANT: What does the Department of
3	Education say in the 1996
4	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: That's again
5	collapsing the concept of result and opportunity,
6	which, of course, we see as pervasive in other areas
7	of civil rights law.
8	MS. GAVORA: There are 1,000 more teams
9	for women in NCAA championship sports than there are
10	for men.
11	PARTICIPANT: But there are more
12	opportunities
13	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think what is
14	perfectly clear is that Ms. Samuels' views to
15	answer Commissioner Taylor's question, it sounds like
16	she views prongs two and three as transitional to get
17	to one.
18	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Right.
19	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: So, in other
20	words, one is the touchstone. You can under the law
21	comply with two and three and be safe, but that is not
22	good enough. They are transitional.
23	MS. SAMUELS: There is no time limit on
24	two and three. They are the law. If you can show
25	that you have a history and continuing practice of

1 improving opportunities for the under-represented sex 2 or that you are fully satisfying the interest that 3 exists, you are in compliance. 4 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But if, as 5 Commissioner Taylor said, they were sufficient, each of them, as stand-alone ways to comply, then as a 6 7 hypothetical, one could eliminate prong one and you would be fine. Now, we're not advocating doing that. 8 9 MS. SAMUELS: Would you then say that a school that did offer proportional opportunities was 10 not in compliance with the law? 11 12 CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: You could make that argument if you had a survey that showed that there 13 14 was a significant amount of unmet interest by the 15 under-represented sex. 16 MS. What's particularly SWEET: 17 interesting is that the whole of concept proportionality was proposed by the football coaches 18 association in the 1970s, when there was 19 а 20 population percentage of males on campus than females. 21 Then it made sense. Now, interestingly, since the enrollment 22 23 females on campuses has shifted to the larger percentage, now suddenly it doesn't make any more 24 25 sense.

1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Hold on.
2	Commissioner Heriot was next.
3	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I don't think it
4	made sense then.
5	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I've got something
6	completely different here. Maybe we will go back to
7	these issues. I think that my question is probably
8	primarily aimed at Ms. Samuels. I apologize for
9	keeping you on the hot seat all the time, but others
10	of you might have comments on this as well.
11	I think I'm asking this question part from
12	my status as the Commission's biggest nerd. I'm the
13	nearsighted, left-handed kid who can't throw the ball
14	to save her life.
15	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: No. Gail, I
16	compete with you.
17	(Laughter.)
18	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: You have a
19	challenger.
20	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: My question is, what
21	is so special about sports? Title IX, of course,
22	isn't specific about sports. It talks about
23	nondiscrimination generally. And I'm getting the
24	feeling from your argument let me back up a little
25	bit here.

It seemed to me the reason that the Department of Education would be interested in sports in particular is the notion that sports are sex-segregated on campus and, therefore, you really just can't opt in easily.

There has to be something to opt in to. So if I want to play hockey, there has to be a hockey team. If I want to register for chemistry, all I've got to do is register. And so we don't necessarily need special regulations for chemistry class except when you start getting rolling about the reasons for your objections to the current legal regime. It sounds to me that maybe you have to back up and rethink the chemistry issue.

You have been talking about actual expressions not really being good enough here, you know, the fact that I fail to respond to a survey or even I do respond to a survey and I say I'm not interested, that not being enough for you and that it's a question of a matter of exposure to athletics early in life. And you even said at one point that it was the school's fault that some students have not been exposed to these opportunities.

What does that say about going back and rethinking the fact that there is not just one area of

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the curriculum and extracurricular activities are under-represented but there are lots of them, like science classes, math classes? Is that something that the Department of Education should be issuing regulations on?

MS. SAMUELS: Well, I think, actually, there is a fundamental difference between athletics and every other aspect of educational activities. I agree with you that more attention ought to be paid to Title IX compliance in the non-athletics areas because athletics has been such a high profile issue, over 35 years. There are areas in which women are still lagging, for example, in math and science disciplines, where I think we could use some greater attention and enforcement of Title IX.

That said, the reason that special rules are appropriate in the context of athletics is for precisely the reason you said, which is that it is schools that decide in the first instance how many athletics opportunities they are going to offer for men and how many for women. It is a discipline, an educational activity that is explicitly and permissibly sex-segregated.

In chemistry, in engineering, in English, in drama, there are not the same prior decisions by

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schools to offer those opportunities on the basis of sex. They are --

argued yourself out of that position earlier in the day when you were talking about the notion that a questionnaire is simply not going to really measure what is going on here because there has been this period of lack of exposure and we need somehow to correct that.

How can those be consistent if we're going to go down the road of not taking people at their word when adults say, "I don't want to play field hockey"? If we're going to go down that road, how are we going to trust them when they say, "I don't want to register for chemistry" or when the men say, "I don't want to be in the chorus"?

It seems to me that once we go away from taking people at their word, then we have opened up everything because there is nothing anywhere in the university or anywhere in the world where there aren't different ratios of males and females in interest.

There's nothing, absolutely no activity, other than perhaps going to the bathroom that everybody does in the same sex ratio. Different sports attract --

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1	MS. SAMUELS: I see that Ms. Sweet wants
2	to say something. And I will turn to her in just a
3	moment. I would simply say there is a fundamental
4	difference in that chemistry is an opportunity that is
5	available to men and to women without regard to their
6	gender. Athletics is not.
7	As you said, if there is no field hockey
8	team, you are not going to be able to
9	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Again, that made
10	perfect sense to me when you were talking about taking
11	people at their word. But when you don't, then all
12	bets are off.
13	MS. SWEET: I want to comment because I
14	think you make a really important point when you say,
15	"Take them at their word." One of the very strong
16	objections that we have to the methodology of this
17	survey approach is that we're not getting any word.
18	We're assuming when somebody doesn't respond what
19	their word is.
20	If they were going to say, if they were
21	going to respond and say, "I don't want to play field
22	hockey," that's far different than not getting any
23	response and assuming that they don't want to play
24	field hockey.

If I may, I believe that Commissioner

	Thernstrom had asked me a couple of questions. And i
2	don't want to miss the opportunity.
3	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: And, again,
4	what you just said goes to the question of what are
5	the data on survey, responses to the survey. Anyway,
6	I mean, because you're saying no answer is meaningful.
7	Well, what percentage of students have no answer?
8	MS. SWEET: I think you need to ask OCR
9	that,
10	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Anyway, go
11	on.
12	MS. SWEET: the questions that you
13	asked earlier.
14	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Right.
15	MS. SWEET: And it really ties in with the
16	conversation that has taken place since you asked the
17	question. In respect to opportunity and actual
18	participation, we can't lose sight of the fact that
19	men have been participating in athletics much longer
20	than women have.
21	Last year the NCAA celebrated its
22	centennial anniversary. The NCAA has only sponsored
23	opportunities for females for 25 years. So the men
24	had a 75-year head start in the collegiate athletic
25	arena.

speak from personal experience. Prior Title IX, Ι discouraged from to was Even though I loved sports, participating in sports. there were no high school opportunities. I attended the University of Wisconsin, which I like to think is fairly progressive. There were collegiate no opportunities.

The question, I believe, was why do I think that Title IX has been so influential in respect to the athletics changes that have taken place. I want to speak to the question about Title IX and emphasize Title IX is for education at all levels. We have seen dramatic changes in career opportunities in medicine, in science. Even though we may not have gone as far with women in engineering, we now have at least 50 percent of women in the medical field, in the law field. That wasn't the case prior to Title IX.

The same is true in athletics. Prior to Title IX, there were 30,000 female athletes on our college campuses. Now there are over 200,000. And why has that happened? It has happened because colleges have made a commitment to trying to provide new opportunities. And as those new opportunities have been provided, there have been young women that have been clamoring to fill those spots.

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So to say that the interest is different, don't forget that the history is different. We're not talking about apples and apples. We're talking about apples and oranges. And we just need to accept that. But we also need to accept that there are glowing disparities that we need to address.

The second part of your question if I remember correctly --

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Let me just say something to that. Look, my point was not that Title IX has made no contribution. My point is simply that you've got decades of transformative change in the status of women and how women think of themselves and how women -- the definition of -- and how feminine is defined. And so you've got multiple factors. And I wouldn't want to try to weigh any one of them. And the multiple factors include Title IX in the results we've got today, which is our enormously increased interest in athletics. That was my sole point.

MS. SWEET: I agree. There are multiple factors, but I feel very strongly without Title IX, we would not have the number of women in law school, the number of women in medical school, the number of women that are participating on sports teams.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: And I just

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1	don't know that on medical school or law school
2	without I mean, I don't think you can say that.
3	But, anyway, go on.
4	MS. GAVORA: I think that there is an
5	important generational difference here that is being
6	touched on. And I think it's one that you folks
7	should be concerned about.
8	I talk to young girls on campuses today
9	whose experience is very different from yours and even
10	mine to a certain degree. They feel completely
11	empowered. And what they are starting to say is, "Why
12	do we need this law anymore? Title IX has outlived
13	its purpose. You know, I mean, it's hurting these
14	guys we're training with. It's hurting. You know,
15	it's just mindlessly ending these opportunities for
16	men. We don't need this. We're a majority on our
17	campuses."
18	I think we still need Title IX, but these
19	women, young women, have an experience with this law
20	that is completely different from what it was intended
21	when it was passed.
22	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: They have a
23	completely different experience in life than when I
24	entered college,

MS. GAVORA: Yes.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: -- where I roomed with one of three women who attended NYU Law School. I mean, that transformation is not due to Title IX, the fact that you've got, actually, women over-represented in medical school, for instance. I don't know what the law school proportion is, but I think it's now at parity.

I mean, that isn't a Title IX. That is an incredible societal change.

MS. SWEET: Is it not true that there were a number of universities that didn't even allow females to attend, the University of Virginia being one, that there has been this ongoing lack of opportunities for females? And we are transitioning away from it, but we're still not there.

I just want to say again the decisions that made campuses to eliminate are on men's opportunities are institutional decisions, though men still have more actual opportunities, but it's true there have been men's teams in certain sports that have been dropped. That is not something that Title should happen, something that IX states the NCAA emphatically said has should not happen, unfortunately, those are institutional decisions that are being made because it's easier. It's easier to

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administer a smaller program than it is a larger, more
broad-based program in the same way
COMMISSIONER HERIOT: But isn't that
disingenuous to say that this isn't due to Title IX?
I mean, you know, why isn't it warm in January?
Because it's not. There are limited funds. If you
tell people that they have to have proportionality,
they believe that is their safe harbor. They are
going to achieve it by cutting men's programs. I
mean, that's just
MS. SWEET: All you're telling the
institution is that they have to
COMMISSIONER HERIOT: saying it's not
required by the law. It just means that you don't
care that things happen.
MS. SWEET: You're telling them that they
need to provide equity. And you're not telling them
COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: How do they get
the money to do it?
MS. SWEET: I had an institution that had
23 sports. We had several years of budget cuts. We
never dropped a sport.
COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And that's great.
MS. SWEET: We took the

1	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I applaud that.
2	MS. SWEET: We divided our resources up
3	differently. And every institution has an opportunity
4	to do that, but they choose not to do that because
5	they want to put more of their resources into a select
6	number of sports.
7	I live on campus. I know what that's
8	like. People in the NCAA live on campus. They know
9	what that's like. The university presidents, who have
10	responsibility for looking out for both their male and
11	female students in all aspects of the campus, know
12	what it's like. And what they are saying is this
13	survey method is not the right approach.
14	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I have a quick
15	specific question. And that is why isn't the College
16	Board survey of interest a good measure of interest
17	and ability? Is it because it's too broad and too
18	national?
19	MS. SWEET: I'm not familiar with what
20	that is.
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I heard Ms. Gavora
22	reference the fact that the College Board asks
23	students their interest in participating in collegiate
24	athletics. Is that
25	MS. GAVORA: And signing up for the PSAT

1 and the SAT. 2 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right. 3 MS. GAVORA: It was at least the case when 4 I wrote my book about it. 5 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay. So let's say, for example, that in a given year the College 6 7 Board asks people when they are signing up for the PSAT or the SAT their interest in sports and that 8 9 information reflects a 60/40 percent disparity in interest levels with 60 percent of the men expressing 10 interest, 60 percent of those expressing interest 11 12 being men and 40 percent of those expressing interest 13 being women. 14 Why would a school not comply with Title IX if their participation rates mirrored that survey 15 16 data? 17 First of MS. SWEET: all, I familiar with that survey. And based on what you just 18 19 said, again, you're freezing what has been a bias in 20 the past. 21 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, see, again, 22 that is very revealing to me because we started off 23 today with critiques of this particular survey, of the particular survey that the department has put forward 24

as a model for universities to use.

1	But what I am really hearing is that you
2	don't like surveys
3	MS. SWEET: No.
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: because surveys
5	freeze. What you just said was
6	MS. SWEET: In isolation.
7	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Can I finish?
8	MS. SWEET: In isolation.
9	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: What you just said
10	was that a survey that reflected a disparity in
11	interest would freeze discrimination. Now, that
12	disparity in interest is real. It's out there. I'm
13	not saying what caused it.
14	But if you believe that the disparity in
15	interest is caused by discriminatory factors in
16	society, then you don't really support the third
17	prong.
18	MS. SWEET: What do you think the result
19	would have been if you had administered that survey in
20	1971?
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think it would
22	have been different.
23	MS. SWEET: And so then it would have been
24	okay to have 90 percent of the opportunities going to
25	10

1	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No, no, no, no.
2	At that time.
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Are you
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Let me finish. At
5	that time because as the interest level changes over
6	time,
7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Right.
8	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: now that the
9	interest level is higher, the opportunities need to be
10	higher for women. And in five years from now, if the
11	survey isn't 60/40 but, rather, 70 the other way
12	around I'm sorry closer to proportionality,
13	50/50, then the opportunities would be divided that
14	way.
15	MS. SWEET: And a good part of what
16	influences interest is what people see. I have talked
17	to so many college students
18	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: But again you're
19	revealing your hand here because
20	MS. SWEET: I would like to finish what I
21	was saying.
22	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Okay.
23	MS. SWEET: I have talked to so many high
24	school and college students who have indicated that if
25	they don't see females participating, then they don't

1	know that that is an opportunity that they could have.
2	And that goes down into high school. That goes down
3	into elementary schools.
4	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: I don't know
5	how
6	MS. SWEET: So based on what you have
7	said, if you don't see females participating, then how
8	are you going to know that that is an opportunity that
9	should be available to you?
10	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Well, I'll tell
11	you. You have revealed your hand because what you
12	have really said is that the current interest and
13	ability of students, not only at the college level but
14	those in the pipeline, those taking the PSATs several
15	years before they go to college, is insufficient to
16	satisfy your sociological world view of where you want
17	to be in ten years.
18	MS. SWEET: I think what we're
19	COMMISSIONER YAKI: That's not what she is
20	saying at all, Commissioner Braceras. What she is
21	saying is that surveys in and of themselves are
22	inherently limited. They are backward-looking. They
23	are dependent on historical concepts. If you take a
24	
25	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS. A survey of

students taking the PSAT is forward-looking to where they want to be in college.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: One at a time. One at a time.

commissioner YAKI: If you are in an environment where you do not see young women playing ice hockey, if you are not in an environment where you see Lisa Fernandez -- I went to Cal; so I can say this -- throw a 95-mile-an-hour softball curve ball past someone and strike out 15 people in a row, you don't know about this stuff.

So when you say that they're revealing their hand, they're revealing their hand only in one sense. And that is they have a strong bias, as would any under-represented group, to ensure that opportunities are available and access to those opportunities are available.

I do not understand why you're trumping this reveal the hand. Of course, this is what Title IX is all about. It has been, unfortunately, now and I've seen here a victim of its own success because there's this backlash by people who believe that now, oh, my God, they cut the boys' ping pong club and we're not going to Tech. But we all know when we go into --

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1 JESSICA GAVORA: I really object to this 2 character assassination. COMMISSIONER YAKI: the Commission, 3 4 make decisions based on whole different 5 reasons other than what people perceive them to be. 6 And I just cannot sit back here and have anyone sort 7 of -- how should I put it? -- trying to undercut the motives of someone who I believe are aimed 8 at 9 increasing --10 COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: COMMISSIONER YAKI: -- opportunities for 11 12 young --COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. I'm sorry. 13 have to step in here. Nobody is trying to undercut 14 15 anything. What Ι'm trying to ascertain is а 16 difference, frankly, in world view. 17 And I think all of us here are committed to increasing opportunities for women. 18 I want more 19 opportunities for my daughter. Ι I, like mean, Commissioner Heriot, am a complete nerd when it comes 20 21 to sports and never played sports and, frankly, have no interest in playing sports. 22 23 But, as I've said several times, I have three athletic daughters. And they certainly didn't 24 25 get that way from watching their mother. I mean,

they're not athletic because of Mia Hamm or because of any of these. They don't even know who Mia Hamm is.

Okay? They are athletic because it's what they like, because their father enjoys it, for whatever reason.

But the bottom line is I think we have a difference in world view here. And one world view posits that if you were to strip away all aspects of discrimination, that things would eventually be equal in terms of 50/50 proportional representation.

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: In what --

COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: And another world view posits that, even in the absence of any discriminatory factors, there will be disparities in life amongst different subgroups. And if you can't bridge that gap in the way we see the world, then the discussion about what type of survey is best or what prong of the test is best is never going to be resolved.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, I understand that, Commissioner. But in setting up this dichotomy, all you have simply done, as far as I'm concerned, is set the dichotomy between the philosophy of the majority on the Commission, the philosophy of the minority on the Commission.

I mean, that is sort of where the rubber

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	meets the road in terms of the fact that there are
2	some of them, some people, such as myself, who believe
3	that you need to continue to take affirmative steps
4	and affirmative action to remediate past
5	discrimination, notwithstanding the fact that other
6	people believe and I'm not criticizing anything at
7	this point that you simply take away the
8	nondiscriminatory factors and things will somehow
9	level on their own.
10	I just don't happen to support that point
11	of view. I support something that is much more
12	proactive, much more affirmative in nature, and one
13	that seeks to use the good role and power of the law
14	and government to create a better society and not
15	simply hope that some magic hand will come out and
16	make it all better.
17	PARTICIPANT: But in the
18	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Okay, folks.
19	COMMISSIONER YAKI: All you're doing is
20	distinguishing between the two world views that the
21	JESSICA GOVORA: In the end, there is the
22	law. There is the law that we are here to discuss and
23	the text of the law.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: We could go on for
25	several days, but we are going to have to wrap this

1	up. Two last opportunities here.
2	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Yes.
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner
4	Kirsanow and Mr. Cohen and
5	MR. COHEN: I just have a very brief thing
6	that I want to say that might help focus the
7	discussion where we have kind of gone to.
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Good luck.
9	(Laughter.)
10	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Give it a try.
11	MR. COHEN: There is a distinction. And I
12	think it might help illustrate why seemingly folks are
13	talking past each other. And, actually, it is a point
14	that Ms. Gavora just made.
15	Title IX is generally about improving
16	opportunities for women, but the three-prong test is a
17	little bit narrower. You are talking about different
18	aspects of the global concept that is Title IX.
19	Globally, you know, from a policy
20	perspective, yes, opportunities for women should be
21	increased. But once you focus down on the test
22	itself, the law since 1979, you're talking only about
23	the interests of current or admitted students.
24	And that's a distinction that helps
25	explain Commissioner Braceras' "differences of world

1	views." If you focus down on purely what is required
2	under the law, under prong three, that sets up a
3	different scheme than these kind of global concerns
4	that we're talking about, which, yes, is part of Title
5	IX, expanding opportunities for women. But it doesn't
6	quite fit in where we started this discussion.
7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner
8	Kirsanow?
9	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes. I have more
10	than two questions but not too many. They're very
11	specific and narrow. I think most of them go to Mr.
12	Cohen.
13	In part three, it talks about a survey
14	with respect to interest but also ability. How is
15	ability determined? Who makes that judgment? Is it
16	the respondent or is it the respondent and coaches or
17	someone else?
18	MR. COHEN: There is an assessment process
19	that is laid out in the additional clarification that
20	relates to ability. Recall again that the test under
21	prong three has the different aspects. There must be
22	interest. And those people who are interested must
23	have ability, and there must be the likelihood of
24	competition.

There is a question on the model survey

1	that asks students to self-identify their level of
2	ability. Beyond that and maybe this is a question
3	better asked of Mr. Black I'm not sure what weight
4	that receives.
5	I know that if there is a showing of
6	requisite interest according to the model survey
7	interest results, the school is required to move into
8	that assessment phase. And during that assessment
9	phase, the additional clarification lays out a number
10	of different ways that ability can be measured.
11	And it's subjective. A lot of it comes
12	down to coaches' opinions and a number of different
13	factors.
14	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. Second
15	question is, what happens if the survey presuming it's
16	administered broadly to all students demonstrates an
17	increase in men's interests or an increase that
18	exceeds that of females in terms of unmet interests?
19	Is there a mandate, then, or do you know if there has
20	ever been an instance where that has happened in which
21	the colleges then increased men's sports?
22	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: I think that they
23	would never increase men's sports under that
24	circumstance. It would be too risky.

MS. GAVORA: Prong three requires only the

1	under-represented sex.
2	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Right.
3	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: But that is the
4	question. What is the definition of
5	under-represented? Is it simply because of
6	proportionality?
7	MS. GAVORA: Because of proportionality,
8	exactly.
9	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. Because we
10	have no empirical data as to what the broad societal
11	interest is.
12	MR. COHEN: Well, let me try to answer
13	your question. The reason I hesitated is because it
14	is true that prong three is concerned about the
15	under-represented sex.
16	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes.
17	MR. COHEN: But once you reach the point
18	of complying with the law, no matter whether it's
19	prong one, prong two, once you're in compliance with
20	the law, then you are free to add sports on either
21	side.
22	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Right.
23	MR. COHEN: So if through adding women's
24	sports, through a lack of showing of unmet interest,
25	if you reach a point where the women on campus are

1	receiving adequate opportunities under the law, then
2	there would be an opportunity to add on the men's
3	side, but
4	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: No. They'll throw
5	it out of proportion. If you're on either side, it
6	will throw you out of proportion.
7	MS. SWEET: Prong three, you don't have to
8	be in proportion. You met prong three.
9	MR. BLACK: You've got to stay with prong
10	three, then.
11	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay.
12	MR. BLACK: You can choose to add a men's
13	team.
14	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Nobody's going to do
15	that, you all, because you will end up with an OCR
16	investigation, which you can preclude and completely
17	eliminate if you are in proportion.
18	I mean, that is the test. Isn't that
19	really the test, you all? You determine when an
20	investigation is open and how it is resolved and how
21	many times someone using prong three has satisfied
22	OCR's concerns or worked on an agreement with OCR?
23	That is the real test.
24	MR. BLACK: If we get a compliance and we
25	go and check data and it's proportional

1	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Right.
2	MR. BLACK: it's probably an
3	insufficient complaint. We have to investigate
4	whether
5	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: You just tell me how
6	many times there has been a complaint and there is the
7	no proportionality. And then someone is in agreement
8	with OCR. You tell me that. Then I'll tell you the
9	real road.
10	And if the answer is, well, most folks use
11	prong three and trying to use prong three as an
12	affirmative defense, for lack of a better term, enter
13	into an agreement, then that tells me what is really
14	going on relative to prong one and prong three. They
15	are not interchangeable. They actually work together.
16	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Ms. Gavora, you
17	indicated that there are only 17 men's gymnastic
18	teams. Is that true?
19	MS. GAVORA: Yes.
20	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. The GAO
21	report indicated, at least by my reading, 170
22	wrestling teams eliminated and 90 men's gymnastic
23	teams eliminated, 80 tennis teams eliminated, 45 track
24	teams eliminated, swim teams, football teams even.

Do you have any further data or is that

1	data that is pointedly directed toward Title IX? Is
2	there anything that points to the fact that Title IX
3	had some impact on that?
4	And, second, are there any female teams
5	that have been eliminated at any point over the same
6	survey period, if you know?
7	MS. GAVORA: Oh. Well, there certainly
8	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: Oh, sure.
9	MS. GAVORA: have been female teams
LO	eliminated. And I can't say with any certain beyond
L1	continuing ongoing anecdotal evidence of schools
L2	eliminating teams and saying it's because of Title IX.
L3	And the way the law is currently being
L4	complied with, schools unless they are proportional
L5	cannot eliminate women's teams. It's illegal. Ms.
L6	Samuels' group brings lawsuits routinely against
L7	schools that eliminate and
L8	MS. SAMUELS: When you say we do it
L9	routinely
20	MS. GAVORA: that aren't proportional.
21	So the only place schools can go is to men's teams.
22	MS. SWEET: I have a number for you.
23	MS. GAVORA: I am not arguing against the
24	fact that money doesn't have something to do with
25	this. Of course, it does. Resources are limited.

1	But where does the law push forth the university's
2	hand when it has to cut back? It forces it on the
3	men's teams. That's where the
4	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I had one more
5	question for
6	MS. SWEET: I just wanted to give you some
7	numbers in response to your question.
8	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes.
9	MS. SWEET: For gymnastics, in the same
10	time period that 60 men's gymnastic teams were
11	dropped, 80 women's gymnastic teams were dropped.
12	MS. GAVORA: Okay. And there are over 100
13	women's teams today and 17 for boys.
14	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. And this
15	was for Mr. Black and/or Mr. Cohen. What are the
16	metrics by which unmet interests are made in this
17	context? Because it's interesting. We've been
18	talking about sports as if it's kind of generic in
19	terms of the number of participants.
20	Again, you look at the sidelines of Ohio
21	State, Michigan, and there are 100 guys out there on a
22	football team. But for a basketball team, there would
23	only be 15. There are no female football teams that
24	I'm aware of that are not club teams.
25	So in terms of assessing the

1	opportunities, isn't there going to necessarily be a
2	distortion in the numbers? Because there are going to
3	be more participants in certain sports than in others.
4	MS. GAVORA: Title X makes provision for
5	that.
6	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. And how
7	does it? That's my question.
8	MS. SAMUELS: Title IX looks at individual
9	participation opportunities, not at teams. Schools
10	are free to structure their sports programs as they
11	choose. They can have different numbers of men's and
12	women's teams, the same number of men's and women's
13	teams. They can allocate those sports opportunities
14	across any structure of teams that they want.
15	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I guess my
16	question is and I don't know this, and I'm asking.
17	If, let's say, in a given university you have got 100
18	female participants across all sports and 100 male
19	participants across all sports but all the male
20	participants are congregated in football
21	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's okay.
22	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay?
23	MS. GAVORA: Yes.
24	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Now, let's say
25	that doesn't meet the interests, though. The

1 interests are simply not met as a result of that. 2 still have much unmet interest. Is the metric still determined based on the 100 participants on the one 3 4 male sport? Is that how it works? 5 MS. GAVORA: Yes, bodies on the field. 6 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Okay. Good 7 enough. That's what I wanted to know. CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Vice Chair 8 9 Thernstrom? And then we'll wrap it up. 10 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Just one Ms. Sweet and Ms. Samuels both seem to 11 comment. 12 believe that if you're a woman in America in 2007, it is possible to think, to believe, that women can't 13 play sports, that they've got this 1950s image of 14 women in their heads and, therefore, Title 15 16 needed to deliver the message that women as well as 17 men are potential athletes. And, you know, it just seems to me out of whack with the reality of the whole 18 19 cultural message that is pervasive. If I could just respond? 20 SAMUELS: MS. 21 Title IX has enormously been successful 22 communicating to women that they have opportunities and in opening the doors to those opportunities. 23 there is still pervasive discrimination, as I think 24

Mr. Black would say, based on an analysis of OCR

1	complaints and based on case law.
2	There are too many circumstances still in
3	which women are not getting the opportunities they
4	deserve and in which their teams are getting
5	second-class treatment when they are allowed to play.
6	COMMISSIONER BRACERAS: That's a different
7	issue, though. That's a very different issue.
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Hold it. Hold it.
9	We are trying to stumble toward the finish line.
LO	Let's give Ms. Samuels the last word on this.
L1	MS. SAMUELS: I'm done.
L2	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Thank you very
L3	much. It was a spirited exchange. It was quite
L4	helpful to hear the array of views on this issue.
L5	Thank you.
L6	Now for the commissioners, let's take a
L7	five-minute break.
L8	(Whereupon, the foregoing matter went off
L9	the record at 12:51 p.m. and went back on the record
20	at 1:01 p.m.)
21	V. STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ISSUES
22	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Folks, we have one
23	issue left. And here it goes. At the April 13th
24	meeting, the motions to approve the rechartering of
25	Virginia and the Michigan State Advisory Committees

were tabled in order to have an opportunity to respond to a letter received from Congressman Conyers, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and Congressman Nadler, Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, regarding the Commission's process for selecting SAC members and SAC chairs.

We shared with Chairmen Conyers and Nadler

We shared with Chairmen Conyers and Nadler the dramatic improvements that the Commission has made in ensuring balance and quality of the SAC since rechartering began in 2006 under our guidelines.

The Commission responded on May 10th, 2007 to the letter from the two congressmen. Earlier today we voted to table discussion of the rechartering of the Virginia SAC. So that the only other state advisory committee to be rechartered is the Michigan SAC.

At the last meeting, Commissioner Yaki requested that we divide the motion to appoint the SAC members from the motion to appoint the SAC chair. As a response to that request, we will vote on these motions separately today.

I move that we recharter the Michigan State Advisory Committee. Under this motion, the Commission appoints the following --

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1	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Mr. Chair?
2	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Yes?
3	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I will withdraw the
4	motion on this one to divide the question.
5	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Under this
6	motion, the Commission appoints the following
7	individuals to that committee based on the
8	recommendations of the Staff Director. The first
9	individual is William Allen. It has been recommended
LO	that he also serve as chair. We also have Lawrence
L1	Almeda, Marion Brown, Donna Budnick, Leon Drolet,
L2	James Fett, Imad Hamad, Kary Moss, Howard Schwartz,
L3	Arthur White, Levon Yuille, Gerald Zandstra.
L4	These members will serve as uncompensated
L5	government employees. And the Commission appreciates
L6	the hard work that they will no doubt contribute to
L7	this State Advisory Committee. Under this motion, the
L8	Commission authorizes the Staff Director to execute
L9	the appropriate paperwork for the appointment.
20	Is there a second?
21	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Second.
22	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion?
23	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay.
25	COMMISSIONER YAKI: One, I would like to

1	make a motion to send this back to the Staff Director
2	for reconsideration. I think that there are questions
3	of genuine imbalance, political affiliation imbalance,
4	diversity of viewpoint imbalance that I believe need
5	to be better addressed.
6	In light of the fact that we responded to
7	the chairman of the Judiciary at 4:18 p.m. yesterday
8	so they only responded back last night, I think that I
9	renew my motion to recommit this back to the Staff
10	Director. I renew my objection and would like to
11	recommit this back to the Staff Director.
12	And there are two very particular reasons
13	why I think we should. One, I am a little
14	uncomfortable about the person selected as chair,
15	someone who was on the Commission, who resigned under
16	interesting circumstances. That is all I will say.
17	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Don't you need a
18	second before you can make your argument?
19	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, I'm making my
20	argument for the motion while waiting for the second.
21	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Well, you're
22	supposed to get a second once you stated the motion.
23	You're starting discussion prematurely.
24	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, that may be so,
25	but the fact is that I just spoke with Commissioner

1 Melendez, whose plane is just about to take off. 2 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Well, but 3 he's not here. That's irrelevant, Michael. It really 4 is. 5 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Your motion fails 6 for a second. 7 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, in that case, you can cut off my microphone right now if you want 8 9 to, but I am going to talk about the fact that I asked Richard Schmechel to release to all of you a gender 10 11 disparity analysis that I have done on the state 12 advisory committees for the Commission on Civil Rights and the recent appointment to show that we are at a 13 three to two male to female ratio on our staff. 14 15 I am doing this because we actually now 16 have an oversight committee that actually --17 I want to see it fulfill its statutory Commission. mandate. And I am concerned about the consequences to 18 19 us and to this Commission should we continue to go 20 along this pathway, where we have already had a new 21 one here, Professor Heriot, when 35 SAC chair people wrote the letter in June of 2006 expressing their 22

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki?

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of SAC. You were not here when --

concern about the SAC process and the administration

23

24

1	Commissioner Yaki, we have always bent over
2	backwards. And we have not been sticklers for the
3	Robert's Rules of Order, but if you don't have a
4	second here, I think that we should move on.
5	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, you see, I am
6	concerned that there are only two in the minority and
7	we are going to require a second because the second,
8	Mr. Chair, I find the lack of a courtesy second to be
9	extremely hostile.
10	And I think that in that case, I
11	understand what my next steps are going to be. And we
12	are going to proceed forward on a path that is not
13	going to be pleasant on the Commission if they choose
14	to simply stifle what I have to say
15	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Michael, no one is
16	trying to
17	COMMISSIONER YAKI: because
18	Commissioner Melendez could not be here.
19	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Michael, nobody is
20	trying to stifle you. And, you know, my two cents
21	also is that threats are generally unhelpful. Now
22	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Mr. Chairman, I don't
23	make threats.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, call them
25	what you will. I don't think

1	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I am simply stating
2	the fact that I see based on
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: If you want to be
4	effective
5	COMMISSIONER YAKI: my years on Capitol
6	Hill.
7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That's fine. If
8	you want to be effective, threats aren't the way to
9	go. I think that your powers of persuasion are
LO	strong. And in the past, you have convinced us to
11	deviate from rules by making arguments, as opposed to
12	threats.
13	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, Mr. Chairman, if
14	someone is trying to cut me off from making my
15	argument, then what am I supposed to do? Am I
16	supposed to simply say, "Okay. I will shut up and
17	not"
18	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, before the
19	threat came along, I was going to see if there was
20	support to suspend the requirement of a second.
21	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, Ms. Heriot made
22	it very clear that was not where she was going.
23	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: That's fine, but we
24	could
25	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: You were simply out

1	of order. It's a question of when you talk about a
2	motion, you have to wait for a second. They could
3	have asked for a second.
4	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Ms. Heriot, I've been
5	a commissioner way longer than you. I understand
6	Robert's Rules very well. And so
7	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Not too well
8	evidently.
9	COMMISSIONER YAKI: If the Chairman wishes
10	to suspend the rule, that's fine. If he doesn't,
11	that's fine. But it seemed clear to me that I did not
12	see the assistance forthcoming.
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Well, the
14	assistance would have materialized but for a threat.
15	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I don't know what
16	threat you're talking about, Mr. Chairman. I am
17	simply saying that this has been a frustrating issue.
18	This has been an issue where I have attempted to say
19	quietly and privately that we need to figure out a way
20	to move forward and work forward on this issue, rather
21	than simply shoving it down the road right here.
22	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Do you think it
23	would be appropriate well, it would have been
24	helpful had we received this document with a little
25	notice so that we would have an opportunity to review

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COMMISSIONER YAKI: I would have liked to have reviewed the response to Mr. Nadler, but I have never seen that document either.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: The document wasn't distributed, Ken?

yesterday. During the last meeting, Commissioner Yaki made a specific request that if we distribute materials within a few days prior to a Commission meeting, that the way we should distribute it to commissioners was by putting it in front of their place during the next meeting. We followed his request.

COMMISSIONER YAKI: Oh, no. STAFF
DIRECTOR MARCUS, please. I'm not there. So what is
my alternative?

I was talking about the fact that frequently when I travel from the West Coast, I leave on a Wednesday or a Thursday. And these e-mails come over, and I have no way of printing them out.

Now, that to me is completely disingenuous. And I find it rather offensive for someone who is not there, then, to hide behind the idea that "Oh, well. I'm sorry we didn't e-mail it

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1	because we're only going to put it out in front of the
2	commissioners."
3	It was not an either/or scenario. It was
4	simply to say there are times when traveling I don't
5	have access to a printer in order to see something,
6	nor do I have access to a computer when I am at the
7	Commission hearing. I can't read it unless I have a
8	hard copy there.
9	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki?
10	COMMISSIONER YAKI: These things went out
11	4:18 p.m. Washington time yesterday afternoon.
12	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki,
13	I am not sure of this, but if you are suggesting that
14	we have a moratorium on rechartering SACs until we
15	reach some type of compromise, it's not clear to me
16	that there is sufficient support amongst the
17	commissioners to have this moratorium. And it sounds
18	like that is what you are asking for.
19	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I never said that I
20	asked for a moratorium. I was saying that in this
21	instance, we have a particular question about a
22	particular SAC, one which happens to be important to
23	the Chair of the House Judiciary Committee, if not
24	Oversight Committee.

And I would find it rather -- I think it

would be wiser if these questions and discussions could be dealt with so that we can move forward, rather than engaging in, for lack of a better term, engagementship on when things go out and when things get returned and when these things get distributed because I believe that there should be for this -- look, we had the votes on changing the SAC rule. That was done openly. That was done deliberately. I voted no against it, but I continue to have questions about it.

And that was a different environment in which we were dealing with it. We have a new environment here, a new Committee chair, new members of jurisdiction with concerns and questions about what it is that we are doing.

I think if we are to have a productive relationship with that, rather than return to the days of preceding times before you, Mr. Chair, before STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS, when Commissioner Braceras talked about it, Commissioner Kirsanow talked about it, during the days when hostility between the Commission and the Oversight Committee resulted in reams and reams of documents, all that kind of stuff went on that hampered the impact of this Commission. I would rather not see us return to those days.

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1	I understand you are in the majority. I
2	understand you have a point of view that you are going
3	to go across. But there is, as they say, no harm in
4	dialogue, no harm in talking, and no harm certainly in
5	following what I would think some protocol and respect
6	in the situation where another set of questions has
7	come over and you know part of it is because the
8	chairman has a keen interest in the State of Michigan,
9	that we resolve that as we go forward.
10	Having to say let him have his say and
11	then we vote, that means, well, you know, I know you
12	have additional questions, but we're not going to
13	bother and we're going to vote. That is my concern.
14	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Michael, we can
15	always have this conversation. In terms of extending
16	a courtesy to the committee that oversees the
17	Commission, we did that.
18	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, just to be
19	perfectly honest with you, Mr. Chair, sending over the
20	answer at 4:18 in the afternoon the day before the
21	Commission meeting in which it is going to be taken up
22	is not going to be seen in quite the same light as you
23	might seem to think it.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Commissioner Yaki,
25	we received the letter. We responded to the letter.

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1	The letter did not ask us to place a moratorium in
2	place in terms of rechartering. I'm sure that we will
3	continue this conversation, but unless there is
4	support around the table to table this. I guess
5	that's what we I guess I can ask the question. Is
6	there support around the table to table the vote on
7	the Michigan SAC?
8	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Let me ask a
9	question, if I may. Commissioner Yaki, would we be
10	having this same discussion if this were not the
11	Michigan SAC, if it were just another state SAC?
	II

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Well, it You would have posed the same questions with

respect to Virginia. So presumably it isn't --

Would your recommendation be that in light of the

questions that they have posed that we postpone voting

on the SAC or is this particular to the fact that the

chairman comes from the state?

COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: That's why I thought I would ask. And I'm trying to determine whether or not -- my point in asking the question is to determine whether or not if we did postpone it and another question is asked next month, are we going to be back at the same position?

> COMMISSIONER YAKI: Well, if you want my

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answer based upon my years of writing these letters and staffing and people who did these letters and they mean, I would refer back to the first letter that Representative Chairman Conyers sent forth to us, which says, last paragraph, "We will follow this letter with a more detailed inquiry concerning the Commission's actions. In the interim, we would hope that the Commission consider with great care any further action in this regard to ensure that the integrity of the SAC system is preserved."

Now, they are not asking for a moratorium, but they are clearly asking that we think about how we go moving forward before we answer the question that is set forth by the committee.

Now, in any dialogue between an agency and a member, you can ask "If we answer these questions, if we engage in dialogue, we have compelling reasons to move on. There is chartering that needs to be done. We are behind in a chartering system. Those are issues that can be brought up and raised and discussed."

But I think that in the life span of how things work in government, unfortunately, not just in Congress but also with us, you know, sometimes things take a little longer than they should. Sometimes

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things take a little bit longer because it should be.

think this is a situation where chairman has in his first letter said a detailed inquiry of what's coming. That has come in response to our first letter that we sent back to them. And there is a request that we consider with great care further action. And given the fact that this is the chair of whose state we are considering, I think taking it all together, it would make one think twice forward until about moving some discussion occurred, not just an exchange of letters, because I really truly do not want to see relations deteriorate between the two sides such that we end up how we did in the penultimate regime, where there was series of document requests, subpoenas, and stuff going back and forth, which serves, really, nobody's purpose whatsoever.

CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Vice Chair Thernstrom?

VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Commissioner Yaki, it seems to me you are posing here a picture of some warm and fuzzy relationship between this Commission as it's currently composed and Chairman Conyers. And I don't think that that is in the offing.

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1 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Commissioner, I think 2 you are misunderstanding me. There is a difference between having warm and fuzzy and ensuring that, for 3 4 lack of a better word, you are not unduly baiting the 5 That's all I'm going to say. Does that make it bear. 6 any clearer? 7 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Michael, I will convey your description of Mr. Conyers to him next 8 9 time I meet him. 10 VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: You know, there is going to be a fundamental difference between 11 12 our conception of the composition of these SACs and Chairman Conyers' conception. I don't know how we are 13 going to bridge that difference. I don't think we're 14 15 out to bait him. I think that there is a problem of 16 different politics, different viewpoints here. 17 Well, I think, as I COMMISSIONER YAKI: was saying, this is a situation where we do have some 18 19 differences. I have no illusions that I'm going to lose on those differences, as I have on every single 20 21 vote on the SACs to date, but to the extent that our Oversight Committee does get involved, I just think it 22 23 behooves us to at least engage in some dialogue. definitely is 24 There going to be an

agreement to disagree between the majority and the

1	Oversight Committee. I just don't think we need to do
2	anything that would be seen as escalating it at all.
3	And I can just tell you that as much as
4	someone remarked on the earlier panel that the
5	clarifications came out on a Friday afternoon, which
6	is trash day in Washington, D.C., our response coming
7	at 4:18 p.m. the day before this, I am pretty sure
8	will not be seen in quite the same kind of light as we
9	would hope it to be, no matter how responsive or
10	complete that answer was.
11	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Then suppose
12	it had arrived two days before. What would be
13	different?
14	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Two days before would
15	give an opportunity for some discussion.
16	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: But we would
17	be at the same loggerheads. I mean, that
18	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I would be much more
19	at a disadvantage in asking for those if I had known
20	that the discussion had occurred and there was an
21	agreement to disagree and a problem to follow up on
22	these with the statement made that, you know, despite
23	this, we're going to need a report.
24	Outside of that communication, I think
25	there is a vast difference in how it can be perceived

1	and what it means to future relations with our
2	oversight committee. That is all I am saying.
3	People would come out all the time. I
4	mean, when I worked on the Hill, we had the first two
5	or three years that I was working, we had a Republican
6	administration. And they would come in. And we would
7	disagree. And they would tell us how it was going
8	forward, and we would argue a little bit. But in the
9	end, we knew that that had occurred.
10	No one could say to the other in the end,
11	"Obey me. And this is what is going to happen." I
12	have no illusions that is going to happen. But there
13	is just a big thing that I'm concerned we're not
14	following that has impressions beyond a policy
15	difference between
16	STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: I believe that
17	counting both Michigan and Virginia, we will have
18	chartered 14 of the recently expired, leaving the
19	remainder, 37.
20	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: We have many
21	more SACs down the road.
22	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: How far along are we
23	with the balance?
24	STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: We're in varying
25	states. I mean, there are a number that are very far

_	along. I don't know whether it's a half of some
2	number. There are certainly a lot of them that are
3	very far along. And then there are a bunch where
4	we're in an early stage.
5	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Were you
6	anticipating offering some up for a vote at our next
7	business meeting?
8	VICE CHAIRPERSON THERNSTROM: Virginia.
9	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Well, other than
10	Virginia.
11	STAFF DIRECTOR MARCUS: The next scheduled
12	business meeting is supposed to be July, as I recall,
13	right? It's not June but July. I would say that it
14	is certainly my hope to have them, but I can't say
15	which one.
16	And I'm not sure. This far out it's hard
17	to say because I would say there are a number of them
18	that are advanced. But I can't tell yet how long the
19	last minute is going to take. So my hope is yes, but
20	I'm not sure.
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Comments?
22	(No response.)
23	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Is there
24	COMMISSIONER TAYLOR: Let's stop. Can we
25	get five minutes off the record?

1	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Commissioner
2	Yaki, we are going to go off the record for five
3	minutes.
4	(Whereupon, the foregoing matter went off
5	the record at 1:26 p.m. and went back on the record at
6	1:32 p.m.)
7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: We're back on the
8	record. After having a brief discussion, it is clear
9	that there is not sufficient support to table the vote
10	on the Michigan SAC. So we will be moving forward.
11	So at this time, unless there are
12	additional comments or questions, I call the vote.
13	All in favor?
14	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Wait, wait, wait,
15	wait, wait, wait. No. I will divide the question.
16	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. The motion
17	that is on the table now is I move that William Allen
18	be chair of the Michigan SAC. Is there a second?
19	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Second.
20	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion?
21	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Yes. I will just
22	simply say, as I repeated before, I am concerned about
23	this nominee based on his previous activities and
24	would urge the Commission to think about that.
25	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Can you provide us

1	with some details? Could you lay out your concerns?
2	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I believe that hang
3	on a second. I can only go by published newspaper
4	reports. But there was an incident involving him when
5	he was the chair at the time of the Commission
6	involving an alleged kidnapping of a Native American
7	child.
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Was he convicted?
9	COMMISSIONER YAKI: And he was not
10	convicted, but he then was invited to speak at an
11	organization that apparently the Bush one
12	administration was not exactly happy he was going to
13	speak at. Shortly thereafter, he resigned for reasons
14	that can only be speculated at.
15	But from those and apparently even the
16	Republican colleagues on the Commission were reluctant
17	to defend him with regard to the incident on the
18	Indian reservation.
19	So I just think that there are some
20	questions that need further investigation and
21	discussion.
22	(Pause.)
23	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I have a New York
24	Times article dated March 27th, 1989, Chairman of the
25	United States Civil Rights Commission, William Barclay

1	Allen. And that is the day that he formally
2	apologized. There was an Indian trial.
3	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Michael,
4	we're going to take a five-minute break.
5	(Whereupon, the foregoing matter went off
6	the record at 1:37 p.m. and went back on the record at
7	1:44 p.m.)
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Michael, if we were
9	to table the vote on the Michigan SAC, would you be
LO	willing to support a vote at our next meeting on
L1	Michigan and Virginia?
L2	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: And whatever else is
L3	ready.
L4	COMMISSIONER YAKI: Who said the "Whatever
L5	else is ready"?
L6	(Laughter.)
L7	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. If it is
L8	just those two SACs, would you be willing to support
L9	the vote?
20	COMMISSIONER YAKI: I would be willing to
21	support a vote provided that we provided a timely
22	response to Chairman Nadler's letter. And what I mean
23	by "timely," not the day before.
24	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. I think
25	that's good enough. So we are going to table the vote

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1	on both the Virginia and Michigan SACs. And we will
2	take up the vote at our next meeting.
3	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Do we have to
4	actually vote on this?
5	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Do we have to?
6	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes. Wasn't there
7	a motion on the floor?
8	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Okay. Dot our
9	"i's." I move that we table the vote on both the
10	Michigan and Virginia SAC until next months. Is there
11	a second?
12	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Second.
13	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Discussion?
14	(No response.)
15	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: All in favor?
16	(Whereupon, there was a chorus of "Ayes.")
17	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Any opposition?
18	(No response.)
19	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: Any abstentions?
20	(No response.)
21	CHAIRPERSON REYNOLDS: The motion carries.
22	Thank you, everyone. We are done.
23	(Whereupon, the foregoing matter was
24	concluded at 1:46 p.m.)
25	