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Gender, Sport & Nationalism: The Cases Of Canada And India

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Gender, Sport & Nationalism: The Cases Of Canada And India

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
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College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

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Dedication

To Matt, my loving husband. Without you I never would have dared to pursue my dreams. You have encouraged, supported and inspired me throughout this journey. Thank you.

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I have had a very enjoyable experience as a graduate student and can honestly say that I have gained valuable knowledge from each of the professors who taught my classes. Thanks to all my professors for providing me with many opportunities to learn from them. However, a few of them warrant specific acknowledgement for their part in helping me to develop my research interests into a scholarly work. First, I must thank Dr. Steven Roach for encouraging a very timid, first-semester graduate student to pursue a non-traditional area of research. Second, I would like to thank Dr. Kim Golombisky for her willingness to help a student outside her own department. Third, I thank Dr. Bernd Reiter for helping me to gain a fuller understanding of nationalism and the concept of the nation. Fourth, I would like to thank Dr. Michael Solomon for his enthusiasm and interest in my research and for investing some of his valuable time in helping me to write this thesis. Finally, I must thank Dr. Mark Amen for his encouragement and help that have allowed me to research and write this piece. His confidence in my abilities and enthusiasm for my topic gave me the courage necessary to complete my thesis. Additionally, I would not have been able to gather the necessary data for my research without the wonderful ladies of the Interlibrary Loan Office.

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Sport, Gender and Nationalism

Courtney Glass

ABSTRACT

This research seeks to explore the gendered nature of nationalisms and the ways that they can be challenged and perhaps transformed through the participation of women in sport at the national level. Nationalism is part of the public sphere, while women have historically been relegated to the private sphere. However, many scholars argue that women do in fact taken part in nation building primarily as biological reproducers of the nation. This has led scholars to conclude that nationalism is indeed gendered. Sport has traditionally been a masculine domain where conceptions of hegemonic masculinity as well as the nation are developed and reinforced. However within the last thirty years women's participation in sport, specifically at the national-elite level has risen dramatically. This research seeks to explore how women's increased participation in the nationalistic and masculine domain of sport will affect nationalism.

To discover how the increase in women's participation in national sport may or may not be affecting nationalism, two exploratory case studies were conducted focusing on the media coverage of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games between 1972 and 2008. The cases used in the analysis were Canada and India. For each case, a large, English-language, national daily newspaper was selected as a data source and the articles covering women athletes during the Olympic Games were collected, subjected to a basic

form of content analysis and then categorized into one of three categories. Individual women athletes featured in the articles were also analyzed as well.

The findings of this study reveal that Indian and Canadian nationalism were affected by the increase in women's participation in sport. However, the study also demonstrates the ways in which media continues to feminize women athletes in order to make them socially acceptable. Despite this, the study reinforces the idea that sport remains a valuable space where women can challenge traditional gender ideals within a nationalisms.

Chapter One

Introduction and Structure

Nationalism is gendered. Anne McClintock makes this clear in her claim that, “All nations depend on powerful constructions of gender. Despite nationalism’s ideological investment in the idea of popular *unity*, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender *difference*” (McClintock 1993, 61). This research seeks to explore the gendered nature of nationalisms and the ways that they can be challenged and perhaps altered.

When asked in an interview in 1931 about her feelings regarding England’s participation in World War II Virginia Woolf famously replied, “As a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the world.” Her reply helps to express how feminist scholars have historically approached nationalism and nation building. They felt as though women do not participate in the nation’s construction and therefore are excluded from nationalism. Nationalism was part of the public sphere while women were relegated to the private sphere (Yuval-Davis 1997, 2). However more recent scholarly works on the topic of gender and nationalism have emphasized that women do play integral roles within nationalism, with the most important role being that of biological reproducers of the nation. Today it is more widely accepted that nationalism is gendered.

One of the most common tools of nationalism is sport. Alan Bairner claims that “...not only does sport provide opportunities for the expression of national solidarity, it

may also represent one of the clearest and most tangible indications of a nation's very existence" (Bairner 1996, 315). Today international sporting events showcase athletes and teams representing their nation. More spectators are able to view this than ever before due to the increase in global media coverage and advances in communication technologies, which are both significant parts of contemporary globalization. Many nations identify one sport as their "national sport," such as soccer (*futebol*) in Brazil, cricket in India or ice hockey in Canada. Sports stars have often been promoted as national heroes and the people within a nation are encouraged to feel proud of their nation as a result of the victories of an individual athlete or team. States have poured tremendous amounts of resources into training athletes to represent the nation at international sports competitions where a victory earns international prestige for the nation. Additionally, sport has traditionally been a masculine domain where conceptions of hegemonic masculinity as well as the nation are developed and reinforced.

Media has played an undeniably important role in associating sport with nationalism. The media has played an integral role in making sport global, especially at mega-events such as the World Cup or Olympics. However, the media also "...plays a pivotal role in framing audience identification with the competitors and in fueling the local allegiances necessary..." to gain maximum audience (Stevenson 2002, 215) Some even argue that as globalization continues to erode the nation-state, nationalism becomes more important as one of the few mechanisms governments can still use to unite its people. David Rowe claims that the "sports-media complex" is integral to this process because "...televised sport is an integral part of popular culture and media plays a key role in displaying sport in nationalistic terms" (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 2002, 119).

Therefore, media is central to the contemporary connection between sport and nationalism.

Globalization has also had a significant impact on sport in many ways. This research will look specifically at its impact on women in sport. According to Held, et al, part of globalization is the ongoing move towards more global governance. Global governance includes the institutions of state, intergovernmental cooperation, non-governmental organizations and transnational social movements (Held et al. 1999, 50). Both Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations have prioritized and advocated for gender equality in and through sport in recent decades. The International Olympic Committee established a working group on women and sport in 1995. This group later became the Women and Sport Commission. The Commission demanded that the IOC charter be amended to include specific and explicit reference to the need to for more work in the area of women and sport. It has also worked to provide increased opportunities for women to participate in sport and has largely been successful as the number as well as proportion of female Olympians has risen dramatically over the past twenty years. UNICEF has also advocated for women and girls in sport. Most recently UNICEF partnered with FIFA (the world football governing body) in 2007 to launch the “Goals for Girls Campaign” which emphasizes the need for equal opportunity between boys and girls in sport as well as school. Non-governmental organizations such as *Right to Play* and *Women Sport International* have also worked to promote increased opportunities for women to participate in sport as a means of fostering development and challenging negative gender stereotypes. Most developed countries have national committees or bodies devoted exclusively to issues surrounding women and sport. These

bodies frequently work with intergovernmental or non-governmental organizations to promote women in sport through global governance.

As women's participation in sport has been promoted through various levels of global governance, the levels of women's participation has risen worldwide. This summer at the Olympic Games in Beijing there will be a record 127 women's only events and 10 mixed events. This is two more women's events than the 125 that were part of the Athens program in 2004. This increase in events for women will allow for an additional 130 female athletes to take part in Beijing, a new Olympic record for women's participation. This research will look specifically at the cases of Canada and India, both of which saw a significant increase in the number and proportion of their women Olympians between the 1992 Olympics and 1996 Olympics. This jump in women's participation in Canada and India coincides with the initiatives of the IOC began in 1995 to increase women's participation worldwide.

This increase in women's participation in sport, especially at the elite level seems to present a contradiction to the traditional nexus of sport, masculinity, and nationalism. If sport helps to support and uphold a gendered nationalism, how will women's increased expansion into the domain of sport affect nationalism? This is what this research is concerned with exploring. Globalization, via global governance, has helped to facilitate women's entrance and expansion into the nationalistic and masculine world of sport. John Harris and Barbara Humberstone note that this important area of scholarship within International Relations has received very little attention. "This is a significant gap in the IR literature, in which nation-states remain important, if not the central, actors. IR theory has, consequently, largely ignored the implications of the ways in which hegemonic

masculinity, embroiled in sport, reinforces nationalistic ideology and concomitantly ‘normalizes’ discourses around the position and practices of women in sport and society” (Harris and Humberstone 2004, 48).

Project Design

Through a review of relevant literature I accept several claims on which I base my research questions. The following are the claims my research assumes to be true: all nationalisms are gendered; there is a connection between sport and nationalism; and globalization has led to an increase of women in sports. The classical relationship between sport and nationalism characterizes sport as a space where a national, hegemonic masculinity is formed and strengthened. This particular masculinity helps to define the nation’s ideal man. If women are invading the traditional male domain of sport, might a gendered nationalism be forced to change in some way? This is what my research is concerned with exploring. I will look specifically at the cases of Canada and India and attempt to answer the following question: Has the increase in women’s participation in sport in Canada and India changed Canadian and Indian nationalism?

Traditionally, the label and status of “national sports hero” was only applied to male athletes in Canada and India. However, as the number of women in sport increased, especially at the national level where athletes directly represent their nations or countries, women became able to receive the label “national sports hero (or heroine)” as well. I claim that as the number of women in sport in has increased in Canada and India, the application of the label or status of national hero has changed. Rather than being exclusively applied to men athletes, the label national hero is now also applied to women

athletes. I examine the application of the label/status of national hero as a conceptual representation of nationalism. Additionally I claim that over time, women in Canada and India are labeled or given the status of national hero more for their athletic achievements and less for their traditional feminine qualities (physical appearance, etc.)

One of the most important parts of this research is defining the various terms that are used. Terms such as sport, globalization, nationalism and others have a variety of meanings which are contested among scholars within the literature. For this research I define contemporary globalization as a set of processes that enable transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people causing a shift in social space and making physical space much less of a barrier to social connections than in the past (Scholte 2005, 59). This definition draws largely from the work of Scholte, but also includes the idea that globalization is a set of processes, rather than just a singular force, which is an idea expressed by David Held and others in their book *Global Transformations* (Scholte 2005; Held et al. 1999).

Nationalism is another term that must be defined due to its foundational importance in this research. I have chosen to use key elements from Nira Yuval-Davis' construction of nationalism and nationalist projects. She claims that nationalist projects are all built on the myths of a common origin, common culture and/or equal citizenship within a state (Yuval-Davis 1997, 21). Based on this I define nationalism as feelings of pride in and belonging to a collectivity based on the belief in a common origin, common culture and/or rights of equal citizenship. It is important to emphasize that there is in fact no common origin or culture but that these are myths used to construct a "nation." The third component of this definition implies that nationalism is linked to the state, which is

not always the case, and therefore this third component does not always exist as a part of a particular nationalism. Indeed each of these three components will not all exist within the same nationalism, or may exist in varying degrees.

Another term that must be defined is gender. This research uses a working definition provided by contemporary feminist thought, which claims that gender is a performance, something that people do which can be empirically observed (Golombisky forthcoming, 24). This definition avoids the biological determinism contained in the term “sex,” something with which social science should not be concerned.

The last term that must be defined for the purpose of this research is that of sport. There are many different types of sport practiced on a variety of levels. A simple dictionary definition of a sport is “an athletic activity requiring skill or physical prowess and often of a competitive nature.” The two main levels at which sports are practiced are mass and elite levels. Mass sport is ideally available to everyone regardless of skill or ability and its main goal is to help participants achieve physical health through exercise. Elite sport is based on skill and ability and therefore is not available to everyone. Elite sport includes professional and national sport as well as sports at the club or university (particularly in the U.S.) level. For the purpose of this research, the term “sport” refers to elite level sport which has its rules set by a governing body (either national or international). There are two reasons for focusing my research on elite level sport rather than sport for the masses (or ‘sport for all’ as it is sometimes called). First, the connection between nationalism and sport has centered on sport practiced at the elite level, particularly those sports which are played in international competitions against

other nations. Second, elite level sport receives much more media attention and produces much more reliable data than sport at the mass level.

Theoretical Foundations

This research is based on multiple theoretical positions due to its attempt to synthesize the fields of gender, nationalism, sport and globalization. This research will operate from the transformationalist approach to globalization as elaborated by both Held, *et al* and Scholte. This theoretical orientation to globalization claims that contemporary globalization is distinctive and important, but that other social trends are as well. Transformationalists also acknowledge that globalization is an uneven process (Scholte 2005, 19). This same theoretical orientation to globalization can be applied to how I will view globalization's relationship to nationalism. Again the approach can be labeled 'transformationalist' as it is called by Stein Tonnesson. This approach claims that globalization does not cause nationalism to disappear nor does it create something entirely new to replace nationalism, but that it changes nationalism (Tonnesson 2004, 180). This process of changing nationalism is viewed as a continuous process rather than something that happens within a bounded span of time.

A second theoretical orientation of this research is that of gendered nationalism. There is a fair amount of feminist literature available discussing nationalism as a gendered construct. The theoretical foundation that I will be working from is that of Nira Yuval-Davis. In her most recent publication, *Gender and Nation*, she explains the various ways in which women are involved in nationalist projects (Yuval-Davis 1997). She rejects the idea that women have no place in nationalism (either by choice or by

virtue of being excluded by men) and instead argues that women play very integral roles in nationalist movements and projects. For Yuval-Davis, women participate in nationalism in five major ways: as biological reproducers of the nation; transmitters of culture; markers of citizenship and difference; participants in nationalist struggles; and as symbols of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997). One of the key purposes of this research is to claim that because of globalization, more women in Canada and India participate in sport which provides them with new ways of participating in nationalism. According to my argument, these new ways of participating are more similar to how male athletes and sports stars participate in nationalism: acting as national heroes (totems) and winning prestige for the nation through their accomplishments.

The last theoretical orientation necessary to this research is the conception of sport as a space where traditional gender notions may be challenged. In the literature on gender and sport, the majority of it focuses on ways in which sport upholds a hegemonic masculinity. However, there is also a significant body of research which argues that sport is a space in which women may challenge hegemonic feminine ideals. The literature is a collection of case studies focusing on women in a variety of sports and the ways in which the women use that specific sport space to challenge the hegemonic feminine ideals placed on them by their societies. Viewing sport as a space in which to challenge gender ideals does not mean that one must deny that sport is also used to uphold conceptions of hegemonic masculinity, as these two are not incompatible views of gender and sport. However, this research will focus on national level sport in Canada and India as a place where women can challenge hegemonic femininities with a gendered nationalism.

Research Methodology

This study relied on the case study method to help answer the research question. According to Robert Yin, case studies are best used when a "... question is being asked about a contemporary set of events which the investigator has little or no control over" (Yin 2003, 9). Changing levels of women's participation in sport and changes within nationalisms are both contemporary events that cannot be controlled. More specifically, this research utilizes the exploratory case study which Yin claims are best used to answer introductory research questions, which frequently begin with "What" (Yin 2003, 7). The key question for this study can be phrased using "what": "What has been the affect of the increase of women's participation in sport on the nationalisms of Canada and India?"

The two exploratory case studies were conducted using national newspaper coverage of the Summer Olympic Games between 1972 and 2008 in Canada and India. I chose the year 1972 because it is the year of the earliest Summer Olympic Games in the era of contemporary globalization. Additionally, 1972 represents the time before the number of women in sport worldwide began to significantly increase due to processes of globalization. National newspapers, viewed here as cultural products, were used as the data source to allow analysis of any changes in national attitude. Other scholars such as Rupal Oza claim that the use of such "popular cultural archives" (of which print media is a part) "are important sites that engage with changing gender subjectivities" (Oza 2006). Only articles about women in the Summer Olympics were analyzed because more countries participate in the Summer Olympics than the Winter Olympics. Due to the higher number of participating countries the Summer Olympics tend to have stronger connections to a country's nationalism. The cases of Canada and India were chosen

because previous research on gender, nationalism and sport has not specifically focused on these countries. Also they have national newspapers that are printed in English and roughly four decades of these newspapers can be accessed through the university library (through a combination of microfilm reels and electronic databases).

The articles collected were those focusing on women participating in the Summer Olympics. I scanned through micro-fiche reels for those editions that were not electronically archived and looked for any articles covering women from India/Canada participating in the Olympics (articles about only Indian women when looking in *The Times of India* and Canadian women when looking in *The Globe and Mail*). Once I found an article dealing with this topic, I read it, analyzed it, made notes about it and then scanned and saved an electronic copy of it. The articles are from fifteen days before the opening ceremonies to fifteen days following the closing ceremonies for each Summer Olympics held between 1972 and 2008.

Once the articles were collected I performed content analysis using a very simple coding system. This coding system was developed in order to allow the researcher to check for any change in national attitude towards women athletes. The change in national attitude was measured by analyzing the change in type (divided into the three categories) of national newspaper coverage. The articles were coded as traditional, non-traditional or neutral. Articles classified as traditional are those which emphasize or include a woman's personal life over her athletic performance. Print media often seeks to cast a woman as a wife, girlfriend, mother or daughter in order to feminize her (Burriss 2006, 92). Traditional articles also focus on a woman's physical appearance and seek to infantilize women athletes by referring to them as "girls" or by using only their first

names, rather than both names, or only their last name (as is commonly done with male athletes) (Segrave, McDowell, and King III, James G. 2006, 33). Finally traditional articles are those that are overly critical of the performances of women athletes (Hallmark 2006, 160) and seek to depict women athletes as frail and vulnerable (McDonald 2002, 287). Women athletes are made to seem frail and vulnerable through describing them as very emotional and emphasizing their difficulties handling pressure. These are the criteria that I used in categorizing articles as traditional.

Articles categorized as non-traditional are those that did not seek to feminize a woman by using the devices mentioned above for the “traditional” category, but instead used language that labeled a woman or women as national hero(es). Non-traditional articles do not always directly describe a woman or women’s team as national hero(es) (although they may), but they might use language that describes her or them as bringing honor and glory to the nation. Articles categorized as neutral are those that simply reported on a woman at the Olympics without using any of the traditional category’s criteria, but also did not in any way give national hero status to the team or individual.

Over the course of conducting this research, the methods had to be revised several times for practical reasons. Originally, the research was designed to include six case studies instead of only the two that the final study included. This was done to produce a more compelling and robust study that could possibly be replicated. The original cases chosen were the Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S. These cases were chosen because they each have national newspapers published in English. The use of the national newspapers from the cases was also different in the final study than in the original plan. At the outset, it was decided that two national newspapers from

each country should be used as data sources rather than the one. This was to help account for any bias that might permeate one newspaper. Having at least two sources per case would provide a better balance and larger numbers of articles to analyze.

However, time limitations only allowed for the use of one newspaper from each case as a data source, and required that the number of cases be reduced to two. Several of the cases were eliminated from the study because the majority of the archival copies of their national newspaper(s) were on microfilm reels. Microfilm reels take much longer to look through for data, than electronic databases. In eliminating cases, Canada and India remained because their national newspapers were available to use as data sources, and because existing studies on gender, nationalism and sport had already focused on Australia and the U.S.

From these articles that were collected and coded I was able to analyze how the label and/or status of national hero was applied over time. I was able to identify women athletes that were labeled or given the status of a national sporting hero and compare them with others from different time periods. These articles helped to reveal how the increase of women participating in sport in Canada and India changed Canadian and Indian nationalism over time.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Gender and Nationalism

Traditional nationalism scholarship has neglected ways in which nationalism is gendered. It has only been explored and elaborated on by feminist scholars within the last twenty to twenty-five years. One of the earlier works on gender and nationalism came from Cynthia Enloe in her book, *Beaches, Bases and Bananas*. In chapter three she discusses the role of and difficulties faced by women in nationalist movements. Her analysis seems mostly to focus on nationalism in post-colonial and developing societies and states. Enloe highlights the difficulties faced by many women in the developing world of being both a feminist and nationalist simultaneously. She concludes with several claims about nationalism: it assumes that restoring independence will automatically ensure women's liberation; women being assaulted by foreign men is an assault on the men's honor and has nothing to do with the women themselves; any questioning of relations between men and women within the nationalist movement is often seen as divisive and even traitorous; and the active roles provided for women have been those of ego-stroking girlfriend, stoic wife or nurturing mother (Enloe 1989, 62). Enloe also noted the negative impact that a lack of understanding from the international feminist movement (generally led by "middle-class women from affluent societies") of some women's groups desire to remain within a nationalist movement has on their efforts to increase gender equality (Enloe 1989, 64).

Lois West provides an anthology of case studies focusing on the type of women's movements that Enloe described. Her work focuses on social movements that struggle for women's rights and national rights, or what she terms "feminist nationalist movements." She claimed that these movements represent a new era in that women were playing active roles in defining feminism and nationalism unlike ever before (West 1997, xii). She laid out three ideal types of feminist nationalist movements: historical national liberation movements (usually against colonizers); movements against neocolonialism; and identity rights movements within a society (West 1997, xxx-xxxi). Anne McClintock claims, "All nationalisms are gendered, all are invented, and all are dangerous – dangerous not in Eric Hobsbawm's sense as having to be opposed, but in the sense of representing relations to political power and to the technologies of violence" (McClintock 1993, 61). She also focuses on the importance of the family in national history as a way to sanction a social hierarchy within the nation in which women are naturally subordinated to men (McClintock 1993, 64). She also notes that men have frequently condemned feminism within nationalist movements as divisive (McClintock 1993, 77).

Michele Griffin suggests that the gendered rhetoric surrounding nationalism and war is responsible for the common belief that women are naturally more peaceful than men (Griffin 1998). She cites several examples of women's integral participation in nationalist struggles as evidence that women are not necessarily more peaceful than men. She also notes that despite women's participation in these struggles, they frequently end up in positions of subordination again, after independence, in order to force them to continue serving as the reproducers of the nation (Griffin 1998). She concluded with

this: “For most women, loyalty to the nation far outweighs any putative loyalty to international sisterhood” (Griffin 1998, 253). Joanne Nagel agrees with Nira Yuval-Davis on the roles available to women within nationalist projects. She also concurred with Michele Griffin that even when women do participate heavily in nationalist struggles, they are often forced back into traditional feminine roles once the goal has been achieved (Griffin 1998). She added that women’s sexuality is also important to nationalists because it is a matter of masculine honor and is necessary to reproduce the nation (Griffin 1998, 255-256).

Sylvia Walby argues against quantitative measures used in research on the topic claiming that scholars need to focus on gender regimes rather than degrees of inequality within nationalisms (Walby 2000, 525). She defines a gender regime as “paid employment, household production, the polity, male violence, sexuality and cultural institutions” (Walby 2000, 528). She adds that the western world has been transitioning from a private to public gender regime over the last one hundred years (Walby 2000).

The military is frequently closely associated with nationalism. There are several scholarly works that examine gender and its relation to the military along with nationalism because of the close relationship between the military and nationalism. Radical feminists generally do not support women’s involvement in the military because they view the military as part of the oppressive structure that is responsible for the subordination of women, and they are unwilling to work within this structure in any way. On the other end of the feminist spectrum, liberal feminists are willing to work within the existing structure and therefore support women’s involvement in the military (Herbert 1994, 4-5). Most feminists tend to fall into the second category. Sule Toktas points out

the much gendered nature of nationalism that is exhibited through the military. Some of these examples include referring to the nation using feminine language (the motherland) and the use of women as the spoils of war or as victims of revenge (Toktas 2002, 31). Toktas takes issue with the common assumption that women are less militaristic than men by describing how women in Latin America were more loyal to their class than to fellow women which lead them to support militaristic nationalism (Toktas 2002, 32). Toktas concludes that as the military, masculinity, femininity and the nation-state continue to transform, women will not be liberated as much as gender roles and the values attributed to gender will transition (Toktas 2002, 35).

The literature on gender and nationalism firmly establishes nationalism's gendered nature. However, scholars continue to try and find new and better ways of conducting research within this field. Another connection that is vital to this research is that between sport and nationalism. The literature within this field is somewhat older and better established, although this field is not considered mainstream within political science.

Sport and Nationalism

The linkage between sport and nationalism is referred to as an established fact by Alan Bairner, a scholar in the field (Bairner 1996, 314). He claimed that nationalism is a person's feelings about an imagined community (the nation), and sport then, through the fielding of a national team for example, is able to provide more concrete evidence that this imagined community does in fact exist (Bairner 1996, 315). David Rowe goes even further claiming that the close association with nationalism is what gives sport its power

and marketability (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 2002, 292). He explained that sport is “deeply dependent on the production of difference,” which is why it is dependent on nationalism (Rowe, McKay, and Miller 2002, 282).

Paul Gilchrist helped to conceptualize the relationship between sport and nationalism through his discussion of sporting heroes as totems of a nation. He explained that totems were “sacred representative objects of a group” and that sporting heroes, generally through achieving victory, recognition and fame were treated as totems by the nation of their origin or the nation which they represented in competition (Gilchrist 2005, 119, 121). The distinction between athletes being totems for their nations of origin and totems for the nations for whom they play is an important one today. In fact, athletes can be totems for more than one nation at a time. David Beckham could be a totem for Spaniards, particularly citizens of Madrid, because he was the best player on the professional football (soccer) team Real Madrid. However, he could also be a totem for Great Britain because he was born there and developed his football (soccer) skills there.

Scholars such as Houlihan also point out the frequency and effectiveness with which states have used sport to cultivate nationalism in their nation building processes. One state that provides an excellent example of this is Israel. Leaders seeking to promote Jewish culture began to incorporate sport into the culture. Sport and other physical pursuits were traditionally not part of Jewish culture because intellectual pursuits were much more highly prized. However, Jewish leaders noted the nationalist capabilities of sport and therefore decided that it would be a useful tool for nation building (Houlihan 1994, 196). The ways in which sport is treated by members of nations and leaders of nations leaves no doubt as to its close linkage with nationalism.

Gender and Sport

There is also a rich body of literature on gender and sport. The majority of this literature focuses on ways in which sport upholds hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity used by scholars in analyzing issues of gender and sport refers to the dominant construction of what it means to be “a man” within a particular society. The majority of studies that reveal ways in which sport supports a hegemonic masculinity focus on ways in which media contributes to this. Some studies focus on how both print media (Lenskyj 1998; Sandoz 2000; Hardin and Dodd 2006; Bissell 2006) and television (Kennedy 2007; Kennedy 2000; Messner, Duncan, and Cooky 2003; Hallmark 2006; Cooky 2006; Elueze and Jones 1998; Fuller 2006) uphold hegemonic masculinity as well as femininity in general. This includes reinforcing the idea that men are strong, competitive and aggressive while women are more passive, cooperative and weak. Other studies focus on specific media strategies that support these hegemonic gender ideals. These include inequitable amounts of media coverage for women’s sports compared to men’s sports (Wann et al. 1998), differences in media coverage of socially acceptable sports for women (such as tennis and swimming) compared to coverage of women playing masculine sports (Jones, Murrell, and Jackson 1999; Tuggle and Owen 1999; Pirinen 1997) and the media’s emphasis on female athletes’ femininity to make them more marketable (Wright and Clarke 1999; Burris 2006; Banet-Weiser 1999; Halbert 1997; McDonald 2002).

Other scholars of gender and sport have produced studies that focus less on the role of the media and claim that sport as an institution upholds hegemonic masculinity.

Patricia Clasen explains how the dualistic definition of masculine and feminine creates a paradox for the female athlete. Because femininity is defined in contrast to masculinity, and sport is classified as a masculine domain, a female athlete or sportswoman is then a contradiction in Western thinking (Clasen 2001, 37). Clasen uses this reasoning to explain why many female athletes go to great lengths to emphasize their own femininity (such as posing nude in magazines, wearing very long manicured fingernails, etc.) (Clasen 2001, 39). John Harris and Barbara Humberstone agree that sport is where hegemonic masculinity is developed. Football (or what Americans have termed soccer) is where this discourse of hegemonic masculinity is formed and reinforced for most of the world. However, Americans and Australians have their own versions of football that represent hegemonic masculinity in their societies (American football and Aussie rules football). Mawson expounds upon this argument by demonstrating the difference in expectations for sportsmanship versus “sportswomanship” (Mawson 2006, 28). She contends that women are generally held to a higher moral standard than men in sports in an effort to enforce “ladylike” behavior which fits societal norms (Mawson 2006, 20). Other studies have focused on specific cases to demonstrate how the institution of sport upholds hegemonic masculinity. These include:(Whannel 2007; Messner 1992; Disch and Kane 1996). Scholars have also focused on specific dimensions within sport that support hegemonic masculinity such as language (Wachs 2006; Segrave, McDowell, and King III, James G. 2006) and specific sport sub-cultures (Golombisky 2006; Tucker 2006; Mooney 2006; Shakib and Dunbar 2002; Jones and Aitchison 2007).

Despite the emphasis on ways in which sport and the sports media uphold hegemonic masculinity, there is a school of thought within the literature that claims sport

is also a space in which women can challenge traditional ideas about gender. This group of scholars demonstrates this potential through focusing on how women within different cases are being able to use sport to challenge a particular society's conceptions about gender. They also do not neglect to analyze the challenges and setbacks that these women face in their attempts and so do not deny that sport can and does support hegemonic masculinity. However, they believe it can simultaneously be used by women to challenge gender ideals. A few of these studies include:(Theberge 1997; Muller 2007; Scraton et al. 1999; Radzi 2006; Mangan and Hong 2004; Votre and Mourao 2001; Votre and Mourao 2003).

Gender, Sport and Nationalism

There have been a very small number of studies that focus on gender, sport and nationalism all within the context of globalization. Those that do exist are all case studies that generally use the media as an important source of data. Anne Chisholm used the media coverage of the 1996 U.S. Women's gold medal winning gymnastics team to explain how these American gymnasts were constructed as symbols of the nation. She described the history of gymnastics and noted that for most of the history of competitive gymnastics, the Soviet gymnasts dominated world competition. When the U.S. team won in 1996, the American media constructed this victory as an historic defeat of the previously untouchable Russians, which also symbolized the triumph of the American capitalist system over Soviet communism (Chisholm 1999, 127). However they failed to mention that the U.S. team had benefited from the balkanization of the Soviet team into several smaller, weaker teams and that the state-run training system no longer existed.

Therefore, this victory was not a triumph over the same caliber of Soviet teams that had been so dominant previously (Chisholm 1999, 128). She also explained how female gymnasts are constructed as cute little girls and somewhat androgynous in order to make their appearance socially acceptable (Chisholm 1999, 134). Furthermore, this particular U.S. team was billed as the “face of America” because it contained an African-American and an Asian gymnast in addition to white gymnasts. This team had never received this label before even though it had included both white and black gymnasts in previous years. The media also did not emphasize the individual medals won by the African-American and Asian gymnasts because this would have revealed how lacking in diversity the history of gymnastics really was. Also gymnasts have historically represented idealized bourgeois, white women (Chisholm 1999, 136). Chisholm’s analysis produces significant insights into the issues surrounding gender, sport and nationalism. It also demonstrates the importance of globalization in this process, as global sporting events and competitions provide a stage on which these issues are played out.

Deborah Stevenson also analyzed the issues of gender, sport, nationalism and globalization. She placed more emphasis on globalization than Chisholm and claimed that women’s tennis is the only truly global sport in which women compete (Stevenson 2002, 212). She conducted research on the Women’s 1999 Australian Open Tennis Tournament. In examining the media’s treatment of the players she was able to clearly discern a dominant version of femininity and claimed that this has persisted in women’s tennis more so than in other sports (Stevenson 2002, 209). She also analyzed the Australian media’s efforts to localize the global game of women’s tennis through describing certain players as “feeling at home” in Australia, which gave the nation a

surrogate player to support in the absence of a serious Australian female contender (Stevenson 2002, 216-217). Stevenson particularly focused on the media coverage given to Amelie Mauresmo, who made it into the tournament's finals, as an example of how women's tennis provides opportunities to resist dominant notions of femininity on a global level. Mauresmo, who is widely known to be a lesbian, and has a very muscular physique, was continuously constructed as being too masculine (Stevenson 2002, 217). Stevenson was able to deconstruct the Women's Australian Open in such a way as to reveal the various processes involving gender, sport, nationalism and globalization that were occurring. She provides a valuable model that helps to demonstrate how these complicated and intertwined concepts can be researched.

By far the most in depth research I have reviewed that deals with the issues of gender, sport, nationalism and globalization is Dong Jinxia's book, *Women, Sport and Society in Modern China*. She provided a history of women's sport in modern China. Chinese women have generally been much more successful in international competition than their male counterparts. Jinxia accounted for this by recounting various political and economic processes that have occurred in China such as giving more funding to sports that the Chinese government felt had a better chance of winning Olympic medals. These sports were often women's sports, which gave them a decided advantage in training over Chinese male athletes (Jinxia 2003, 122). Jinxia traced the changes in Chinese women's sport as China's economy became more market oriented and open. This has led to the commercialization of sport as well as fundamental changes in Chinese society (Jinxia 2003, 126). This work represents a very complex and comprehensive case study that seeks to better explain the remarkable success of Chinese women in sport.

The assumption that women's participation in national-level sport in Canada and India has increased, when combined with these literature reviews, leads to the central question of whether or not the increase of women in sport has affected Canadian and India nationalism. The literature review of gender and nationalism reveals that nationalism is gendered, and as such it prescribes certain sets of roles for both women and men within the nation. Next, the literature review of sport and nationalism concludes that sport is used to strengthen and support nationalism. Finally, the literature review of gender and sport demonstrates that sport is generally a site that helps define and uphold hegemonic masculinity. However, scholars explain that sport also can provide women with an opportunity to challenge traditional gender ideals.

This research assumes that women's participation in national-level sport has increased. Data provided by international sports events such as the Olympics, World Cup, Asian Games, Commonwealth Games, Pan-American Games and others support and confirm this assumption. Furthermore, this increase of women in sport can be at least partially connected with contemporary globalization via increased global governance. As explained in chapter one, one of the processes of globalization is a continual move towards more global governance. Sport has experienced an increase in global governance and the institutions involved in this increase (IOC, FIFA, etc.) have initiated and led the efforts to improve gender equity in sport. In light of the literature reviews in this chapter, the increase of women in sport again leads one to ask how this has affected Canadian and Indian nationalism.

Chapter Three

Case Studies

The two cases selected, Canada and India, have not yet been used to study gender, sport and nationalism. Existing research on this topic has only focused on the U.S., Australia and China. These two cases are very different from one another. Therefore, testing my claims in both Canada and India may help demonstrate whether or not they are generally applicable in other countries and cases. Canada and India are generally judged to have significant cultural differences as one is located in North America and the other in South Asia. Canada and India are also quite different in their participation in the Olympics. The Canadian Olympic contingent is usually about twice the size of the Indian contingent, despite India's much larger population. Also, Canada almost always wins more medals than India. Women from Canada first began to compete in the Olympics in 1924 while India did not send its first woman participant until 1972.

Canada

Joanne Lee claims that there are several nationalisms present with Canada. Groups such as the Quebecois and First Nations peoples have their own nationalisms (Lee and Cardinal 1998, 215). However, Lee claims that Anglo Canadian nationalism is the hegemonic nationalism within Canada 215(Lee and Cardinal 1998, 215). She goes on to explain that "Canadianess" is defined as being white, male, Christian, middle and upper class, English-speaking and of Northern European cultural heritage (Lee and Cardinal

1998, 218). Lee's description of Canadian nationalism was written in 1998, which falls around half way within the time period that was analyzed for this case study.

Descriptions of women's roles early in the development of Canadian nationalism such as Roxana Ng's description of women in the period between 1880 and 1920 seem to agree with Niral Yuval-Davis' theory, which was mentioned earlier as one of the theoretical foundations used in this research (Ng 2005, 5; Yuval-Davis 1997). Ng explains that women were responsible for building the "human nation" or "population base" through biological reproduction and by helping to recruit other white, Christian women from Europe to serve as domestics and wives (Ng 2005, 10). Ng also notes that because Canada began as a colony of both England and France, the Canadian nation is built on male supremacy (Ng 2005, 6). Another analysis of women within Quebecois nationalism reveals that women there play similar roles to women within Anglo-Canadian nationalism (Jean et al. 1986). The study of the participation of women in the Quebec 1980 referendum revealed that a significant number of women supported the Liberal Party's federalist stance and ultimately helped the "no" vote win. These women called themselves the "Yvettes" (the name of a character in a grammar school reader who was often depicted as passive and very feminine) and were mostly white housewives who viewed transmitting Canada's cultural and political heritage to their children as an important part of their duty as women (Jean et al. 1986, 330). Again this corresponds to Yuval-Davis' theory that one of the roles available to women within nationalism is that of "transmitters of culture" (Yuval-Davis 1997).

From this literature it seems that women served primarily as biological reproducers of the nation and transmitters of culture in Canada from the founding of the

nation up until the early 1980s. They had no opportunity to participate in any struggle for independence as women have in other nationalist movements because Canada experienced a peaceful transition to independence. However, race and class do seem to play important parts in the development of Canadian identity. Most scholars indicate that a “real Canadian woman” is both white and middle to upper class. This will be the foundation against which I will compare the findings from the newspaper articles that I will analyze.

Both the number and percentage of Canadian women participants at the Summer Olympics has risen steadily from 1972 to 2008 (see figure 1 and 2). The raw number of women athletes shows more fluctuation than the percentage largely due to the fact that Montreal hosted the Summer Olympics in 1976 (host countries can send more participants to the game regardless of whether or not the athlete meets international qualification standards) and the boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles games by the USSR and its allied states. Canada participated in the 1980 Moscow Olympics boycott, but still selected an Olympic team, albeit a smaller one. The percentage of the Canadian Olympic contingents made up of women, which is perhaps a more telling measurement, shows a steady increase at every Summer Olympic Games with the exception of the 2008 Beijing Games. Canada’s Olympic contingent was fifty percent women from 1996 to 2004, which is highly unusual as most countries send more men than women participants. This data shows that Canada has experienced an increase in women’s participation in sports at the state level coinciding with the over all increase of women in sports worldwide.

Figure 1 Number of women Summer Olympians from Canada: 1972-2008

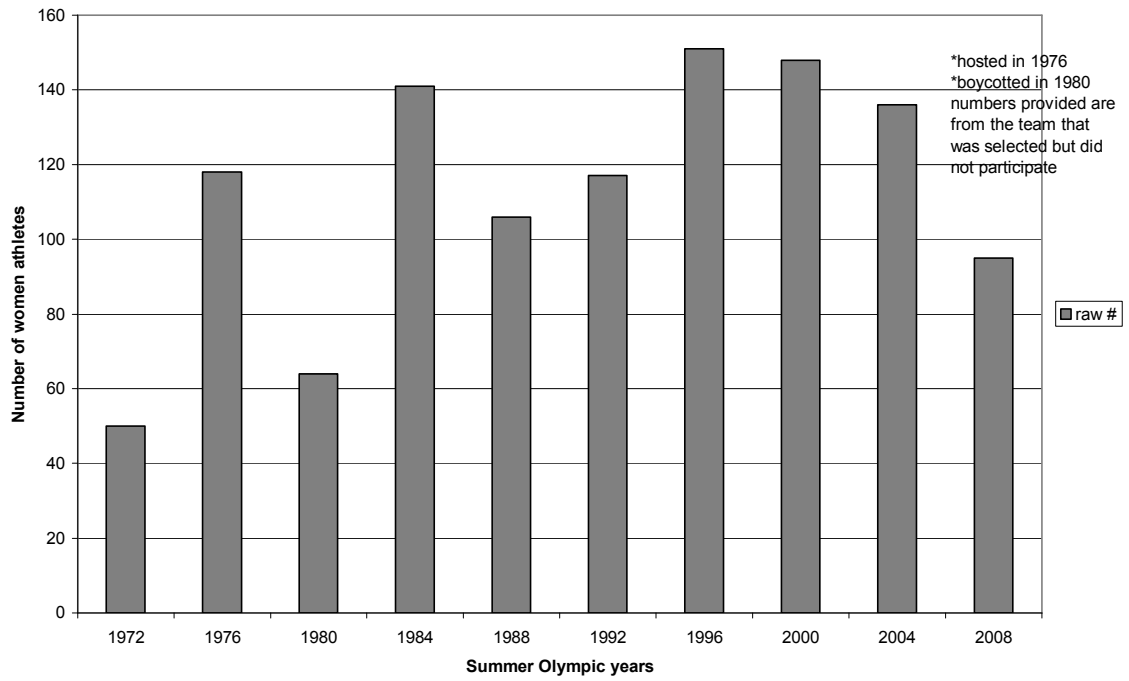
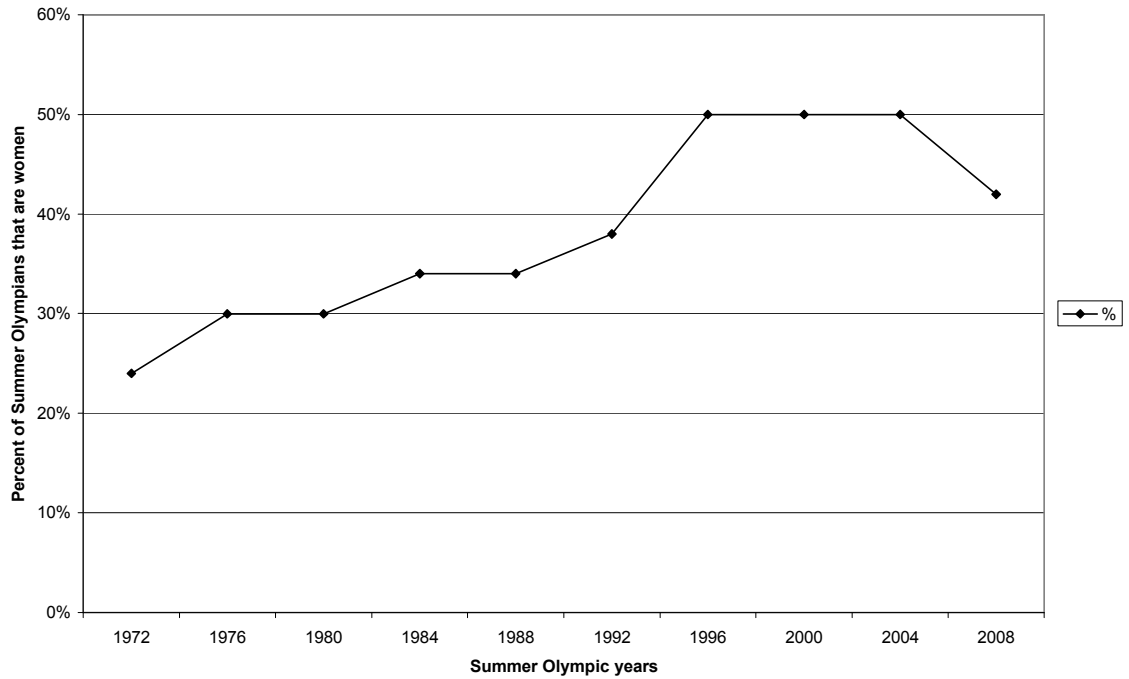


Figure 2 Percent of Canada's Summer Olympians that are women



The articles collected for this research came from *The Globe and Mail*, which is considered one of Canada's most prestigious and influential national newspapers. It has a weekly circulation of two million and is Canada's largest circulating national newspaper and second largest daily newspaper behind only the *Toronto Star*. It was chosen over the *Toronto Star* due to the fact that its editions from the 1970s were more easily accessible.

The articles collected from *The Globe and Mail* were categorized as traditional, non-traditional or neutral using the coding system explained in chapter one. Articles such as the one titled "Women's Wrestling Expects Surge in Interest" from the 2008 Beijing Olympics were classified as traditional. This particular article reviewed the Canadian women's wrestling team's recent accomplishments at the World Championships and Olympics (one woman won a gold medal in Beijing) and claimed that as a result, wrestling clubs across Canada would see an increase in its women members (Agrell 2008, L1). The writer conducted interviews with current woman wrestlers and coaches. The main theme that ran throughout the article was that women wrestlers were not "butch or big and scary" but are "very much feminine" (Agrell 2008, L1). The article also contained several references to the parents of the women wrestlers discussed, which further normalizes them by establishing their roles as daughters. Despite this article's attempts to seem progressive by reporting on the increased popularity of a masculine and combative sport among women it instead demonstrates that women wrestlers need to be feminized in order to be socially acceptable.

In contrast, the article "Female wrestlers have medal hopes aplenty" was categorized as a non-traditional article. This article also focused on the women's wrestling team but cast the women as highly successful international competitors who

were some of Canada's best hopes for Olympic medals S8 (Christie 2008, S8). It did not reference the wrestlers' families, their physical appearance or discuss their past failures or breakdowns. The only element of the article that did not fit totally within the non-traditional category was a description of the oldest most experienced woman on the team as a "mother figure" to the other team members S8 (Christie 2008, S8). One of the team members on which the article focused was ethnically Chinese, which further establishes this article as non-traditional. The article gave national hero status to a group of women wrestlers, one of whom was not of Northern European heritage, which is why it was coded as non-traditional.

The neutral category was the third option in classifying the articles. The article "Nomads put a bronze in their suitcase" was put into this category. This article reported that a pair of women rowers won a bronze medal and went on to describe how the two women had no permanent home, but moved around all the time due to their training and meager budgets S3 (Sekeres 2008, S3). It also described how one member of the pair went out and marketed herself to the corporate community in order to gain enough funds to train properly for the Beijing games S3 (Sekeres 2008, S3). It did not treat these women as national heroes, but also did not resort to traditional tactics either, which was why it was classified as neutral.

Table 1

The Globe and Mail: Articles on Women Olympians (1972-2008)										
	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
Traditional	7	44	N/A	22	10	8	21	13	18	14
Non-traditional	4	7	N/A	5	2	8	11	4	6	7
Neutral	2	19	N/A	29	6	7	18	10	1	9
Total	13	70	N/A	56	18	23	50	27	25	30
Percent of articles non-traditional	30.7%	10.0%	N/A	8.9%	11.1%	34.8%	22.0%	14.8%	24.0%	23.3%

As is evident in Table 1 the classification of the articles collected show no real pattern. There are unusually high numbers of total articles written about women for the years 1976 and 1984. Again, Montreal hosted the Olympics in 1976 causing an abnormally high number of Canadian participants, which then caused more articles to be written about them. The 1984 boycott allowed participating countries to send more athletes than they would have sent otherwise, which explains why more articles were written for that year. Also, 1992 stands out as having a high percentage of non-traditional articles written about women Olympians. This was caused by the success of the women's rowing team. Women's rowing only became part of the Olympic program beginning in 1976 and was historically considered a very masculine sport as acknowledged by *The Globe and Mail* in an article it ran on July 16, 1976. The article claimed that "Rowing's masculine image of bulging biceps and hairy chests receives a sharp blow on Notre Dame Island here next week when women rowers make their Olympic debut" (Reuter 1976, 30). The women rowers covered by *The Globe and Mail* in 1992 were often labeled national heroes for their success and medals won.

There does not appear to be a steady increase in non-traditional articles over time. However, when the most celebrated women Olympians are analyzed over time there does appear to be a change in how the label and status of national hero is applied. Articles covering the most successful woman athlete of the Summer Olympics in the 1970s, Diane Jones, when compared with articles covering the most celebrated woman of the Summer Olympics through the 1990s, Silken Laumann, provide a significant contrast.

Diane Jones competed in the pentathlon (now the heptathlon) in both 1972 and 1976. She was also scheduled to compete in 1980, but Canada's participation in the boycott prevented her from doing so. She never medaled in the pentathlon at the Olympics but won gold at the Commonwealth Games in 1978 and was expected to finish in the top three in the Olympics at Moscow in 1980. She was a media favorite on the Canadian Olympic teams due to her feminine body size, which was often commented on, as well as her love life. In an article previewing Canada's 1976 Olympic team, Jones was compared to another woman high jumper from the 1928 Olympic team, Ethel Catherwood. The writer noted that the Canadian women won two gold medals at the 1928 games and then compared Diane Jones to Catherwood by claiming that the 1928 team was led by a "tall attractive girl from Saskatoon" (Catherwood) and that that this year's 1976 team was also led by "a new statuesque girl from Saskatoon" (Christie 1976, 43-47). In another article that contained an interview with Jones about the pressure of being a medal favorite for the host country, the article described her physical appearance, mentioned her boyfriend and described her as finding the pressure of it all nearly unbearable (CP 1976, S5). The article feminized her by describing her as physically attractive, heterosexual, through the reference to her boyfriend, and mentally frail, in its

discussion of her difficulties in dealing with the pressure. She dated and eventually married a professional Canadian football player and famously rejected a party invitation from Mick Jagger during the 1976 Montreal Olympics which was eagerly covered in the newspaper (Blatchford 1976, S4). Only one of the five articles written about her during 1976 Olympics did not mention her physical appearance. One of the articles even commented on her breast size (Anonymous 1976, S2).

There were two photos of Jones that ran during the 1976 Olympics as well. Both of the photos depicted her long jumping (only one of the five events she competed in as part of the pentathlon) with her legs split apart and her long hair flying out behind her. The angle at which the photos were taken produced a sexualized image (CP 1976, 47; CP 1976, 1). The coverage of Diane Jones in *The Globe and Mail* presented her more as Canada's "girl next door" than as one of its national heroes.

Silken Laumann on the other hand seemed to achieve national hero status through her actions in Olympic competition rather than on the basis of her looks or love life. Laumann entered the Olympic scene in 1984 at the Los Angeles games where she won a medal in double sculls along side her sister. However, she did not become a star until 1992 in Barcelona when she was able to win a bronze in the single skulls just a few months after a terrible rowing accident required her to have multiple surgeries on her leg. The Canadian press described how she had to use crutches to get in her boat on the day of the rowing finals (Jollimore 1992). The injury made her an underdog and when she won she was instantly labeled a national hero. She later went on to win a silver medal in 1996, her last Olympics.

The articles covering her in the 1992 and 1996 Olympics mentioned her “fabulous gum-displaying grin,” but that was as far as they went in terms of referring to her physical appearance (Globe and Mail 1996, C7). There were also passing references to her boyfriend in two of the ten articles written about her during the 1992 and 1996 Olympics, but nothing as in depth as the reports on Diane Jones’ love life (Brunt 1992; Reporter 1996, C1). Laumann was also directly labeled a “national heroine” and a representative of the “true Canadian Olympic spirit” (Jollimore 1992b; Jollimore 1992a). Despite her being heralded as a national hero, it should be noted that Laumann’s rise to fame came through her depiction as a tragic victim, which can be interpreted as an effort to emphasize her frailty (one of the elements of the traditional category described in chapter one). The drama of her injury and comeback are what initially propelled her to hero status as there were other women who won medals, but did not receive the same status or amounts of attention as Laumann.

The comparison of articles covering Diane Jones with those covering Silken Laumann help to illustrate the type of changes that have occurred over time. While the articles collected and analyzed show that coverage of women participants in the Olympics is still often biased, the case of Silken Laumann shows that women in Canada can rise to national hero status through their success in sport. Women can bring pride and glory to a “nation” through their achievements at the Olympics rather than through their representation of Canadian feminine ideals. However, it is important to note that the articles on Silken Laumann still mentioned that she had a boyfriend and a nice smile, and depicted her as a tragic victim. These can be interpreted as ways of feminizing her and

making sure she is socially acceptable. Despite these less obvious efforts, Silken Laumann's case still shows that some change occurred.

A third case that further illustrates that change has occurred but biases remain is the gold medal performance of Carol Huynh at the 2008 Olympics in women's wrestling. Gold medals are rare for most countries, including Canada, yet there were only four articles published about women's wrestling during the 2008 Olympic coverage. The gold medalist, Carol Huynh, was given the status of national hero for her gold medal win, but there were also significant efforts expended to feminize her and the other women wrestlers. Huynh is ethnically Chinese and from a small town in British Columbia. Those factors combined with her participation in a combative, masculine sport such as wrestling make her a contradiction to traditional Canadian nationalism. However, the articles written about Huynh emphasized things such as her parents (situating her as a daughter within a family system), her Chinese roots (frames her as an 'other,' not 'really Canadian') and described her as emotional (a traditional feminine characteristic) (Maki 2008, S5). These factors combined with the relatively small amount of media coverage devoted to the gold medalist show that even though Huynh is a national hero who brought glory to the Canadian nation with her win, she is still not completely acceptable. Despite these efforts to frame Huynh in more acceptable ways, the articles from *The Globe and Mail* labeled an ethnically Chinese woman wrestler as a national hero, which is indicative of some degree of change.

India

In India, nationalism tends to be centered on male power (Derne 2000, 238). Indian nationalism is closely connected with Hinduism, often considered its national religion. More specifically, the Hindu home is a central part of Indian nationalism, and women are viewed as the primary symbols of the Hindu home (Derne 2000, 244). A study conducted in 1987 helped to reveal nationalist expectations of women in India. First, Indian women are expected to stay at home rather than engage in any wage labor outside the home (Derne 2000, 242). Having women stay at home serves to “protect” (i.e. control) women’s sexuality through limiting their contact with outsiders. Controlling women’s sexuality allows them to be utilized as biological reproducers of the nation as explained by Nira Yuval-Davis (Yuval-Davis 1997). Expecting women to remain at home was even framed as patriotic by male leaders such as Gandhi, who led the *swadeshi* movement. This movement encouraged Indians to boycott British products in favor of Indian products. It specifically encouraged women to produce “Indian-made” products at home, reinforcing the idea that a woman’s place is in the home (Derne 2000, 243). Women are also encouraged to remain at home, or to return to the home in order to give jobs they would otherwise hold to unemployed men (Derne 2000, 244). This patriotic act is seen something that will help to build and strengthen the nation.

Partha Chatterjee’s book published in 1993 helps to strengthen this idea that within Indian nationalism, women are the primary symbols of the home and the home is a key site for protecting national culture (Chatterjee 1993, 126). “The home was the principal site for expressing the spiritual quality of the national culture, and women must take the main responsibility for protecting and nurturing this quality” (Chatterjee 1993,

126). Chatterjee goes on to explain the use of an “inner/outer” dichotomy within Indian culture in which men were able to conform to Western norms in the outer realm (modernization of commerce/trade, government practices, etc.) without the risk of losing India’s national identity which was protected in the inner realm, where women were kept. Chatterjee continues to agree with Derne’s findings in that further signs of women’s femininity are marked in their dress, eating habits, social demeanor (submissive and obedient to men, modest) and religiosity (Chatterjee 1993, 130).

Men interviewed as part of the Derne study explained that Indian women’s obedience and submissiveness were what made them authentically “Indian” (Derne 2000, 249). Furthermore it was revealed that Indian women are valued for their modesty. Actresses in the Indian film industry are a good example of this expectation. Those who are unwilling to expose themselves are portrayed as very “Indian” while those that are more willing are portrayed as more western and modern (Derne 2000, 251). Finally, Indian women are encouraged to be traditional in their appearance while it is acceptable for Indian men to look more modern. The 1987 study also revealed that Indian men preferred woman who wore saris and salwar kamizes, more traditional styles of dress, to those who dressed in western attire (Derne 2000, 245). They considered women who dressed traditionally to be more “Indian” as well. The 1987 study concluded that there were three commonalities of all Indian nationalisms. First, all focus on controlling bodies, both men’s and women’s. Second, men protect their identity by emphasizing an oppressive Hinduism that subordinates women. Third, men handle their anxiety about modernity through emphasizing a gender identity which reconstitutes traditional differences between men and women (i.e. women are traditional and stay at home and

men are modern and go outside to work) (Derne 2000, 253-254). It is this context of nationalism to which the articles collected and analyzed about women Olympians from India were compared. The nationalism described above was the general baseline used to determine whether or not Indian nationalism changed as a result of the increase in Indian women's participation in sport.

India has sent far lower numbers of women to the Olympics than Canada, but the overall size of its Olympic contingents have also been significantly smaller. However the number of women and the percentage of the contingent made up of women has risen more steadily than in Canada (see figure 3 and 4). India sent no women to the 1976 games in Montreal, but unlike Canada it has not participated in any Olympic boycotts. However, the number of women India sent to the Olympics in 1980 is inflated due to the absence of many boycotting countries at the Moscow games. The boycott allowed India's women's field hockey team to participate in the Olympics which added an additional sixteen women to the Olympic contingent. Otherwise, India would have only sent two women to the games. Aside from that irregularity, the data shows that India has sent a significantly higher number (and percentage) of women to the games beginning in the year 2000. This data helps to establish that India has also experienced an increase in women's participation in sport at the state level.

Figure 3 Number of women Summer Olympians from India: 1972-2008

*no women competed in 1976

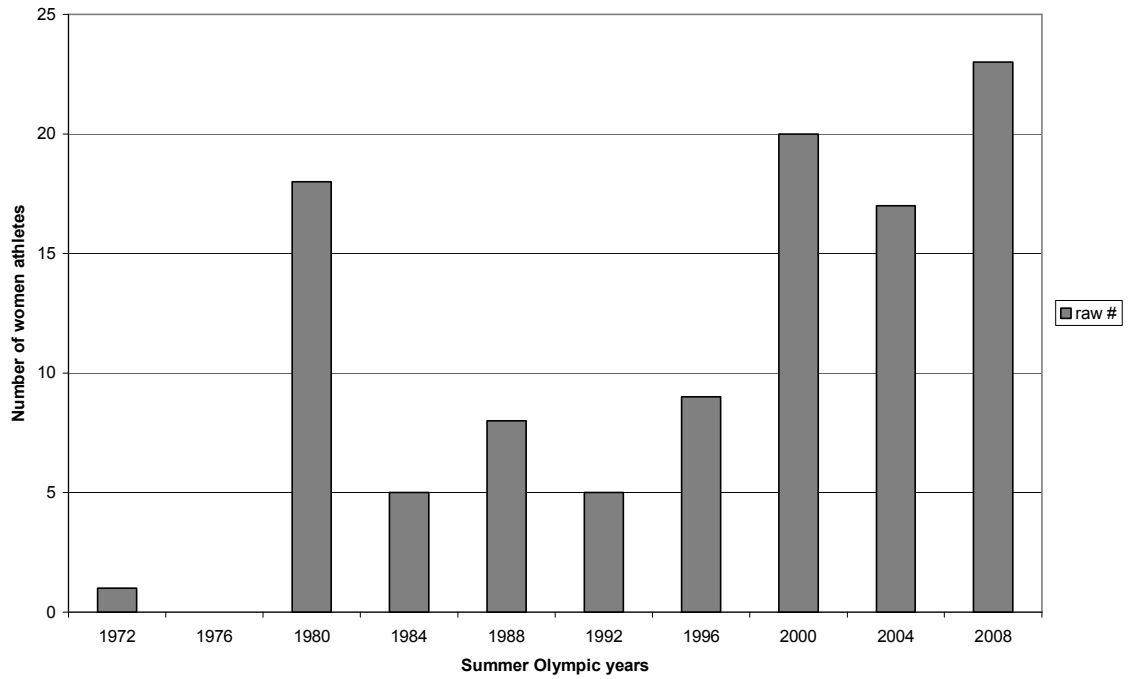
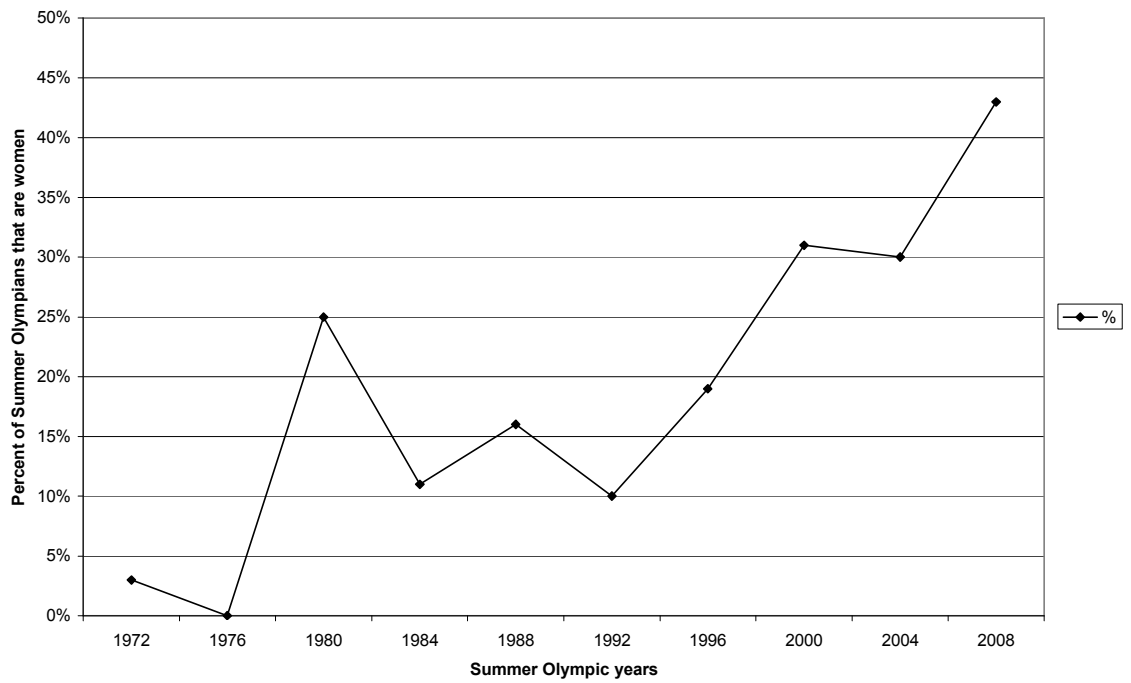


Figure 4 Percent of India's Summer Olympians that are women: 1972-2008



The source for the articles from India is the *Times of India*. This national daily newspaper is the largest circulating English-language newspaper in India. It was chosen over other leading English-language newspapers such as the *Hindustan Times* due to its larger circulation numbers. The *Times of India* has also been existence much longer than most other Indian newspapers as it began during the nineteenth century British colonial occupation while most others began during the twentieth century Indian independence movement.

The articles collected from *The Times of India* were classified as traditional, non-traditional or neutral, just as those from Canada were. Traditional articles were often classified as such for emphasizing the family connections and frailty (both physical and emotional) of Indian women athletes. For example the article titled “Anju looks for one big leap in Beijing” assesses Anju Bobby George’s chances of winning a medal in the women’s long jump event in Beijing. She is considered one of the most internationally successful athletes in India’s athletic history, yet this article implies that she is too old to have any real chance and also includes references to her husband (Hari Hara Nandan 2008). It emphasizes her physical frailty and affirms her heterosexuality by including references to her husband.

In contrast the article titled “Malleswari, Chanu are in medal zone” was classified as non-traditional. This article touted Malleswari and Chanu, both women weightlifters representing India at the 2000 Olympics, as India’s best ever hopes to win an individual medal. The two women are given far more coverage within the article than the man weightlifter, who is only briefly mentioned in the article. Furthermore the article does

not mention either woman's family or focus on their frailty by describing injuries or emotional breakdowns (UNI 2000, 21).

The neutral category includes articles such as “Zenia should be given the exposure” (Cresto 1996, 26). This article argues that a young track athlete should be chosen as a member of a women's relay team in order to gain more international experience for the future (Cresto 1996, 26). It does refer to her by her first name a few times in the article, but other than that, does not include any traditional elements, allowing it to be classified as neutral.

Table 2

The Times of India: Articles on Women Olympians (1972-2008)										
	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
Traditional	3	N/A	13	9	13	5	4	3	5	5
Non-traditional	1	N/A	1	9	2	6	3	15	3	3
Neutral	0	N/A	9	4	12	10	4	2	1	1
Total	4	N/A	23	22	27	21	11	20	9	9
Percent of articles non-traditional	25.00%	N/A	4.35%	40.91%	7.41%	28.57%	27.27%	75.00%	33.33%	33.33%

As with Canada there is no real pattern that emerges from the articles gathered and categorized. The exceptionally low number of total articles written about Indian women in the Olympics in 1972 stands out, which allows the one non-traditional article to skew the percentage of non-traditional articles for that year. The most prominent characteristics of the articles gathered are two spikes in the percentage of non-traditional articles in 1984 and 2000. These spikes were caused by the emergence of two women Olympians who were labeled as national heroes due to their success at the Olympics, P.T.

Usha the sprinter and Karnam Malleswari the weightlifter. P.T. Usha missed out on winning a bronze medal by 1/100th of a second at the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984. While she did not win a medal her performance was good enough for her to be labeled a national hero according to the articles gathered from the *Times of India*. Karnam Malleswari was the first Indian to win an individual medal at the Olympics, man or woman, when she won a bronze medal at the Sydney Olympics in 2000. This achievement catapulted her to national hero status as well.

Unlike Canada, who had famous women athletes in the 1970s who were equally as famous for their physical appearance and other feminine characteristics as for their athletic achievements, India had two women who were labeled national heroes for their athletic achievements first. As mentioned earlier, P.T. Usha nearly won a bronze in Los Angeles in 1984 and represented India in every Summer Olympics from 1980 to 1996. The articles collected about her called her the greatest Indian woman athlete of all time (Agencies 2000, 17) as well as gave her several nicknames such as the “Golden girl of Asia” (Nasci 1988, IV) and the “Payolli Express” (referring to the town of her birth) (PTI 1996, 22). One article interviewed the greatest Indian Olympic athletes of all time to get their views on why India always seemed to under perform at the Olympics. P.T. Usha was the lone woman interviewed in the article along with other male Olympic greats (Rego 1992, 3). Clearly she is considered a national hero and celebrity. Interestingly, Usha rarely had her physical appearance or personal life mentioned in any of the articles. Only one article out of fifty-one in which she was mentioned referred to her husband (The Times of India News Service 1996, 24). In that article it did not refer to him by name, it only mentioned that she was married. Her physical appearance was never

mentioned yet many photos of her in action or simple head shots often accompanied the articles written about her over the years. She was generally treated differently from the other Indian women athletes because she was labeled a national hero.

Another woman who achieved national hero status in a sport that challenges Indian feminine ideals even more than track and field was Karnam Malleswari. As a bronze medal winner at the 2000 Sydney Olympics she received a significant amount of media coverage, yet not nearly as much as P.T. Usha. This can be partly explained by the much shorter span of her Olympic weightlifting career (only one Olympics compared to Usha's five). However, Malleswari's husband and family were more heavily emphasized than Usha's. One article actually described her husband as "holding her close" as they exited an airplane from Sydney where she was greeted by fans to welcome her home (Ananthanarayanan 2000, 22). Most of the articles celebrated Malleswari's medal, but seemed to try and prove that male athlete's performances at the 2000 Olympics were just as important. In a preview of India's medal chances for the 2000 Olympics, one article devoted only two paragraphs to the two women weightlifters, Malleswari and Chanu, who both were serious medal contenders while it devoted five paragraphs to the lone male weightlifter representing India who according to the article would be very satisfied just to finish in the top eight (UNI 2000, 17). Another article claimed, "So what does Malli's [Malleswari] medal mean to India? Nothing, perhaps..." (Srivatsa 2000, 5). The article then goes on to extol the performances of several male boxers who only came close to winning a medal. It also claimed that Malleswari got so caught up in the excitement of winning a medal that she announced her retirement then later changed her

mind (Srivatsa 2000, 5). This inclusion helped to frame her as a typical overly emotional woman. In short, this particular article sought to feminize and discredit her performance.

Even though Malleswari's Olympic career was fairly short, she was not interviewed to get her view on Indian sports during later Olympics the way P.T. Usha was after her retirement. This seems particularly strange given that she actually won a medal and Usha did not. It seems that the even though newspaper articles did describe her as a national hero, she was not fully embraced in the same way as P.T. Usha. Most likely this stemmed from her participation in weightlifting, a sport that is generally viewed as being very masculine, and therefore inappropriate for women.

The articles collected and coded from the *Times of India* do not form into any discernible time-series pattern. However the cases of P.T. Usha and Karnam Malleswari stand out as examples of how the application of the label and status of national hero has changed. Between 1972 and 2008 India went from never having women national sporting heroes to having two. P.T. Usha seemed to be favored over Malleswari which is perhaps due to track being viewed as less masculine than weightlifting. Even today, P.T. Usha has her own website (www.ptusha.com) while Malleswari does not. Despite the difference between the coverage and treatment of the two women, their cases provide some evidence that the increase in women's sport participation has perhaps changed the way the label and status of national hero is applied in India.

Chapter Four

Discussions

Analysis of Results

The articles written about women Olympians between 1972 and 2008 in Canada and India did not demonstrate clear, linear change in how women athletes are covered. However, the cases in which the label national hero was applied seem to indicate that there has been some change in how the label and status of national hero has been applied over time. Articles written about Canadian women Olympians did show different tendencies over time. The earlier articles from the 1970s tended to emphasize physical appearance more often than articles written later. An example is the type of articles written about Diane Jones, which frequently commented on her attractive physical appearance.

The articles from the 1980s, 1990s, and even into the twenty-first century did not describe women athletes' physical appearances very often, or in the same way, but they tended to focus on women's frailty, both physically and mentally. This was often done by emphasizing women's physical injuries, as was the case with Silken Laumann, or by depicting them as overly emotional or buckling under pressure. Articles frequently included descriptions of women athletes crying after either victory or defeat, or even in interviews with the media (Blair 2008b, S4). Canadian articles also continued to focus on women athletes' personal lives, especially their heterosexual relationships (Blair 2008a,

S4). If there were no known heterosexual relationships to include as was the case with Carol Huynh, then the writer might refer to a woman's parents instead (Maki 2008, S5). A good example of this is an article which reported on Susan Natrass' performance in a shooting event at the 2008 Olympics (Blatchford 2008, S5). It focused on her family as her support system that enabled her to have such a long Olympic career (she was not married; therefore her parents and siblings were substituted for a heterosexual relationship) (Blatchford 2008, S5). The article also described how apologetic and emotional Natrass was after a poor performance that put her out of medal contention (Blatchford 2008, S5). Though the article was praising the shooting career of Natrass, it also found ways to feminize her as well. This is a classic example of the ways in which the more recent articles that covered Canadian women in the Olympics were biased.

The comparison of articles written about Diane Jones with those about Silken Laumann and Carol Huynh helps to illustrate the change in coverage of women athletes over time. This comparison demonstrates that Canada moved from treating its top women athletes as sex objects to treating them more like national heroes, although the women still had to be made socially acceptable. The coverage of Silken Laumann still contained some traditional elements, such as mentioning her boyfriend (and later husband) to show her heterosexuality, but over all it did not focus on her physical appearance, and instead emphasized her strong work ethic and prowess in the sport of rowing. Carol Huynh competed in an even more masculine sport than rowing, women's wrestling, and therefore had fewer articles written about her, while those that were written emphasized her role as a daughter, cast her as emotional, and sought to prove that women wrestlers in general were indeed feminine.

India's starting point in terms of women participating in the Olympics was much different from Canada's in this study. The 1972 Olympics was the first time an Indian woman had ever competed. The 1972 Indian Olympic contingent included just one woman who received sparse coverage (just four articles) from *The Times of India*. However, from 1972 to 2000 India went from just one woman participating to labeling a woman wrestler, Karnam Malleswari, one of its national sporting heroes. Following the 2000 Sydney Olympics, there continued to be an increase in Indian women's participation at the Olympics through the 2008 Games.

In contrast to Canada the articles from India rarely commented on or described a woman's physical appearance at any point in the time-series. This most likely is due to the generally more conservative nature of Indian culture, which highly values women's modesty making it inappropriate for a newspaper article to comment on such a subject. The only time physical appearance was referred to, was when the physiques of Indian women were contrasted with those of Eastern European women to illustrate the femininity of Indian women or masculinity of Eastern European women. One article discussing women's hockey commented that "Our girls may be petite compared to some of the East European women players who are built like battleships. But they have guts, especially our backs [a position on a hockey team, not the body part]..." (Datta 1980, 9).

Instead of focusing a great deal on physical appearance or attractiveness the articles tended to rely on other devices such as being overly critical of women athletes and emphasizing their frailty and family ties. An article reviewing the Indian women's hockey team's opening round victory against Austria at the 1980 Olympics provides a good example of being overly critical. The writer described the match as "a winning start

alright, but one that left much to be desired” (Datta 1980, 11). The article even went so far as to attribute the scoring of the first goal by the Indian women’s team to the arrival of the men’s team in the stadium (Datta 1980, 11). He implied that the arrival of the men’s team seven minutes into the match was so inspiring that it actually caused the women to immediately score a goal (Datta 1980, 11). A very recent article previewing the women’s archery team’s medal chances for the 2008 Beijing Games focused on the difficulties the “girls” (infantilization) had holding up under pressure both from abroad and at home from fellow Indians (Bhaduri 2008). Other articles also from the 2008 Olympics also emphasized the husbands of the women competing, thereby establishing their heterosexuality (Ratnakar 2008; Hari Hara Nandan 2008; Bose 2008).

Despite these efforts to feminize and downgrade the performances of women athletes representing India at the Olympics, P.T. Usha the track star and Karnam Malleswari the weightlifter were both labeled national heroes. The fact that India labeled a female weightlifter as a national hero helps to illustrate that change has taken place. However, there were some key differences made between Usha and Malleswari. Usha received more media coverage and was generally more celebrated, while Malleswari was connected with controversies. She was accused by an Indian magazine of drinking too much beer and being unfit shortly before the 2000 Olympics (Agencies 2000, 1) and later it was reported that she accused Indian weightlifting officials of blackmailing her to retire following her bronze medal win in Sydney (PTI 2000, 19). Malleswari’s personal life was also emphasized more than Usha’s. One article referred to her husband, parents and in-laws situating her as a wife, daughter and daughter-in-law, which firmly established her heterosexuality (Ananthanarayanan 2000, 22). This favoring of P.T. Usha is not

entirely logical considering Malleswari actually won a medal while Usha only came very close. The favoritism suggests that P.T. Usha as a track star may have been more socially acceptable, while Karnam Malleswari as a weightlifter was too masculine. Another possible factor in explaining the preference is the length of each athlete's career, with Malleswari only competing in one Olympics and Usha competing in five. Even though Malleswari was labeled a national hero by articles from *The Times of India* she was not treated the same as Usha, perhaps due to the fact that she competed in a much more masculine sport.

When comparing the two cases it appears that both demonstrated some form of change. Articles from Canada went from emphasizing the heterosexuality and physical attractiveness of successful women athletes such as Diane Jones to labeling victorious women athletes such as Silken Laumann and Carol Huynh as national heroes. However, the coverage of these women national sports heroes still attempted to insure that they were socially acceptable. India went from having only one woman compete in the Olympics to having just under 45% of its 2008 Olympic contingent made up of women. The newspaper coverage of these women showed some change over time as well. The coverage moved from being excessively critical of women athletes to a willingness to label a woman weightlifter a national hero. Despite labeling Karnam Malleswari, the medal-winning weightlifter, a national hero, the articles still sought to feminize her in order to make her more socially acceptable. Neither case shows complete and total transformation from the beginning of the time-series to the end. However, both demonstrate some degree of change in the way the label national hero is applied.

Conclusions

The articles about women athletes from Canada and India that were analyzed demonstrate that the application of the label or status of national hero has changed over time in each case. There were women who were labeled national heroes in both Canada and India that would not have been so at the beginning of the time-series in this study due to the masculine nature of the sport in which they competed (women were not allowed to compete in many of the sports they compete in today in the 1970s) or because they did not represent the feminine ideals of society. Carol Huynh was ethnically Chinese, unmarried and competed in wrestling, a profile that is not compatible with the roles of women in Canadian nationalism as described in chapter three. “Real Canadian women” were described as white, heterosexual and responsible for being biological reproducers of the nation and transmitters of culture (specifically Christian, Northern European culture) (Lee and Cardinal 1998, 215; Ng 2005, 5). Karnam Malleswari spent significant amounts of time outside the home training and competing while wearing a tight (and what many would consider immodest) weightlifting uniform. She competed in a sport that is associated with power and aggression rather than submissiveness. This image flies in the face of the ideal nationalist Indian woman described in chapter three. Despite the contradictions presented by these women, national attitudes (represented by national newspapers), and therefore nationalism itself in both Canada and India changed enough to allow these women to be labeled national heroes for their performances while representing their nations at the Olympics. However this change cannot be characterized as drastic because as the analysis shows, women athletes are still subject to traditional media coverage that seeks to feminize them by situating them in a family system,

excessively criticizing their performances, depicting them as frail and emotional, and emphasizing their physical appearance (though less often now than in earlier decades).

Because there was a discernible change in the way the label or status of national hero was applied, this means that Indian nationalism and Canadian nationalism was affected by the increase in participation of women in sports. As stated in chapter one, the application of the label or status of national hero was used here as a conceptual representation of nationalism and national newspapers were used as popular cultural archives to help determine a change in national attitude. Canadian nationalism and Indian nationalism became willing to accept women competing in masculine sports as national heroes, who are then used as totems of the nation. Again, these women were not unconditionally accepted, but had to be feminized in order to serve as national totems. However, the fact that they were labeled national heroes near the end of the time-series and the absence of similarly labeled women athletes near the beginning of the time-series indicates that the increase of women's participation in sports in both Canada and India affected Canadian nationalism and Indian nationalism.

It is important to remember that a key catalyst to this change in Indian and Canadian nationalism is globalization. This research is mostly concerned with how globalization via global governance played a role in affecting these changes in nationalisms. The establishment of a working group on Women and Sport by the IOC in 1995 alone seemed to have significant impact. Between 1992 and 1996 the percentage of the Olympic contingent made up of women went from under 40% to 50% in Canada and 10% to just below 20% in India. However, there are other channels through which globalization has affected nationalisms such as providing for greater ease of movement of

people and greater interconnectedness in many spheres (such as interpersonal communication, economic, political, etc.). While these other ways in which globalization has affected nationalism is outside the scope of this research it is important to note that there may be many processes of globalization involved in changing nationalisms.

Future Research

At this point there is still very little research that has been done on this topic. As mentioned earlier, this gap in IR literature is acknowledged by scholars such as Harris and Humberstone (Harris and Humberstone 2004). Outside of my own exploratory research there have only been three widely published studies on the topic of gender, sport and nationalism. These three studies focus on China, Australia and the U.S. respectively. Obviously there is still a great deal of unexplored territory and opportunity for future research within this topic. However, there are some key difficulties facing a researcher associated with this topic. First, nationalism is an abstract and varied concept that is difficult to measure or capture. Therefore it would be beneficial for the researcher to look at studies (no matter how seemingly unrelated) involving nationalism in order to observe how other scholars deal with this. This research used media to try and measure nationalism. Another possibility may be the use of survey research, where information or opinions can be directly gathered from those who identify themselves as members of a particular nation. Second, the study of gender, sport and nationalism lends itself to a multi-disciplinary approach which can often be difficult as researchers are generally trained in only one discipline. However, this too may also be overcome by attempting to use general research methods that are not terribly specific to only one discipline.

Future research on this topic may take the following three suggestions into consideration. First, it may be helpful to study women participating in a sport that is an integral part of a national culture in order to gauge how the “nation” reacts. Examples might be women playing ice hockey in Canada or women playing cricket in India. The “national sport” may not be an Olympic sport as is the case with U.S. football, Indian cricket or Australian rugby. Or the Olympics may not be the highest level at which “nations” compete against one another as it is with soccer in which the World Cup is the highest level. Examining gender, sport and nationalism in this way allows for the researcher to observe and study what occurs when women directly engage in an activity that is used to define hegemonic masculinity within a nation (Harris and Humberstone 2004, 52).

Another suggestion for future research is to study countries that do not tend to have diverse and wide reaching success in international sports. If the research was focusing on the Olympics, it might focus on countries that do not tend to win many medals. This may allow a researcher to observe how a “nation” reacts to a winner in one type of sport compared to with a winner in another type of sport. For example, it may be useful to be able to compare a medal winning woman gymnast with a medal winning woman discus thrower.

Finally, if future researchers choose to use countries or states as the unit of analysis for their research, he or she should consider focusing on the Brazilian national women’s soccer team. Brazil’s women’s soccer or football team has had a significant amount of recent international success in events such as the World Cup, Pan-American Games and the Olympics. In fact they are now widely considered one of the top two

women's teams in the world along side the United States. Soccer has been identified as an important part of Brazilian nationalism. Male soccer stars are most certainly held up as national heroes in Brazil. Women, on the other hand have not historically been welcome to participate in this national sport and have faced many obstacles to their participation. It would be interesting to analyze how the internationally successful Brazilian women's team is being received by the "nation" of Brazil at this juncture.

No matter what methods researchers use to study this topic, it is important that it continue to be studied. The study of gender, sport and nationalism has the ability to illuminate gender inequities in new ways, which allow it to serve as one small piece in the continuing journey towards gender equity as a whole.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Articles classified as traditional from *The Globe and Mail* (Canada)

{{513 Cauz, Louis 1972; }}
{{533 Cauz, Louis 1972; }}
{{537 Cauz, Louis 1972; }}
{{535 CP 1972; }}
{{524 O'Brien 1972; }}
{{521 Staff 1972; }}
{{520 UPI 1972; }}
{{462 AP 1976; }}
{{433 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{445 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{455 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{457 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{667 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{669 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{670 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{672 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{438 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{443 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{446 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{452 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{493 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{668 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{666 Cleroux, Richard 1976; }}
{{432 CP 1976; }}
{{448 CP 1976; }}
{{463 CP 1976; }}
{{464 CP 1976; }}
{{657 CP 1976; }}
{{658 CP 1976; }}
{{674 CP 1976; }}
{{684 CP 1976; }}
{{687 CP 1976; }}
{{471 Fairbanks, Lee 1976; }}
{{467 Kidd, Bruce 1976; }}
{{468 Marin, Lawrence 1976; }}
{{675 Martin, Lawrence 1976; }}
{{439 McCabe, Nora 1976; }}
{{472 McCabe, Nora 1976; }}

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{{434 Reuter 1976; }}
{{436 Sparrow, Gerry 1976; }}
{{450 Sparrow, Gerry 1976; }}
{{447 Staff 1976; }}
{{460 Staff 1976; }}
{{682 Staff 1976; }}
{{449 Waring, Edward 1976; }}
{{465 York, Marty 1976; }}
{{466 York, Marty 1976; }}
{{470 York, Marty 1976; }}
{{486 York, Marty 1976; }}
{{493 Christie, James 1976;}}
{{454 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{487 Christie, James 1976;}}
{{767 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{815 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{760 Cp 1984; }}
{{805 Cp 1984; }}
{{811 Cp 1984; }}
{{824 Creighton,Judy 1984; }}
{{763 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{774 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{800 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{806 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{757 Frayne,Trent 1984; }}
{{769 Frayne,Trent 1984; }}
{{784 Frayne,Trent 1984; }}
{{820 Frayne,Trent 1984; }}
{{821 Frayne,Trent 1984; }}
{{759 Gam 1984; }}
{{778 Gam 1984; }}
{{779 Gam 1984; }}
{{799 Gam 1984; }}
{{817 Hopkins,Ross 1984; }}
{{801 Millson,Larry 1984; }}
{{825 Millson,Larry 1984; }}
{{876 Campbell,Murray 1988; }}
{{894 Campbell,Murray 1988; }}
{{874 Christie,James 1988; }}
{{886 Cp 1988; }}

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{{875 Gam 1988; }}
{{881 Harrison,Douglas 1988; }}
{{882 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{884 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{890 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{893 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{903 Brunt,Stephen 1992; }}
{{900 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{912 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{915 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{916 Davidson,James 1992; }}
{{902 Jollimore,Mary 1992; }}
{{898 MacLEOD,STEVE 1992; }}
{{897 Young,Patricia 1992; }}
{{958 Agency,Reuters News 1996; }}
{{950 Globe,JAN WONG The 1996; }}
{{930 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{936 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{960 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{961 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{925 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{927 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{938 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{953 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{937 Press,Canadian 1996; }}
{{926 Press,DOUG SMITH Canadian 1996; }}
{{933 Press,DOUG SMITH Canadian 1996; }}
{{920 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{921 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{934 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{946 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{952 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{964 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{969 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{923 Reporter,NEIL A.CAMPBELL Sport 1996; }}
{{970 Campbell,Murray 2000; }}
{{980 Laumann,Silken 2000; }}
{{978 Maki,Allan 2000; }}
{{998 Maki,Allan 2000; }}
{{973 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}

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{{975 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{979 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{985 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{988 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{994 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{995 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{997 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{981 Young,Patricia 2000; }}
{{1007 Blatchford,Christie 2004; }}
{{1010 Blatchford,Christie 2004; }}
{{1018 Blatchford,Christie 2004; }}
{{1020 Blatchford,Christie 2004; }}
{{1004 Brunt,Stephen 2004; }}
{{1006 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1008 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1011 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1021 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1022 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{999 Maki,Allan 2004; }}
{{1005 Maki,Allan 2004; }}
{{1024 Maki,Allan 2004; }}
{{1016 Scott,Julie 2004; }}
{{1002 Smith,Beverley 2004; }}
{{1003 Smith,Beverley 2004; }}
{{1014 Smith,Beverley 2004; }}
{{1012 Smith,Beverley 2004; }}
{{1033 Agrell,Siri 2008; }}
{{1045 Blair,Jeff 2008; }}
{{1030 Blatchford,,Christie 2008; }}
{{1043 Blatchford,,Christie 2008; }}
{{1029 Christie,James 2008; }}
{{1047 Christie,James 2008; }}
{{1032 Ewing,Lori 2008; }}
{{1055 Levitz,Stephanie 2008; }}
{{1037 Maki,Allan 2008; }}
{{1054 Mickleburgh,Rod 2008; }}
{{1048 Sekeres,Matthew 2008; }}
{{1044 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}
{{1053 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}

Continued Appendix A

{{1040 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}

Appendix B

Articles classified as non-traditional from *The Globe and Mail* (Canada)

{{1041 Blair,Jeff 2008; }}
{{1038 Cash,KATE HAMMER AND MATTHEW SEKERES, Compiled by Rick 2008;
}}
{{1051 Christie,James 2008; }}
{{1025 Mickleburgh,Rod 2008; }}
{{1035 Mickleburgh,Rod 2008; }}
{{1027 Sekeres,Matthew 2008; }}
{{1028 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}
{{1039 Blair,Jeff 2008; }}
{{1009 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1013 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1019 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1001 Maki,Allan 2004; }}
{{1017 Smith,Beverley 2004; }}
{{1015 Spencer,Donna 2004; }}
{{996 Brunt,Stephen 2000; }}
{{993 Laumann,Silken 2000; }}
{{987 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{992 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{928 Globe,JAN WONG The 1996; }}
{{924 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{935 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{944 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{949 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{963 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{967 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{919 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{968 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{965 Globe,STEPHEN BRUNT The 1996; }}
{{922 Reporter,JAMES CHRISTIE Sport 1996; }}
{{901 Beacon,Bill 1992; }}
{{906 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{914 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{896 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{899 Gam 1992; }}
{{895 Jollimore,Mary 1992; }}
{{913 Jollimore,Mary 1992; }}
{{917 Jollimore,Mary 1992; }}

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{{892 Campbell,Murray 1988; }}
{{891 McCABE,NORA 1988; }}
{{761 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{813 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{814 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{758 Gam 1984; }}
{{826 Gam 1984; }}
{{676 Anonymous 1976; }}
{{444 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{663 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{459 CP 1976; }}
{{659 CP 1976; }}
{{689 Stall, Robert 1976; }}
{{454 Blatchford, Christie 1976; }}
{{487 Christie, James 1976;}}
{{519 AP 1972; }}
{{527 Cauz, Louis 1972; }}
{{525 CP 1972; }}
{{528 CP 1972; }}

Appendix C

Articles classified as neutral from *The Globe and Mail* (Canada)

{{514 Cauz, Louis 1972; }}
{{532 CP 1972; }}
{{440 Anonymous 1976; }}
{{660 Anonymous 1976; }}
{{458 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{491 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{435 CP 1976; }}
{{437 CP 1976; }}
{{442 CP 1976; }}
{{451 CP 1976; }}
{{461 CP 1976; }}
{{662 CP 1976; }}
{{673 CP 1976; }}
{{685 CP 1976; }}
{{469 Martin, Lawrence 1976; }}
{{671 Martin, Lawrence 1976; }}
{{505 Sufrin, Mel 1976; }}
{{686 Svoroda, Chuck 1976; }}
{{488 Waring, Edward 1976; }}
{{490 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{491 Christie, James 1976; }}
{{777 Ap 1984; }}
{{789 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{792 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{796 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{808 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{822 Christie,James 1984; }}
{{737 Cp 1984; }}
{{768 Cp 1984; }}
{{783 Cp 1984; }}
{{788 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{793 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{802 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{818 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{780 Fisher,Matthew 1984; }}
{{762 Gam 1984; }}
{{765 Gam 1984; }}

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{{775 Gam 1984; }}
{{781 Gam 1984; }}
{{787 Gam 1984; }}
{{795 Gam 1984; }}
{{797 Gam 1984; }}
{{819 Gam 1984; }}
{{823 McCABE,NORA 1984; }}
{{766 Millson,Larry 1984; }}
{{809 Upc 1984; }}
{{810 Upc 1984; }}
{{812 Upc 1984; }}
{{776 Upi 1984; }}
{{786 Upi 1984; }}
{{877 Ap 1988; }}
{{889 Campbell,Murray 1988; }}
{{883 Cp 1988; }}
{{888 Cp 1988; }}
{{880 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{887 Hynes,Mary 1988; }}
{{907 Brunt,Stephen 1992; }}
{{908 Brunt,Stephen 1992; }}
{{905 Christie,James 1992; }}
{{911 Cp 1992; }}
{{918 Davidson,James 1992; }}
{{910 Jollimore,Mary 1992; }}
{{904 MacLEOD,STEVE 1992; }}
{{943 Brunt,Stephen 1996; }}
{{931 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{945 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{951 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{957 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{962 Globe,MURRAY CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{932 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{966 Globe,NEIL A.CAMPBELL The 1996; }}
{{947 Globe,STEPHEN BRUNT The 1996; }}
{{956 Globe,STEPHEN BRUNT The 1996; }}
{{939 MURRAY CAMPBELL 1996; }}
{{941 Press,Associated 1996; }}
{{948 Press,Associated 1996; }}
{{940 Press,Canadian 1996; }}

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{{942 Press,Canadian 1996; }}
{{955 Press,Canadian 1996; }}
{{954 Press,DOUG SMITH Canadian 1996; }}
{{959 The Globe and Mail 1996; }}
{{976 Campbell,Murray 2000; }}
{{982 Campbell,Murray 2000; }}
{{984 Campbell,Murray 2000; }}
{{989 Laumann,Silken 2000; }}
{{991 Maki,Allan 2000; }}
{{974 Press,Canadian 2000; }}
{{983 Reuters 2000; }}
{{977 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{986 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{990 Smith,Beverley 2000; }}
{{1000 Christie,James 2004; }}
{{1026 Blair,Dawn Walton and Jeff 2008; }}
{{1042 Blair,Jeff 2008; }}
{{1049 Blair,Jeff 2008; }}
{{1031 Maki,,Allan 2008; }}
{{1050 Maki,Allan 2008; }}
{{1046 Mickleburgh,Rod 2008; }}
{{1034 Sekeres,Matthew 2008; }}
{{1036 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}
{{1052 Walton,Dawn 2008; }}

Appendix D

Articles classified as traditional from *The Times of India* (India)

{{220 de Sousa, Leyland 1971; }}
{{258 P.T.I. 1972; }}
{{260 U.P.I. 1972; }}
{{346 UNI 1980; }}
{{351 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{354 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{368 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{373 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{374 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{378 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{380 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{385 Staff Correspondant 1980; }}
{{388 Datta, K. 1980;}}
{{395 Datta, K. 1980;}}
{{365 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{352 Special Correspondant 1980; }}
{{265 UNI 1984; }}
{{273 Mellow, Melville de 1984; }}
{{290 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{320 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{338 Mehra, S. K. 1984; }}
{{342 PTI 1984; }}
{{298 The Times of India News Service 1984; }}
{{335 The Times of India News Service 1984; }}
{{343 UNI 1984; }}
{{407 Rajan, Sundar 1988; }}
{{410 UNI and PTI 1988; }}
{{573 Bhatia, Ranjit 1988; }}
{{581 Bhatia, Ranjit 1988; }}
{{584 Bhatia, Ranjit 1988; }}
{{574 Kaul, M.L. 1988; }}
{{577 Kaul, M.L. 1988; }}
{{588 Kaul, M.L. 1988; }}
{{583 Kaul, M.L. 1988; }}
{{575 PTI 1988; }}
{{582 PTI 1988; }}
{{585 PTI 1988; }}
{{578 The Times of India News Service 1988; }}

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{{611 Kapoor, Nidhi 1992; }}
{{595 Rajan, Sunder 1992; }}
{{591 Shukla, Ashish 1992; }}
{{599 Srivatsa, V. 1992; }}
{{608 Srivatsa, V. 1992; }}
{{627 Anonymous 1996; }}
{{628 The Times of India News Service 1996; }}
{{619 The Times of India News Service & Agencies 1996; }}
{{618 UNI 1996; }}
{{637 AP 2000; }}
{{651 Srivatsa, V. 2000; }}
{{650 The Times of India News Service 2000; }}
{{399 Chatterjee, Ashok 2004; }}
{{418 Koshie, Nihal 2004; }}
{{398 RAO, DEEPA 2004; }}
{{420 SHAH, PRERNA 2004; }}
{{400 SINGH, RUMA 2004; }}
{{709 Agrawal, Vandita 2008; }}
{{707 Bhaduri, Archiman 2008; }}
{{708 Bose, Saibal 2008; }}
{{706 Hari Hara Nandan 2008; }}
{{1058 Ratnakar, M. 2008; }}

Appendix E

Articles classified as non-traditional from *The Times of India* (India)

{{711 Sen,Ronojoy 2008; }}
{{1056 Anonymous 2008;}}
{{1057 Tanvi & Sapna Verma 2008;}}
{{417 Mallik,Chetan 2004; }}
{{419 SINGH,RUMA 2004; }}
{{424 Fernandez,Percy 2006; }}
{{638 Anonymous 2000; }}
{{647 Anonymous 2000; }}
{{635 Agencies 2000; }}
{{642 Agencies 2000; }}
{{646 Agencies 2000; }}
{{654 Ananthanarayanan, N. 2000; }}
{{641 PTI 2000; }}
{{644 PTI 2000; }}
{{645 PTI 2000; }}
{{655 PTI 2000; }}
{{632 UNI 2000; }}
{{636 UNI 2000; }}
{{639 UNI 2000; }}
{{649 UNI 2000; }}
{{652 UNI 2000; }}
{{616 Anonymous 1996; }}
{{614 PTI 1996; }}
{{626 PTI 1996; }}
{{597 PTI 1992; }}
{{602 PTI 1992; }}
{{603 PTI 1992; }}
{{606 PTI 1992; }}
{{598 Rego, Norbert 1992; }}
{{607 The Times of India News Service 1992; }}
{{405 PTI 1988; }}
{{589 Bhatia, Ranjit 1988; }}
{{274 PTI 1984; }}
{{282 PTI 1984; }}
{{284 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{296 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{313 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{344 Datta, K. 1984; }}

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{{274 PTI 1984; }}
{{341 PTI 1984; }}
{{329 UNI 1984; }}
{{383 PTI 1980; }}
{{239 P.T.I. 1972; }}

Appendix F

Articles classified as neutral from *The Times of India* (India)

{{256 Prabhu, K.N. 1972; }}
{{348 UNI 1980; }}
{{349 PTI 1980; }}
{{363 Staff Correspondant 1980; }}
{{377 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{380 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{387 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{394 Anonymous 1980; }}
{{390 AP and PTI 1980; }}
{{379 Datta, K. 1980; }}
{{272 PTI 1984; }}
{{297 Datta, K. 1984; }}
{{288 UNI 1984; }}
{{327 UNI 1984; }}
{{402 UNI 1988; }}
{{403 Anonymou 1988; }}
{{404 PTI 1988; }}
{{408 PTI 1988; }}
{{409 PTI 1988; }}
{{412 The Times of India News Service 1988; }}
{{406 The Times of India News Service 1988; }}
{{572 PTI 1988; }}
{{586 PTI 1988; }}
{{590 PTI 1988; }}
{{576 The Times of India News Service 1988; }}
{{579 The Times of India News Service 1988; }}
{{600 Crasto, John 1992; }}
{{612 Crasto, John 1992; }}
{{604 PTI 1992; }}
{{605 PTI 1992; }}
{{609 PTI 1992; }}
{{594 Shukla, Ashish 1992; }}
{{601 Srivatsa, V. 1992; }}
{{610 Srivatsa, V. 1992; }}
{{592 The Times of India News Service 1992; }}
{{593 The Times of India News Service 1992; }}
{{620 Agencies 1996; }}
{{615 Cresto, Darryl 1996; }}
{{625 Rajan, Sundar 1996; }}

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{{613 Staff Reporter 1996; }}
{{634 AP 2000; }}
{{653 PTI 2000; }}
{{401 Anonymous 2004; }}
{{710 Anonymous 2008; }}