

GENDER EQUITY IN OLYMPIC SPORTS: ABSENTEEISM AND 'INVISIBILITY'

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INTRODUCTION

"The IOC strongly encourages, by appropriate means, the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures, particularly in the executive bodies of national and international sports organizations with a view to the strict application of the principle of equality of men and women".³

Despite the comparatively accelerated integration and incorporation of women in Olympic competitive sports, due to the elimination of 'formal' obstacles and established socio-cultural prohibitions,⁴ women are still under-represented in comparison to men. In the 1996 Olympic Games of Atlanta, in which a total of 10,305 male and female athletes from 197 member-countries of the Olympic movement participated, only 3,496 were women. In Sydney in the year 2000, the percentage of female athletes was 38,2%. In the Athens 2004 Olympic Games, from a total of 11,099 athletes from 202 countries, 40,7% were women, the largest participation record yet!⁵ This under-representation of women has socio-cultural causes associated with the chronological delay in eliminating barriers to

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³ Olympic Charter, Rule 2, paragraph 5 in force since 18-07- 1996.

⁴ This applies to 'western' type societies. It does not represent, for instance Islam, or Middle East societies where women are not only completely excluded from sports, but from most forms of public social activity. For instance in the Seoul Games, in 1988, there were 160 countries and 21 Muslim athletes all male. See: Baier, H. (1999). "Epikur in den Gärten des Wissens. Der neue Hedonismus in Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Konstanz: 37. Furthermore, in Atlanta in 1996, 26 national delegations did not have female athletes. In Sydney, 2000, 9 delegations did not have female athletes. (See: www. Athens 2004.com).

⁵ Website: www.athens 2004.com.

inclusion. It is also related to the particularly high levels of commercialization which originally had obstructed women's inclusion and integration into Olympic sports.⁶ However, current studies indicate that commercialization will eventually result in the equal participation of female athletes in Olympic sports.⁷

Nevertheless, what is clearly apparent today is that, women's integration into Olympic or competitive sports has no 'linear' relation to their representation, or rather under-representation in decision-making Olympic institutions. In other words, women continue to be an 'invisible' or rather an 'absent minority', excluded not only from Olympic sports, but also from decision-making positions of power and responsibility in sport-governing bodies.⁸ As observed in the institutional realities of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the proportional representation of women is in the proximity of *absenteeism* or 'invisibility'. For example, the IOC's institutional hierarchy, until 1981, was exclusively male. From a total of 93 members in 1993, only 7 were women (7,5%). Today, women in the IOC comprise a 'restricted minority'. For instance, from a total of the 116 members only 12 are women (10,3%),⁹ a 'violation', an 'infringement', or rather contempt of the Olympic Charter, according to which: "The IOC strongly encourages, by appropriate means, the promotion of women in sport at all levels and

⁶ Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras Nikolaos (2004). "Absolute Exclusion. Research Group Analysis Report for equality Session Preparation Workshop", 15/10/04. *European Commission, Information Society Directorate-General Miniaturisation, Embedded Systems, Societal Applications: 1-12, Brussels*. Also see: Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras, Nikolaos (2006). "Towards a Gender-Neutral Inclusive Information Society: Preserving the European Model in the Information Age". Published in website http://cordis.europa.eu.int/ist/directorate_g/seminar20060405.htm: *The CORDIS focus online edition*, March 2006.

⁷ Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη και Πατοαντάρας Ν. (2005). "Ο Προβληματισμός περί έμφυλου υποκειμένου στον Ολυμπιακό Αθλητισμό (The Gender Subject in Olympic Sports)" *Άθληση & Κοινωνία, Περιοδικό Αθλητικής Επιστήμης/Exercise & Society, Journal of Sport, Τεύχος 39: 55-56*. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης, Κομοτηνή, Μάιο 2005/Dept. of of Physical Education and Sport Science, Democritus University of Thrace: 55-56. Additionally, see: Heywood, Leslie & Dworkin, L. Shari (2003). "Built to Win: the female athlete as cultural icon". *Sports and Culture Series 110-131* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 100-131; and Hargreaves, Jennifer (2000). "Heroins of Sport: the politics of difference and identity" Routledge, London and New York: 215-234.

⁸ Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2006). "Η Αθλήτρια ως Κοινωνικό Είδωλο: Ένα Καινούργιο Αρχέτυπο" (The new archetype: the female athlete, a social idol). *Γυναίκα & Άθληση*. Τόμος II, Τεύχος 2: 153-165. Έκδοση της Πανελληνίας Ένωσης για την Προώθηση των Γυναικών στον Αθλητισμό και τα Σπορ (Π.Ε.Π.Γ.Α.Σ.), Θεσσαλονίκη. Also, see: Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2004). "Έμφυλο και Ολυμπισμός (Gender and Olympism)". *Εισήγηση στο 8^ο Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Πρωτεύουσας Φυσικής Αγωγής & Αθλητισμού (ΠΕΠΦΑ)*, 7-9 Μαΐου 2004, Αθήνα. Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2005) "Ο Έμφυλος Ηρωισμός του Αθλητισμού (Gendered Sports Heroism)". *Εισήγηση στην διημερίδα με θέμα «Μεσογειακή Κουλτούρα-Γυναίκες και Σπορ» της Πανελληνίας Ένωσης για την Προώθηση των Γυναικών στον Αθλητισμό και τα Σπορ (Π.Ε.Π.Γ.Α.Σ.)*, 4-5 Νοεμβρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη

⁹ Website: www.Athens2004.com.

in all structures, particularly in the executive bodies of national and international sports organizations with a view to the strict application of the principle of equality of men and women".¹⁰ This is obviously a clear contradiction between the 'social reality' of the IOC and its institutional declarations and regulations. Undoubtedly, it raises many questions, issues and arguments concerning gender equity and equal opportunity in the framework of the Olympic movement, as promulgated in Olympic values. Furthermore, it raises questions related to recent discussions and policies of the European Commission concerning gender mainstreaming, which includes the promotion of international research on the gender subject.¹¹

A. The Gendered Body, gender as an analytical category in Olympic Sports: *methodological framework and theoretical perspectives*

Olympic sports, since their appearance in the 19th century, have been associated with different socio-cultural meanings. That which differentiates this study from other related ones is that it takes into consideration the particular and specific 'value system', including the 'meanings' associated with 'difference' in the Olympic sports phenomenon.¹²

The 'public character'¹³ of Olympic sports, as well as the constituent elements or composing factors of the Olympic games¹⁴ have been clearly predetermined, since the beginning (19th century), according to the 'the spirit of the time', in other words the androcentric character of Olympic activity—the social exclusion of women from most sectors of public life during that period. The biological factor, biological difference, biological determinism or 'biologistic knowledge', as an analytical category had excluded women from most sectors of public life—lead-

¹⁰ Olympic Charter in force from 18.07.1996, Rule 2, paragraph 5.

¹¹ Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras, Nikolaos (2006). "Towards a Gender-Neutral Inclusive Information Society: Preserving the European Model in the Information Age". Published in website http://cordis.europa.eu.int/ist/directorate_g/seminar20060405.htm: *The CORDIS focus online edition*, March 2006.

¹² Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). "Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung". In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 38-46.

¹³ Published in 1887, nine years before the restoration of the Olympic Games, Tönnies' exemplary work for Sociology, "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie", in which 'the biological difference' between the two sexes (genders), is clearly emphasized, as is the point that woman's place is in the home-family, while man's is in the world, in public life. (See: Tönnies, F. (1887) "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie". Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

¹⁴ Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). "Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung". In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 41.

ing to a deadlock in all subsequent debates, questions and discussions on social equality and gender equity in the periods that followed.¹⁵ Moreover, in the beginning Olympic sports were non-inclusive even to certain 'categories' of men. For instance, Olympic sports excluded men from the so-called third world countries from its institutional positions.¹⁶

Since the 1980s, theoretical perspectives promulgate the views that firstly, the body and gender are structural, historical and cultural derivatives and constructions, and secondly, that the body, the gender, the socio-cultural environment and social processes are very closely interconnected, semantic and operational 'measurements' and dimensions. Sexual difference and the feminist theories based on 'difference' fell under question in the late '80s and early '90s, creating an open space for discussion on gender, including debates and argumentation concerning the terms gender vs. sex, the gender subject, 'female masculinity', femininities and masculinities, etc., questioning sexual difference by the mid 90s.¹⁷ A change of the 'Example' or the 'Model', is observed during this period. A new theory concerning gender relations is established, with the use of the term gender instead of sex. As a result the term *gender* is now associated with the social gender/sex and the term *sex* exclusively with the biological gender.¹⁸ Discussions on gender relations, in the framework of the new model, are no longer based on the biological sex, the biological duality or rather bipolarity of the two genders, but on the social gender which formulates and constructs identity. In the new theoretical frameworks, the gender subject, the gendered identity, the 'body and

¹⁵ Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). "Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung". In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 38-46.

¹⁶ Πατσαντάρης Ν. (2006), *Ολυμπισμός: Κοινωνιολογική Προσέγγιση* (Olympism: a Sociological Perspective/Approach). Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 93-115.

¹⁷ Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2006). "Θέματα Φύλου: το κοινωνικό φύλο, το έμφυλο υποκείμενο και Αθλητισμός (Gender issues: the social gender, the gender subject and sports)". *Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις του μαθήματος επιλογής Κοινωνικό Φύλο και Αθλητισμός*. Τμήμα ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 88-107. See also: Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη και Πατσαντάρης Ν. (2005). "Ο Προβληματισμός περί έμφυλου υποκειμένου στον Ολυμπιακό Αθλητισμό (The Gender Subject in Olympic Sports)" *Άθληση & Κοινωνία, Περιοδικό Αθλητικής Επιστήμης/Exercise & Society, Journal of Sport*, Τεύχος 39: 55-56. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης, Κομοτηνή, Μάιο 2005/ Dept. of of Physical Education and Sport Science, Democritus University of Thrace: 55-56.

¹⁸ For controversies and definitions pertaining to the meaning of the terms Sex-Gender, see: Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2006). "Θέματα Φύλου: το κοινωνικό φύλο, το έμφυλο υποκείμενο και Αθλητισμός (Gender issues: the social gender, the gender subject and sports)". *Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις του μαθήματος επιλογής Κοινωνικό Φύλο και Αθλητισμός*: Τμήμα ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών.

gender' are being 're-discovered' and under 'reconstruction', viewed as 'linguistic constructions', in other words used as socio-historical conceptions, inventions, factors and elements of changing and transforming 'subjectivity'.

Nonetheless, this categorization or gender classification of Olympic performance into 'men's' and 'women's' sports is not generally viewed as mistaken or wrong, but as natural or unavoidable. Gender classification, gendered division or segregation is always actively present and has been supported notionally (in meaning) for a long duration of time by rules and regulations, primarily in relation to the different socio-cultural 'scales' and not only the 'evaluation scales' of men's and women's sport performances. It is a public form of "social communication"¹⁹ which creates specialized— according to gender—social expectations, such as social roles and identities, formulated through biological difference.²⁰ Due to this gender demarcation or dichotomy, Olympic-competitive sports roles are genetically personified. In this case we need to point out that this applies to the field of competitive sports, of high performance sports, and not to that of physical education. In the case of physical education the biological gender does not comprise a structural component or element. Theoretical perspectives tend to approach sports as a united or unified social space with physical education. However, there is no connection between the two, as had been the case in the past. In today's non-inclusive competitive sport system, in other words, in today's developmental sport stages of 'internal differentiation', there is no evocative, meaningful or real relation-connection between the two.²¹ Olympic sports, are not structured or perceived as "gender-neutral".²² There is no gender-neutrality, as is the case today in many other social spaces. Gender segregation in Olympic sports exists as a 'socio-symbolic class system' and is clearly institutionalized as a structural category, in contrast to other social spaces, to other professions, fields and disciplines. As a result questions arise, such as: On what levels, and under what pre-conditions can theorems and theoretical approaches on the gender subject be used as an analytical tool for the examination of gender relations in

¹⁹ In reference to the meaning of "social communication" and "social practice", see: Patsantaras, Nikolaos (1994). *Der Trainer als Sportberuf. Entwicklung und Ausdifferenzierung einer Profession* "Schorndorf: Verlag Karl Hofmann: 35-63.

²⁰ Carlson A. (2005), "Suspect sex". In : *The Lancet. Medicine and Sport*. Vol. 366. London/New York: 39-40.

²¹ Patsantaras, N. (1994). *Der Trainer als Sportberuf. Entwicklung und Ausdifferenzierung einer Profession*. "Schorndorf: Hofmann., p.p. 52-63.

²² In reference to the terms "gender neutral" and "gender-neutral inclusive" see: Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras, Nikolaos (2006). "Towards a Gender-Neutral Inclusive Information Society: Preserving the European Model in the Information Age". Published in website http://cordis.europa.eu.int/ist/directorate_g/seminar20060405.htm: *The CORDIS focus online edition*, March 2006.

Olympic sports? Can we investigate, in this theoretical framework, the many issues, arguments and questions, concerning gender equity, gender equality, and equal opportunities in this social space?

B. The Human Body: interactions, interrelations, gender bipolarity and gender equity

In the sport science framework, until two decades ago, due to the domination of sport medicine and other related sciences,²³ the human body— particularly in the field of championships as well as in that of Olympic sports— was considered and ‘measured’ only in its ‘biological dimension’.²⁴ It appeared and continues to appear as a ‘physio-organic entity’ as a ‘material entity’, as a means to an end, as a “tool-instrument.” That is to say that the ‘instrumentalized’ body is used as a ‘mechanism-tool’, through rationalized interventions, with the goal of attaining high or maximal Olympic sport performance/records. The interrelations and interconnections between high performance, the body, the subject, and the socio-cultural environment, including the changes and transformations of the body due to the sports training processes -and not only- have been systematically neglected, and even today have not been adequately examined. Additionally neglected have been the consequence, influences and impact of these changes on the established views concerning gender identity.²⁵

Olympic sports, competitive high performance sports in general, have not been analyzed, perceived and examined as a social space, in the framework of which established views and images concerning the human body are created, conceived and formulated (eg. such as the changes incited by intensive coaching-training processes, doping²⁶, etc.). As a result, a multifaceted and multi-variable transformation process, a ‘staging’ of gender roles and gender identities is being formulated. The framework of this new theorem recognizes the interrelated historical course of the Olympic system with that of today’s social reality, today’s postmod-

²³ Patsantaras, Nikolaos (1994). “Der Trainer als Sportberuf. Entwicklung und Ausdifferenzierung einer Profession.” Schorndorf: Verlag Karl Hofmann: 158-160.

²⁴ Thiele, J./Schulz, N. (1992). “Wege zum Koerper- der Koerper als Gegenstand sportwissenschaftlicher Teildisziplinen”. In : *Brennpunkte der Sportwissenschaft* 6: 139-259.

²⁵ Angerer, M.-L. (1995). “The body of gender. Körper. Geschlechter. Identitäten”. In: Angerer, M.-L. (Hrsg. : The body of gender. Körper. Geschlechter. Identitäten. Wien: 17-35. Landweer, H./Rumpf, M. (1993), “Einleitung: Kritik der Kategorie Geschlecht”. In: *Feministische Studien* 11, 3-10. Lehner, G. (1997). “Wenn Frauen Männerkleidung tragen”. München: 4. Liungqvist, A. (2005). “Transsexual athletes-when is competition fair ?” In : *The Lancet. Medicine and Sport*. Vol., 366: 42-44.

²⁶ In reference to the “Doping Phenomenon” see: Πατσαντάρας Ν. (2006). *Ολυμπισμός: Κοινωνιο-λογική Προσέγγιση* (Olympism: a Sociological Perspective/Approach). Chapter II, Το Φαινόμενο Ντόπινγκ” (The Doping Phenomenon). Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 17-50.

ernist Olympic phenomenon. In other words, it is a linguistic interpretive process of a specific socio-cultural environment that gives it meaning, specifically an androcentric meaning. To be exact, it has socio-cultural derivations, originating from cultural practices of a social-historical specificity. Consequently, the human body, in the framework of postmodern Olympic social reality, must be approached and examined as being in the stage of development, in the developmental-evolutionary process of 'being schematized and post-schematized', namely in the process of being shaped, molded, formed, re-formed, reconstructed and redefined—in accordance to the controversial views and arguments related to socio-cultural and scientific developments.

The human body must be observed as a biological and cultural 'topos', examined along with gender—in philosophical, sociological, anthropological, medical, legislative, sports science, etc. investigations. For instance, the body cannot be examined in the Olympic socio-cultural environment as a simple, one-sided and static biological/anatomical unity, but as a totality of cultural representations and documentations,²⁷ as a 'topos' of 'colonialisation', since the gender subject's capacities, status, roles and identity are continuously in the process of transformation, change, redefinition, etc. Unquestionably, in Olympic sports the socio-cultural meaning of the human body appears with clarity as changeable and transformable in relation to 'time and space'. As a result, the limits and boundaries between biological sex/gender and social gender are unclear, in view of the dynamic interrelation of the two meanings which are influenced and determined by their specific socio-cultural environment.²⁸ To reiterate, the human body is a bio-socio-cultural interpretation, conception and meaning that is composed, manufactured, constructed, structured, restructured and *redefined* in relation to 'time and space', 'topos', etc.²⁹

Social spaces, such as that of competitive sports or Olympic sports, that exercise gender dichotomy and gendered 'structural' distinctions,³⁰ conceive the body

²⁷ Παντελίδου Μαλούτα, Μ. (2002). "Το φύλο της δημοκρατίας: Ιδιότητα του πολίτη και έμφυλα υποκείμενα". Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Σαββάλα: 160.

²⁸ Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2006). "Η Αθλήτρια ως Κοινωνικό Είδωλο: Ένα Καινούργιο Αρχέτυπο". *Γυναίκα & Αθληση*. Τόμος II, Τεύχος 2: 153-165. Έκδοση της Πανελληνίας Ένωσης για την Προώθηση των Γυναικών στον Αθλητισμό και τα Σπορ (Π.Ε.Π.Γ.Α.Σ), Θεσσαλονίκη.

²⁹ Prigogine, I. (2003). "Το Τέλος της Βεβαιότητας" (Μετ. Μαρουλάκος Στ.). Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Κάτοπτρον.

³⁰ Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). "Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung". In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 38-46. Πατσαντάρας Ν. (2006). *Ολυμπισμός: Κοινωνιολογική Προσέγγιση* (Olympism: a Sociological Perspective/Ibid). Chapter III, "Το Φύλο και Ολυμπισμός" (Gender and Olympic sports) *Η Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις*. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 90-121. Also see: Lorey, I. (1993). "Der Körper als Text und das aktuelle Selbst: Butler und Foucault". In: *Feministische Studien* 11, 18-29.

as an anatomic-biological entity, as a means/an instrument or a tool for high performance.³¹ Undoubtedly, through the gendered categorization/classification of Olympic competitive communication practices, namely through the categorization of the biological views pertaining to the body, a specific conception of gender is being projected, the basis of which is biological difference. The emphasis given to biological difference and the acceptance or approval of biological difference between men and women, as a central category of the institutional composition in Olympic sports leads to bipolarity in the competitive-sport expression. This bipolarity has implied, since the beginning, that Olympic sports emphasize genetic characteristics and are genetically personified—namely not interested if the participating gender subject “has a female or male body”, but that “it is a female or male body”. As a result, the human body has been ‘instrumentalized’, transformed into a ‘tool’, and rationalized in a different way in accordance to biological stereotyping (eg. different types of training/coaching, etc.). It has been transformed into ‘a means to an end’, into a ‘conveyer-carrier’ of different performances, high performance records and expectations, according to the predominant or reigning socio-cultural conditions, social values, ideologies, etc.

Certainly arguments exist according to which, in today’s broader social reality, the body as ‘nature’ and as a ‘conveyor’ of particular genetic characteristics is not a product of linguistic interpretations and discussions. Possibly the same holds true concerning certain biological parameters related to performance-records in specific Olympic sports. Nevertheless, the historicity and historical context of the Olympic phenomenon has shown us through many examples and models, that biologicistic knowledge or biological ‘facts’ have been accordingly integrated and incorporated into cultural influences, social structures and structural thinking, thereby formulating social views, attitudes and stereotypes concerning capabilities, capacities or performance in relation to gender.³²

³¹ Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). “Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung”. In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 38-46. In reference to “the bodiless society”, and “virtual society”, see: Patsantaras, Nikolaos & Kamberidou, Irene (2004). “*Technoethics-Technoethos*”. Article submitted and presented at the Consultation Workshop on Gender and Technology in Brussels: 2-24. *European Commission, Information Society Directorate-General Miniaturisation, Embedded Systems, Societal Applications*, 28 June 2004.

³² Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη και Πατσαντάρας Ν. (2005). “Ο Προβληματισμός περί έμφυλου υποκειμένου στον Ολυμπιακό Αθλητισμό (The Gender Subject in Olympic Sports)” *Άθληση & Κοινωνία, Περιοδικό Αθλητικής Έπιστήμης/Exercise & Society, Journal of Sport, Τεύχος 39: 55-56*. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης, Κομοτηνή, Μάιο 2005/ Dept. of of Physical Education and Sport Science, Democritus University of Thrace: 55-56. Additionally see: Benhabib, S./Butler, J./Fraser, N. (1993). *Der Streit um Differenz, Feminismus und Postmoderne in der Gegenwart*. Frankfurt a. M : Suhrkamp. H L. Rogers: 67-81., and Rogers L. (2000). *Sexing the brain*. New York, Columbia: University Press: 10-18.

The body is a 'cultural topos' on which gendered particularities evolve and are expressed and through which gender identity is 'staged', represented, reproduced and redefined. Today, regardless of gender, whether a man or a woman, different elements are used for this 'staging' than those traditional gender stereotypes depicting masculinities and femininities, that had originally formulated the male Olympic culture. In this framework, the biological 'facts' that institutionalized and structured the gendered 'hierarchy' in the Olympic sports reality are being transformed, questioned, debated and redefined. Current discussions are questioning the deeply rooted, in the social area of Olympic sports, 'biological nature' of gender hierarchies and identities, namely the perceptions concerning 'difference'. Current arguments are questioning the female and male sports cultures, specifically regarding the relationship body and the 'staging' of gender' in Olympic sports. This does not however mean or signify that the biological gender (sex) is being eliminated or that it no longer exists as a social category in this social area. It signifies, however, that it is less and less interrelated to traditional views, perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes concerning masculine and feminine body codes. Gender is not disappearing in modern Olympic social reality, but it is being transformed from a static biological perception into a dynamic social category, the meaning of which is being transformed, thereby affecting and changing gender relations and the expectations of the social environment. The biological body in Olympic sports, through which gender identity is given, defined, represented and reflected,³³ is a social reality attached to a network of specific symbols, interpretations and ideologies. There is no doubt that gender dichotomy, reproduced in accordance to socio-cultural realities, is in contradiction to policies, programs and legislation pertaining to gender equality, gender equity and equal opportunities.³⁴

C. Gendered Olympic Cultures

In the social space of Olympic sports, two cultures have been created— the 'male-masculine culture' and the 'female-feminine culture'. Unquestionably, the male-masculine culture 'reigns' at the top of the pyramidal hierarchy of this social space in which semantic prototypes, models, role-models, cultural icons and sports idols³⁵ are established and promoted for the 'staging' of gender, the con-

³³ Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. London : New Haven.

³⁴ Luhmann, N. (1988). "Frauen, Männer und George Spencer Brown". In: *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 17: 47-71.

³⁵ Καμπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2005). "Όμφυλος Ηρωϊσμός του Αθλητισμού". (Gendered Sports Heroism) Εισήγηση στην διημερίδα με θέμα «Μεσογειακή Κουζίτώρα-Γυναίκες και Σπορ» της Πανελληνίας Ένωσης για την Προώθηση των Γυναικών στον Αθλητισμό και τα Σπορ (Π.Ε.Π.Γ.Α.Σ.), 4-5 Νοεμβρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη.

struction of gender identity, among other things. Undoubtedly, this creates and consolidates social distinctions, discriminations and inequalities for female athletes, such as the under-representation of women, excluding them not only from Olympic sports, but also from positions of power and responsibility in sport-governing bodies.

Gender exclusion and discrimination is also observed in the mass media.³⁶ For instance, when female athletes adopt—as a result of intensive training or doping,³⁷ male body characteristics (as well as ‘masculine’ attitudes and verbal expressions), historically associated as ‘symbols of masculinity’, they are labeled and depicted in the media as “mannish”, as “macho”, as “monsters”,³⁸ etc. Evidently, the same applies to male athletes who adopt the so-called ‘female-feminine’ characteristics due to the composition of their sport. However, although such characterizations do not dissolve or eradicate the biological basis of gender dichotomy, they do open the road to gender fluidity in Olympic sports—a fluidity which may in time eliminate its adrocentric character. The gender ‘difference’ assigned to men’s and women’s Olympic sports have created discriminatory hierarchical evaluations in many sectors, such as the extensive promotion and coverage in the mass media of men’s competitions, of male athletes, their sport performances and athletic roles, in contrast to the non-promotion and comparative ‘invisibility’ and absenteeism in the media of female athletes and women’s competitions—with the exception of the minority of the ‘commercialized’ female athletes who are portrayed in the mass media as sex-symbols or ‘super-feminine’, and not for their athletic achievements.³⁹

A noteworthy example of the under-representation of female athletes and women’s competitions is revealed in the study commissioned by the Amateur

³⁶ Καρπερίδου, Ειρήνη (2006). “Η Αθλήτρια ως Κοινωνικό Είδωλο: Ένα Καινούργιο Αρχέτυπο”. *Γυναίκα & Αθληση*. Τόμος II, Τεύχος 2: 153-165. Έκδοση της Πανελληνίας Ένωσης για την Προώθηση των Γυναικών στον Αθλητισμό και τα Σπορ (Π.Ε.Π.Γ.Α.Σ), Θεσσαλονίκη. Also see: Duncan M.C. & Messner M. (2000). “Gender in Televised Sports: News and Highlights Shows, 1989 – 2004. Report by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (AAF)”. Published in AAF website: <http://www.aaf.org/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2004.pdf>. Also see press release dated July 20, 2005 in AAF website: <http://www.aaf.org/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2004.pdf>.

³⁷ In reference to the Doping Phenomenon see: Πατσαντάρας Ν. (2006). *Ολυμπιασμός: Κοινωνιολογική Προσέγγιση* (Olympism: a Sociological Perspective), Chapter II: “Το Φαινόμενο Ντόπινγκ” (The Doping Phenomenon). Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 17-50.

³⁸ Hargreaves, Jennifer (2000). “*Heroins of Sport: the politics of difference and identity*”. Routledge, London and New York: 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*: 2. Also see: Elueze, R./Jones, R.L. (1998). “A quest for equality: A gender comparison of the BBC’s TV coverage of the 1995 World Athletics Championships”. In: *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal (WSPAJ)* 7.H. 1: 45-69.

Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (AAF). According to the AAF press release from Los Angeles, dated July 20, 2005: "In the last five years the television coverage of women's sports has declined. In fact, the percentage of stories and airtime devoted to women's sports on local news programs is now as low as it was 15 years ago. A study commissioned by the AAF, *'Gender in Televised Sports: News and Highlights Shows, 1989-2004'*, indicates that women's sports received only 6.3% of the air time in 2004 compared to 1999, when 8.7% of the airtime was devoted to women's sports. In 1989 and 1993, women's sports received 5%, and 5.1% of the coverage, respectively. AAF President Anita L. DeFrantz, commenting on the findings, said: The continued paucity of women's stories occurs against the backdrop of significant growth of girls' and women's sports nationally and internationally, a development that is simply ignored by television sports news. The willful neglect of women's sports is an abdication of journalistic responsibility and has the effect of diminishing the significance of women's sport and hindering its further growth. This inequity is unfair. It is wrong. It can be changed and it must be changed."⁴⁰

The study⁴¹ included an examination of three two-week segments (a total of six weeks) of televised sports news coverage on each of three local (Los Angeles) network affiliates (KNBC, KCBS, and KABC). The study also looked at ESPN's «SportsCenter» and Fox's «Southern California Sports Report.» The study's major findings reveal: 1) Women's sports were underreported in the six weeks of early evening and late-night television sports news on three network affiliates sampled in the study. Men's sports received 91.4% of the airtime, women's sports 6.3%, and gender neutral topics 2.4%. 2) On Los Angeles network affiliates, men's sports reports outnumbered women's sports stories by an 9:1 ratio, Fox's «Southern California Sports Report» male-to-female ratio was 15:1, and ESPN's «SportsCenter» ratio was 20:1. The percentage of time devoted to women's sports was also lower on Fox (3.0%) and on «SportsCenter» (2.1%) compared with the network affiliate news reports (6.3%). 4) All of the «SportsCenter» programs, all of the Fox programs, and 96.2% of the network affiliate sports news shows in the sample began with a men's sports topic as the lead story. 5) Well over half (58%) of the

⁴⁰ Gender in Televised Sports: News and Highlights Shows, 1989 - 2004 is available on the AAF Website at <http://www.aaf.org/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2004.pdf>. Past studies are also available at: www.aaf.org. Free copies may be requested by e-mail, library@aaf.org, or by calling (323) 730-4646.

⁴¹ Margaret Carlisle Duncan, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and Michael A. Messner, Ph.D., University of Southern California, were the co-investigators for the study. Moreover, Duncan and Messner conducted the three previous AAF studies on television and women's sport and have published extensively on the topic. The new study addresses both quantitative and qualitative aspects of women's sports coverage by television sports news and highlights shows.

network affiliate news shows included no women's sports stories, and 48% of the Fox and ESPN highlights shows included no women's sports stories. Meanwhile, 100% of the 279 news and highlights broadcasts in the sample included coverage of men's sports. 6) In 2004, the stories on women's sports were somewhat more evenly distributed across the week, but 43% of them appeared on expanded-format Saturday and Sunday shows. The 1993 study found that there was almost no network affiliate news coverage of women's sports on weekdays. 7) The 2004 study found less frequent trivialization and humorous sexualization of women than previous studies. 8) Coverage of women's sports was less varied than men's (42.4% of all women's sports stories in the sample were on professional tennis). 9) 94.4% of the sports news and highlights anchor people were men. No women anchors appeared on any of the three network affiliate news shows. And no women of color news anchors or ancillary reporters appeared in any of the reports in the sample.⁴²

D. Highlighting Gender 'Difference'

Extensive discussion in the mass media highlighting gender differences, as well as sport science discussions that emphasize gender 'difference' have played an important role in the gender codification of Olympic sports, thereby reproducing gender division. In other words, preserving and safeguarding the institutional and structural gendered classification in Olympic sports. This fact, along with the cultural and ideological realities that predetermine gender construction or the 'staging of gender', as reflected in the morphological levels of the body, projects the domination of 'masculinity', thereby creating conditions for the multi-variant hierarchical evaluations of men's and women's performances.⁴³ As a result, gender dichotomy-division in Olympic sports— consolidated in the name of gender equity and gender equality, because of its historical socio-cultural character— promotes, encourages, supports and reproduces the under-representation of women in the Olympic institutions.

Undeniably, gender dichotomy in Olympic sports is still considered a conventional, standard, typical or 'unavoidable' practice—a result of the historically so-called, biological 'difference' originally interpreted as the 'inferiority' of women to men. Gender demarcation has socio-cultural derivations, namely originating from cultural practices within social-historical specificity that in fact decompose, eliminate and eradicate the upheld and legitimate values of social equity. Gender

⁴² Gender in Televised Sports: News and Highlights Shows, 1989 - 2004 is available on the AAF Web site at <http://www.aafa.org/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2004.pdf>.

⁴³ Πατσαντάρας Ν. (2006). *Ολυμπισμός: Κοινωνιολογική Προσέγγιση* (Olympism: a Sociological Perspective). Chapter III, "Το Φύλο και Ολυμπισμός" (Gender and Olympic sports). Πανεπιστημιακές Σημειώσεις. ΤΕΦΑΑ του Εθνικού & Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών: 90-121.

segregation-classification in competitive sports produces social discriminations and inequalities, mainly at the expense of women. In other words, the under-representation of women, excluding them not only from Olympic sports, but also from decision-making positions of power and responsibility in sport-governing bodies.

Conclusions-Recommendations

Discussions on gender relations, in the framework of the new model, are no longer based on the biological gender (sex), but on the social gender, which formulates and constructs identity. In the new theoretical framework, the gender subject, the gendered identity, the 'body and gender' are 're-discovered' and under 'reconstruction', viewed as 'linguistic constructions', in other words used as socio-historical conceptions, inventions, concepts and evolving elements of change. The historical context of the Olympic phenomenon has shown us that biologicistic knowledge or biological 'facts' have been integrated into socio-cultural structures, thereby formulating views, attitudes and stereotypes. Today, however, the biological 'facts' that institutionalized and structured the gendered hierarchy in the Olympic sports reality are being transformed, questioned, debated and redefined. In today's postmodernist Olympic reality, gender is being transformed from a static biological perception into a dynamic social category, thereby affecting and changing gender relations and the expectations of the social environment. Specifically, gender is activated or de-activated (neutralized), according to particular socio-political developments, predominant conditions and circumstances that transform and change the meaning of 'biological difference' in society. The biological body in Olympic sports— through which gender identity is given, defined, represented and reflected— is a social reality attached to a network of specific symbols, interpretations and ideologies. In the theoretical framework of the gender subject the biological gender loses its primacy as an analytical category in most social spaces.⁴⁴

On the other hand, the biological gender in Olympic sports remains present as an analytical category, whether visible or 'invisible.' In the case of sports it is activated or de-activated according to the evolutionary development levels of competitive sports. It is also actively present in its pyramidal hierarchies: decision-making sport bodies, organizations, federations, etc. An «assymetry» in sports «evaluations' has been established and reproduced between the two genders, a consequence of the historicity of the Olympic phenomenon. In the framework of

⁴⁴ Lentz, A. (1995). "Ethnizität und Macht. Ethnische Differenzierung als Struktur und Prozess sozialer Schließung im Kapitalismus.", Köln. And, Deem, R./ Gilroy, S. (1998). "Physical activity, life-long learning and empowerment". In : *Sport, Education and Society* 3: 89-105.

Olympic sports, institutional divisions, «linguistic spaces» pertaining to gender and the human body have been formulated by men. They have had and continue to have an androcentric direction.⁴⁵ This «asymmetry», in combination with today's scientific gap in the sport sciences, obstructs the development of scientific dialogue on gender equity in Olympic sports. In order to eventually eliminate social exclusion and make Olympic sports more gender-inclusive, we need to extensively examine, on an interdisciplinary level, theoretical approaches and studies which contribute to the understanding of gender relations, beyond anachronistic biological theories and outdated conceptions, on all social, economic and political levels.

Everything as we know it today is in the process of transformation due to significant changes in the global scene.⁴⁶ In this transitional stage of the postmodernist period, gender exclusion, gender classification, dichotomy, segregation and division is socially problematic, contradictory, deficient and theoretically inconsistent, specifically in regard to women's under-representation, 'absenteeism' or deficient presence in the institutional hierarchies.⁴⁷ There is a large inconsistency, a major gap between the system of Olympic values and that of the institutional representation of women in the IOC. A critical issue which needs to be addressed extensively is women's inclusion in the IOC decision-making structures, in view of the fact that this social exclusion is a form of institutionalized social discrimination. In this framework, the IOC structures are in urgent need of democratization. In other words, a re-evaluation of policies, the implementation of policies and charters, or new measures for the democratization of its structures are required. There is no doubt that gender dichotomy is in contradiction to policies, programs and legislation pertaining to gender equality, gender equity and equal opportunities. It is a contradiction to the promulgated Olympic values.

To reiterate Rule 2, paragraph 5 of the Olympic Charter in force since 18-07-1996: "*The IOC strongly encourages, by appropriate means, the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures, particularly in the executive bodies of*

⁴⁵ Patsantaras, N. et al. (2005). "Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung". In: *Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln*. Vol. II: 38-46.

⁴⁶ Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras Nikolaos (2004). "Absolute Exclusion. Research Group Analysis Report for Quality Session Preparation Workshop, 15/10/04". *European Commission, Information Society Directorate-General Miniaturisation, Embedded Systems, Societal Applications, Brussels: 1-12*

⁴⁷ Kamberidou, Irene & Patsantaras, Nikolaos (2006). "Towards a Gender-Neutral Inclusive Information Society: Preserving the European Model in the Information Age". Published in website <http://cordis.europa.eu.int/ist/directorate/g/seminar20060405.htm>: *The CORDIS focus online edition*, March 2006.

national and international sports organizations with a view to the strict application of the principle of equality of men and women”.

ABSTRACT

Even in today's postmodernist society, gender dichotomy in Olympic sports continues to be an 'unavoidable', conventional, standard or typical practice which is enforced in the name of gender equity and equality. The purpose of this study is to examine, firstly, to what extent, this structurally secured and enforced gendered division, demarcation and segregation in Olympic sports, a result of the biological 'difference' between men and women, has socio-cultural derivations—originating from cultural practices within the social-historical specificity— that in fact defeat, eliminate or eradicate the advocated and legitimate values of social equity. Secondly, how this gendered demarcation produces social exclusions, gendered inequalities and discrimination, mainly at the expense of women. The interrelation of social theories and theoretical approaches of biologicistic knowledge and biological determinism are used to establish the causes that have led to the under-representation of women, not only in Olympic sports, but also in decision-making positions of power and responsibility in sport-governing bodies, such as the IOC. In this transitional stage of the postmodernist period, practices of gender exclusion, gender classification, gender dichotomy, gender segregation and gender division are socially problematic, contradictory, deficient and theoretically inconsistent. Consequently, a critical issue which needs to be addressed extensively, among others, is the democratization of the IOC structures.