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DOES OLYMPIC STATUS MATTER?

**AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S ICE HOCKEY IN CANADA
BETWEEN 1990 AND 1997**

by

© KIRSTEN TENEBBAUM

B.A., McMaster University, 1996

THESIS

**Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Human Kinetics**

School of Human Kinetics

University of Ottawa

1999



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to recognize the people who influenced this research project. I would first like to mention Dr. Jean Harvey who provided me with thoughtful guidance throughout this project. This paper could not have been completed without the contributions of Dr. Pierre Trudel who, among other intelligent lessons, taught me that long winded paragraphs are more accurately described in charts. Thanks also goes to my kindred spirit Gavin Thompson who provided support and guidance throughout this effort.

I would also like to thank Dr. Genevieve Rail who offered support as a thesis committee member. In addition, I would also like to thank many people from hockey for their support and contributions to this project. Thanks to Melanie McFarlane and Fran Rider, from the Ontario Women's Hockey Association, for their comments and direction.

My sincerest thanks to my parents whose support, love and good sense of humour helped me to achieve this goal. Thanks also goes to Jeff Edge for his inspiring guitar playing and friendship.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the changes in women's hockey in relation to the fact that it became an Olympic sport in 1992. More specifically, it focuses on participation rates within Canadian hockey, the situation of women's hockey in Canadian Universities, and the print media coverage of the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Hockey Championships. Minutes from the Canadian Hockey Association's Female Council annual and semi-annual general meetings, and the Canadian Hockey Association's Registration reports were used in order to describe participation rates in Canadian hockey before and after Olympic status. A questionnaire was created in order to describe the state of women's hockey in Canadian Universities. This questionnaire was sent to all of the Universities listed in the CIAU handbook. In addition, minutes from the 1996 CIAU board of directors meeting and the 1996 annual general meeting were used to provide information relating to the reasons that women's hockey was added to the CIAU Championship Program. The study included a print media analysis of the Ottawa Citizen and the Toronto Star coverage of the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championships. Results of the study indicated that participation rates increased after Olympic status at the club level and in the University system. The media analysis of the Women's World Championships for both the Ottawa Citizen and the Toronto Star revealed that the quantity of articles did not change much after Olympic status, whereas the content of the articles improved in 1997. That is, the diversity of the content of the articles increased, in that, for example, player profiles were introduced in the 1997 coverage. However the results did not demonstrate any significant change in women's ice hockey in Canada since this sport gained Olympic status. Moreover, the results were not able to indicate whether there was a direct link between the above mentioned changes and the fact that women's hockey became an Olympic sport.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		ii
ABSTRACT		iii
CHAPTER		
I. INTRODUCTION		1
Statement of the Problem		3
Methods		5
Significance of the Study		6
Delimitations		6
Limitations		7
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE		8
Literature on Sport and Gender		8
Literature on Women, Sport and the Media		15
Literature on Women and Hockey		18
History of Women's Hockey		18
Women's Hockey Today		24
Conclusion		30
III. METHODS		32
Participation in Women's Hockey		32
Questionnaire Analysis		33
Print Media Content Analysis		33

IV. RESULTS.....	36
State of Women's Ice Hockey.....	36
Participation Rates in Canada.....	36
Pre Olympic status (1990-1992).....	37
Post Olympic status (1993-1997).....	37
Women's Ice Hockey in Canadian Universities.....	40
Conclusion.....	45
Print Media Analysis.....	46
Quantity of Articles	
<u>Toronto Star coverage</u>.....	47
1990 Women's World Championship.....	47
1997 Women's World Championship.....	48
<u>Ottawa Citizen coverage</u>.....	50
1990 Women's World Championship.....	50
1997 Women's World Championship.....	51
Content of the Articles.....	52
<u>Toronto Star coverage (content)</u>.....	53
1990 Women's World Championship.....	53
1997 Women's World Championship.....	56
Content of the <u>Ottawa Citizen</u> coverage 1990.....	62
Content of the <u>Ottawa Citizen</u> coverage 1997.....	67
V. DISCUSSION.....	73
VI. CONCLUSION.....	80

REFERENCES.....	83
APPENDICES.....	92
A University Questionnaire.....	92

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Women's Participation in the Olympic Summer Games.....	13
2. Women's Participation in the Olympic Winter Games.....	14
3. University Participation.....	43
4. Number of articles published in the <u>Toronto Star</u> on the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championships.....	47
5. Number of articles published in the <u>Ottawa Citizen</u> on the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championships.....	50
6. Description of Content in <u>Toronto Star</u> Articles.....	56
7. Description of Content in <u>Ottawa Citizen</u> Articles.....	63

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Number of Women Registered with the CAHA.....	39

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sport is an important aspect of contemporary society that affects many spheres of social life such as education, politics and economics. That is, in the educational system, physical education includes education in different sports all across North America. Politics are influenced by sport in that political leaders have used sport, as well as national unity, to enhance the reputation of their country, as well as national unity. The economics of many Western industrial countries have been influenced by the amount of money generated by sport, namely in terms of employment, factories, and the export and import of sport manufactured goods (see Harvey & Saint-Germain, 1998).

Sport has often been referred to as a men's preserve, because of its patriarchal nature, in which social constructs such as "masculinity" and "femininity" have served to limit women's participation in sporting endeavors. Women consequently have less opportunity in sport, both in terms of the number of sports available to them, and the resources allocated to them (Messner & Sabo, 1990). The connection between "maleness", aggression and physical violence is valued in the sporting world, where women are often channeled into "feminine" (i.e. aesthetic and non-aggressive), less-valued sports such as figure skating and gymnastics (Bryson, 1990).

The Olympic Games are a good example of sport discrimination and a useful tool in discussing the politics of gender because of the impact the Games have throughout the world and the constant battle women have fought in order to be included in the Games. Hargreaves (1994) states that "Arguments based on traditional notions of female ability have been used repeatedly to limit the number of Olympic events for women" (pp. 216-217). Early events that were

included for women in the Olympics, have typically been gender-specific sports in order to emphasize a specific image of femininity (i.e. gracefulness, and harmony).

The Olympic Games have the ability to affect a given sport because of the world wide attention they receive, their political impact, and the monetary gains for those associated with the Games (i.e. sponsors, governments, athletes etc.) (Coakley, 1990). Sport is used by governments to facilitate the promotion of a national image worldwide and to help focus on social and political aims within individual countries (for example the perpetuation of racial harmony and national unity). Peter Ueberroth, president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, states "We now have to face the reality that the Olympics constitute not only an athletic event but a political event" (quoted in Coakley, 1990, p. 313).

The Olympic Games are an important event in the development of sport because they are watched throughout the world, and therefore have the potential to enhance the visibility and popularity of a sport. Kidd (1996) maintains that Canadian leaders worked hard to help introduce "demonstration" sports to the Olympic Winter Games (Kidd, 1996). Demonstration sports helped to encourage domestic and international growth within the given sport. For example, curling, freestyle skiing, short-track speed skating, and downhill skiing for persons with disabilities were represented as demonstration sports at the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary. These sports are now represented as full medal sports. Demonstration sports were however eliminated in 1992 due to the "gigantism" of the Games (Kidd, 1996).

The sport of gymnastics is an excellent example of the effect that Olympic exposure can have on a sport. More specifically, the performance of gymnasts such as Olga Korbut at the 1972 Olympics in Munich helped to bring gymnastics into the public eye, where Korbut became a symbol of what future young gymnasts would strive for (Comaneci, 1981). Gymnastics had

been described as being “suddenly and explosively popularized in 1972, and as remaining “one of the best-loved Olympic sports” (Simons, 1995, p.1).

The development of a particular sport may also depend on the media coverage given to the sport. It has been suggested that the mass media has the ability to “routinely expand the social horizons of their audiences” (Birrell & Rintala, 1984, p. 232). In sport, the media has the power to construct images and disseminate information that relates to various social phenomena.

There are sporting events for women that have recently been included in the Olympics that challenge the traditional “feminine” sports of the Games. For example, hockey, a typically aggressive game, exemplifies a sport in which women have crossed gender lines by entering into a traditionally men’s preserve (Bryson, 1990). This entry, into the Olympic Games, has not been made without overcoming barriers in terms of access to financial and facility resources (Etue & Williams, 1996). Among other problems, women in ice hockey have had to continually fight to get their share of ice time, both in terms of quality and quantity, that leagues and teams are able to access. The argument in many communities is that the inequity in ice time is necessary because this “sacred resource” needs to be reserved for the men’s program because they at least have a chance of playing at a very high level, the National Hockey League for example (Etue & Williams, 1996). The International Olympic Committee’s 1992 decision to include women’s hockey in the Olympic Games has however given women a similar goal to that of men, that is of playing at a high level, and may potentially change the status of women’s hockey.

Statement of the Problem

The inclusion of women’s ice hockey in the 1998 Winter Games is an area of study that can potentially provide insight into whether the fact that a women’s hockey has been added to

the Olympic Program has the ability to change the status of women's hockey. In sociology, the notion of social status refers to a position held within society by a person (through his or her profession, gender, age, etc.) or a group. This study is interested in the notion of status. Giddens (1989) argues "...that status refers to differences between social groups in the social honour or prestige they are accorded by others [...] Positively privileged status groups include any groupings of people who have high prestige in a given social order" (p. 212). Therefore, status refers to some privileged, or negatively underprivileged, position one person or group holds in comparison to others.

This leads us to question whether a sport can have a status, since it is not a group of persons? For the purpose of this study, we propose to answer yes, despite the fact that this goes beyond the classical understanding of this notion. First, sports are social practices chosen by social actors. Second, as it has been extensively demonstrated by Bourdieu and his followers, physical activities such as sport are central to the class habitus which form "...a generating principle of the totality of habits that make up lifestyles and are characteristic of the social classes" (Lalonde, 1988, p. 268). In other words, the different sports constitute "status symbols" which confer different forms of prestige according to social class. In addition, Bourdieu (1984), Pociello (1981) and many others have published several pieces of work on the classification of sports according to the economic and symbolic capital they convey to their participants. However, one must clearly specify here that in Bourdieu's socio-cultural theoretical framework, the notion of status has never been used *per se*.

Therefore, in this study, Olympic status refers to a position of prestige a given sport gains from being labeled an Olympic sport. Thus, the aim of this study is to examine the changes in women's hockey in relation to its pre (1990-1992) and post (1993-1997) Olympic status. Three

indicators will be used to assess this change: (a) Are there important changes in the participation rates within Canada between the pre and post Olympic status time periods?, (b) Are there important changes in the situation of women's hockey in Canadian universities? and (c) Considering that the mass media has been identified as having the power to play a role in accommodating or resisting women's entrance into sport, are there important changes in the coverage of the first Women's World Hockey Championship (1990) and the most recent Women's World Hockey Championship (1997)?

Methods

To complete this study, three different procedures were used. First, the changes in women's participation rates were estimated through an examination of the Canadian Hockey Association's Registration Reports. The split-middle technique was used to analyze this data. Second, information on the state of women's and men's ice hockey programs within Canadian Universities was gathered by means of a questionnaire developed for the purpose of this study, which was consequently sent out to all Universities listed in the 1996/97 Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union's Directory (CIAU, 1997a). This was done in order to better understand participation rates in women's hockey since women's university hockey is not included in the CHA registration reports. This also provided information on the future of women's hockey at the university level of play. Finally, in order to explore the print media coverage of the first Women's World Hockey Championship (1990) and the most recent Women's World Hockey Championship (1997), a content analysis of the articles published concerning these events was performed by examining articles in two newspapers (Toronto Star and Ottawa Citizen).

Significance of the Study

This study will potentially provide a deeper understanding of gender implications in sport because it focuses on the sport of hockey and specifically women's ice hockey. That is, hockey's powerful historical significance has helped to strengthen common-sense gendered notions concerning sport.

More specifically, the sport of hockey appears to be exempt from gender equity policies concerning fair and equitable access to facilities and continues to be a site for the affirmation of masculine identity (Etue & Williams, 1996). Women in hockey have had to fight for their right to play and for fair and equitable access to facilities, such as the 1986 Justine Blainey court case in which she used a sub-section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to combat a section Ontario Human Rights Code that had exempted anti-discrimination protections within the sporting world. This consequently makes it a sport useful in research pertaining to gender relations.

Moreover, few studies have concentrated on the sport of women's hockey. And in light of the enormous growth of women's hockey in past few years, this study will help provide insight helpful to the future progress of women's hockey.

Delimitations

This study focused on hockey within Canada only, which is a country that already has one of the world's best developed women's hockey programs. The study covers only the years 1990-1997. These years were chosen because they were judged as the ones during which it would be easier to get the data required, mainly concerning the media coverage of the sport. The

1990 Championship was held in Canada and was the first World Championship for women. Two years later, in 1992, women's hockey became an official Olympic sport. In 1997, another World Championship was held in Canada. The years 1990 and 1997 were the only ones in which the Women's World Championships were held in Canada and it was therefore possible to trace the media coverage of these Championships (one before and one after Olympic status).

Limitations

The print media analysis only used newspapers from two major cities, Toronto and Ottawa. This consequently means that the study does not have high ecological validity in that the results may not apply to smaller cities or rural areas. The analysis of participation rates also uses data from before 1990, in order to accommodate the split-middle technique, which indicates the rate of change. That is, 1988 and 1989 participation rates were used in order to split the data at 1992. Moreover, this study does not take into account other media (TV, radio) coverage.

CHAPTER II REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of literature will concentrate on three main areas. It will begin by focusing on research concentrating on sport and gender. It will progress to the area of women, sport and the media, and ultimately focus on research concerning women and hockey.

Literature on Sport and Gender

Gender is considered a major social and theoretical concept. Hall (1991) maintains that understanding the implications of the social construction of gender is useful in gaining insight into the changes that have occurred in society concerning the relationship between men and women. These gender relations have been described as a power relationship where “men, as a social group, have more power over women than women have over them” (Hall, 1991, p. 226).

Women’s participation in sport both reflects and creates gendered identities. Keyes (1989a) maintains that social constructs such as “masculinity” and “femininity” have helped to limit women’s participation in sport since the Victorian era. That is, during this time period women were not permitted to participate in the daily, leisure-time activities (such as hunting, canoeing and snowshoeing) of the men dominated frontier settlers and military personnel. She argues that women who did participate in socially unacceptable sports were labeled “Amazon athletes” (Keyes, 1989a, p. 230).

The same issues that have historically affected women athletes, continue to burden the sporting woman today. It has been argued that differences between men and women are perpetuated through sport. Coakley (1990) describes the patriarchal nature of sport as men exercising power, in which “sport has been used to reproduce a system of patriarchy, that

is, power and authority rest in the hands of men, especially in their relationships with women” (p. 179).

Masculine hegemony is perpetuated through sport in that it makes the connection between maleness and the value of visible skills. In addition, it promotes the valued association of maleness with aggression and physical violence (Bryson, 1990). This consequently contributes to the inferiorization of “femaleness and female activities” and promotes the idea that women are relatively incapable of performing the highly valued skills within sport (Bryson, 1990). Bryson (1990) calls attention to the fact that the sports in which women do participate, such as figure skating and gymnastics, are viewed as not being “real” sports.

Gendered notions of “femininity” and “masculinity” have not only affected women’s opportunity as participants in sport, but have also influenced their access to coaching positions. The findings of Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing & Forrest (1990) suggest that in Division I NCAA sport, men have more opportunities in terms of coaching revenue-producing sports. This consequently means that the opportunity for men in positions of power is greater than that for women. Men generally coach, for example, men’s football, and men’s basketball, whereas women predominantly coach sports that do not situate them in positions of power. It has been suggested that this situation will not change until deeply embedded patriarchal ideals of sport change (Knoppers et al., 1990). This gendering of power was likely constructed by men for men.

In addition, there has also been a drastic decrease in the overall number of women head coaches in the USA since the passage of Title IX in the United States. Kane and Stangle (1991) however point out, that since the implementation of Title IX, there has been a greater percentage

of women head coaches when a woman acts as athletic director compared to when a man fills the role of athletic director.

Another very important issue that affects women in sport is that of implied sexual orientation. Keyes (1989a) suggests that women who participate in “unfeminine sports” are often labeled as lesbians:

Since the 1920s innuendoes concerning lesbianism were often directed at women who participated in traditionally masculine sports and at women who failed to meet the feminine stereotype because of size, body type, or muscular development. These homophobic attitudes have been a persistent problem for girls and women who have wished to take part in the sport of their choice; but more pervasive had been the hidden prejudice and innuendoes against women and coaches wanting to obtain leadership roles as national team coaches or national sport-organization administrators who were overlooked by hiring committees for positions because of their suspected sexual preference (p. 246).

Women who succeed in sport are often subject to ridicule concerning their sexual orientation. Coakley (1990) describes how women athletes are sometimes not considered “real women” and if “they are not real...their accomplishments ought to be dismissed or reevaluated” (p.183). This has been referred to as an irrational fear of homosexuality (Coakley, 1990).

Hall (1996) maintains that feminist activists have had three primary areas of entry within Canadian sport: lobbying government, legal challenges, and creating an advocacy organization. Some of the issues that have been formally fought have been those related to issues such as sex discrimination of women wanting to play on men’s teams, restrictions of women playing golf at private clubs during prime time hours, and the issue of women reporters in men’s locker rooms.

One of the most widely known case is that involving a woman hockey player, Justine Blainey, who after being chosen to play on a boy's hockey team in Metro Toronto, was prohibited from doing so by the Ontario Hockey Association (OHA) (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). This court battle exemplifies barriers that feminist activists experience in attempting to further the progress of women in sport.

Women's hockey has however experienced incredible growth since this case. Women have asserted the fact that women's programs can meet the needs of women, consequently dispelling the myth that men's programs are the legitimated form of hockey. Organizers and leaders within women's hockey have focused on strengthening women's hockey as a separate entity from that of the men's game. They have reasoned that the issue is not the capability of girls to play with boys, but ultimately legitimating and recognizing women's sport (Hall, 1996).

In addition, the Olympic Games exemplify some of the barriers that women have had to overcome in sport. That is, they were initially created by and for men. This means that women's participation, both as administrators and as athletes, has been limited. The Olympic Games are however considered one of the most significant events for the sporting woman. This is precisely because "there are no World Series, Super Bowls, (or) Stanley Cups" for women (Rintila, 1988, p. 34).

Power relationships concerning gender have played an important role in the Games since their creation in 1896. In an attempt to perpetuate men's dominance within the sporting world, Baron Pierre de Coubertin employed Victorian ideals of gender roles to exclude women from the Games (Borish, 1996; MacAloon, 1981). When women were eventually added to the Olympic Games the Olympics Medical Sub-Commission, in 1925, maintained that men and women's events were to be different because of women's "special function" and "special organization"

(Twin, 1979, p. xxxi). This exemplifies the role of “gender stereotyping” in the creation of the Olympic Games.

Women did not participate in the 1896 Summer Olympics. Davenport (1988) describes the lack of women in the Olympic Games as follows:

Since the Modern Games were patterned after the Ancient Olympic Games, women were not allowed as competitors and no consideration was given to allowing females to be entrants in the Modern Games. Furthermore, Coubertin's feelings about women...coupled with the small number of sportswomen in the world, added to the lack of discussion about women as participants in the Games (p. 42).

Women first appeared in the Olympics in the year 1900. There were however many restrictions placed on their participation in terms of the events in which they were permitted to participate. In the Summer Games of 1900 there were 2 sports (tennis and golf), and 3 events, for women with a total of 5 countries having 19 women athletes participate (see Table 1). The opportunity for women in the Olympics decreased in 1904 when there was only 1 sport and 2 events for women, and a total of 6 participants from 1 country (CAAWS, 1996a). The numbers have however slowly risen since this date when, in 1976, there were 11 sports and 49 events offered for women, with 1058 women participants from a total of 66 countries. In 1996, there were 21 sports, 108 events and 169 countries with 3626 women participants.

The most recent additions to the sports offered to women at the Olympics were all included in the 1996 Summer Games. They were softball, football and beach volleyball.

In the representation of NOC delegations from the 1996 Games in Atlanta there were 26 nations with no women athletes, whereas only 2 had no men athletes. Asia had the most countries with no representation from women (n=11), followed by Africa with 10, America with

3 and Oceania with 2. Europe was the only continent where all countries had women representation in the Games (CAAWS, 1996b).

Women did not participate in the Winter Games until 1924 when there was 1 sport and 2 events for women with 13 participants from 7 countries (see Table 2). The number of sports however increased in 1936 when 1 other sport and event were added, bringing the total number of women participants up to 80 from 15 countries.

TABLE 1

Women's Participation in the Olympic Summer Games

Year	Sports	Events	Countries	Participants
1896	-	-	-	-
1900	2	3	5	19
1904	1	2	1	6
1908	2	3	4	36
1912	2	6	11	57
1920	2	6	13	77
1924	3	11	20	136
1928	4	14	25	290
1932	3	14	18	127
1936	4	15	26	328
1948	5	19	33	385
1952	6	25	41	518
1956	6	26	39	384
1960	6	29	45	610
1964	7	33	53	683
1968	7	39	54	781
1972	8	43	65	1058
1976	11	49	66	1247
1980	12	50	54	1125
1984	14	62	94	1567
1988	17	86	117	2186
1992	19	98	136	2708
1996	21	108	169	3626

(adapted from CAAWS, 1996a)

The increase in opportunity for women in the Winter Games has been very slow when, in 1994, there were still only 4 sports and 27 events for women, with a total of 488 participants from 44 countries:

Curling, snowboarding and ice hockey are now offered to women in the Olympics.

These sport were all added to the 1998 Winter Games.

Women in the Olympic Movement have overcome some incredible feats. For example, at the Olympic Games in Atlanta, the number of Norwegian women athletes outnumbered the men. Although the occurrence of women's participation surpassing that of men's is an exception, it serves to represent what women have and can achieve.

TABLE 2

Women's Participation in the Olympic Winter Games

Year	Sports	Events	Countries	Participants
1924	1	2	7	13
1928	1	2	10	26
1932	1	2	7	21
1936	2	3	15	80
1948	2	5	12	77
1952	2	6	17	109
1956	2	7	18	132
1960	2	11	22	143
1968	3	13	29	211
1972	3	13	27	206
1976	3	14	30	231
1980	3	14	31	233
1984	3	15	35	274
1988	3	18	39	313
1992	4	25	44	488
1994	4	27	44	523

(adapted from CAAWS, 1996a)

It has been suggested that this is not surprising in light of the incredible performances of Norwegian women athletes and gives an indication as to the position of women in Norwegian society (CAAWS, 1996b). That is, women in Norway place less emphasis on domestic chores, and concentrate on better education, increased work outside the home, and fewer children. They have consequently experienced an increase in economic stability (CAAWS, 1996b).

Literature on Women, Sport and the Media

The mass media has been identified as playing a central role in accommodating and resisting women's entry into sport (Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Kane & Disch 1993; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; MacNeill, 1988; Messner, 1988). That is, because sport focuses on physical activity, it helps reinforce the link between men's physical superiority and men's social superiority (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). It has been identified as useful for examination because, in major metropolitan newspapers, the sports section is the most widely-read media report. It is consequently a powerful source of information that reinforces gendered ideology (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993).

The literature within the sociology of sport reveals much in terms of meanings concerning gender within photographs as well as written texts from magazines (Duncan, 1990; Duncan, 1993; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Kane, 1988; Rintala & Birrell, 1984) and newspapers (Creedon, 1994; Duncan, 1993; Theberge, 1991) which help to identify issues contributing to the trivialization of women's sporting accomplishments.

Research concerned with women, sport, and the media draws attention to the sexualization and objectification of the sporting woman. Kane and Greendorfer (1994) maintain that the sports media highlight sexual difference, gender difference and gender hierarchy. They

also suggest that this ultimately contributes to the status quo and perpetuates a hierarchical power structure in which men athletes are considered different from (in terms of sex and gender) and better than (gender hierarchy) women athletes. This is exemplified by the 1988 Olympic coverage of women athletes in which, for example, Olympic gold medal winner Florence Griffith Joiner's femininity and sexuality are focused on as opposed to her athleticism (Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). Women's athletic accomplishments are trivialized by the media by portraying them as feminized, sexualized others.

Duquin (1989) has proposed that men are often perceived as possessing legitimate authority and are consequently considered experts. She suggests that images in sports advertising portray women as passive, less powerful and less active than men. Photographs rarely depict women in their sporting roles and when they do they are often subject to sexual innuendoes (Duquin, 1989).

In a content analysis of feature articles (1, 228 issues of Sports Illustrated from the years 1964-1987), aiming to examine the impact of Title IX on media coverage of women in Sports Illustrated, Kane (1988) suggests that there has been a significant increase in the amount of coverage given to women's athletics. However, feature articles concentrate on women in "sex-appropriate" sports. Kane (1988) draws attention to the importance of examining both the extent (the number of articles written about the event) and the nature of the coverage given to an event.

The sport of gymnastics exemplifies the effect that media coverage can have on a sport. More specifically, the performances by gymnasts such as Nadia Comaneci, who competed at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal, have helped to increase participation rates in gymnastics worldwide (Hanes, 1998). For example, the 1972 and 1976 Olympic Games are regarded as having a drastic effect on women's gymnastics in Canada. This is mostly because of the

unprecedented performances by Olga Korbut and Nadia Comaneci (Hanes, 1998). Canadian Gymnastics, reports that participation in gymnastics in Canada increases significantly after each Olympic year (Hanes, 1998). This is due to the media attention that the Olympic Games receive and the high caliber of competition.

In contrast, the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow served to decrease the popularity of gymnastics in the United States (Simons, 1995). This is because the media attention given to gymnastics at the Olympic Games is critical to the success of the sport:

Major sport like football, basketball, and baseball receive constant exposure on television. Until recently, when many more gymnastics events are being televised, such exposure was really limited to the Olympics. When there was no Olympic gymnastics, the sport suffered (Simons, 1995, p.2).

In brief, some authors do suggest that participation rates in sport, such as gymnastics, have the opportunity to be affected by their representation at the Olympic Games, and more specifically by performances by athletes within the given sport.

In addition, it has been suggested that because the majority of Canadian newspapers and magazines do not focus on women's sport participation or women's sport issues, they consequently do not challenge gender stereotyped imagery of physical activity (Theberge, 1991). Snow (1995) maintains that the underrepresentation of women in the sports media contributes to a lack of women role models in sport.

Literature on Women and Hockey

History of Women's Hockey

Canadian women have participated in recreational and competitive hockey for over a century. The first documented women's game took place in Barrie, Ontario in 1882. And although hockey has a long and rich history the majority of current hockey literature implies that women have not been a part of the game. That is, the literature traces the development of the men's game through accounts of former National Hockey League players (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). Early documentation of women's involvement in hockey places emphasis on women's roles as spectators, mothers, and fund-raisers. This consequently means that women's hockey remains an area to be explored in Canadian sport. The following section will provide a brief history of women's hockey.

The year 1894 marked the formation, by a group of dedicated women students at Queen's College (Now known as Queen's University), of the Love-Me-Littles, a women's club hockey team (Stevens, 1992). The sport continued to grow when, in 1896, women's teams were established at McGill University and in the Ottawa Valley (Canadian Hockey, 1997a).

Women's community hockey began to grow at the turn of the century. For example, competition in the Maritimes involved the Red Blues (from Halifax) and the Kananites (from Nova Scotia). In addition, teams such as the Lachute Ladies Hockey Club, a Montreal based club, the Ottawa Alphas and the Kingston Goo-Goos competed against both men's and women's teams (Stevens, 1992). The women wore ankle-length skirts and no equipment. One notable match was the 1907 game between the Wellington ladies (of Toronto) and the Waterloo ladies. The Toronto Star covered the competition stating that it drew a larger crowd than the recent OHA men's games:

The game was by no means a burlesque. The girls were very much in earnest all the way, and, considering the handicap afforded by three-quarter skirts, put up a very good exhibition of Canada' national winter pastime...Miss Woolings, the star of the Wellington team...is hockey from the toes up. She starts from her toes, skates fast, is an expert dodger, and took a bump without a murmur. She is fearless and got two of the Toronto tallies. (Toronto Star, 1907).

The caliber of play impressed the spectators and provided an exciting showcase of women's hockey.

In 1914, the first Ontario provincial championships were held where Picton earned the Ontario champion title. Two years later Cleveland, Ohio, hosted the first documented international women's tournament. This event involved both Canadian and American teams (Canadian Hockey, 1997a).

Meanwhile university hockey continued to grow in Canada. The University of Toronto Lady Blues defeated McGill university to win the intercollegiate championship (Canadian Hockey, 1997a). The Lady Blues went onto win 11 titles before the depression years led to the disbandonment of the league (Canadian Hockey, 1997).

The 1930s marked the appearance of the Preston Rivulettes. Referred to as "one of the greatest dynasties in Canadian Sport" the Rivulettes earned 10 Ontario, 10 Eastern Canadian and 6 Dominion titles throughout the years 1930-1939. Heroines such as Hilda Ranscombe flourished during this time (Stevens, 1992). The team raised funds by targeting local businesses in order to travel out of province. They were documented as competing with only seven players in Prince Edward Island due to insufficient funds (Stevens, 1992). At home, large numbers of

spectators came out to support the women such as the impressive crowd of 2,000 for the 1937 match against the Western title holders from Winnipeg (Stevens, 1992).

Opportunities for women were scarce between the early twentieth century and the 1960s. There were however rare openings for women on men's teams but little in the way of opportunity for women in women's only leagues (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). This was evident in the decrease in media coverage of women's hockey, and participation rates for community and university teams.

The sixties however marked an increase in opportunities for women. This was particularly evident in Ontario which became a driving force for women's hockey. Women acted together in both communities and universities to revive their respective leagues. For example, The University of Toronto, McGill, Queen's, Western, and Ontario Agricultural College (now known as the University of Guelph) participated in 1962 university league play (Stevens, 1992).

Meanwhile, community play started to become increasingly organized where associations such as the Brampton Canadettes emerged. At the beginning girls of all ages played on the same team, only to be distinguished by color coded helmets that served as age identification (Stevens, 1992). Brampton went on to organize the first Dominion Ladies Hockey Tournament in 1967, which involved 22 teams from Ontario. The tournament now boasts over 200 teams (Canadian Hockey, 1997a).

Despite the enormous increase in women's hockey there was no bureaucratic structure governing the system:

...the national scene was far from attentive to this growth in the women's game. Concern was rising over the decline of Canada's international hockey prowess and the surge of

violence in the sport, mostly in the male amateur ranks...Hockey Canada was a major reshuffle of the bureaucratic structure of hockey in the country. Unfortunately, it focused only on developing national men's teams for international competition...(Stevens, 1992, pp.11-12).

Despite this, the women's game continued to grow. In the 1970s women's hockey flourished in Canada. In 1975, the first provincial level organization formed, the Ontario Women's Hockey Association (OWHA). There was also growth worldwide where Sweden, Finland, Japan, China, Korea, Norway, Germany and Switzerland developed women's hockey programs. The United States also developed many varsity and club teams in the Northeast and Midwest (Canadian Hockey, 1997a).

Throughout the following years other issues came to the forefront in women's hockey. One highly publicized issue concerned girls playing on the same team as boys. Court battles such as the 1976 Gail Cummings case, involving a young woman player who was prohibited by the Ontario Minor Hockey Association (OMHA) from playing in the boy's atom playdowns (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). The Ontario Human Rights Commission Board of Inquiry dismissed the OMHA claims suggested that co-ed hockey was potentially dangerous to girls, in a physical sense, and that boys could be emotionally damaged by potentially losing to girls. It was also reasoned that if girls played boy's hockey, that the boys might play softer or less aggressive. However, the court of Appeals later overturned this decision based on minor hockey being a "private service" (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). That is, the OMHA was considered a private voluntary organization whose mandate was to provide playing opportunities for boys.

This ruling however did not stop women from fighting for their right to play. More specifically, this issue received attention in the case of Justine Blainey, a woman who wanted to

play on a men's team. Blainey wanted to play boy's hockey because it allowed body checking and slap shots which were not permitted in girl's hockey. This case has set a legal precedent because it used a subsection of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to combat a section of the Ontario Human Rights Code that had exempted anti-discrimination protections within the sporting world. Justice was served, after a battle that cost over 100, 000 dollars, and now girls are allowed to play on boy's teams. The debates concerning the context in which women are "allowed" to participate in hockey exemplify some of the broader social challenges women face when attempting to participate in hockey.

This case was, for the most part, viewed as a step forward in the area of human rights. It was however looked down upon by some critics, especially groups involved in girl's and women's hockey who were primarily interested in insuring that women's hockey remained separate from boys, and that the legitimization and recognition of women's sport was maintained (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). They reasoned that participation rates in girl's hockey would be threatened by allowing girls to play boys hockey.

Meanwhile, with respect to the national level of play, the Canadian National Championship was reintroduced in 1982. Shoppers Drug Mart was targeted by the OWHA as the major sponsor for the event (Stevens, 1992). Meanwhile, on a national level changes were occurring in the CAHA:

The strong desire for a national title, along with pressure from the provinces for a female voice in the CAHA, forced the national body to get involved in the women's game. The ability of the women's hockey community, particularly Ontario, to organize themselves on a wide scale prompted the CAHA to step in and prevent the game from developing completely separately from the existing hockey structure. Consequently, it endorsed a

national championship and established a Women's Council to assume an advisory role within the CAHA (Stevens, 1992, pp. 16-17).

Each province had a representative on the Women's Council which gave them a collective voice on the CAHA. Women's hockey had finally gained national support and would continue to grow at an even faster rate than in previous years.

The 1990's marked considerable development in women's hockey. The first International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) sanctioned Championship was held in Ottawa in 1990. Participating teams were Canada, Germany, USA, Switzerland, Norway, Japan, Finland, and Sweden (Canadian Hockey, 1997a). The second IIFH Women's Worlds was hosted by Tampere, Finland. Teams competed from the USA, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Canada, Sweden, China and Denmark. Meanwhile, meetings were held to discuss the inclusion of women's hockey at the Olympics. It was reasoned that this could be as soon as the 1994 Olympics in Lillehammer (Canadian Hockey, 1997a). In July of 1992, women's hockey was added to the Olympic program.

In 1993, Montreal, Quebec hosted the first junior (Under 18) National Championships. One year later, in 1994, the IIHF officially added women's hockey to the Winter Olympics program for the 1998 Games in Nagano, Japan. At the same time, the third Women's World Championships was hosted in Lake Placid where Canada, China, Sweden, Norway, USA, Finland, Switzerland, and Germany participated (Canadian Hockey, 1997a).

The first IIHF Pacific Women's Hockey Championship was held in 1995. It was hosted in San Jose, California, where Canada, USA, China and Japan competed for the gold. During this year women's hockey was added to the Canada Winter Games in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

The Second Pacific Rim Championships was hosted by Vancouver in 1996. The inaugural Three Nations Cup also took place in 1996 near Ottawa, Ontario. The fourth Women's World Hockey Championship was held in Kitchener, Ontario in 1997. This event served as a qualifier for the Olympics.

Women's Hockey Today

Although the amount of literature specifically pertaining to women's hockey is limited, it has been identified as an important area of study (Theberge, 1995a; Williams, 1988). This is in part due to the substantial growth of women participating in hockey (CHA, 1997b). It has also been suggested that hockey is important to look at because of its extreme patriarchal underpinnings. It has been described as a "flag carrier" sport (Bryson, 1990) in that the entrance of women has been met with a reassertion of masculinity. This has ultimately led to the undermining of women's achievement in athletics setting men's sport as the standard against which women's athletics are measured.

Williams (1988) maintains that women are "claiming their right to equal participation in Canada's national pastime" (p. 78). Despite efforts by women's hockey teams for equality, women are consistently denied access to arenas, have fewer resources for programs (which ultimately makes playing schedules not conducive to maximal performance) and train at inferior facilities compared to men.

The writing by Theberge (1995b) offers some insight into the sport of women's ice hockey. Through fieldwork and interviews with an elite level women's hockey team, the construction of community is analyzed in relation to women's ice hockey. The study suggests

that the construction of community in women's hockey is based on the shared identity of members and their dedication to the sport (Theberge, 1995b).

Theberge (1995a) has also enhanced understandings in relation to women's struggle for legitimacy in hockey through the analysis of Manon Rheume, the first woman to play men's professional hockey in a regular season game. Using a case study, including media representations and player interviews, this work offers insight into Rheume's experience and relates it to the broader cultural ambivalence concerning the meanings inherent to women's sport.

The first part of Theberge's study deals with the media coverage on Rheume. Extensive media coverage is given to Rheume's involvement with men's hockey, making her the most widely known Canadian woman player (Theberge, 1995a). She is portrayed as an "ice breaker" and "role model" attesting to the possibilities for aspiring young women in the hockey world. Theberge (1995a) argues that this exemplifies one of the controversies affecting women in sport, that is the need for the legitimization of women athletes through competition against men. This has been described as "one of the cruelest ironies of the world of sport" where sport is considered men's terrain (Theberge, 1995a, p.38). In the case of hockey, men receive more resources, media coverage and ultimately opportunity. This is despite current gender equity policies. Theberge (1995a) also points out the irony of the "celebration" of Rheume's experiences by the media, in that it recognizes her "success" in men's hockey even though, in general, the opportunity for women in hockey is next to none compared to that of men.

The second part of the study focuses on interviews with two samples of women hockey players (i.e. sample one is composed of 23 adolescent girls aged 14-17, and sample two of women aged 16-34) in an attempt to identify patterns tracing the reactions of players to

Rheaume's participation in men's hockey, and the way in which this affects women's hockey. Responses from the younger players are positive whereas older players reveal a variety of responses. Some older players regard the portrayal of Rheaume as a publicity stunt (but also recognize that it has increased awareness of women's hockey), whereas others consider the focus on participation in men's hockey detrimental to women hockey because it takes the attention away from the women's game. Some even specifically indicate concerns with the process of inferiorization (although not explicitly employing the terminology) where men's hockey is considered the only legitimate form of the game.

All of the women express that they too would have taken the opportunity to play professional hockey if it had presented itself. One of the players however indicates that she "felt sorry for the girl" in that she is making money but not playing hockey (Theberge, 1995b). The commentary by players suggests that the struggle for legitimacy and inferiorization in women's sport is understood by players. In sum, the media, in its portrayal of women's hockey, creates a situation where the men's game is considered superior and success for women can only be achieved through playing with men.

In Etue & William's book, On the edge: Women making hockey history, they give a detailed description of women in hockey. The book discusses some of the barriers that women in hockey have had to overcome in order to play.

Etue and Williams (1996) depict the lack of ice for women in hockey as one of the largest barriers in the sport. Women have had to fight for any ice that they receive, and when they are granted ice it is typically late at night or early in the morning. The argument in many communities, regarding the inequity concerning the quantity and quality of ice allotted to women's hockey, "has been based on the need to protect the ice time for boys, who at least have

a shot at the revered National Hockey League (NHL)” (p. 160). This has proven problematic in light of the unprecedented growth of women’s hockey, in that women’s programs do not have the same resources and programs that are given to men’s hockey and women continue to use inferior facilities and play in undesirable time slots. Rink managers, who are responsible for allotting the ice time, are reluctant to give women ice claiming that ice is granted on a first come first serve basis and since men have played in the arenas before women it is their right to have first choice of ice time (Etue & Williams, 1996). Women who have been successful in their fight to obtain ice time have often been victims of verbal abuse by parents, fans, players and organizers from men’s hockey (Etue & Williams, 1996).

Etue and Williams (1996) maintain that although women are making progress in sport, in terms of developing equity policies, these policies are relatively ineffective in the sport of hockey. For example, Sport Canada has failed to implement its 1986 gender equity policy, which has been described as “an excellent discussion of how fairness could be achieved” but “it lacked accountability and specific goals, and because of this was in essence a non-agenda” (p. 177). Moreover, the CAHA is a prime example of the ineffectiveness of this policy, in that it continues to allocate millions of dollars to men’s programs and does little to support the development of women’s programs. Lack of funding for women’s hockey programs continues to be the rule and not the exception despite the growth and quality of women’s hockey.

The intercollegiate level of sport however exists as one of the most progressive areas of competition for women’s hockey. This is the result of the growing number of women university students, and their ability to voice their concern over where there tuition dollars are spent. For example, the University of Toronto’s Athletic Council has been committed to developing and implementing gender equity policies (Etue & Williams, 1996). That is, in 1993, the council

identified a \$60,000 discrepancy between the men's and women's athletic programs. It consequently persuaded the Athletic Council to work to achieve equity by 1996. This action helped to restore the women's hockey program, after the university threatened to cut women's hockey and the poorly attended football program, in 1992 after the university cut \$1.2 million dollars from the Department of Athletics and Recreation. Both programs continued after students service fees were increased and channeled directly into sport. As a result, students felt that the university was accountable for where their fees were being used, and since women make up 54% of the university's population the Office for the Status of Women was prompted to look into how resources could be allocated fairly. The Task Force on Gender Equity was consequently created and worked to close the gap between men's and women's athletics.

Women's hockey felt the direct effect of the redistribution of the budget and ultimately increased their scarce budget of \$11,000 (which was one tenth of the men's budget) to more than \$40,000 in 1995 (Etue & Williams, 1996). They were also given ice time that was more suitable to the training schedules of elite athletes, and were written up in the university's annual sports publication. Although the program still lacks in some of the areas that the men's program is afforded, such as publicity and per diems for coaches, this gender equity policy has set a precedent in university athletics. The only other university that has even come close to achieving equity is Concordia University where the women's hockey team receives its share of the budget (Etue & Williams, 1996).

In addition, women's hockey is relatively ignored by the media. It would however prove to be a particularly useful tool in understanding gender issues in light of the number of court cases challenging men's privilege within the sport hockey (Williams, 1988; Etue & Williams, 1996).

Stevens (1992) details the structural changes that have occurred in women's hockey prior to 1992, and how the women's program fits into the structure of the Canadian Hockey System. The CAHA and Hockey Canada are described as having not being capable of dealing with the incredible growth of women's hockey in Canada because of their focus on the national and international aspects of the men's game. As a result, the Ontario Women's Hockey Association (the only independent organizing body of women's hockey in Canada) was delegated a lot of the responsibility of managing the women's program.

In her study, Stevens (1992) conducted an exploratory study in order to gain an increased understanding of attitudes and opinions about issues in women's hockey. In order to achieve this, 31 surveys were distributed to women's hockey associations across the province of Ontario. The survey was divided into sections that sought information of enrollment, cost, facility access, officiating, and growth and development. The results were then summarized in three charts, which will be briefly discussed here.

The first chart detailed "Impressions of the Developmental Status of Women's Hockey" and highlighted that lack of interest from community and local government in women's hockey, and the fact that women's hockey was perceived as too rough (Stevens, 1992, p. 95). It was finally stated that parent's enthusiasm towards their daughter playing hockey increased after one year of play. The second chart outlined the "Impressions of the Perceived Attitudes Towards Women's Hockey" by noting the positive and negative comments concerning perceptions of women's hockey. For example some positive comments included, "people who watch (female) hockey are impressed with (the) level of play, once the (parents) come out, we usually win them over", whereas negative comments stated that, "families with boy(s) playing are not prepared to let (their) sister(s) play, and that there is media coverage only for male hockey" (p.96).

The final chart details Impressions of the “Perceived Problems Facing Women’s Hockey” (Stevens, 1992, p. 97). It outlines barriers such as the high cost of ice, the travel incurred due to the lack of availability of ice in home communities, the problem of attracting skilled coaches who know about the women’s game, and the need to convince mothers that enrolling their daughters in hockey does not mean the loss of femininity and that women’s hockey is not necessarily “butch and rough” (Stevens, 1992, p. 97).

The growth of women’s hockey in Canada and the United States is traced in Avery and Stevens’ 1997 book, *Too Many Men On the Ice*. It is a detailed comparison of the effectiveness of the US college based hockey program and the Canadian dominated club program. The barriers that women have had to overcome, such as the legal battles of girls wanting to play on boy’s teams, are also documented. The legitimization of the sport through either national, world or Olympic status is also discussed, in that the sport is not considered “real” unless it has at least reached national status.

Gruneau and Whitson (1993) maintain that the larger hockey subculture is not complete without recognizing hockey as it relates to women. Historically, Canadian hockey has developed as a men’s preserve in that radio, television, and professional hockey have served to create hockey heroes and ultimately define a certain kind of masculinity.

Conclusion

The area of women in hockey has been relatively untouched in sport studies research. The few existing studies offer insight into personal experiences of players through in-depth accounts of female hockey players (Theberge 1995a; Theberge, 1995b), and writings concentrating on women’s hockey as clubs or university teams (e.g., Avery & Stevens, 1997).

These studies however do not address women's hockey in relation to its pre and post Olympic status. This leads us to ask questions such as: Have changes come about in terms of participation rates in women's hockey since the inclusion of it as an Olympic sport?, Has the university level of hockey changed since this status?, and, Has the print media coverage at the national level of play within ice hockey changed since Olympic status?

CHAPTER III METHODS

This chapter focuses on the methods used to examine changes in Canadian women's hockey before and after Olympic status was given to the sport. Significant research about studies using methods to measure the impact of a specific event, such as becoming an Olympic sport, has been conducted and was unsuccessful. Therefore, it was decided to select specific research questions which would at the same time become indicators of changes in women's hockey, according to the possibility of getting the needed data. The choice of indicators was therefore driven by practicability and by the limits inherent to a masters thesis. Indeed, one might argue that there are multiple variables which might bring about changes in a sport, but given the absence of any work of this nature, we designed a limited series of indicators.

Participation in Women's Hockey

The first research question sought to address the state of women's hockey before and after Olympic status by focusing on the participation rates within Canadian women's hockey for the years 1990-1997. Participation rates were taken from the Canadian Hockey Association's (CHA) Registration Reports. The split middle technique was used in order to describe the participation rates because it indicates the rate of behaviour change over time for a group or individual. The linear trend described by the data describes present performance and helps to predict future performance by displaying the rate of behaviour change. In order to split the data at 1992, it was however necessary to use data for 1988 and 1989. Although these years were not within the scope of the study, they helped to explain the predicted change in growth for participation rates.

Minutes from the CHA Female Council annual general meetings and semi-annual meeting were also used when they provided insight into participation rates of women's hockey. These documents were however not available for all of the years between 1990 and 1997. These were taken from CHA Registration Reports. The accessible resources were therefore used when this provided additional insight.

Questionnaire Analysis

The second research question sought to address the state of women's hockey before and after Olympic status by focusing on the status of women's hockey in Canadian Universities. A questionnaire was developed and sent to all Universities listed in the CIAU handbook (CIAU, 1997a). The questionnaire contained questions concerning the year that the hockey programs started (i.e. men's and women's), resources allocated to the hockey programs (e.g.. budget) and whether the University was considering adding a hockey program if it did not already exist (see Appendix A). In addition, minutes from the 1996 CIAU board of directors meeting (CIAU, 1996a), and the 1996 annual general meeting (CIAU, 1996b) were used to provide information pertaining to the reasons that women's hockey was selected to be added to the CIAU Championship Program. The data from the women's programs was compared to that of the men's when this offered additional insight.

Print Media Content Analysis

The third indicator investigated in this study was the changes in the print media coverage before and after Olympic status. This was achieved by analyzing the media coverage of the first Women's World Championship (1990) and the most recent Women's World Championship

(1997). These two particular championships were chosen to examine for two reasons. First, they were the only two, out of a total of four, world championships that were held in Canada. This means that the media coverage by the Canadian media would be more extensive. Second, an analysis of the 1990 and 1997 World Championships might provide an indication regarding the changes that have come about in terms of media coverage since women's hockey was awarded Olympic status in 1992. The examination of the media coverage was achieved through a content analysis of articles published by two newspapers.

In this study, we do not intend to probe any specific hypothesis about the content of the newspaper, but rather to describe changes in the manifest content (as opposed to the latent) of newspaper articles. These changes are to be found in the text as well as in the photos that illustrate some of the articles. The content analysis was divided into two phases. In the first phase, the distribution of the articles throughout the two Women's World Championships was examined. This section looked at when the articles were published (pre, during, or post event), and briefly commented on the content of each article. This helped to indicate, for example, whether the event was introduced by the media to the public (i.e. as indicated by the amount of pre event coverage). In the second phase an analysis of the content (length, location, photos, quotations, main topics presented) was performed. This focused on breaking the articles down even further in order to describe different aspects of the reporting on the Championships. This also helped to identify the information that was reported on and that which was not.

The two newspapers selected for analysis were the Ottawa Citizen and the Toronto Star. These two papers were chosen because they have the largest daily circulation in their respective areas. The Ottawa Citizen was used for an analysis of the 1990 championships because Ottawa was the host city of this event. It is therefore likely that the event would have been mostly

covered by Ottawa newspapers. The Toronto Star was focused on in the examination of the 1997 world championship because Toronto was one of the closest major cities to the event, which was hosted by Kitchener, Waterloo.

The method of data collection was a computer search , which was conducted at the Ottawa Citizen. This identified all of the newspaper articles in which the words “women’s hockey” appeared for the years 1990 and 1997. This search provided a list of articles from the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen.

Content analysis was used because it allows the researcher to analyze human behavior when it is not feasible to obtain information from people who have experienced the phenomenon under study first hand. A content analysis gathers this information indirectly by means of an examination of the peoples communications, such as the documents used in this study (Fraenkel & Walen, 1996). Content analysis is a useful technique because the researcher is unobtrusive in that the content under study is not influenced by researcher, the researcher is not limited by time and space and can consequently study past events, and the information used in the study can be used by other researchers to either replicate the study or to do further research.

CHAPTER IV RESULTS

This chapter will present the results of the study. The participation rates in women's hockey will be analyzed first, followed by the state of women's hockey in Canadian Universities. The results for the print media analysis will be presented in two sections. The first will detail the quantity of the print media coverage and the second will examine the content of the articles.

State of Women's Ice Hockey

The state of women's ice hockey will be examined by looking at two distinct areas of participation. The participation rates of women and men playing hockey in Canada will be explored first. Second, the status of hockey programs for men and women in Canadian Universities will be analyzed.

Participation Rates In Canada

This section will present the results for the participation rates in hockey. It will be divided into two sections. The first will examine participation rates before Olympic status (1990-1992), whereas the second will trace participation rates after this status (1993-1997). Men's participation rates will be introduced when this offers additional insight into the development of women's hockey. In addition, minutes from the semi-annual and annual general meeting of the Female Council, a board directing women's hockey within the Canadian Hockey Association, will be examined, in terms of how they relate to participation rates, throughout the years that they are available.

Pre Olympic status (1990-1992). Participation rates for women's hockey decreased between 1990 and 1991 (see Figure 1). This was also the case for men's hockey which experienced a decrease in participation for these years.

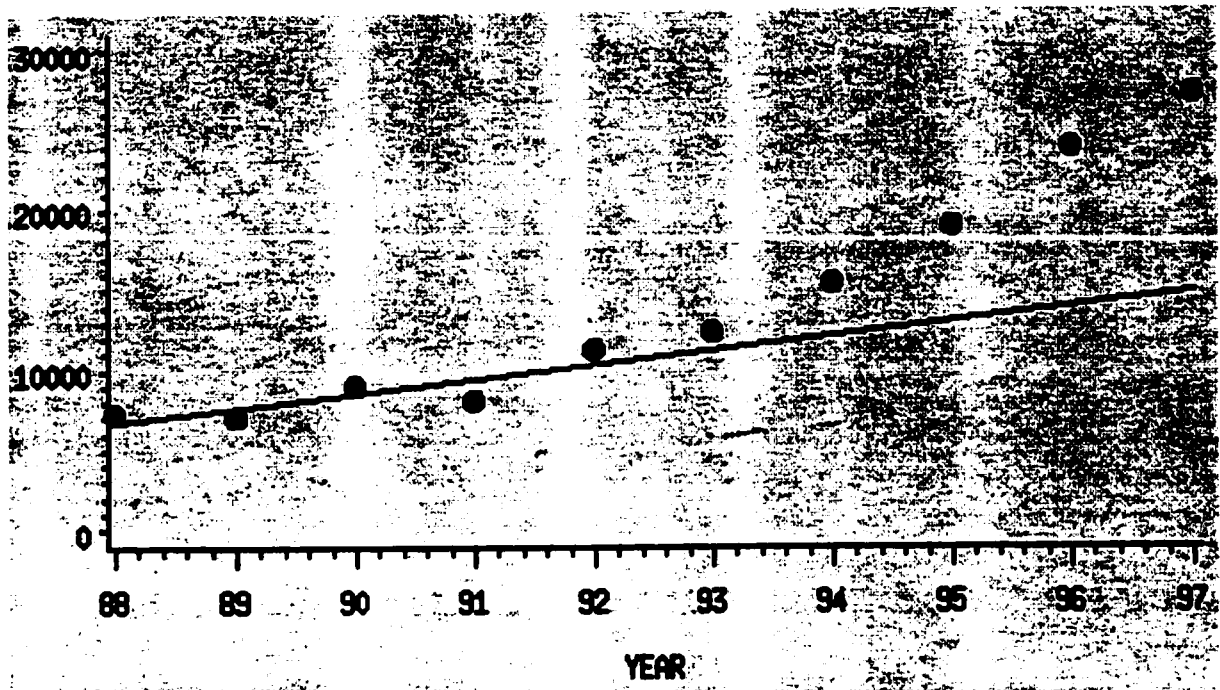
It has been suggested that the decrease in the number of women playing hockey in 1991 was the result of amount of travel in the women's game, and the fact that it is difficult to identify young women playing on young men's teams. For example, British Columbia's report on women's hockey suggests that it is difficult to "maintain a handle on the young female players playing with male teams" and "it is difficult convince a parent to let their 10 year old play with women in their thirties and forties" (Female Council Annual General Meeting, Branch Reports, 1991). In addition, the Saskatchewan Amateur Hockey Association indicated that they would work to have the provincial certification sheets changed in order to identify women playing on men's teams in Saskatchewan (Female Council Annual General Meeting, 1991, Branch Report).

Participation rates for women increased between the years 1991 and 1992. This was also the case for men's hockey.

Post Olympic status (1993-1997). Women's hockey continued to grow throughout the years 1993-1997. Men's participation rates however decreased between the 1995 and 1996, and continued to decrease throughout the 1996 and 1997 seasons. Three points of growth in women's hockey will be discussed in the following section.

The 1993 women's hockey season, the year following Olympic status, experienced positive growth, although less growth than the previous season (see Figure 1). It was noted in the Female Council Representative Report that there were two factors affecting women's hockey during the 1993 season. The first was described as "history in the making" in that the first woman, Manon Rheame, played in the NHL (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, Female

Council Representative Report, Appendix 1, 1992). It was suggested that participation rates were affected by Manon Rheume playing in the National Hockey League (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, 1992, Branch Reports). For example, the Ontario Women's Hockey Association maintains that this event has had a mixed effect, both positive and negative, on women's hockey in Ontario. More specifically, "it has lead to some negative press for female hockey in Ontario and also some misperceptions and ego trips for some parents to see how high a female player can be registered in male hockey instead of playing on a female team" (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, 1992, Branch Reports). This situation potentially escalated the problem of measuring men's and women's participation rates, because it is difficult to measure how many women are playing men's hockey. The second, was the naming of women's hockey as an Olympic event. Both of these events were noted as receiving considerable media coverage (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, 1992, Branch Reports).

FIGURE 1**Number of Women Registered with the CAHA**

The 1994 season marked the starting point of the considerable growth in the post Olympic time period. I would argue that it is important to examine this season, in addition to the 1993 season, in order to determine whether Olympic status affected participation rates in women's hockey. That is, because women's hockey did not receive Olympic status until July of 1992, there was not adequate time for women to decide, or in some cases parents, to register for hockey in the 1993 season. More specifically, many competitive teams hold try-outs for the next season immediately following the end of the current season. In addition, due to the lack of ice time in women's hockey, leagues may not have had adequate facilities to accommodate an increase in teams or players until the 1994 season.

Another point worthy of discussion when examining participation rates in 1994 was brought forth by the Ontario Women's Hockey Association. It was suggested that participation rates in 1994 were not as high as they might have been because of differential between the price of insurance between men's and women's hockey. That is, the Ontario Women's Hockey Association maintains that they lost hockey teams to the Ontario Minor Hockey Association (that governs men's hockey) because the men's association offered cheaper insurance (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, Branch Reports, 1993).

The spilt-middle technique displayed in Figure 1 indicates the rate of behavior change over time for a group or individual. The linear trend indicated by the data describes present performance and helps to predict future performance by displaying the rate of behaviour change. In this study, up until 1992 the solid line represents the rate of growth, and after 1992 the predicted rate of growth. That is, the actual growth post 1992 exceeded the predicted growth.

Women's Ice Hockey in Canadian Universities

This section aims to provide insight into women's hockey at the university level. It concentrates on minutes from the 1996 CIAU Board of Directors Meeting, and the 1996 CIAU Annual General Meeting, in which women's ice hockey was approved as a CIAU sport. The CIAU Women's Ice Hockey Championship Report was used in order to provide information pertaining to the status of leagues within Canadian Universities, and the rules that govern the CIAU Championships (1997b). In addition, a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was sent out to all Canadian universities listed in the 1997 CIAU handbook. A total of 33 Universities out of 48 responded to the questionnaires. The questionnaires that provided insight into this study were

however the only ones used. That is, the questionnaires in which more than one answer was provided were used.

The Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union approved the addition of women's hockey to its championship agenda in April of 1997. An analysis of the minutes from the CIAU Board of Directors Meeting, that was held in 1996, provided information as to the reasons that the sport of women's hockey was targeted. The CIAU was in a position that in which it aimed to introduce two new women's sports to the CIAU Championship Program. This was primarily due to gender equity reasons. It consequently formulated a survey that was sent to all universities in Canada in an attempt to determine which women's sports would be added to the CIAU Championship Program (CIAU, 1996a). Twenty-four universities responded to the survey, and it was concluded that women's hockey and women's rugby received the highest number of votes. The surveys revealed that if only one sport was to be added it was to be women's hockey.

Many of the institutions in the study however commented that they were not in a financial position to add another sport at the given time. The CIAU however aimed to introduce the new Championship without a large financial element (e.g. participant-funded event). A task force was created at this meeting in order to develop a plan for a participant-funded CIAU women's ice hockey championship (CIAU, 1996a).

The minutes from the Annual General Meeting, in 1996, indicated that the addition of women's hockey to the CIAU Championship Program was criticized based on participation rates (CIAU, 1996b). That is, there were not a lot of universities with women's ice hockey programs and it would therefore be questionable as to whether a championship would be viable. It was later decided that women's ice hockey should be added because it is one of the fastest growing sports in Canada (CIAU, 1996b).

The CIAU Women's Hockey Championship was held from February 26 to March 1, 1998 at Concordia University. It operated on a participant funded basis. This meant that the host was responsible for all costs related to the organization of the event (e.g. ice rental) and that travel costs, accommodations meals (with the addition of banquet tickets), and on-site transportation are covered by the participating teams.

In 1997, Quebec and Ontario were the only provinces in Canada to host a women's hockey league. The CWUAA (Canada West- British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan), and the GPAC (Regina and Manitoba) both held tournaments to determine the representative teams at the CIAU Championship. The AUAA (Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) operated at a club level.

The next area of emphasis in the section on university hockey programs involved information obtained from the questionnaires which were sent to all Canadian Universities. The results were organized into a chart (See Table 3). The chart indicated the universities with programs before and after Olympic status, the budget of the teams for the 1997 season and the future teams that were to be potentially added.

Table 3**University Hockey Programs – Pre and Post Olympic**

University	Pre Olympic		Post Olympic		Budget 1997		Future Team
	(M)	(W)	(M)	(W)	(M)	(W)	
Acadia	1960-92	No	1993-97	No	\$55,000	No	2000 (W)
Alberta	1909-92	1920s, 1930s	1993-97	1997	n/a	\$15,000	No
Brandon	1920-92	No	1993-97	No	\$100,000	No	n/a
Brock	1968-92	No	1993-97	No	\$58,000	No	n/a
Calgary	Since inception of University	No	1993-97	1997	\$57,000	\$3,000	No
Carleton	No	No	No	No	No	No	1999 (M) 1999 (W)
Concordia	Since inception of University	Since inception of University	1993-97	1993-97	n/a	n/a	No
Laurier	1960-92	No	1993-97	1994-97	\$40,000	\$21,000	No
Laval	1975-85	1987-91	No	No	No	No	n/a
Lethbridge	n/a	No	n/a	1997	\$140,000	\$30,000	No
McMaster	No	No	No	No	No	No	n/a
Memorial	No	No	No	No	No	No	n/a
Moncton	1968-92	No	1993-97	No	\$30,000	No	n/a
Mount Allsion	n/a	No	n/a	No	n/a	No	n/a
New Brunswick	n/a	No	n/a	1997	Tier I: Funded	Tier IV: Funded + raises funds	n/a
Ottawa	1918-92	No	1993-97	No	\$120,000	No	n/a
PEI	1969-92	No	1993-97	No	\$45,000	No	n/a
Queen's	n/a	1892- 1992	n/a	1993-97	n/a	\$30,000	No
Regina	n/a	No	n/a	No	\$77,000	No	n/a
RMC	1976-92	No	1993-97	No	\$100,000	No	n/a
Ryerson	n/a	No	n/a	No	\$60,000	No	n/a

University	Pre Olympic		Post Olympic		Budget 1997		Future Team
	(M)	(W)	(M)	(W)	(M)	(W)	
Saskatchewan	1920-92	20's-80's	1993-97	1996	\$71,000	\$28,000	No
St. Francis Xavier	1896-1992	No	1993-97	1997	n/a	n/a	No
St. Mary's	1958-92	No	1993-97	1997	n/a	n/a	No
St. Thomas	1984-92	No	1993-97	No	n/a	No	1998 (W)
Trent	No	No	No	No	No	No	n/a
UCCB	1975-92	No	1993-97	1996	n/a	n/a	No
UQAM	No	No	No	No	No	No	n/a
UQTR	1969-92	1978-92	1993-97	1993-97	\$125,000	\$20,280	No
Waterloo	1950-92	No	1993-97	No	n/a	No	n/a
Windsor	1970-92	No	1993-97	1994-97	\$96,090	\$47,223	No
Western	n/a	No	n/a	No	\$100,000	No	n/a
Winnipeg	No	No	No	No	No	No	n/a
TOTAL	27	6	26	13	Average \$79,631	Average \$24,313	1(M)+3(W)

The number of men's hockey teams decreased from the pre-Olympic time period (before 1992) to the post-Olympic time period (after 1992). That is, there were 27 universities that provided men's hockey prior to 1992 (pre-Olympic status). This number decreased by one team during the post Olympic time period, bringing the total of men's hockey teams to 26 after 1992.

In contrast, the women's hockey programs increased from the pre-Olympic time period to the post-Olympic time period. More specifically, there were 6 universities providing women's hockey prior to 1992 and 13 after this time period (after 1992). This meant that women's hockey experienced growth during the post-Olympic time period, increasing by 7 teams.

The average of the budget for men's programs for the 1997 season was \$79, 630.63 and the range was from \$30, 000 to \$140, 000. The women's budget was lower than that of the

men's. More specifically, the average for the women's budget was \$24, 312.875, ranging from \$3, 000 to \$47, 000.

The future growth of hockey programs was indicated by 6 universities. That is, one of the universities stated that it would potentially add a men's program within 2 years whereas 6 universities indicated that they would add women's programs in the future. There was consequently more growth anticipated for women's hockey than for men's.

Conclusion

Participation rates for women's hockey in Canada experienced some growth after Olympic status. The period before Olympic status experienced a combination of negative and positive growth whereas the post Olympic time period exhibited only positive growth.

Canadian Universities also indicated that growth occurred in women's hockey in the post Olympic status time period whereas the men's programs illustrated a decrease in teams. It is important to note that although the CIAU introduced a Canadian Championship for women's hockey for gender equity reasons, the way in which men and women participate in hockey is less than equitable. That is, women's hockey programs received less funding and resources in university hockey than the men's programs. Moreover, despite the fact that the CIAU did not perceive the Olympic status of women's hockey as being influential in the decision to add women's hockey to the CIAU Championship Program, it did consider women's university hockey as a training ground for the national team.

In addition, it was evident that women's hockey is growing in Canadian Universities, despite the decreasing athletic budgets in Universities. That is, it was indicated that four universities, that previously only had men's hockey programs, would add women's hockey

within the next 3 years. Two universities with no varsity hockey stated that they would also add women's hockey within the next 3 years, whereas one indicated that it would add men's hockey within the same time period.

In sum, participation rates for women in Canadian Hockey increased in the post Olympic status period, when the men's program was experiencing a decrease in participation rates. University hockey also experienced the most expansion in this time period, when it was added to the CIAU Championship Program with the intention that it would serve as a training ground for the Canadian National Team Program. Moreover, even though the University Program was considered as a developmental tool for the Women's National Team, the results of the questionnaires indicated that women's hockey receives less funding than the men's.

Print Media Analysis

The results of the content analysis of the media coverage will be presented in two parts. First, the quantity of articles in relation to when they were published, before, during or after the event, will be presented along with a very brief summary of the content of the article. Second, the content of each article (location, length, photo, and topics) will be presented. It was decided to present the analysis of the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen separately because it will provide a better indication of how the readers of these newspapers, living respectively in Toronto and Ottawa, were informed on the two Women's World Championships.

Quantity of Articles

Toronto Star coverage

The distribution of articles published by the Toronto Star for the coverage of the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championships is presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Number of articles published in the Toronto Star on the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championships

	Date													
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
1990 March	1								2	1				4
1997 March -April		30	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
		1					1		1	1	3		2	9

1990 Women's World Championship. Four articles were published for this event. Only one article was published before the event and, as it will be indicated later, this article did not give information on the teams that would compete, or about the event, but focused mainly on the Canadian Team's pink uniform. The two articles published during the event were on the last day of the competition (i.e. the day of the gold medal game). Both articles made referenced to the pink uniforms and also gave information on the semi-final games and the teams that would meet in the final. Consequently, there was no coverage of the games that were played throughout the week. The post event coverage consisted of one article that appeared the day after the competition ended. It concentrated on event information and made reference to the Olympics.

1997 Women's World Championship. Nine articles were published on this event. As for the coverage of the 1990 Championship, only one article was published before the competition started. This article underline the rivalry between the Canadian and American teams but did not provide information on game times, location, competing teams or any other event information.

The first article during the event was published on the fifth day, two days before the end of the event. It summarized the standings from the games throughout the week, and highlighted the teams that had earned a spot in the semifinal games. The fact that this tournament was an Olympic qualifier was mentioned for the first time in this article.

The second article appeared on the last day of the event and summarized the semifinal games that were played the day before. It introduced the teams that would play in the gold medal game that day. The difference in training between the two teams was detailed, making note of how that would affect their Olympic performances.

The post game coverage was the more extensive, with six articles which appeared up to 4 days after the event. The first article appeared the day after the gold medal game. The article profiled a player in order to highlight the final game. It highlighted her recovery from an injury during the game in order to describe how the Canadian team earned their gold medal standing. There was no mention of the results of the bronze medal game.

There were three articles printed two days after the event. The first article discussed whether women's hockey belonged at the Olympic Games in 1998. This article highlighted some of the points brought forth by unidentified critics, who suggested that women's hockey was not well developed enough throughout the world to be included as an Olympic event. The article also stressed that Olympic status is very important to the sport and will help it to achieve a higher

level of play world wide. The second article discussed the perception of other national hockey teams concerning the Canadian team. Opinions of the American team were highlighted, stating that they felt that the Canadian team was 'cocky' and unsportsmanlike. This article ended by calling attention to the fact that Canada will have to be in better physical shape in order to maintain its dominance at the Olympic Games. The third article highlighted the coach of the Canadian team, Shannon Miller. She was described as having a difficult job, in that the gap between Canada and other countries had slowly closed, and that the Canadian Team would need a rigid coaching program in order to dominate at the Olympics. This article also discussed the weak points that the team displayed at the World Championship.

The next two articles appeared four days later event. In one article, the profile of Leslie Reddon, the Canadian team goalie, was reported, highlighting her record with the team and her goal to play at the Olympics. The second article concentrated on the performance of players on Team Canada. It depicted one of the forward lines, emphasizing that all of the players were from Scarborough, Ontario, were the same age and were all aiming to compete at the Olympic Games in 1998.

In sum, the Toronto Star's coverage of the 1997 World Championships improved, although only marginally in some areas, from that of 1990. That is, the number of articles more than doubled from 1990 to 1997, whereas the distribution of articles only improved in the post event time period. More specifically, the distribution of articles in the pre event category remained relatively the same in 1997, and improved slightly in the during time period because the coverage started earlier in 1997. The content of the articles, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, however improved in the 1997 coverage in that they did not focus on the pink uniforms as in the 1990 coverage. The 1997 coverage provided player profiles, information on

the event, and highlighted other aspects of the game that are important in its development. It is important to note that although the quantity of coverage improved in 1997, some areas concerning the content of the articles, which have only been briefly described here and will be discussed in detail in the next section, did not.

Ottawa Citizen Coverage

The distribution of articles published by the Ottawa Citizen for the coverage of the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Championship is presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Number of articles published in the Ottawa Citizen on the 1990 and 1997 World Championships

	1990			1997							1997			
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1990 March							1	1	2		1			5
1997 March - April		30	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
			1	2	2					1				6

1990 Women's World Championship. A total of five articles were published in the Ottawa Citizen. Although this event was held in the city of Ottawa, there were no articles in the pre event time period, failing to introduce the event to the public.

The first of the four articles printed during the championship was on the fifth day of the competition. The article summarized all of the games that had taken place that week. It also introduced the semifinal games, the time, media station that they would be aired on, and the location of the games. The second article was printed the following day, the day of the semifinal

games. The article gave insight into the semifinal games and announced the time, date, and location of the gold medal game.

There were two articles published on last day of the competition, the day of the gold medal game. The first described the projected success of the event. It detailed the effect that the event will have on women's hockey domestically, and the possibility of women's hockey being included in the Olympics. The second article described the semifinal games that took place the day before. It also announced the time and location of the final game.

The only article that appeared after the tournament was two days after the end of the event. The article announced the results of the gold medal game but did not give details about the gold medal game. It rather concentrated on a discussion of the success of the event as a whole.

1997 Women's World Championship. A total of six articles were published. In the coverage of the 1990 Women's World Championship. There were no articles published before the competition, once again failing to promote the event.

Five article were published during the event, the first one appeared the first day of the competition. This article gave a detailed description of each team in the competition and where they were seeded. It also provided an explanation of how this event was a qualifier for the Olympic Games in 1998, and it listed the time, date and location of each of the games for the entire week.

The following day, two articles were published. The first article profiled a Canadian team player. It depicted her hockey career by describing the way she was previously cut from the national team, causing her to be depressed. A detailed schedule of the remaining games was also

given in this article. The second article also highlighted a hockey player and provided the results of the games from the previous day and the games that would take place that night.

Two articles were printed on April 2. The first article profiled Canadian team goalie, Lesley Reddon. It portrayed her life as an athlete and how she was aspiring to play at the Olympic Games. The second article profiled the all-woman referee staff at the tournament, giving insight into their abilities and how the decision was made to include only women on the staff. It also talked about how the women were aiming to officiate at the Olympic Games in 1998.

The post event coverage for 1997 Championship was limited to one article published the day after the event ended. It used a player profile in order to highlight the final game. In addition, it discussed other aspects of the event (e.g.. gate revenue) and gave insight into the upcoming Olympic Games in 1998.

In sum, the coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship, by the Ottawa Citizen, improved only slightly from that in 1990. The number of articles increased by only one article in 1997, and the distribution of articles was plagued by the same problems that were present in 1990 (i.e. they started late in the event and did not provide any pre event coverage). The topic of the articles, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section, however improved in 1997, in that they provided information in areas such as player profiles, information on migration in hockey, and officiating staff profiles.

Content of the Articles

This section aims to provide insight into the content of the media coverage. Table 6 gives the following information for each article in the Toronto Star and Table 7 gives the same

information for the Ottawa Citizen; the date of publication, the location in the newspaper, the number of words, the photograph status, and the topics (quotations from whom, the main topic, the other topics and if the journalist made reference to men's hockey).

Toronto Star coverage (content)

1990 Women's World Championship. There were a total of four articles printed for this event. The first article was located on page C4 and the next two were on page E3. The only article that was located on the front page of the sports section reported on the final game of the tournament. All of the articles were classified as short, which is defined by the Periodical Online Search for Newspapers as under 1000 words, in that they ranged from 345 to 845 words. The last article, reporting on the gold medal game was the longest (845 words).

All of the articles were accompanied by a colour photograph. The first article, March 17, however concentrated on team Canada's pink uniforms, displaying a photograph depicting the colour of the uniform.

The total number of quotations given was 29. They were provided by players (n=17), coaches (n=11) and one director. Out of the 11 quotations given by coaches, 5 were from women and 6 were from men. The quotation from the director of women's hockey was from a woman. This consequently means that the voice was given to women in 23 situations and to men in 6 instances.

The main topic of three out of the four articles was the event, the exception being the first one which focused on the pink uniforms that the Canadian Team wore. The pink uniforms issue appeared in three of the four articles. The first article on March 25 began by posing the question 'Pretty in pink?' and answering it with "Better looking in gold" (Ormsby, 1990a, p. E3). The

report on the semifinal game between Canada and Finland, which took place the night before the publication of this article, also called attention to Canada's pink and white uniforms.

Table 6

Description of Content in Toronto Star Articles

1990						
17/03	pre	C4 (345)	colour	p=4 d(w)=1	-pink uniforms -schedule	
25/03	during	E3 (732)	colour	p=7 c(m)=3	-pink uniforms -event info.	
25/03	during	E3 (722)	colour	p=2 c(m)=2 c(w)=5	-event info. -coaching -physical size	-yes
26/03	post	D1 (845)	colour	p=4 c(m)=1	-event info. -Olympics -game info.	
1997						
30/03	pre	B7 (408)	2 photos colour	ps=3 c(w)=1	-event info. -Olympics	-yes
4/4	during	C3 (536)			-event info. -Olympics	
6/4	during	C1 (687)	colour	p=7	-event info. -Olympics	-yes
7/4	post	D5 (401)	colour	p=7 c(w)=2	-event info. -Olympics -player profile	
8/4	post	B1 (583)	colour	p=1 c(m)=1	-critique of Olympic status for women's hockey	-yes
8/4	post	B7 (342)		p=5 c(w)=1	-critique of Team Canada, rivalry -Olympics	
8/4	post	B7 (433)	colour	c(w)=2	-Olympic preparation	
10/4	post	MS6 (289)	colour	p=2	-player profile -Olympics	
10/4	post	SC4 (460)	colour	p=4	-player profiles -Olympics	

* p= players c= coaches d= directors m= men w= women

Moreover, the second article on March 25 discussed the “pink power” theme at the event where fans were equipped with pink pom-poms, arena workers wore pink shirts and had pink shoelaces, how the Zamboni was sporting 10 plastic flamingos and the driver a pink flamingo costume. It also noted that some people had thought that the uniforms were sexist, but that the players liked them. The article questioned whether this was reinforcing stereotypes.

The only article that did not include a description of the pink uniforms was the last article, on March 26, in which the gold medal game was highlighted. This was also the first article that gave information on the Olympic status of women’s hockey, and the bid for the inclusion of women’s hockey in the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway was noted. The coach of the Canadian team, Dave McMaster, posed the following question: “How are they going to keep us out of the Olympics now after what happened here?” (Ormsby, 1990c, p. D3).

References to men’s hockey appeared in one of the articles, at the end of the March 25 article. The journalist first described how 100 free makeovers were given away as prizes at the game featuring Canada and Finland, and then went on to ask: “Can you imagine handing out free makeovers at Leafs Games?” (Ormsby, 1990b, p. E3).

1997 Women’s World Championship. The Toronto Star’s coverage of the 1997 Women’s World Championship included a total of nine articles. The pages that they were located on ranged from the first page of the sport section, on two occasions, to page 7 in 3 instances. One of the articles published on the first page was on the day of the gold medal game and served to promote this particular game. The other article was published after the event, and described some of the arguments suggested by people who were critical of having women’s hockey in the Olympics. It then dispelled some of the myths created by these statements. The article that described the gold medal match was located further back in the section, on page D5.

All of the articles were classified as short (under 1000 words), ranging from 289 to 687 words. In addition, seven of the articles were accompanied by colour photographs. The April 30th article, in which the event was promoted, had two photographs. One of the articles that did not have a photograph appeared during the event and served to give the Pool Results from the games preceding the semifinal round. The other article that was not accompanied by a photograph was printed on a day when two other articles appeared in the paper that did have photographs.

The Toronto Star's coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship included quotations in the majority of articles. More specifically, eight out of nine articles provided quotations, totaling 36 quotations. The voice was given to the players from the tournament (n=28), to a young woman player (n=1), and to coaches (n=7). Six of the seven quotation given by coaches were from women, whereas the remaining quotation was from a man. This means that the players were given the most opportunity to provide insight into the articles concerning the event. Moreover, the majority of quotations, all but one, were from women, consequently giving women the voice in the articles.

The topics of the articles were not solely the event. That is, only three of the nine articles focused on the Women's World Championship. Moreover, two of the articles provided information on the Olympics, three emphasized player profiles, and the other concentrated on the rivalry between Team Canada and Team USA.

The Olympics were mentioned in all of the nine articles. For example, in one of the articles, the Olympic Games were noted once by the coach of the Canadian National Team, who would also be the coach of the Olympic team. It was reported that she was evaluating players during the World Championship in order to help select the team that would compete at the 1998

Olympic Games in Japan. In addition, another article discussed the teams that had already qualified for the Olympics and noted that the fifth team to earn a spot in the Olympics would be determined on the final day of the competition.

The Olympic Games were also used in order to report on the World Championship. For example, one article used the way in which the United States and Canada would train for the Olympics to highlight the difference between the teams at the tournament. It noted that the United States had already hired a full time coach and had been training together since before the competition, whereas Canada had not yet hired a coach and would not centralize until the fall before the Olympics.

In addition, the Olympics were constantly referred to in quotations given by players. For example, in a quotation given by a player describing her team's victory at the Women's World Championship, she described how they are looking forward to the Olympics in Nagano, Japan.

Moreover, the Olympics were the focus of an article that appeared after the Championship. The article discussed whether women's hockey belongs at the 1998 Olympics. It responded to comments suggesting that women's hockey is not ready to be an Olympic sport because not all countries are at the same level of play, that is, few countries would be in medal contention at the 1998 Olympics. The article pointed out that men's basketball, in addition to other team sports, are in the same situation where there are few countries at the top of the standings and therefore in the running for a medal. It also emphasized that the Olympic status is a crucial step in the development of the game for women and serves as a "lifeline for women's hockey" (Starkman, 1997b, p. B1). Olympic status would enable the women to increase their ice time, and consequently improve basic skills that were missing for some of the teams that competed at the 1997 Women's World Championships. In addition, the International Olympic

Committee was noted as not following its standard rules for the acceptance of an event in the Olympics when awarding women's hockey Olympic status.

The Toronto Star also used player profiles for the first time in its coverage of the Women's World Championship. The profiles appeared in articles that were printed after the event. One of profiles concentrated on an injury suffered by a player, whereas two of the articles provided in depth accounts of the players hockey abilities. More specifically, the first article that profiled a player was on April 7, 1997. The focus of this article was on Canadian team player, Nancy Drolet. She was depicted as instrumental to Canada's win, scoring a total of three goals during the gold medal match. The article however spent a great deal of time describing an injury that Drolet suffered during the game as a result of a hard check where she "looked down and out for the count after getting smashed in to the boards in overtime" (Starkman, 1997a, p. D5). Drolet was then described as being on the ice for several minutes. In addition, the player who delivered the check was noted as receiving a boarding penalty.

The other two articles that contained player profiles provided information concerning the players involvement in hockey. For example, one article focused on Canadian team goalie Lesley Reddon. It described her involvement in women's hockey and gave an account of her play on the Canadian team. The other article that profiled players, described three players who, in combination, made up an offensive line on the Canadian team. It described the players as being a dominant force on the Canadian Team. The number of points that the players accumulated throughout the tournament was also highlighted.

In its reports on the game results, the coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship mainly detailed the action of the games. For example, one of the articles opened by describing how the Canadian women's team was favored in the event. It then went on to

provide the record of Team Canada, noting that Canada has won the last three Women's World Championships and has faced the United States as competition in the gold medal game in all of these events. A brief account of the remaining teams in the competition was also included, providing the reader with background information on the playing ability of the teams competing at the competition. Other articles listed the scores, highlighted key players and provided information concerning game play.

The coverage of the event however did not always focus on the game results or information that was relevant to the event. For example, in an article that appeared the same day that the newspaper also included an article focusing on the gold medal game, the emphasis of the article was on how the Canada's Women's National Team, and their gold medal win at the 1997 championship, was perceived by other women's teams, notably the United States. The article highlighted how other players at the competition felt about the Canadian Team on an emotional level. For example, it was pointed out that one of the players from the United States felt that Canadian women hockey players did not interact with other countries and did not exemplify sportsmanship. They were also described using words such as "cocky", "full of themselves", and rubbing "a few people the wrong way" as a result of their "no-nonsense approach to winning" (Naylor, 1997, p. B7). The article focused on emotional displays from players, rather than highlighting relevant information concerning, for example, caliber of play or event information.

Information of men's hockey appeared in the 1997 coverage. That is, three of the nine articles referenced the men's game in 1997. For example in an article on April 30, 1997 the men's game was referenced twice. In the first instance, after giving a quote, Cammi Granato (an American team player) is noted as being the sister of NHL star Tony

(Granato). The second mention of men's hockey was a comparison of one of women's hockey's best players, Angela James, to Wayne Gretzky of the National Hockey League.

Reference was also made to men's hockey in an article on April 6, 1997. More specifically, a gold medal for the women's Canadian team was described as having the ability to soothe the hurt from the Canadian men's hockey team's loss to the United States at the World Cup the previous September. In addition, another article referred to men's hockey when giving a description of the women's game. That is, the Swedish women's hockey coach commented that women, more than men, play for the love of the game. The article also pointed out that the National Hockey League players wined about the travel and accommodations for the Olympics.

The content of the coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship improved from that of 1990, although not in all areas. That is, the amount of words contained in the articles or the location of the articles did not change in 1997. The amount of articles accompanied by photographs decreased slightly (i.e. although one of the articles appeared on a day when another article was printed that did have a photograph, and another article was accompanied by two photographs). In addition, the number of quotations given by women, in 1997, increased from the amount given in the 1990 coverage (i.e. 23 quotations were from women and 6 from men), consequently giving the voice to women in the articles. The main topics highlighted in the 1997 coverage were more diverse than that in 1990. More specifically, the 1990 coverage concentrated on areas such as the pink uniforms worn by the Canadian Team whereas the 1997 articles focused on the Olympics, event information, and player profiles. Information on men's hockey appeared more in the 1997 coverage than in the 1990 coverage. Although much improved, there were some areas in the 1997 coverage that were in need of improvement, such as

the focus on injuries in one of the player profiles, an emphasis on emotional displays and the increased focus on men's hockey.

Ottawa Citizen Coverage (content)

1990 Women's World Championship. The Ottawa Citizen published a total of five articles in its coverage of the 1990 Women's World Championship. The location of the articles ranged from the front page to page 3. Four out of the articles were on the front page whereas only one was located further back, on page 3. The article that was on page three was the second article printed, on March 24, 1990, and detailed the results of round robin play. Four of the articles were accompanied by a photograph, two being black and white and two colour. The two black and white photographs accompanied the first two articles that were published, in which round robin games were detailed.

Table 7

Description of Content in Ottawa Citizen Articles

1990						
23/03	during	E1 (389)	b & w	p=2	-event info.	
24/03	during	E3 (393)	b & w	p=2 c (m)=3	-event info. -Olympics	-yes
25/03	during	B1 (677)		p=7 os (m)=5	-event info. -pink uniforms -Olympics -media coverage	-yes
25/03	during	B1 (555)	colour	p=2	-event info.	-yes
27/03	post	E1 (737)	colour	os (m)=4	-impact of event on women's hockey -Olympics	-yes
1997						
31/03	during	B2 (2000)	b & w	c (w)=1	-event info. -Olympics -migration of players	-yes
1/4	during	D12 (890)	b & w	p=6	-player profile -event info. -Olympics	
1/4	during	D12 (497)	b & w	p=6 c (m)=1	-player profile -event info. -Olympics	-yes
2/4	during	D14 (395)		p=5	-player profile -Olympics	-yes
2/4	during	D14 (577)	b & w	r (w)=12 rc (m)=2	-referees profile -Olympics	-yes
7/4	post	B1 (987)	b & w	p=1 OWHA (w)=1	-event summary -Olympics -player description -officiating	

* p= players c= coaches os= official staff r= referees rc= referees committee

OWHA= Ontario Women's Hockey Association

The colour photographs appeared in the last two articles, which reported on the results of the gold medal game and the event respectively. The only article that did not have a photograph was printed on a day when another article appeared that included a photograph.

All of the articles were categorized as short (under 1000 words). They ranged from 389 to 737 words. The first article, reporting on game results, was the shortest whereas the last article, which detailed the impact of the event on women's hockey, was the longest.

There were a total of 25 quotations given in the articles. All of the articles contained quotations. They were provided by players (n=13), coaches (n=3), and official staff (n=9). All of the quotations from coaches and officials were provided by men, making the number of women who commented on the event almost equal to that of men. That is, the voice was given to 13 women and 12 men in the Ottawa Citizen's coverage of the 1990 Women's World Championship.

The main topic of the articles was event information. They gave information of schedules, games, and the event. For example, on March 24, 1990, a day when the teams which would advance to the semifinal games were announced, the standings for all teams were listed, the time and location of the championship game, the prediction of the crowd at the gold medal game, and the scoring players for Canada.

The articles however focused on other information than their topic. That is, two of the articles provided information on other areas such as emotional displays, uniforms, media coverage, and the impact that the event would have on women's hockey.

One of the articles called attention to the emotional state of players when reporting on game results. That is, the article described the Canadian team as "trying to forget recent glory" (from their previous wins at the tournament) (Scanlon, 1990b, p. E3). The Finnish team was

described as “blocking out the heartache” from their recent loss, where “tears streamed the faces of Finnish hockey players” after the game (Scanlon, 1990b, p. E3).

The colour of uniforms was also highlighted in one of the articles. It called attention to Team Canada’s “hot pink uniforms” (MacKinnon, 1990, p. B1) and described the pink pom-poms that the fans were given by event organizers. This article also commented on the media coverage of the event. The players were described as “basking in the glow of the media attention” and as being “regarded as being curiosities” after spending so much of their careers without media coverage (MacKinnon, 1990, p. B1).

An article on March 27, 1990, describes the success of the event and questions what this success will mean for women’s hockey. The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association is described as being unsure of how to deal with the possibility that the success of the event will increase participation in women’s hockey at the grass roots level. The situation was compared to that of Nadia Comaneci and Elizabeth Manley, in that their respective sports were drastically affected at the domestic level after their performances. Pat Reid, the tournament director, was noted as questioning where women will get ice time, in that hockey is considered a men’s sport.

The content of the articles also included information on the Olympics. Three out of the five articles mentioned the Olympics. For example, the Canadian Team was noted as hoping that the Women World Championship would be a stepping stone for women’s hockey to become an Olympic event. Murray Costello and Walter Bush, the chairman of the International Ice Hockey Federation’s women’s committee, were also noted as considering the 1990 Women’s World Championship as a stepping stone for the inclusion of a women’s hockey as an event at the Olympics. The International Ice Hockey Federation had previously submitted an application aiming to have women’s hockey included in the 1994 Winter Olympic Games in Lillehammer,

Norway. In addition, Canada was described in one of the articles as being one of the countries who was fighting for the inclusion of women's hockey in the Olympic Games.

The articles also mentioned men's hockey when describing the event. Four out of the five articles included a description of men's hockey. The only article that did not describe men's hockey was on March 23, 1990, the first article printed which reported on round robin play. The four articles that mentioned men's hockey will be described in the following paragraphs.

The first comparison was made in the March 24th article, in which round robin play was being described. That is, the style of game between the Canadian and Finnish teams, was described as being similar to a Canadian professional men's team and the Finnish men's team.

The second, compared men's and women's hockey in an article announcing the teams which would compete in the semifinal games. The American women's team was described as looking "dreamily back" at the 1980 Olympic Games, "looking for a repeat of the US Miracle On Ice-women's style" (Scanlon, 1990c, p. B1).

In the third instance, the Canadian Women's Team's accomplishments in round-robin play, where they outscored their competitors 50-1, were compared to the Canadian Men's Team's performances at World and Olympic events. In addition, following a quotation from Pat Reid, director of operations for Team Canada, that described how 45, 000 tickets were given away free, the journalist posed the following question: "Can you imagine Alan Eagleson saying that about Canada Cup tickets?" (MacKinnon, 1990, p. B1). Moreover, Murray Costello, president of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, was quoted as being concerned that the CAHA will have difficulties sharing scarce ice time between girls and boys if the 1990 Women's World Championship does indeed act as a catalyst for an increase in growth to the women's game (MacKinnon, 1990, p. B1). One of the players also expressed her concern that the game of

hockey is considered a men's game, and further noted that it should be considered a sport for men and women.

The last article that mentioned men's hockey described the sport of hockey as a "male sport" where "the male side won't roll over" to accommodate an increase in women playing the game (Scanlon, 1990d, p. E1). It is noted that the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association has a mandate to provide opportunity in hockey for both men and women and has, at present, failed to effectively include women in the sport.

In addition, the article called attention to the fact that the United States women's team received a letter of support from President George Bush and Canada did not receive a similar letter from the Prime Minister. It was noted that the men's junior team received a letter of support at their world championship, before and after the competition. It was however mentioned that Mary Colling, minister for the status of women, presented a fair play award after the gold medal game.

1997 Women's World Championship. The Ottawa Citizen printed a total of six articles in its coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship. The location of the articles ranged from the front page to page 14. The articles that appeared closest to the front page were the first and last articles published. That is, the article that promoted the event was on page two and the article that summarized the results of the competition was on the front page. All of the articles except one were accompanied by a black and white photograph. The article that did not have a photograph concentrated on a player profile and appeared on a day that another article was printed that did have a photograph.

The length of the articles were all short (under 1000 words), except one. That is, the first article that was printed, announcing the schedule of the event, was 2000 words. The range of words was from 395 to 2000.

There were a total of 35 quotations given in the 1997 coverage. Players provided 18 quotations, coaches 2, referees 12, the referees committee 2 and a member of the Ontario Women's Hockey Association gave one. One of the coaches quotations was from a woman and one from a man, whereas both quotations from the referees committee were from a man. In addition, the quotation from the Ontario Women's Hockey Association was from a woman. In total, the voice was given to women in 32 cases out of 35.

The topic of the articles provided one article describing player migration, three player profiles, one officiating profile, and two articles concentrating on event information.

Player migration was talked about for the first time in the 1997 coverage by the Ottawa Citizen. For example, one article depicted several players leaving their native country to train in either the United States or Canada. More specifically, one Russian player was noted as training in the United States, and one Finnish and two Swiss players in Canada. The migration of players indicates the state of women's hockey, in that players are leaving their home countries in order to train in the most competitive environment.

Player profiles were also highlighted for the first time in the 1997 media coverage. The articles provided information on the players history in hockey and some personal information. For example, in an article profiling an American Team player, Shelly Looney, her early hockey career was depicted. That is, she was described as convincing the coach of her brother's team to let her play after her brother quit. She later went on to be a star player on the American squad.

Another profile focused on Canadian National Team player, Lesley Reddon. Her playing record and personal information were emphasized.

Player profiles however did not always concentrate on information that was relevant to the players hockey ability. For example, one of the player profiles, focusing on Canadian team member, Vicky Sunohara, who had played in the first World Championship but was cut from the 1992 and 1994 teams and only reinstated as a player on the 1997 squad , emphasized her emotional state and injuries rather than her playing ability. The article described how “there was depression after she was cut from the national team in 1992 and how “there were injuries, and there still are injuries...(and) uncertainty about whether to strive again to be part of the best women’s hockey program in the world” (Cleary, 1997a, p.D14). She was also described as being “scared” about returning to the national team. Although the article gave a detailed profile of her life in hockey, including highlights of her accomplishments in the 1990 World Championship, it also highlighted her depression and emotional condition after initially being cut from the 1992 team.

In addition, another article, which reported on the results of the event, highlighted personal information about the players. It described how a great number of the players were playing with injuries, or had given up jobs or school in order to play for their country. Moreover, another player was described as quitting her job and two players were noted as not being able to study for their exams. The article provided a lot of personal information about the players and the hardships that they had to overcome in order to compete at the event rather than highlighting information related to their playing ability.

The 1997 coverage by the Ottawa Citizen highlighted the officials at the competition for the first time. Ironically, the same journalist provided one article that presented the

accomplishments of the referees and another that detailed the failure of the officiating staff. That is, one of the articles highlighted the fact that the referees at the tournament were all women for the first time. This was the result of a proposal brought forth by a member of the International Ice Hockey Federation's referee's committee and was depicted as a positive addition to women's hockey. In another article, the refereeing at the championship was however depicted as inferior. It was described as having "spoiled" the high caliber gold medal game because the teams were permitted to "play a wide-open game of rough hockey from the opening minute" even though body checking was against the rules (Cleary, 1997b, p.B1). The crowd was noted as booing officials throughout the game because of this, and the referees were noted as losing control of the game. There was inconsistency in the reporting of the Championship in that the same officiating staff was described as being both competent and incompetent at the same time, and by the same journalist.

The Olympics were discussed in all of the articles in the 1997 coverage. For example, one of the articles described China as focusing on women's hockey because the Olympics were less than a year away. In addition, Russia was noted as being one of the contenders for the last spot to qualify for the Olympic Games in Japan. The way in which teams qualified for the Olympics during this event was also described in the coverage. More specifically, it was noted that five out of the eight teams competing would earn spots in the 1998 Olympics and that all of the teams were working toward this.

The Olympics were also referred to in all of the player profiles. For example, one article described Vickey Sunohara, the player that the article was profiling, as aiming to make the Olympic team. It described how this would be like a dream come true, especially in light of the fact that her grandparents grew up close to Nagano, the city that would host the Olympics. In

addition, Lesley Reddon, a Canadian Team player, was described as aiming for the Olympics. She was depicted as being fully dedicated to hockey in pursuit of making the Olympic team.

The referees were also described as aiming to officiate at the Olympics. For example, one article described the officials as viewing their performance at the World Tournament as being a testament to their ability to referee at the Olympics. They were depicted as being qualified to referee at the Olympics.

Men's hockey was also mentioned in the 1997 coverage. That is, four out of six articles mentioned men's hockey in 1997.

Men's hockey was mentioned once in the March 31st article. It was in reference to a player from one of the women's national teams who also practiced in a men's league. In addition, in a quotation given by a player, women's Olympic hockey was noted to being similar to a National Hockey League for women. Moreover, it was mentioned that Lesley Reddon was the first woman to play in a CIAU hockey game where she was on the roster of the University of New Brunswick's men's varsity team.

The coverage of officiating also makes reference to men's hockey. For example, one referee who pointed out that there were sometimes problems with men officiating women's hockey. That is, the attitude of the men towards women's hockey was the negative aspect of men's refereeing. Women's hockey was also noted as being easier to control than the men's game, where women would stop when the whistle is blown, whereas men potentially throw punches. In addition, it was questioned whether women would eventually officiate at men's world championships.

The final mention of men's hockey was in an article depicting the gold medal game. The final women's game was compared to the Men's World Cup final game, which was also between

the United States and Canada. The United States women's hockey team was noted as believing that they could beat the Canadian women and become world champions, just as the American men did at the previous Men's World Cup. The Women's World Championships were also noted as being the highest grossing event held at the Kitchener Auditorium, beating the record set by a National Hockey League exhibition game.

The content of the coverage of the 1997 Women's World Championship improved from that of 1990, although not in all areas. That is, the amount of words contained in the articles or the location of the articles did not change in 1997. The amount of articles accompanied by photographs was also the same. The number of women referenced in the coverage of the 1997 event was however higher than in the 1990 coverage (i.e. 13 quotations from women and 12 from men), consequently giving the voice to women in the articles. The main topics highlighted in the 1997 coverage were more diverse than that in 1990. More specifically, the 1990 coverage concentrated on areas such as the pink uniforms worn by the Canadian Team whereas the 1997 articles focused on the Olympics, event information, and player profiles. Information on men's hockey appeared the same amount in the 1997 coverage as in the 1990 reports, although the proportion of articles that mentioned men's hockey in comparison to the total amount of articles decreased slightly in 1997. There were some areas in the 1997 coverage that needed improvement, such as the focus on injuries in one of the player profiles, and the emphasis on emotional displays in some of the articles.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss some of the results by providing insight into the identified issues and trends. The results concerning participation rates will be explained first, followed by women's hockey in universities and the final section that will be explored is the media coverage of the Women's World Championships.

This study revealed that participation rates in women's hockey, in Canada, experienced a decrease before Olympic status during one season, whereas they increased the years following this (throughout the pre Olympic status time period).

According to the Female Council, participation rates after Olympic status seem to have been affected by the media attention given to Manon Rheame, the first woman to play in a men's professional hockey game. That is, it was suggested that the media coverage of this event had negative effects on women's hockey, in that legitimated women in hockey by showcasing women playing men's hockey. Parents consequently registered their daughters in men's hockey instead of participating in the women's program and it was therefore difficult to measure how many women were actually playing hockey (Female Council Semi-Annual Meeting, 1992, Branch Reports). It has also been suggested that hockey, primarily in Ontario, has been one of the areas where the separate versus integrated sport programs has been fought in Canada (Hall, 1996). For example, the Justine Blainey case has brought to light some of the arguments brought forth by both sides. That is, advocates of sex segregated sport programs believed that it was important to encourage women to play women's hockey in order to encourage separate-but-equal hockey for women, and to "ensure the legitimacy and recognition of women's sport" (Hall, 1996, p. 95).

Moreover, the participation rates for women's hockey in Canada seem to be affected by issues related to equity in sport. In this study, it was suggested that participation rates before Olympic status were affected by the fact that a lot of travel was involved in women's hockey, and there was also the possibility that girls would have to play with women. That is, although the opportunity for women to participate in hockey was increasing overall, the system is not equitable in terms of resources and playing conditions.

The post Olympic time period also experienced growth in participation rates. This increase was consistent throughout the years 1993-1997. In a study aimed at augmenting understandings concerning the perception of learning opportunities in women's hockey, the fact that women's hockey had Olympic status was identified as one of factors affecting the future goals of youth women ice hockey players (Boyd, Trudel & Donohue, 1997). The future athletic goals, such as the prospect of competing in the Olympics, was one of the factors affecting the young women's continued involvement in sport.

Participation rates in hockey also highlight some of the barriers associated with women and sport. That is, although participation rates increased after Olympic status, they continued to be affected by the men's program. For example, it was maintained that participation rates after Olympic status were affected by the cheaper insurance rates offered by the men's associations and the Manon Rheume situation. These factors consequently encouraged some women's teams to register with the men's associations. It has been suggested that the entrance of women into preserves that are traditionally reserved for men, such as sport, has been met by resistance from men. That is, men feel that it is necessary to preserve the "sanctity of such spaces" (Birrell & Theberge, 1994, p. 342). It is suggested that men's egos are threatened by social changes, such as those reflected by gender equity policies (Birrell & Theberge, 1994). In a patriarchal

society, or in sport, subordinate groups often challenge dominant groups, or in this case, women offer resistance to men. Birrell & Theberge (1994) maintain that “if sport is a cultural space where gender relations that generally favor men are produced, preserved, and publicly celebrated, then women’s involvement in sport can be seen as a form of resistance that disturbs the (apparently precarious) logic of male supremacy” (p. 342). The sport of hockey’s “dominant place in Canada’s sporting heritage and popular culture, makes the long-standing absence of female players a clear statement about sport as a masculine domain” (Hoffman, 1995, p. 81).

Women’s hockey in Canadian Universities has changed since Olympic status. That is, over half of the women’s hockey teams that existed as of the 1998 season were added in the 1994 season or after, despite the decreasing athletic budgets in Universities. In addition, six of the universities that did not have women’s hockey were considering adding the event to their program. Although the number of women’s hockey programs has increased markedly since Olympic status, the financial resources allocated to the women’s teams are not equitable in comparison to the men’s program. It has been suggested that there is a difference between “equality” and “equity” and that many Western countries have started to place an emphasis on the latter (Hall, 1996). That is, equality refers to “equality of opportunity”, which generally focuses on women and other disadvantaged groups, whereas equity does not only focus on a particular group (e.g. women) but instead concentrates on the way in which a system (e.g. sport) operates to accommodate them. In the case of university hockey, the system would be considered equitable if the same opportunities and resources were allocated to the men’s and women’s programs. In other words, as suggested by Hall (1996), the programs would be viewed as equitable if the men’s hockey team at any given university would be willing to exchange their

hockey program (i.e. budget, ice time, dressing room, etc.) for the women's program. The inequity in University Hockey Programs will also make it difficult for the CIAU to attain its goal of making the University Women's Hockey Program a training ground for the national team.

The section concerning the media coverage of women's hockey presented some issues relating to women in sport. It has been suggested that media coverage of women in sport is typically underrepresented (Kane, 1988). The small number of articles found in this study certainly suggest that this is the case for women's hockey even after it gained Olympic status. Although the number of articles published in both the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen increased from the number in the pre-Olympic status time period to the post-Olympic status period (although only slightly in the Ottawa Citizen), the overall number of articles did not provide adequate coverage of an international sporting event. This underrepresentation of women's sport in the media has been identified as one of the major criticisms of the sports media (Birrell & Theberge, 1994). It has been suggested that this is "symbolic annihilation", in that the exclusion of women by the media implies the unimportance of women in society (Gerbner, 1978). Moreover, the underreporting of women in the media coverage of sporting events runs the risk of conveying the message that women are not important in sport and that their accomplishments in sport are not worthy of public attention. Theberge (1991) maintains that the media is an important influence in the promotion of women and physical activity. That is, the media has the power to provide, or not provide, information and to create images that are passed off as natural to the reader.

Theberge (1995a) argues that women's hockey does not get public attention, and media coverage, even in light of the fact that they have won four World Championships (1990, 1992, 1994, 1997). It is ironic that the most media attention that the sport has received was providing

coverage to a woman, Manon Rheame, playing men's professional hockey (Theberge, 1995a). She describes "the legitimation of women athletes who compete with men" as "one of the cruelest ironies of the world of sport" (p. 38). The focus of women playing men's hockey potentially detracts from the promotion and appreciation of women's hockey. Rheame's experience depicts the struggle for legitimacy in women's sport:

While the bulk of press coverage of Rheame has presented her as a role model and "ice breaker", some commentators have pointed out the dilemma posed by the celebration of women athletes who "succeed" in men's sport. The inferiorization of women's athletic achievements is at the center of the struggle (p. 40).

In this situation, men's hockey represents what women athletes can aspire to, thus implying that men's hockey is superior to women's.

The quotations in the 1997 coverage of the Championship by both the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen are mainly given by women in comparison to the coverage given to the 1990 event. This is important because men, more often than women, hold legitimate authority and are regarded as experts. Men dispense rewards and punishments and are considered the heroes to youth (Duquin, 1989). This was however not the case in the 1997 coverage, where the voice was given to women in the media coverage.

The media coverage of the 1997 Championship by both the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen included articles that profiled players. This was important because the lack of women role models in sport has been identified as one of the factors contributing to the slow progress of women in sport (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). That is, when young women see other women involved in sport they are encouraged to participated themselves. The media has been identified as important in exposing role models to young women that might not be available to them in

their immediate environment (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Hoffman (1995) argues that if young women are not exposed to sporting women in the media, that there will be negative consequences concerning participation rates. The publication of articles profiling woman athletes is a positive step forward for women in sport, representing what young women can aspire to.

The player profiles in the 1997 coverage however exhibited some problematic areas. That is, the player profiles in both the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen highlighted emotional displays (such as tears) and called attention to the depression and injury of players, despite the fact that the profiles were supposed to emphasize the playing abilities of the players. This has been described as the naturalization of gender divisions, in which the author presents the material in a way that makes these gender divisions appear to be the result of biological differences (Birrell & Theberge, 1984). This is achieved through portraying women in sport as emotional by emphasizing descriptions, for example, of their dispositions and tears. This has also been described as ambivalence, a term first used by Duncan & Hasbrook (1988), in that the media depicts women athletes using mixed messages. That is, descriptions of women in sport portray their athletic ability while at the same time detail their inability or inadequacies. This undermines or trivializes their sporting performance.

In this study, constant reference is made to the Olympic status of the women's hockey in the 1997 coverage by both the Toronto Star and Ottawa Citizen. Although the promotion and recognition of the Olympic status of women's hockey is beneficial to the sport, it also indicates the media's need to justify and legitimate its coverage of women's hockey.

Moreover, this study reveals that there is a constant reference to men's hockey in the media coverage of both the Championships in each of the newspapers. This increased in the

Toronto Star after Olympic status and stayed the same in the Ottawa Citizen. The comparison of men's performances to women's has been described as contributing to the gender division in sport (Klein, 1998). This was evident in the articles reporting on the World Championships in which women's hockey was constantly compared to men's. This served to trivialize the women's performance by setting men's hockey as the standard for women's hockey to strive for. It also acts a measure of evaluation for women's performances, thus further undermining women's accomplishments.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

This analysis of women's hockey has identified and explored women's hockey before and after Olympic status. The results suggest that participation rates increased after Olympic status at the club level and that Universities have been increasingly interested in developing women's varsity hockey teams during this same time period. The media analysis of the Women's World Championships suggests that although the quantity of the articles did not change a great deal, that the content of the articles somewhat improved in 1997. That is, the content of the articles was more diverse, for example introducing player profiles, than the coverage in 1990.

The study revealed issues of inequality that affect the sporting woman's experience. It is important to recognize the uniqueness of hockey for women. This will help to sensitize the public to the issues faced by women hockey players. That is, hockey represents more than a training ground for playing hockey. Women are organizers, precedent setter, challengers, fundraisers, and policy setters in addition to being players. Women hockey players typically fight for every hour of ice and opportunity to play, they are potentially aware of the gender implications inherent to not only sport but the larger social world. This also situates them in a position to challenge hegemonic values, beliefs and norms. The naming of women's hockey as an Olympic sport, due to the world wide attention that the Olympics receive, may have the opportunity to showcase the sport in a positive light, highlighting the uniqueness of the sport.

The highly gendered media portrayal of women's hockey is due to the sport's powerful historical significance which helps to strengthen common-sense notions concerning hockey. It is often referred to as synonymous with life in Canada and has been described as a part of who we

are as a nation, and as individuals (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). Hockey has been an integral part of Canadian life and history, playing an unprecedented role in fostering a sense of national pride. It is consequently tainted by hegemonic norms, making the entrance of women into the arena even more difficult. The battle for fair and equitable access to hockey facilities is one of the most controversial issues. As reflected in this analysis, despite the creation of recent gender equity policies, the sport of hockey continues to be considered men's terrain.

In addition, the underrepresentation of women in the sports media coverage stems from the environment that journalists work in, whether they be men or women. That is, the biased coverage by journalists concerning women's sport is part of journalists beliefs concerning the content of the news and the methods that they use to report on it (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). This concerns the production of news and the influence of market forces. That is, the media's range of coverage is significantly determined by the wants and desires of the reader. This consequently means that women's sport coverage is rarely represented and when women's sport is reported, it is subject to denigration and trivialization. The situation consequently becomes an issue of social responsibility and economic rationality (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). It ultimately comes down to balancing what sells and what should sell. In these terms, media coverage can be seen as a matter of bias against coverage of noncommercial sports, and , because most women's sport is noncommercial (or professional), they are rarely covered.

There were some areas of difficulty in this study. That is, it was difficult to measure the pre and post Olympic status because it was not clear exactly when the pre Olympic status should end and when the post Olympic status should start. More specifically, because Olympic status was awarded to women's hockey in July of 1992 the participation rates in universities and throughout Canada would not have necessarily been affected in the 1993 season. This is

because, for example, leagues would not have been able to accept new registrants because their ice time was already set for the upcoming season and participant might not have had the chance to register for hockey, notably competitive hockey, before the 1993 season. This was however taken into consideration in the results in that both the 1993 and 1994 seasons were noted as being significant in the examination of results.

Moreover, because of its descriptive nature, this study did not demonstrate any causal link between the Olympic status of the sport and the changes observed between 1990 and 1997. Indeed to measure a possible causal link would need an extremely complex analytical framework which was impossible to build given the limitations of a masters thesis. This study points out that there is a lack of such an analytical tool in the literature and a need to create one.

This study however offers many insights into women's hockey. Firstly, it helps to describe the state of women's hockey before and after Olympic status by highlighting the way in which participation rates in universities and in the club hockey system have changed since Olympic status. In addition, it traced the media coverage of the 1990 and 1997 Women's World Hockey Championships, and offered augmented understandings of the way in which the media covered women's ice hockey with Olympic status and without. This study potentially provides insights that will be helpful for further studies and offered an augmented understanding of some of the issues inherent to women in sport.

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APPENDIX A
UNIVERSITY QUESTIONNAIRE

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March 10, 1997

Director of Athletics,

Department of Athletics

Re: Ice Hockey Program

I am a graduate student at the University of Ottawa and am doing research in the field of women's hockey. I am attempting to examine the status of ice hockey in Canada in terms of its pre and post Olympic status (1987-1998). In order to do this I am including a section on university hockey.

I have enclosed a questionnaire that would be very helpful in furthering my research. I am aware that this is a busy time for you, but if you could please return this by April 10, 1997 it would be greatly appreciated.

Yours Truly,

Kirsten Tenebaum

UNIVERSITY HOCKEY PROGRAMS

Please complete all questions in as much detail as possible

UNIVERSITY NAME _____

1. Did your university ever have a varsity ice hockey program?

Men's	Yes ()	Women's	Yes ()
	No ()		No ()

2. If so, throughout what years? If it was canceled, what was the given reason?

Men's

Women's

3. Do you currently have an ice hockey program?

Men's	Yes ()	Women's	Yes ()
	No ()		No ()

4. If Yes does the program include a:

Recreational Program	Men's	Yes ()	Women's	Yes ()
		No ()		No ()

Competitive Club Program	Men's	Yes ()	Women's	Yes ()
(i. e. not Varsity)		No ()		No ()

Varsity Team	Men's	Yes ()	Women's	Yes ()
	No ()		No ()	

5. What budget does your varsity ice hockey program have?

Men's \$ _____

Women's \$ _____

6. Does your budget include the following (Check in the indicated area if yes):

Uniforms	Men's ()	Women's ()
Goalie Equipment	Men's ()	Women's ()

Ice Time	Men's ()	Women's ()
Travel Costs	Men's ()	Women's ()
Other		

7. What staff is your varsity ice hockey program provided with (e.g. coach, trainer etc.)? Please indicate the year that each type of staff has been with the team.

Men's Program

Women's

8. If there is no varsity team, is your university considering a varsity team:

within the next year	Men's	()	Women's	()
within the next two years	Men's	()	Women's	()
within the next three years	Men's	()	Women's	()

