

**Real Women Don't Wear Pink:  
Experience of the Body among Female Ice Hockey Athletes**

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*Abstract*

Although many female athletes have challenged popular beliefs around the abilities of women in sport, sport remains contested terrain for the production and reproduction of hegemonic discourses, particularly around the female sporting body. Sport is often contentious for those female athletes who colonize and participate in sports traditionally played exclusively by men, such as hockey, and even more so for those women who participate on men's hockey teams. This study qualitatively explored how seven female ice hockey athletes come to understand their bodies and body ideals by participating on men's teams and how these understandings may (or may not) change among female athletes following transition to a women's league. Results suggest that their experiences demonstrate the tensions and contradictions around being female athletes involved in a traditionally male sport and the rigid categories used by female athletes in negotiating their lived experience while playing on male ice hockey teams.

Despite a long and rich history of women and sport in Canada, there remains a dominant gender order that still persists in sport today (Daniels, 2009; Hall, 1983; 1996; 2002). Although there is evidence of greater gender equity in sport than in previous generations, mainstream sport remains, for the most part, a male preserve in which the majority of opportunities and rewards go

to men (Kidd, 1995; Theberge, 1997). For example, in March 2009, the Hockey Hall of Fame announced that they would be re-writing their by-laws in order to allow women to gain admission (Cox, 2009). Prior to this, both women and men were eligible for the Hockey Hall of Fame, but there was no way to divide the women from the men when it came to the four Hall of Fame nominations. Following revisions of the by-laws, the Hall will now recognize the women separately from the men and provide them (women) with two spots alongside the four spots for men (Cox, 2009). With the inclusion of female athletes in the Hockey Hall of Fame, almost 50 years after its conception, it remains quite evident that the world of sport continues to be largely a male domain.

In a wide range of sport contexts, including school, intercollegiate (university) sport and international competition, opportunities for women are increasing, performances are improving, and public interest is growing (Hoffman, 1995; Theberge, 1997). These developments pose a challenge to ideologies of sex and gender, and of particular importance to this paper, constructions of the female sporting body. A particularly significant challenge to such ideologies is the increased involvement of women in traditionally “masculine” sports – such as hockey – “which quintessentially promote hegemonic masculinity and to which a majority of people are exposed” (Bryson, 1990, cited in Theberge, 1997, 70). Women have migrated into and colonized these sports through the development of women’s teams and leagues, but also through participation in men’s teams and leagues. Sport is often contentious for those female athletes who colonize and participate in sports traditionally played exclusively by men and, arguably, even more so for those women who participate on men’s teams.

Speaking in the Canadian context, there have been well known cases of women playing on, or attempting to play on, male ice hockey teams (e.g., Abigail (Abby) Hoffman, Justine

Blainey, Manon Rhéaume and Hayley Wickenheiser)<sup>1</sup>. The controversial nature of their cases, along with many other cases of women challenging to play on men's teams, has prompted increased scrutiny of women and sport at the popular, academic and policy levels (Hall, 1983; Hoffman, 1995). To only examine the lives and careers of well-known female athletes, however, is problematic as this neglects the countless other lived experiences of girls and women who have played on men's teams without the same media recognition. We simply do not know enough about the lived experiences of non-celebrity girls and women who participate on male hockey teams. With this in mind, the aim of this paper is to qualitatively explore the ways in which women, who play ice hockey on male teams before transitioning to female hockey teams, make sense of the conventional discourses and dynamics of power surrounding the female sporting body. In the following engagement with the literature, and in an attempt to frame the participants' experiences within the context of previous academic work around sport and the body, I begin with a discussion of the female sporting body, with a particular focus on female athletes engaged in traditionally male sports. Next, I briefly highlight some of the work on sporting identities, specifically connecting this work to the broader perspectives commonly held today regarding women's hockey. Finally, I discuss the results of this study paying attention to the participants' self-surveillance of the female sporting body and the interconnectedness of power and the body ideal as conceptualized by these female athletes.

### ***The Female Sporting Body***

The body is a representative agent or a social entity created by the interaction of cultural norms and sex differences, encoding cultural meanings in sexually specific ways (Adams, Schmitke & Franklin, 2005). According to Adams et al. (2005, 19):

There is nothing natural, apolitical, or ahistorical about the body; rather it is the cultural scripting impressed on the body that gives it particular meanings in particular cultures, and in particular socio-cultural concepts.

Further, this suggests that discourses surrounding the body can only be read against and within dominant discourses of the time. These naturalized or normalized discourses enforce conformity across individuals through the production of written and unwritten rules for determining who is 'normal' and who is deviant. This normalizing judgement results in the suppression and control of bodies, creating what Foucault has termed the "docile body" (Foucault, 1977). Therefore, through the normalization of the appropriate norms and conditions imposed upon it, the body, and thus the lived experience of individuals, are shaped by prevalent expectations about what bodily forms and practices are acceptable. The ability to control the human body, and create norms against which to judge the body, in particular those that deviate, is significant to the discussion of the female sporting body.

The cultural meaning of the female body and how it is regulated and controlled takes on particular meaning when examining women's participation in sports because athletic endeavours require women to engage their bodies in practices that are generally associated with masculinity (Adams et al., 2005). The sporting arena plays a powerful role in the reproduction of patriarchal gender regimes and even historically sport was not only dominated by males but was also defined by masculine traits making it explicitly discriminatory toward women (Whitson, 1990, cited in Adams et al., 2005). As Iris Young (1980) explains, dominant discourses of femininity have regulated the bodies of girls and women to construct the female body as a passive, inactive, inert body:

The norms of femininity suppress the body potential of women. We grow up learning the feminine body is soft, not muscular, passive, incapable, vulnerable. Our parents,

teachers, and friends suppress our natural urges to run, jump, risk, by cries that we should not act so boldly and move so daringly. (cited in Adams et al., 20)

Despite increased participation and improved performances by women in sport challenging historical ideas about the gendering of athleticism (Theberge, 2006; Wachs, 2005), the female sporting body remains a primary site of struggle (Lenskyj, 1990) and one of contested terrain. Under what Hargreaves (1997) calls the “heterosexual gaze” (cited in Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998, p. 267), women’s attention is focused on their own bodies. Because of the celebration of the male body in sport, and the fact that the major sports are organized around the greatest potentials of men (Dworkin & Wachs, 2009; Strandbu & Hegna, 2006), the potential of strong and muscular female athletes is weakened. Strong becomes sexy or rather, “you only have permission to be this strong if you can also look this beautiful” (Butler, 1990, cited in Wesely, 2001, 267). Contemporary society, therefore, continues to be troubled by the athletic, makeup-free, jewellery-free, sweaty female body (Adams et al., 2005). Conversely, some theorists argue that today’s more muscular women can be viewed as embodying agency, power, and independence in a way that represents resistance to patriarchal ideals (Dworkin & Wachs, 2009; Dworkin & Messner, 1999). Clearly women’s bodily agency in sport can be quite contradictory. Is the female athlete’s negotiation of the body resistant or empowering, or is the fit, muscular body ideal “simply the latest body requirement of women, a form of self-surveillance and obedience in service to patriarchal hegemony” (Dworkin & Messner, 1999, 351)? The examination of how female athletes playing on male teams negotiate the female sporting body may provide some insight into how the view of the female sporting body differs among these athletes.

Research particularly around female bodybuilders has shed some light on this issue. For example, research has found that despite the bodybuilding body offering more choice and flexibility for women to create different body shapes, women became uncomfortable when their bodies deviated too far from the feminine ideal (Heywood, 1998; Markula, 2003). In a sense, bodybuilding provided little resistance and challenge to technologies of femininity and ultimately did not offer a new sense of gender identity (Markula, 1995; 2003). Wesely (2001) does point out, however, that at the same time as these women (re)produced traditional feminine ideals, their muscular, strong, and skilful bodies challenged the conventional and historical definition of femininity as inherently weak or fragile. In a way, these female athletes used the existing sport practice of bodybuilding to challenge women's oppression in the sporting realm. The female sporting body as one of contested terrain and contradiction is clearly seen with female athletes engaged in bodybuilding. In a sense, these women struggle to cope with a contradictory position, teetering between compliance and resistance to the technologies of femininity (Markula, 1995; 2003).

### ***The Case of Women's Hockey: Sporting Identities and Broader Perspectives***

As suggested earlier, sport has historically been intricately tied to producing a diversity of bodies with those that most closely approximate and celebrate hegemonic masculinity the most culturally respected and admired (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). As a result, women's participation in ice hockey, particularly as female athletes on male teams, both challenges and reinforces dominant discourses of sport and sporting bodies. The sporting arena presents a cultural site where the shape and the size of the female sporting body often contradicts dominant ideals of feminine bodies in western culture (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). Furthermore,

discourses that shape who is and who is not an acceptable hockey player have maintained the notion that hockey is a male terrain and a hockey body is a male body (Chase, 2006).

This representation of the female sporting body/hockey relationship suggests that sport continues to be identified and associated primarily as a male terrain such that the presence of women in sport is, at times, seen as unusual and problematic (Hoffman, 1995; Willis, 1982). As Willis explains, “the fundamental anxiety seems to be that men and women have to be continuously differentiated; male preserves continuously guaranteed” (1982, 35). Hockey is archetypal in its strong association of the sport to the male identity and differentiation between female and male hockey athletes. Thus, the modern female athlete finds herself “on the cutting edge of some of the most perplexing problems of gender-related biology and the feminine ideal” often resulting in the athlete becoming ambivalent about her own identity and/or image (Messner, 1988, cited in Birrell & Cole, 1994, 71). Female athletes who play traditionally male dominated sports, in particular, are not free to construct any version of identity that they desire; identity construction is thus influenced by a number of micro- and macro-social processes (Anderson, 2005). This suggests that in so far as the female athlete is affected by popular consciousness and discourse – and it is very difficult to ignore – the female athlete is constantly living through a contradiction (Willis, 1982) and her identity, both as an athlete and a woman, is continuously questioned. As Willis (1982, 36) explains, “to succeed as an athlete can be to fail as a woman, because she has, in certain ways, become a man”. If the female athlete is not successful in fitting the stereotypical idealized version of femininity, she is viewed as deviant. As such, female athletes who participate in traditional male sports, considered outside the female domain, are reminded that they are challenging the outer ranges of “acceptable” feminine behaviours (Daniels, 1992).

The historical social constructions of gender and the female body in particular, have influenced and, at times, have resulted in problematic consequences concerning the development and organization of sport in Canada, and in hockey in particular. Broader social tensions still exist in the sport of hockey and these tensions are rooted in the gender binary. For example, a common question within hockey culture is whether female athletes should play solely within female leagues to enhance their development or if this development should essentially transfer over into men's hockey (Schneider, 2000). There is a strong cultural and societal element which favours the argument for separate development. Individuals opposed to female athletes participating on men's teams argue that women should not imitate men's sport, but instead should build different models of sport which are fundamentally more humane and empowering for female athletes (Hargreaves, 1990; Lenskyj, 2003). Similarly, supporters for separate development have argued that single-sex sports teams would provide opportunity for women in coaching and administration, and successful female athletes and coaches would provide positive and encouraging examples for girls and young women to follow (Lenskyj, 2003). The argument continues that with the control of female sport in women's hands, women would also be in a stronger position to challenge the fundamental beliefs of the hegemonic male-defined sporting world (Lenskyj, 2003). Proponents of women's hockey also argue that an all female team or all women ice hockey culture adds to a sense of identity and empowerment for these female athletes. For example, Theberge provides evidence of this through her work and has found that playing on an all female team adds to these athletes' sense of community and, ultimately, women's empowerment as accomplished through sport (Theberge, 2000).

Despite the significance of all female ice hockey teams providing the bonding and group association for female athletes, as argued by Theberge, proponents of women participating on

men's hockey teams diverge from this claim (McDonagh & Pappano, 2009). Hargreaves argues that "these expressions of separatism in sport focus on the male/female distinction and the assumption that conventional gender relations inhibit women's development" (1990, 292). Supporters of women playing on male ice hockey teams have argued that women's presence in what is known as 'male hockey culture' challenges the oppositional binary of what constitutes femininity and masculinity in sport (Hargreaves, 1990; McDonagh & Pappano, 2009).

### ***Method***

The decision to use qualitative methods for this study arose because of the very nature of the research questions. Specifically I was interested in the detailed account of female ice hockey athletes' lived experiences within the production and reproduction of hegemonic discourses surrounding contemporary sport. That said, I aimed to recruit participants willing to discuss their lived experiences as female ice hockey athletes who have played on male hockey teams. This sample was chosen to gain knowledge of how the participants made sense and meaning of themselves as female athletes in a traditionally male sport and how that further intersects with their conception of the female sporting body. Although the intent of the research was to keep the recruitment criteria broad in nature, the majority of participants who came forward to be interviewed were predominately White, middle-class and able-bodied athletes.

Seven female hockey athletes who have experience participating on male and female teams in the past, as well as those athletes who currently play, were recruited to participate in in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Berg, 2007). Participants, all of whom resided in the Greater Toronto Area of Ontario, Canada, were recruited via personal contacts of the author despite the author also posting flyers in local arenas and a university fitness facility as well as sending e-mails to contacts at local arenas. Participants ranged from 18 to 25 years of age.

The majority of the women interviewed joined male leagues at a young age (between 6 and 8 years of age) and identified wanting to begin playing hockey with the boys due to male family members (e.g., older brothers, cousins etc.) already playing. Many of the participants made the decision to transition to female leagues (between 12 and 14 years of age) due to not “being able to keep up” with the physicality of male teammates while playing on a male team. Despite this, many of the women interviewed discussed transitioning back to male hockey teams.

Interviews were conducted in the researcher’s university research lab (one interview was conducted in an empty university lecture hall), and lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours. It was essential to the study that the interviews captured the lived experiences of the research participants and how they come to understand their bodies and body ideals as female athletes involved in a traditionally male sport. The interview guide was therefore designed to be broad and reflexive in nature to encourage participants to provide greater depth and thoughts to their answers as well as to provide them with the freedom to address issues they perceived to be important. Nevertheless, interviews began with the statement “tell me a little bit about yourself”. From here, the researcher steered the interview to focus on the participants’ experiences and engagement with hockey on male and female teams, their thoughts and feelings about themselves as female athletes and, finally, their personal politics related to the female sporting body.<sup>2</sup> Interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2005) to produce themes from participants’ descriptions of their own experiences and feelings. Ultimately, two interconnected thematic categories emerged, which are discussed in the subsequent results section.

## ***Results***

### **Self-Surveillance of the Athletic Female Body**

If the sporting arena provides a space where the female sporting body is constructed, displayed and reinforced, what does that construction represent for female ice hockey athletes? Examining what participants perceive to be the conventional female sporting body is an important step in revealing what this standard looks like. In their responses to the semi-structured interview questions, a number of participants engaged in discourse around the female sporting body as a body that is, in fact, incompatible with the female body. Thus, the greater appeal of the female sporting body as one that follows or colludes in the (re)production of feminine ideals, as seen with this sample of participants, may suggest that this body is more accepted today by female athletes in the hockey community. As one participant explained:

I don't fit into the typical masculine female role many women hockey players do, like, that butch, manly, muscular, big bodied kind of role. I don't even think I fit into the role of what I typically think the female sporting body to look like. When I think of a typical female hockey player the image that pops in my head is not a girl who looks like me, but one who is actually big, muscular, has broad shoulders, short hair. Just kind of rough around the edges.

Another suggested:

I find people are very impressed to see females who look completely normal and be able to play such an aggressive sport.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Well I guess I mean that look feminine. I play hockey at a high level, but I still wear makeup, I still look good when I go to a game or go out after (a game). I wear high heels. I mean I look like a woman. You know, it just bugs me when people assume that girls who are feminine aren't athletic, and girls who are masculine are athletic.

As the above excerpts show, some of the women involved in this study did not recognize that by playing hockey they were challenging images of idealized femininity and frail female

body and using their bodies in ways that disturb the boundaries of what is deemed appropriate for women (Chase, 2006). Instead, these women perpetuated, and were actively engaged in, the (re)production of the female sporting body as one that follows the feminine ideal. The discourses articulated by the participants serve to make certain bodily expressions legitimate (i.e. that look “normal” or wear makeup) and others appear less legitimate (i.e. a butch or muscular body) (Cooky & McDonald, 2005).

This (re)production of the female sporting body as one that adheres to the socially constructed feminine standard was also recognized by participants when discussing their life experiences while playing hockey on female teams. Some of the women discussed “becoming more feminine when they started playing with the girls”. This was reflected in the following statement made by a participant who spoke about her changing views regarding the female sporting body once making the transition to an all female team from a male team:

When I played with the guys that stuff didn't really ever come to mind, like, the need to wear makeup and stuff. I didn't ever really wear makeup when I played with the guys. I kind of fit in to that boyish image with the frizzy hair, and the sweaters, and the baggy pants and stuff.

I: And with the girls?

I started to be more feminine. Like, I started to get more in to fashion, and then how I looked, and my hair, and making it straight.

Thus, it is clear for this participant that women's ice hockey provided a site where women's bodies were disciplined in complex and contradictory ways. For these women, the female sporting body, while playing on all female hockey teams, became the primary site for disciplining the female subject through normative femininity (Chase, 2006). Female hockey players exhibit a certain amount of freedom to shape their bodies through resisting dominant or normalized discourses of the ideal feminine body, but as participants in a traditionally masculine

sport, these women and their bodies are also noticeably constructed as docile athletic bodies (Foucault, 1977).<sup>3</sup> As Bartky (1997) explains:

Women's bodies are subjected to disciplinary techniques that attempt to produce a regulation of the female 'docile' body that is perpetual and exhaustive. This regulation includes the body's size and shape; its appetite, posture, gestures and general movements in space; and its overall appearance. (cited in Chase, 2006, 233-234)

For the women interviewed, acceptance of the female sporting body as one that illustrates and displays socially constructed feminine ideals functions as a form of normative control over their bodies (Bordo, 1993; 1997; Chase, 2006). Moreover, media representations and images of women, in particular female athletes, contribute to the self-surveillance and self-discipline surrounding the female sporting body and function to create it as a docile body (Chase, 2006). Since societal institutions, practices, and dominant discourses are constantly (re)producing and reinforcing the image of the female sporting body that follows feminine ideals as the appropriate standard, it is impossible for female athletes and these participants, in particular, to ignore and/or escape those influences. Thus, the more you see standard, the more you want or are required to conform, resulting in these women consciously and/or subconsciously internalizing these standards.

As seen with the participants' discourse around the female sporting body, it is clear that the female hockey body has the potential to become a docile body because it is both a female and athletic body. While female athletes may respond differently to the demands of these competing disciplinary processes (Chase, 2006), it is clear that the participants are particularly influenced by the normative ideals of the feminine body. This, in turn, impels them to believe and accept the notion that the sporting body is a body that is incompatible with the female body. It is

interesting to note, however, that these sentiments echoed by the participants in the study were somewhat different when they spoke to their experiences playing on male teams.

### **The Exercise of Power and the Body Ideal**

Despite the conflict and tension around the participants' discourses regarding the female sporting body as one that embraces feminine ideals, many of the women described their experiences with the body and playing on male teams as reinforcing a masculine standard. These women acknowledged experiencing incompatibility between the female body and the sporting body while playing on male teams and discussed feeling the need to hide aspects of the female body while on the ice and yet, when off the ice, engaged their bodies in hyper-feminized behaviours:

I remember choosing out my clothes for what I was going to wear home from hockey.

I: And did that clothing differ?

Well, I remember always trying to look nice to get to go there so the guys would be like, 'Oh, that's actually a girl and she's kind of hot' and then on the ice [boys] be like, 'Yo, what? This girl's crazy!' Then after the game again I'd try to pull off the 'I'm hot, look at this, but I still play hockey kind of look'. So, sometimes I'd come out of the dressing room wearing the bottom half equipment and I'd be wearing this teeny little top and be like 'Oh my god look at me. Are you checking me out?'

It may be possible for some female athletes that this dual role of the female sporting body—one that can engage in a traditionally masculine sport if all cues of the female body are hidden while on the ice, yet off the ice, is engaged in typical feminine ideals—creates a feeling of empowerment. As one participant explains:

Even though I played with the boys, I knew I was a girl so I made sure to act like a girl. Like, I remember going to team parties with the boys and having my hair down with my nails painted, kind of playing up my femininity and showing the boys on my team that I play hockey, but I was still a girl. I guess in some way this gave me some type of subliminal power as I could kind of *act two separate ways and excel at both* (my emphasis). Like, I could act like a guy on the ice by not crying and playing aggressively, but off the ice I was a girly girl.

As another participant elaborated:

I find that people now award you more or look at you in this spotlight for being feminine and athletic specifically athletic in terms of playing manly or masculine sports.

I: And why do think that's so?

I don't really know but I guess it's 'cause they never really expected me to be both feminine and athletic and I guess they're impressed I can balance such a thing, especially the guys. Guys are shocked when I tell them I play AA hockey. They never expect me to say that, and I don't think once after telling a guy that I played hockey, that he wasn't shocked or in awe.

In terms of the power relationship to the body ideal, for the participants whose excerpts are shown above, they realized that there is an acceptable body ideal or standard for female athletes within the hockey community and that bodies that conform to this standard are embedded with power and privilege. It is interesting to examine the ways in which power is exercised with regard to the female sporting body. Among these particular participants, the female sporting body is linked to power in terms of carrying a dual role. This acceptable body ideal is one where on the ice all cues or features of the female body are consciously hidden, yet off the ice, the female sporting body is acknowledged as one which embraces feminine ideals. The idea of being able to successfully transform one's body has empowered these female athletes as they are vested with a certain amount of privilege over those female athletes who do not engage their bodies in typical feminine ideals and over those female athletes who do not play sport and, thus, do not engage their bodies in masculine ways.

### ***Conclusions***

This study has attempted to capture the experiences of female hockey athletes as they negotiate their participation in a sport that has historically been an exemplar of defined masculinity (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). Despite these women colonizing new terrain and challenging sport as a site

that privileges hegemonic masculinity through their participation on male teams, the women in this study spoke of their experiences as female athletes in surprising ways. More specifically, their experiences demonstrate the tensions and contradictions around being female athletes involved in a traditionally male sport and the rigid categories used by female athletes in negotiating the female sporting body while playing on male teams.

Although the participants, by very nature of being involved as female athletes in a traditionally male sport and reporting on behaviour (e.g. aggressiveness) that challenges hegemonic constructions of femininity, they also constructed a restricted version of reality; that is, one where it is acceptable to engage in aggressive behaviour and embody power on the ice if in other ways, such as off the ice, it can be demonstrated that other elements of conventional heterosexist femininity are embodied (Wright & Clarke, 1999). By way of the discourses used by the women interviewed, they failed to connect their experiences as female athletes in a traditionally male sport to greater struggles around equity in sport. By not politicizing their experiences, these women consented, to a degree, to the social constructions of the feminine ideal. The image of women in sport is a powerful political symbol—this image presents society with connotations of strength, force and the ability of women to compete successfully in traditional male domains (Young, 1997). However, the ambiguous nature of the participants' responses regarding the female sporting body mirrors conceptions of binary categories (Cooky & McDonald, 2005) and the contradictory nature of constructing the sporting body (Young, 1997). The participants' narratives demonstrate how difficult it is to challenge the technologies of femininity and the reification of the “appropriate” female body. As Young and White (1995, p. 13) explain:

On one hand, women are clearly participating in, even colonizing, traditionally male exclusive spaces in sport. On the other hand, many such spaces are being occupied by

women who, rather than contributing to a deliberate or organized reconstruction of the meanings of sport, appear to be contributing to male defined sports. Although we view the two as necessarily intertwined, we suspect that sport is often viewed by women participants as more personally than politically empowering.

Having said this, future research should consider how the lived experiences of female ice hockey athletes participating on male teams are connected to power in society and to what extent their participation may be supporting or challenging these structures (cf., Hargreaves, 1990). Sports studies scholars should also consider how the institutional space of hockey, parents, coaches and fans contribute to the discourses surrounding sport and the female athletes, and the ways in which these discourses affect how we conceptualize various sporting practices (Butryn & Masucci, 2009), and the role of the athletic body. By shedding light on the lived experience of female athletes, theorizing about and analyzing the social and cultural connections created by sport for the female athlete, this research can make important contributions academically and politically.

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## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> While a full discussion of their individual biographies falls beyond the scope of this paper, brief descriptions of their experiences are warranted.

At the age of eight, Abigail Hoffman began playing hockey, in the early 1950s, on an all boys' team with the Toronto Hockey League. At this time females were restricted from playing on male teams so Hoffman cut her hair and began calling herself 'Ab'. Upon discovering 'Ab' was a girl, the league initially allowed Hoffman to continue to play with her team; however due to intense pressure from players, coaches and parents, Hoffman was forced off the boys' team the following season. Determined to continue playing hockey, Hoffman began playing in a girls' league but because of difficulties with the scheduling of games, Hoffman eventually decided to quit hockey altogether (Avery & Stevens, 1997).

In the mid-1980s, after having successfully tried out for a local boys' league, twelve year old Justine Blainey challenged the refusal of the Ontario Hockey Association (OHA) to allow her to play on the all male team. According to OHA rules, membership to the league was restricted to boys and Blainey was prohibited from joining the team. Following an extensive legal effort, Blainey won the right to play with the boys' league (Avery & Stevens, 1997; Lenskyj, 2003; Theberge, 2000).

Arguably, one of the most controversial female hockey players was Manon Rhéaume. Although Rhéaume was the first female to play professional (men's) hockey, the women's hockey community, during the 1990s, remained ambivalent toward Rhéaume. On the one hand, being signed to Tampa Bay as a goalie, Rhéaume's affiliation with men's hockey brought publicity to female hockey players. At the same time, however, it was generally agreed upon within the mainstream media that Rhéaume's 'success'

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was a publicity stunt owing to her appearance rather than her athletic ability (Rhéaume, 1994; Theberge, 2000).

Described as the greatest female player in the world (Étue, 2005; Stevens, 2006), Hayley Wickenheiser initially played hockey in a boys' league. While playing hockey on all male teams, particularly as a young teenager, Wickenheiser experienced animosity from parents for being the only girl on the team, despite her being one of the better players (Étue, 2005). At the age of fifteen, Wickenheiser's athletic ability was recognized by the Canadian Women's National Team where she became one of the youngest players to ever play. Her success in hockey continued when in 2003 she became the first woman to ever register a point in a men's professional league.

<sup>2</sup> Follow-up questions or probes were asked throughout the interview to expand on points raised during the interview process.

<sup>3</sup> Foucault (1977) argues that disciplinary processes are significant to the production of bodies and provides examples of how bodies are produced at or through particular sites, including the prison system and insane asylum.

I don't suggest that FS have eating disorders but it usually benefits the skater to be lighter and generally speaking, thinner women have smaller breasts. The Issue With Boobs And Sports. 3.6K views · The female ice skaters are athletes. Athletes tend to have very low body fat. Women's breasts are primarily fat. Look at long distance runners and other athletes. Same. 423 views. Women's ice hockey is truly a wonderful sport, and one that allows women and girls of all ages worldwide to get out on the ice and play. Hockey, an international sport, is extremely popular in Europe. She previously played for the Boston Pride of the National Women's Hockey League, with whom she won the inaugural Isobel Cup. Knight competed for the Wisconsin Badgers women's ice hockey program, as well as for Choate Rosemary Hall. Viona Harrer is a German female ice hockey goaltender, who played for the otherwise all-male Team Tölzer Löwen and for the Germany women's national ice hockey team. At a 2009 Women's Four Nations Tournament held in Slovakia, Harrer was named the tournament's top goaltender. Professional women's hockey is back in Canada! The Toronto Six is the newest team with the @NWHL. Her achievements in rowing at the national level, World Cup Regattas, World Championships and the Olympic Games rank Krista among the top female rowers in the history of Canadian rowers. Krista stands out as a role model for young athletes and has volunteered countless hours to educate, coach and mentor young athletes. This is a full body stability and strength drill that requires mental toughness and strength. The experience of women in sport is unique, and the goal of the speaker series is to create a diverse community of female athletes and leaders who can inspire future generations of women and girls in their field. Every woman has a different route to their personal understanding of feminism. This empowering collection shows how a diverse group of women found their voice, and it will inspire others to do the same. ...more. Get A Copy. Amazon. Another difficult one to rate. Feminists Don't Wear Pink carries such a valuable sentiment; it's a fairly decent crash course in feminism; it's so energetic. It breaks my heart slightly to say that it misses the mark. These are not essays.