



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FACULTY OF KINESIOLOGY & PHYSICAL EDUCATION



CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES

**CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES
RESEARCH REPORTS**

THE LONDON 2012 OLYMPICS: A GENDER EQUALITY AUDIT

**Peter Donnelly
University of Toronto**

**Michele K. Donnelly
University of Southern California**

**Amended: September 2013
CSPS Research Report
www.sportpolicystudies.ca**

The Centre for Sport Policy Studies (CSPS), in the Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education at the University of Toronto, is engaged in empirically-based research in the service of sport policy, monitoring and evaluation studies, and education and advocacy for the two most important ambitions of Canadian sport: 'sport for all' (widespread grassroots participation) and healthy high performance in elite-level sports. The Research Reports represents an important part of the work of CSPS.

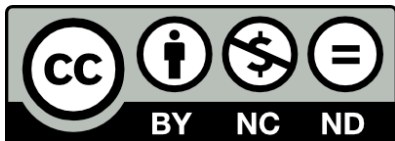
Research Report Editor:

Peter Donnelly (Director, Centre for Sport Policy Studies)

peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca

Donnelly, Peter & Donnelly, Michele K. (2013). *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit*. Centre for Sport Policy Studies Research Report. Toronto: Centre for Sport Policy Studies, Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education, University of Toronto.

Creative Commons License



All CSPS Working Papers, Position Papers and Research Reports are the intellectual property of their author(s) and are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. CSPS Working Papers, Position Papers and Research Reports may be distributed or cited as long as the author(s) is/are appropriately credited. CSPS Working Papers, Position Papers and Research Reports may not be used for commercial purposes or modified in any way without the permission of the author(s). For more information please visit: www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/.

Copyright for this paper: Peter Donnelly (peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca) and Michele K. Donnelly.

Centre for Sport Policy Studies

Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education

55 Harbord Street

Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2W6

www.sportpolicystudies.ca

Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Executive Summary	5
Résumé	8
Introduction	12
The Struggle is not Over...	13
(a) Funding and Sponsorship	13
(b) Publicity and Media Representation	14
(c) Sex Testing	14
(d) Structure and Rules	15
A Gender Equality Audit	16
“Back to basics” – Context for the Report	
The Results	18
(a) Gender-exclusive events	18
(b) Gender-equal events	18
(c) Events with gender differences	19
(i) Fewer women competitors in a sport/event	20
(ii) Men race further than women in comparable events	22
(iii) Different weight categories for men and women	23
(iv) Differences in height, weight, size and spacing of equipment or venue	24
(v) Other differences	25
A Note on Uniforms and Appearance	27
(a) Increasing sexualization of women’s sports	27
(b) Demands for the right to wear modest uniforms	27
A Note on Judged Sports	28
Conclusion and Recommendations	29
Priority Recommendations	30
Achieving the priority recommendations	31
Recommendations Regarding the Structure and Rules of Events	33
Achieving the recommended outcomes	35
Conclusion	35
Summary Results Table: Olympic events for men and women	20
Table 1: Gender exclusive events	37
Table 2: Gender equal events	39
Table 3: Events with gender differences	41
Notes	53
References	56
Appendix A: The 26 Sports / 36 Competitions at the London Olympics	59
Appendix B: Summary Data Table: Gender Differences in Olympic Sports	61

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the thoughtful and insightful contributions of Bruce Kidd and Jay Coakley to this *Report*. And we are indebted to Mark Norman for his invaluable assistance in constructing the Tables, and to Jean Harvey for his assistance in translating the Executive Summary.

We also benefitted from thoughtful and constructive comments from Phyllis Berck, Pamela Boteler, Heather Dichter, Nikki Dryden, Roslyn Kerr, Marion Lay, Elizabeth Pike, Sarah Teetzel, and Anita White.

Finally, we would like to thank those individuals who responded to our crowdsourced request for fact checking. Your responses and corresponding sources helped to make this a far more accurate document.

Because we were dealing with such a wide range of sports with very different sets of rules and regulations, and because those rules and regulations are sometimes different for Olympic competition than for other forms of international competition, we attempted to increase the accuracy of our data by “crowdsourcing” the fact checking. We did this by sending an early draft of the *Report* to a wide range of people, and we sincerely appreciate all of the helpful responses that we received. However, we are responsible for the content and we recognize that, in spite of our best efforts, we may have misinterpreted rules or missed existing gender differences. We also recognize that rules and regulations may change from one Olympics to another. Thus, although this is presented as a “final” *Report* for this research project, we prefer to view it as a **living document**. We would be most grateful to hear about any errors or additional relevant information that should be included in this *Report* (accompanied by supporting references or documentation) in order to correct the *Report*. And we would appreciate hearing about any forthcoming changes in rules and regulations that are relevant to a gender audit of the Summer Olympics.

Peter Donnelly (peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca)
Michele K. Donnelly (donnelmk@gmail.com)

Executive Summary

At the Opening Ceremonies of the London 2012 Olympics, IOC President Jacques Rogge claimed that the Games represented “a major boost for gender equality.” Three milestones were achieved in London: (a) the Games had a higher percentage of women athletes than any previous Summer Olympics; (b) there were women competitors in every sport; and (c) there were no longer any countries preventing women from participating in the Olympics.

As a result of these successes and trends there is a tendency to assume that equality in participation has been, or will shortly be achieved at the Olympic Games. Major women’s sports organizations have largely shifted their lobbying emphasis from efforts to increase women’s representation in the number of sports and athletes at major games to increasing the number of women in sports leadership. Despite the striking achievements of 2012, it would be a mistake to assume that equality in leadership is the main issue that remains to be resolved – although increasing equality in leadership would certainly help to resolve some of the persistent issues of gender inequality. Four key additional and overlapping areas of inequality are still evident: (a) differences in funding and sponsorship between male and female athletes/teams; (b) differences in publicity and media representation for male and female athletes/sports; (c) the re-emergence of sex testing for female athletes; and (d) the specific focus of this *Report*, gender-based structural and rule differences that still exist in sports at large, and on the Olympic programme.

Given the triumphal tones of some of the commentary on the important gender equality landmarks achieved at the London 2012 Olympics, it seems an appropriate time – in the spirit of “what’s left to do to achieve gender equality at the Olympics?” – to carry out a gender equality audit of the 2012 Olympics. Our focus is on the basics of the Olympic sports: what differences remain between the ways that men and women athletes are involved in Olympic competitions? In this *Research Report*, we analyze all of the men’s and women’s events and sports at the London 2012 Olympics for the purpose of identifying gender differences in the structure and rules of the sports/events, and in the opportunities for men and women athletes.

This gender audit permits a comparison between the 26 sports/36 competitions (“disciplines”) and 302 events at the London 2012 Summer Olympics. It enables us to identify all of the remaining differences between men’s and women’s summer Olympic sports. Such an analysis enables us to see where equality has been achieved, and to consider and debate the remaining gender differences in order to determine whether they are acceptable or legitimate. Specifically, is there an agreed upon reason for maintaining the difference? The data will also enable debate about whether the remaining gender differences are consistent from sport to sport and event to event. Inconsistency across sports and events may highlight the irrationality or illegitimacy of some remaining differences.

There were 136 women’s events, and 166 men’s events at the London 2012 Olympics. Of these, 48 events on the programme were gender exclusive (i.e., there were medal opportunities for men but not for women and vice versa): 39 events were open only to men (23.5% of men’s events); and nine events were open only to women (6.6% of women’s events). Together, these exclusive events constituted 15.9% of the Olympic programme.

Just over a third (35.8%) of the events on the London 2012 Olympic programme were equal for men and women in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and the rules of competition. These events constituted 32.5% of men's events and 39.7% of women's events. *Equestrian* remains the one open (to both men and women) sport on the Olympic programme.

The remaining 48.3% of events at the London 2012 Olympics – 44.0% of men's events and 53.7% of women's events – stipulated gender differences between the men's and women's events in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and/or in the rules and structural aspects of competition. In order to better understand the complex set of differences between men's and women's events at the London 2012 Olympics, we divided them into five categories: Fewer women competitors in a sport/event; Men race further than women in comparable events; Different weight categories for men and women; Differences in height, weight, size and spacing of equipment or venue; and Other differences. The majority of these 146 summer Olympic events appear in more than one category of difference.

A total of 10,903 athletes competed in the 302 medal events – 6,068 men and 4,835 women. As a result of 30 more medal events for men (10% of all medal events), and a lower quota for women competitors in 11 (of the 26) sports, there were 1,233 more men than women competing in London.

The data in this *Report* show that there is still some way to go to achieve gender equality, and our recommendations deal primarily with the main concerns: equalizing the number of medal events for men and women, and establishing near equivalence in the number of women and men competitors. However, we are concerned that attempts to control Olympic 'gigantism' are being linked to efforts to increase gender equality in a way that pits men and women against each other – reducing the number of men's events in order to increase the number of women's events. It should be remembered that men and women athletes are not the one's responsible for 'gigantism' or for gender inequality at the Olympics, and should not be the ones to suffer through resolving one problem by creating another. If achieving gender equality means increasing the size of the Olympic Programme, at least temporarily, so be it.

Our priority recommendations are:

1. *Equalize the number of events/medals available to men and women; and*
2. *Establish near equivalence in the number of men and women who are permitted to compete at the Olympic Games, and in specific Olympic sports/events.*

It is no longer justifiable to maintain an Olympic Programme where there are 30 more events for men than for women. It is not necessary to add or establish the same (equal/identical) events for women and men; however, it is necessary to add equitable (similar) events and to achieve the same number of events (opportunities for medals) for women and men. Following the celebration associated with women's involvement in all sports for the first time at the London 2012 Olympics, it is now time for those sports to more equitably represent men and women competitors. We call upon the IOC to realize full gender equality, as outlined in these priority recommendations, by the earliest opportunity. Since no contracts are yet in place for the 2020 Olympics, 2020 should be the goal for achieving full gender equality.

In order to resolve the remaining questions of equality, a pan-Olympic movement process will be necessary, on the same order as the process that harmonized anti-doping rules and procedures. The IOC recently showed that it is capable of exerting powerful diplomatic pressure in the face of intransigence – in the case of Brunei, Qatar, and particularly Saudi Arabia’s reluctance to include women on their 2012 Olympic teams. Perhaps similar endeavours are necessary to persuade the remaining IFs to establish gender equality in their sports.

Additional recommendations concern the structure and rules of events. Expert panels should be established, including representatives of the relevant IFs, the IOC, sport medicine and sport science communities, and athletes and former athletes from the sports, to: a) consider the remaining differences in distance over which men and women compete in races; b) review weight categories; c) evaluate the rules established to determine the height and weight of equipment, and other remaining gender based characteristics relating to the size of equipment and playing areas; d) examine the remaining differences in rules and structure of competition between men’s and women’s Olympic sports in order to determine whether they are still relevant; and e) in all cases, establish consistency within and between sports.

The IOC has continually demonstrated its capacity to bring panels of relevant persons together to determine best practices and advise on policy matters. In the spirit of achieving fairness and gender equality, we urge the IOC to proceed as a matter of urgency to strike panels in the areas of inequality identified here, and to urge the IFs to make any changes based on the panels’ recommendations.

This *Research Report* applauds the IOC for its achievements toward gender equality, particularly in the last 20 years. However, there is still some distance to go before equality is realized in the basic aspects of participation that are the subject of the *Report*. Our recommendations are directed primarily to the IOC for a very specific reason: we recognize that the IOC is the most responsible body to take the lead in achieving gender equality in participation. The IOC controls access to the Olympic Games and, by its recent actions, has shown that it recognizes gender inequality is no longer acceptable in the Olympic Games in the second decade of the 21st century.

Finally, this *Report* focuses on the basics of equality in participation and competition – rather than on broader issues of funding and sponsorship, publicity and media representation, leadership, and the troubling issue of gender verification. We argue that those other concerns may be easier to resolve once there is a basic fairness in terms of participation and competition. We see this *Report* as a way to start the discussion of why gender differences were introduced in sports in the first place, what differences remain, how those differences compare across sports, why they remain, and how they may be resolved. In addition, we argue that it is crucial for athletes and former athletes to be involved in these discussions – they are the only *experts* who really matter.

Résumé

Lors des cérémonies d'ouverture des Jeux Olympiques de Londres 2012, le président du CIO, Jacques Rogge, a proclamé que ces Jeux représentaient "un stimulant majeur pour l'égalité des sexes." Trois jalons ont été franchis à Londres: (a) Le pourcentage de femmes athlètes a été le plus élevé par rapport à toutes les versions précédentes des Jeux Olympiques d'été; (b) Des femmes ont concouru dans tous les sports; (c) Plus aucun pays n'a empêché les femmes de participer aux Jeux Olympiques.

Suite à ces événements, une tendance à croire que l'égalité de participation a été ou sera prochainement réalisé aux Jeux Olympiques s'est fait jour. Plusieurs organisations majeures dédiées au sport chez les femmes ont ainsi largement redirigé leurs efforts de lobbying, de l'accroissement de la représentation des femmes dans le plus grand nombre de sports et de l'accroissement du nombre des athlètes féminines dans les grands jeux, à un accent sur la représentativité dans les postes de direction dans le sport.

Malgré les réalisations frappantes de 2012, ce serait une erreur d'assumer que l'égalité dans les postes de direction est l'enjeu principal qui reste à résoudre; quoique une telle égalité dans le leadership du sport aiderait à solutionner quelques uns des enjeux persistants en termes d'égalité des genres. Quatre autres formes d'inégalités, s'entrecroisant les unes et les autres, sont toujours évidentes aujourd'hui: (a) les différences en ce qui a trait au niveau de financement et de commandite entre les athlètes et les équipes féminines et masculines; (b) les différences dans la publicité et dans les représentations médiatiques des athlètes et des équipes des deux genres; (c) la réémergence des tests de féminité pour les athlètes féminins; (d) les différences structurelles et en ce qui a trait aux règles qui persistent dans le sport en général et dans le programme olympique; ce dernier volet étant celui sur lequel ce rapport met l'accent.

Compte tenu des tonalités triomphantes de certains commentaires sur les jalons importants en termes d'égalité des genres franchis lors des Jeux Olympiques de Londres de 2012, le moment est approprié de faire un audit de ces jeux, précisément sur le thème de «que reste-t-il à accomplir en termes d'égalité des genres aux Jeux Olympiques?» L'accent est mis ici sur les éléments de base des sports Olympiques. Quelles différences reste-t-il dans les manières que les hommes et les femmes sont impliqués dans les compétitions Olympiques? Dans ce *Rapport de recherche*, nous analysons toutes les épreuves et tous les sports masculins et féminins lors des Jeux Olympiques de Londres dans le but d'identifier les différences de genre dans les structures et les règles des épreuves et des sports, et en termes d'opportunités pour les hommes et les femmes athlètes.

Cet audit sur le genre permet d'établir une comparaison entre 26 sports/36 «disciplines» et 302 épreuves au programme des Jeux Olympiques de Londres. Cette comparaison nous permet d'identifier les différences persistantes entre les hommes et les femmes dans le cadre des sports Olympiques d'été. Un tel exercice nous permet de voir où l'égalité a été atteinte, comme de prendre en considération et débattre des différences de genre qui demeurent, dans le but de déterminer si elles sont acceptables ou légitimes. Plus précisément, y a-t-il une raison sur laquelle il y a entente pour maintenir telle ou telle différence? Les données présentées ici permettent de vérifier si les différences persistantes sont les mêmes d'un sport par rapport à un autre et d'une épreuve à l'autre. Des

incohérences entre les sports et les épreuves peuvent mettre en lumière l'irrationalité ou l'illégitimité de certaines différences persistantes.

Les Jeux de Londres ont donné lieu à 136 épreuves féminines et à 166 épreuves masculines. Parmi celles-ci, 48 ont été «monoggenre», c'est-à-dire qu'il y avait soit des opportunités de médailles seulement pour les hommes et non les femmes ou l'inverse. Trente neuf épreuves n'étaient ouvertes qu'aux hommes (soit 23,5% des épreuves masculines) et neuf épreuves n'étaient ouvertes qu'aux femmes (soit 6,6% des épreuves féminines). Ensemble, ces épreuves exclusives formaient 15,9% du programme Olympique.

Un peu plus du tiers (35,8%) des épreuves inscrites au programme Olympique de Londres étaient les mêmes pour les hommes comme pour les femmes en termes, de nombre maximum des concurrents autorisés et de règles des compétitions. Ces événements constituaient 32,5% des épreuves masculines et 39,7% des épreuves féminines. Dans tout le programme Olympique, les concours équestres demeurent la seule discipline ouverte à la fois aux hommes et aux femmes.

Les 48,3% épreuves restantes aux Jeux Olympiques Londres 2012 – soit 44,0% des épreuves masculines et 53,7% des épreuves féminines – démontrent des différences entre hommes et femmes en termes de nombre maximum de concurrents autorisés et/ou, de règles et aspects structurels des compétitions. Afin de mieux comprendre la complexité des différences entre les épreuves masculines et féminines aux Jeux Olympiques de Londres en 2012, nous les avons divisées en cinq catégories: Moins de concurrentes féminines dans le sport/événement; les hommes parcourent des distances plus longues que les femmes à des événements comparables; des catégories de poids différentes pour les hommes et les femmes; des différences de hauteur, de poids, de taille et d'espacement des équipements ou des aires de compétition, et autres différences. La majorité des 146 sports Olympiques d'été apparaissent dans plus d'une catégorie de différence.

Un total de 10,903 athlètes ont concouru dans les 302 épreuves médaillées – 6,068 hommes et 4,835 femmes. Des 30 événements médaillés de plus pour les hommes (10% de toutes les épreuves médaillées), et d'un quota inférieur des concurrentes dans onze sports, en est résulté que 1,233 d'hommes de plus que de femmes ont participé aux Jeux de Londres.

Les données contenues dans ce *Rapport* montrent qu'il y a encore du chemin à parcourir pour parvenir à l'égalité entre les sexes et nos recommandations portent principalement sur les préoccupations essentielles suivantes: l'égalisation du nombre de remises de médailles pour les hommes et les femmes; l'établissement d'une équivalence dans le nombre de concurrentes et de concurrents. Par ailleurs, nous craignons que les tentatives actuelles de contrôler le "gigantisme" des Jeux Olympiques soient liées aux efforts visant à accroître l'égalité des sexes d'une manière qui oppose les hommes et les femmes les uns contre les autres, c'est-à-dire en réduisant le nombre d'épreuves masculines afin d'augmenter le nombre d'épreuves féminines. Il ne faut pas oublier que les athlètes masculins et féminins ne sont pas responsables du "gigantisme" ou de l'inégalité des sexes aux Jeux Olympiques, et ainsi ils ne devraient pas être ceux qui souffrent de la résolution d'un problème qui en crée un autre. Si l'égalité des sexes signifie qu'il faut augmenter la taille du programme Olympique, du moins temporairement, qu'il en soit ainsi.

Nos recommandations prioritaires sont les suivantes:

1. Égaliser le nombre d'événements/médailles à la disposition des hommes et des femmes;

2. Mettre en place des équivalences dans le nombre d'hommes et de femmes autorisés à participer aux Jeux Olympiques en général et dans certains sports/événements Olympiques.

Il n'est plus justifiable de maintenir un programme Olympique comprenant 30 événements de plus pour les hommes que pour les femmes. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'ajouter ou de mettre en place les mêmes événements (égaux/identiques) pour les femmes et les hommes, mais il est nécessaire d'ajouter des événements équitables (similaires) et de nouveaux événements pour atteindre le même nombre d'événements (occasions des médailles) pour les femmes et les hommes. Dans la foulée des célébrations entourant la participation des femmes dans tous les sports pour la première fois aux Jeux Olympiques à Londres en 2012, il est maintenant temps pour les sports de représenter plus équitablement à la fois les concurrents masculins et féminins. Nous appelons le CIO à réaliser l'égalité complète entre les sexes, telle que décrite dans les recommandations prioritaires et ce, à la première occasion. Étant donné qu'aucun des contrats ne sont encore signés pour les Jeux Olympiques de 2020, cette date devrait être l'objectif à atteindre pour parvenir à l'égalité des sexes.

Afin de résoudre les questions d'égalité qui restent, un processus pan-Olympique sera nécessaire, du même ordre que le processus qui a harmonisé les règles et procédures antidopage. Le CIO a récemment montré qu'il est capable d'exercer une puissante pression diplomatique face à l'intransigeance – dans le cas de Brunei, du Qatar et de l'Arabie Saoudite, plus spécifiquement leur réticence à inscrire des femmes dans leurs équipes Olympiques pour 2012. Peut-être que des efforts similaires sont nécessaires pour persuader les FI qui ne l'ont pas encore fait, d'atteindre l'égalité entre les sexes dans leur sport.

D'autres recommandations portent sur la structure et les règles des événements. Des groupes d'experts devraient être mis en place, comprenant des représentants des FI concernées, du CIO, de la médecine et des sciences du sport, et des athlètes et anciens athlètes dans le but de: a) prendre en compte les différences qui subsistent dans les distances des courses dans lesquelles les hommes et les femmes prennent part; b) réexaminer les catégories de poids; c) évaluer les règles établies pour déterminer la taille et le poids de l'équipement et autres différences liées genre, en ce qui a trait à la taille de l'équipement et des aires de compétition, d) examiner les différences qui subsistent dans les règles et la structure de la compétition dans les sports Olympiques, afin de déterminer si elles sont toujours pertinentes; et e) dans tous les cas, assurer la cohérence au sein de chaque sport et entre les sports.

Le CIO a constamment démontré sa capacité à rassembler des panels regroupant les personnes concernées dans le but de déterminer les meilleures pratiques et de le conseiller sur les questions de politique. Dans l'esprit de la réalisation de l'équité et de l'égalité des sexes, nous demandons instamment au CIO de traiter comme une question d'urgence, la mise sur pied de panels sur les questions d'inégalité identifiées ici, et d'exhorter les FI à procéder à des changements dans la foulée des recommandations de ces panels.

Ce *Rapport* de recherche applaudit le CIO pour ses réalisations envers l'égalité entre les sexes, en particulier au cours des 20 dernières années. Cependant, il y a encore du chemin à parcourir avant que l'égalité soit réalisée dans les aspects fondamentaux de la participation qui font l'objet du *Rapport*. Nos recommandations s'adressent principalement au CIO pour une raison très précise: nous reconnaissons que le CIO est l'organisation la plus responsable

pouvant prendre les devants dans la réalisation de l'égalité entre les sexes dans la participation. Le CIO contrôle l'accès aux Jeux Olympiques et, par ses actions des dernières années, a montré qu'il reconnaît que l'inégalité des sexes n'est plus acceptable aux Jeux Olympiques en cette deuxième décennie du 21^e siècle.

Enfin, ce *Rapport* se concentre sur les bases de l'égalité dans la participation et dans la compétition – plutôt que sur les grandes questions de financement et de parrainage, de publicité et de représentation dans les médias, le leadership et la question troublante de la vérification des sexes. Nous soutenons que ces autres préoccupations peuvent être plus faciles à résoudre une fois qu'il y aura une équité fondamentale en termes de participation et de compétition. Nous voyons ce *Rapport* comme un moyen d'entamer la discussion sur les raisons expliquant pourquoi les différences entre les sexes ont été introduites dans les sports dans le passé, quelles différences demeurent toujours, comment comparer ces différences dans tous les sports, pourquoi sont elles toujours en place, et comment elles peuvent être résolues. En outre, nous pensons qu'il est essentiel pour les athlètes et anciens athlètes de participer à ces discussions – ils sont les seuls experts qui comptent vraiment.

*The inclusion of women at the Olympic Games would be
"impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic, and incorrect."*
Pierre de Coubertin, 1912

*The London 2012 Olympics represent "a major boost for
gender equality."*
Jacques Rogge, 2012

At the Opening Ceremonies of the London 2012 Olympics, IOC President Jacques Rogge claimed that these Games represented "a major boost for gender equality." Three milestones were achieved in London: (a) the Games had a higher percentage of women athletes than any previous Summer Olympics; (b) there were women competitors in every sport; and (c) there were women competitors from every country participating in London.¹ Some media outlets, recognizing these milestones and reflecting on the striking performances by large numbers of women athletes, were asking if this was "the women's Olympics?" (e.g., CNN: edition.cnn.com/2012/08/10/sport/london-olympics-women/index.html).

These milestones were achieved following persistent lobbying by women's sports organizations, resulting in significant increases in the number of women's events and the number of opportunities for women athletes at Olympic Games. For example, the number of women's events increased from 98 in Barcelona 1992 to 136 in London 2012.² During that same period of time, the number of women athletes participating increased from 2,704 in Barcelona 1992 (28.9% of the participants) to 4,835 in London 2012 (44.3% of the participants – as noted, the highest proportion of women participants to date).³

The number of countries sending **no** women athletes to the Summer Olympics dropped from 35 in Barcelona 1992 to three in Beijing 2008 (Brunei, Qatar, Saudi Arabia) to zero in London 2012. This followed persistent campaigning by various organizations, especially *La Ligue du Droit International des Femmes* (LDIF; Justice pour les femmes, 2011), a period of negative publicity aimed at Saudi Arabia's refusal to include women on its London Olympic team, and serious lobbying of the Saudi Arabian National Olympic Committee (NOC) by the International Olympic Committee (IOC).⁴

As a result of these successes and trends there is a tendency to assume that equality in participation has been, or will shortly be achieved at the Olympic Games. Major women's sports organizations have largely shifted their lobbying emphasis from efforts to increase women's representation in the number of sports and athletes at major games to sports leadership – women's representation as coaches and on the national and international governing bodies of sport.⁵ The changed emphasis is evident in, for example: the *Sydney Scoreboard* launched as a legacy of the Sydney 2010 conference of the International Working Group on Women and Sport – this interactive map shows the current status of women's representation on the boards

of national sport organizations in each country, and on international sport organizations; and the 2012 *Los Angeles Declaration*.⁶ The focus on leadership is extremely important, and it is worth noting that the Olympic Games is now far more representative in terms of gender than the IOC, NOCs and the International (sports) Federations (IFs). Successful efforts to increase women's leadership may help to resolve some of the remaining and evidently persistent inequality issues in terms of women's sports and women athletes, as outlined in this *Report*.

THE STRUGGLE IS NOT OVER...

The *Los Angeles Declaration* (2012) justifiably celebrates the achievements that have been made in terms of women's representation in participation in recent years, noting that: "...the number of female participants in sport has grown exponentially. The number of sports on the Olympic programme will have full male/female parity for the first time at the Games of the XXX Olympiad in London" [with the addition of women's boxing events].

Despite these striking achievements, it would be a mistake to assume that equality in leadership is the main issue that remains to be resolved – although, as noted, increasing equality in leadership would certainly help to resolve some of the persistent issues of gender inequality. Four key additional and overlapping areas of inequality are evident: (a) differences in funding and sponsorship between male and female athletes/teams; (b) differences in publicity and media representation for male and female athletes/sports; (c) the re-emergence of sex testing for female athletes; and (d) the specific focus of this *Report*, gender-based structural and rule differences that still exist in sports at large, and on the Olympic programme.

(a) Funding and Sponsorship

It has been reported that, to travel from Japan to the London 2012 Olympics, the Japanese men's soccer team had seats in business class while the 2011 World Champion Japanese women's soccer team rode in the back of the plane. There are similar reports about the Australian men's and (more successful) women's basketball teams. If these reports are true they will come as no surprise to women athletes. They represent just more examples of the numerous petty, and more egregious humiliations that women athletes experience – even on comparable teams – from their usually male dominated National Sport Organizations/National Governing Bodies (NSOs/NGBs). The differences in treatment are a result of various factors such as differences in funding and sponsorship for men's and women's sports, cultural differences, and the kind of casual sexism that fails to take women's sports as seriously as men's sports.

However, when men and women athletes and women's and men's teams win Olympic medals, those medals count equally towards a nation's medal total and the prestige of the NSOs/NGBs.

(b) Publicity and Media Representation

The limited media coverage of women's sports and women athletes is widely recorded in the research literature. The most recent *International Sports Press Survey* (Nieland & Horky, 2011) reviewed 17,777 sports articles from 80 newspapers in 22 different countries. More than 90% of the writers were male, and over 85% of the content related to male sports. Other surveys consistently show that coverage of women athletes and women's sports on television rarely exceeds 5% of the broadcast time, although the amount of coverage is often more equitable during Olympic Games. The sexualization and trivialization of women's sports and women athletes in the media is also widely recorded in the research literature, and was both practiced by and commented on frequently in media at the London 2012 Olympics – particularly in regard to women's beach volleyball. An Olympic-related Editorial in the *Toronto Star* newspaper noted, in what is perhaps an unintentionally self-critical comment:

Women's sports continue to get less coverage, making it impossible for most female athletes to get the attention and sponsorship deals their male counterparts can swing. They must constantly fight attempts to drive up interest in women's sports the cheap way – by sexing it up. From table tennis (sic) to boxing there have been recent drives to put female athletes into short skirts to boost audiences (26 July, 2012).

(c) Sex Testing

Another humiliating feature of sports for women athletes, at least at the international level, is “fem-testing” – the procedures whereby women have to “prove” that they are women (by inevitably subjective criteria) in order to compete. Male athletes are never required to “prove” that they are men, and sex testing is purportedly to “protect” presumably weaker women athletes from ever having to compete against a presumably stronger male imposter who is competing as a woman. However, remarkable performances by women athletes are often accounted for by claims that “she must be doping” or “she must not really be a woman.” In the 1960s women competing in IAAF events, and at some major games were obliged to undertake naked inspection by a panel of physicians/gynecologists. No imposters were ever identified, but some women were excluded who did not “look” feminine enough to those judging them. Protests by athletes led to the “parades” being dropped. In 1967 and 1968 respectively, the IAAF and IOC introduced a chromosome test to ensure that women athletes have the requisite XX sex chromosome. Despite the fact that this test was widely discredited in the scientific community, it was not dropped until shortly before the Sydney 2000 Olympics.

The IOC began to deal with the issue of transgender athletes during the 2000s, and evidence that they were seeking an alternative form of sex testing emerged, without publicity, at the Beijing 2008 Olympics, where blood tests were taken from women athletes who had a “suspicious appearance.” When Mokgadi Caster Semenya, from

South Africa, won the women's 800m. gold medal in a very good time⁷ at the 2009 World Track and Field Championships, suspicions were aired. The humiliations of Ms. Semenya were widely recorded, until she was eventually declared to be "legally female" by the IAAF, and cleared to run at the London 2012 Olympics. However, all international women athletes were left with the legacy of a new "fem test" based on androgen levels. The test, which has no clear androgen threshold or range, and has been criticized widely in both scientific and medical ethics literatures, may be triggered by an outstanding performance, and by a sports official and/or disgruntled athlete who was beaten declaring that a woman athlete does not look "feminine" enough – although the standard for "looking feminine" again remains subjective.

Women's sports organizations are still determining how to respond to this latest humiliation, and organizations such as the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES, 2012) are developing critical positions on the new "fem test" (see also: Kidd, 2011).

(d) Structure and Rules

During the first few days of the London 2012 Olympics, there was controversy about whether Wojdan Ali Seraj Abdulrahim Shaherkani, a judoka from Saudi Arabia – which for the first time had sent women athletes (two) to the Games – would be permitted to compete wearing a hijab. Saudi Arabia insisted that she would not compete without wearing a hijab; the International Judo Federation (IJF) insisted that she remove her hijab, for safety reasons, in order to compete. [It is reported that, in 2011, the IJF had permitted women to compete wearing a hijab in competitions in Asia.] The IOC resolved the matter, with both sides agreeing to Ms. Shaherkani wearing a modified head cover. There were no reports to indicate what Ms. Shaherkani thought about the 'rules' or the ruling; and there were certainly no similar 'rules' to cover men's headwear.

On the second day of the London 2012 Olympics, the winner of the first Olympic medal for the UK, cycling road race silver medalist, Elizabeth Armistead, used the opportunity to criticize the "overwhelming sexism" in her sport. She focused on the low profile and lack of investment in women's cycling in comparison to men's in the UK (see (a) and (b) above); but she might also have noted that, under Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) rules, accepted by the IOC, only 66 women were permitted to compete in her event over a 140km. course, while the previous day 145 men competed over a 250km. road race course. [The far better funded and publicized UK male cyclists did not manage to win a medal in this event.] Armistead summarized the dilemma for women athletes: "The problem as a female athlete is that you don't want to come across as negative and moaning. It's difficult to change things in a positive way" (*Globe & Mail*, 30 July, 2012, p. 06).

This *Report* represents a small contribution to encourage change, in terms of women's participation and the structure of men's and women's events, in the hope

that women athletes will eventually not feel that they have to “come across as negative and moaning.”

A GENDER EQUALITY AUDIT

Given the triumphal tones of some of the commentary on the important gender equality landmarks achieved at the London 2012 Olympics, it seems an appropriate time – in the spirit of “what’s left to do to achieve gender equality at the Olympics?” – to carry out a gender equality audit of these Olympics. Our focus is on the basics of the Olympic sports: what differences remain between the ways that men and women athletes are involved in Olympic competitions? In this *Research Report*, we analyze all of the men’s and women’s events and sports at the London 2012 Olympics for the purpose of identifying gender differences in the structure and rules of the sports/events, and in the opportunities for men and women athletes.

The 26 Olympic sports were organized into 36 separate competitions (for example, the sport of *Cycling* has four competitions (referred to as *disciplines* in the Olympic Charter): for BMX bikes, mountain bikes, road races, and track races – see Appendix A for a complete list of sports and competitions). Those 36 competitions were, in turn, organized into 302 events for which medals were awarded (for example, there were ten *Boxing* events for men and three for women). There were 136 women’s events, and 166 men’s events at the London 2012 Olympics – in other words there were 30 more opportunities to win a gold medal for men than for women.⁸

Data were collected from the London 2012 Olympics website (<http://www.london2012.com/sports/>), the *Guardian*, “London 2012 Olympics data” (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/series/london-2012-olympics-data>), Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympic_sports) [and linked pages], and relevant International [sport] Federation websites.

First, we identify all sports/events where (a) there were medal opportunities for men and not for women, and those where there were medal opportunities for women and not for men (Table 1). *Second*, we consider all of the identical, similar and comparable sports and events that provided medal opportunities for both men and women, and: (b) identify those sports and events that were evidently identical (i.e., the parameters of competition and number of competitors permitted were exactly the same for women and men) (Table 2); and (c) identify those sports and events where there were gender differences (i.e., the parameters of competition, and/or the number of participation opportunities were different for men and women) (Table 3).

“Back to basics” – Context for the Report

This gender audit permits a comparison between the 26 sports/36 competitions and 302 events at the London 2012 Summer Olympics. It enables us to see what is the same and what is different between men's and women's events; to make comparisons between events and sports; to see where equality has been achieved; and to ask questions about sports/events where there are still differences between men's and women's competitions. Differences at the levels of men's and women's opportunities to participate and the ways in which they are able to participate (i.e., what their participation looks like and how it is experienced) may reveal important assumptions about gender and, specifically, about essential differences between women and men.

According to Messner (2009: 154), sport remains one of the few institutions in which a “separate but equal” approach is considered acceptable: “most advocates of gender equity in sports in the U.S. have explicitly argued for separate but equitable athletic funding, leagues, and facilities for girls and women”. However, this *Report* reveals that the pursuit of gender equality through a commitment to “separate but equal” is not currently being met at the Olympic Games. In fact, not only the numbers (of events and athletes) but the organization and structure of many events at the London 2012 Summer Olympics demonstrate this lack of equality. In this *Report*, the differences (and similarities) are highlighted in order to elicit discussion about what they mean, and what they can tell us about how both women and men athletes compete in a sports world dominated by men.

The purpose of this analysis is to identify, following an extended period of increasing equality in terms of the number of sports and the number of participants, all of the remaining differences between men's and women's sports at the London 2012 Olympics. Such an analysis will enable comparisons between Olympic sports, and consideration and debate about whether the remaining gender differences are acceptable or legitimate (to the athletes and others). Specifically, is there an agreed upon reason for maintaining the difference? The data will also enable debate about whether the remaining gender differences are consistent from sport to sport and event to event – for example, is it consistent for both women and men to run a marathon of over 40km., but to deny women the opportunity to compete in the 50km. race walk? Inconsistency across sports and events may highlight the irrationality or illegitimacy of some remaining differences.

The debate based on these data would be greatly assisted by the presence of a significantly higher proportion of women in leadership positions in sport; but their current absence should not prevent the debate from occurring, particularly among women and men sports leaders, athletes, and former athletes.

THE RESULTS

(a) Gender-exclusive events

Table 1 (pp. 37-38) shows that 39 events on the programme at the London 2012 Olympics were open only to men (39/166 men's events = 23.5% of men's events); and that nine events were open only to women (9/136 women's events = 6.6% of women's events). Together, these exclusive events constituted 15.9% of the Olympic programme (48/302 events). The 30 additional men only events (39-9; 10% of all Olympic events) accounted for the difference in the number of gold medals available to men at this Olympic Games.

In several cases, the difference was a result of quite different, but somewhat parallel events for men and women. For example, the decathlon and the heptathlon in *Athletics*; team sabre and team epee in *Fencing*; and two of the men's events in *Artistic Gymnastics*, the men's horizontal bar and parallel bars may be considered an approximate match to the women's balance beam and uneven bars. However, the women's match race [Elliott 6m.] in *Sailing* does not appear to compare easily to any one of the three men-only events (keelboat [Star], skiff [49er], and one-person dinghy/heavyweight [Finn]).

Two sports were women-only: *Rhythmic Gymnastics*, with individual all-round and group all-round events; and *Synchronized Swimming*, with duet and team events.

The remaining gender-exclusive events were men-only events with no matching women's event: the 50km. race walk in *Athletics*; seven weight categories in *Boxing*; six *Canoe/Kayak* events – two *Canoe Slalom* events, three *Canoe Sprint* events, and one *Kayak Sprint* event; two pieces of individual apparatus in *Artistic Gymnastics* – pommel horse and rings; two *Rowing* events – fours and lightweight fours, and the three *Sailing* events noted above; three *Shooting* events – 50m. rifle prone, 25m. rapid fire pistol, and double trap; one weight category in *Weightlifting* (+105kg.); three *Freestyle Wrestling* weight categories, and all seven *Greco-Roman Wrestling* weight categories.

(b) Gender-equal events

Table 2 (pp. 39-40) shows that 35.8% of the events on the London 2012 Olympic programme (108 of 302 events) were equal for men and women in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and the rules of competition. These events constituted 32.5% of men's events (54 of 166 events) and 39.7% of women's events (54 of 136 events).

The equal events for men and women in some cases comprise whole sports (the *Basketball* and *Field Hockey* tournaments, *Modern Pentathlon*, *Trampoline* and *Triathlon*), or all of the events in a sport: *Archery* individual and team; *Badminton* singles, doubles and mixed doubles; and *Table Tennis* singles and doubles.

Equestrian is the sole remaining ‘open’ sport,⁹ where women and men compete together in individual and team dressage, eventing, and show jumping. Although there may be NSO/NGB or NOC gender biases in team/athlete selection, and many other factors that may affect the numbers of men and women competitors in this sport, those are beyond the scope of this *Report*.¹⁰ We are concerned specifically with IF rules of competition (in this case, the FEI) and IOC regulations regarding the number of men and women athletes. In this case, both the FEI and the IOC stipulate ‘open’ competition.

Finally, there are sports in which some events were (relatively) gender-equal. These include: 14 events for men and women in *Athletics* (see Table 2); one *Kayak* (K1) *Slalom* event [22M, 21W] and one *Kayak* (K1, 200m.) *Sprint* event [20M, 29W] in *Canoe/Kayak*; two *Track Cycling* events (keirin [18M, 18W], and the individual sprint [18M, 18W]); two *Fencing* events (individual and team foil); two *Rowing* events (single sculls [33M, 28W] and eights [M: 8 boats; W: 7 boats]); 16 of the *Swimming* events (see Table 2); and the doubles and mixed doubles in *Tennis*.

(c) Events with gender differences

Table 3 (pp. 41-52) lists the comparable events open to both men and women where there were, however, differences between the men’s and women’s events in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and/or in the rules and structural aspects of competition. These events constituted 48.3% of the London 2012 Olympic programme (146 of 302 events). In turn, these events represented 44.0% of men’s events (73/166 events) and 53.7% of women’s events (73/136 events).

The complex set of differences outlined in the 73 men’s and 73 women’s events listed in Table 3 may be better understood when divided into categories of difference. These include: *(i)* events where there were fewer competitors in the women’s event than the men’s event; *(ii)* races in which women competed over a shorter distance than men; *(iii)* events that involved different weight categories for women and men; *(iv)* events where there were differences between men’s and women’s competition in terms of the height, weight, size and spacing of equipment, or the size of venue; and *(v)* an ‘other’ category to capture any other differences in rules or form of competition between the men’s and women’s events. Some events appear in more than one of the five categories because there are several areas of difference between the men’s and women’s events. [The majority of summer Olympic sports appear in more than one category of difference.]

Summary Results Table: Olympic events for men and women

	Men %	Women %	% Of all events
<i>Gender exclusive events</i>	23.5 (39/166)	6.6 (9/136)	15.9 (48/302)
<i>Gender equal events</i>	32.5 (54/166)	39.7 (54/136)	35.8 (108/302)
<i>Events with gender differences</i>	44.0 (73/166)	53.7 (73/136)	48.3 (146/302)

(i) Fewer women competitors in a sport/event:

Sports stipulate the maximum number of competitors per event, and the maximum number of athletes permitted from each country. These numbers are negotiated between the IOC and the IFs, with the IOC attempting to work towards gender equality in sports while attempting to maintain a maximum 10,000-11,000 competitors at the Summer Games, and IFs that are bound by both tradition (sometimes involving a reluctance to include more women's events) and a desire to include the maximum number of athletes possible in their sport.

The two main sports at the Summer Olympics, *Athletics* (IAAF) and *Swimming* (FINA) stipulated a maximum number of athletes (2,000 for *Athletics*; 950 for *Swimming* [900 pool; 50 marathon]) without designating gender. Rather, *Athletics* competition involved 24 events for men and 23 events for women (only the men's 50km. race walk had no women's equivalent; see Table 1). *Swimming* competition involved 17 events for men and 17 events for women. The NSOs/NGBs together with the NOC in each country select team members based on eligibility (e.g., achieving the Olympic qualifying standard). Various factors, ranging from injuries to national development programmes, can affect the number of men and women selected to the various events; and it is possible that gender biases could emerge in the selection process. Thus, while both men and women in *Athletics* exceeded the expected ideal of 1,000 participants each in London 2012, there were slightly more men than women (1,075 women; 1,167 men) than could be accounted for by the 63 men who started the extra men's event – the 50km. race walk. Similarly, although it may be expected that ideally there would be 475 men and 475 women in *Swimming*, there were more men than women (452 women; 496 men).

The following list indicates that 16 of the 34 competitions at the London 2012 Olympics that are open to both men and women (i.e., excluding the women-only *Rhythmic Gymnastics* and *Synchronized Swimming* competitions) had, by regulation, a different maximum number of men and women competitors. The regulations stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women in 15 of those

competitions; the one exception is *Fencing* which permitted a maximum of 105 men and 107 women competitors. Thus, 15 of the 34 competitions (44%) open to both men and women stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women competitors.

The sports/events where there was a difference in numbers of competitors are listed below in terms of 'the maximum number of competitors/maximum number per country' for men and for women:

Boxing: 250M, 36W / 1 athlete per weight category per country
[10M and 3W weight categories/events]

Canoe/Kayak Slalom: 61M, 21W / 1 boat per event per country
[3M and 1W events]

Canoe/Kayak Sprint: 158M, 58W / 1 boat per event per country
[maximum 18 competitors per event per country (12M, 6W)]
[8M and 4W events]

Cycling-BMX: 32M, 16W / 5 per country (3M, 2W)

Cycling-Mountain: 50M, 30W / 5 per country (3M, 2W)

Cycling-Road: 145M, 67W / 9 per country (5M, 4W)
[maximum of 2M, 2W per country for time trials]
[2M and 2W events]

Cycling-Track: 104M, 84W / 16 per country (9M, 7W)
[1 athlete/team per event per country]
[5M and 5W events]

Fencing: 105M, 107W / 16 per country (8M, 8W)
[individual and team foil – 3M, 3W per country]
[individual and team sabre – 3M, 2W (individual only)]
[individual and team épée – 2M (individual only), 3W]
[5M and 5W events]

Football (Soccer): 288M, 216W / 1 men's team, 1 women's team per country
[18 players per team; 16M teams, 12W teams]

Judo: 221M, 145W / 1 athlete per event per country
[7M and 7W weight categories/events]
[20 additional places were added in May 2012; final number of participants:
234M, 154W]

Rowing: 353M, 197W / 48 per country (28M, 20W)
[8M and 6W events]

Sailing: 237M, 143W / 1 boat per event per country
[2-person dinghy (470) – 54M (27 boats); 40W (20 boats)]
[6M and 4W events]

Shooting: 223M, 143W / 28 per country (18M, 10W)
[2 athletes per country per event except trap (W) and skeet (W) – 1
athlete per country]
[9M and 6W events]
[24 additional places were added for 2012; final number of participants:
231M, 159W]

Water Polo: 156M, 104W / 1 men's team, 1 women's team per country
[13 players per team; 12M teams, 8W teams]

Weightlifting: 156M, 104W / 10 per country (6M, 4W)
[2 athletes per country per event]
[8M and 7W weight categories/events]

Wrestling: 266M (includes M-only Greco-Roman), 72W / 1 athlete per event
[14M and 4W weight categories/events (M includes Freestyle and Greco-
Roman; W is Freestyle only)]

(ii) Men race further than women in comparable events

In the following list, where the men's race was longer than the women's race, the men's distance is listed first.

Athletics: Hurdles – 110m. vs. 100m.

Canoe/Kayak: Sprint (K1, K2, K4) – 1,000m. vs. 500m.

Cycling-BMX: 450m. vs. 440m.
[slightly different, more challenging course for men; see (v)]

Cycling-Mountain: 7 laps vs. 6 laps [of same course]

Cycling-Road:
Road race – 250km. vs. 140km.
Time trial – 44km. vs. 29km.

Cycling-Track:

Team pursuit – 16 laps vs. 12 laps

Omnium – 4 of the 6 components: points race – 30km. vs. 20km.;

individual pursuit – 4,000m. vs. 3,000m.; scratch race – 16km. vs. 10km.;

time trial – 1,000m. vs. 500m.

Swimming: Freestyle – 1,500m. vs. 800m.

(iii) Different weight categories for men and women:

In this section, all weight categories are listed to demonstrate the range of weights.

Those underlined have already been included in Table 1, *Gender-exclusive events*.

The total range, from lightest to heaviest, is also noted for men and women.

Boxing:

(M) 49kg., 52kg., 56kg., 60kg., 64kg., 69kg., 75kg., 81kg., 91kg., +91kg.;

-range = +42kg.

(W) 51kg., 60kg., 75kg.

-range = 24kg.

Judo:

(M) 60kg., 66kg., 73kg., 81kg., 90kg., 100kg., +100kg.

-range = +40kg.

(W) 48kg., 52kg., 57kg., 63kg., 70kg., 78kg., +78kg.

-range = +30kg.

Rowing: Lightweight double sculls

(M) maximum weight per rower 72.5kg.; average weight 70kg.

(W) maximum weight per rower 59kg.; average weight 57kg.

Tae Kwon Do:

(M) 58kg.; 58-68kg.; 68-80kg.; +80kg.

-range = +21kg.

(W) 49kg.; 49-57kg.; 57-67kg.; +67kg.

-range = +18kg.

Weightlifting:

(M) 56kg.; 62kg.; 69kg.; 77kg.; 85kg.; 94kg.; 105kg.; +105kg.

-range = +49kg.

(W) 48kg.; 53kg.; 58kg.; 63kg.; 69kg.; 75kg.; +75kg.;

-range = +27kg.

Wrestling-Freestyle:

(M) 55kg.; 60kg.; 66kg.; 74kg.; 84kg.; 96kg.; 120kg.

-range = +65kg.

(W) 48kg.; 55kg.; 63kg.; 72kg.

-range = +24kg.

(iv) Differences in height, weight, size and spacing of equipment or venue:

This section is comprised of events where there were stipulated and measurable differences between the equipment or venues used by men and women competitors.

Athletics:

-100m. hurdles (W) – hurdle height 83.8cm.; distance to first hurdle 13m.; distance between hurdles 8.5m.

-110m. hurdles (M) – hurdle height 1.067m.; distance to first hurdle 13.72m.; distance between hurdles 9.14m.

-400m. hurdles – hurdle height (M) 91.4cm.; hurdle height (W) 76.2cm.

-3,000m. steeplechase – barrier height (M) 91.4 cm.; barrier height (W) 76.2cm.

-Shot put – shot weight (M) 7.26kg.; shot weight (W) 4kg.

-Discus (M) – discus weight 2kg.; discus diameter 219-221mm.

-Discus (W) – discus weight 1kg.; discus diameter 180-182mm.

-Javelin (M) – javelin weight 800g.; javelin length 2.6-2.7m.

-Javelin (W) – javelin weight 600g.; javelin length 2.2-2.3m.

-Hammer (M) – hammer weight 7.26kg.; hammer length 121.5cm.

-Hammer (W) – hammer weight 4kg.; hammer length 119.5cm.

-Triple jump (M) – not less than 13m. between take off line and landing area

-Triple jump (W) – not less than 11m. between take off line and landing area

Beach Volleyball: net height (M) 2.43m.; net height (W) 2.24m.

Gymnastics-Artistic:

-Vault – height of vault table: (M) 1.35m.; height of vault table (W) 1.25m.

Handball: size of ball (M) 58-60cm.; size of ball (W) 54-56cm.

Sailing:

- 1 person dinghy (M) – Laser (7.06m² mainsail area)
- 1 person dinghy (W) – Laser radial (5.76m² mainsail area)

- Windsurfer (RS-X) (M) – mast height 5.2m.; mainsail area 9.5m²
- Windsurfer (RS-X) (W) – mast height 4.8m.; mainsail area 8.5m²

Shooting:

- 50m. rifle/3 positions – rifle weight (M) 8kg.; (W) 6.5kg.

-Pistol (M) – pistol weight no restriction; barrel maximum length no restriction; sight radius maximum length no restriction

-Pistol (W) – pistol weight no greater than 1400gms.; barrel maximum length 153mm.; sight radius maximum length 220mm.

Water Polo:

(M) pool length 30m.; size of ball 68-71cm.; ball pressure 90-97kiloPascals

(W) pool length 25m.; size of ball 65-67cm.; ball pressure 83-90kiloPascals

(v) Other differences:

This section is comprised of events where there were stipulated rule and structural differences concerning the form of competition for men and women competitors.

Boxing:

- number and length of rounds (M) – 3 x 3minute rounds
- number and length of rounds (W) – 4 x 2minute rounds
- structure of tournament (M) – rounds of 32, 16, Quarter, Semi, Final
- structure of tournament (W) – rounds of 16, Quarter, Semi, Final

Cycling-BMX:

- layout of track (M) – 8m. high start ramp, berm jump, S-bend transfer, box jump, and rhythm section in the final straight
- layout of track (W) – 8m. high start ramp, 3 jumps in the opening straight and a tunnel before a rhythm section in the final straight
- structure of event (M) – 4 rounds (seeding phase, quarter finals [3+2 runs], semi finals [3 runs], final (1 run))
- structure of event (W) – 3 rounds (seeding phase, semi finals [3 runs], final (1 run))

Cycling-Track:

- Team sprint (M) – teams of 3; (W) – teams of 2
- Team pursuit (M) – teams of 4; (W) – teams of 3

Diving (3m. springboard and 10m. platform):

- number of dives per round (M) – 6 dives per round
- number of dives per round (W) – 5 dives per round

Football (Soccer):

- age restriction (M) – U23 + 3 older players
- age restriction (W) – no age restriction

Gymnastics-Artistic (floor exercise):

- length of exercise (M) – up to 70 seconds
- length of exercise (W) – up to 90 seconds
- content (M) – no musical accompaniment; a series of linked elements that demonstrate strength, flexibility and balance
- content (W) – accompanied by music; a mixture of dance as well as displays of strength, flexibility and artistic quality

Judo:

- structure of tournament (M) – rounds of 64, 32, 16, Quarter, Semi, Final
- structure of tournament (W) – rounds of 32, 16, Quarter, Semi, Final

Rowing (pair, double sculls, quadruple sculls):

- structure of event (M) – heats, repechage, Semi Final, Final
- structure of event (W) – heats, repechage, Final

Shooting:

- Trap – (M) 125 shots (5 series of 25 shots); (W) 75 shots (3 series of 25 shots)
- Skeet – (M) 125 shots (5 series of 25 shots); (W) 75 shots (3 series of 25 shots)
- 10m. air rifle – (M) 60 shots/105 minutes; (W) 40 shots/75 minutes
- 50m. rifle/3 positions –
(M) 120 shots (3 rounds x 40 shots); 3 hours (45 minutes prone, 75 minutes standing, 60 minutes kneeling)
(W) 60 shots (3 rounds x 20 shots); 2 hours 15 minutes
- 10m. air pistol – (M) 60 shots/105 minutes; (W) 40 shots/75 minutes
- Pistol –
(M) distance to target 50m.; 120 minutes; 60 shots
(W) distance to target 25m.; 30+30 shots (30 in 'precision stage' + 30 in 'rapid fire' stage)

Tennis: matches in all 5 events are best of 3 sets, except the Men's singles final which is best of 5 sets

Wrestling-Freestyle: all double Nelsons in the “par terre” or standing position are prohibited in Women’s competition

A Note on Uniforms and Appearance

Missing from this section on ‘other’ rule and structural differences is any mention of rules governing gender differences in uniforms and religious wear. This area of rules has been in considerable flux in recent years, with a number of rulings being made shortly before or even during the London 2012 Olympics. And the subject attracts far more public and media attention than the more basic differences in how competition occurs that are outlined here.

Various struggles are evident, mainly in terms of: (a) the increasing sexualization of women’s sports (cf., Sparre, 2011) countered by demands that athletes be able to wear the most appropriate uniform for competition; and (b) a related struggle by some women athletes (often Muslim) to wear more modest uniforms than is the norm for the sport.

(a) Increasing sexualization of women’s sports

The trend towards sexualized uniforms began seriously in 1999 when the international volleyball federation (FIVB) stipulated that players wear swimsuits for competitions, and further restricted the size of the women’s swimsuits. Those regulations were relaxed early in 2012 following both an extended period of protest from some women athletes, and FIVB realization that women from a number of countries were not participating in the sport precisely because of the requirement for revealing uniforms.

Other sports have made similar gestures following the (media) success of women’s beach volleyball. Sepp Blatter, President of the international soccer federation (FIFA), was widely ridiculed for proposing in 2004 that the women’s game would be more popular if players wore “tighter shorts.” And in 2011, both the international badminton federation (BWF) and the international boxing federation (AIBA) ruled that women competitors must wear short skirts. Both federations met with a great deal of resistance, and both reversed their positions to make the change optional.

(b) Demands for the right to wear modest uniforms

At the other extreme from sexualized uniforms is a growing demand to wear more modest uniforms that cover the arms and legs, and which, for some women athletes, involves wearing a hijab. International sports federations have struggled with these demands, and sportswear manufacturers have begun to design lightweight, sport-specific clothing that covers arms and legs, and sport-safe hijabs.

The international track and field federation (IAAF) adapted more quickly than some other Olympic sports, and there were a number of hijab wearing track and field athletes at London 2012. Rowing (FISA) has also adapted, and FIFA, which had banned hijabs for a number of years, reversed the ban in June 2012 following a

period of study (for safety) and after accepting the design of a soccer-specific hijab. Finally, the judo (IJF) case noted previously ended with Ms. Shaherkani being permitted to compete at London 2012 wearing a modified hijab.

It is possible that, following these struggles, women athletes will increasingly have more say in terms of the uniform requirements for their sports. Perhaps those struggles will provide a lever for continuing to negotiate some of the other gender differences in sports noted in this *Report*.

A Note on Judged Sports

Also of note, but not within the scope of this *Report*, is the judged and therefore more subjective assessment of the remaining women-only sports at the Summer Olympics: *Gymnastics-Rhythmic* and *Synchronized Swimming*. An important element of judging in both of these sports is the athletes' appearance (e.g., grooming, attire, makeup) and presentation of self (e.g., smiles, gracefulness). This includes strict regulations about uniforms. For example, FIG requires that competitors in *Gymnastics-Rhythmic* wear "skin tight gymnastic leotards." "The leotard must be skin tight to enable the judges to evaluate the correct position of every part of the body" (FIG 2008).

Further, these sports contain an artistic element that is integral to the judging. According to the FIG (2008): "The main objective of the artistic component of the RG exercise is to project an emotional message to the spectators and to display the choreographic idea with an expressive interpretation guided by the following three aspects: music accompaniment, artistic image and expressivity." There are no men-only sports with an equivalent emphasis on the artistic or aesthetic merit of the athletes' performance. In fact, even in *Gymnastics-Artistic*, where both men and women compete in Floor Exercise, women are judged on a routine that is accompanied by music and is a mixture of dance as well as displays of strength, flexibility and artistic quality. Men compete with no musical accompaniment, and are expected to perform a series of connected elements that demonstrate strength, flexibility and balance.

In addition to the differences detailed in this *Report*, attention should be paid to all remaining gender differences on the Olympic programme, including uniforms and the significant differences between the included women-only and men-only sports.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data presented in this *Report* indicate that, while there has clearly and importantly been an extended period of increasing gender equality at the summer Olympic Games, to the point where women now comprise over 44% of the participants and are represented in all of the sports, there are still substantial differences in terms of opportunities to participate, and in terms of the structural characteristics of the competition.

The data indicate that only a little more than one-third (36.4%) of the events at the London 2012 Olympics could be considered as equal for men and women. Some 15.9% of all the events are still gender exclusive, with over 80% of those being men-only events. And almost half of the events in London (47.7%) had gender differences in terms of the permitted number of participants and/or the structure and/or rules of the events. As a result, there were 1,233 more men than women competing in London (despite the existence of two women-only sports: *Gymnastics-Rhythmic* and *Synchronized Swimming*), and there were 30 more medal events for men than for women (10% of all medal events).

Those differences have narrowed considerably in recent years, particularly in *Athletics* and in *Swimming*. The remaining gender difference in the *Swimming* pool – an 800m. event for women only and a 1500m. event for men only – seems a little anachronistic given the introduction of the open water 10km. marathon for both men and women. Similarly, in *Athletics*, a 50km. race walk for men only, when both men and women run more than 40km. in the marathon, seems difficult to justify.

The celebrations of increasing gender equality at the London 2012 Olympics clearly indicate that this is an ongoing priority for the IOC. The data in this *Report* show that there is still some way to go, and the following recommendations deal primarily with the main concerns – equalizing the number of medal events for men and women, and establishing near equivalence in the number of women and men competitors. However, we are concerned that attempts to control Olympic ‘gigantism’¹¹ are being linked to increasing gender equality in a way that pits men and women against each other in a manner reminiscent of U.S. universities and Title IX enforcement.

It is a mistake to link the work of the IOC's Olympic Programme Commission (responsible for determining eligible sports and the number of athletes) with increasing gender equality (the work of the IOC's Women and Sport Commission). Although men's events have already been cut in order to add new women's events (e.g., Boxing dropped one men's weight category in order to add three women's weight categories), and women's positions have been cut in order to manage the total number of athletes (e.g., women's positions were reduced from three to two per country in Cycling-Mountain at the London 2012 Olympics, while men still maintained three riders per country), it should be remembered that men and women athletes are not the one's responsible for 'gigantism' or for gender inequality at the Olympics, and should not be the ones to suffer through resolving one problem by creating another. If achieving gender equality means increasing the size of the Olympic Programme, at least temporarily, so be it.¹²

Following the two main recommendations, we offer some additional recommendations regarding the structure and rules of events.

Priority Recommendations

1. Equalize the number of events/medals available to men and women.

As noted, it is no longer justifiable to maintain an Olympic Programme where there are 30 more events for men than for women. Some attention has already been paid to this by the IOC and two IFs: it is reported that the AIBA is promising more weight categories/events for women boxers at the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, and the ICF is discussing adding a *Canoe* event for women at the 2016 Games.¹³

With regard to the gender exclusive events, it is necessary to consider and discuss the remaining differences between men's and women's sports and events on the Olympic Programme. For example, the IAAF approved scoring tables for women's decathlon in 2001; should the Olympic *Athletics* Programme include women's decathlon?; and men's heptathlon? Since there are already international competitions in men's *Rhythmic Gymnastics* and men's *Synchronized Swimming*, might they be included in a future Olympic Programme? And why is it difficult for sports such as *Canoe/Kayak*, *Sailing* and *Shooting* to establish equivalent events?

However, full equivalence may not be the only solution to resolving this inequality. Rather than adding, for example, seven Greco-Roman *Wrestling* events for women, this might be resolved by adding more relevant, competitive women-only events. Teetzel (2009) argues that, "treating male and female athletes differently is not inherently unfair, discriminatory, or morally unacceptable if justifiable reasons prescribe doing so" (p. 202). Thus, it is not necessary to add or establish the same (equal/identical) events for women and men; however, it is necessary to add

equitable (similar) events and achieve the same number of events (opportunities for medals) for women and men at the Olympics.

2. Establish near equivalence in the number of men and women who are permitted to compete at the Olympic Games, and in specific Olympic sports/events.

Over 1,200 more men than women competed in London, and some 44% of the competitions (15/34) open to both women and men at the London 2012 Olympics stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women competitors. In some cases, that difference is proportional to the number of events open to men and women: for example, *Canoe/Kayak Slalom*, with three men's events and one women's event, has a proportional maximum number of competitors (61M, 21W). In other cases the difference is not proportional: for example, *Boxing*, with 10 men's events and three women's events, stipulated a maximum of 250M and 36W competitors. *Cycling*, which has made a major move towards equality by, for the first time, having the same number of men's and women's events in *Track*, stipulates a significantly higher number of men than women competitors in all four of the *Cycling* competitions (*BMX, Mountain, Road* and *Track*). In team sports, while *Basketball, (Field) Hockey, Handball, and Volleyball* all involve the same number of men's and women's teams in the tournaments, with the same number of players per team, *Football (Soccer)* and *Water Polo* both hold tournaments with more men's teams than women's teams. Following the celebration and self-congratulation associated with women's involvement in all sports for the first time at the London 2012 Olympics, it is now time for those sports to more equitably represent men and women competitors.

Achieving the priority recommendations:

As Hans Bruyninckx (2011) recently noted: "The world of sports has traditionally operated under exceptionally large autonomy. Sports events, games and competitions take place in a sort of separate sphere detached from normal rules and regulations in society." That autonomy includes exemption from national and international gender equality laws, regulations and charters; but such autonomy also carries special responsibilities. As Nancy Hogshead-Makar (2011) pointed out with regard to interuniversity sport in the U.S.: "Athletics is the only formally sex-segregated department in education. As such, it sends important messages to the entire institution about how it will treat men and women."

The IOC clearly recognizes its responsibility to work toward achieving equality in segregated sport, and steady progress has been made in the 19 years since the 1994 Paris Olympic Congress. It is evident that the IOC must continue to take the lead, and *we call upon the IOC to realize full gender equality, as outlined in these priority recommendations, by the earliest opportunity.* Since no contracts are yet in place for the 2020 Olympics, 2020 should be the goal for achieving full gender equality.

As a step toward the 2020 target, *we call upon the IOC, the IFs, and the Rio Olympic Organizing Committee (ROCOG) to realize as many steps toward gender equality as feasible in time for the Rio 2016 Olympics.*

Given the semi-autonomy of the IFs with regard to Olympic sport, and their relationships with the IOC, we recognize that the steps taken to achieve gender equality (by adding women's events and increasing the number of women participants) will be extremely sensitive. And these steps will not be helped by the significant underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in the IOC and many of the IFs. For example, the IFs may re-introduce the rather tired argument that the maximum number of women competitors in a sport is proportional to the numbers of participants. On the one hand, this argument founders on the disturbing lack of accurate data on sport participation (cf., Donnelly et al., 2011). On the other hand, the argument may be seen as the "chicken and egg" question of, "which came first?" It is entirely possible that, if there are fewer women participants in a sport, it is precisely because there are few, or no, Olympic opportunities for women in that sport – national governments and sport development systems are likely to place less emphasis on women participants in sports where there are fewer opportunities for women. Conversely, it is entirely likely that creating equal opportunities for men and women will help to increase the number of women participants in a sport.

In order to resolve these remaining questions of equality, a pan-Olympic movement process will be necessary, on the same order as the process that harmonized anti-doping rules and procedures. The IOC recently showed that it is capable of exerting powerful diplomatic pressure in the face of intransigence – in the case of Brunei, Qatar, and particularly Saudi Arabia's reluctance to include women on their 2012 Olympics teams. Perhaps similar endeavours are necessary to persuade the remaining IFs to establish gender equality in their sports.

The *Olympic Charter* lends support and legitimacy to such endeavours by the IOC. Given that one element of the *Mission and Role of the IOC* is "to encourage and support the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures, with a view to implementing the principle of equality of men and women" (Article 2.7), the *Charter* goes on to state that, in order to be recognized, "The statutes, practices and activities of the IFs within the Olympic Movement must be in conformity with the Olympic Charter" (Article 25). In addition, one "mission and role of the IFs within the Olympic Movement [is] to contribute to the achievement of the goals set out in the Olympic Charter..." (Article 26.1.3).

Olympic IFs must also submit their "criteria for eligibility" to compete in the Olympic Games "to the IOC for approval" (i.e., to ensure that the criteria are "in conformity with the Olympic Charter")(Article 26.1.5). The IOC also determines the number of sports, competitions (disciplines) and events that will be included in each Olympics (i.e., which men's and women's events will be included) (Article 45), and the maximum number of participants for each sport (Article 44). Perhaps most significant in terms of taking action towards increasing gender equality for 2016 is

the fact that, “[T]he number of entries for each sport is established by the IOC Executive Board following consultation with the relevant IFs **three years before the Olympic Games concerned**” (Article 44, By-law 10, emphasis added). According to this, there is still time to negotiate an increase in the number of women participants for the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics.

However, as noted, equality should not be achieved through pitting men and women athletes against each other by cutting men’s events and positions. Athletes did not cause the problem of ‘gigantism’, and should not be victimized in order to achieve gender equality.

Recommendations Regarding the Structure and Rules of Events

3. Establish expert panels, including representatives of the relevant IFs, the IOC, sport medicine and sport science communities, and athletes and former athletes from the sports, to consider the remaining differences in distance over which men and women compete in races; and the [in]consistency within and between sports.

Note has already been made of the remaining anachronisms in *Athletics* and *Swimming*. It is possible that ‘tradition’ is enough reason to retain the 100m. hurdles for women and the 110m. hurdles for men in *Athletics*. However, there is a need to consider and discuss this issue in the few remaining sports that maintain differences in the length of races. This is in order to establish consistency between sports and events, and to resolve what appear to be paternalistic contradictions and older discredited assumptions about the strength, capacity and stamina of women. For example, in *Canoe/Kayak Sprint* (K1, K2 and K4) men race 1,000m. while women race 500m. Meanwhile in *Rowing*, since 1988, both men and women race over a 2,000m. course; and women and men sprint and race comparable distances in most events in *Athletics* and *Swimming*. Perhaps the ICF could discuss with athletes whether to, and how to, resolve this inequality. *Cycling* maintains the most inequalities of race distance – they are evident in all four of the *Cycling* competitions, and the ICU needs to give serious consideration to this remaining aspect of gender inequality.

4. Establish expert panels, including representatives of the relevant IFs, the IOC, sport medicine and sport science communities (especially experts in anthropometry), and athletes and former athletes from the sports, to consider weight categories, the remaining differences in and between sports employing weight categories, and the [in]consistency between sports.

Judo and *Tae Kwon Do* tournaments involve an equal number of weight categories for men and women (7 and 7; 4 and 4 respectively), with different weight ranges for men and women; *Weightlifting* stipulates eight weight categories for men and seven for women, again with different weight ranges; *Wrestling* (7M and 4W) and *Boxing*

(10M and 3W) have the fewest weight categories for women competitors. In the four combat sports and weightlifting the weight range is less for women than men, with *Tae Kwon Do* having the smallest difference between the men's and women's ranges (3kg.). The main equality concerns are: (1) why are the East Asian martial arts able to stipulate an equal number of weight categories for men and women, while *Wrestling* and *Boxing* do not?; (2) do the weight ranges, for men and women, reflect the full extent of the anthropometric range of fit body sizes, or are they based on some more limited assumptions about men's and women's bodies?; (3) to what extent are athletes involved in determining appropriate weight categories/ranges for their sports?; and (4) do weight categories and weight control strategies lead to health compromising behaviours by men and women athletes and, if so, how might this problem be resolved? ¹⁴

5. *Establish expert panels, including representatives of the relevant IFs, the IOC, the sport science community (especially experts in anthropometry), and athletes and former athletes from the sports, to consider the rules established to determine the height and weight of equipment, and other remaining gender based characteristics relating to the size of equipment and playing areas; and the [in]consistency between sports.*

This recommendation concerns a set of rules which stipulates lower (e.g., nets, hurdles), smaller (e.g., balls), and lighter (e.g., shot, discus) equipment for women than for men. As with weight categories, these rules appear to be inconsistent between sports, and it is again not clear whether these rules reflect anthropometric realities or stereotypical assumptions, and whether athletes were involved in determining the appropriate size for equipment in the event. Thus, for example, *Beach Volleyball* and *Volleyball* require a lower net for women's competition while *Badminton*, *Basketball*, and *Tennis* do not. Presumably, height is a potential advantage in all of these sports and yet the equipment height requirements for women and men are different in some sports and the same in others. *Handball* and *Water Polo* use a smaller ball in women's competitions, while *Basketball* and *Volleyball* do not. These rules appear to reflect an inconsistent set of assumptions about women's size and strength and, while some of the rules about the height, weight and size of equipment may be perfectly acceptable to both men and women competitors, it would be appropriate to engage in discussions that may, in some cases, lead to more similarity between men's and women's events while in others it may lead to consensus over rule changes that could, for example, lower the basket height for women's *Basketball*. The different pool length for men and women in *Water Polo* (25m. for women versus 30m. for men) appears to be a result of similar assumptions to those concerning race distances (see Recommendation 3, above), and should also be re-considered.¹⁵

6. *Establish expert panels, including representatives of the relevant IFs, the IOC, and athletes and former athletes from the sports, to consider the remaining differences in rules and structure of competition between men's and women's Olympic sports in*

order to determine whether they are still relevant, and to establish consistency between sports.

The “other differences” outlined in the Results often involve different procedures for competition, ranging from what constitutes a “round” in *Boxing* and *Diving* to the number of shots fired and the time in which to fire them in *Shooting*. While the age restriction in men’s *Football (Soccer)* may be understandable (given the high level of professionalization in men’s soccer), making **only** the men’s final in *Tennis* the best of five sets is less so. *Cycling* again has a number of gender differences, from a more difficult course for men in *BMX* to permitting fewer women riders on the teams in *Track* team events (team sprint and team pursuit). Some of the differences – especially in the sequence of competition (number of heats/rounds to reach the Final) – are a result of permitting fewer women than men competitors, and are easily resolved by having an equal number of men and women competitors. Again, these rules also need to be re-considered in terms of consistency between sports, and participants need to be consulted to determine their position on gender differences in rules.

Achieving the recommended outcomes:

The IOC has continually demonstrated its capacity to bring panels of relevant persons together to determine best practices and to advise on policy matters. In the spirit of achieving fairness and gender equality, we urge the IOC to proceed as a matter of urgency to strike panels in the four areas of inequality identified here, and to urge the IFs to make changes based on the panels’ recommendations.

Conclusion

In this *Research Report*, a Gender Audit of the London 2012 Olympics, we applaud the IOC for its achievements toward gender equality, particularly in the last 20 years. However, the Audit reveals that there is still some distance to go before equality is realized in the basic aspects of participation that are the subject of the *Report*.

The recommendations of this *Report* are directed primarily to the IOC for a very specific reason. We recognize that the sports identified in this *Report* that have not achieved gender equality are primarily the responsibility of the relevant IFs. However, just as the delegates of Play the Game 2011 identified the IOC as the most responsible body to develop a Global Code for Governance in Sport (the *Cologne Consensus*) in an attempt to resolve the serious problems of mismanagement and corruption that are evident in many sports, we recognize that the IOC is the most responsible body to take the lead in achieving gender equality in participation. The IOC controls access to the Olympic Games and, by its recent actions, has shown that it recognizes gender inequality is no longer acceptable in the Olympic Games in the second decade of the 21st century. As Teetzel (2009) highlights, “Rules that require

women's and men's events to be different, but not comparable or equitable, are... at odds with the Olympic values and require revision or elimination" (p. 215).

Finally, this *Report* has focused on the basics of equality in participation and competition – rather than on broader issues of funding and sponsorship, publicity and media representation, leadership, and the troubling issue of gender verification. We argue that those other concerns may be easier to resolve once there is a basic fairness in terms of participation and competition. We see this *Report* as a way to start the discussion of why gender differences were introduced in sports in the first place (with *Sailing* and *Shooting* not introducing different competitions for men and women until the 1980s/1990s), what differences remain, how those differences compare across sports, why they remain, and how they may be resolved. In addition, we argue that it is crucial for athletes and former athletes to be involved in these discussions – they are the only *experts* who really matter.

Table 1. Men Only and Women Only Sports Events

Sport	Men Only Event	Women Only Event	Comments
Athletics	50km race walk Decathlon <i>100m</i> , long jump, shot put, high jump, <i>400m</i> , 110m hurdles, <i>discus</i> , <i>pole vault</i> , javelin, <i>1500m*</i>	———— Heptathlon 100m hurdles, high jump, shot put, <i>200m</i> , long jump, javelin, <i>800m*</i>	See Tables 2 and 3 for additional Athletics events. •There are 24 Athletics events for men, and 23 Athletics events for women. *Events in <i>italics</i> are gender exclusive •Shot put, javelin, and hurdles have the same gendered differences as the independent events. (See Table 3)
Boxing	49kg 56kg 64kg 69kg 81kg 91kg +91kg	———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	See Table 3 for additional Boxing events. •There are 10 weight categories for men, and 3 weight categories for women.
Canoe/Kayak Slalom	Canoe single Canoe double	———— ————	See Table 2 for additional Canoe/Kayak Slalom events and Table 3 for the athlete quota for Canoe/Kayak Slalom. •There are 3 Canoe/Kayak Slalom events for men, and 1 Canoe/Kayak Slalom event for women. •There are no Canoe Slalom events for women.
Canoe/Kayak Sprint	<u>Canoe</u> C1, 200m C1, 1000m C2, 1000m <u>Kayak</u> K2, 200m	———— ———— ———— ————	See Tables 2 and 3 for additional Canoe/Kayak Sprint events. •There are 8 Canoe/Kayak Sprint events for men, and 4 Canoe/Kayak Sprint events for women. •There are no Canoe Sprint events for women.
Fencing	Team sabre	Team epee	See Tables 2 and 3 for additional Fencing events.
Gymnastics/ Artistic	Horizontal bar Parallel bars Pommel horse Rings	Balance beam Uneven bars ———— ————	See Table 3 for additional Gymnastics/ Artistic events. •There are 8 Gymnastics/Artistic events for men, and 6 Gymnastics/Artistic events for women.

Gymnastics/ Rhythmic	———— ————		Individual All-Round Group All-Round	Apparatus = ropes, clubs, hoop, ball, ribbon
Rowing	Four Light weight four		———— ————	See Tables 2 and 3 for additional Rowing events. •There are 8 Rowing events for men, and 6 Rowing events for women.
Sailing	Keelboat [Star] Skiff [49er] 1 person dinghy – heavyweight [Finn]		Match race [Eliott 6m] ———— ————	See Table 3 for additional Sailing events. •There are 6 Sailing events for men, and 4 Sailing events for women.
Shooting	50m rifle prone 25m rapid fire pistol double trap		———— ———— ————	See Table 3 for additional Shooting events. •There are 9 Shooting events for men, and 6 Shooting events for women.
Synchronized Swimming	———— ————		Duet Team	
Weightlifting	+105kg		————	See Table 3 for additional Weightlifting events. •There are 8 weight categories for men, and 7 weight categories for women.
Wrestling/ Freestyle	84kg 96kg 120kg		———— ———— ————	See Table 3 for additional Wrestling events. •There are 7 weight categories for men, and 4 weight categories for women.
Wrestling/ Greco- Roman	55kg 60kg 66kg 74kg 84kg 96kg 120kg		———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ————	•There are no Greco-Roman Wrestling events for women.

Table 2. Sports/Events that Appear to be Equal for Men and Women

Sport	Event	Comments
Archery	Individual (M&W) Team (M&W)	
Athletics	100m (M&W) 200m (M&W) 400m (M&W) 800m (M&W) 1500m (M&W) 5000m (M&W) 10 000m (M&W) 20km race walk (M&W) Marathon (M&W) 4 x 100m relay (M&W) 4 x 400m relay (M&W) Long jump (M&W) High jump (M&W) Pole vault (M&W)	•This represents 28 of 47 Athletics events (14 men's events and 14 women's events). See Tables 1 and 3 for additional Athletics events.
Badminton	Singles (M&W) Doubles (M&W) Mixed doubles	
Basketball	Tournament (M&W)	
Canoe/Kayak Slalom	Kayak/K1 (M&W)	See Table 1 for additional Canoe/Kayak Slalom events and Table 3 for the athlete quota for Canoe/Kayak Slalom.
Canoe/Kayak Sprint	Kayak/K1, 200m (M&W)	See Tables 1 and 3 for additional Canoe/Kayak Sprint events. •# of athletes who started the event: M = 20 (3 heats), W = 29 (4 heats) – considered comparable
Cycling/Track	Individual sprint (M&W) Keirin (M&W)	See Tables 1 and 3 for additional Cycling/Track events.
Equestrian	Dressage (ind&team) Eventing (ind&team) Show Jumping (ind&team)	•Open events (men and women compete together) but not equal numbers of M and W competing.
Fencing	Individual foil (M&W) Team foil (M&W)	See Tables 1 and 3 for additional Fencing events.
Hockey/Field	Tournament (M&W)	

Modern Pentathlon	Competition (M&W)	•Events: Fencing (epee), swim (200m free), 350-400m show jump course (12 jumps), 3km run (includes shooting points)
Rowing	Single sculls (M&W) Eight (M&W)	See Tables 1 and 3 for additional Rowing events. •# of boats/athletes who started each event: Single sculls – M = 33 (6 heats), W = 28 (5 heats) Eight – M = 8 boats/64, W = 7 boats/56
Swimming	50m freestyle (M&W) 100m freestyle (M&W) 200m freestyle (M&W) 400m freestyle (M&W) 100m backstroke (M&W) 200m backstroke (M&W) 100m breaststroke (M&W) 200m breaststroke (M&W) 100m butterfly (M&W) 200m butterfly (M&W) 200m individual medley (M&W) 400m individual medley (M&W) 4 x 100m freestyle relay (M&W) 4 x 200m freestyle relay (M&W) 4 x 100m medley relay (M&W) 10km marathon (M&W)	See Table 3 for additional Swimming events.
Table Tennis	Singles (M&W) Doubles (M&W)	
Tennis	Doubles (M&W) Mixed doubles	See Table 3 for additional Tennis events.
Trampoline	Competition (M&W)	
Triathlon	Competition (M&W)	•Events: 1500m swim, 43km bike, 10km run

Table 3. Sports/Events with Gender Differences

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Athletics	100m hurdles (W)/ 110m hurdles (M)	Total race distance	110m	100m	See Tables 1 and 2 for additional Athletics events.
		Hurdle height	1.067m	83.8 cm	
		Distance b/w hurdles	9.14m	8.5m	
		Distance to 1 st hurdle	13.72m	13m	
	400m hurdles (M&W)	Hurdle height	91.4cm	76.2cm	
		3000m steeplechase (M&W)	Barrier height	91.4cm	
	Shot put (M&W)	Shot weight	7.26kg	4kg	
	Discus (M&W)	Discus weight	2kg	1kg	
		Discus diameter	219-221mm	180-182mm	
	Javelin (M&W)	Javelin weight	800g	600g	
		Javelin length	2.6-2.7m	2.2-2.3m	
	Hammer (M&W)	Hammer weight	7.26kg	4kg	
		Hammer length	121.5cm	119.5cm	
Triple Jump (M&W)	Distance b/w take off line and landing area	Not less than 13m	Not less than 11m		
Beach Volleyball	Tournament (M&W)	Net height	2.43m	2.24m	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Boxing	Tournament				See Table 1 for additional Boxing events.
	52kg (M)/51kg (W)* 60kg (M&W) 75kg (M&W)	# of weight categories	10	3	*Comparable weight category.
		Range of wt categories # and length of rounds # rounds (competition)	+42kg 3 x 3 mins 5 Round of 32, 16, quarter, semi, final	24kg 4 x 2 mins 4 Round of 16, quarter, semi, final	
	Athlete quota for Boxing	Max # of athletes # of countries	250 25	36 12	
Canoe/Kayak Slalom	Athlete quota for Canoe/Kayak Slalom	Max # of athletes	61*	21*	See Tables 1 and 2 for additional Canoe/Kayak Slalom events. *All Canoe/Kayak Slalom events •The difference in Max # of athletes is proportional to the number of events for M&W (3M:1W).
Canoe/Kayak Sprint	K1, 1000m (M)/ K1, 500m (W)*	Total race distance	1000m	500m	See Tables 1 and 2 for additional Canoe/Kayak Sprint events.
	K2, 1000m (M)/ K2, 500m (W)* K4, 1000m (M)/ K4, 500m (W)*	Max # of athletes/event	12	6	*Three comparable events.
	Athlete quota for Canoe/Kayak Sprint	Max # of athletes	158	88	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Cycling/BMX	Competition (M&W)	Track layout	Features 8m high start ramp, <i>berm jump</i> , <i>S-bend</i> transfer, <i>box jump</i> , and rhythm section in the final straight.	Features 8m high start ramp, <i>3 jumps</i> in the opening straight and a <i>tunnel</i> before a rhythm section in the final straight.	• <i>Italics</i> are used to highlight the differences between the two courses.
		Track length	450m	440m	
		# of rounds	4	3	
	Athlete quota for Cycling/BMX	Max # of athletes	Seedings, quarter finals, semi finals, finals 32	Seedings, semi finals, finals 16	
		# of countries	19	11	
		# of athletes/country	3	2	
Cycling/ Mountain	Competition (M&W)	# of laps	7	6	
	Athlete quota for Cycling/Mountain	Max # of athletes	50	30	
		# of countries	32	23	
		# of athletes/country	3	2	
Cycling/Road	Road race (M&W) Time trial (M&W)	Road race length Time trial length	250km 44km	140km 29km	
	Athlete quota for Cycling/Road	Max # of athletes	145*	67*	*All Cycling/Road events
		# of athletes/country	5	4	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Cycling/Track	Team sprint (M&W)	# of athletes/team	3	2	See Table 2 for additional Cycling/ Track events.
	Team pursuit (M&W)	# of laps	16	12	
		# of athletes/team	4	3	
	Omnium (M&W) (6 components)		Flying lap, points race (30km), elimination race, individual pursuit (4000m), scratch race (16km), time trial (1km)	Flying lap, points race (20km), elimination race, individual pursuit (3000m), scratch race (10km), time trial (500m)	
Athlete quota for Cycling/Track	Max # of athletes	104*	84*	*All Cycling/Track events	
Diving	Individual and synchronized 3m spring, 10m platform (M&W)	# dives/round	6	5	
Fencing	Individual epee (M&W)	# of athletes/country	3	2	See Tables 1 and 2 for additional Fencing events.
	Individual sabre (M&W)	# of athletes/country	2	3	
	Athlete quota for Fencing	Max # of athletes	105*	107*	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments				
Football (soccer)	Tournament (M&W)	Age restrictions	U23s + 3 older	No age restriction					
	Athlete quota for Football (soccer)	Max # of athletes	288	216					
		# of countries	16	12					
Gymnastics/Artistic	Floor exercise (M&W)	Length of exercise Content	Up to 70 seconds No musical accompaniment. A series of linked elements that demonstrate strength, flexibility and balance.	Up to 90 seconds Accompanied by music. A mixture of dance as well as displays of strength, flexibility and artistic quality.	See Table 1 for additional Gymnastics/Artistic events.				
	Vault (M&W)					Height of vault table	1.35m	1.25m	
	Floor & Vault (M&W)					Scoring for difficulty	M = lower scores for the same skills*	W = higher scores for the same skills*	*e.g., M earn 0.40 (D-value) for a double salto forward tucked on Floor and W earn 0.50 (E-value)
	Individual All-Around (M&W)*								*Includes the same event differences as the individual apparatus competition.
	Team (M&W)*								
Handball	Tournament (M&W)	Size of ball	58-60cm	54-56cm					

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Judo	Tournament 7 weight categories (M&W)	Weight categories	-60kg, -66kg, -73kg, -81kg, -90kg, -100kg, +100kg	-48kg, -52kg, -57kg, -63kg, -70kg, -78kg, +78kg	
		Range of wt categories	+40kg	+30kg	
		# rounds	6 Round of 64, 32, 16, quarter, semi, final	5 Round of 32, 16, quarter, semi, final	
	Athlete quota for Judo	Max # of athletes	221*	145*	*All Judo events

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Rowing	Light weight double sculls (M&W)	Weight/rower	72.5kg	59kg	See Tables 1 and 2 for additional Rowing events. •2000m course for M&W, (women raced on 1000m course until 1988). *These are the actual numbers of competitors, and we have been unable to determine if these numbers are a result of a quota for the event or a consequence of the overall quota for Rowing. *All Rowing events
	Pair (M&W)	Average weight	70kg	57kg	
		# of boats/athletes*	20 boats/40 athletes	17 boats/34 athletes	
	Double sculls (M&W)	# of boats/athletes*	13 boats/26 athletes	10 boats/20 athletes	
		# of rounds	4 Heats, repechage, semi final, final	3 Heats, repechage, final	
	Quad sculls (M&W)	# of boats/athletes*	13 boats/26 athletes	10 boats/20 athletes	
		# of rounds	4 Heats, repechage, semi final, final	3 Heats, repechage, final	
	Athlete quota for Rowing	# of boats/athletes*	13 boats/52 athletes	8 boats/32 athletes	
		# of rounds	4 Heats, repechage, semi final, final	3 Heats, repechage, final	
		Max # of athletes	353*	197*	
	# of athletes/country	28*	20*		

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Sailing	1 person dinghy (M&W)	Boat	Laser	Laser radial	See Table 1 for additional Sailing events. •Sailing events were open competition (M&W) until 1988.
		Mainsail area	7.06m ²	5.76m ²	
	2 person dinghy [470] (M&W)	Max # of athletes	54 (27 boats)	40 (20 boats)	
	Windsurfer (RS-X) (M&W)	Mast height	5.2m	4.8m	
		Mainsail area	9.5m ²	8.5m ²	
	Athlete quota for Sailing	Max # of athletes	237*	143*	* All Sailing events

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Shooting	Trap (M&W)	# of athletes/country	2	1	<p>See Table 1 for additional Shooting events.</p> <p>•Skeet and Trap: Open competition (M&W) until 1992, M only in 1996, separate M and W competitions starting in 2000 ^o1992 Olympic Skeet Champion: Zhang Shan (woman, China)*</p> <p>•Rifle and Pistol: Open competition (M&W) from 1968 to 1980 ^o1976 Olympic silver medallist in Rifle 3 positions: Margaret Murdock (woman, USA) tied with Larry Bassham (man, USA)*</p> <p>*Teetzel (2009) argues that segregation was an attempt to avert direct comparison between M and W performances.</p>
		# of shots	125 (5 series of 25 shots)	75 (3 series of 25 shots)	
	Skeet (M&W)	# of athletes/country	2	1	
		# of shots	125 (5 series of 25 shots)	75 (3 series of 25 shots)	
	10m air rifle (M&W)	# of shots	60	40	
	Time for event	105mins	75mins		
	50m rifle/3 positions (M&W)	# of shots	3 x 40	3 x 20	
		Max time for event	3hrs 45mins prone, 75mins standing, 60mins kneeling	2hrs 15mins	
		Rifle weight	8kg	6.5kg	
	10m air pistol (M&W)	# of shots	60	40	
		Time for event	105mins	75mins	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Shooting continued	50m Pistol (M)/25m Pistol (W)*	Distance to target Pistol (max. weight) Barrel (max. length) Sight radius (max. length) # of rounds	50m No restriction No restriction No restriction 1 round: 60 shots in 120 minutes	25m 1400grams 153mm 220mm 2 rounds: 30 shots in 'precision' round; 30 shots in 'rapid fire' round	*Comparable events
	Athlete quota for Shooting	Max # of athletes # of athletes/country/event	223* 20*	143* 8*	* All Shooting events *2 athletes/country in all events, except for W Trap and Skeet where only 1 athlete/country is allowed
Swimming	Freestyle 1500m Freestyle (M)/800m Freestyle (W)*	Event distance	1500m	800m	See Table 2 for additional Swimming events. *Comparable events
Tae Kwon Do	Tournament 4 weight categories (M&W)	Weight categories Range of wt categories	-58kg, 58-68kg, 68-80kg, +80kg +21kg	-49kg, 49-57kg, 57-67kg, +67kg +18kg	
Tennis	Singles (M&W)	# of sets	5*	3	See Table 2 for additional Tennis events. *Singles final only

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Volleyball	Tournament (M&W)	Net height	2.43m	2.24m	
Water Polo	Tournament (M&W)	Pool length Size of ball Ball pressure Max # of athletes # of countries	30m Not less than 0.68m and not more than 0.71m 90-97kPa 156 12	25m Not less than 0.65m and not more than 0.67m 83-90kPa 104 8	
Weightlifting	Tournament 56kg(M)/ 48kg(W)* 62kg(M)/53kg(W)* 69kg(M)/58kg(W)* 77kg(M)/63kg(W)* 85kg(M)/69kg(W)* 94kg(M)/75kg(W)* 105(M)/+75kg(W)* Athlete quota for Weightlifting	# of weight categories Range of wt categories Max # of athletes # of athletes/country	8 +49kg 156* 6	7 +27kg 104* 4	See Table 1 for additional Weightlifting events. *Comparable weight categories. *All Weightlifting events

Notes

1. Barbados (six athletes) and Nauru (two athletes) each sent teams composed of only male athletes to London 2012. However, there were no longer any countries that excluded women from their London 2012 Olympic teams, which had been the case through the Beijing 2008 Olympics. Bhutan (two athletes) sent a team composed of only female athletes to London 2012. Some 22% of countries competing at the London 2012 Olympics had teams of five or fewer athletes.

2. During that same period, the number of men's events has increased far more slowly, from 171 in Barcelona 1992 to 175 in Beijing 2008, and reducing in London to 166 events. This is a result of the IOC intent to prevent the Games from increasing in size by requiring a reduction in the number of men's events when there are increases in the number of women's events. For example, one weight category was dropped from men's boxing to permit the addition of three weight categories for women. (See *Conclusion and Recommendations*).

3. During that same period of time there has been a slight drop in the number of male participants, from 6,652 in Barcelona 1992 to 6,068 in London 2012. These major shifts in participation achieved momentum following the Olympic Congress in Paris, 1994, when the IOC made a commitment to work towards gender equality in the Olympics, and to move towards greater equality in sport leadership.

4. Although Saudi Arabia sent two women athletes to the London 2012 Olympics, it has been reported that Saudi television did not show their events. The Human Rights Watch report (2012), *Steps of the Devil*, makes it clear that Saudi Arabia has a long way to go towards gender equality in sport.

5. The recent struggle to include women's ski jumping at the Vancouver 2010 Olympics is an exception, and in April 2011, the IOC announced that women's ski jumping will be on the programme at the Sochi 2014 Olympics (Travers, 2011; Thomas, 2011). Other sports that include men's events but not women's events are now coming under fire, as in the recent discrimination claim filed by British canoeist Samantha Rippington against the London Olympic Organizing Committee (LOCOG) (Pilon, 2012). Based on her own experience of exclusion from the London 2012 Olympics – because there were no canoe events for women – Rippington is "challenging LOCOG's refusal to carry out an equality impact assessment of the Olympic sports programme" (Garden Court Chambers, 2012). An activist group calling itself FairPlay 2015 is planning similar challenges at the Toronto 2015 PanAm/Para PanAm Games.

6. See: www.sydneyscoreboard.com/ and www.olympic.org/Documents/Commissions/PDFfiles/women_and_sport/Los-Angeles-Declaration-2012.pdf

The Los Angeles Declaration states, in part:

Therefore, the Conference Participants Now Declare:

i. Consistent with the resolutions of the 4th IOC World Conference on Women and Sport at the Dead Sea, Jordan, more resources should be dedicated to developing women's skills in management and leadership;

ii. That the IOC should revisit and review the minimum number of women to be included in leadership roles which it set for its constituents, and set up a mechanism to monitor and

ensure that this minimum number is being respected. Recognising the importance of gender equality in sport, each International Federation should review its programmes for the Olympic Games and ensure that equality in participation is achieved;

iii. That the IOC and all the constituents of the Olympic Movement, especially the NOCs, International Federations and national federations, should ensure that, for the 2012/13 and all future election cycles, they achieve a more equitable representation on their Executive Committees

7. Ms. Semenya's winning time (1:55.45) was not a world record – before 2009, 12 women from nine different countries had run faster races 25 times (Coakley, 2012; www.alltime-athletics.com/w_800ok.htm).

8. These totals have been reached by counting the mixed doubles events in *Badminton* and *Tennis* as 0.5 each for men and for women, and by adding three of the six 'open' (non-gender segregated) *Equestrian* events to each of the men's and women's totals. Another way of calculating this is to count these eight events for both men and women – thus giving totals of 140 opportunities for women to win a medal and 170 opportunities for men to win a medal.

9. In *Shooting*, skeet and trap events were 'open' competition until 1992, they became men only events for the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, and separate men's and women's competitions started at the Sydney 2000 Olympics. *Sailing*, which has a complex history of adding and dropping events, held 'open' events until 1984, but has held separate men's and women's events since 1988.

10. As a matter of interest, of the approximately 200 *Equestrian* competitors at the London 2012 Olympics, 39% were women.

11. Before the 1992 Barcelona Olympics concerns about 'gigantism' – the growth of the summer Olympics, and the enormous size of the Games – led the IOC to attempt to cap the number of athletes at 10,000. This is achieved by controlling the number of athletes in specific sports, and by dropping some sports when new sports are added. Serious attempts to reduce the size of the Olympics might look beyond the athletes. Over 20,000 media personnel have been present at recent summer Olympics (24,272 in London); and the total growth in accredited persons has increased from 196,000 in Sydney (2000), to 223,000 in Athens (2004), to 349,000 in Beijing (2008) to, reportedly, 510,000 in London (2012) (Chappelet, 2012; Kidd, 2012). Meanwhile, the number of athletes has remained steady at approximately 10,500 during these four Olympic Games.

12. Determining the content of the Olympic Programme is a major political issue that requires careful consideration, over time. It is unjust to cut a sport when there is a generation of athletes who have been working towards the Olympics in that sport; notice of a decision to cut a sport should occur at least two Olympiads ahead of the cut. In addition, the content of the Olympic Programme is far too important to be left to the Olympic Programme Commission (whose decisions have to be approved by the Executive Board). **All** interested parties should be involved in determining the content of the Olympic Programme (see, for example, Perryman's (2012) call for the selection of sports based on their universal accessibility).

13. It should be noted that, at this time, the Rio Olympic programme has the same number of events as London 2012 plus men's and women's *Golf* and men's and women's *Rugby Sevens* (i.e., 306 events). Thus, if there are additional *Boxing* events for women, and a *Canoe* event for women, it appears that they may be added at the expense of men's events.

14. An additional concern, for both men and women, involves the extent to which weight categories may be 'gamed' by competing in a weight category below one's normal fit weight, in the belief that it is possible to retain (most of) the strength of one's normal weight when stepping down a weight class. This extensive practice often involves unhealthy dietary and other weight control strategies (in weight class sports, including lightweight rowing), and should be a concern of the IOC Medical Commission in association with the relevant IFs.

15. Entertaining discussions about anthropometric gender differences does have the potential to open the door to discussions of additional anthropometric differences; for example, consideration of height categories, or consideration of categories based on assumed racial morphologies.

References

Bruyninckx, H. (2011). Obsession with rules vs. mistrust in being ruled. Paper presented at the Play the Game Conference, Cologne, GERMANY, 3 October. [See also: Laub, T.B. (2011). "The public has a right to ask questions about sports corruption: Complete autonomy is no longer an option for sports organizations..." *Play the Game Magazine 2011*, pp. 14-15.

www.playthegame.org/2011]

CCES (2012). *Sport in Transition: Making Sport in Canada more Responsible for Gender Inclusivity (Report of a conversation of discovery, clarification, & implications among experts)*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport, July. [currently (29/8.2012) posted at:

<http://www.ceo-ethics.com/blog/>)

Chappelet, J.-L. (2012). The Olympics: Too Big for Democracies?

<http://www.playthegame.org/knowledge-bank/articles/the-olympics-too-big-for-democracies-5420.html>

Coakley, J. (2012). Personal communication.

Donnelly, P., Y. Nakamura, B. Kidd, M. MacNeill, J. Harvey, B. Houlihan, K. Toohey and K.Y. Kim (2011). *Sport Participation in Canada: Evaluating Measurements and Testing Determinants of Increased Participation*. [Draft final report for SSHRC Standard Research Grant No: 410 2006 2405] Toronto: Centre for Sport Policy Studies, Faculty of Physical Education and Health, University of Toronto.

Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique (2012). *FIG Code of Points – Rhythmic Gymnastics*.

<http://www.fig-gymnastics.com/vsite/vnavsite/page/directory/0,10853,5187-188050-205272-nav-list,00.html>

Garden Court Chambers (2012). Female canoeist challenges Olympic organisers in High Court over gender bias in London 2012 sports programme.

http://www.gardencourtchambers.co.uk/news/news_detail.cfm?iNewsID=755

Globe & Mail (2012). Cyclist laments 'sexism' in sport [a report taken from *The Times*, London]. July 30, p. 06.

Hogshead-Makar, N. (2011). Cited in: WSF (Women's Sports Foundation). Press release: 28 April, 2011, WSF Response to Katie Thomas, *NY Times*: "College Teams, Relying on Deception, Undermine Gender Equity."

Human Rights Watch (2012). "Steps of the Devil:" Denial of Women and Girls' Right to Sport in Saudi Arabia. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2012/02/15/steps-devil>

IWG on Women and Sport (2010) *Sydney Scoreboard*. <http://www.sydney scoreboard.com>

Justice pour les femmes/Justice for women (2011). *London 2012 Olympics: 7 impératifs*. Paris: La Ligue du Droit International des Femmes (LDIF)
<http://www.ldif.asso.fr/pdf/sport/CLEF-web.pdf>

Kidd, B. (2011). For gender verification. Paper presented at the 2011 Play the Game Conference, Cologne, GERMANY, October 3-6. [See also: Sparre, K. (2011). "Being a real woman: A matter of testing or self-declaration." *Play the Game Magazine 2011*, p. 18
www.playthegame.org/2011

Kidd, B. (2012). Personal communication, September 10.

Los Angeles Declaration (2012). Report from the 5th IOC World Conference on Women and Sport, Los Angeles, CA, 16-18 February 2012.
http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Commissions_PDFfiles/women_and_sport/Los-Angeles-Declaration-2012.pdf

McDonagh, E. & Pappano, L. (2008). *Playing With The Boys: Why Separate is not Equal in Sports*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Messner, M. (2009). *It's All for the Kids: Gender, Families, and Youth Sports*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nieland, J.-U. & T. Horky (2011). *International Sports Press Survey*. Copenhagen: Play the Game <http://www.playthegame.org/news/detailed/new-sports-press-survey-newspapers-focus-narrowly-on-sports-results-5248.html>

Olympic Charter [implemented from 8 July, 2011]

Perryman, M. (2012). *Why the Olympics aren't good for us, and how they can be*. London: OR Books.

Pilon, M. (2012). A female canoeist files a discrimination claim. *New York Times*, 20 July
<http://london2012.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/a-female-canoeist-files-a-discrimination-claim/>

Play the Game (2011). *The Cologne Consensus*.
http://www.playthegame.org/fileadmin/documents/Cologne_Consensus.pdf

Sparre, K. (2011). Sporno: Five places where sport meets pornography. *PlaytheGame Magazine 2011*, p. 19 www.playthegame.org/2011

Teetzal, S. (2009). *A philosophical analysis of Olympic eligibility, values, and auxiliary rules*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, London (CANADA).

Thomas, K. (2011). After long fight for inclusion, Women's ski jumping gains Olympic status. *New York Times*, 7 April, 2011, p. B16.

Toronto Star (2012). Editorial. July 26.

Travers, A. (2011). Vancouver 2010 and women's ski jumping. In, P. Donnelly (ed.), *Taking Sport Seriously: Social Issues in Canadian Sport*, 3rd ed. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, pp. 142-144.

APPENDIX A

THE 26 SPORTS (IFs) / 36 COMPETITIONS AT THE LONDON 2012 OLYMPICS

SPORTS/COMPETITIONS	IFs
ARCHERY	(WA)
ATHLETICS (TRACK & FIELD)	(IAAF)
BADMINTON	(BWF)
BASKETBALL	(FIBA)
BEACH VOLLEYBALL and VOLLEYBALL	(FIVB)
BOXING	(AIBA)
CANOE/KAYAK SLALOM and CANOE/KAYAK SPRINT	(ICF)
CYCLING/BMX and CYCLING/MOUNTAIN and CYCLING/ROAD and CYCLING/TRACK	(UCI)
DIVING and SWIMMING and SYNCHRONIZED SWIMMING and WATER POLO	(FINA)
EQUESTRIAN	(FEI)
FENCING	(FIE)
FOOTBALL (SOCCER)	(FIFA)
GYMNASTICS/ARTISTIC) and GYMNASTICS/RHYTHMIC and TRAMPOLINE	(FIG)
HANDBALL	(IHF)
HOCKEY (FIELD)	(FIH)

JUDO	(IJF)
MODERN PENTATHLON	(UPIM)
ROWING	(FISA)
SAILING	(ISAF)
SHOOTING	(ISSF)
TABLE TENNIS	(ITTF)
TAE KWON DO	(WTF)
TENNIS	(ITF)
TRIATHLON	(ITU)
WEIGHT LIFTING	(IWF)
WRESTLING	(FILA)

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY DATA TABLE: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN OLYMPIC SPORTS

The following Table outlines the gender differences and similarities for each sport at the London 2012 Olympics:

- The first column identifies the sport, followed by two columns noting the number of events in that sport for both men and women.
- The next two columns list the maximum number of male and female competitors that are permitted to compete in the sport; followed by a column giving the maximum number of male and female competitors that are permitted from each country.
- The next two columns indicate when the sport was first included on the Olympic programme for men and for women [the “-” indicates that the sport has been on the programme continuously since that date. ***[These columns are instructive, since they give an indication of how few sports women were involved in during the first half of the 20th century, and also the rapid increase in the inclusion of women’s sports over the last 20 years.]*** It should also be noted that an indication that women began participating in a sport in a certain year does not mean that women immediately began to participate in all the of same events as men. In multi-event sports such as *Athletics (Track & Field)*, there has been a gradual increase in the number of events in which women were permitted to compete.
- The next column outlines specifically which events men and women compete in, noting where equity appears to have been achieved, any different events for men and women, and different rules that apply to women competitors.
- The final column is reserved for comments and questions about the achievement of equity in a sport.

Appendix B. Summary Data Table: Gender Differences in Olympic Sports

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender	Men	
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Archery	2 1 individual 1 team	2 1 individual 1 team	64	64	6 (3 M and 3 W) (3 in each ind event) (1 team of 3 in each event)	1900-1908, 1920, 1972-	1904-1908, 1972-			•Equal distance (archer to target), 70m •Equal number of arrows, rounds, etc
Athletics	24	23	[2000]*	[2000]*	3/individual event 1 team (6 athletes)/ relay	1896-	1928-	M only <u>Decathlon (M)</u> 100m, long jump, shot put, high jump, 400m, 110m hurdles, discus, pole vault, javelin, 1500m* •5 events each day <u>50km Race walk</u> <u>110m Hurdles*</u> M = 110m distance, 1.067m hurdles, 9.14m b/w hurdles, 13.72m to first M and W 100m 200m 400m 800m 1500m 5000m 10000m 4 x 100m relay 4 x 400m relay 20km race walk Marathon <u>400m hurdles</u> M = 91.4cm hurdles	W only <u>Heptathlon (W)</u> 100m hurdles, high jump, shot put, 200m, long jump, javelin, 800m* •4 events on day 1, 3 on day 2 <u>100m Hurdles*</u> W = 100m distance, 83.8cm hurdles, 8.5m b/w hurdles, 13m to first (10 hurdles, same distance b/w) W = 76.2cm hurdles	*No M/W designation (1,167 M and 1,075 W competed at the Games) *Events in italics are gender exclusive °Shot put, javelin, and hurdles have the same gendered differences as the independent events. °In 2001, the IAAF approved scoring tables for W's decathlon. *10 hurdles in each race

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics			
Athletics (continued)								<u>Shot put</u> M = 7.26kg weight <u>Discus</u> M = 2kg weight, 219-221mm diameter <u>Javelin</u> M = 800g weight, 2.6-2.7m length <u>Hammer</u> M = 7.26kg weight, 121.5cm length <u>Triple jump</u> M = not less than 13m (distance b/w take off line and landing area) Long jump High jump Polevault	W = 4kg weight W = 1kg weight, 180-182mm diameter W = 600g weight, 2.2-2.3m length W = 4kg weight, 119.5cm length W = not less than 11m (distance b/w take off line and landing area)	
Badminton	2.5*	2.5*	86	86	3/singles event 2 pairs (4)/ doubles event	1992-	1992-	<u>Uniform</u> New rule 2011 – skirts for W. Rule change scrapped following widespread protest. Skirts optional.		*M and W singles and doubles + mixed doubles
Basketball	1	1	144	144	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries, 12 players/ team	1936-	1976-			°FIBA Regulation re: size 7 ball unlike NCAA and NBA/WNBA ball sizes.

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment	
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Men	Women		M&W / Men
Beach Volleyball	1	1	48	48	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries, 2 players/ team	1996-	1996-	<u>Net height</u> M = 2.43m		W = 2.24m	°1999: FIVB standardized uniforms – bathing suits – for men and women.
								<u>Uniforms</u>		March 2012 rule change – Added 3 extra choices (shorts of a max length of 3cm above the knee w/ sleeved or sleeveless tops or a full body suit) to 2 previous choices (a one-piece bathing suit or a bikini with a maximum side width of 7cm while full body suits could also be used under the bikini in cold weather). According to the FIVB, this is to respect custom and/or religious beliefs.	
Boxing	10 (wt categories)	3 (wt categories)	250	36	1 athlete/ weight category	1904, 1908, 1920-	2012-	<u>Weight categories</u> M = 49kg, 52kg, 56kg, 60kg, 64kg, 69kg, 75kg, 81kg, 91kg, +91kg [10] Range = +42kg		W = 51kg, 60kg, 75kg [3]* Range = 24kg	*The AIBA recognizes 10 weight categories for Elite Women boxers.
								<u>Uniforms</u> M = shorts		W = After previously announcing that skirts would be mandatory for W boxers, the AIBA made skirts optional. In March 2012 the AIBA added to the Competition Uniform section that female boxers will wear "either shorts or the option of a skirt." (No length for the skirt is specified.)	
								<u># and length of rounds</u> M = 3 x 3 min		W = 4 x 2 min	
								<u># rounds (competition)</u> M = 5 (Round of 32, 16, quarter, semi, final)		W = 4 (Round of 16, quarter, semi, final)	
								<u># of countries participating</u> M = 25		W = 12	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Canoe/Kayak Slalom	3	1	61	21	1 boat/ event	1972, 1992-	1972, 1992-	<u>Time trial:</u> <u>M and W</u> Kayak (K1) <u>M only</u> Canoe single Canoe double	No canoe events for W	•The difference in Max # of athletes is proportional to the # of events for M and W.
Canoe/Kayak Sprint	8	4	158	88	1 boat/ event Max. 18 (12 M, 6 W) /event	1936-	1948-	<u>M and W*</u> K1, 200m* <u>M only</u> K2, 200m* C1, 200m* K1, 1000m K2, 1000m K4, 1000m C1, 1000m C2, 1000m	# of athletes who started the event: M = 20 (3 heats), W = 29 (4 heats) <u>W only</u> K1, 500m K2, 500m K4, 500m No canoe events for W	*New in 2012 •No events for women > 500m.
Cycling/BMX	1	1	32	16	5 (3 M and 2 W)	2008-	2008-	<u>Track length</u> M = 450m <u>Track layout</u> M = features 8m high start ramp, berm jump, S-bend transfer, box jump, and rhythm section in the final straight. <u>Rounds</u> M = 4 rounds Seedings, quarter finals (3 + 2 runs), semi finals (3 runs), finals (1 run) <u># of countries participating</u> M = 19 countries	W = 440m W = features 8m high start ramp, 3 jumps in the opening straight and a tunnel before a rhythm section in the final straight. W = 3 rounds Seedings, semi finals (3 runs), finals (1run) W = 11 countries	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –	Comment	
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Cycling/ Mountain	1	1	50	30	5 (3 M and 2 W)	1996-	1996-	Races = min. 1h 30min, max. 1h 45min on 4.9km course # of laps M = 7 # of countries participating M = 32 countries	W = 6 W = 23 countries	
Cycling/Road	2 1 road race 1 time trial	2 1 road race 1 time trial	145	67	5 M and 4 W Max 2 M and 2 W for time trials/ country	1896, 1928-	1984-	Road race M = 250km Time trial* M = 44km	W = 140km W = 29km	*M and W time trials are held over a single lap, with minor differences in the courses reflecting the different distances.
Cycling/Track	5	5	104	84	9 M and 7 W 1 athlete/ team/event	1896-	1988-	Team sprint M = teams of 3 Team pursuit M = 16 laps M = teams of 4 Individual sprint M and W = 3 laps Keirin M and W = 6.5 + 2.5 laps Omnium (6 components) M = flying lap, points race (30km), elimination race, individual pursuit (4,000m), scratch race (16km), time trial (1km)	W = teams of 2 W = 12 laps W = teams of 3 W = flying lap, points race (20km), elimination race, individual pursuit (3,000m), scratch race (10km), time trial (500m)	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment	
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women		
Diving	4 3m spring 10m platform (individual and synchronized)	4 3m spring 10m platform (individual and synchronized)	68	68	2/individual event 1 team/synchro event	1904- synchro 2000-	1912- synchro 2000-	Number of dives/round M = 6 (individual and synchro)		W = 5 dives (individual and synchro)	
Equestrian	6 total Team and individual competition in each of 3 events:	see prev cell 1. Dressage 2. Eventing 3. Show Jumping	[200]*	[200]*	**	1900, 1912-	1952- 1964-	M only until 1952 M only (eventing) until 1964 <u>Individual dressage (51 athletes)</u> M = 14 athletes <u>Individual eventing (74 athletes)</u> M = 47 athletes <u>Individual show jumping (73 athletes)</u> M = 61 athletes <u>Team dressage, eventing, show jumping</u> = 3, 5, 4 athletes/team respectively	W = 37 athletes W = 27 athletes W = 12 athletes	*M and W compete together - 78 women and 122 men competed in London 2012. **Equestrian uses a qualification system based on geographic groups. Qualification for London 2012 is detailed here: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equestrian_at_the_2012_Summer_Olympics_-_Qualification .	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –	Comment	
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Fencing	5	5	105	107	8 M and 8 W <u>Individual and team foil</u> 3 M, 3 W <u>Individual and team sabre</u> 3 M, 2 W (individual only) <u>Individual and team epee</u> 2 M (individual only), 3 W	1896- (foil and sabre) 1900- (epee)	1924- (foil) 1996- (epee) 2000- (sabre)	M only Team sabre M and W Individual foil Individual epee Individual sabre Team foil	W only Team epee	
Football (soccer)	1	1	288	216	1 M team, 1 W team 16 countries (M), 12 countries (W), 18 players/team	1900-1928, 1936-	1996-	<u>Age</u> M = U23s + 3 older <u># of countries participating</u> M = 16	W = no age restriction W = 12	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics			
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Gymnastics/ Artistic	8	6	98	98	5 M and 5 W	1896-	1928, 1936-	<u>Individual events</u> 6 M Floor exercise, <i>horizontal bar, parallel bars, pommel horse, rings, vault*</i> <u>Floor exercise</u> M = up to 70 seconds, no musical accompaniment. A series of linked elements that demonstrate strength, flexibility and balance. <u>Vault</u> M = 1.35m (height) <u>Scoring for difficulty</u> M = lower scores for the same skills* <u>M and W</u> All around individual* All around team*	4 W <i>Balance beam, floor exercise, uneven bars, vault*</i> W = up to 90 seconds, accompanied by music. A mixture of dance as well as displays of strength, flexibility and artistic quality. W = 1.25m (height) W = higher scores for the same skills*	*Events/apparatus in italics are gender exclusive *E.g., M earn 0.40 (D-value) for a double salto forward tucked on Floor and W earn 0.50 (E-value) *Includes the same event differences as the individual apparatus competition.
Gymnastics/ Rhythmic	N/A	2	N/A	96	8 W 2/individual event 6/group event (5 compete)	N/A	Ind 1984- Group 1996-		Women only event Apparatus = ropes, clubs, hoop, ball, ribbon	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes		Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics		Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Handball	1	1	168	168	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries, 14 players/ team	1936, 1976-	1976-	Ball M = 58-60cm	W = 54-56cm	
Hockey/Field	1	1	192	192	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries, 16 players/ team	1908, 1920, 1928-	1980-	12 teams, 16 players/team		
Judo	7 (wt categories)	7 (wt categories)	221	145	1 athlete/ event	1964, 1972-	1992-	<u>Weight categories</u> M = -60kg, -66kg, -73kg, -81kg, -90kg, -100kg, +100kg [7] Range = +40kg <u># rounds</u> M = 6 Round of 64, 32, 16, quarter, semi, final	W = -48kg, -52kg, -57kg, -63kg, -70kg, -78kg, +78kg [7] Range = +30kg W = 5 Round of 32, 16, quarter, semi, final	
Modern Pentathlon	1	1	36	36	2 M and 2 W	1912-	2000-	Events: Fencing (epee), swim (200m free), 350-400m show jump course (12 jumps), 3km run (includes shooting points)		

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Rowing	8	6	353	197	28 M and 20 W	1900, 1908-	1976-	<u>M and W events</u> Single sculls Pair Double sculls Quad sculls Eight <u># of rounds (pair, double, quad)</u> M =4 Heats, repechage, semi final, final Light weight double sculls M = max 72.5kg each, 70kg avg # of boats/athletes*: M = 20 boats/40 <u>M only</u> Four Lightweight four	# of boats/athletes who started each event:* M = 33 (6 heats), W = 28 (5 heats) M = 13 boats/26, W = 10 boats/20 M = 13 boats/26, W = 10 boats/20 M = 13 boats/52, W = 8 boats/32 M = 8 boats/64, W = 7 boats/56 W = 3 Heats, repechage, final W = max 59kg each, 57kg avg W = 17 boats/34	*2,000m course for both M and W (W raced on 1,000m course until 1988) *These are the actual number of competitors, and we have been unable to determine if these numbers are a result of a quota for the event or a consequence of the overall quota for Rowing.

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Sailing	6	4	237	143	1 boat/ event	1900- 1988-	1900- 1988-	<u>M only</u> Keelboat [Star] Skiff [49er] 1 person dinghy heavyweight [Finn] <u>M and W</u> <u>2 person dinghy [470]</u> M = 54 (27 boats) <u>1 person dinghy</u> M = Laser (7.06m2 mainsail area, ideal weight to sail is no less than 80kg) <u>Windsurfer (RS-X)</u> M = 5.2m (mast height), 9.5m2 (mainsail area)	<u>W only</u> Match race [Eliott 6m] W = 40 (20 boats) W = Laser radial (5.76m2 mainsail area, ideal weight to sail is 60-65kg) W = 4.8m (mast height), 8.5m2 (mainsail area)	•Sailing events were open competition (M&W) until 1988.

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Shooting	9	6	223*	143*	20 M and 8 W 2/event Except: Trap (W) and Skeet (W) – 1 athlete/ country allowed	1896-1900, 1908-1924, 1932-	1984-	<p>M only <u>50m pistol</u> No restrictions on pistol</p> <p>1 round: 60 shots in 120 minutes</p> <p>50m rifle prone 25m rapid fire pistol double trap</p> <p>M and W <u>10m air rifle</u> M = 60 shots (qualification round), 105 minutes</p> <p><u>50m rifle/3 positions</u> M = 3 x 40 shots (qualification round), 45mins prone, 75mins standing, 60mins kneeling (3hrs total), 8kg rifle weight</p> <p><u>10m air pistol</u> M = 60 shots (qualification round), 105 minutes</p> <p><u>Trap</u> M = 125 shots (qualification round) – 5 series of 25 shots</p> <p><u>Skeet</u> M = 125 shots (qualification round) – 5 series of 25 shots</p>	<p>W only <u>25m pistol</u> No > 1400grams max. weight, 153mm max. barrel length, 220mm max. sight radius length 2 rounds: 30 shots in 'precision' round; 30 shots in 'rapid fire' round</p> <p>W = 40 shots (qualification round), 75 minutes</p> <p>W = 3 x 20 shots (qualification round), 2hrs 15mins max overall time, 6.5kg rifle weight</p> <p>W = 40 shots (qualification round), 75 minutes</p> <p>W = 75 shots (qualification round) – 3 series of 25 shots</p> <p>W = 75 shots (qualification round) – 3 series of 25 shots</p>	<p>•Rifle and Pistol: Open competition (M&W) from 1968 to 1980 °1976 Olympic silver medallist in Rifle 3 positions: Margaret Murdock (woman, USA) tied with Larry Bassham (man, USA)*</p> <p>•Skeet and Trap: Open competition (M&W) until 1992, M only in 1996, separate M and W competitions starting in 2000 °1992 Olympic Skeet Champion: Zhang Shan (woman, China)*</p> <p>*Teetzel (2009) argues that segregation was an attempt to avert direct comparison between M and W performances.</p> <p>Women's events were added to the Olympics in this order: 1984 – 10m air rifle, 50m small-bore rifle 3x20, 25m sport pistol 1988 – 10m air pistol 1996 – double trap (1st shotgun event for W) 2000 – trap and skeet After 2004 W's double trap and 10m running target were deleted to accommodate a smaller Shooting programme.</p>

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Swimming	17	17	[950*] 900 pool 50 marathon	[950*] 900 pool 50 marathon	2 athletes/ individual event 1 team/ relay event	1896-	1912-	M and W 50m freestyle 100m freestyle 200m freestyle 400m freestyle 100m backstroke 200m backstroke 100m breaststroke 200m breaststroke 100m butterfly 200m butterfly 200m individual medley 400m individual medley 4 x 100m freestyle relay 4 x 200m freestyle relay 4 x 100m medley relay 10km marathon M only 1500m freestyle	W only 800m freestyle	*No M/W designation (496 M and 452 W competed at the Games)
Synchronized Swimming	N/A	2 (duet and team)	N/A	104	10 athletes/ country (2 in duet, 8 in teams) from 8 countries + 16 countries duet only (2/team)	N/A	1984-		Women only event	
Table Tennis	2 Singles and teams	2 Singles and teams	86	86	3 M and 3 W across all events 2 athletes/ singles events	1988-	1988-			

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Tae Kwon Do	4 (wt categories)	4 (wt categories)	64	64	1 athlete/ event 2 M and 2 W across all events	2000-	2000-	<u>Weight categories</u> M = -58kg, 58-68kg, 68-80kg, +80kg [4] Range = +21kg	W = -49kg, 49-57kg, 57-67kg, +67kg [4] Range = +18kg	
Tennis	2.5* [5 total M & W] (Singles, doubles, and mixed doubles)	2.5* [5 total M & W] (Singles, doubles, and mixed doubles)	86	86	6 M and 6 W across all events Max 4 athletes/ singles event Max 2 teams/ doubles event 2 teams/ country (mixed)	1896-1924, 1988-	1900-1924, 1988-	<u>Number of sets/match</u> M = best of 5 sets (singles final only)		*M and W singles and doubles + mixed doubles
Trampoline	1	1	16	16	2 M and 2 W	2000-	2000-			
Triathlon	1	1	55	55	3 M and 3 W	2000-	2000-	Events: 1500m swim, 43km bike, 10km run		
Volleyball	1	1	144	144	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries, 12 players/ team	1964-	1964-	<u>Net height</u> M = 2.43m	W = 2.24m	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max #	Max #	Max #	1st	1st	Rule/Event –		Comment
			Athletes	Athletes	Athletes/ Country	Olympics	Olympics	Differences/Gender		
			Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Water Polo	1	1	156	104	1 M team, 1 W team 12 countries (M), 8 countries (W), 13 players/team	1900-	2000-	<u># of countries participating</u> M = 12 <u>Pool length</u> M = 30m <u>Size of ball</u> M = not less than 0.68m and not more than 0.71m, 90-97kPa pressure	W = 8 W = 25m W = not less than 0.65m and not more than 0.67m, 83-90kPa pressure	
Weight Lifting	8 (wt categories)	7 (wt categories)	156	104	6 M and 4 W Max 2/ event	1896, 1904, 1920-	2000-	<u>Weight categories</u> M = 56kg, 62kg, 69kg, 77kg, 85kg, 94kg, 105kg, +105kg [8] Range = +49kg	W = 48kg, 53kg, 58kg, 63kg, 69kg, 75kg, +75kg [7] Range = +27kg	
Wrestling/ Freestyle and Greco-Roman	7 (wt categories) Freestyle 7 (wt categories) Greco-Roman Total = 14	4 (wt categories) Freestyle Total = 4	266*	72*	1 athlete/ event	1896, 1904-	2004-	<u>Weight categories</u> M = 55kg, 60kg, 66kg, 74kg, 84kg, 96kg, 120kg [7] Range = +65kg <u>Rules</u> M = Freestyle and Greco-Roman	W = 48kg, 55kg, 63kg, 72kg [4] Range = +24kg W = All double Nelsons in the "par terre" or standing position are prohibited. W = Freestyle only	*Pre-Olympics, there were 6 competitor places "to be confirmed". 250 men and 74 women competed in London 2012.