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THE SOCHI 2014 OLYMPICS: A GENDER EQUALITY AUDIT

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Contents

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The accuracy of this *Report* is challenged by the inclusion of 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 are responsible for the content and we recognize that, despite 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 Winter Olympics.

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Executive Summary

Although the IOC's commitment to "act against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement," received considerable attention during Sochi 2014 because of Russia's anti-gay laws, its mission "to support and promote gender equality" received surprisingly little attention from the IOC and the media reporting about the Games. Surprising, because this was the first Olympic Games after the much celebrated achievements for women at the London 2012 Summer Olympics.

Only 40.4% of the 2866 athletes competing in Sochi 2014 were women (1158 women, 1708 men). This was a proportionate decrease from the Vancouver 2010 Olympics, where women made up 40.7% of the athletes competing, and is the first decrease in the percentage of women athletes at a Winter Olympic Games since 1988. This decrease occurred despite an increase in the number of women's and mixed gender events.

Given these clear inequalities, this *Report* continues the project started with the publication of *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013) – to assess "what's left to do to achieve gender equality at the 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 the seven sports/15 competitions and 98 events at the Sochi 2014 Olympics for the purpose of identifying gender differences in their structures and rules, and in the opportunities for men and women athletes. This 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 in which there are still differences between men's and women's competitions. Differences in 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 presumed essential differences between women and men.

There were 45.25 women's events, and 52.75 men's events at the Sochi 2014 Olympics – in other words there were 7.5 more opportunities to win a gold medal for men than for women. Seven events were open only to men and no events were open only to women. Only 14.3% of the events (14 of 98 events) were equal for men and women in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and the rules of competition. Sochi 2014 featured five events in which men and women competed together, and these constituted 5.1% of all events. Each of these mixed gender events included gender differences. Finally, 73.5% of the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme (72 of 98 events) contained gender differences in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and/or in the rules and structural aspects of competition.

The data presented in this *Report* indicate that, while there has been an extended period of increasing gender equality at the Winter Olympic Games, there are still substantial differences in terms of opportunities to participate and the structural characteristics of the competition. The first-time inclusion of women's *Ski Jumping* at Sochi 2014 is a step toward gender equality, and the continued exclusion of women from *Nordic Combined* competition seems anachronistic. Mixed gender events need to be investigated closely – they do not always offer equal opportunities for men and women.

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 on which there are 7.5 more events for men than for women. With regard to gender exclusive sports and events, it is necessary to consider and discuss the remaining differences between men's and women's sports and events on the Olympic programme. 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 at the Olympics. In addition, given that there were 550 more men than women competing in Sochi, and that some 57.1% (8 of 14) of competitions open to both women and men at the Sochi 2014 Olympics stipulated a higher maximum quota of men than women competitors, it is now time for all of the existing sports to more equitably represent men and women competitors.

Additional recommendations concern the rules and structures of events. Expert panels should be established to consider all remaining differences in and between sports and, in all cases, to establish consistency within and between sports.

In order to resolve 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 has shown that it is capable of exerting powerful diplomatic pressure in the face of intransigence – perhaps similar endeavours are necessary to persuade the remaining International Federations (IFs) to establish gender equality in their sports. The beginning of a new presidency offers the IOC the opportunity to make all forms of gender equality a priority, and to enforce this through regulation of both its member countries and affiliated IFs.

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: 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.

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 continue the discussion about why gender differences were introduced in sports, 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

Bien que l'engagement du CIO, à «agir contre toute forme de discrimination affectant le Mouvement olympique,» a bénéficié d'une attention considérable au cours des Jeux Olympiques de Sotchi 2014 en raison des lois anti-homosexuels de la Russie, la mission visant à «soutenir et promouvoir l'égalité des sexes» a étonnamment reçu peu d'attention du CIO et des médias qui ont couvert les jeux. Ce constat est surprenant, compte tenu du fait que ces jeux étaient les premiers ayant suivi ceux de Londres de 2012, dont les réalisations à l'égard des femmes furent largement acclamées.

Seulement 40,4% des 2866 athlètes participant aux Jeux de Sotchi de 2014 étaient des femmes (1158 femmes, 1708 hommes). Il s'agissait d'une diminution de proportion par rapport aux Jeux Olympiques de 2010 de Vancouver, où les femmes avaient représenté 40,7% des athlètes. Il s'agissait également de la première diminution du pourcentage des athlètes féminines participant aux Jeux Olympiques d'hiver depuis 1988. Cette baisse est survenue malgré une augmentation du nombre total de femmes et des épreuves mixtes.

Compte tenu de ces inégalités évidentes, ce rapport constitue la suite du projet amorcé avec la publication de *Les Jeux Olympiques de Londres 2012: Une vérification de l'égalité entre les genres* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013) – afin d'évaluer «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 persistent toujours en ce qui a trait aux formes d'implication des hommes et des femmes dans les compétitions Olympiques? Dans ce *Rapport de recherche*, nous analysons les sept sports/quinze «disciplines» et 98 épreuves au programme des Jeux Olympiques de Sotchi 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 de participation pour les hommes et les femmes athlètes. Cela nous permet d'évaluer ce qui est identique et ce qui est différent entre les épreuves masculines et les épreuves féminines; de faire des comparaisons entre les épreuves et les sports; de voir où l'égalité a été atteinte; et de poser des questions au sujet des sports/épreuves dans lesquels il y a encore des différences entre les compétitions masculines et les compétitions féminines. Les différences dans les chances de participer pour les hommes et les femmes et de quelle façon ils sont en mesure de participer (à savoir, ce à quoi ressemble leur participation et comment elle est vécue) peuvent révéler d'importantes présuppositions à l'égard des genres et plus spécifiquement, à l'égard des différences essentielles présumées entre hommes et femmes.

Les Jeux de Sotchi ont donné lieu à 45,25 épreuves féminines et à 52,75 épreuves masculines. En d'autres termes, il y avait 7,5 plus de possibilités de gagner une médaille d'or pour les hommes que pour les femmes.

Sept épreuves n'étaient ouvertes qu'aux hommes et aucune épreuve n'était ouverte qu'aux femmes. Seulement 14.3% des épreuves (14 des 98 épreuves) inscrites au programme Olympique de Sotchi étaient les mêmes pour les hommes et les femmes en termes de nombre maximum des concurrents autorisés et de règles de compétition. Sotchi 2014 a présenté cinq épreuves dans lesquels les hommes et les femmes ont concouru ensemble. Ceux-ci constituaient 5,1% de tous les épreuves. Chacun de ces épreuves mixtes comprenaient des différences de genres. Enfin, 73,5 % du programme Olympique de Sotchi 2014 (72 des 98 événements) contenait des différences entre les genres en termes de nombre maximum de concurrents autorisés et/ou dans les règles et les aspects structurels de la compétition.

Les données présentées dans ce *Rapport* indiquent que, alors qu'il y a eu une longue période d'accroissement de l'égalité des genres lors des Jeux Olympiques d'hiver, il y a encore des différences importantes en termes d'opportunités de participation et des caractéristiques structurelles de la compétition. L'inclusion pour la première fois de *Saut à Ski* féminin aux Jeux de Sotchi de 2014 est une étape vers l'égalité des sexes, et l'exclusion continue des femmes de la compétition de *Combiné Nordique* semble anachronique. Les épreuves mixtes doivent être étudiées de près – elles ne proposent pas toujours l'égalité des chances pour les hommes et les femmes.

Nos recommandations prioritaires sont les suivantes:
1) *Égaliser le nombre d'épreuves/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/évènements Olympiques*.

Il n'est plus justifiable de maintenir un programme Olympique comprenant 7,5 épreuves de plus pour les hommes que pour les femmes. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'ajouter ou de mettre en place les mêmes épreuves (égaux/identiques) pour les femmes et les hommes, mais il est nécessaire d'ajouter des épreuves équitables (similaires) et de nouvelles épreuves pour atteindre le même nombre d'épreuves (occasions des médailles) pour les femmes et les hommes. En outre, étant donné qu'il y avait 550 hommes de plus que de femmes en compétition à Sotchi, et que quelque 57,1% (8 sur 14) des concours ouverts à la fois aux femmes et les hommes aux Jeux Olympiques de 2014 de Sotchi allouaient un quota maximum plus élevé de concurrents hommes que de femmes, il est maintenant temps pour tous les sports existants de représenter plus équitablement les hommes et les femmes.

D'autres recommandations portent sur la structure et les règles des épreuves. Des groupes d'experts devraient être mis en place dans le but de prendre en compte les différences qui subsistent dans les règles et la structure de la compétition dans les sports Olympiques, et, dans tous les cas, assurer une cohérence au sein de chaque sport et entre les sports.

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 – peut-être que des efforts similaires sont nécessaires pour persuader les FI qui ne l'on pas encore fait, d'atteindre l'égalité des genres dans leur sport. Le début d'une nouvelle présidence offre au CIO l'opportunité de faire en sorte que toutes les formes d'égalité des genres devienne une priorité et de la faire mettre en application par règlementation à tous ses pays membres et à ses FI affiliées.

Ce *Rapport* de recherche applaudit le CIO pour ses réalisations envers l'égalité des genres, 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: le CIO contrôle l'accès aux Jeux Olympiques et, par ses actions des dernières années, a montré qu'il reconnait que l'inégalité des genres n'est plus acceptable aux Jeux Olympiques.

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, de 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 de genres ont été introduits dans les sports, 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 mission of the IOC is to promote Olympism throughout the world and to lead the Olympic Movement. The IOC's role is: […]*
> *6. to act against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement;*
> *7. 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"*
>
> – Olympic Charter[1]

In the lead up to the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, RUSSIA, mainstream media outlets in the "West" focused on Russia's new anti-gay laws, and general intolerance to, and persecution of, all things LGBTQ. By awarding hosting rights for the 2014 Winter Olympic Games to Russia, and refusing to denounce Russia's anti-gay laws, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), it was argued, lent implicit support to the Russian government and its position. In response to this criticism, the IOC relied on its traditional claims about the apolitical nature of the Olympic Games: "The IOC has maintained it is powerless to dictate laws in a sovereign state but said it had received assurances from Russian President Vladimir Putin there would be no discrimination against homosexuals during Sochi's ongoing Games" (*Sport Business International*, 2014).

The IOC's non-action seemed to many to contravene Principle 6 of the *Olympic Charter* (IOC, 2013), which includes "act[ing] against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement" as part of the IOC's mission. And though Principle 6 received considerable attention during Sochi 2014, other principles of the *Olympic Charter*, and particularly Principle 7 (above), received surprisingly little attention. Surprising, because this was the first Olympic Games after the much celebrated achievements for women at the London 2012 Summer Olympics. At the Opening Ceremonies of London 2012, then 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)* no country excluded women from competing in London as a matter of ideology.[2]

Despite the milestones of London 2012, little attention was paid to gender equality – either by the media or the IOC – during the Sochi 2014 Olympic Games. Following the Games, current IOC President Thomas Bach claimed, "Great progress has been made regarding women and sports. For instance, boxing was included in the London Olympics, and ski jump for women in Sochi this year. The next logical step would be to have Nordic combined for women" (IWG, 2014). *Nordic Combined* is the sole remaining men-only competition on the Winter Olympic programme. However, only 40.4% of the 2866 athletes competing in Sochi 2014 were women (1158 women,

1708 men).[3] This represented a proportionate decrease from the Vancouver 2010 Olympics, where women made up 40.7% of the athletes competing. This is the first decrease in the percentage of women athletes at a Winter Olympic Games since 1988.[4] And, much like London 2012, women's inclusion in previously men-only sports (such as *Ski Jumping*) was only a limited inclusion; women ski jumpers at Sochi 2014 competed for one medal, while the men ski jumpers competed for three.

Women's Participation in the Winter Olympic Games: 1994-2014*

	Countries/ NOCs	Women's Sports/ Total Sports	Women's Events/ Total Events	Women's Events as % of Total	Women Participants (%)	Men Participants (%)	Total Participants
1994	67	4/6	26/61	42.6	522 (30.0)	1,215 (70.0)	1,737
1998	72	6/7	30/68	44.1	787 (36.2)	1,389 (63.8)	2,176
2002	78	7/7	35/78	44.9	886 (36.9)	1,513 (63.1)	2,399
2006	80	7/7	38/84	45.2	960 (38.3)	1,548 (61.7)	2,508
2010	82	7/7	39/86	45.4	1,044 (40.7)	1,522 (59.3)	2,566
2014	88	7/7	45.25/98	46.2	1,158 (40.4)	1,708 (59.6)	2,873

*Adapted, amended, and updated from: IOC (2014a). *Women in the Olympic Movement*. Lausanne: Olympic Studies Centre.[5]

It is apparent in these data (above) that there has been a steady growth in the Winter Olympics over the last 20 years – the number of athletes has increased from 1737 to 2873, an increase of 65.4%; and the number of events has increased from 61 to 98, an increase of 60.7%. Increasing numbers of women's events are likely responsible, in part, for these overall increases. Importantly however, there has been no corresponding decline in the number of men's events or male participants. Size of the Games constitutes one of the primary differences between the Winter and Summer Olympic Games. Specifically, concerns about "gigantism" that are consistently cited in discussions about the Summer Olympics (i.e., that the Games are simply too big, and adding women's events is problematic because it increases the number of athletes at the Games) have not yet been raised with respect to the Winter Olympics. Even with the 65.4% increase in the total number of athletes over the last 20 years, the athletes competing at Sochi 2014 represent only just over a quarter (26.3%) of the total number of athletes who competed at the London 2012 Summer Olympics (10,903 athletes). With corresponding increases in the number of credentialed people – such as media personnel, 'Olympic family,' and corporate sponsors – the total size of the Winter Olympics remains a fraction of the Summer Olympics.[6]

In the *Olympic Agenda 2020* reforms, accepted by the IOC in December, 2014, Recommendation 9 is to "Set a framework for the Olympic programme." Article 2 proposes a small increase in the number of athletes and events at the Winter Olympics: "The IOC to limit the number of athletes, officials and events for the Olympic Winter Games to approximately: 2,900 athletes; 2,000 accredited coaches and athletes' support personnel; [and] 100 events (IOC, 2014b: 9).[7]

Increasing the number of medal events for women at the Winter Olympics will increase the size of the event, and the equality of the event, in important ways. However, it is important to acknowledge that intersecting issues affecting sport participation – and particularly Olympic-level sport participation – such as social class, and the wealth/geography/climate/sport culture/tradition of a country are exacerbated at the Winter Olympics relative to the Summer Olympics. For example, fewer countries send athletes to the Winter Olympics because, among other issues, not all Winter Olympic sports can be practiced/trained in all places and, on average, it is more expensive to participate in Winter Olympic sports. In addition, it seems likely that the Winter Olympics face the additional challenge of including sports with less global popularity, and resulting media coverage, than the major individual (*Athletics*, *Swimming*, *Wrestling*) and team (*Basketball*, *Football (Soccer)*) sports at the Summer Olympics.

This *Report* is based on the template established, and continues the project started with the publication of *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013) – to assess "what's left to do to achieve gender equality at the Olympics?" Together, these two *Reports* represent the baseline data for future gender equality audits of the Summer and Winter Olympics, and the London 2012 *Report* has also been employed as a template to carry out a gender audit of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (Kidd & Norman, 2014; Kidd & Norman, 2015).

A GENDER EQUALITY AUDIT[8]

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 competitions and sports at the Sochi 2014 Olympics for the purpose of identifying gender differences in the structure and rules of the sports/competitions, and in the opportunities for men and women athletes.

The seven Olympic winter sports were organized into 15 separate competitions. For example, the sport of *Skating* has three competitions (referred to as *disciplines* in the *Olympic Charter*): *Figure Skating*, *Short Track Speed Skating*, and *Speed Skating*. Appendix A includes a complete list of sports and competitions. Those 15 competitions were, in turn, organized into 98 events for which medals were awarded (for example, there were two *Bobsleigh* events for men and one for women). There were 45.25 women's events, and 52.75 men's events at the Sochi 2014 Olympics – in other words, there were 7.5 more opportunities to win a gold medal for men than for women. These totals have been reached by counting the Mixed Relay event in *Biathlon* (2M, 2W), and the Pairs (1M, 1W), Ice Dance (1M, 1W), and Team (3M, 3W) events in *Figure Skating* as 0.5 each for men and women. The Mixed Relay event in *Luge* has been counted as 0.75 for men and 0.25 for women, because each relay team included one woman (Singles), and three men (Singles, Doubles).

Data were collected from the Sochi 2014 Olympics website (http://www.sochi2014.com/en), Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympic_sports)[and linked pages], and relevant International [Sport] Federation (IF) websites.

First, we identify all sports/events where: (a) there were medal opportunities for men and not for women (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) (Tables 3a and 3b).

"Back to Basics" – Context for the Report

This gender audit permits a comparison between the seven sports/15 competitions and 98 events at the Sochi 2014 Winter 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 in which 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 presumed 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* – like the *London 2012 Report* before it – 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 also the organization and structure of many events at the Sochi 2014 Winter 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 Sochi 2014 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 compete in the same halfpipe[9] (in *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding*) and use the same kickers (in *Freestyle Skiing Aerials)*, but to have women in *Alpine Skiing* compete consistently on courses with a smaller vertical drop than the men? Inconsistency across sports and events may highlight the irrationality or illegitimacy of some remaining gender differences. Is it reasonable to assign the same size starting bib to all women skiers, and a larger size to all men skiers, rather than assigning starting bibs that are sized to fit the athletes who will wear them (see Appendix C)?

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.

RESULTS

(a) Gender exclusive events

Table 1 (p. 42) shows that seven events on the programme at the Sochi 2014 Olympics were open only to men (7/52.75 men's events = 13.3% of men's events); and that there were no events open only to women (0% of women's events). These exclusive events constituted 7.1% of the Olympic programme (7/98 events). The seven additional men-only events accounted for the difference in the number of gold medals available to men and women at this Olympic Games.

With one exception, the difference was a result of additional disciplines or events for men in sports in which women also compete. For example, the four-man event in *Bobsleigh* (women competed only in the two-man event), the Doubles event in *Luge* (women competed only in the Singles event),[10] and the Individual "large" hill and Team events in *Ski Jumping* (women competed only in the Individual "normal" hill event). *Skiing-Nordic Combined*, with three medal opportunities (Individual "normal" hill, Individual "large" hill, and Team events), was the sole men only sport on the 2014 Olympic programme. However, *Nordic Combined* is a combination of two sports: *Ski Jumping* and *Cross Country Skiing*. And, beginning at Sochi 2014, women athletes competed in both *Ski Jumping* and *Cross Country Skiing* (2014 was the inaugural Olympic *Ski Jumping* competition for women).

(b) Gender-equal events

Table 2 (p. 43) shows that 14.3% of the events on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme (14 of 98 events) were equal for men and women in terms of the maximum number of competitors permitted and the rules of competition. These events constituted 13.3% of men's events (7 of 52.75 events) and 15.5% of women's events (7 of 45.25 events).

The equal events for men and women comprise one whole sport (*Curling*), and some of the events in several other sports: the 500m, 1000m, and 1500m races in *Short Track Speed Skating*; the Team Sprint race in *Cross Country Skiing*; and the Aerials and Ski Cross competitions in *Freestyle Skiing*.

(c) Mixed gender events with gender differences

Table 3a (p. 44) shows that 5.1% of the events on the programme at the Sochi 2014 Olympics were mixed gender events (5/98 events). Each of these events included at least one of the categories of gender difference listed below in section (d). In the *Biathlon* Mixed Relay, two women competed over shorter distances and less total climb than the two men on their relay team. In the *Luge* Mixed Relay, one woman had a lower weight allowance than the three men on her relay team. In the *Figure Skating* Pairs and Ice Dance competitions, teams composed of one man and one

woman had different uniform requirements; and the athletes in the *Figure Skating* Team event (one Ladies' skater, one Men's skater, one Pairs couple, and one Ice Dance couple) competed with all of the same gender differences as the athletes in the Ladies' and Men's Singles, Pairs, and Ice Dance events (see Table 3b).

(d) Events with gender differences

Table 3b (pp. 45-52) 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 73.5% of the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme (72 of 98 events). In turn, these events represented 68.3% of men's events (36/52.75 events) and 79.6% of women's events (36/45.25 events).

The complex set of differences outlined in the 36 men's and 36 women's events listed in Table 3b may be better understood when divided into categories of difference. These include:

> *i)* Events in which 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 or weight restrictions for women and men;
> *iv)* Events in which 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. In fact, the majority of winter Olympic sports appear in more than one category of difference.

Summary Results Table: Olympic events for men and women*

	Men %	Women %	% Of all events
Gender exclusive events	13.3 (7/52.75)	0 (0/45.25)	7.1 (7/98)
Gender equal events	13.3 (7/52.75)	15.5 (7/45.25)	14.3 (14/98)
Mixed gender events with gender differences	5.2 (2.75/52.75)	5.0 (2.25/45.25)	5.1 (5/98)
Events with gender differences**	68.2 (36/52.75)	79.6 (36/45.25)	73.5 (72/98)

* The total percentage of women's events is 100.1 due to rounding.
**The total percentage of all of the events at Sochi 2014 that have gender differences (including mixed gender events with gender differences) is 78.57 (77/98).

(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 International [Sport] Federations (IFs). The IFs appear to be caught between 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. Not all maximum athlete numbers (per event and/or country) were made publicly accessible; we have included the numbers we were able to find.

Some of the largest sports and/or competitions at the 2014 Winter Olympics, *Biathlon*, *Alpine Skiing*, and *Cross Country Skiing* stipulated a maximum number of athletes (220 for *Biathlon*, 320 for *Alpine Skiing*, and 310 for *Cross Country Skiing*) without designating gender. Rather, *Biathlon* competition involved 5.5 events for men and 5.5 events for women (the Mixed Relay included two men and two women, and thus counts as a 0.5 medal opportunity for both; see Table 3a). *Alpine Skiing* competition involved five events for men and five events for women, and *Cross Country Skiing* involved six events for men and six events for women. The national sport organizations (NSOs)/national governing bodies (NGBs) together with the National Olympic Committee (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 may influence the selection process. Consistently – in every event – the number of men exceeded the number of women who participated in these sports/competitions. For example, 89 men and 82 women competed in the *Biathlon* Individual events (20k for men, 15k for women), and 19 men's teams and 17 women's teams competed in the Relay (7.5k for men, 6k for women). In *Alpine Skiing*, 50 men and 42 women competed in the Downhill, 109 men and 90 women competed in the first run of the

Giant Slalom. A total of 68 men and 61 women competed in the *Cross Country* Skiathlon, and 16 men's teams and 14 women's teams competed in the Relay.

The list (below) indicates that eight of the 14 competitions at the Sochi 2014 Olympics that are open to both men and women (i.e., excluding the men-only *Nordic Combined* events) had, by regulation, a different maximum number of men and women competitors. The regulations stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women in all of those competitions. Thus, eight of the 14 competitions (57.1%)open to both men and women stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women competitors. Some of the IFs involved in Sochi 2014 published event-specific gender quotas. For example, with respect to *Speed Skating*, the ISU set different quotas for men and women – 40 men and 36 women – in three of eight events (500m, 1000m, 1500m). And the FIS set different quotas for men and women – 40 men and 24 or 30 women – in three of the ten *Snowboarding* events (Halfpipe, Snowboard Cross, Slopestyle). In all, 14 of the 91 (15.1%) events open to both men and women stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women.

Although this section deals specifically with the quotas established by the IOC and IFs for the number of athletes in each sport/competition/event, it is important to note that – regardless of quotas – more men than women competed in almost every event on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme. In many cases, even when the athlete quota was the same for men and women, more men competed in the event. For example, in *Freestyle Skiing* Moguls, the quota was 30 each for men and women; however, 29 men and 20 women competed in the event.

There are some limited exceptions to this, including events in which the same number of women and men competed: *Curling*, *Short Track Speed Skating* (all events), and *Figure Skating* (all events); and three events in which more women than men competed: *Speed Skating* 5000m (26 men, 28 women) and 1000m (14 men, 16 women); and *Freestyle Skiing* Aerials (21 men, 22 women).

The sports/events where there was a gendered difference in the quota or target for number of competitors are listed below in terms of 'the maximum number of competitors/maximum number per country' for men and for women, and maximum number of men and women/event, where relevant:

> ***Bobsleigh:***
> *130M, 40W*
> *24 athletes per country – 18M, 6W*
> *[Women compete only in two-man, Men compete in two-man and four-man]*
>
> ***Bobsleigh-Skeleton:***
> *30M, 20W*

Ice Hockey:
25M, 21W per team (country)
12M, 8W teams / 300M, 168W

Luge:
78M, 28W
Singles – 38M, 28W
Mixed Relay – 3M, 1W per team
[Women compete only in Singles and Mixed Relay; Men compete in Singles, Doubles, and Mixed Relay]

Skating-Speed:
100M, 80W
Specific events had different quotas for M and W:
500m – 40M, 36W
1000m – 40M, 36W
1500m – 40M, 36W
[According to the FIS, these are "target" numbers – unused quota spots may be assigned to qualified athletes of the other gender.]

Skiing-Ski Jumping:
70M, 30W
[Women compete only in Individual "normal" hill; Men compete in Individual "normal" hill, Individual "large" hill, and Team]

Skiing-Freestyle:
282 athletes total (M and W)
Specific events had different quotas for M and W:
Ski Halfpipe – 30M, 24W
Ski Slopestyle – 30M, 24W

Skiing-Snowboard:
252 athletes total (M and W)
Specific events had different quotas for M and W:
Snowboard Halfpipe – 40M, 30W
Snowboard Cross – 40M, 24W
Snowboard Slopestyle – 30M, 24W

(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. This list includes both races for which the distance is set (e.g., *Biathlon*, *Cross Country Skiing*), and races for which the distance changes based on the course design (e.g., *Luge*, *Alpine Skiing*).

Biathlon: All events*
Individual – 20km (M), 15km (W)
Sprint – 10km (M), 7.5km (W)
Pursuit – 12.5km (M), 10km (W)
Mass Start – 15km (M), 12.5km (W)
Relay – 7.5km (M), 6km (W)
Mixed Relay – 7.5km (M), 6km (W)

*It is interesting to note that despite consistently longer races for men than women, men and women are subject to identical penalties. These are time-based penalties (1 minute added for each missed target) and distance-based penalties (athletes must ski a 150-metre penalty loop for each missed target). Each race uses one or the other of these penalties. Certainly with the distance-based penalties, women biathletes are more penalized, as the 150-metre penalty loop represents a larger percentage of their total distance (e.g., 2% of the women's 7.5k Sprint, and only 1.5% of the equivalent men's race, the 10k Sprint).

Luge:
Singles – 1475m (M), 1384m (W)

Skating-Short Track Speed:
Relay – 5000m (M), 3000m (W)

Skating-Speed:
Team Pursuit – 8 laps (M), 6 laps (W)
5000m (M), 3000m (W)
10000m (M), 5000m (W)

Skiing-Alpine:
Downhill – 3495m (M), 2713m (W)
Super Combined – (Downhill) 3219m (M), 2713m (W)
*Super Giant Slalom – 2096m (M), 2100m (W)**

*In the *Alpine Skiing* Super Giant Slalom, the women raced on a course that was four metres longer than the men's course (see section ***(iv) Differences in height, weight, size and spacing of equipment or venue*** for difference in vertical drop). In the Downhill and the Super Combined, the men's courses were 782 metres and 506 metres longer, respectively, than the women's courses.

Skiing-Cross Country:
Classical – 15km (M), 10km (W)
Mass Start – 50km (M), 30km (W)
Skiathlon – 30km (M), 15km (W)
Relay – 40km (M), 20km (W)
Individual Sprint – 1.4 to 1.6km (M), 1.2 to 1.3km (W)

(iii) Different weight categories or weight restrictions for men and women:

Unlike the Summer Games, there are no sports on the Winter Olympic programme that use weight categories. However, there are sports/competitions that set specific restrictions on the weight of the athlete competing. In every case, these restrictions are different for women and men.

Bobsleigh:
Two-man – Maximum weight of athletes + sled – 390kg (M), 340kg (W)

Bobsleigh-Skeleton:
Single – Maximum weight of athlete + sled – 115kg (M), 92kg (W)
["If the combined weight of the sled and the athlete with his [sic] equipment exceeds 115kg (women: 92kg), the weight of the sled alone may not exceed 33kg (women: 29kg)" (10.14, FIBT Skeleton Rules 2013).]

Luge: *Singles*
Weight allowance (weight that can be carried) – 13kg (M), 10kg (W)
[Men are allowed to carry up to 13 kg of extra weight for a total athlete weight not exceeding 90kg; Women are allowed to carry up to 10kg of extra weight for a total athlete weight not exceeding 75kg]

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

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

Biathlon:
Distance between and location of shooting bouts
Individual – 4km, 4/8/12/16km (M); 3km, 3/6/9/12km (W)
Sprint – 3.3km, 3/7km (M); 2.5km, 2.5/5km (W)
Pursuit – 2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/10km (M); 2km, 2/4/6/8km (W)
Mass Start – 3km, 3/6/9/12km (M); 2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/10km (W)
Relay – 2.5km, 2.5/5km (M); 2km, 2/4km (W)
Mixed Relay – 2.5km, 2.5/5km (M); 2km, 2/4km (W)

Total climb
Individual – 600 to 800m (M), 400 to 600m (W)
Sprint – 300 to 450m (M), 200 to 300m (W)
Pursuit – 350 to 500m (M), 200 to 400m (W)
Mass Start – 400 to 600m (M), 350 to 500m (W)
Relay – 200 to 300m (M), 150 to 250m (W)
Mixed Relay – 200 to 300m (M), 150 to 250m (W)

Bobsleigh-Skeleton:
Single – Maximum weight of sled only – 43kg (M), 35kg (W)

Ice Hockey:
Face Shields – Players born after 1975 must wear half face shield (M); All players must wear full face shield (W)

Luge: *Singles*
Course elevation – 839.2m (M), 829.6m (W)

Skiing-Alpine:
Vertical drop (Start altitude – Finish altitude)
Downhill – 1075m (M), 790m (W)
Giant Slalom – 410m (M), 400m (W)
Super Giant Slalom – 622m (M), 615m (W)
Super Combined – 977m (M), 790m (W)

Number of gates
Downhill – 46 (M), 41 (W)
*Slalom – Run 1: 60 (57 turning gates), Run 2: 67 (64 turning gates) (M); Run 1: 61 (60 turning gates), Run 2: 61 (60 turning gates) (W)**
Giant Slalom – Run 1: 57 (57 turning gates), Run 2: 59 (55 turning gates) (M); Run 1: 54 (51 turning gates), Run 2: 54 (52 turning gates) (W)
*Super Giant Slalom – 41 (37 turning gates) (M), 43 (40 turning gates) (W)**
Super Combined – 62 (59 turning gates) (M), 59 (58 turning gates) (W)

Ski length (minimum)
Downhill – 218cm (M), 210cm (W)
Slalom – 165cm (M), 155cm (W)
Giant Slalom – 195cm (M), 188cm (W)
Super Giant Slalom – 210cm (M), 205cm (W)
Super Combined – Same as Downhill and Slalom

Ski profile width in front of binding
Giant Slalom – ≤98mm (M), ≤103mm (W)

Ski radius (minimum)
Giant Slalom – 35mm (M), 30mm (W)
Super Giant Slalom – 45mm (M), 40mm (W)

*In each of these races, the women's course had one or two more gates than the men's course. However, on average, men's courses included more gates than women's courses (one to six more gates).

Skiing-Freestyle: *Moguls*
Pace Speed – 9.7m/sec (M), 8.2m/sec (W)
Pace time (course length divided by pace speed) – 25.46 (M), 30.12 (W)

(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.

Ice Hockey:
Rules – Bodychecking is legal (M), Bodychecking is illegal (W)

Skating-Figure:
Singles
Duration of Free Program (maximum) – 4.5mins (M), 4mins (W)

Number of jumps in Free Program (maximum) – 8 (M), 7 (W)

Required elements (Free Skate) –
Triple or quad jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple or quadruple + double/triple), camel spin or sit spin (M);
Triple jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple), layback spin or sideways leaning spin (W)

Scoring – Points multiplied by 1.0 (Short Program) and 2.0 (Free Skate) (M),
Points multiplied by 0.8 (Short Program) and 1.6 (Free Skate) (W)

Singles, Pairs, Ice Dance
Uniform –
Must wear full-length trousers, no tights permitted, may not be sleeveless (M);
Can wear skirts, trousers, tights, except for Ice Dance (must wear a skirt) (W)

Skiing-Alpine:
*Starting bibs** – Larger size than W (M), Smaller size than M (W)*

Skiing-Cross Country:
*Starting bibs** – Larger size than W (M), Smaller size than M (W)*

Skiing-Ski Jumping: *Individual ("normal") hill*
Uniform (number of parts of the material of which the suit consists) – 5 parts for the upper body, 2 parts for the lower body (M); 7 parts for the upper body, 8 parts for the lower body (W) [Also, specifications about the location of seams, etc.]*
*Starting bibs** – Larger size than W (M), Smaller size than M (W)*

Skiing-Freestyle:
*Starting bibs** – Larger size than W (M), Smaller size than M (W)*

*See Appendix D for specifications about *Ski Jumping* uniforms.
**See Appendix C for specifications about starting bibs.

A Note on Uniforms and Appearance

In our *Report* on the London 2012 Summer Olympics, we identified two competing issues related to uniforms and appearance: (a) Increasing sexualization of women's sports; and (b) [Women's] demands for the right to wear modest uniforms. Although neither of these issues figure prominently with respect to the sports on the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic programme, there are two additional issues related to uniforms and gender that should be considered. We have limited this discussion of uniforms to the clothing the athletes wear, and have not included differences related to equipment (e.g., required full face shields for all women in *Ice Hockey*, and half face shields required only for men born after 1975).

First, in *Figure Skating*, both men and women are required to wear uniforms that are explicitly gendered, particularly in the Ice Dance event. Specifically, men are always required to wear trousers and are not permitted to wear tights. In Singles and Pairs, women are allowed to wear skirts, trousers, or tights (though it is very rare to see a woman in trousers or tights); and in Ice Dance, women are required to wear skirts. All clothing "must be modest, dignified and appropriate for athletic competition – not garish or theatrical in design; must not give the effect of excessive nudity for athletic sport" (500.2, ISU Special Regulations and Technical Rules, 2012). These requirements ensure that the women look like "ladies," and the men look like men – with respect to hegemonic forms of femininity and masculinity. In *Figure Skating*, then, there is actually more freedom for women competitors than their men counterparts. That is, while women are allowed to wear skirts and tights, and also trousers ("men's" clothing), men are limited to wearing only trousers in all *Figure Skating* events. In an effort to achieve gender equality, this might be something the ISU would consider revising.

The only other competition with specifically gendered uniform differences is *Ski Jumping*. In addition to requirements about the number and location of seams, the FIS requires that men's ski jumping suits be constructed from five pieces above the waist seam and two below; and women's suits will have seven parts for the upper body and eight parts for the lower body (4, FIS Specifications for Competition Equipment and Commercial Markings, 2013/2014). For details, see Appendix D. Ron Read, a member of the FIS Ski Jumping Committee, explained that until 2011 the uniform regulations were the same for men and women. During that time, Read reported, many women athletes complained about the fit of ski jumping suits for their body shapes. In response to these complaints, the FIS changed the regulations to allow for more comfortable fitting uniforms for women (personal communication, 2014). The FIS might expand their demonstrated concern about athletes' comfort in their ski jumping suits by considering allowing men and women ski jumpers to choose the suit construction that is most comfortable for them, rather than mandating one suit for all men and one for all women.

Athletes competing in many winter Olympic sports wear uniforms that are very fitted to the body. For example, athletes in the sliding competitions (e.g., *Bobsleigh*,

Luge, *Skeleton*), and the majority of athletes in the racing competitions (e.g., *Biathlon*, *Speed Skating*, *Alpine Skiing*) wear skintight uniforms that cover their entire bodies (including their heads in *Speed Skating*). These uniforms are not sexualized in the same sense that women's two-piece bathing suit *Beach Volleyball* uniforms are, though they are exceptionally revealing. It seems clear that these form-fitting uniforms are intended to aid the athlete's performance; for example, by making the athlete as aerodynamic as possible. However, athletes competing in the Freestyle competitions look very different. Specifically, unlike their counterparts in the other *Skiing* events, *Freestyle Skiing* (Moguls, Aerials, Ski Cross, Halfpipe, Slopestyle) and [*Freestyle*] *Snowboarding* (Snowboard Cross, Halfpipe, Slopestyle) athletes compete wearing unisex, loose fitting uniforms, often with a certain sense of style that reflects their alternative/extreme sport cultural origins. (Athletes in *Curling* and *Ice Hockey* also wear uniforms that are not form fitted or revealing.)

In these freestyle events, athletes might actually benefit from wearing more form-fitted uniforms – their tricks/jumps might be easier to perform and easier for the judges to see, and they might travel faster. Despite these potential benefits of more form-fitted uniforms, it seems that athletes in the *Freestyle* events have managed to negotiate the incorporation of their sports/events into the Olympic Games. That is, they have maintained some of the elements of their participation (e.g., uniforms, music) that have not traditionally been accepted by the FIS or at the Olympics. This raises a second issue: the difference in uniforms among sports/events that can only be explained by cultural differences (rather than performance or function explanations) warrants more attention with respect to the pursuit of gender equality at the Olympic Games.

A Note on Judged Sports

There were a number of judged sports on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme. These include all of the events in *Figure Skating*, the Slopestyle and Halfpipe events in *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding*, the Moguls and Aerials events in *Freestyle Skiing*, and scoring for *Ski Jumping* includes both an objective component (distance points) and a judged component (judges' points).

In the *Figure Skating* Singles competition, there is an explicitly gendered element of scoring – different multipliers for the women's (ladies') and men's Short Program and Free Skate – that ensure that women's and men's scores cannot be accurately compared, and that women are unlikely to outscore men. Specifically, as indicated above (p. 24), the Program Component Scores that men are awarded in the Short Program are multiplied by 1.0, and in the Free Skate by 2.0. Women's Program Component Scores are subject to lower multipliers – 0.8 for the Short Program and 1.6 for the Free Skate.[11] The different, and greater, multiplier for the men's Free Skate may be explained by the fact that men are required to complete one additional technical element in a performance that is 30 seconds longer than the women's Free Skate. According to William Bridel – former national and international competitive

figure skater, Director of Athlete Development at Skate Canada from 1997 to 2004, and currently an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Kinesiology at the University of Calgary – "The opinion is that women's program component scores should be factored to reflect this difference in elements and length of program and, ultimately, ensure an even balance between women's Technical and Program Component Scores in the free program" (personal communication, 2014). However, this rationale does not account for the different multipliers applied to the Short Program scores. In the Short Program, the program lengths and numbers of required elements are the same for women and men. Bridel posits, "If pressed, the ISU would likely state that the women's Program Component Score is factored in such a way in the Short Program to reflect the difference in technical capabilities of men and women. But what it absolutely does is ensure [that] a woman will never outscore a man" (personal communication, 2014).

In the other judged sports at Sochi 2014, women and men were judged using the same criteria. Ski jumpers are awarded judges' or style points based on: precision, perfection, stability, and general impression (431, The International Ski Competition Rules – Book III Ski Jumping July 2014 Edition). In *Freestyle Skiing* Moguls, competitors are judged and scored on their turns, air (form and difficulty), and speed, and Aerials competitors are judged and scored on their air (technical take off, height, and distance), form (timing, quality of execution), and landing (6202 and 6002, FIS Freestyle Skiing General Rules for Scoring – Judging Handbook 2013/2014 Edition). In *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding*, Slopestyle competitors all ride the same course and the judging criteria are: amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, progression, combination/flow, and consideration (6.3, FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition).[12] The FIS mandates that "The features and the overall course should be designed in such a manner so as to allow usage by both men and ladies competitors" (24.2, FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition). According to Jeff Elmes, a provincially-certified snowboarding judge in Ontario, there are three different lines on the course that an athlete can ride, and these vary in difficulty (personal communication, 2014). Mandating consideration of both men and women suggests that the FIS anticipates that there will be differences in the ways that men and women ride the Slopestyle course. However, Elmes claimed, both men and women riders' use each of the lines and, therefore, the use of the course by athletes is not gendered (personal communication, 2014). In *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding*, Halfpipe competitors also all ride the same pipe, and the judging criteria are very similar to those for Slopestyle: amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, pipe use, progression, risk taking, combinations, and consideration (24.6, FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition).

The FIS explains the "consideration" criterion in this way:

> For a judge to "know" how difficult tricks and combos are, judges need to have communication with athletes and coaches to see their opinion. This item should be discussed with coaches at official coaches meetings during the

> season. Not at each competition. Difficulty is very individual and athletes, judges and coaches may disagree with each other when discussing difficulty scales. But judges must have a clear opinion when working on a competition what is easy and what is difficult (6.3, FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition).

When the FIS acknowledges, "difficulty is very individual," this highlights the challenges associated with the subjective elements of a judged sport. It also has the potential to reveal an implicitly gendered element of scoring in these *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding* events. That is, it suggests that men and women may receive different scores for the same tricks and combinations, based on the perception of how "difficult" they are for the athletes. Snowboarding judge Jeff Elmes confirmed this interpretation of the rules, explaining that judges develop a scoring range for tricks based on their degree of difficulty, which is determined relative to other athletes of the same gender. The tricks that men perform are typically considered by judges to be more difficult, meaning that if a woman and a man performed the identical trick to an identical standard, the woman would receive a higher score; the trick would be considered more difficult relative to what other women competitors are able to perform (personal communication, 2014).

These differences among the judged sports on the Winter Olympic programme reveal the potential (and actual) influence of gender on judging criteria, and must be considered in any assessment of – and attempts to achieve – gender equality at the Olympic Games.

A Note on "Ladies" versus "Women"

One of the most striking differences on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme is the difference in naming *among* the women's sports. Specifically, two of the seven sports (*Skating* and *Skiing*) at Sochi 2014 call their events for women, "ladies' events." *Skating* and *Skiing* account for nine of the 15 competitions (60%) on the Sochi 2014 programme. In the other five sports (and six competitions), the events for women are called "women's events." A similar naming convention is used by *Skating* and *Skiing* in French: the women's events are referred to as "dames," while the other five sports use the designation "femmes." It appears that the International Federations determine the naming convention for women's events. The events organized by the ISU (*Skating*) and the FIS (*Skiing*) are the only events on the entire Olympic programme – both the Winter and Summer Games – that use the designation "ladies" and "dames." Calling attention to this difference is important because "Language is never neutral. An analysis of language reveals embedded social meanings, including overt and covert biases, stereotypes, and inequities" (Messner, Duncan & Jensen, 1993: 132).

In its examination of the subject, *Only A Game* (OAG) turned to the dictionary to understand the difference between a woman and a lady. "Lady" was defined as "a

woman who behaves in a polite way, a woman of high social position, a man's girlfriend," while "woman" was defined as "an adult female human being" (Merriam-Webster cited in, Ask OAG, 2014). The distinction is similar in French. "Dame" is defined as: "Titre donné à diverses époques aux femmes de haut rang, Femme à laquelle on attribue une certaine noblesse, Toute personne adulte de sexe féminin, Être humain du sexe féminin" (Larousse.com). And "femme" as: "Adulte de sexe féminin, par opposition à fille, Épouse" (Larousse.com). It seems that in 2014, much of Lerner's (1976: 296) argument remains relevant: "the term lady also imparts a tone of frivolity and lightness to the strivings and accomplishments of women. Linguists have commented that terms like lady scientist and lady doctor seem to minimize some of the anxiety that is associated with women who are successful and powerful in traditionally masculine competitive pursuits." Is it true that naming all of the women's *Skating* and *Skiing* events "ladies' events" and "événements pour dames" serves to detract from the accomplishments of the women competing in them (at least relative to the men in the corresponding "men's events" and "événements pour hommes")? Answering this question is not within the scope of this *Report*, but certainly warrants attention with respect to any discussion of gender equality at the Olympic Games.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS[13]

The data presented in this *Report* indicate that, while there has been an extended period of increasing gender equality at the Winter Olympic Games, to the point where women now comprise 40.4% of the participants and are represented in all but one 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 Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics are characterized by more gender differences than the London 2012 Summer Olympics – 77 of the 98 events (78.6%) at Sochi 2014 included at least one of the gender differences from the five categories detailed above. At London 2012, 146 of the 302 events (48.3%) included gender differences. In some ways, the Sochi 2014 programme is more consistent than the London 2012 programme; that is, there are fewer internal contradictions evident. For example, at the London 2012 Games, women and men competed in Marathon events in open water *Swimming* and *Athletics*, while other races (e.g., 1500m in the pool, 50km Race Walk) were limited to men, and women competed in shorter distance races (e.g., 800m in the pool, 20k Race Walk). At Sochi 2014, women's races were consistently shorter than men's across comparable sports and competitions (e.g., *Biathlon* and *Cross Country Skiing*). However, we believe that comparison across the entire Olympic programme – the Winter and Summer Games – may be both useful and revealing.

The data indicate that only 14.3% of the events at the Sochi 2014 Olympics could be considered as equal for men and women. Some 7.1% of all the events are still gender exclusive, with 100% of those being men-only events. And over three quarters of the events in Sochi (78.6%) 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 550 more men than women competing in Sochi, and there were 7.5 more medal events for men than for women (7.7% of all medal events).

The first-time inclusion of women's *Ski Jumping* at Sochi 2014 is a step toward gender equality, even though women ski jumpers competed for only one gold medal, while the men ski jumpers competed for three. And the continued exclusion of women from *Nordic Combined* competition, despite their inclusion in both *Cross Country Skiing* and *Ski Jumping* (the two sports that make up *Nordic Combined*) seems anachronistic. Thomas Bach agrees; he has shown interest in continuing to make gender equality a priority for the IOC and argues, "Think about Nordic combined for women. We have ski jumping for women, cross country for women, so why should we not have Nordic combined because we see that they are a great success and this is a very good way to promote women's sport" (*Sport Business International*, 2014a). When analyzed in the larger context of the entire Olympic programme, this raises another seeming contradiction among the winter sports. At the London 2012 Summer Olympics, men and women competing in the *Shooting* events did so in different ways (e.g., rifle weight, number of shots, etc.). Although women consistently compete over shorter distances than the men in the *Biathlon*,

no similar differences between women and men exist with respect to the shooting element.

In addition to new events for men (*Freestyle Skiing* Halfpipe and Slopestyle, and *Snowboarding* Halfpipe, Slopestyle, and Parallel Slalom) and women (the same new events as the men, and *Ski Jumping*), Sochi 2014 included three new mixed gender events (*Biathlon* Mixed Relay, *Luge* Mixed Relay, *Figure Skating* Team competition). Mixed gender events need to be investigated closely, as they do not always offer equal opportunities for men and women. For example, in the *Biathlon* Mixed Relay, the two women on each team each ski six kilometres, while the two men each ski 7.5 kilometres. In the *Figure Skating* Team competition, one woman, one man, one Pairs couple, and one Ice Dance couple compete with all of the gender differences that apply to their non-Team competition (i.e., the gendered uniform requirements of Ice Dance, the different Free Program length for Singles, etc.). Finally, the *Luge* Mixed Relay includes one women's Singles athlete, one men's Singles athlete, and one Doubles – "either men, women, or mixed" (olympic.org, 2013). Despite this assertion, and the fact that the FIL does not restrict women's participation in Doubles competition, historically and at Sochi 2014, all Doubles competitors have been men. This includes the competitors in the *Luge* Mixed Relay, which is why we have divided the medal opportunities for this event as 0.25 for women and 0.75 for men. Also interesting, all sleds in the *Luge* Doubles and Mixed Relay use the same starting point (1384-metre course length), which is the "women's" starting point during Singles competition (women and men use different starting points during Singles competition).

Following the Sochi 2014 Olympics, the FIBT announced that the four-man *Bobsleigh* competition on the World Cup circuit would be gender neutral, i.e., that women can compete in the formerly exclusively men's four-man races. According to FIBT President, Ivo Ferriani, "We follow the spirit and movements of our time. There is a strong belief in the FIBT that men and women can compete together in 4-man (*sic*). Therefore the Executive Committee decided to support equal opportunities for men and women in that discipline" (RWH/FIBT press, September 25, 2014). In November 2014, for the first time, women – Canadian, Kallie Humphries, and American, Elana Meyers Taylor – piloted all-male crews in an international four-man World Cup race in Park City, Utah (RWH/FIBT press, November 17, 2014). Although the FIBT presented this change as recognition of women's ability to compete with men, both Humphries and Meyers Taylor claimed that they have participated in the four-man (*sic*) races in order to promote the possibility of a women's four-man (*sic*) race in the future. Specifically, Meyers Taylor said, "Hopefully it's a starting point to get our own women's discipline […] That's what we're after. If this is all we can do in the meantime, compete against men, we're going to give it our best shot and go for it" (Meyers Taylor cited in Spencer, 2014). These contradictory claims, as well as the concerns we have raised about the lack of gender equality in mixed gender events, makes this trend in Winter Olympic sports an important one for continued study.[14]

In June 2015, the IOC executive board approved new events in *Snowboarding*, *Freestyle Skiing*, *Speed Skating*, and *Curling* for the 2018 Winter Olympic Games in PyeongChang. The additional even in *Curling* is Mixed Doubles. According to the IOC, "The new programme will allow for a record number of female events, a record number of mixed events, a record number of female athletes, and a projected increase in the overall female participation rates at the Olympic winter Games, reflecting the implementation of Olympic Agenda 2020" (reported in *Sport Business International*, 2015a). Recent evidence suggests that this trend will not be exclusive to Winter Olympic sports. In March, 2015, the International Cycling Union (UCI) announced that it will "begin trialling mixed-gender events in response to a request from the International Olympic Committee (IOC)" (*Sport Business International*, 2015). The IOC's decision to encourage the addition of mixed-gender events, rather than directly addressing existing gender inequalities, seems to perpetuate and potentially compound gender inequality on the Olympic programme, rather than promoting gender equality as claimed.

Although the Sochi 2014 Olympics made some progress toward gender equality – for example, by reducing the number of men-only sports on the programme to one (*Nordic Combined*), and increasing medal opportunities for women (and men) – the data in this *Report* show that there is still a significant way to go toward achieving gender equality. 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.

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

Priority Recommendations[15]

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 7.5 more events for men than for women. Some attention has already been paid to this by the IOC with President Bach's desire to see women's *Nordic Combined* added to the Olympic programme. [16]

With regard to this remaining gender exclusive sport, *Nordic Combined*, and the other men-only events (four-man *Bobsleigh*, Doubles *Luge*, *Ski Jumping* Individual "large" hill and Team), it is necessary to consider and discuss the remaining differences between men's and women's sports and events on the Olympic Programme. Why is it difficult for sports such as *Bobsleigh*, *Luge*, *Ski Jumping*, and *Nordic Combined* to establish equivalent events for men and women?

However, full equivalence may not be the only solution to resolving this inequality. Rather than adding, for example, three *Nordic Combined* events for women, this might be resolved by adding more relevant, competitive women-only events. Teetzel (2009: 202) argues that, "treating male and female athletes differently is not inherently unfair, discriminatory, or morally unacceptable if justifiable reasons prescribe doing so." 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 to achieve the same number of events (opportunities for medals) for women and men at the Olympics.

Recommendation 10 of *Olympic Agenda 2020*, accepted by the IOC in December, 2014, states that the Olympic Games will "Move from a sport-based to an event-based programme" (IOC, 2014b, p. 9). The implications of this for gender equality are not clear. However, when this Recommendation is combined with the cap on events for future Olympics (100 for Winter Olympics, 310 for Summer Olympics) proposed in Recommendation 9, it seems that the only way to achieve equality in the number of events for men and women will involve a reduction in the number of men's events. As we argued in the London 2012 *Report*:

> …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 Olympics, at least temporarily, so be it (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013:30).

In other words, this problem not of their making should not be resolved by reducing Olympic opportunities for men, or by pitting women athletes against men athletes by cutting men's events and positions.[17]

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.*

There were 550 more men than women who competed in Sochi (38.4% more men than women),[18] and some 57.1% (8 of 14) of competitions open to both women and men at the Sochi 2014 Olympics stipulated a higher maximum number of men than women competitors. Unlike the programme for London 2012, we did not find any cases in which it was clear that the difference in the athlete quota for men and women was proportional to the number of events open to men and women. *Bobsleigh* may be the closest; with two men's events and one women's event, the FIBT stipulated 130M and 40W competitors. Women compete only in two-man (*sic*) *Bobsleigh*, and the additional 90 men may be accounted for by men's four-man *Bobsleigh*.[19] In most cases the difference is not proportional: for example, *Luge*, with 2.75 men's events and 1.25 women's event, stipulated a maximum of 78M and 28W competitors (with an additional eight spots available to the Mixed Relay). *Speed Skating* – unlike *Short Track Speed Skating*, which regulates the same number of

women and men competitors – stipulated 100M and 80W competitors as its target numbers. In team sports, while *Curling* had the same number of men's and women's teams in the tournament, with the same number of players per team, *Ice Hockey* held a tournament with more men's teams than women's teams, and more players on the men's teams than the women's teams. Introducing events for women in formerly men-only sports (e.g., *Ski Jumping*) is an important step; however, it is now time for those sports – and all of the existing sports – to more equitably represent men and women competitors.

Achieving the priority recommendations:
As Hans Bruyninckx (2011) 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 can contribute to an important message about gender equality by being more proactive in developing opportunities for women athletes. That is, making changes without the need for athlete protests and/or legal action, with the best interests of the athletes in mind, and in compliance with national gender equality laws and international conventions.

The IOC clearly recognizes its responsibility to work toward achieving equality in segregated sport, and steady progress has been made in the 20 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*. In the London 2012 *Report*, we called on the IOC to achieve full gender equality by the 2020 Games. Since the IOC will not select its host city for the 2022 Winter Olympics until July 2015, and no contracts are yet in place for those Games, the IOC should make the 2022 Games the target for achieving full gender equality in the Winter Olympics.

As a step toward the 2022 target, *we call upon the IOC, the IFs, and the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Organizing Committee (POCOG) to realize as many steps toward gender equality as feasible in time for the PyeongChang 2018 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 is impeded by the disturbing lack of accurate data about 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 London 2012 Olympics teams. Perhaps similar endeavours are necessary to persuade the remaining IFs to establish gender equality in their sports. While such efforts were not apparent at the Sochi 2014 Olympics, the beginning of a new presidency offers the IOC the opportunity to continue to make all forms of gender equality a priority, and to enforce this through regulation of both its member countries and affiliated IFs.

We are pleased to see that the recent *Olympic Agenda 2020*-proposed IOC reforms include an echo of our second priority recommendation from the London 2012 *Report*, and reiterated here. Recommendation 11(1), *Foster Gender Equality*, states:

> The IOC to work with the International Federations to achieve 50% female participation in the Olympic Games and to stimulate women's participation and involvement in sport by creating more participation opportunities at the Olympic Games (IOC 2014:10).

The *Olympic Charter* (IOC, 2013) 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 2018 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 may still be time to negotiate an increase in the number of women participants for the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics.

However, although the *Olympic Agenda 2020* was approved by the IOC in December, 2014, commentators have pointed out that: "it offers nothing more than feeble gestures in key areas such as ethics and good governance, gender equity and protection for clean athletes…" (Ahl, 2015). Ahl goes on to note that:

> One cannot argue against the objective of fostering gender equity… IOC says it will cooperate with IFs, but the important work on gender equity starts on the national and local level, and it needs to result in a longer-term, sustainable change… And it will involve strong persuasion at the national level in order to remove long-standing biases and obstacles. IOC needs to do much more in order to be credible.

Notwithstanding these concerns, Duval (2014) points out that, having established such specific goals in *Olympic Agenda 2020*, "from now on, the press and the public will be able to blame the IOC if it does not follow its self-imposed requirements (gender balance being the one to watch closely) in the future."

Recommendations Regarding the Structure and Rules of Events[20]

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 distances over which men and women compete in races; and the [in]consistencies within and between sports.*

Unlike the London 2012 Summer Olympic programme, which had only a few sports that maintain differences in the lengths of men's and women's races, longer race distances for men were far more prevalent on the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics programme. As a result of the more frequent gendering of unequal distances at Sochi 2014, there are fewer "anachronisms," i.e., fewer internal contradictions on the Winter Olympic programme. However, it seems both possible and relevant to compare across the entire Olympic programme – both the Summer and Winter Games. For example, the gender equal race distances on the London 2012 *Athletics* programme (with the exception of the 100m Hurdles for women and 110m Hurdles

for men, and the 50km Race Walk for men only) seem like an excellent model to apply to the consistently gender unequal race distances on the Sochi 2014 *Cross Country Skiing* and *Biathlon* programmes.

At the Sochi 2014 Olympics, there were two forms of racing events: (1) Set distance (e.g., Individual women's 15km and men's 20km events in *Biathlon*, men's and women's 1500m event in *Speed Skating*); and (2) Distance determined by the course design (e.g., all *Alpine Skiing* events). In all of the set distance events, men and women raced the same distance or, more commonly, men raced a longer distance than the women. The same was true of all the races where distance was determined by the course design, with one exception: in the *Alpine Skiing* Super Giant Slalom, the women raced on a course that was four metres longer than the men's course. To put this into perspective, in the Downhill and the Super Combined, the men's courses were 782 metres and 506 metres, respectively, longer than the women's courses. In addition, although the women's Super Giant Slalom course was four metres longer than the men's, the men's course had a greater vertical drop (the difference between the starting and finishing altitudes) – 622m for the men and 615m for the women. Although we have included vertical drop (*Alpine Skiing*) and total climb (*Biathlon*) in category (iv) (differences in height, weight, and spacing of equipment), it is relevant to note here that distance does not refer only to the length of the course on which athletes race.

All of the IFs responsible for racing events on the Winter Olympic programme should give serious consideration to this remaining aspect of gender inequality. This includes those sports, such as *Speed Skating* and *Short Track Speed Skating*, that include equal distance races (e.g., 500m, 1000m, 1500m), but also unequal distance races (e.g., 5000m Relay for men, 3000m relay for women in *Short Track Speed Skating*; and six laps for the women's Team Pursuit and eight laps for the men's in *Speed Skating*). Why should women be limited to shorter distances than men in the same sports?

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 and weight restrictions on athletes, the remaining differences in and between sports employing weight categories and weight restrictions on athletes, and the [in]consistencies between sports.*

The only sports on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme that included gender differences related to the weight of athletes were the sliding sports. Specifically, *Bobsleigh*, *Bobsleigh-Skeleton*, and *Luge* stipulated higher maximum weights for men than for women. The different maximum weights for men and women in *Bobsleigh* relative to *Bobsleigh-Skeleton* are not proportional, i.e., for *Bobsleigh*, men's maximum sled weight (athlete(s) plus sled) is 1.15 times heavier than the women's maximum sled weight, and for *Bobsleigh-Skeleton*, men's maximum sled weight is

1.25 times heavier than the women's maximum sled weight. For *Luge*, men's weight cannot exceed 90kg, while women's weight cannot exceed 75kg.

Based on the existing differences on the Sochi 2014 Olympic programme, the following questions need to be addressed: *(1)* Do the maximum weights 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?; *(2)* To what extent are athletes involved in determining appropriate maximum weights for their sports?; and *(3)* Do maximum weights and weight control strategies lead to health compromising behaviours by men and women athletes and, if so, how might this problem be resolved?

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]consistencies between sports.*

This recommendation concerns a set of rules that stipulates smaller (e.g., skis), lighter (e.g., bobsled, luge), and more protective (e.g., face shields) equipment, and less steep (e.g., *Biathlon* and *Alpine Skiing*) venues, for women than for men. As with the other categories of gender difference, 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 or venue in the event. Thus, for example, *Alpine Skiing* stipulates a minimum ski radius for Giant Slalom and Super Giant Slalom (five millimetres larger for men than for women), and a maximum ski profile width in front of the binding for Giant Slalom (also five millimetres larger for men than for women). However, the remaining *Alpine Skiing* events – Downhill, Slalom, and Super Combined – have no such differences. Also in *Alpine Skiing*, each event has a minimum ski length requirement that is longer for men than for women; however, the difference in lengths for men and women vary from five to ten centimetres. *Biathlon* stipulates a maximum total climb for each event that is higher for men than for women, whereas *Cross Country Skiing* – a similar event, without the shooting – includes no such difference.

This category encompasses a variety of differences, all connected by their relationship to equipment and/or venue. These rules appear to reflect an inconsistent set of assumptions about women's size and strength and, while some of the rules about weight and size of equipment, and size of venue, 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. For example, currently in *Ice Hockey*, women are required to wear a full face shield,

while men (born after 1975) are only required to wear a half face shield. This raises questions about the safety of athletes and athletes' choice, and should be addressed with the best interests of athletes in mind. Where relevant in other sports, IFs should follow the lead of *Biathlon* with respect to equipment. Specifically, in *Biathlon* the weight of an athlete's skis, and the length of their skis and poles is determined relative to the athlete's size, and the same formula is used for men and women. This allows athletes to use equipment that makes sense for them, rather than equipment that is determined to be appropriate for members of their gender. Similar attention should be paid to the measurable differences in the venues used by women and men.

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 rules (e.g., the legality of bodychecking in *Ice Hockey*), uniforms (e.g., uniform requirements for *Figure Skating* and *Ski Jumping*, and starting bibs in all *Skiing* events), and scoring (e.g., score multipliers for men's and women's *Figure Skating* Singles) for women and men in the Winter Olympic sports/events. Athletes should be consulted to determine what is most appropriate, comfortable, and safe for them, which might result in women hockey players choosing to make bodychecking legal, or men figure skaters deciding they would like the option to wear tights. All skiers should have the option to wear a starting bib that fits them, rather than being required to wear a starting bib that is sized generically for their gender (see Recommendation 5, above). In *Figure Skating* Singles, the higher scoring multiplier for men's Short and Free Programs warrants attention – if the rationale is related to the increased requirements in the Free Program, then the higher scoring multiplier should be limited to this part of the Singles competition (as the requirements for the men's and women's Short Program are the same). Again, each of 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.

7. *Change the naming conventions of the ISU (*Skating*) and FIS (*Skiing*) to "women's events" and "événements pour femmes" (from "ladies' events" and "événements pour dames") in order to be consistent with the entire Olympic programme. (In order to achieve consistency in naming, the FIBT should also revise its naming convention for the two-man and four-man* Bobsleigh *events.)*

As stated previously, "Language is never neutral. An analysis of language reveals embedded social meanings, including overt and covert biases, stereotypes, and inequities" (Messner, Duncan & Jensen, 1993: 132). The terms "ladies" and "dames" can be interpreted as diminishing women's accomplishments, and even if this is not

the intention of the ISU and FIS, this is a minor change that would have a positive impact on the status of gender equality at the Winter Olympic Games.

Achieving the recommended outcomes:
The IOC has continually demonstrated its capacity to bring panels of experts and other 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 five areas of inequality identified here, and to urge the IFs to make changes based on the panels' recommendations.

Conclusion[21]

In this *Research Report*, a Gender Audit of the Sochi 2014 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: 215) 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."

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*, contributing to the project started with *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit*, as a way to start the discussion about 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.

Table 1. Gender Exclusive Sports/Events

	Men Only		Women Only	
Sport	**Event**		**Event**	**Comments**
Bobsleigh	Four-man		———	See Table 3a for additional Bobsleigh events.
Luge	Doubles*		———	*There is no restriction on women competing in Doubles, but the event was contested entirely by men. See Tables 3a and 3b for additional Luge events.
Skiing/Nordic Combined	Individual "normal" hill Individual "large" hill Team ("large" hill)		——— ——— ———	•There are no Nordic Combined events for women.
Skiing/Ski Jumping	Individual "large" hill Team ("large" hill)		——— ———	See Table 3a for additional Ski Jumping events.

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

Sport	Event	Comments
Curling	Team (M&W)	
Skating/Short Track Speed	500m (M&W) 1000m (M&W) 1500m (M&W)	See Table 3a for additional Short Track Speed Skating events.
Skiing/Cross Country	Team Sprint (M&W)*	See Table 3a for additional Cross Country Skiing events. *All Skiing events have different sized starting bibs for M and W (for details, see Appendix C)
Skiing/Freestyle	Aerials (M&W)* Ski Cross (M&W)*	See Table 3a for additional Freestyle Skiing events. *All Skiing events have different sized starting bibs for M and W (for details, see Appendix C)

Table 3a. Mixed Gender Events with Gender Differences

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Biathlon	Mixed Relay (2M, 2W)				See Table 3a for additional Biathlon events.
		Distance Distance between and location of shooting bouts Total climb	7.5km (leg 3 & 4) 2.5km, 2.5/5km 200 to 300m	6km (leg 1 & 2) 2km, 2/4km 150 to 250m	
Luge	Mixed Relay (3M, 1W)	Weight allowance # of competitors	13kg 36	10kg 12	See Tables 1 and 3a for additional Luge events. •W, M, 2M relay order
Skating/Figure	Pairs (1M, 1W) Ice Dance (1M, 1W) Team* (3M, 3W)	Uniform Uniform Same differences as M and W Singles, Pairs, Ice Dance (e.g., length of programs, required jumps, uniform)**	Must wear trousers; no tights are permitted Must wear full-length trousers: no tights are allowed; costume may not be sleeveless	Can wear skirts, trousers, tights Must wear a skirt; dress must not give the effect of excessive nudity	See Table 3a for additional Figure Skating events. *Team competition includes 1 ladies' skater, 1 men's skater, 1 pairs couple, and 1 ice dance couple **See Table 3a for details

Table 3b. Sports/Events with Gender Differences

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Biathlon	Individual 15k (W)/ Individual 20k (M)				See Table 3b for additional Biathlon events.
		Total race distance	20km (4km loop, 5 laps)	15km (3km loop, 5 laps)	
		Distance between and location of shooting bouts	4km, 4/8/12/16km	3km, 3/6/9/12km	
		Total climb	600 to 800m	400 to 600m	
		# of competitors	89	82	
	Sprint 7.5k (W)/ Sprint 10k (M)	Total race distance	10km (3.3km loop, 3 laps)	7.5km (2.5km loop, 3 laps)	
		Distance between and location of shooting bouts	3.3km, 3/7km	2.5km, 2.5/5km	
		Total climb	300 to 450m	200 to 300m	
		# of competitors	87	84	
	Pursuit 10k (W)/ Pursuit 12.5k (M)	Total race distance	12.5km (2.5km loop, 5 laps)	10km (2km loop, 5 laps)	
		Distance between and location of shooting bouts	2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/10km	2km, 2/4/6/8km	
		Total climb	350 to 500m	200 to 400m	
		# of competitors	59	57	
	Mass Start 12.5k (W)/Mass Start 15k (M)	Total race distance	15km (3km loop, 5 laps)	12.5km (2.5km loop, 5 laps)	
		Distance between and location of shooting bouts	3km, 3/6/9/12km	2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/10km	
		Total climb	400 to 600m	350 to 500m	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Biathlon cont.	Relay 6k (W)/Relay 7.5k (M)	Total race distance	7.5km (2.5km loop, 3 laps)	6km (2km loop, 3 laps)	
		Distance between and location of shooting bouts	2.5km, 2.5/5km	2km, 2/4km	
		Total climb	200 to 300m	150 to 250m	
		# of teams competing	19	17	
Bobsleigh	Singles (M&W)	Max weight: athlete + sled	390kg	340kg	See Table 1 for additional Bobsleigh events.
		# of competitors	60	38	
Bobsleigh/Skeleton	Singles (M&W)	Max weight: athlete + sled	115kg	92kg	
		Max weight: sled only	43kg	35kg	
		# of competitors	27	20	
Ice Hockey	(M&W)	# of teams/countries competing	12	8	
		# of athletes/team	25	21	
		# of competitors	300	168	
		Equipment	Born after 1975, must wear half face shield; born before 1975, no restriction	Must wear full face shield	
		Rules	Bodychecking is legal	Bodychecking is illegal (minor or major penalty)	
Luge	Singles (M&W)	Course length	1475m	1384m	See Tables 1 and 3b for additional Luge events
		Course elevation	839.2m	829.6m	
		Weight allowance	13kg	10kg	
		Athlete quota	38	28	
		# of competitors	39	31	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skating/Figure	Singles (M&W)	Duration	4.5mins (max) Free Program	4mins (max) Free Program	See Table 3b for additional Figure Skating events
		# of jumps	8 max for a well-balanced program	7 max for a well-balanced program	*Of the 7 required jumps for M and W, 3 are different
		Required elements*	Triple or quad jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple or quadruple + double/triple), camel spin or sit spin	Triple jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple), layback spin or sideways leaning spin	
		Scoring	Points for Short Program multiplied by 1.0, for Free Skate by 2.0	Points for Short Program multiplied by 0.8, for Free Skate by 1.6	
		Uniform**	Must wear trousers; not tights are permitted	Can wear skirts, trousers, tights	**M and W = the clothing must be modest, dignified and appropriate for athletic competition – not garish or theatrical in design; must not give the effect of excessive nudity for athletic sport
Skating/Short Track Speed	M&W Relay	Distance	5000m	3000m	See Table 2 for additional Short Track Speed Skating events
Skating/Speed	M&W 500m	Athlete quota	40	36	
		# of competitors	40	35	
	M&W 1000m	Athlete quota	40	36	
		# of competitors	40	36	
	M&W 1500m	Athlete quota	40	36	
		# of competitors	40	36	
	M&W Team pursuit	# of laps	8	6	
	5000m (M)/3000m (W)	# of competitors	26	28	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skating/Speed (cont.)	10000m (M)/5000m (W)	# of competitors	14	16	
	All events	# of competitors	94	83	
Skiing/Alpine	M&W Downhill	Course length	3495m	2713m	
		Start altitude	2045m	1755m	
		Finish altitude	970m	965m	
		Vertical drop	1075m	790m	
		# of gates	46	41	
		Ski length (minimum)	218cm	210cm	
		# of competitors	49/50*	41/42*	*M = 50, W = 42 competitors on start list
		# of countries participating	24	23	
	M&W Slalom	# of gates	Run 1: 60 (57 turning gates); Run 2: 67 (64 turning gates)	Run 1: 61 (60 turning gates); Run 2: 61 (60 turning gates)	
		Ski length (minimum)	165cm	155cm	
		# of competitors	Run 1: 115/117**; Run 2: 77	Run 1: 85/88**; Run 2: 60	**M = 117, W = 88 competitors on start list
		# of countries participating	Run 1: 61/62***; Run 2: 48	Run 1: 48/50***; Run 2: 38	***M = 62, W = 50 competitors on start list
	M&W Giant Slalom	Start altitude	1370m	1365m	
		Finish altitude	960m	965m	
		Vertical drop	410m	400m	
		# of gates	Run 1: 57 (57 turning gates); Run 2: 59 (55 turning gates)	Run 1: 54 (51 turning gates); Run 2: 54 (52 turning gates)	
		Ski length (minimum)	195cm	188cm	
		Ski profile width (min)*	≤98mm	≤103mm	*Width in front of binding
		Ski radius (minimum)	35mm	30mm	
		# of competitors	Run 1: 109; Run 2: 79	Run 1: 90; Run 2: 74	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skiing/Alpine cont.	M&W Giant Slalom cont.				
		# of countries participating	Run 1: 62; Run 2: 49	Run 1: 48; Run 2: 44	
	M&W Super Giant Slalom				
			2096m	2100m	
		Course length	1592m	1580m	
		Start altitude	970m	965m	
		Finish altitude	622m	615m	
		Vertical drop	41 (37 turning gates)	43 (40 turning gates)	
		# of gates	210cm	205cm	
		Ski length (minimum)	45mm	40mm	
		Ski radius (minimum)	63	50	
		# of competitors			
		# of countries participating	28	25	
	M&W Super Combined				*Same ski length (minimum) restriction as M&W Downhill
		Downhill (Run 1)*	3219m	2713m	
		Course length	1947m	1755m	
		Start altitude	970m	965m	*Same ski length (minimum) restriction as M&W Slalom
		Finish altitude	977m	790m	**W = 39 competitors on start list
		Vertical drop			
		*Slalom** (Run 2)*			
		# of gates	62 (59 turning gates)	59 (58 turning gates)	
		# of competitors	Run 1: 50; Run 2: 46	Run 1: 36/39**; Run 2: 34	***W = 21 NOCs on start list
		# of countries participating	Run 1: 24; Run 2: 22	Run 1: 20/21***; Run 2: 19	
	All Alpine Skiing events				****See Appendix C for starting bib specifications
		Starting bibs****	Larger size than W	Smaller size than M	

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skiing/Cross Country	<u>Distance</u>				
	M&W Classical	Distance	15km	10km	
		# of competitors	91/92*	76	*M = 92 competitors on start list
		# of countries participating	45	39	
	M&W Mass Start	Distance	50km	30km	
		# of competitors	64/65**	57	**M = 65 competitors on start list
		# of countries participating	25/26***	24	***M = 26 NOCs on start list
	M&W Skiathlon	Distance	30km (2 x 15km on 3.75km loop)	15km (2 x 7.5km on 2.5km loop)	
		# of competitors	68	61	
		# of countries participating	30	24	
	M&W Relay	Distance	4 x 10km (40km total)	4 x 5km (20km total)	
		# of countries participating	16	14	
	<u>Sprint</u>				
	M&W Individual Sprint	Distance	1.4 to 1.6km loop	1.2 to 1.3km loop	
		# of competitors	86	67	
		# of countries participating	40	31	
	All Cross Country Skiing events	Starting bibs****	Larger size than W	Smaller size than M	****See Appendix C for starting bib specifications

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skiing/Ski Jumping	M&W Individual ("normal" hill)	# of competitors	61	30	See Table 1 for additional Ski Jumping events
		# of countries participating	20	12	
		Starting bibs*	Larger size than W	Smaller size than M	*See Appendix C for starting bib specifications
		Uniform (# of parts of the material of which the suit consists**)	5 above waist seam, 2 under waist seam	7 parts for the upper body, 8 parts for the lower body	**Also, different specifications for M and W re: location of seams, etc.
Skiing/Freestyle	M&W Moguls	Pace speed	9.7m/sec	8.2m/sec	See Table 2 for additional Freestyle Skiing events
		Pace time*	25.46	30.12	*Course length divided by pace speed
		# of competitors	29	20	
	M&W Ski Halfpipe	Athlete quota	30	24	
		# of competitors	29	23	
	M&W Ski Slopestyle	Athlete quota	30	24	
		# of competitors	32*	22**	*Reallocation of quota by FIS **2 athletes withdrew due to injury
	All Freestyle Skiing events	Starting bibs***	Larger size than W	Smaller size than M	***See Appendix C for starting bib specifications
Skiing/Snowboard	M&W Halfpipe	Athlete quota	40	30	
		# of competitors	39/40*	28	*M = 40 competitors on start list
		# of countries participating	16	13	
	M&W Parallel Slalom	# of countries participating	12	15	
	M&W Parallel Giant				

Sport	Event	Gender difference(s)	Men	Women	Comments
Skiing/Snowboard cont.	Slalom				
		# of countries participating	12	15	
	M&W Snowboard Cross				
		Athlete quota	40	24	
		# of countries participating	15	14	
	M&W Snowboard Slopestyle				
		Athlete quota	30	24	
		# of competitors	29	23	
		# of countries participating	13	11	

Notes

1. From the *Olympic Charter* (IOC, 2013, p. 16).

2. At the Sochi 2014 Olympics, 16 of the 88 (18.2%) countries sent teams that included no women. Of these countries, 13 sent a team of only one athlete, one country sent a team of two athletes, and two countries sent teams of three athletes. Four countries sent teams that included no men. Of these countries, three sent a team of one athlete, and one country sent a team of two athletes. Of the 88 countries represented at the Sochi 2014 Games, 46 (52.3%) had teams that included five or fewer athletes.

3. IWG reported that, during his speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 6th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport, IOC President Thomas Bach "reminded the participants that in the Olympic Games in London and Sochi, the percentage of female athletes 44 and 40 per cent respectively, both up from the previous Games" (IWG, 2014). However, while London saw a small increase in the percentage of women athletes, Sochi actually had a lower proportion of women athletes than the previous Winter Olympics in Vancouver 2010 (see, Women's Participation in the Winter Olympic Games Table in this *Report*).

4. The last decrease from the previous Games in the percentage of women athletes at a Summer Olympic Games was in 1960.

5. The number of women's events and the percentage of women's events have been recalculated. In a seemingly self-serving mathematical device, mixed events were added only to the total of women's events, essentially designating them as women-only events. In the recalculation, we have followed the practice outlined in this *Report* of assigning 0.5 of a mixed medal event to each of men and women (p. 14). From 1994 to 2010, the only mixed events on the Winter Olympic programme were in *Figure Skating* (Pairs, Ice Dance). In 2014, three additional mixed events were added – *Figure Skating* Team, *Biathlon* Mixed Relay, and *Luge* Mixed Relay. The number of men and women are equal in the first two, and we have assigned 0.5 to men and 0.5 to women for each of these events. However, the *Luge* Mixed Relay involves three men and one woman on each team: therefore, we have assigned 0.75 and 0.25 respectively to men and women.

6. 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 10,500. This is achieved by controlling the number of athletes in specific sports, and by dropping some sports when new sports are added. Concerns about gigantism are limited to the Summer Games, and as yet have not been an issue for the Winter Games. That is, concerns about gigantism are not a reason to continue to include fewer events for women at the Winter Olympics.

7. Article 1 fixes the current limits for the Summer Olympics, while allowing for a small increase in the number of events (302 in London; 306 in Rio de Janeiro): "The IOC to limit the number of athletes, officials and events for the Games of the Olympiad to approximately: 10,500 athletes; 5,000 accredited coaches and athletes' support personnel; [and] 310 events." However, the main impact of "gigantism" lies in the overall number of accredited persons, including media, 'Olympic family', sponsors and VIPs – reportedly 510,000 persons in London. In contrast to the relatively firm limits outlined in Articles 1 and 2, Article 3 states: "The IOC to study ways in which the overall number of other accreditations at the

Olympic Games can be reduced."

8. This section has been adapted from *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013).

9. The halfpipe built in the Roza Khutor Extreme Park for the Sochi 2014 *Freestyle Skiing* and *Snowboarding* Halfpipe events is, according to the FIS designation, an "oversized pipe" (14.1, FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition). This means it is larger than a standard halfpipe. Specifically, it was 190 metres long, 21 metres (wall to wall) wide, had an inclination of 18 degrees, the inner walls were 6.8 metres high, and the inclination of the vert[ical] was 84 degrees.

10. *Luge* Doubles do not specify male or female participants, and FIL, the international luge federation, identifies the Doubles event as a mixed event. However, we have not been able to find any women participants in Sochi (and the IOC has not added *Luge* Doubles to the women's total of events in their calculation (IOC, 2014)); therefore, we have not included this as a mixed event.

11. For each of the Short Program and the Free Skate, athletes are awarded a Total Technical Score (353.1.g) and a Program Component Score (353.1.j). The Program Component Score is the part of the athlete's score that is multiplied by 1.0 (Short Program) and 2.0 (Free Skate) for men, and 0.8 (Short Program) and 1.6 (Free Skate) for Women (353.1.m). The Total Technical Score and the Program Component Score are added, and deductions are subtracted, to determine the Total Segment Score (351.2.a) (Rule 353, ISU Special Regulations and Technical Rules, 2012).

12. The majority of the FIS Judges Manual Snowboard 2013/2014 Edition is written in gender neutral language or using "he/she." There is one exception: section 6.5 – Considerations of the Judging Criteria – is written using exclusively masculine pronouns, e.g., "If the athlete can do a large number of different tricks, he shows a high mastery of the sport and is thus better than someone who can only do a limited number of maneuvers;" "For example: one who performs a method air by barely bending his knees and just touching his board has **not** performed the trick in a difficult and well executed manner compared to someone who grabs his board, pulls it over his head, holds it, and straightens his legs." Although this may simply be an oversight of copy editing, in a discussion about gender equality at the Winter Olympics, it is important to note.

13. This section has been adapted from *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013).

14. In the *Olympic Agenda 2020* IOC reforms (noted subsequently), accepted by the IOC in December, 2014, Recommendation 11(2), *Foster Gender Equality*, states: "The IOC to foster the inclusion of mixed-gender events" (IOC, 2014b: 10). As Ahl (2015) notes: "it seems doubtful that a goal of achieving 50 per cent female participation in the Olympic Games is best addressed through manipulation of Olympic events, such as the inclusion of artificial 'mixed-gender team events'." As is evident in the *Report*, the addition of mixed gender team events does not have the effect of adding any additional women athletes, since all of the competitors in Sochi in these events were already competitors in their respective singles events.

15. This section has been adapted from *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013).

16. See IWG (2014) and *Sport Business International* (2014a).

17. 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).

18. At the London 2012 Olympics, there were 22.6% more men than women.

19. The actual number of competitors in the two-man *Bobsleigh* event suggests that the total athlete quota for *Bobsleigh* is not actually proportional to the number of events open to men and women. Specifically, 60 men and 38 women competed in the two-man (*sic*) *Bobsleigh* event at Sochi 2014.

20. This section has been adapted from *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013).

21. This section has been adapted from *The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit* (Donnelly & Donnelly, 2013).

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APPENDIX A

THE 7 SPORTS (IFs) / 15 COMPETITIONS AT THE SOCHI 2014 OLYMPICS

SPORTS/COMPETITIONS	**IFs**
BIATHLON	IBU
BOBSLEIGH **and** SKELETON	FIBT
CURLING	WCF
ICE HOCKEY	IIHF
LUGE	FIL
FIGURE SKATING **and** SHORT TRACK SPEED SKATING **and** SPEED SKATING (LONG TRACK)	ISU
ALPINE SKIING **and** CROSS COUNTRY **and** NORDIC COMBINED **and** SKI JUMPING **and** FREESTYLE SKIING **and** SNOWBOARDING	FIS

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY DATA TABLE: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN OLYMPIC SPORTS

The following Table outlines the gender differences and similarities for each sport at the Sochi 2014 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 men and women competitors that are permitted to compete in the sport; followed by a column giving the maximum number of men and women 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 *Skiing*, 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 equality appears to have been achieved, any different events for men and women, and different rules or conditions of competition 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 Sochi 2014 Olympic Sports

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Biathlon	5.5*	5.5*	[220]**	[220]**			22 athletes 14M or 14W	1960 (individual) 1968 (relay) 1980 (sprint) 2002 (pursuit) 2006 (mass start) 2014 (mixed relay)	1992 (individual, relay, sprint) 2002 (pursuit) 2006 (mass start) 2014 (mixed relay)	**Individual (20k)** Distance M = 4km loop (5 laps) Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts† M = 4km, 4/8/12/16km Total climb M = 600 to 800m # of competitors M = 89	**Individual (15k)** W = 3 km loop (5 laps) W = 3km, 3/6/9/12km W = 400 to 600m W = 82	*M and W individual, sprint, pursuit, mass start, relay + Mixed relay **No M/W designation. However, consistently fewer women than men competed in each event. †4 bouts of shooting (prone, standing, p, s), each missed target = 1min penalty
										Sprint (10k) Distance M = 3.3km loop (3 laps) Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts† M = 3.3km, 3/7km Total climb M = 300 to 450m # of competitors M = 87	**Sprint (7.5k)** W = 2.5km loop (3 laps) W = 2.5km, 2.5/5km W = 200 to 300m W = 84	†2 bouts of shooting (prone, standing), each missed target = 150m penalty loop

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Biathlon cont.										**Pursuit (12.5k)** <u>Distance</u> M = 2.5km loop (5 laps) <u>Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts†</u> M = 2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/ 10km <u>Total climb</u> M = 350 to 500m <u># of competitors</u> M = 59	**Pursuit (10k)** W = 2km loop (5 laps) W = 2km, 2/4/6/8km W = 200 to 400m W = 57	†4 bouts of shooting (prone, standing, p, s), each missed target = 150m penalty loop
										Mass Start (15k) <u>Distance</u> M = 3km loop (5 laps) <u>Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts†</u> M = 3km, 3/6/9/12km <u>Total climb</u> M = 400 to 600m <u># of competitors</u> M = 30	**Mass Start (12.5k)** W = 2.5km loop (5 laps) W = 2.5km, 2.5/5/7.5/ 10km W = 350 to 500m W = 30	†4 bouts of shooting (prone, p, standing, s), each missed target = 150m penalty loop

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Biathlon cont.										**Relay (7.5k)** <u>Distance</u> M = 2.5km loop (3 laps) <u>Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts†</u> M = 2.5km, 2.5/5km <u>Total climb</u> M = 200 to 300m <u># of teams</u> M = 19	**Relay (6k)** (each team member) W = 2km loop (3 laps) W = 2km, 2/4km W = 150 to 250m W = 17	†2 bouts of shooting (prone, standing), each missed target = 3 spare rounds (loaded individually), after 8 rounds = 150m penalty loop/missed target
										<u>Coed</u> **Mixed Relay*** 4 leg relay on 4km loop <u>Distance</u> M = 7.5km each (leg 3 & 4) <u>Distance b/w & location of shooting bouts†</u> M = 2.5km, 2.5/5km <u>Total climb</u> M = 200 to 300m	(2M, 2W) - W,W,M,M W = 6km each (leg 1 & 2) W = 2km, 2/4km W = 150 to 250m	*New in 2014 †2 bouts of shooting (prone, standing), each missed target = 150m penalty loop

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Bobsleigh	2	1	130	40			24 18M, 6W	1924 (4-man) 1932 (2-man)	2002	**M and W** **2 person** Max weight: athlete + sled M = 390kg # of competitors M = 60	W = 340kg W = 38	
										M only **4 person** M = 120	W = 0	
Bobsleigh/ Skeleton	1	1	30	20			6 3M, 3W	2002	2002	**M and W** **Singles** Max weight: athlete + sled* M = 115kg Max weight: sled only M = 43kg # of competitors M = 27	W = 92kg W = 35kg W = 20	*If the combined weight of the sled and the athlete with his equipment exceeds 115kg (women: 92kg), the weight of the sled alone may not exceed 33kg (women: 29kg)" - IBSF regulation
Curling	1	1	10 teams 5 athletes/ team 4 + alternate	10 teams 5 athletes/ team 4 + alternate			10 5M, 5W	1998	1998	**M and W** Team	•10 ends, 8 rocks per end •rock = 19.96kg •ice surface = 45.72m long, ≤ 5m wide	

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Ice Hockey	1	1	12 teams 25 athletes/ team	8 teams 21 athletes/ team			46 25M, 21W	1920	1998	**M and W** Equipment: facial protection M = Born after 1975 must wear half face shield; born before 1975 no restriction Rules M = Bodychecking is legal # of competitors M = 300 # of countries participating M = 12	W = Must wear full face shield W = Bodychecking is illegal (minor or major penalty) W = 168 W = 8	
Luge	2.75*	1.25*	78**	28**				1964 (Singles, Doubles) 2014 (Mixed Relay)	1964 (Singles) 2014 (Mixed Relay)	**M and W** **Singles** Course length M = 1475m Course elevation M = 839.2m Weight allowance (weight that can be carried) M = 13kg Quota M = 38 # of competitors M = 39	W = 1384m W = 829.6m W = 10kg W = 28 W = 31	*M singles and doubles, W singles + Mixed relay* *No M/W designation for Doubles -- historically all men in competition (see note on p. 32) **Additional 8 spots available for the team relay -- not designated by gender

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Luge cont.										**M only** **Doubles** # of competitors M = 38	W = 0	
										Coed **Mixed Relay*** # of competitors M = 36	(3M, 1W) - W,M,2M W = 12	*New in 2014 •W, M, 2M use the same starting point/course length for the relay
Skating/ Figure	1 individual 3 coed	1 individual [5 events total]	[148]* (+1M)**	[148]*			18 athletes 9M or 9W	1908 (Singles, Pairs) 1976 (Ice Dance)	1908 (Singles, Pairs) 1976 (Ice Dance)	**M and W** **Single** Duration M = 4.5 mins (max) Free Program Scoring M = points for Short Program multiplied by 1.0, Free Skate by 2.0 Uniformˆ M = must wear trousers; no tights are permitted Required elements† M = triple or quad jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple or quadruple + double/ triple), camel spin or sit spin	W = 4 mins (max) Free Program W = points for Short Program multiplied by 0.8, Free Skate by 1.6 W = can wear skirts, trousers, tights W = triple jump, jump combination (double + triple or triple + triple), layback spin or sideways leaning spin	*No M/W designation. The same number of women and men competed in each event. **GB permitted to add 1M to compete in team event ˆM and W = the clothing must be modest, dignified and appropriate for athletic competition – not garish or theatrical in design; must not give the effect of excessive nudity for athletic sport †Of the 7 required jumps for M and W, 3 are different

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skating/ Figure cont.										**Single cont.** # of jumps M = 8 max for a well-balanced program # of competitors M = 29 (1 withdrawal)	W = 7 max. for a well-balanced program W = 30	
										Coed **Pairs** Uniform* M = must wear trousers; no tights are permitted	W = can wear skirts, trousers, tights	*M and W = the clothing must be modest, dignified and appropriate for athletic competition – not garish or theatrical in design; must not give the effect of excessive nudity for athletic sport
										Ice Dance Uniform M = must wear full-length trousers: no tights are allowed; costume may not be sleeveless	W = must wear a skirt; dress must not give the effect of excessive nudity inappropriate for an athletic sport	
										Team* (3M, 3W)	1 lady, 1 man, 1 pairs couple, 1 ice dance couple	*New in 2014

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skating/ Short Track Speed	4	4	60 32 500m 32 1000m 36 1500m 8 teams of 4 in relays	60 32 500m 32 1000m 36 1500m 8 teams of 4 in relays	54	50	10 5M with relay team or 3M without relay team 5W with relay team or 3W without relay team	1992 (1000m, 5000m relay) 1994 (500m) 2002 (1500m)	1992 (500m, 3000m relay) 1994 (1000m) 2002 (1500m)	**M and W** 500m 1000m 1500m **M** Relay 5000m	**W** Relay 3000m	
Skating/ Speed	6	6	100 (target)* 40 500m 40 1000m 40 1500m 16 10,000m	80 (target)* 36 500m 36 1000m 36 1500m 16 5000m			20 10M, 10W	1924 (500m, 1500m, 5000m, 10,000m) 1976 (1000m) 2006 (Team Pursuit)	1960 (500m, 1000m, 1500m, 3000m) 1988 (5000m) 2006 (Team Pursuit)	**M and W** **500m** Quota M = 40 # of competitors M = 40	W = 36 W = 35	*Unused quota spots may be assigned to qualified athletes of the other gender
										1000m Quota M = 40 # of competitors M = 40	W = 36 W = 36	
										1500m Quota M = 40 # of competitors M = 40	W = 36 W = 36	
										Team pursuit # of laps M = 8	W = 6	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Skating/ Speed cont.										**M** **5000m** # of competitors M = 26	**W** **3000m** W = 28	
										10000m # of competitors M = 14	**5000m** W = 16	
										All # of competitors M = 94	 W = 83	
Skiing/ Alpine	5	5	[320]*	[320]*			22 athletes 14M or 14W	1936 (combined) 1948 (downhill, slalom) 1952 (giant slalom) 1988 (super giant slalom, super combined)	1936 (combined) 1948 (downhill, slalom) 1952 (giant slalom) 1988 (super giant slalom, super combined)	**Downhill** Course length M = 3495m Start altitude M = 2045m Finish altitude M = 970m Vertical drop M = 1075m # of gates M = 46 Ski length (minimum) M = 218cm # of competitors M = 49/50ˆ # of countries participating M = 24	 W = 2713m W = 1755m W = 965m W = 790m W = 41 W = 210cm W = 41/42ˆ W = 23	*No M/W designation. However, consistently fewer women than men competed in each event. ˆM = 50, W = 42 competitors on start list

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Alpine cont.										**Slalom*** <u># of gates</u> M = run 1: 60 (57 turning gates), run 2: 67 (64 turning gates) <u>Ski length (minimum)</u> M = 165cm <u># of competitors</u> M = run 1: 115/117ˆ, run 2: 77 <u># of countries participating</u> M = run 1: 61/62ˆ, run 2: 48	W = run 1: 61 (60 turning gates), run 2: 61 (60 turning gates) W = 155cm W = run 1: 85/88ˆ, run 2: 60 W = run 1: 48/50ˆ, run 2: 38	*Course information (start/finish altitude, vertical drop) same for M and W) ˆM = 117, W = 88 competitors on start list ˆM = 62, W = 50 NOCs on start list
										Giant Slalom <u>Start altitude</u> M = 1370m <u>Finish altitude</u> M = 960m <u>Vertical drop</u> M = 410m <u># of gates</u> M = run 1: 57 (57 turning gates), run 2: 59 (55 turning gates) <u>Ski length (minimum)</u> M = 195cm <u>Ski profile width in front of binding (minimum)</u> M = ≤98mm	W = 1365m W = 965m W = 400m W = run 1: 54 (51 turning gates), run 2: 54 (52 turning gates) W = 188cm W ≤ 103mm	

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Alpine cont.										**Giant Slalom cont.** Ski radius (minimum) M = 35mm # of competitors M = run 1: 109, run 2: 79 # of countries participating M = run 1: 62, run 2: 49	W = 30mm W = run 1: 90, run 2: 74 W = run 1: 48, run 2: 44	
										Super Giant Slalom Course length M = 2096m Start altitude M = 1592m Finish altitude M = 970m Vertical drop M = 622m # of gates M = 41 (37 turning gates) Ski length (minimum) M = 210cm Ski radius (minimum) M = 45mm # of competitors M = 63 # of countries participating M = 28	W = 2100m W = 1580m W = 965m W = 615m W = 43 (40 turning gates) W = 205cm W = 40mm W = 50 W = 25	

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Alpine cont.										**Super Combined** *Downhill* (run 1)* <u>Course length</u> M = 3219m <u>Start altitude</u> M = 1947m <u>Finish altitude</u> M = 970m <u>Vertical drop</u> M = 977m *Slalom* (run 2)* <u># of gates</u> M = 62 (59 turning gates) <u># of competitors</u> M = run 1: 50, run 2: 46 <u># of countries participating</u> M = run 1: 24, run 2: 22	Downhill + Slalom W = 2713m W = 1755m W = 965m W = 790m W = 59 (58 turning gates) W = run 1: 36/39ˆ, run 2: 34 W = 20/21ˆ, run 2: 19	*Same ski length (minimum) restriction as Downhill *Same ski length (minimum) restriction as Slalom ˆW = 39 competitors on start list ˆW = 21 NOCs on start list
										All <u>Starting bibs*</u> M = larger size than W	W = smaller size than M	*See Appendix C for starting bibs specifications
Skiing/ Cross Country	6	6	[310]*	[310]*			20 athletes 12M or 12W 4 athletes/ individual event 1 team/ relay event	1924	1952	**<u>M</u>** *Distance* **Classical** <u>Distance</u> M = 15km <u># of competitors</u> M = 91/92ˆ <u># of countries participating</u> M = 45	**<u>W</u>** W = 10km W = 76 W = 39	*No M/W designation. However, consistently fewer women than men competed in each event. ˆM = 92 competitors on start list

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Cross Country cont.										**Mass start** Distance M = 50km # of competitors M = 64/65ˆ # of countries participating M = 25/26ˆ	W = 30km W = 57 W = 24	ˆM = 65 competitors on start list ˆM = 26 NOCs on start list
										Skiathlon* Distance M = 30km (2 x 15km on 3.75km loop) # of competitors M = 68 # of countries participating M = 30	W = 15km (2 x 7.5km on 2.5km loop) W = 61 W = 24	*First half on classic technique skis, exchange for skating skis in stadium and finish using freestyle technique
										Relay* Distance M = 4 x 10km (40km total) # of teams M = 22	W = 4 x 5km (20km total) W = 17	*Leg 1 & 2 = classic technique, leg 3 & 4 = freestyle technique
										Sprint **Individual sprint** Distance M = 1.4 to 1.6km loop # of competitors M = 86 # of countries participating M = 40	W = 1.2 to 1.3 km loop W = 67 W = 31	

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Skiing/ Cross Country cont.										**M and W** **Team sprint** **All** Starting bibs* M = larger size than W	2 skiers, 3 x 1.5km each W = smaller size than M	*See Appendix C for starting bibs specifications
Skiing/ Nordic Combined	3	N/A	55	N/A			5 athletes 4 athletes/ individual event 1 team/ relay event	1924 (individual) 1988 (team)	N/A	Men only event Individual ("normal" hill) Individual ("large" hill) Team		
Skiing/ Ski Jumping	3	1*	70	30			5W, 4M 4 athletes/ individual event 1 team (4M) in team event	1924 (normal hill) 1964 (large hill)	2014	**M and W** **Individual ("normal" hill, HS106*)** Uniform M = 5 above waist seam, 2 under waist seam Starting bibs* M = larger size than W # of competitors M = 61	*Hill size = 106m (start height = 756m, end height = 643m) # of parts of the material of which the suit consists† W = 7 parts for the upper body, 8 parts for the lower body W = smaller size than M W = 30	*New in 2014 •Judging criteria (precision, perfection, stability, general impression) and calculation of distance points same for M and W †Also, different specifications for M and W re: location of seams, etc. *See Appendix C for starting bibs specifications

Sport	# Events	# Events	Max # Athletes	Max # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Actual # Athletes	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics	1st Olympics	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender		Comment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	M&W / Men	Women	
Skiing/ Ski Jumping cont.										**Individual ("normal" hill, HS106*) cont.** <u># of countries participating</u> M = 20	W = 12	
										<u>M only</u> Individual ("large" hill, HS140*) Team ("large" hill, HS 140)	*Hill size = 140m	
Skiing/ Freestyle	5	5	282 total (M & W) 30 Moguls 25 Aerials 32 Ski cross 30 Ski halfpipe 30 Ski slopestyle	30 Moguls 25 Aerials 32 Ski cross 24 Ski halfpipe 24 Ski slopestyle			26 athletes 14M or 14W 4 athletes/ event	1992 (moguls) 1994 (aerials) 2010 (ski cross) 2014 (ski halfpipe and slopestyle)	1992	**<u>M and W</u>** **Moguls** <u>Pace speed</u> M = 9.7m/sec <u>Pace time*</u> M = 25.46 <u># of competitors</u> M = 29	W = 8.2m/sec W = 30.12 W = 20	•Judging criteria (turns, air, speed) same for M and W *Course length divided by pace speed
										Aerials <u># of competitors</u> M = 21	W = 22	•Judging criteria (air, form, landing) same for M and W
										Ski cross <u># of competitors</u> M = 31/32ˆ	W = 28/32ˆ	•Same course for M and W ˆM = 32, W = 32 competitors on start list

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Freestyle cont.										**Ski halfpipe*** <u>Quota</u> M = 30 <u># of competitors</u> M = 29	W = 24 W = 23	*New in 2014 •Judging criteria (amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, pipe use, progression, risk taking, combinations, consideration) same for M and W •FIS designation: oversized pipe
										Ski slopestyle* <u>Quota</u> M = 30 <u># of competitors</u> M = 32†	W = 24 W = 22††	•Judging criteria (amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, progression, combination/flow, consideration) same for M and W •"The features and the overall course should be designed in such a manner as to allow usage by both men and ladies competitors". †Reallocation of quotas by FIS ††2 athletes withdrew with injuries

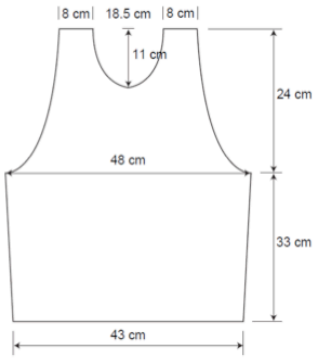
Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Freestyle cont.										**All** Starting bibs* M = larger size than W	W = smaller size than M	*See Appendix C for starting bibs specifications
Skiing/ Snowboarding	5	5	252 total (M and W) 32 Parallel GS 32 Parallel slalom 40 Sb halfpipe 40 Sb cross 30 Sb slopestyle	 32 Parallel GS 32 Parallel slalom 30 Sb halfpipe 24 Sb cross 24 Sb slopestyle			24 athletes 14M or 14W 4 athletes/ event	1998 (giant slalom, halfpipe) 2002 (parallel giant slalom) 2006 (sb cross) 2014 (slopestyle)	1998 (giant slalom, halfpipe) 2002 (parallel giant slalom) 2006 (sb cross) 2014 (slopestyle)	**M and W** **Halfpipe** Quota M = 40 # of competitors M = 39/40ˆ # of countries participating M = 16	 W = 30 W = 28 W = 13	•Judging criteria (amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, pipe use, progression, risk taking, combinations, consideration) same for M and W ˆM = 40 competitors on start list
										Parallel slalom # of competitors M = 32 # of countries participating M = 12	 W = 32 W = 15	
										Parallel giant slalom # of countries participating M = 12	 W = 15	
										Snowboard cross Quota M = 40 # of competitors M = 39 # of countries participating M = 15	 W = 24 W = 24 W = 14	

Sport	# Events Men	# Events Women	Max # Athletes Men	Max # Athletes Women	Actual # Athletes Men	Actual # Athletes Women	Max # Athletes/ Country	1st Olympics Men	1st Olympics Women	Rule/Event – Differences/Gender M&W / Men	Women	Comment
Skiing/ Snowboarding cont.										**Snowboard slopestyle*** <u>Quota</u> M = 30 <u># of competitors</u> M = 29 <u># of countries participating</u> M = 13	W = 24 W = 23 W = 11	*New in 2014 •Judging criteria (amplitude, difficulty, execution, variety, progression, combination/flow, consideration) same for M and W

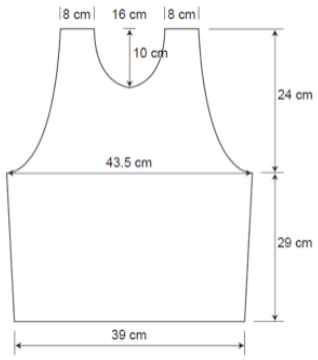
Appendix C. FIS Starting Bib Specifications

(From: FIS Specifications for Competition Equipment and Commercial Markings, Edition 2013/14)

Alpine

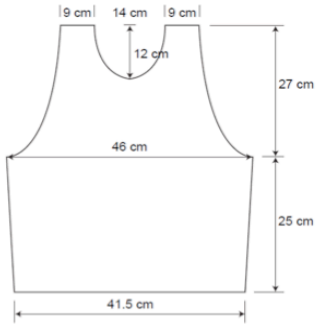


Alpine - Men:
with elastic

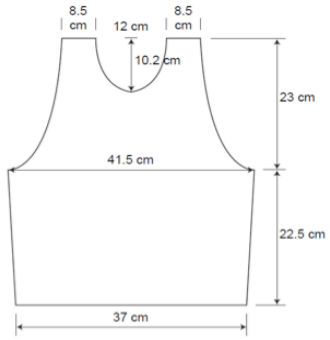


Alpine - Ladies:
with elastic

Cross Country



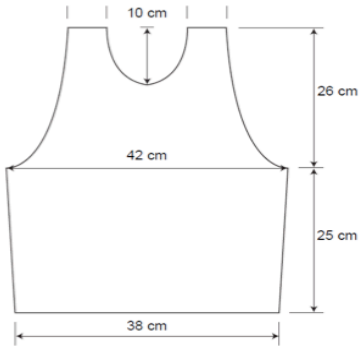
Cross-Country - Men



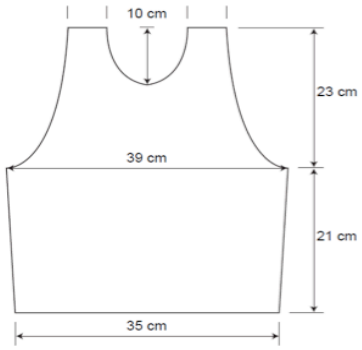
Cross-Country - Ladies

Ski Jumping

Ski Jumping - Men:
without elastic band

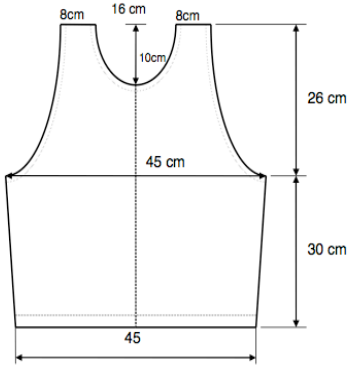


Ski Jumping - Ladies:
without elastic band

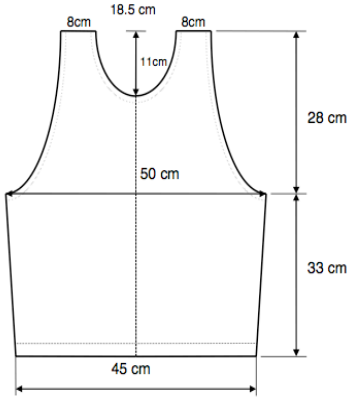


Freestyle

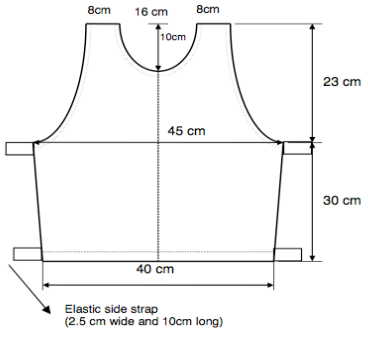
Ladies - Aerials and
Ski Cross Qualifications



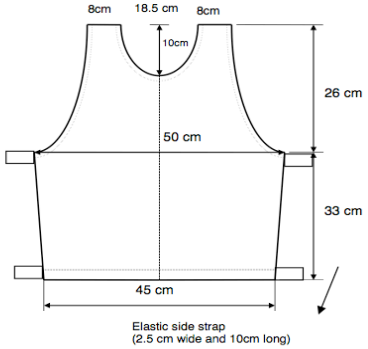
Men - Aerials and
Ski Cross Qualifications



Ladies - Moguls, Ski Halfpipe, Ski Cross Finals, Ski Slopestyle - open sides and 4 elastic straps



Men - Moguls, Ski Halfpipe, Ski Cross Finals, Ski Slopestyle - open sides and 4 elastic straps



Appendix D. FIS Ski Jumping Uniform Requirements

(From: FIS Specifications for Competition Equipment and Commercial Markings, Edition 2013/14)

4. Ski Jumping suits

All portions of the ski jumping suit must be made of the same material (see 4.2) and must show the same air permeability from the outside in and from the inside out.
The suit must close by means of a zipper placed at the centre of the front. The closed zipper strap must exceed the collar end with 1,5 to 5 cm. The maximum zip length is allowed to end at least 10 cm before the cross part of the crotch. The width of this zipper may not exceed 15 mm. During the jump the zipper must be completely closed. The design of the suit (seams) must conform to the image "Ski Jumping Suits" in the enclosure.
See enclosure 1
The suit must be close-fitting in any part of the body. The measured circumference of any upstretched part of the suit must not exceed the respective body measurement. It is not allowed to fix the sleeves of the suit to the gloves.

Exceptions are:
- to accommodate the fit of the suit around the boot with a maximum tolerance of 10 cm This tolerance may start from the close-fitted part below the knee with a transition to the bottom hem of the leg panel.
- to accommodate the fit of the suit around the glove with a maximum tolerance of 4 cm. This tolerance is given for the last 10 cm of the sleeve.

Additional restrictions
- Marking of the suit (for measuring and control) is allowed.
- The thickness of all parts of the suit must be the same.
- No additional chemical (gaseous, liquid or solid) or mechanical treatment of the material or suits is allowed.
- The height difference between the front and the back of the collar may not exceed 5 cm (see the illustration - mark X1 and X2).
- Outer tucks and darts, folds and padding are not allowed.
- Only one fixed (non-adjustable) strap per leg is allowed for fixing the suit around the ski boot. The strap is of one continuous piece and without clips, buckles or other means of fastening multiple pieces of material. The fixation of either strap must be made at the hem of the suit in the middle of the posterior and anterior seam of the leg panels (see the illustration - mark S).
- Length of the sleeve must reach the wrist joint. The lower hem of the sleeve is cut evenly and has no integrated hole for fingers.
- All hems must be sown by a singular piece and the entire piece must have the same physical material characteristics.
- Standardized measuring control points:
    - Anterior arm length (see the illustration - mark AL) is measured from the intersection of the seams at the armpit, following the seam to the end of the sleeve. Measured length must be no greater than the length of the arm and no shorter than a maximum tolerance of 4 cm.
    - Anterior crotch length (see the illustration - mark SL) is measured from the intersection of the seams at the crotch of the suit (see the illustration - mark SX) following the anterior seam to the hem of the leg part of the suit. Measured length

of the suit must be no shorter than the measured length of the controlled crotch height.

- Number of parts of the material of which the suit consists is:
  - One part for each sleeve (see the illustration - mark 3). The sleeve must be joined to the main part of the suit and must reach the wrist joint. In addition, when the arm is extended from the torso, the anterior seam of the sleeve must be aligned with the torso seam.
  - Three parts for the torso (upper body above the waist seam): left and right front panels (see the illustration - mark 1) and back part (see the illustration – mark 4) Starting from the armpit down to the waist seam, the front and back part must be equal.
  - 2 for each leg (under the waist seam): the front leg panels (see the illustration - mark 2) and the back leg panels (see the illustration - mark 5). Starting from the waist seam, the size of the panels must be equal front and back. The alignment of the posterior and anterior seams is entered along the length of the leg. The front and back crotch seams must connect with the anterior leg seams at the lowest point of the crotch (see the illustration - mark SX).
- Zipper, elastics and strings for the attachments do not count as a separate part of the suit.
- The waist seam must be placed in relationship to the body within 5 cm above and below the hip bone (narrow part of the waist). The seam must go around the torso horizontally.
- The seam connecting the upper front and side panel must align vertically with the seam of the leg panels from the armpit to the posterior ankle bone.
- The bottom hem of the leg panels may be altered to accommodate the fixing of the binding at the heel of the boot.
- Seams may only exist in order to join the portions of the suit. Seams must be inside the suit. It is not allowed to edge-stitch (sew) the ends of the material; it is not allowed to join (sew) the maximum seam of 10 mm
(material behind the seam to the edge). All seams must be straight or formed differently only to fit the form of the body. Any additional seams or transformation of the seams, any strings, rods, folds, tapes, etc., inside or outside the suit in order to attain greater volume or more aerodynamic features is not allowed (the same for the underwear).
- The enclosed suit illustrations are the determining bases for these written rules. Exception for Youth competitions: no limit for number of parts and cutting of the suits.

Additional specifications for the Ladies Ski Jumping suit

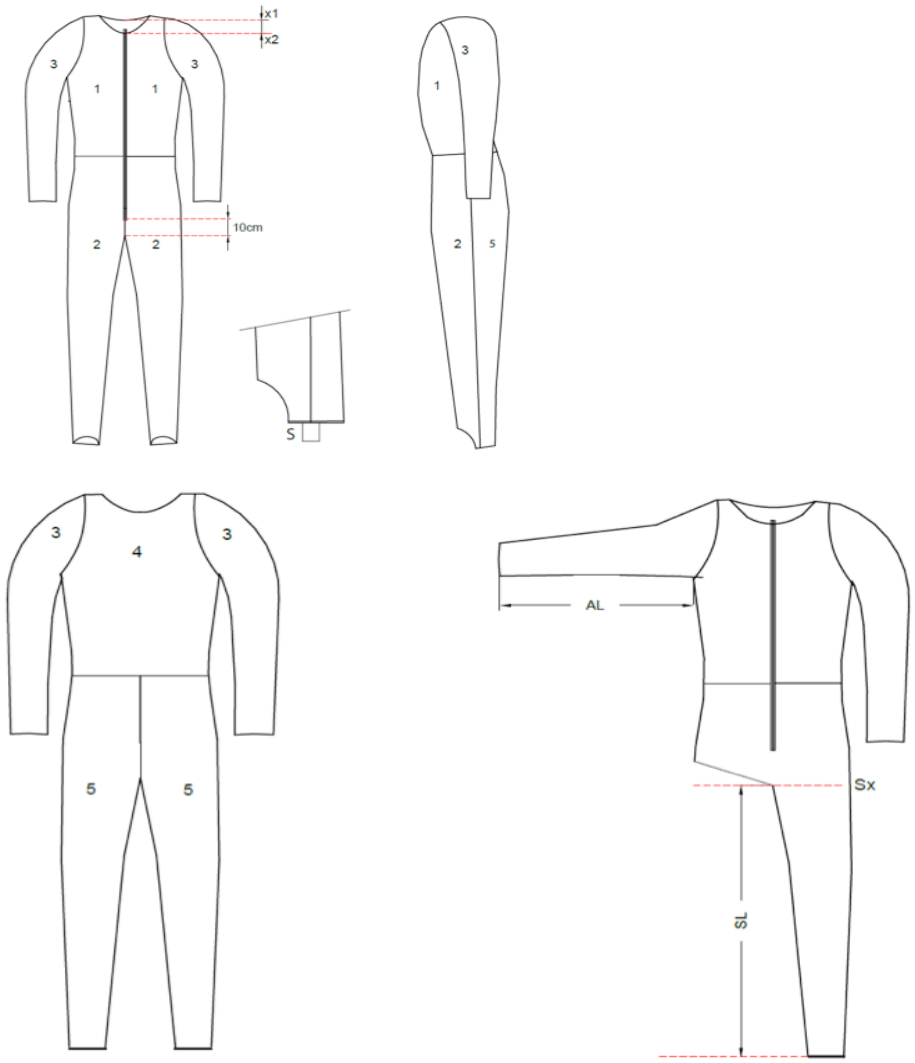
Number of parts of the material of which the suit consists of is:

- 7 parts for the upper body (see the illustration – mark 1, 7, 4 and 8).
- 8 parts for the lower body (see the illustration – mark 2, 9, 6 und 10). The waist seem must go around the torso horizontally and must be placed at the part of the body with the smallest circumferences.
- Two parts for each sleeve including shoulder: front part of the sleeve (see the illustration - mark 3) and back part of the sleeve (see the illustration - mark 5). Each sleeve starts from the neck opening and extends over the shoulder maximally to the wrist joint. Starting from the armpit down the size of the panels must be equal front and back. The alignment of the posterior seam must be centered along the length of the sleeve and parallel to the torso seam. In addition, when the arm is extended from the torso, the anterior seam of the sleeve must be aligned with the torso seam.
- Side parts (Pos. 9 and Pos. 10) Both the side parts end at the height of the athlete´s knee. The tolerance for the end of both parts, above and below the knee, is +/- 15 cm.

- Upper front parts (Pos 1, A1) The upper area of front part 1 must have a width of at least 10 cm. The front seam between the side part 1 and 7 must run over the middle part of the breast.

Ski Jumping Suits for Men
Standardized measuring control points and number of parts of material of which the suits consist

Valid is the image 1.1b (men) dated 11.06.2012



Ski Jumping Suits for Ladies
Standardized measuring control points and number of parts of material of which the suits consist

Valid is the image 1.3b (ladies) dated 11.06.2012