PREPRINT DO EMUSEU DO ESPORTE VISANDO A PUBLICAÇÕES FUTURAS Rio de Janeiro, 23 de dezembro de 2022

OLYMPIC WOMEN: STILL IN THE QUEST FOR 50% INCLUSION

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The Olympic Games of the modern era started officially on April 6, 1896, in Athens Greece, with the participation of 245 male athletes from 14 nations of the western world. The main proponent of the Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), a typical European man of his time, chose to follow the tradition of the Ancient Games not only by revering the figure of the ancient hero with his own extraordinary physical and moral virtues but also by keeping women out of courts, fields and other sports arenas. Although the first edition of the modern Olympic Games did not include any women athletes, excluding at least 50% of humanity, it is possible to observe a gradual increase in the number of women athletes from 1900 to 2020 (from 1.9% in 1900 to 48.7% in 2020)¹ and a small number of women taking up administrative and management positions in the Olympic Committees after 1981.

The objective of this research was both to review and discuss the evolution of the participation of women in the modern Olympic Games: from 0.0% participation, in 1896, to partial inclusion (48.7% participation) in 2020, pressured by innovation and a change in gender roles brought about by transformations that occurred during the course of the 20th century. Empirical contributions illustrate this theme, which is here primarily seen as an interplay between oppositions. Have women reached the final objective of being totally included (50% of participation) as athletes and as administrators?

The inclusion of women in the Olympic Games came to being done gradually by the women themselves as a result of their development and awareness of the new active role they were beginning to play in the new industrialized society of the second half of the 19th century, during the whole 20th century and the already 3rd decade of the 21st century. Women were conquering new positions in their countries, becoming more active, especially struggling to become full citizens with the right to vote. If women were increasingly calling for a place in the social order, it was not different in the sport sphere. Slowly women started to get into a realm that did not belong to them in the first place and they were beginning to enjoy it. They were streaming from a passive to an active position. Sport had always been a male construct in which very rarely did

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women take part. Traditional beliefs had always held that physical exertion and competition were contrary to a woman's nature. Besides, it was believed that the place of the woman was in the home (indoors), taking care of the house and the children, and that the place of the man was outside the home (outdoors), working as the sole breadwinner of the family².

The history of the inclusion of women in sport is identified by some researchers 3, 4, 5, 6 not only as a history of power and male domination over women but also as a history of inequalities where women always played roles of submission, not being allowed to search for respect and equality. Other researchers have qualified it as a product of European and North American colonialism, a mirror of the games of these regions and not representative of indigenous peoples of the rest of the world³. It has been a history based on tradition where changes and innovation played a very minor role. However, with the advancements of society itself in face of new technology and information, women began to realize that their history had to be retaken from another perspective: that of innovation, participation, activity and inclusion. The situation of women in the Olympic Games evolved then from total exclusion at the very beginning to some inclusion along the years. Women's advancement and awareness of their new positioning pressured society to come to a point where the next quest was not whether women should participate but how women should participate. In what sports and events and in what other positions, including as officials and administrators in international and national Olympic bodies, were women to participate actively. The 'permission' and the extension of this participation are still being prescribed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) members, the majority of whom are men.

The Tradition of Ancient Olympic Games

Back in Greek times, at the root of all western tradition, Athenians believed that women should be covered up and not seen; therefore, they were not allowed to take part in athletic competitions because they would have to expose themselves. Moreover, female bodies were to be conditioned for childbirth. On the other hand and at the same time, the Games of the Goddess Hera, Heraean Games, whose first records were believed to date back to 500 B.C., were games that included young, adolescent, and unmarried women athletes in competitions held every four years ³.

The first recorded information of the Ancient Olympic Games dates back to 776 B.C. They were actually religious festivals in which competitive athletics activities were believed to entertain the spirits of the dead. Therefore, a period of peace was supposed to happen during the Games.

The tribes and cities constantly at war with one another welcomed the month of truce every four years for the Olympic Festivals. It was a welcome recess for everyone, especially because it was thought to please the gods. Although only men were allowed to take part in the competitions that were held in honor of Zeus, certain women were allowed to watch the Games. These were young unmarried women in search of a husband. They were there to watch the handsome male bodies and talk with their brothers or father about the one man each wanted as their mate. However, married women were prohibited from attending the Olympic Games on penalty of death. The only married woman allowed to watch the Games was the Priestess of Demeter ³.

As time went by, women were allowed to participate indirectly as unofficial competitors in the Olympic Games, in the condition of horse owners. For instance, the Spartan princess Kyniska entered her horses in the four-horse chariot races of 396 B.C. and 392 B.C. and became the winner. As a result, and following male athletes' tradition, Kyniska had two bronze statues built at the Olympia site to celebrate her horse team's triumphs. ³

It is interesting to observe that the first women athletes to participate in the Heraean Games came from Sparta especially because Spartans believed that fit and healthy women that exercised regularly would have healthy children. At first this could seem a radically different thought than that held by the Athenians, who preferred their women covered up and left to their own passive household routines ³. Actually, the Spartans were putting physical activity to the service of women's old function of procreation. Women did not play any role model of heroines in the condition of being active and becoming athletes. Women's participation was considered unimportant especially because the ancient Greeks were highly competitive and believed strongly in the nexus of 'agon' or competition for excellence.

The ultimate Greek goal was to be the best by means of comparative conducts and celebrations. All aspects of life, especially athletics, were centered on this cultural belief. They valued physical strength, agility, speed, and other physical qualities believed to be inherent to men only. Because Olympic champions were considered victors, they enjoyed great honors and were entitled to receive several privileges such as (i) being given a crown made from olive leaves (the 'cotinus'); (ii) having statues made of themselves placed at Olympia; (iii) having all their meals paid for at the public's expense; (iv) getting front-row seats at theaters and (v) occupying high offices. Furthermore, because they were believed to bring their cities into favor with the Greek gods, their compatriots pulled down part of the walls of their original cities for them to enter upon their return. The culture of the victor developed into the culture of the male hero, which has been

carried on throughout the times from the tradition of the past to the inherited tradition of today's society ³.

On the other hand, women were valued for the quality of children they produced; therefore, they could not compete or participate in similar physical activities or competitions as they had been thought of for being very delicate. Women were not heroines because they did not fulfill the same pre-requisites of Olympic heroes related to size, physical strength, abilities and skills. On the contrary, seen as weak individuals, women were supposed to stay at home, leading a very passive life. This belief had been cultivated throughout the centuries and still existed when the Olympic Games were revived by Coubertin. It was then gradually modified as science evolved to prove that women could follow the same paths men did and still have children. However, in the third decade of the 21st century, there are still some countries where women are still considered inferior to men, do not have the same rights, have to be covered in public, must not have an education and must not do sports.

The Revival of the Games: Tradition Maintained

The Ancient Olympic Games lasted for almost 12 centuries, being abolished only in 393 A.D. by the Christian Emperor Theodosius II, not only because of the bitterness of the relations between Greeks and Romans or the brutality and corruption that reigned during the Games, but also because he believed that the festivals were pagan. Some years later, the Stadium of Olympia, where those events were held, was razed and the Olympic fields pulled down ³. The athletic celebrations of the ancient Olympic Games disappeared almost entirely for more than a thousand years.

During centuries the places where the competitions were held continued to be empty and prey to floods, earthquakes and thieves. Finally, in 1776, some ancient ruins of Olympia were discovered by the British archeologist Richard Chandeler from Oxford. This discovery inspired many enthusiastic attempts in reviving the ancient Olympic Games of the past in the 19th century although the veneration of Greece had begun in the 15th century during the period of humanism and Renaissance³.

However, the main dig-up of the ancient site took place between 1875 and 1881, headed by the German professor and archaeologist Ernst Curtius (1814-1896), who had been interested in Ancient Greece for a very long time as he had visited the site at least three times³.

Inspired by the German discovery, Baron Pierre de Coubertin took a personal interest in the site due to French educational and nationalistic claims. His vague proposal for an international sports festival and competition was initially greeted by blank stares, but in his capacity as general secretary of the Union of French Societies of Athletic Sports, he visited colleges, universities, and private sports clubs, talking to anyone who would listen. Then in 1894, speaking at the Sorbonne in Paris to a gathering of representatives from several nations, he argued for and proposed that the Ancient Games be revived on an international scale. With his hearers' approval, he formed the IOC to organize the Olympic Games and make the rules ⁸.

Following tradition, the IOC declared that all competing athletes had to be amateurs, not professionals, and decided to hold the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, the original home of that celebration. Coubertin appointed the Greek representative Demetrius Vikelas (1835-1908) as first IOC president and nominated himself as secretary. However, with the same enthusiasm that he hailed the archaeological finding in Greece and with the same energy that he pushed the revival of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin completely kept his coherence with the old Greek tradition when he did not include women in the Games. He was completely against the practice of sports and physical activities by women, as most men of his time. According to him, women only had the function of bearing children: "a woman's glory would come through the number and quality of children she produced. As far as sports were concerned women's role was to encourage their sons to excel. She was not to seek records for herself ". The Games were "the solemn periodic manifestation of male sport based on internationalism, on loyalty as a means, on arts as a background and the applause of women as a recompense"3. As Lunzenfichter (1996) reports, Coubertin still claimed that a "female Olympiad would be impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic and incorrect" just after receiving the support of Pope Pius XI, who had seriously condemned the playing of sport by women⁹.

By not including women and still keeping traditional values of other people from another era, it is possible that Coubertin fired up the ancient Olympic spirit of the male hero, which has inspired athletes around the world along decades. It is important to observe that the figure of the male hero was rescued with the revival of the Games and with the non-inclusion of women. There was no rescue of the figure of the heroine once it did not exist in the Ancient Olympic Games. Neither did Coubertin want to develop the new role model of the heroine. The only role model that was reconstructed was that of the male hero.

The Response of the Women: the Olympian woman in the very first Olympic Games

Although no women athletes entered the competitions of the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens, there was an unofficial female competitor in the marathon, a poor Greek woman, Stamata Revithi. She was not allowed to compete in the men's race, but ran by herself the next day as she had heard there would be some recompense for those who ran the race and she needed the money to buy food for her children. The final lap was completed outside the stadium as she had her entry denied. After her marathon run, athletics officials could not remember her name so they labeled her 'Melpomene', who is the Greek muse of Tragedy. Looking at Stamata Revithi, they could see only tragedy, not her extraordinary feat ³. She had finished less than two hours after the winner (in four and a half hours) and had beaten some of her male competitors. ³ She was the first innovator to face the barriers of tradition.

The first modern Olympic Games took place at the very end of the 19th century, at a time when the western world was harvesting years of new inventions, hard work and technology that would change the face of the 20th century. Industrialization and social reform were essential in determining which direction the richest countries such as the United States and European nations would take from then on. With the evolution of technology and new inventions being added to the industries that started to flourish, more labor had been necessary to move the different economies ahead. Women had already started gradually to work outside their home and join the labor force; therefore, they were taking on new roles. As they began to participate more in the economy of their countries, they wanted to be heard as citizens. They also wanted to vote. Many women organizations were founded to strive for citizenship. Slowly women were going from a passive to an active position. The end of the 19th century and especially the beginning of the 20th century saw the changes that also motivated women's actions in sports.

Although the IOC regulated over the Olympic activities, National Olympic Committees (NOCs) had to be created in the different nations that wanted to participate in the Games. In the very beginning, the local national committees were the ones that organized the Games in their host sites. The Games of 1900 and 1904 were connected with World Fairs; accordingly, the selection of events to be included in the Olympic program was mainly in the hands of the fairs' organizing committees and thus to a large extent beyond the control of the IOC¹¹. In fact, the Olympic Games were slow to catch on. The Games held in Paris in 1900, in Saint Louis in 1904 and in London in 1908 were sparsely attended and badly organized. That made the inclusion of women in these Games a little less difficult. However, since the admission of women to these Games did not have the official consent of the IOC, they did not have their status recognized. As a result, women competitors were awarded diplomas instead of medals and olive branches ⁵, which were

supposed to only go to the male heroes. The role model of the female Olympian was still to be constructed.

The official information of the IOC shows that 22 women competed in the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris: 7 in lawn tennis, 10 in golf, 3 in croquet, 1 in equestrian sports and 1 in yachting. However, 3 women have not yet been acknowledged by the IOC: 2 in ballooning (sport later on not considered Olympic by the IOC), and another 1 in equestrian³.

Women athletes did not struggle to participate in the 1900 Olympic Games, neither did they need a permission or authorization. They were recruited or invited because they belonged to the clubs they usually attended to regularly play their games. It is important to add that these women, who belonged to the upper classes, had the free time necessary to devote to the sport as they possessed the financial and independent condition to pay for their outfit, equipment or membership. Such circumstances were not found in women who belonged to lower-income or working classes. But Coubertin's IOC would never admit to the fact that women were invited especially because the Baron was against the participation of women in competitive sport³.

Although the Olympic Games of 1904, in Saint Louis, had a large number of sporting events, archery was the only sport for women. Eight American women participated in two archery events, especially because they had been competing in it since 1879 as part of the National Archery Association events³. No women athletes from other countries participated in that edition of the Games. Since it was very costly to send male athletes overseas, sending women athletes, very rare at that time, was unthinkable. Women had very little participation in competitive sport at that time.

The Olympic Games of 1908 in London had 37 women competing in four sports: tennis, sailing, ice-skating and archery, all of which sports of high social prestige. The participation of women was beginning to grow. Although the Olympic Games of 1912 in Stockholm had 48 women athletes (2.2% of all competitors) from 11 countries participating in six events of two sports, including swimming, women's sports remained a marginal phenomenon and were still not officially recognized by the IOC. According to Pfister¹¹, it was the 'feminist' Swedes who introduced the swimming competitions to the Olympic Games, the first battle of women Olympians for meters and seconds. Swimming was a very popular sport at that time and considerably contributed to the participation of a greater number of women in the Games.

It is important to mention that financing has always been an important factor for the participation of women in the Games. Not all women have the credibility and the support they need from the local committees or from sponsors; therefore, it becomes very hard for many

women athletes to travel on their own to the places of competition. Most of them do not work and when they do work, their remuneration tends to be lower than men's pay. Male athletes, on the other hand, have more credibility because of tradition; as a result, it is easier for them to be offered more opportunities. Besides, their income tends to be higher than that of women, which permits them to make up for traveling investments. As the number of women athletes increases from one edition to the next, the same happens with the number of male athletes and with the total number of athletes as it can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Participation of women athletes in the modern Olympic Games according to the IOC 1,12										
Year	Sports	Women's events	Total	Men	Women	%				
1896	-	-	241	241	-	0				
1900	5	5	997	975	22	2.2				
1904	1	2	651	645	8	0.9				
1908	2	3	2,008	1,971	37	1.8				
1912	2	6	2,497	2,359	48	2.0				
1920	2	6	2,626	2,561	63	2.4				
1924	3	11	3,089	2,954	135	4.4				
1928	4	14	2,883	2,606	277	9.6				
1932	3	14	1,332	1,206	126	9.0				
1936	4	15	3,963	3,632	331	8.3				
1948	5	19	4,104	3,714	390	9.5				
1952	6	25	4,955	4,436	519	10.5				
1956	6	26	3,314	2,936	376	13.3				
1960	6	29	5,338	4,727	611	11.4				
1964	7	33	5,151	4,473	678	13.2				

1968	7	39	5,216	4,435	781	14.2
1972	8	43	7,134	6,075	1,059	14.6
1976	11	49	6,084	4,824	1,260	20.7
1980	12	50	5,179	4,064	1,115	21.5
1984	14	62	6,829	5,263	1,566	23
1988	17	72	8,391	6,197	2,194	26.1
1992	19	86	9,356	6,652	2,704	28.8
1996	21	97	10,318	6,806	3,512	34.0
2000	25	120	10,651	6,582	4,069	38.2
2004	26	125	10,625	6,296	4,329	40.7
2008	26	127	10,942	6,305	4,637	42.4
2012	26	132	10,568	5,892	4,676	44.2
2016	28	136	11,238	6,179	5,059	45.0
2020	33	156	11,037	5,651	5,457	48.7

The Inclusion of Women: Different Periods, Different Readings

a. From 1896 to 1928

Hargreaves ⁵ identifies three periods of women's participation in the modern Olympic Games: (1) from 1896 to 1928; (2) from 1928 to 1952 and (3) from 1952 to today.

The first period is characterized by a tradition of exclusion and some efforts to resist these practices. It was also the time when women were searching for jobs, getting access to education, fighting to have the right to vote and trying to get adjusted to constant changes of the new society that required new gender roles. This period includes the twenties, when, according to Théberge ⁶, there was some struggle over the control of women's international sport and the form and definition of women's participation. As progress pushed the industrialized countries ahead it also went for a change in women's international sport. Since the IOC refused to include women's athletics (American track and field) in the Olympic Games, the Frenchwoman Alice Milliat defied

the status quo, founded the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI) and organized the first Women's Olympics in 1922. They were so outstanding that the Games were held again in 1926, 1930 and 1934 as Women's World Games. They became visible to the IOC especially because of the public interest women sports received. The Women's World Games were so successful that they not only pressured the IOC to eventually incorporate them permanently to the Olympic Games after extensive negotiations and maneuvers ^{13, 3} but they also influenced Women's Games in Brazil in 1933 ¹⁴ and in 1949 ¹⁵.

Women were beginning to win their battles for inclusion. This can be observed in Coubertin's words when he left the IOC presidency in 1925: "I remain hostile to the participation of women in the Games. They have been admitted to a growing number of events against my wishes" ³.

It was still during the period 1896-1928 that two main debates about women's involvement in sport came up. They would influence the view over women's sport and women's participation in the Olympics for a long time. The first one, still based on tradition and then related to the poor and limited medical wisdom of the time, with no evidence that could prove it, promoted beliefs in women's natural frailty and condemned vigorous physical activity as dangerous to women's health and well being. As a result, along the editions of the Games, women's participation in athletics and other sports was done on a limited basis according to a model of what was considered the ideal of female frailty prescribed by male doctors. As winds of the past were still blowing, women were excluded from the strength events in athletics and only gradually were women's team events introduced into the Games.

The second debate was about the control of women's sport, which was new to society and to the women themselves. According to tradition, the active positions of command should belong to men and not to women, who were supposed to obey orders, usually males', and to be passive. Struggles were waged over who would control women's national and international sport and what form and definition of women's participation would be. To follow tradition, women continued to have no control of their own participation in national or international sport.

Summing up, it is possible to say that the events of the 1920s and then of the 1930s had two essential meanings which were both cultural and social: (1) definition and meaning of women's sports based on biological differences and (2) the control of the organization of women's sports as an Olympic male dominant function.

b. From 1928 to 1952

The two meanings above were carried on throughout the second phase. Hargreaves ⁵ identified the period between 1928 and 1952 as one of consolidation and struggle. It was exactly during this period that women fought to be seen and to consolidate their position as sportswomen. This was a new concept not only to women themselves but to society as a whole. Women were in a very complex situation, which demanded the development of role models for women who did sports and who would compete in the Olympic Games. Their only role models were the male heroes. Women athletes were then in a crossroads which pointed to two different directions. They were either to follow previously established models or to construct new female role models from scratch. Due to the limited basis of access to Olympic sports that had been set by the IOC in 1928, women seemed to have chosen the first alternative.

Even though women had taken another little step, they wanted to guarantee their role as active participants in sport and in society. This positioning was strengthened during the 1940s as women had to be mobilized to take up posts left by men who had to go to the battlefields in Europe. As a result of the World War II, there were no Olympic Games in 1940 or 1944. The massive direct and indirect participation and more inclusion of women in the economy of their countries at war greatly contributed for women's new positioning in their society and their awareness of the place they occupied.

During this time, the model of women's sport based on biological differences between the sexes which had been constructed in the thirties was also taken to school sport programs and ended up limiting the way women looked at their own athleticism. At the end of this period, female participation in the Olympic Games became a fact, but the gains women had made were conservative because the model of women's sport that had been adopted conformed to the ideal of feminine athleticism and its cultural significance was still to reinforce the myth of female frailty ⁶. It is then possible to observe society's maintenance of women's traditional functions.

c. After 1952

However, according to Hargreaves⁵, 1952 starts a period of challenge to male and masculine hegemony in Olympic sport especially because of two events. This fact did not mean that gender relations would be reconstructed to make up for past inequalities. It meant rather that women found other ways to fight exclusion, tradition, passivity, and the chores imposed by society to then try to reach their objectives of inclusion, innovation, activity, and design of new roles in the fast-changing world.

(i) Two events

The first event was the entry of the Soviet Union and other countries of the Eastern Bloc as new participants in the expansion of the Games that took place in Helsinki, Finland, in this post World War II era. These countries were gender blind. They had different cultural traditions as well as objectives. They had already included women their own way in the past. Since they placed a premium on athletic success with little attention to the gender of the winners, they had made a large material and social investment on the training of their athletes for the Games.

TEXT TO BE CONTINUED AND FINISHED.

Possible Conclusions

Looking back to 1896, it is possible to observe that women have progressed a lot in their challenges and struggles. They fought very bravely to enter men's sphere and have succeeded in many aspects. They have conquered their citizenship and their inclusion in the Olympic Games but have not yet reached equality in terms of numbers. Have they become heroes, heroines or mediators ¹⁹? Have they achieved the position of equilibrium yet?

It would have been unthinkable half century ago that women would compete in the marathon and in the 10,000-meter race or play basketball with the skill, dedication and power of women Olympians of the 2000s. At the same time, it would be very hard to imagine that women would become a member of the IOC or would head a National Olympic Committee although the extent of change in the administrative and organizational levels has not been so dramatic as among participants. There are still some barriers to overcome, the most crucial of which is to share the power with the male figures that represent the traditions of sport. Women have questioned traditional roles and become more aware of their place in the third millennium. They have come a long way to thinking of their biological differences as part of themselves that would allow them to compete in their own terms but having the same opportunities as men.

It is important to mention that the innovation brought about by the inclusion of women in the modern Olympic Games pressured science and technology for research and new discoveries that have shown that women can in fact do more than they had thought they could: not only in terms of those athletes who participate in the Olympic Games, but also for the common women in terms of exercising and taking up any kind of physical activity to do. The pressure women have made to have the right to participate in the Olympic Games as human beings has greatly contributed for the right women have now to participate in sports and physical activity.

More female role models would be needed to provide encouragement for girls in sport, and this means there will be the role models in all domains: in the family and school, high-level coaching, Olympic committees, government officials concerned with sport, athletics and so on.

Women Olympians have come a long way in the fields, courts, pools, streets, sea, tracks, but they are still striving to reach 50% of participation. For example, by watching the Tokyo Games and having access to the IOC official reports, it is possible to observe that there are still several countries that did not send a balanced number of male and female athletes, and still others that did not send any women athletes.

In terms of the women's inclusion in positions related to administration and power, it is possible to verify, according to the documents available and to the specialized literature, that it has been a long and painful process. The IOC itself took 87 years to include a woman as a member (1894-1981). As women have been reaching seats of power in politics and in relevant companies and institutions in many countries, it is then natural for them to seek participation in decision-making positions elsewhere. And this is particularly true when it comes to sports.

Although the IOC has been making progress, encouraging feminine participation and gender equality in its own administrative structure, it is clear that there is still a long way to go. For example, according to the IOC ¹, in 2020, 38% of the active IOC members were women, 33% of women were members of the IOC Executive Board and 37% of women chaired IOC Commissions. This demonstrates how conservative and traditional the IOC itself has been.

The IOC also proposed several actions, part of the IOC's Gender Equality and Inclusion Objectives 2021-2024¹, together with IFs, NOCs and Olympic Movement Stakeholders in order to promote the inclusion of women in administrative positions and seats of power, but has been very reticent in giving the example.

Finally, we reach several questions:

- 1. Are these entities willing to follow the IOC propositions even if the IOC has not yet set the example of 50% inclusion? ("Do as I say not as I do")
- 2. Why doesn't the IOC set the example of sharing 50% of power with women in commanding positions?
- 3. When we think of the IOC, we think of the center of Olympism, located in Lausanne, Switzerland, Europe. What about the 207 nations that participate in the Games and in a number of sport governing bodies around the world. Do they all share the same way of

thinking and cultural principles of the IOC? Do they all share the same principles or do they still keep the echoes of the past, keeping women out of administrative positions and positions of power?

4. What role do tradition and culture play in the 50% inclusion of women?

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