
A NEVER ENDING STORY: WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE IN SKI JUMPING

by Annette R. Hoffman

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Courtesy of Women's Ski Jumping USA

Lindsey Van of the US winning the Ladies HS 100 in the 2009 FIS World Nordic Ski Jumping Championships in Liberec, Czech Republic. Van holds the North American women's record of 171 meters.

2009 was quite important for women's ski jumping: Not only did the first World Championships take place in this sport, but also a group of women ski jumpers filed a lawsuit against the Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games in Vancouver (VANOC) for the exclusion of their sport from the 2010 Olympic Winter Games. A year earlier the Canadian government supported by the Canadian Human Rights Commission had pledged to pressure the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to hold a ski jumping event for women.

Looking at the development of women's ski jumping is almost like reading a crime story. It is full of excitement and emotions, and it shows various up and downs in its history dating back to the nineteenth century. It also exemplifies the fact that gender discrimination in sport is still an issue in western countries in the twenty first century. A few years ago it seemed that women's ski jumping would be part of the 2010 Olympics. In 2004 Hofmann and Preuß conducted a study in which several female German elite ski jumpers were interviewed.¹ One question was about their future athletic goals. All of the interviewed athletes mentioned the participation in the Winter Olympics in 2010.

At that time people involved in women's ski jumping were sure

that it would become an Olympic event at the Vancouver Games. They were wrong. Ski jumping and nordic combined are presently the only winter sports in which only men are allowed to compete, although in May 2006 the International Ski Federation (FIS) voted 114 to 1 to recommend to the IOC that women should be allowed to jump in 2010. When the IOC Executive Board announced in November 2006 that despite the recommendation they would not include women's ski jumping in Vancouver, a dream was shattered. It was a dark day for the female ski jumping community and a setback in the fight forward in a sport in which women have been involved since the mid-nineteenth century.

This article will first relate some early examples of ski jumping women, then explore how women found their way into this male-dominated sport in Europe as well as in North America. The main question is, why do women have to struggle so much to get acknowledged in ski jumping? Why are they constantly confronted with new barriers – especially when it comes to competitions on an international level? Finally the question will be pursued as to why women ski jumpers did not make it into the Olympic program for Vancouver 2010.²

Early Examples of Women's Ski jumping

As in most sports, ski jumping's history has been clearly dominated by men. One of the first written sources on this sport goes back to 1796 in which the Dutch officer Cornelius de Jong describes the jumping exercises of Norwegian soldiers. The Norwegian Sondre Norheim became an early pioneer. He reached fame in 1860 when he jumped 30.5 meters. In 1866 the first official jumping competition took place.³ At that time there were only combined competitions: cross-country skiing and ski jumping. Not until 1883 did single jumping events exist.⁴ In Central Europe the first official ski-jumping event was organized in 1893 in Mürzzuschlag, Austria.⁵

Although the history of ski jumping has clearly been dominated by men, according to Von der Lippe (2001) in the second half of the nineteenth century there were some Norwegian women who jumped in competitions. Just as in skiing, Norwegian women were forerunners in ski jumping. In 1863, the Norwegian Ingrid Olsdatter Vestby became the first woman we know of to participate in a ski-jumping competition.⁶

She pushed off, and raced down to jump, took off, and flew until she landed, firmly, planted on her skis, past the point where many a brave lad had lost his balance earlier in the competition. The spectators roared their approval – the first "bravos" of the day. Their relief was great for they had never seen a girl jump on skis and they had been more than a little anxious as she flew over their heads.⁷

In 1896 a first unofficial national competition for women was organized by the Norwegian Asker Ski Club. In 1904 the Norwegian Hilda Stang jumped 14.5 meters. But in Germany, too,

early women ski jumpers can be found. In 1905 a female jumper in the Harz reached 15 meters.⁸ The journal *Der Winter* lists Ilse Marie Feustell in 1909,⁹ and Tim Ashburner mentioned in his *History on Ski Jumping* the Englishwoman Olive Hockin, who participated in 1911 at the British Ski Championships; she not only jumped very nicely, she also landed after 25 feet without falling.¹⁰

Around the same time Fräulein Engelbrecht from Munich and the Austrian Countess Paula Lamberg from Kitzbühel were active jumpers. Especially the latter caused a stir by competing with men. She is the best-known forerunner of female ski jumpers in middle Europe.

Paula Lamberg – the “Floating Baroness”

Countess Paula Lamberg, who in most English sources is called “Baroness”, descended from an old aristocratic family that had been in Kitzbühel since the sixteenth century. She herself was born there in 1887.¹¹ In the 1890s Kitzbühel’s history as an Austrian ski and winter sport resort had just started. Schloss Lebenberg, the home of the Lambergs, became the first hotel, and an important stimulus for the establishment of tourism in the region.

In 1904 the local winter sport club distributed free skis to the local boys, who soon discovered the joy of ski jumping.¹² The 20-year-old Countess joined these boys. Later on she was known as a skier as well, but according to a note in the *Kitzbüheler Winterlob*, at the beginning of her jumping years she was not even able to ski a turn. This means that after landing, she was forced to sit down to come to a stop.¹³

1910 was the year that most of Lamberg’s jumping results can be found in official documents. For instance on January 6, a jumping event took place at the new junior hill. Seventeen adults and a few boys participated. The winner reached 19.5 meters; the Baroness 14.5 meters. Only two weeks later Paula Lamberg started at another event in Kitzbühel. She managed two jumps of 24 and 23 meters, only seven meters less than the winner.¹⁴ The author of an article in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* praises the performances of the 23-year-old aristocrat highly, but also expresses his reservations about ski-jumping women. He sees the Baroness as an exception, and does not give other women much of a chance in this sport. With this he reflects the general opinion that ski jumping was not considered being acceptable for females at that time:

An excellent female ski jumper is Baroness Lamberg from Kitzbühel. At ski competitions which the winter sports club of Kitzbühel held a short while ago, this lady, who is an avid, enthusiastic skier, was able to perform two jumps without falling, reaching a distance of 24 and 23 meters, in excellent style. Jumps of this length are very good, even for men. It is understandable that ski jumping is performed very rarely by women, and taking a close look, not really a recommendable sport. One prefers to see women with nicely mellifluous movements, which show elegance and grace, like in ice skating or lawn tennis. One does not like to see athletic exercises performed by a woman. This use of strength is, however, necessary when jumping with snowshoes. And it is not enjoyable or aesthetic to see how a representative of the fair sex falls when jumping from a hill, flips over



Courtesy of E. John B. Allen

“The Floating Baroness”

and with mussed-up hair glides down towards the valley in a snow cloud.¹⁵

Looking at the documents it seems as if the Baroness competed with men. However, not all of the Baroness’ jumps ended successfully. At an event in which she and five men started, at a ski resort about 200 km west of Kitzbühel, Lamberg fell in all of her three jumps. Still, her style was praised, and her distances mentioned in the official report. She had reached 19.5, 20.5 and 21 meters. Some of these jumps were longer than some of the men’s.¹⁶

Existing photos of the jumping Baroness usually depict her in a long black dress. Until the 1920s the dress was a symbol of female morality and decency. Trousers for women were seen in connection with emancipatory movements, and not appreciated by society, even when they were more comfortable and practicable for their sporting activities.¹⁷ In skiing there were many discussions on whether they could be useful. Women who wore the male outfit of the time were often ridiculed. The fear existed that trousers would de-sex women, and it was perceived as unaesthetic and inelegant. However, from 1906 on, the first women skiers dressed in trousers could be found on the slopes.¹⁸ The impression that the Baroness adapted her clothing to the conventions of the time cannot be fully supported. There is one picture in existence that shows her jumping in trousers. The year is not known, but considering the fact that her father was among the spectators, it must have been before 1913. His presence can lead to the conclusion that he approved of his daughter’s activities and lifestyle. The fact that according to Wirtenberger, Princess Viktoria, a sister of the German Kaiser, and His Highness Prince Adolf also watched her jumping during a visit in Kitzbühel, gives the impression that her unusual hobby was accepted. Generally, hierarchy and social class might account for the fact that the Baroness has been accepted by male ski jumpers and also by the public.

After 1913 there are no more sources which mention any ski jumping activities of the Baroness. She took up other sports. She became known as a skier and tennis player and, in the 1920s, as a bobsled and car racer. In the latter two sports she competed together with her future husband, Earl Franz Schlik (1882-1963).



Courtesy of Ingrid Wicken

Countess Paula Lamberg

Together with Schlik and friends she also founded the Kitzbühel Sport Club, where international tourists gathered.¹⁹

1927, the year of their marriage, was a very active year for Schlik and his wife. In bobsledding the Baroness usually occupied the braking position. In the beginning of the year the couple won the Tyrolian Championships in the Two-Person Bobsled. That year they also participated together in car races. However, the 3.5 kilometer “Salzbergrennen”, organized by the Bavarian Automobile Club for the third time in the German Berchtesgarden on September 4, ended tragically. Schlik and the 40-year-old Baroness, considered the favorite team, started last. In order to keep her balance in a curve, the Baroness leaned too far out of the car. As a result she fell out; a few minutes later she died of her head injuries.²⁰

This was the tragic end of a Kitzbühel legend. Whereas nobody talks about the Baroness’ achievements in bobsled and car racing anymore, she is still remembered today for her performance in ski jumping; in 1981, a local ski instructor was quoted as having said that in the 1920s she was his role model in ski jumping.²¹ The Norwegian press was very much impressed by Lamberg’s jumping performances and gave her the moniker, “The Floating Baroness”, a name that persists until today.

In 1926 the Norwegian Olga Balsted Eggen broke Lamberg’s record by a jump of 28,5 meters.²²

Johanne Kolstad – the “Queen of the Skis”

Norway was a country where women early on gained recognition as jumpers. The first real stars in women’s ski jumping were Norwegians born in the 1930s. Probably the most famous women who performed ski jumping during that time were Hilda Braskerud (1916-1996) and Johanne Kolstad (1913-1997) from Dokka in southern Norway. They started ski jumping when they were children and became stars in Norway and abroad. At the age of

17, Johanne had already jumped 46.6 meters. Although she jumped as far as the boys, she and the other Norwegian women jumpers – just like the Baroness – had to start “outside” the competitions, meaning they had to jump during the breaks. Still, they were very successful. Hilde and Johanne became so-called “trail jumpers” to entertain the spectators during breaks, and became celebrities of a sort. A reason for this is that besides their athletic performance, they always dressed identically. They became the first female media stars of Norwegian ski jumping, and Kolstad even reached international fame.²³

Johanne’s most active jumping years lasted one decade: between 1930 and 1940. Through her outstanding jumping performances in Norway she became internationally known. She became famous for her many travels with other Norwegians. She went on several tours abroad: to England and four trips to North America.²⁴ During her visits to the U.S. Kolstad demonstrated her best jumps: In February 1936 she jumped 53 meters in New Boston. With a jump of 72 meters in 1938 in Berlin, New Hampshire, Kolstad broke the world record she herself had set before.²⁵ At least from this point on she became known as ‘Queen of the Skis’. Her record was not beaten until 1972 when Norwegian Anita Wold from Trondheim jumped over 80 meters.

The 1930s were Kolstad’s most successful years. This was a time when ski jumping was not only performed outdoors: indoor ski events in major cities around the world were not unusual. Just to mention a few examples: In 1937, besides jumpers from the U.S. and Canada, at least three Norwegian ski jumpers, “The Flying Norsemen,” entertained the spectators at New York’s Madison Square Garden: Tomm Murstad, Johanne Kolstad and Ella Gulbrandsen. Johanne did a few parallel jumps with Tomm Murstad, and she competed against other women; one was the American Dorothy Graves who recalled in an interview

given in 1974, that was the first time that she competed with another woman.²⁶ London also had an indoor event: “Bringing the Alps to Town” could be found as a title in *The Daily Mirror* of November 26, 1938, announcing an indoor ski-jumping event for a month later at London’s Earl’s Court. It also mentioned that “famed skiers from all over the world” would come to this “Winter Cavalcade”, among them Johanne Kolstad, holder of the world record jump for women.

Kolstad’s last public appearances were at a jumping event in 1940 in her home country. She reached the 70 meter line at Oslo’s Midtstubbakken and finished her active career.²⁷ After 1940 there are no other sources that tell of Kolstad jumping. The war might have interfered or the 27-year-old may have decided for a more settled life.

Early Women Ski Jumpers in North America

Not only European women dared to ski down a “bakken”, as the Norwegian call the jump. The immigrant Norwegians brought skiing in the 1880s to North America. By the turn of the century ski jumping was one of the most popular winter sports in the United States and Canada.²⁸ Like any good American sport, notes Allen, ski jumping, once a test of manliness and moral and physical strength (*Idraet*), soon gave way to “leaps of length, points, prize money and records.”²⁹ An appealing spectator sport, ski jumping drew large crowds and provided the impetus to further bureaucratize and organize the sport in North America.³⁰

When looking for ski jumping women in North America one can usually find them in one of the many winter carnivals organized during the first decades of the twentieth century throughout the US and Canada. Isabel Coursier was the great female jumper of the area who in 1922, at the age of 16, jumped 84 feet.³¹ After graduating from high school in 1925, Coursier went to McGill University to study physical education. During these years in Quebec she gave jumping exhibitions throughout the Laurentians and the United States. Scott records that Coursier “continued to thrill spectators at ski tournaments at the Quebec Winter Carnival and in Montreal. She was the first woman allowed to go over the famous Côte des Neiges ski jump in Montreal.”³² Coursier, while exceptional, was not the only Canadian female jumping in these early years. In 1923, ten year old Grace Freeman from Nakusp (a neighboring town of Revelstoke) jumped at the Revelstoke Winter Carnival, although she dropped out of competitions in later years.³³ According to Ball’s recollections of skiing in Eastern Canada in the 1930s, the all-women



American Dorothy Graves

Penguin Ski Club included ski-jumping in their competitions and Winlo refers to Elsie Richardson of Timmins, Ontario who performed an exhibition jump at the 1937 Ontario Zone Championship as “one of the few exceptional women to ski-jump at competition.”³⁴

The Wurtele Twins, who later became Canada’s top women downhill skiers, also need to be mentioned. They “did a tandem jump on the Côte des Neiges hill in Montreal. They were only eleven years old at the time and when their mother heard about it they were forbidden to jump again.”³⁵

Women were also jumping in the United States. Allen notes that at the end of the nineteenth century, a few American females jumped, less to compete against each other than to show men they were capable of doing so.³⁶ Sandie Gibson leaped 46 feet and 4 inches in 1904, “the greatest leap by a woman on skis ever made” according to Wisconsin’s *Ashland Daily Press* in March 1904.³⁷

Apparently the author had no idea how far women jumped in Europe.

A 1921 article in the *Revelstoke Review* with the headline “Famous Lady Ski Jumpers to Compete in Big Tournament” reported that a twin jump would be performed by two women from Wisconsin (Miss Matilda Johannson Steinwalson and Miss Julia Burghild Rasmussen).³⁸

On the East Coast, it was Dorothy Graves, “the daredevil girl” from New Hampshire, whose father ordered her a pair of skis to strengthen her legs that were weakened by scarlet fever, who became known as a ski jumper in the 1930s and 40s.³⁹ At the Steamboat Springs Winter Carnival in Colorado, between 1928 and 1935, “girls” and “ladies” had their own jumping events. Steamboat ski jumper Beatrice Kirby is still remembered today for her outstanding performance; since 1993 the Bea Kirby Trophy is awarded to the best female Nordic jumper at the Steamboat Springs Winter Sports Club.

From Exclusion to Exclusivity: The Developments in the 1990s and 2000s

It is hard to find information on women ski jumping between World War II and the 1990s. A few athletes can be found in Norway, such as Anne-Lise Hexberg who was the country’s best women ski-jumper in the 1950s and Ninni Meland in the 1960s. Certainly there must have been more women around the world that performed this sport, but they did not get much press coverage.⁴⁰ It seems that either the barriers to get into this sport were too difficult to overcome or the general interest among girls and women to take up ski jumping did not exist. This changed in the 1990s.

In a 1992 article in *The Evening Citizen* in Laconia, New Hampshire the headline announced “Female Jumpers Break

Barriers.”⁴¹ The author was right to some degree. Women continued to be barred from official ski jumping competitions until the final decade of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1990s that the first female national teams were formed, and a number of national and international competitions organized. Important for the development and growth of women’s ski jumping from the 1990s on are the fathers of ski jumpers: the Austrian Dr. Edgar Ganster, the German Hans-Georg Schmidt in Europe, and the Americans Peter Jerome and Larry Stone.⁴²

Relating to individual records, Kolstad’s 1938 world record of 72 meters was not beaten until more than 30 years later when, in 1972, Norwegian Anita Wold from Trondheim jumped over 80 meters. She, too, started in men’s competitions. She was the first woman allowed to jump during the breaks of the men’s *Vierschanzentournee* (Four-Hill-Tour).⁴³ Four years later she set another record, 97.5 meters, in Sapporo. However, she could not fulfill her dream of being the first woman to reach 100 meters.⁴⁴ That dream was realised by the Finnish jumper Tiina Lethola in 1981 when she jumped 110 meters. The next decade was a quiet one in women’s ski jumping. This changed when Austrian Eva Ganster entered the scene and performed outstanding jumps. At the 1994 Olympic Games in Lillehammer she was allowed to start as a forerunner.⁴⁵

On 9 February 1997, Eva Ganster became the very first woman to jump—or, rather, fly—from a ski-flying jump. At 167 meters she

event was the falling popularity of male ski jumping. She explains that “in Scandinavian countries the number of boys and men who participated in ski jumping declined drastically in the early 1990s to the extent that by 1996 there were more ski jumps in Norway than there were ski jumpers in the Norwegian Ski Federation.”⁵¹ However, this argument cannot be made for every ski jumping nation.

This event spurred further developments in a series of competitions for women which were called the Ladies Grand Prix. These became the counterpart to the men’s Vierschanze-Tournee and took place for the first time in February 1999. Twenty-nine women from nine countries participated in these five competitions.⁵² Austrian Sandra Kaiser won, followed by American Karla Keck, and Austrian Daniela Iraschko.

Due to the success of the Austrian jumpers at the first Grand Prix in 1999, the Austrian Ski Federation founded a national female ski-jumping team. A year later, Norway and Japan followed. The German national team was officially formed in the summer of 2005; the American in 2006.

Although a competition for women was organized during the 1998 Junior World Championships, it took six more years until the female athletes had their own event. In February 2004, twelve women jumpers from four nations participated in a demonstration competition from the HS-90 jump in Norway. The Norwegian Ski Federation had made the decisive application

Table 1: Records of women ski jumpers⁴⁷

Year	Name	Nation	Location and Country	Distance (m)
1863	Ingrid Olsdatter Vestby	Norway	Trysil (NOR)	14.5
1904	Hilda Stang/ Sandie Gibbson	Norway/ United States		15 14 (46 feet)
1905	Unknown Jumper	Germany	Harz (GER)	15
1911/12	Baroness Paula Lamberg	Austria	Kitzbühel (AUS)	24
1922	Isabell Coursiers	Canada	Revelstoke (USA)	25.6
				84 feet
1926	Olga Balsted Eggen	Norway	Arvika (NOR)	28.5
1931	Johanne Kolstad	Nydalen	Oslo (NOR)	40
1931	Johanne Kolstad	Norway	Flueberg (NOR)	46.5
1932	Johanne Kolstad	Norway	Trondheim (NOR)	62
1933	Johanne Kolstad	Norway	Salt Lake City (USA)	53.5
1938	Johanne Kolstad	Norway	Berlin, New Hampshire (USA)	72
1972	Anita Wold	Norway	Meldal (NOR)	80
1974	Anita Wold	Norway	Strbske Pleso (CSR)	72
1976	Anita Wold	Norway	Sapporo (JAP)	97.5
1981	Tiina Lethola	Finland	Kuusamo (FIN)	110
1997	Eva Ganster	Austria	Bad Mittendorf (AUT)	167
2003	Daniela Iraschko	Austria	Bad Mittendorf (AUT)	200

set a new world record for women. In 2003 the Austrian Daniela Iraschko broke this record with a distance of 200 meters.⁴⁶

In the summer of 1997, the first international meeting for female jumpers in Voukatti, Finland, took place. However, this was not yet an official competition. The women jumped in the men’s pre-program, but without gender-specific judging. During this event the fathers, Ganster and Schmidt, decided to organize a competition for girls only for the coming Junior World Championships in St. Moritz.⁴⁸ Seventeen female ski jumpers from seven countries participated at this competition in 1998 on a (hill-size) HS-90 jump.⁴⁹ Achieving a distance of 95 meters, the Finnish jumper Heli Pomell won this first competition for women to be officially accepted by the FIS.⁵⁰ Von der Lippe suggests that a likely factor in the FIS decision to officially recognize the 1998

for the organization of the event. This time Norwegian Anette Sagen, today a media star in her country just like Kolstad in the old days, won.⁵³

The FIS congress in the spring of 2004 led to more gains for female ski jumpers. The FIS Ladies Grand Prix was enhanced to the status of a Continental Cup. This means that women now jump in the so-called “B Category“. Only the “A Category“ is more prestigious, being a World Cup. In February 2009 the first Women’s World Championship took place in Liberec, Czech Republic.⁵⁴ Heavy winds and a snow storm forced FIS officials to reduce the length of approach for the women due to safety concerns, as they said. Despite the lack of an audience, and the challenging circumstances, the women considered this event a success. A total of 36 competitors from 13 nations took part

in the event. The American Lindsey Van won the gold medal with 89m and 97.5m jumps, closely followed by Ulrike Grässler (93.5m/93m), Germany, and Annette Sagen (93.5m/94m), Norway.⁵⁵

The women ski jumpers and their supporters were very pleased to have finally participated in official world championships. However, FIS President Gian Franco Kasper could not fully support the women's success. He mentioned in an interview after the World Championship in 2009 that the women had a "good start", but then he went on to say that some were quite young and not all had the level FIS preferred to be seen. He continued that he voted against team competitions at the next championships.⁵⁶

Problems and Difficulties of Acceptance

There has always been resistance to women ski jumping from various corners. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century many reporters, at that time only men, regarded female ski jumping as "unlady-like" and the performing women as "simply unattractive". They even classified them as "immoral".⁵⁷ From an outsider's view it seems that during the last few years the development of women's ski jumping has progressed smoothly. However, it was and still is a rocky road. Many barriers had to be overcome before women's ski jumping obtained the "little" recognition it has today. There are different aspects to these barriers: medical, financial, media, technical and organisational. In one way or another they all are related to a male hegemony, as the medical examples will show.

Looking at the history of women's sports in general, the medical argument was commonly used by physicians, educators and others to exclude women from certain sports and competitions, both in Europe and North America. The medical discourse was rooted in "Victorian ideals of women's moral virtue, and their physical and intellectual inferiority," as Laurendeau and Adams, write.⁵⁸

While skiing for leisure was an accepted pastime for women, competitions were considered immoral. Max Schneider, a ski manufacturer from Berlin and editor of the journal *Tourist*, wrote in his *Katechismus des Wintersports* in 1894 that skiing is a sport very much in favor for women:

... Especially for the female gender there is not enough physical activity in the winter. No prejudices need to be conquered here, as at the end of the last century with ice skating; the Scandinavian ladies have long since stopped it and whoever sees the women bursting with youthfulness, vitality and health on the snowshoe hills close to the Nordic capitals will recommend introducing snowshoeing for the benefit of German women.⁵⁹

Whereas skiing women were accepted, it was different with ski jumping. In 1896 Norwegian Christian Døderlein justified the exclusion of women from ski jumping: "... especially married women who have given birth, and whose reproductive organs have been through a process which all too often reduces them to a morbid state."⁶⁰

During the 1920s and 1930s, doctors and female physical educators, keen to promote the therapeutic benefits of physical activity for female health, encouraged a number of sports but ski jumping was certainly not among them.⁶¹ The Canadian physical educator Ethel Cartwright, for instance, encouraged young women to skate, snow shoe and ski in the winter months – as long as no jumping was involved.⁶² By this time vital energy theory (VET)

had largely given way to fears that physical activity was responsible for uterine displacement which was believed to cause sterility.⁶³ This made jumping—particularly landing—seem very dangerous for women who were already perceived as fragile. The German physician Gustav Klein-Doppler wrote in 1926 that:

... there is no need or reason to organize jumping competitions for ladies. Because of the unanswered medical question as to whether ski jumping agrees with the female organism, this would be a very daring experiment and should be strongly advised against.⁶⁴

The German ski instructor Henry Hoek advised in the 1930s: "No jumping for you, girlfriend—it is not for any woman, no matter how brave or powerful or young".⁶⁵ And even Germany's best female skier, Christl Cranz, said in the 1930s, although she herself liked to jump in her youth, that cross-country skiing and ski jumping are "athletic performances, ... for which a lot of strength and endurance is necessary, more than women can give without harming themselves." Moreover she mentioned a lack of interest among women in ski jumping: "Certainly no reasonable sporting girl would think about participating in a marathon or boxing, and that is how it is with us women skiers; there is no interest in running or jumping competitions."⁶⁶

One might be able to understand the medical discourse about women's participation in sports and physical exercise in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from a historical point of view, but it is more than surprising that the medical argument to keep women away from certain sports or physical activities is still an issue today. The notion that jumping would cause uterine displacement remained a point of debate well into the 1990s. In the 1990s the Swiss FIS president Gian Franco Kasper said that the female uterus could burst during landing, and in 2005 he stated that he wasn't sure whether this is the right sport for the female body:

Don't forget, it's like jumping down from, let's say, about two meters on the ground about a thousand times a year, which seems not to be appropriate for ladies from a medical point of view.⁶⁷

Other representatives of ski federations argued that women possessed one spinal bone that was different in structure from a man's and thus could break during landing. Interviews with officials and women jumpers also showed that in the past some insurance companies would not cover women's injuries in case of an accident during jumping.⁶⁸

Not only is the argument of the weak female body still used; furthermore, the abilities of women jumpers are not fully acknowledged. As Hofmann & Preuss point out, spectators and organizers often seem to be quite sceptical about women ski jumping. They believe that this sport is linked to male attributes: space and distance, which are associated with unboundedness and freedom, which can only be achieved through courage, strength, and body control. Ski jumping presumably involves a lot of courage and risk, and it is judged too risky for women. However, coaches and jumpers have said the contrary. They argue that it is not a particularly risky sport at all, and that competitive alpine skiing, for instance, is more dangerous. This is in line with the point the Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, made in 1995. It said that women certainly do not lack courage, and given that confidence and technique in ski jumping are being developed

through training opportunities and practice, women are just as suited to the sport as men:

... if you start when you are young, that makes it easier to move to the big hill ... when you move on step by step to bigger hills your courage will increase as you go along and you will hardly even notice it. ... Practice will help to give girls more thrust to their jump. And in any case it's the timing of the jump and the ability to fly that matter most.⁶⁹

The same article goes on to suggest that the female body constituted no obstacle in the sport: "In ski jumping girls might even be better than boys. Some say the reason why they are bypassed is precisely that they might be even alarmingly good."⁷⁰ Karla Keck, a retired American jumper, for instance jumped together with men, for several seasons—at least during her training hours.

However, a direct comparison between male and female jumpers could endanger, in the case of a male loss, hegemonial masculinity,⁷¹ and the social status of the male athletes could decline, something that needs to be protected by the male FIS and also IOC officers.

Precisely this point might be a hidden male fear: that women will in the near future jump further than men. With their lower weight—necessary for long distances—women might not be too far away from it. Thus, male officials may be trying to put a stop to the further feminization of ski jumping, which began with the participation of women ski jumpers. Furthermore, since ski jumping athletes need to be light to achieve greater distances, anorexia, formerly a "female" problem, is now becoming a male problem as well.⁷²

If women jump or fly further than men they will have to compete with their male counterparts for sponsorship, contracts and prize money and might even influence the sport. This contributes to continued consternation over female jumping and protection of the male space.⁷³

Disparaging remarks by a high-ranking FIS official about the skill and toughness of female jumpers, despite their obvious competence, support the theory of the hidden fear. A strong example for this argument is ski flying, which is done from the big jumps. Lengths of 200 meters or more can be achieved. In March 2009, shortly after the World Championships, the five registered women jumpers were not allowed to start as test jumpers from the flying jump in Vikersund, Norway. The Slovenian FIS delegate, Marko Mlakar, stopped the test jumping just before the women were to start, arguing that there had been enough test jumpers. Conditions were perfect and the women surely would have broken the existing women's record of 200 meters. Earlier, in 2004, women faced resistance as test-flyers for the Vikersund Jump. At that time it was Torbjorn Yggeseth who refused to let them jump.⁷⁴

In 2004, Yggeseth, a Norwegian FIS member and FIS Ski-Jumping Head from 1982-2004, commented on the first official Norwegian female championship in ski jumping by saying, "Half of them jump whereas the other half is doing something similar to sledding."⁷⁵ Yggeseth then used this as a reason for denying women (he called them 'little girls') a chance to be test flyers at an upcoming ski-flying competition. Yggeseth was quoted in another Norwegian paper as saying that the FIS fears the women might fall and hurt themselves. Women jumpers must content themselves with



Dorothy Graves

Courtesy of Ingrid Wicken

smaller hills. Unfortunately his prophecy became true in Liberec during the World Championships when two Czech jumpers, 12 and 15 years old, got seriously injured during training jumps, a fact that FIS president Kasper now uses in his arguments against women ski jumping, although he now says he is a supporter of the women.⁷⁶

Recalling the distances that women are capable of jumping, one wonders why they are not fully accepted. In 2008 Lindsay Van set the jump record at 105.5 at Whistler's HS-90-Jump. Her record was not broken until the Olympic Games in Vancouver. Since 2006, Juliane Seyfarth has held the ski jump record of 98 meters for the jump at Baiersbronn, Germany. But one aspect that should not be denied is that women need a longer approach than men do to reach the same lengths. The reason given is that women have less strength than men for taking off from the ramp.⁷⁷

The media also play an important role when it comes to the support of women's sports or female athletes. As long as they are not really interested in writing about a sport or broadcasting competition on TV, there is hardly a chance that this sport really gains any public importance. To get this sport into the media, FIS Race Director of Ski Jumping, Walter Hofer, suggested more tailored ski suits for women jumpers to make the sport more attractive for spectators. This quest mirrors a clear sexualisation of the female athletes and a reduction of the importance of their athletic abilities, as can be seen in women's beach volleyball. Here the media also dictates the athletes' sportswear and its fit. Hofer's idea did not meet with the jumpers' support; on the contrary they commented that they don't want to be reduced to their bodies and participate in a fashion show.⁷⁸

The Olympics: "Left out in the Cold"?

Looking at women's sports today, it seems that gender barriers have broken down and that women can perform any sport on any level. However, as shown, when it comes to women's ski jumping, the situation is still "archaic", as sport journalist Kim Thompson described it. Despite the court trial and other efforts, the 2010 Olympic Winter Games took place without an event in women ski jumping. "Left out in the cold" is an ESPN video clip

that aired on TV in early May 2008. It dealt with the Vancouver question. The IOC mainly argued at that time that there was a lack of participating nations and female athletes in ski jumping.

Looking at the number of elite female ski jumpers during the 2008/9 season one can see that no exact statements can be given. They vary according to the sources. The IOC mentioned 80 women, whereas other sources referred to 500 ski jumpers in 14 to 17 countries. It was argued that the IOC welcomed events such as snowboard cross with 34 female competitors in 10 countries, bobsled with 26 women in 13 countries and the newly added ski cross with 30 women in 11 countries although there were 135 elite female ski jumpers registered in 16 countries.⁷⁹ The IOC eligibility rules also required that to be considered for inclusion in the Olympics a sport must have held at least 2 world championships. Women's ski jumping did not fit this criterion since women's ski jumping world championships were not scheduled until 2009. The IOC declaration that any sport added after 1991 must also include a women's competition did not open the door for women's ski jumping. Because men's ski jumping had already been an Olympic sport since 1924, the IOC's rule about 'new' sports requiring gender equity was not binding.

The IOC executive committee had voted on November 28, 2006 to exclude women's ski jumping from the 2010 Olympics given that its development was still in its early stages and lacked the international breadth of participation and technical standards required. At a visit in Vancouver in February 2008, IOC-President Jacques Rogge said if the women would jump, they would "dilute the medals given to others."

This is not discrimination... This is just the respect of essential technical rules that say to become an Olympic sport, a sport must be widely practiced around the world... and have a big appeal. This is not the case for women's ski jumping so there is no discrimination whatsoever.⁸⁰

According to Christine Lagorio of CBS News, Kasper suggested that the women's numbers might still be too small and expressed concern about their skill level: "Actually," he said, "they are all jumping, but not all are *really* jumping. Six or seven of them are *really* jumping. There are a few *really* jumping, but a few, in very few nations."⁸¹ National politics might also have played a role in the lack of FIS support of Olympics. Supporters of the women's sport in the US say Europeans were wary of adding another event that would likely reward the Americans with more medals.

In North America there was a strong movement that supported the efforts of a group of women ski jumpers to participate in the Vancouver Games. One of the biggest activists in the struggle of the rights of women ski jumpers was, and still is, Deedee Corradini, mayor of Salt Lake City during the Olympic Games and president of Women's Ski Jumping USA. Another supporter, sport critic Dr. Hedy Fry, argued before the Games that because the Canadian federal government helped fund Olympic venues for the 2010 Games, "the refusal to allow women ski jumpers to compete is a legal issue, since it is against federal law to spend government money on a facility that discriminates."⁸²

VANOC is a quasi-governmental entity. If you look at the composition of their board [and] if you look at who's funding all of the venues in the Olympic Games, it's the federal and the provincial and local governments ... And therefore, under

Canadian law, [VANOC] is subject to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which prohibits discrimination.

On the basis of the Canadian "Charter of Rights and Freedom" an international group of 15 international women ski jumpers as plaintiffs filed a lawsuit against VANOC in May 2008, in an effort to get a competition at these Games. Deedee Corradini stated: "If the men are going to jump then women have to jump. And if the women aren't going to jump then the men can't either."⁸³ This meant that either men and women will be allowed to jump or no one. A week-long trial was held in April 2009 at the Supreme Court of British Columbia. A Vancouver law firm took over the women's case pro bono. In July 2009 Supreme Court justice Lauri Ann Fenlon announced that in "her view, the exclusion of women's ski jumping from the 2010 Games is discriminatory But not every act of discrimination is a breach of the Charter." She continued that therefore, she is unable to grant the declaration the plaintiffs seek.⁸⁴ The ski jumpers decided to file an appeal with the British Columbia Court of Appeals which was denied in November 2009. In a 26-page report the judges argued that "VANOC simply does not have the power to determine what events are included in the 2010 Olympic programme ... the Charter cannot be so broadly construed as to include policies or practices that no Canadian government has jurisdiction to enact or change."⁸⁵ During the court cases the plaintiffs wrote letters to IOC President Jacques Rogge. They were without success. Rogge stated in his answer that he does have sympathy for the women, but there won't be any hope for them for the Vancouver Games. However, he announced that ski jumping for young women will be an event at the Youth Olympics 2012.⁸⁶

Rogge's sympathy did not help the case at all, as seen for example at the American national team. In May 2009, the U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association (USSA) cut all the funds of the US women national ski jumping team because they were not included in the Olympics. It also meant they had to fire the women's coach, to spend their money on sports that were in the Vancouver Olympics. However, through great effort, Women's Ski Jumping USA was able to raise enough money to keep the coach and the team going for the next season. USSA is still the governing body in terms of competitions, but they are not doing anything to help the women's team other than letting them use the new training facility. If women will be allowed to jump at Sochi 2014, USSA will rethink its decision.⁸⁷

The Aftermath

Although there was no competition in women's ski jumping during the 2010 Olympic Games, the women jumpers made themselves visible. Athletes and supporters had various meetings with the press at the beginning of the games, including the day that the men were jumping on the K90. As a result, before and during the Games their story received a lot of media coverage all over North America. This was different in Europe. For instance in Germany, where ski jumping is a very popular spectator sport, the press mentioned the whole affair only in a few, usually small printed notes.

No matter the country, though, after the Olympics the press became silent again. Was the saga of women's ski jumping just a good story to sell for the North American press in connection with the Olympics? Or did the North American coverage show



US Women's ski jumpers and coach.

that Americans care more for gender equality than it is the case in Europe, where it seemed that people were just not interested in the fate of women's ski jumping? Or was the inattention a result of a press structure dominated by men?

As shown, gender discourse in ski jumping has not yet ended. The athletes will have to continue their fight on all levels as long as they are confronted by arguments like that given by the Czech ski-jumping coach Martin Moravec, who was quoted in the *Prague Daily Monitor* as saying

"It is the way of the world: women are qualified for something more than men and vice versa, speaking about sport and games. Nobody can do everything.

The male body is naturally shaped differently than the female body ... Their jumping is as peculiar as some other sports would be if performed by men, such as synchronised swimming or rhythmic gymnastics. It would be embarrassing in the same way ... Modern sports are primarily business and only those events that draw the interest of people and sponsors have a chance to succeed, which is, may ladies forgive me, to a major extent male sports".

Moravec adds that this is not unfair since women have other events in which they predominate and men cannot compete with them, such as popular beauty contests on the national and world levels.⁸⁸

If one looks at the development of women's ski jumping from a historical perspective, it becomes evident that gender discrimination and power control is precisely the reason why women were not jumping at the Vancouver Olympics. This exclusion is not yet over and does not only relate to Olympic Games. A last example shall demonstrate it: In Norway, when the 120-year-old Holmenkollen, the world's most famous ski jump, was re-opened after a reconstruction, the Norwegian people decided in a TV poll that Anette Sagen, who had 18 male competitors, should be the first official jumper in March 2010.⁸⁹ However, Olympic and World Cup ski jumper Bjørn Einar Romøren deprived her of that honor and jumped the evening before the official opening. At the official opening Anette, who throughout her career often had to fight Norwegian sport officials, performed a 106.5m jump under the eyes of thousands of spectators. Here again it becomes evident that when it comes to women's ski jumping promises have consistently been broken in the past and present by male officials and even jumpers. And it has to be asked: Why is it so difficult in this sport for women to participate? It seems a never ending story. Once one barrier is overcome another one appears.

But still there is the hope that one day women will even outjump men. If Sochi won't be open for women ski jumpers, it might be the end of that sport, just as Anette Sagen predicts: "I think we should be included in the Olympics because ... we are one of the fastest growing sports in both level and in number of participants. Sochi 2014 is the last hope we have to survive as a sport. We need the Olympics to grow even more and faster."⁹⁰ Even if only slowly, women are getting closer to their goal of ski jumping becoming an Olympic sport. Not only will their second official World Cup be held in 2011 in Oslo, but also in 2010 FIS decided that they will have their own World Cup Series starting in the season of 2010/11. The final decision whether women's ski jumping will be included in 2014 Winter Olympics has been delayed until the spring of 2011. A never ending story...

Endnotes for A Never Ending Story: Women's Struggle for Acceptance in Ski Jumping

¹ Alexandra Preuß, *Anfänge und Entwicklung des Frauenskispringens*. Master Thesis (unpublished). (University of Münster, Department of Sport Pedagogy and History), 2005.

² I would like to thank Deedee Corradini and Ingrid Wicken for supporting me with information on women ski jumping over the last months. Ginny Dittrich and Karin Grey shall be thanked for proof reading my article.

³ It was organized by Andreas Bakke. Until today the jumping table is called bakken in Norwegian.

⁴ Gerd Falkner, "Streiflichter der Entwicklung des Skispringens," *Körpererziehung* 41 no. 1 (1991), 36-38; Jens Jahn and Egon Theiner, *Enzyklopädie des Skispringens*. (Kassel: Agon Sportverlag, 2004), 11.

⁵ Tim Ashburner, *The History of Ski Jumping*. (Bath: Bath Press Ltd., 2003), 29.

⁶ Berg, Karin, "Jump, girls jump. Ski jumping is for all!" in Ski Museum Holmenkollen (Ed.). *History of Skiing Conference*. (Oslo: Holmenkollen Ski Museum, 1998), 12.

⁷ Gerd von der Lippe, "Ski Jumping," in Karen Christensen, Allen Guttman and Gertrud Pfister (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport*, Vol 2. (New York: MacMillan References, 2001), 1046.

⁸ Gerd Falkner, „Von den Anfängen des Frauenskilaufens,“ *Körpererziehung* 39, 12 (1989), 536-537.

⁹ *Der Winter* (1909), 537.

¹⁰ Ashburner, *The History of Ski Jumping*, 56. Olive Hockin is known as a British suffragette.

¹¹ Paula was the second child of Reichsgraf Hugo Anton Lamberg and the Italian Contessa Giulietta Brunetti from Bologna, see Stadt Kitzbühel, Schriftleitung Eduard Widmoser, *Stadtbuch Kitzbühel Band III*. (Kitzbühel: Eigenverlag der Stadtgemeinde, 1970), 399.

¹² Kitzbüheler Ski Club (Ed.), *Hahnenkamm. Chronik eines Mythos*. (Innsbruck: Tiroler Repro, 2003), 18-27.

¹³ Fritz Schmitt, *Kitzbüheler Winterlob. Skispuren durch ein Schneeparadies*. (München: Bergverlag Schmitt), 41.

¹⁴ The Baroness' record was broken in 1926 by the Norwegian Olga Balsted Eggen who jumped 4.5 meters further Jahn and Theiner, *Enzyklopädie des Skispringens*, 394.

¹⁵ *Illustrierte Sportzeitung*, (October 19, 1910), 305.

¹⁶ Hans Wirtenberger, "Sportlady internationaler Klasse," and "Letzter Schlossherr auf Lebenberg," *Kitzbüheler Heimatblätter* 17, no. 7, (2007).

¹⁷ Sandra Günter, *Geschlechterkonstruktion in Sport. Eine historische Untersuchung der nationalen und regionalen Turn- und Sportbewegung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. (Hoya: NISH, 2004), 106.

¹⁸ E. John B Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 144-184. Allen devotes a whole chapter on the dress code of women in the early decade of skiing.

¹⁹ The marriage only lasted four months. Paula von Lamberg married in 1927 in Prague Franz Graf Schlik zu Bassano und Weißkirchen. 1920 he had moved with his first wife to Kitzbühel. Schlik became an important figure in the city's sporting society. Not only was he an active car and bobsled racer and tennis player, he also found the Kitzbühel Sport Club together with the Comtesse and others. He was involved in building tennis courts, a first ski lift for tobogganing and the cable car at the famous Hahnenkamm. By 1917 Paula and her mother were the owners of Schloss Lebenberg. After her tragic

accident Schlik inherited her 50 percent. Three years later he also was handed over the possessions of his mother-in-law. Thus, he became the sole possessor of Schloss Lebenberg. By 1961 he had sold all the property and buildings connected with it. See Wirtenberger, 'Letzter Schlossherr auf Lebenberg', and Stadt Kitzbühel, *Stadtbuch Band III*, 378.

²⁰ *Kitzbüheler Anzeiger* (21. Dezember 1963).

²¹ *Kitzbüheler Anzeiger* (1981), see notes on obituary of Hans Lackner.

²² Jahn and Theiner, *Enzyklopädie des Skispringens*, 394.

²³ The main source of the following notes on her can be found in Karin Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp! Historien om Johanne Kolstad og Hilda Braskerud - et annerledes skieventyr*. (Oslo: Chr. Schibsted Forlag, 1998).

²⁴ The Norwegians are known for introducing skiing to North America. The American-Norwegians were eager to support skiing events with visiting Norwegians, see Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp*.

²⁵ Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp*, 64; 94.

²⁶ Thabault, George: "Dot Graves – 'A' jumper," *Skier*, (1974), 9.

²⁷ Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp*, 68; 94.

²⁸ E. John B Allen, "A Short History of U.S. Ski Jumping," *Skiing Heritage* 18 no. 1, (March 2006), 34; Rolf Lund, "Skiing in Canada: The Early Years," *The Beaver Winter* (1977), 48-50.

²⁹ Allen, "A Short History of U.S. Ski Jumping," 34.

³⁰ Patricia Vertinsky, Shannon Jette and Annette Hofmann, "Skierinas' in the Olympics: Gender Politics at the Local, National and International Level over the Challenge of Women's Ski Jumping," *Olympika XVIII*, (2009), 25-56.

³¹ Chic Scott, *Powder Pioneers: Ski Stories from the Canadian Rockies and Columbo Mountains*. (Calgary Rocky Mountain Books, 2005), 33.

³² William L. Ball, *I skied the thirties*. (Ottawa, Ontario: Deneau Publishers & Company Ltd., 1981), 80.

³³ Wormington, *The Ski Race*. (Sandpoint, Idaho: Selkirk Press, 1980), 184.

³⁴ Ball, *I Skied the Thirties*; Andrea Winlo, *Avid Skiers or Sports Feminists?: The Women Skiers of the Penguin Ski Club and Their Relationship to Canadian Ski Clubs and Ski Organizations, 1932-1972*. (Master's thesis, Concordia University, 1999), 73.

³⁵ Ball, *I skied the thirties*, 80

³⁶ Allen, "A Short History of U.S. Ski Jumping," 39.

³⁷ Quote from the *Ashland Daily Press*, March 10, 1904

³⁸ Wormington, *The Ski Race*, 154-55.

³⁹ Thabault, "Dot Graves", 9.

⁴⁰ Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp*, 80ff. More Norwegian women can be found in Berg, *Hopp, Jenter-Hopp*.

⁴¹ Bob Petix, „Female Jumpers Break Barrier,“ in *Evening Citizen*. (Laconia, New Hampshire, March 5, 1992), 5.

⁴² According to Higden in the 1990s the women ski jumpers quite often had to compete with men., see Hal Higden, "Fly like the boys," in *Snow Country* 1993, (November), 137-138.

⁴³ Jahn and Theiner, *Enzyklopädie des Skispringens*, 394.

⁴⁴ Berg, "Jump, girls jump," 65.

⁴⁵ Berg, "Jump, girls jump," 65.

Jahn and Theiner, *Enzyklopädie des Skispringens*, p. 394.

Von der Lippe, "Ski Jumping," 1047.

⁴⁶ Annette Hofmann and Alexandra Preuß, „Amazonen der Lüfte.

Geschichte und Entwicklungen im Frauenskispringen," in Gerd Falkner, (Ed.), *Internationale Skihistoriographie und Deutscher Skilauf*. (München: ILDA Druck, 2005), 105-114.

⁴⁷ The dates, names and distances are taken from various sources. It was not always possible to fill out each item. See also <http://www.skisprungschanzen.com/index.htm?/imvisier/imfrauenskispringen.htm> Accessed September 20, 2010. However the information is not always in accordance with ours.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mr. Schmidt 2008.

⁴⁹ See www.frauenskispringen.de. Accessed January 11, 2005.

⁵⁰ See www.ski-club-schoenwald.de/ladies/lad-hist.htm. Accessed December 23, 2004.

⁵¹ Lippe, von der, "Ski jumping," 1046-1047

⁵² The nine participating nations were Austria, Germany, Sweden, United States, Japan, Canada, Finland, Norway and Slovenia.

⁵³ Another international premiere was at the *Winteruniversiade* in the beginning of 2005, where female students between 17-28 years of age could participate in ski jumping, see <http://www.frauenskispringen.de>.

⁵⁴ *DSV aktiv* 12 (2004), 66.

⁵⁵ Annette Hofmann, Patricia Vertinsky and Shannon Jette, "'Dear Dr. Rogge': Die Skispringerinnen und die 'Human Rights'," *Sportwissenschaft* 40, (2010), 39-45.

⁵⁶ <http://www.Berkutsch.com>

⁵⁷ Berg, "Jump, girls jump," 64.

⁵⁸ Jason Laurendeau and Carly Adams, "'Jumping like a girl': discursive silences, exclusionary practices and the controversy over women's ski jumping," *Sport in Society* (2010), 437-438.

⁵⁹ Schneider, *Katechismus des Wintersports*, (Leipzig: Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.H. Weber, 1894), 31.

⁶⁰ Von der Lippe, "Ski Jumping," 1046.

⁶¹ Helen Lenskyj, "Common sense and physiology: North American medical views on women and sport, 1890-1930," *The Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, (1990) 21(1), 49-64.

⁶² Ann Hall, *The girl and the game: A history of women's sport in Canada*. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002).

⁶³ Patricia Vertinsky, *The eternally wounded woman: Women, doctors and medicine*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

⁶⁴ Gustav Klein-Doppler, "Die Damen im Skisport," in Emil Peege (Ed.), *Amtliches Jahrbuch des Wintersports*, Vol. 7. (Wien: Buch- und Kunstverlag, 1926), 16.

⁶⁵ Henry Hoek, *Skiheil Kamerad. Skiskurs für eine Freundin*. (Hamburg: Enoch Verlag, 1940), 13.

⁶⁶ Christel Cranz, *Skilauf für die Frau*. (Aalen: Willi Henne Verlag, 1936), 20.

⁶⁷ 'Profile: Women Lobby for Olympic Ski Jumping Events', News report from *North Country Public Radio*, 14 Nov. 2005, from <http://www.womensskijumpingusa.com/news04.htm> Accessed January 15, 2008.

⁶⁸ Preuß, *Anfänge und Entwicklung des Frauenskispringens*.

⁶⁹ R. Pirinen, "'Catching up with men?: Finnish newspaper coverage of women's entry into traditionally male sports," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (1997), 32(3), 239-49.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Robert Connell, *Der gemachte Mann. Konstruktion und Krise von*

Männlichkeiten. (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 1999). 97ff.

⁷² Gertrud Pfister, "Sportification, Power and Control: Ski-Jumping as a Case Study," *Juncture. The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, 8, (2007), 51-68. Pfister has written about this elaborately.

⁷³ Annette Hofmann and Alexandra Preuß, "Female eagles of the air: Developments in women's ski-jumping," in Manfred Lämmer, Evelyn Mertin, and Tierret Terret (Eds.), *New aspects of sport history: Proceedings of the 9th ISHPES Congress, Cologne, Germany*. (Cologne: Academia Verlag, 2005), 303-309.

⁷⁴ Von der Lippe 2005. Gerd von der Lippe has written about this gender equality related discourse elaborately.

⁷⁵ Gerd von der Lippe, "Female flying bodies in Norwegian sports media," in Annette Hofmann and Else Trangbaek (Eds.), *International perspectives on sporting women in past and present*. (Copenhagen: J.F Williamson, 2005), 321.

⁷⁶ See <http://www.Berkutsch.com>

⁷⁷ Hofmann and Preuss, "Female Eagles of the Air".

⁷⁸ See *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, February 20, 2009, 39. German ski jumper Ulrike Grässler answered to this suggestion that the women want to jump and not to have a fashion show.

⁷⁹ J. Morris, (2008, January 5). VANOC, Governments should push IOC on women ski jumping, *CNEWS*. Retrieved February 27, 2008, at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2008/01/05/pf-475540.html>.

⁸⁰ 'IOC President Rogge: Women's Ski Jumping Has Not Reached Olympic Standards', *ESPN*, 28 Feb. 2008, at <http://sports.espn.go.com> Accessed March, 24, 2008.

⁸¹ See ESPN documentary: "Left Out in the Cold" (May 2008).

⁸² Kim Thompson, "Excluding female jumpers 'discrimination'. U.S.-Canadian officials urge IOC to reconsider '06 decision," *Whistler Question*.

⁸³ Berkes, H. NPR-News, radio broadcast, "Gender Barriers Persists At Vancouver Olympics," aired on December 29, 2008.

⁸⁴ Quote from Justice Fenlon: *Sagen v. Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, Supreme Court of British Columbia*, date July 10, 2009, 3-4.

⁸⁵ For the argumentation of rejection see *Court of Appeal for British Columbia in the case Sagen v. Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games*, November 20, 2009, 25.

⁸⁶ Letter by Jacques Rogge to the plaintiffs, dated. September 4, 2009. At the first Winter Youth Olympics girls will be included. According to Wikipedia they will have their own competition, and there will also be a mixed team event, with a team consisting of a girl, a boy, and a nordic combined athlete.

⁸⁷ Information from Deedee Corradini, September 10, 2010.

⁸⁸ <http://praguemonitor.com/2009/02/23/czech-experience-shows-ski-jumping-not-children-women> Accessed March 13, 2009.

⁸⁹ Christiane Moravetz, "Nur ein kleiner Sprung für eine Frau," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (March 3, 2010), 26, http://www.skijumping.de/news,id199,anette_sagen_eroeffnet_neuen_holmenkollen.html Accessed September 20, 2010.

⁹⁰ Quote can be found in the brochure "Women's Ski Jumping. Join the Voices of the Athletes. Sochi 2014," by the VISA U.S. Women's Ski Jumping Team.