

Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011

A Project Funded by the UEFA Research Grant Programme



Jean Williams

Senior Research Fellow

International Centre for
Sports History and Culture
De Montfort University

CONTENTS: WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALIZATION 1971-2011

CONTENTS PAGE	I
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	III
INTRODUCTION: WOMEN'S FOOTBALL AND EUROPE	1
1.1 POST-WAR EUROPE	1
1.2 UEFA & EUROPEAN COMPETITIONS	11
1.3 CONCLUSION	25
REFERENCES	27
CHAPTER TWO: SOURCES AND METHODS	36
2.1 PERCEPTIONS OF A GLOBAL GAME	36
2.2 METHODS AND SOURCES	43
REFERENCES	47
CHAPTER THREE: MICRO, MESO, MACRO PROFESSIONALISM	50
3.1 INTRODUCTION	50
3.2 MICRO PROFESSIONALISM: PIONEERING INDIVIDUALS	53
3.3 MESO PROFESSIONALISM: GROWING INTERNATIONALISM	64
3.4 MACRO PROFESSIONALISM: WOMEN'S CHAMPIONS LEAGUE	70
3.5 CONCLUSION: FROM GERMANY 2011 TO CANADA 2015	81
REFERENCES	86

CONCLUSION	90
4.1 CONCLUSION	90
REFERENCES	105
RECOMMENDATIONS	109
APPENDIX 1 KEY DATES OF EUROPEAN UNION	112
APPENDIX 2 KEY DATES FOR EUROPEAN FOOTBALL	116
APPENDIX 3 SUMMARY A-Y BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION	122
Bibliography	158

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALIZATION 1971-2011

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFC	Asian Football Confederation
AIAW	Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women
ALFA	Asian Ladies Football Association
CAF	Confédération Africaine de Football
CFA	People's Republic of China Football Association
China '91	FIFA Women's World Championship 1991
CONCACAF	Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football
CONMEBOL	Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol
DFB	Deutscher Fussball-Bund (German Football Association)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
FA	Football Association (English)
FAI	Football Association of Ireland
FAW	Football Association of Wales
FAWPL	Football Association Women's Premier League
FFF	Fédération Française de Football (French Football Association)
FICF	Federazione Italiana Calcio Femminile
FIEFF	Fédération Internationale Européenne de Football Féminine
FFIGC	Federazione Femminile Italiana Gioco Calcio

FIFA	Federation International Football Association
FIFA U17 WC	FIFA Under Seventeen World Championship for Men
FIFA U17 WWC	FIFA Under Seventeen World Cup for Women
FIFA U19 WWC	FIFA Under Nineteen World Cup for Women
FIFA U20 WWC	FIFA Under Twenty World Cup for Women
FSFI	The Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale
FSFSF	Federation des Societies Feminines Sportives de France
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ISF	International Sports Federations
LFAI	Ladies Football Association of Ireland
Korea DPR	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
Korea Republic	Republic of Korea (South Korea)
NOC	National Olympic Committees
OFC	Oceania Football Confederation
PFA	Professional Footballers' Association
SEA	Single European Act
SFA	Scottish Football Association
SWFA	Scottish Women's Football Association
UEFA	Union des Associations Européennes de Football
USSF	United States Soccer Federation
WNBA	Women's National Basketball Association
WSL	FA Women's Super League
WUSA	Women's United Soccer Association

WWC '99 Women's World Cup 1999

WWC '03 Women's World Cup 2003

WWC '07 Women's World Cup 2007

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALIZATION 1971-2011

How should a history of Europe be configured? This should not be a simple collection of individual national stories. This is not the only, or perhaps even the best way, to attempt to trace a process of European historical development...In the context of sport, Lanfranchi and Taylor's study of the patterns of professional footballer migration serves as a guide on how to break away from a national fixation...What is Europe? How is it represented to us? To what extent do we feel European? Our notion of 'Europe' must be seen in terms of these various issues, and not as territory constructed with western-Eurocentric vision.¹

INTRODUCTION

1.1 POST-WAR EUROPE AND WOMEN'S FOOTBALL

When, in 1951, six European states formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), via the Treaty of Paris, this effectively began a process of economic integration that, sixty years later, involves over thirty states in a complex arrangement of political, social and cultural ties in the European Union (EU).² The ensuing Treaty of Rome, signed in 1957 by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, is most often cited as the point at which European economies began to be managed in common, with other policy areas subsequently to follow. The co-operation of those political parties in power at a given time (inter-governmentalism), has been one academic approach to the subject. From its creation to the present day, the EU has been conceptualised as an international organization similar to others involving collaboration between nation-states. Alternatively, a growing international relations literature emphasises the EU's unique organization and role (supranationalism). From this perspective, the union, its institutions and activities are also treated as an increasingly autonomous body. Clearly, the EU is just one way of interpreting Europe. It is probably more helpful, therefore, to think of multiple and changing aspects of European identity and this project begins with that premise.

A conscious move towards European integration, which was to have wide-ranging and important consequences, coincided in 1951 with an event that seems, on the face of it, isolated, unrelated and relatively insignificant: T. Cranshaw of the Nicaraguan football association wrote to the secretary of the Federation Internationale de Football Associations (FIFA), the world-body of football based in Switzerland, concerned that he had seen women's football in Costa Rica and knew of almost 20,000 female players in the United States.³ What, he enquired, did FIFA intend to do? The response was that the governing body, which had been founded in 1904, had no concern with, or jurisdiction over, women's football. In consequence, it could not offer advice either to Mr Cranshaw or to its affiliated associations on this issue. However, there had been a history of women's football going back to the 1880s and the world-body must have been aware of at least some of this: Jules Rimet, who had been a president of both the French Football Federation (FFF) and FIFA, had assisted in two matches played by women's teams in front of 10,000 spectators in 1920, for example.⁴

At the time of writing much has changed: football has held its men's World Cup in South Africa in 2010, one of first sporting mega-events there. In Europe, FIFA is building towards a Women's World Cup, hosted by Germany in 2011, which it is hoped will break records for a female-only sporting tournament on the continent. This will be the sixth edition of that competition since the first Women's World Championship was held in PR China in 1991. PR China also hosted the 2007 Women's World Cup (WWC); the United States has held two such competitions in 1999 and 2003 and Sweden one in 1995. There are now also two youth versions; the U-20 and U-17 WWC tournaments were held in Germany and Trinidad and Tobago respectively in 2010. The crowded playing calendar now combines these with Olympic tournaments since 1996 and confederation, regional and national competitions. The rise in the number and variety of international fixtures for women players is football's most conspicuous move toward equity in the last twenty years.

With an estimated 26 million female players globally, of which 6 million are based in Europe, the evolution of football as a sport and as an industry over the last sixty years has been dramatic.⁵ However, there are reasons to be cautious in the optimism that surrounds the

growth of the women's game. The same survey claims only a total of 21 million *registered* European players, male and female, compared with an educated-guess of 62 million unregistered participants. It is not uncommon to include those who intend to participate in the next year, as well as those who actually do play, for example. Globally today, even by FIFA's own enthusiastic figures, women make up ten per cent of the total number of football players *at best*.

When we look at elites able to earn a living from the game, the gender disparity is amplified: if there are 60,000 professional players registered in Europe, for example, very few are women. This is striking because the idea of amateurism has, to a large degree, defined what it is to be a professional: under FIFA rules, if a player earns more for their football-playing activity than the expenses that are incurred in performing those duties, they must have a written contract and are thereby considered a professional. While those who do not meet these criteria are considered amateurs, the word professional encompasses a considerable range of activity, from the essentially casual participant supplementing their main income through football, to the multi-millionaire players of Europe's big five leagues in England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. So, this project sought to ask the following 'big' question: how many women are involved in what kinds of professionalism in European football? We recognize that most of the growth of female participation has developed in the last forty years, however, we know very little about any attendant professionalization. While this is not the first research to look at cross-national issues of elite women football players, it is among the first to look at Europe-wide patterns of professional female migration.⁶

The Union des Associations Européennes de Football (UEFA) confederation was formed in Switzerland in 1954 with thirty member associations (Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, the Republic of Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, U. S. S. R., Wales and Yugoslavia).⁷ The factors in UEFA's creation are discussed in more detail in the next section, nevertheless, it has grown from an administrative body where three people worked full-time in 1960 to an

organization of over 340 employees functioning across multiple languages and cultures.⁸ With fifty-three countries presently affiliated, it is an obvious but necessary opening point that the map of European football after 1945 has been quite different to the geographical constituency of the EU, with its twenty-seven current members. These tensions are evident as the ‘specificity and autonomy’ of sport has become increasingly contested since the move toward implementing a Single European Act (SEA) from 1986. The SEA sought to establish the four basic freedoms of the movement of goods, capital, services, and people within the internal market.

Sport generally, and football in particular, became ever-more subject to EU legislation from the mid 1980s onwards. This was prompted in no small part by the deaths of thirty-nine Juventus FC fans at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels, after they were charged by Liverpool FC supporters before the kick-off of a match between the two teams on the 29 May 1985. The fixture was meant to be a showcase of football on the continent, as Liverpool were European Champion Clubs' Cup holders and Juventus possessors of that season's UEFA Cup Winners' Cup.⁹ The match was controversial for taking place following the deaths, and was decided by a single penalty goal scored by Michel Platini, the current UEFA President, for Juventus.¹⁰ As an important symbolic, social, cultural and economic activity, football came to be seen as an industry requiring a degree of EU regulation. However, that control has been contested.

This is not just an academic issue, as UEFA had a Commission Committee on the Players' Union and on the Common Market between 1969 and 1991 in order to debate integration issues and to formulate a position for lobbying. The launch of the English Premiership in 1992 focused increased attention on who was to play in which European league and profoundly changed the economic revenue-sources to the game; most evidently television. A decade after Heysel, the ‘Bosman case’ in 1995, involving a Belgian player of that surname, challenged the existence of ‘quota systems’ for the transfer of foreign professionals. The test case showed that no exemption for football would be made if its regulations were held to compromise an individual's rights as an EU citizen. While the complexity of the case has been covered in depth elsewhere and is too involved to examine

here, EU law has continued to have a world-wide impact, much to the continued consternation of those who see themselves acting ‘for the good of the game’.¹¹ As Richard Parrish has shown, this has led to the formation of ‘advocacy coalitions’: variously-comprised clubs, leagues, governing bodies, lawyers, independent organisations and the media who promote their views in the negotiation process.¹² Of late, diversity has become incorporated into this wider regulatory framework, with high-profile and controversial Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) partnerships with UEFA. The term equity is used in football however, more often as a financial term than one which implies positive action on gender politics.

Global corporations have sought to rebrand and segment football for a variety of distinct demographic groups over the timescale covered by this project. Hence we can see a proliferation of tournaments as copyrighted vehicles for selling licensed products that, in the case of men's World Cups, can exceed 500 individual items and sales of US\$1.5 billion. The complexities of the financial arrangements are unprecedented and this can sometimes lead to apocalyptic forecasts for the eventual decline of the game.¹³ While The Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force on 1 December 2009, at once consciously modernized the structures of the EU and recognized the ‘specificity of sport’ in article 165, a number of longstanding practices in football remain contested; these include national playing quotas; ticket sales; television rights and perceived monopolies. Brand and Niemann, for example, remind us that the processes of football’s Europeanisation incorporate transnational, country-specific and regional implications.¹⁴ For instance the German Football Association (DFB) liberalising its nationality restrictions, post-Bosman, beyond the minimum required for EU residents. This effectively expanded the right to earn a living in professional football in Germany, without being considered a foreigner, to all male players living in the member states of UEFA.

One of the key questions addressed by this research therefore, is, how did the sports bureaucracies’ policy of ignoring women players change to one of partial integration into international and confederation systems from the early 1970s onwards? What patterns of EU, FIFA and UEFA regulation and development have emerged in this rapidly-changing evolution of the game? What subsequent professional careers existed for European women

internationally, and for female players in Europe up to 2011?¹⁵ These have been largely overlooked questions in considering what constitutes Europe and how this has changed over time.¹⁶ This is all the more striking because multiple aspects of identity such as ethnicity, race, religion, regionalism and so on, have been treated in scholarly work on sport, football particularly, since the 1980s.¹⁷ In fact, ‘identity’ is the single most explored topic in relation to European football.¹⁸ European sport, particularly football, and its many female forms nevertheless remains to be further developed as a multidisciplinary academic specialism. Consequently, previous accounts of how Europe has been represented, and analyses of a growing Europeanization in football since the 1950s, have often ignored female players, administrators and coaches. This body of literature nevertheless provides a convergence of information that has provided an introductory framework for this project.¹⁹

The football map of Europe has also been shaped by the lasting influence of Cold War politics, which particularly affected central and eastern regions.²⁰ While federalists before the war saw a possible union including the USSR, the installation of regimes sympathetic to communist ideals in the countries of central and eastern Europe saw a Soviet ‘sphere of influence’ become, in Churchill’s words, an ‘iron curtain’ by March 1946. The subsequent recommencement of the civil war in Greece, territorial demands on Turkey and claims on Persia then combined with the exit of the Soviet representative from the Four-Power Council of Foreign Ministers in 1947. From this point on, the division of Germany into a Federal Republic (West Germany) and the Democratic Republic (East Germany) determined different notions of European-identity until the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of the country in October 1990. Across Europe, diplomacy and policy ‘faced’ East or West, although, as a recent exhibition at the V&A Museum in London indicated, social, political, economic and cultural influences crossed physical and ideological divides.²¹

The development of a European-wide competition for women’s football since the early 1980s has, therefore, been more recently affected by new national football associations seeking to develop the game in the last twenty years; particularly since Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined UEFA in 1992. For many years, eastern European associations did not have their own budgets as football was integrated across ministries in respective state systems.

The state systems did not prioritise women's football because there was no Women's World Cup until 1991 and no Olympic event until 1996. Since 1992, the redefinition of UEFA membership in the central, Balkan and eastern regions has further highlighted already-existing tensions between mass development and elite regulation of the game for women Europe-wide. The project explores those continent-wide tensions and Appendix 3 is an attempt to chart some of the qualitative and quantitative information collected by FIFA and UEFA, particularly between 1996 and 2003.

A duality of eastern and western powers could be one way of seeing the subject of women's football: 'old' and 'new' Europe another. Recent multi-disciplinary work however, reflects a more nuanced approach to transnational European identities.²² The growth of multiethnic national teams has subsequently changed ideas of sporting representation, for example. A smaller literature has looked at women's football but has focused less on professionalism and migration than on charting national developments.²³ Many see women's increased presence on the international sporting stage as a 'recent change' with the women's world cup for cricket set up in 1973, two years before the equivalent men's competition, and with female football and rugby union competitions following in 1991.²⁴ This work contends that there were more widespread networks than has been so far acknowledged since the mid 1950s in European women's football. This awareness of the sport in other countries and cultures has formed the basis for the national and transnational continent-wide growth of female professionalism in football between 1971-2011.

National team selection has been a key element of professionalization for European women football players generally, so some of the case studies will explore this relationship. National team selection, though not paid work until the twenty-first century in most cases, gave female players a much-increased profile from which they might either extend their careers in football or move to related occupations, such as the media. While academics have begun to analyse the cultural representation of Mia Hamm or Brandi Chastain in the United States, we need to know much more about what Birgit Prinz or Carolina Morace or Kelly Smith means to their respective fans at home and abroad. More academics are now calling for the attention of researchers to focus on women as being 'increasingly enmeshed in the

process of making national identity through sport.²⁵ For example, in the context of British women medalists of the Olympic Games, Stephen Wagg has responded by suggesting that the period 1952 to 1972 saw ‘a perceptibly different vocabulary’ of cold war rhetoric in the domestic media.²⁶ He argues that following the first Soviet Union participation in the Olympics, the British ‘the girl next door’ was an old-fashioned innocent, in a technocratic cold war atmosphere that saw female athletics under communist regimes as work. What processes are at work in the representation of national team women football players? Club and country tensions are also important parts of the story.

After considering the methods and sources of the project, individual case studies enable the reader to see examples of micro-levels of professionalism experienced by some pioneering women players. The results are provisional and the research ongoing but some of the issues raised above are addressed. The work then moves on to aspects of meso-professionalism, with increased numbers of players and an emerging club-level employment for women. Finally, the project considers macro-professionalism, with more widespread international competition and the launch of new semi-professional leagues. The Conclusion refers to potential areas of further research and some recommendations follow. While identity and representation are therefore central to this study, political systems are clearly beyond its scope. Therefore Appendix 1 summarizes the necessary context of the expansion of the European Union since the ECSC agreement to the present.²⁷ Reading some of these debates has enabled me to consider how professional women’s football in a changing Europe has developed over a forty-year period, from the beginning of the 1970s, when most of the expansion in its popularity took place. Before moving on to look at football and UEFA’s role in developing women’s competitions, it is worth briefly considering useful concepts. Some key points in the history of European football since the mid-nineteenth century are summarized in Appendix 2, again, in order to give the required sports-specific background. Europe in 1971, and its football, looked very different than it does in 2011.

The first expansion of what was then called the European Community (EC) in 1973 began with the accession of Denmark, Britain and Ireland and was marked, in symbolic form, with a 6 plus 3 match of football. Post-war European integration, especially to the east,

has not been a straightforward progression: Britain's previous application to join had been vetoed by French President de Gaulle in 1963. Norway had applied to join the EC in June 1970 but the Norwegian people rejected the idea in a referendum held in 1972 and remain, by and large, Euro-sceptic. Expanding the EC to Greece, Portugal and Spain involved protracted negotiations, leading to the Mediterranean enlargements which were agreed in 1979 in the first case, and 1985 in the second and third (coming into force in 1981 and 1986 respectively). Subsequent wars, invasions and economic difficulty made further expansion a relatively slow and precarious affair. Nevertheless, in this increasing sense of Europeanization, the four most significant aspects for this project have been federalism, a widening and deepening of the union and a degree of flexible integration. These are worth outlining briefly because the same processes can be said to be more or less present in the changing Europeanisation of football.²⁸

Federalism then is used here in its generalist sense, rather than specialized political science variants, to mean the processes whereby nation-states enter various forms of partnership involving supranational organization. Clearly, the integration of Europe was not to be achieved by a single act of union because no national government was willing to surrender all of its power or sovereignty. Widening the EU has not been without its troubles. The current membership of twenty-seven is likely to expand further still in challenging economic circumstances. Another four states (Croatia, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey and Iceland) are currently candidate countries at the time of writing. In addition, potential candidate countries include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244, Montenegro and Serbia. The extent to which the EU has spoken on behalf of European nations as an umbrella organization at various points in its history is debatable. The degree to which individual nations have spoken through the collective is another challenging topic beyond the scope of what concerns us here.

What is vital is that the confluence of sport and politics was particularly marked when the European Parliament declared 1992 Olympic Year. An EU approach was exemplified by the 1999 Helsinki Report that established sport existed beyond national

boundaries and legislation, requiring supranational regulation. The relationship with Olympism has since further been formalized with a permanent European Olympic Committee (EOC). The White Paper on Sport issued in 2007 went further to argue that health, social inclusion, education, competition law, freedom of movement, criminal liability and the protection of minors all came under the umbrella of EU regulation.²⁹ There are limits to a sense of European identity in sport however. Proposals to create a European team and that athletes would wear a national and an EU symbol while participating in the Olympic Games have been resisted.³⁰ In football, the relative power of individual associations and UEFA remain in flux: independent and autonomous national associations usually wish to tolerate intervention only when European-wide interests are concerned. As one of the most well-known EU mottos would have it, most football national associations prefer to show 'Unity in Diversity' rather than through a wider sense of European-ness. Until the late 1990s, for example, newly-formed associations affiliated first to FIFA, *then* to their continental confederation, though the reverse is now the case.

The idea of deepening implies the extent to which individual countries and their citizens have embraced a European identity. While we might judge this by monetary union and acceptance of the Euro as common currency from 1999, we could perhaps also measure this by looking at opinion polls that show a commitment to federalism. Economic, social, and political activities are further indicators of continent-wide popular activity and football is now as much a creative-cultural industry as a sport. Some nations, such as Britain, Switzerland and Norway, remain more Euro-sceptic than others: nevertheless these countries have a prominent place in the history of European football over the same period.³¹ It is as well not to presume too much of a confluence of interest, therefore: fundamental values which appear to be highlighted both by the EU and football, such as peace, non-discrimination, solidarity, unity and sustainable development, are somewhat nebulous in their application in spite of the apparent consensus of their use. The project has also looked beyond Europe because the United States has some significant influences on how the professional female athlete has been marketed here.

In the United States model the four main sports (American Football, Baseball, Basketball and Ice Hockey) operate a closed-league system wherein athletes sell their labour. The Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) has now been running for fourteen years and is one of the most interesting examples of world-wide professional female team athlete migration. It stretched the basketball playing calendar by playing in the closed-season of the NBA, attracted new audiences and sponsors to the game and innovated sporting-goods merchandise with its mother-and-baby products. Much of European professional sport, in contrast, operates a pyramidal structure that involves promotion and relegation. This European model, incorporating the principles of sport on a national basis and financial solidarity between amateur and professional sport, was discussed recently between Androulla Vassiliou, the EU Commissioner in charge of sport, and UEFA officials at Nyon in January 2011. As the first visit to UEFA headquarters by a European commissioner, the occasion was thought to symbolise a consensus on key issues between the two parties. Nevertheless, we could say that, rather than represent a widening sense of European identity, the launch of closed women's semi-professional football leagues, licensed by the national associations are evidence of an increasing Americanisation. The next chapter will look at the specifics of this case. For now, having summarized the main themes inherent in contrasting and multiple ideas of European-identity that will be developed later, the 'peculiar business' of football first requires consideration.

1.2 UEFA, European Competitions and the Growth of Women's Football

It is a familiar story that the Union of European Football Associations was formed in response to several factors. Football federalism, for example, was evident in the establishment of FIFA as an international governing body. There were also commercial imperatives, as the establishment of the FA Cup and Football League competitions in the nineteenth century had shown how local and regional rivalries could be stimulated by national competitions. International tournaments amplified and intensified these processes. The foundation of FIFA was motivated in no small part by a desire to recognise only one national association per state in representative competition.³² Seven European countries initially unified international football: Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Spain,

Sweden and Switzerland, with Germany intending to join a future agreement. In spite of a policy of snobbish isolation the British were considered to have joined the following year; with Slavia Prague effectively representing the Czech football association; Italy and Hungary comprising the tenth and eleventh members. The first Olympic football competition was held in London in 1908 hosted by the English FA. At the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games FIFA first held an international tournament under its own control and the ninety thousand spectators made evident the financial benefits of such a competition.

The first French female football team was also founded in 1916 and seemed to have gained acceptance when the Federation des Societies Feminines Sportives de France (FSFSF) was established and organised a national championship for teams from Marseille, Rheims, Paris and Toulouse. Led by its non-playing administrator, Alice Milliat, this organisation competed against the well-known English team, Dick, Kerr's Ladies in 1920. This phase of 'Munitionettes' football has been linked with the practical feminism of working-class women, combined with the political activism of the middle classes and civic boosterism. The games raised money for charities and their local communities feted players. The inter-war period saw more European women eligible for the vote and a rise in the wider global processes related to sports, leisure and the entertainment industries more generally. Milliat became secretary to FSFSF and hosted international versions of Women's Olympics from 1921, with the main events football and basketball matches that drew large crowds of up to 20,000 spectators, for instance.³³ However, in response to crowds of up to 53,000 at Everton in 1920 and the supposed misuse of money raised for charity, the English governing- body banned women's football from grounds of Association and League clubs in 1921.³⁴ This was to have an effect on the continental mainland, especially about the 'unsuitability' of football for women.

Games between women's teams of different nationalities continued though. For example, a club comprised of Femina and other French players competed against the English team, Bridgett's United, in Barcelona in 1923. When, in 1919, the Fédération Française de Football (FFF) was founded it refused to accept ladies' teams as members but did not institute a ban. Academic and family historians are finding out more about women's teams in

this period all the time and its geographical spread is more widespread than we so far understand.³⁵ As an undesirable activity in the eyes of governing bodies, and with no Olympic presence so far as the IOC was concerned, one of the world's most popular sports had no official female international existence until 1970. This has profoundly shaped the image of football and female participation to this day, with resentment as to women's intrusion remaining a part of wider popular culture.

By 1923/4 season all the continental European countries had joined FIFA (though the English FA was to leave on more than one occasion until after World War Two, largely due to its own superiority complex and disagreements about the definitions of an amateur player). By 1928, the symbolic inclusion of the 'other' half of the world on the cover of the FIFA handbook marked a moment when it became a global organisation, if still largely Eurocentric in outlook and power. In an effort to establish FIFA's independence from the International Olympic Committee and because of the success of the football tournament at the 1924 and 1928 Games (both won by Uruguay) the first World Cup was held in that country in 1930.³⁶ Uruguay won and the competition produced impressive financial returns. The World Cup hosted by Italy four years later took on a political dimension, due to Mussolini's presence, and the home team won in an intensely nationalistic atmosphere. The remaining inter-war competition took place in France in 1938, (won again by Italy). Lack of South American participation and European turmoil meant that the title of a World Cup was somewhat presumptuous and it was to be the last tournament for twelve years. At its resumption in Brazil in 1950, international competition was thereafter to be an important means of stimulating football's world-wide development and commercial profile.³⁷

It is also widely-known that establishing a European football confederation was in part stimulated by anglo-continental antagonism, made worse by the insularity of the English Football Association and the Football League: a snobbery that was beginning to change slowly in the post-war years under Stanley Rous. Wolverhampton Wanderers, one of the more successful Football League sides of the 1950s, was a pioneer of European competition, with friendly wins over FC Spartak Moscow in November 1954, amongst others. In a 1954 match against Kispest Honvéd FC of Hungary, Wolves came from behind

to win 3-2, leading some British writers to claim them unofficial champions of Europe, if not club champions of the world.³⁸ Hyperbole was a British media trademark that could not go unchallenged: French sports journalist, Gabriel Hanot, writing for *L'Equipe* was not alone in finding this to be an arrogant claim. Competition on the continental mainland had included the central European Mitropa Cup (held since 1927) and the Latin Cup between teams from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain (held since 1949). Hanot, together with Jacques Ferran, designed a challenge tournament to be played on Wednesdays under floodlights and invited clubs on the basis of their attractiveness to supporters, rather than on the basis of national dominance.³⁹ The newly-established competition faced typical English narrow-mindedness: for the inaugural European Champion Clubs' Cup in 1955-6 Scottish team Hibernian took part. English champions Chelsea wanted to, but did not, due to pressure from the national association and the Football League.

English attitudes to Europe were changing though. A young Bobby Charlton, who had recently broken into the Manchester United first team in the 1956-7 season, later declared himself to be 'Under the Spell of Europe' at this time.⁴⁰ In particular, Charlton was fascinated by the play of Alfred Di Stefano and thought him the complete player as United were playing Real Madrid in the semi-final of the competition. Charlton's career was to become synonymous with European football as he and manager Matt Busby, survived the Munich Air Disaster of 6 February 1958. Returning from a European Cup match against Red Star Belgrade in Yugoslavia, the Manchester United team plane had stopped at Munich's Riem Airport to refuel and failed to take off in heavy snow. Eight of the team, commemorated from then on as Busby's Babes, were among the twenty-one dead. With Charlton at the centre of rebuilding the team, European Cup victory was not to come until 1968, two years after he had won a World Cup with England. Charlton released a series of four books for young readers on the subject of European football from 1969, focusing on key players and the multi-authored articles conveyed this enthusiasm for competition on the continental mainland as a key ambition for each season.⁴¹ Nor, as Matt Taylor has shown, was Charlton alone in seeing the attraction of continental football: increasingly British players saw the glamour of competition there: the forwards included Argentina's Di Stefano, Hungary's Ferenc Puskas, France's Raymond Kopa and Gento. Defender José Santamaria of

Uruguay also exemplified Real Madrid's international squad of players who were to monopolize the newly-inaugurated European Cup from the 1955-6 season for its first five years, in their all-white kit and light-weight boots.⁴²

Commercial elements also saw the foundation of what was to become the UEFA Cup, as the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, from April 1955 with ten teams.⁴³ The original tournament lasted three years, with matches timed to coincide with trade fairs, before 1971/72, becoming known as the UEFA Cup. The change of name no longer associated the competition with trade fairs and has expanded from 1999/00 as domestic cup winners also qualified, after the UEFA Cup Winners' Cup was disbanded. Since 2009/10 the tournament has been known as the UEFA Europa League, with the group stage expanded to forty-eight clubs playing six matches on a home-and-away format. Of course, such commercial ventures were helped by the increase in air travel and improved transport links, with the attendant rise of personal motor ownership (scooters, motorbikes and cars) and collective journeys by land, sea and air. As a period of relative prosperity in Europe from the mid 1950s into the 1960s, with new forms of leisure and pleasure, football was one aspect of sports tourism to benefit from a wider fashionable cosmopolitanism. Paid holidays from work and rising incomes meant that travelling abroad became available for more people, though only for those with the time and the money to do so. New and cheaper means of travel combined with increased communications accelerated and arguably democratized this trend in the later decades of the twentieth century and up to the present.

If these are recognized forces in the rise of the game and its industry, it is a less well-known aspect of football's history that twin forces obliged FIFA and UEFA to take control of women's participation between 1969 and 1971. These were the increasing numbers of female players and attendant commercial interest in women's football. Nor was this particularly new, or down to some increased sense of permissiveness in European society in the late 1960s. Women had demonstrated awareness of European football providing new levels of competition from the 1920s but this became more widespread from 1955 onwards. Ingrid Heike and Ildiko Vaszil, for example, founded a club in spite of a West German ruling that women were not recognised by the DFB that year. The club joined a network, centred on

Duisburg, to form a West German Women's Football Association with backing from Essen businessman Willi Ruppert. With Ruppert as the Chair of the self-titled German Ladies Football Association, six clubs in the Ruhr area played on communal pitches in front of around 5,000 spectators. An international game against the Netherlands took place in September 1956 at the Mathias-Stinnes-Stadion in Essen, with the usual national anthems and other conventions. Recorded for the weekly newsreel, *Die Wochenschau* and mediated across cinemas, Germany won in front of 18,000 fans including 1,000 Dutch spectators who saw their team lose 2-1.⁴⁴ A second international in Munich in front of 17,000 spectators, saw media pronouncements that women's football had become fashionable, though tensions between the local council and the DFB over expenses and profits continued to make female play contentious.

A club competition, titled the European championship, was hosted under the auspices of an International Ladies' Football Association in 1957.⁴⁵ Teams from England, Austria, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany took part. Manchester Corinthians won the tournament, led by their 33 year-old captain, Doris Ashley. The Corinthians team had formed in 1949 and had previously played against British and French opponents. It was first associated with Manchester City goalkeeper Bert Trautmann in 1951 when he presented the Corinthians with the Festival of Britain trophy: one of many unofficial 'national' tournaments for women's teams from the United Kingdom.⁴⁶ Trautmann was an adopted son of Manchester, having chosen to remain there after being released as a German Prisoner of War. He reached national acclaim by becoming the first goalkeeper, and foreigner, to be awarded the Football Writer's Association Footballer of the Year (for 1956) and helped Manchester City to win the FA Cup Final 3-1 against Birmingham playing the later stages of the match with a broken neck, as no substitutes were allowed. He received much public sympathy in Britain when his five-year old son was killed in a road traffic accident some months after the Cup Final. Having been associated with the team and their tours for five years, that a well-known player visited Germany as Corinthians' interpreter was a significant moment in the continuing Europeanisation of women's football. While Austria's Matthias Sindelar had supported Austrian women's teams in Vienna in 1935, and England's Tom Finney previously backed Dick, Kerr's tours, the 1957 tournament was a consciously

European competition. Large crowds are evident on the newsreels and this suggests a latent market for women's football, even at this time.⁴⁷ We do not know the extent to which female players' interest was stimulated by the 1954 West German World Cup victory in Switzerland, 3-2 over the favourites Hungary: the Miracle of Bern. We do know, however, that the Manchester Corinthians toured Portugal in 1957-8, Madeira in 1958, South America and Ireland in 1960, Italy in 1961, Morocco and North Africa in 1966. Many of these exhibition and charity matches were organised by the International Red Cross and were played on major grounds in front of large crowds.⁴⁸

This is, of course, just one team. With further research at the individual and club-level, more evidence of this emerging transnational community of women players will no doubt emerge. Without going into further details, the point is that there were financial and popular interests involved in the post-war women's game well before it was accepted by the national and international governing bodies of football. Women's football teams were around in Austria, Czechoslovakia; Denmark; England; Finland; France; Luxembourg, the Netherlands; Norway; Scotland; Sweden, the USSR and West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s. Increasing access to contemporary media sources will help researchers to uncover more of these activities. Slavia Praha and CKD Slany played in a regular Czech tournament of the 1960s, including a 'Gingerbread Heart Final' in 1969 for instance.⁴⁹ By 1963 Germany's women had played a reported seventy 'unofficial' international games when they marked the occasion with a 4-0 defeat over Holland, with Maron, a former player with Borussia Dortmund, as their manager. A conscious policy of the DFB, mirrored in England, of encouraging women teachers to instruct football-drills in schools, seems to have empowered some degree of female recognition, even if the distinction between a teacher's certificate and a coaching badge was to remain an important one.⁵⁰

Physical education lecturer Mira Bellei was instrumental to the formation of Roma women's team in 1967 and it was to become an important club for migrating players, especially the British, who played alongside Italian internationals, such as the striker Stephania Medri and centre-back Lucia Gridelli. By 17 May 1968 nine Italian women's football teams had announced formation of the Federazione Italiana Calcio Femminile

(FICF) in Viareggio (Ambrosiana, Cagliari, Fiorentina, Genova, Lazio, Napoli, Milano, Piacenza and Roma) with Real Torino joining a year later.⁵¹ In November 1969 another attempt was made to co-ordinate activities on the continent through the establishment of a Fédération Internationale Européenne de Football Féminine (FIEFF) with the support of drinks company Martini and Rossi. In the four-team tournament in Turin, Italy, Denmark, England and France were provided with kit, equipment, all-expenses paid travel and accommodation. This was another milestone in a European-wide awareness of the women's game. The Turin tournament, for example, drew in English players like Sue Lopez, Sue Buckett, Jill Long, Barbara Birkett, Dorothy, 'Dot' Cassell and Joan Clements, some of whom returned to Italy to join one of the teams there. Denmark's Birgit Nilsen and Czech Maria Scevikova also played in Italy.

A second Italian professional women's league, the Federazione Femminile Italiana Gioco Calcio (FFIGC), was established in Rome in 1970 with fourteen teams. The resulting women's world championship there in 1970 and another in Mexico in 1971 meant that businessmen independent of the governing bodies had begun to explore the commercial potential of female football at the elite level. This time concern was shown. Circular letter 142 of 1970 asked FIFA member nations to indicate if women's football existed in their countries and instructed them to take control of all forms that they found.⁵² At the 1971 Extraordinary UEFA Congress in Monte Carlo the Vice President, Sandor Barcs, gave a speech on women's football. It was already played in twenty-two European countries he told the meeting, but was under the control of the national associations in only eight. The French and West German national associations were the first to lift their bans on the women's game and the English FA followed in 1971. The year was a defining moment in European football when UEFA agreed that all its national associations should take control of women's participation. It was not necessarily a progressive move. Incorporation was followed by a decade in which official recognition combined with a conspicuous lack of support to effectively stifle further development of the women's game.

Although Europe and North America were important, however, an Asian Ladies Football Association (ALFA) had been formed in Hong Kong in 1968 and had tried to

affiliate to FIFA as a confederation in its own right. There was therefore international pressure and sufficient knowledge about the wider transnational community of women's teams to exert pressure on FIFA, as well as the confederations. The emergence of leadership and commercial interest, plus the growth in female participants, created a degree of community cohesion in women's football. This required acknowledgement. One of my two main critiques of globalisation theories as grand narratives about sport is that they are rarely sensitive to gendered labour-markets. The second is that the model of individual, national, supranational and worldwide markets for football players (male and female) has often ignored voluntary networks of community, evident in formal and informal ties of affiliation and goodwill.⁵³ Most sport worldwide, especially at the youth level, is dependent on armies of volunteers who mentor and encourage young people. Very few people are privileged enough to earn a living solely from sport. The volunteer is the veritable iceberg and the professional just a small, but highly visible, part of the whole.

Institutional inclusion since 1971 has followed a paradoxical progress, as the women's game became gradually incorporated within UEFA and FIFA but without also being commercialised until very recently. A degree of official recognition appears to have inhibited the mercantile exploitation of women's football in favour of 'the right kind' of development as overseen by these bureaucracies. Three separate meetings discussed the issue in 1971 and founded a Committee for Women's Football to hold regular meetings and to organise a European Championship.⁵⁴ The first memorandum on women's football was approved at the 1972 Vienna congress. At one of these early UEFA meetings to discuss women's football in 1973, for example, not one woman was invited to speak but Pat Gregory attended as an observer, and officials decided 'to wait for about two years before introducing a women's competition'.⁵⁵ It would actually take another nine years. Meanwhile, Mr Boll, from Switzerland, reported that since 1971 his daughter had been playing professionally in Italy in matches drawing 10 to 15,000 spectators, especially in Viareggio and La Spezia. Mr Boll continued that some companies were paying 400,000 Swiss Francs a year on sponsorship and publicity to be associated with the league. The meeting agreed in response to boycott FIEFF activities and the world championship in Mexico 1971. In addition,

members circulated a memorandum to the effect that there would be no mixed teams and that no female team was to play a male team.⁵⁶

Dr Kersten Rosén became the first woman to speak at the meeting of the committee in Zurich on the 21 March 1973, followed by the conference on women's football the next day. Nine member associations attended and examined the results of a survey of member associations. After the conference, the committee met again but no decisions regarding competition or development were taken. A survey was however instituted in 1974 but produced a limited response. After a period of inactivity, UEFA dissolved the Women's Football Committee in 1978. At this time, Italy had three female associations: two merged, one disbanded and the reconfigured group invited European women's associations to a meeting in April 1980. UEFA responded to this by hosting its own second conference on women's football. It involved twenty-nine delegates from eighteen member associations of the thirty-four affiliated to UEFA in that year.⁵⁷ Summary documents showed participation levels in the following countries: Denmark 26,000; England 4,000; Finland 3,000 France 6,000; West Germany 111,000; Holland 11,000; Sweden 9,400 and Belgium (plus the remaining countries) 2,500 or fewer players. A five-person committee for European competition was again reinstated and this was ratified at the June 1980 UEFA Congress. The Committee again discussed a competition, anticipating that a maximum of twelve national teams would be able to field squads (club-level tournaments being judged as unfeasible). The number of applicants exceeded expectations and sixteen national football associations entered women's teams.

It was not just competition that was inhibited by the first decade of incorporation. In the period between 1971 and 1981, under the guise of 'protecting' the women's game and its amateur nature from exploitation, sponsorship was also repeatedly turned down and lost at national and international level. The DFB, for example, allowed its sixteen regions to organise championships at that level, before seeing a private initiative launch a national championship in 1972-3. The DFB then took this over without sponsors the following season and familiar names like TuS Worrstadt; Bonner SC; Bayern Munich; SSG Bergisch Gladbach and SC Bad Neuenahr; KBC Duisburg; FSV Frankfurt and TEV Siegen won the

German championship 1974-1996.⁵⁸ The unofficial ALFA cup continued to be important internationally, and particularly for domestic recognition therefore, because it was only after Bergisch Gladbach had won the tournament in Taiwan in 1981 that the DFB decided to create a West German women's national squad for 1982. There were 3,000 female football clubs at this time from which the players could be selected.⁵⁹ An opportunity to stage a Women's world Championship in England was also declined in 1972/3 because a cutlery company, Viners, wanted to sponsor the event to the tune of £150,000.⁶⁰ Given that the World Cup in England in 1966 had seen previously unprecedented forms of commercialisation of goods and services (with the first mascot, World Cup Willie, the first official song and numerous other items of merchandise) the decision to turn down Viner's offer of sponsorship looked to be out of step with the industry as a whole. But it was to be 1991 and the M&M's Women's World Championship in PR China, before FIFA was to get over its squeamishness about accepting sponsorship from a multinational, in this case, a confectionary brand. Twenty years later, with three main semi-professional female football leagues presently established in Germany, the Netherlands and England (plus numerous national competitions, especially in Scandinavia, France and more westerly countries), there can be said to be a greater sense of a European market for women players than at any previous time in history. In spite of the extended period of women's participation in football, about which we know increasing amounts thanks to continent-wide research, it is however, an emerging and uncertain commercial situation.

The sixteen-team 1982 UEFA-sponsored competition therefore indicated active engagement by the confederation with female elite players. The Competition for National Women's Representative Teams, as it was titled, was held over two-years in the following groupings and was won by Sweden.⁶¹

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Sweden	England	Italy	Belgium
Iceland	Northern Ireland	France	Switzerland
Finland	Rep of Ireland	Portugal	Denmark
Norway	Scotland	Switzerland	FR Germany

A meeting to review this exercise confirmed that UEFA was unable to express an opinion on women's worldwide competition, having devoted a yearly contribution of 25,000 Swiss Francs to the first competition. Inauspicious as this may have seemed, women's football became more trans-European and international because the relative strengths of the continent's national teams were showcased in a formally-endorsed competition. This stimulated increased domestic interest in women's football in some countries, at the same time as intensifying international rivalries: more sustained and specialised preparation for such competitions became more widespread. However, it operated on the proverbial shoestring: logistical problems caused the groups to be reconfigured in 1984 to limit the need for travel.⁶²

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
FR Germany	England	Belgium	Italy
Denmark	Northern Ireland	France	Switzerland
Finland	Rep of Ireland	Netherlands	Spain
Norway	Scotland	Sweden	Hungary

The new tournament was shaped by old ways of thinking. Proposals included that it be played over three years to avoid a clash with the finals of the men's World Cup or the European Football championship and the next edition did not take place until 1987. In the Final, Norway beat Sweden in Oslo, supported by 8,500 spectators, by two goals to one. Another idea for a FIFA invitational tournament, possibly to be staged in Japan in 1987, was felt by UEFA officials to be premature. The same meeting decided that it was not the task of UEFA to carry out experiments in girls' or women's football, rather this was the role of FIFA and national associations. At the Final of the third competition under this title, held in Osnabruck in July 1989, Germany beat Norway 4-1. The 1989/ 91 tournament was re-titled the First European Championship for Women's Football. With eighteen participants, for the first time, more than half of the member associations took part.

The European competitions provided a vital precursor for the Women's World Cups, not least in slowly persuading football's bureaucracies of the playing-standard of women's

football relative to the male game. This can be seen by the dominance of European berths in Women's World Cup Finals, which has been as many as five of a twelve-team tournament. The widening of the number of teams in the Canadian Women's World Cup Finals in 2015 to twenty-four, marks an expansion of opportunities for non-European countries therefore. It also demonstrates a combined world-wide increase in female participation and ever-growing institutional support for women's competitions. A 2003 FIFA circular announced that at its meeting on 17 December 2002 the FIFA Executive Committee had decided that at least 4% of annual payments received by national associations should be allocated to women's football. While this has now increased incrementally again by 2011, there is much that could be done financially in hard cash and for social capital in soft diplomacy to enhance women's place in the industry as a whole.

In concluding this section then, before looking at the relationship between sources and methods in the next chapter, we can say that, from a point of view of European football's officialdom, women's soccer was a relative latecomer to sporting competition. It is debatable at what point women's football and nationalism became synonymous but the very patriotic showing of Women's World Cup 1999 in Los Angeles (just five years after the men's World Cup in 1994) means that every subsequent version of this tournament aims to be a 'milestone' in the history of women's football. The event in Sweden in 1995 did not really catch the public imagination and so Germany 2011 will have an opportunity, and the experience of selling a World Cup only five years after a men's event, to mark several European 'firsts' in the women's game. Perhaps this pattern will see Women's World Cup 2019 go to Brazil to do the same in South America.

The early period of enthusiasm for European football from the mid-1950s, which appeared to centre on male forms of the game, was also important for women's football. By the early 1970s football's image was tarnished by the exposure of bribery scandals and hooliganism which one commentator has called 'Eurosclerosis'.⁶³ This wider context helps us to understand that female players also had an emerging sense of European competition during the 1950s and 1960s. We can also see that football's governing bodies integrated the women's game as part of a wider 'legitimacy-crisis' in the 1970s. The commercial, moral,

regulatory and competitive aspects of football in the 1970s to the mid 1980s remained problematic and accepting women appeared to make the industry look more progressive. It was not a particularly warm welcome on behalf of the family of football and the examples of intolerance, exclusion and prejudice would be too extensive to number here.⁶⁴ While a new acceptance for women players might have re-positioned the governing bodies as less conservative than they had been until that point, this was, and is, a very slow process of change. Arguably it was not until the success of Women's World Cup 1999 in the United States (where 34 UEFA member associations expressed a wish to participate in the tournament) that the commercial prospects for women's football became a priority for the sport's governing bodies.

A rather grudging recognition in the 1970s persisted into the 1980s. It nevertheless helped the women's game to gain acceptance, as is evidenced by the first-ever European competition for women's football, the 'Women's Euro' beginning in 1982 with the Final in 1984. The inaugural tournament was won by a Pia Sundhage goal for Sweden to beat England in the penalty shoot-out for the title. However, Sundhage's international career was to last twenty-one years between 1975 and 1996. As the sixth ranked player in the FIFA Woman Player of the Century poll, what changes did she, and other players like her, experience before and after official European competition became established?⁶⁵

What can individual migration patterns to earn a living from the game tell us about the status of women's football then and now? Fien Timisela, from the Netherlands, is an example of a player-turned coach who can earn at least part of her living in the United States in 2011. Previously a Dutch National Team and futsal (indoor soccer) team player, and now working as the head coach of the KFC Koog aan de Zaan, Fien also works for part of the year at the Dutch Soccer Academy in the United States.⁶⁶ In terms of her transportable skills and qualifications, Fien has the prestigious TC3 coaching degree from the KNVB. She began her coaching career by training young men at under fifteen years of age and she eventually coached the women's team in Castricum. Of course, the nature of football as an industry changed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with male migrant counterparts now increasingly visible, especially in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish leagues. If 93.3 % of

male Arsenal players and were expatriates in 2010 and the top ten teams in the Champions League for that year had percentages of overseas players of roughly 70% and above, what can we say about female players in elite European football?⁶⁷ The methods and sources section of this project will outline the extent to which it has been able to begin to answer some of these questions.

1.3 Conclusion

UEFA has been by far most influential instigator of international competition for women's football of the six confederations. While this project draws upon the broader context, it will be essentially a history of the last forty years beginning with Monte Carlo in 1971 and ending with the approaching Women's World Cup in Germany 2011. This introduction has set out to explore two important research questions. First, what do we mean by European women's football? Second, if football is the fastest growing team sport for women, and has had a world tournament since 1991, why has it not become more commercialised? This introductory section has looked at the growth of European competitions as a wider framework for the more specific migration patterns of professional and semi professional women moving into, and out of, Europe. What can the competitive opportunities tell us about this transnational and gendered employment sector?

Questions such as these are developed in the subsequent chapters to examine the 'push' and 'pull' factors influencing individual women who wanted to play professionally as they moved into and out of Europe from the early 1970s onwards. The work looks at the meso level of development from the mid 1980s in order to assess the improved European-wide opportunities for women shortly after changes in world-football. As well as specific changes in the women's game, these more favourable conditions followed the Hillsborough disaster in 1989; the Taylor Report requirement of all-seater stadia in England and the negotiations for what would be the first Premier League season in August 1992. Some commentators saw such changes as part of the feminisation and embourgeoisement of football. The commercial independence from the Football League and FA, left the Premiership free to organise its own broadcast and sponsorship agreements at a time when

many clubs had also floated on the Stock Market to become PLCs and brands in their own right. The sums of money involved prompted clubs to take on community-based projects and women's football generally benefitted from this aspect of Corporate Social Responsibility. Most high-profile men's clubs will have an affiliated women's team, but the degree of support and genuine partnership varies as the contrasting fortunes of Arsenal and Manchester United's women's teams show. There are also important independent women's clubs that do not fit this wider trend to consider. Finally, in looking at a nascent professional market with specially-established leagues, competitions and tournaments the macro-level section seeks to ask, what has been Europe's role in the global game for women?

Football's universal qualities have made it a focal point for international interaction and cross-cultural exchange. Playing the game does not require the use of a specific national language or a recognised qualification, and the rules for both the men's and women's game have long been standardised across the globe. As such, the international football market could be considered one of the best examples of a genuinely transnational and multicultural employment sector.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the perception of football as global product has overly emphasised a uni-dimensional form of economic determinism. Instead, we need to do more work on the forms of migration and commercialism of the female game as part of the political economy of football. It is a so far hidden aspect of the social, cultural and historic dimensions of the industry. Neglect of gendered labour-markets is part of that oversight.

The next chapter on methods and sources has three overlapping themes therefore. Firstly, global claims for football have tended to underplay the local. Secondly, gendering the research questions of the study of sport, football in particular, makes this case quite clearly. Thirdly, for the most part, though not entirely, football consists of individuals, local to a geographical place or space. These individuals and groups have clustered together in informal and formal networks who may, or may not, interact with the powerful bureaucracies who oversee the game at national, continental and world levels. In order to begin to look at this, we have to go back to the 1970s. It is to be hoped that more quantitative analyses will follow this qualitative study. At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, for example, Raffaele Poli, who has undertaken ground-breaking research at the Professional

Football Players Observatory (PFPO) based at CIES, has no plans to include female players as part of that agenda. Painstaking as the qualitative and quantitative work is, the micro level of women's experience is not yet widely-discussed. It is with the emergent forms of professionalism pioneered by individuals in the later decades of the twentieth century that the project starts.

¹ Jeff Hill 'Postmodernism and the Cultural Turn' *European Sports History: Models, Interpretations and Historiographies* AHRC-funded Network Sport in Modern Europe: Perspectives on a Comparative Cultural History <http://www.sport-in-europe.group.cam.ac.uk> accessed 10 January 2011.

² Stephen George and Ian Bache *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 1. The four key institutions are the Commission; the Council, the European Parliament (EP) and the European Court of Justice (ECJ).

³ Christiane Eisenberg, Pierre Lanfranchi, Tony Mason and Alfred Wahl *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004) p. 187.

⁴ Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls: A History of Women's Football in England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003) and ***A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football*** (London: Berg, 2007); Paul Dietschy *Histoire du Football* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2010) p. 503.

⁵ FIFA 'FIFA Big Count 2006: 270 million people active in football' *FIFA.COM* <http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/media> accessed November 2010.

⁶ Sheila Scraton et al. 'Women and football-A Contradiction? The Beginnings of Women's Football in Four European countries' *The European Sports History Review* vol. 1 no. 1 1998 pp. 1-27 and 'Is it still a Man's Game? The Experiences of Top-Level Women Footballers in England, Germany, Norway and Spain' *International Review for Sociology of Sport* vol. 34 no. 2 1999 pp. 99-113; Sine Agergaard and Vera Bothelo 'Female Football Migration: Motivational Factors for Early Migratory Processes' in Joseph Maguire and Mark Faloutsos (eds.) *Sport and Migration: Borders, Boundaries and Crossings* (London: Routledge, 2010) pp. 157-172.

⁷ Graham Turner and John Idorn *UEFA 50 Years* (Nyon: UEFA, 2004) pp. 140-1. Turkey joined in 1955; Malta in 1960; Cyprus in 1964; Liechtenstein in 1974; San Marino in 1988; Faroe Islands in 1990; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1992; Armenia, Belarus, Croatia, Georgia, Slovenia and Ukraine in 1993; Azerbaijan, Israel, Macedonia, Moldova and Slovakia in 1994; Andorra in 1996, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998; Kazakhstan in 2002 and Montenegro in 2007 for a current total of 53 national associations. See also Antoine Maumon de Longevialle *La Construction de L'Europe du football* [Constructing a Europe of Football](unpublished PhD thesis, University of Strasbourg, June 2009). The first part of this thesis provides a historical overview of how UEFA came to be established, while tracing the various political disparities that it had to face as an organisation in its mission to unite Europe through football. The second section of the thesis addresses the political decisions that were taken by UEFA in accepting the membership of specific countries such as Cyprus, Turkey and Israel. It also discusses the issues related to the inclusion of micro-States such as San Marino and the Faroe Islands while raising the question of Gibraltar. I am grateful to Elisabeth Buehlmann and Neil Beecroft at UEFA for these references.

⁸ The five other affiliated confederations include: the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) was formed in 1954, currently has 46 affiliates with its headquarters in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; the Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF) was founded in 1957, comprises 54 members and is based in Egypt; the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF) was created in 1961, has 40 full associates, (including Guyana, Suriname and French Guyana on the South American continent plus five further associate nations) and is based in New York; the Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (CONMEBOL) was inaugurated in 1916, presently has 10 members and hosts its headquarters in Luque, Paraguay and the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC) was constituted in 1966, has 11 members at the time of writing and a base in Auckland, New Zealand.

⁹ See for example UEFA.Com '1984/85: Football mourns Heysel victims'
<http://www.uefa.com/uefachampionsleague> accessed 9 November 2010.

¹⁰ Simon Kuper 'The Secret Police Chief at Left-Half' *Football Against the Enemy* (London: Orion, 1994) pp. 39-41. The deaths of 340 people at a match in the Lenin Stadium between

Spartak Moscow and Dutch club Haarlem in October 1982 was not widely-known until 1989, for example, Kuper argues.

¹¹ See for example Geoff Pearson ‘University of Liverpool Factsheet One: The Bosman Case, EU Law and the Transfer System’ www.liv.ac.uk/footballindustry/bosman.html accessed 9 November 2010; Joseph Blatter ‘President’s Corner’ *FIFA World: For the Game, For the World* (Zurich: FIFA, 28 May 2010) p. 27. This article explicitly outlines the tensions between the role of EU sports ministers and FIFA with regard to legislating limits on the number of foreign players in teams under article 165 of the Treaty of Lisbon. A distorted relationship between sport and commerce could be addressed by limiting freedom of movement between clubs, FIFA argue.

¹² Richard Parrish *Sports Law and Policy in the European Union* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) pp. 15-6.

¹³ Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson *Globalization and Football* (London: Sage, 2009) p. 95.

¹⁴ Alexander Brand and Arne Niemann ‘Europeanisation in the Societal/Trans-National Realm: What European Integration Studies Can get Out of Analyzing Football’ *Journal of Contemporary European Research* vol. 3 no. 3 2007 pp. 182-201.

¹⁵ See, for example, the link between the Namibian Football Association (NFA) and the German governing body (DFB) in the development plan for women’s football in the former country, in Kevin Crowe ‘The Himba Galdiator’ *FIFA World: For the Game, For the World* (Zurich: FIFA, 28 May 2010) pp. 42-5.

¹⁶ I would like to acknowledge Pierre Lanfranchi and Kevin Marston for our conversations on these issues which have informed my thinking. Pierre has done in-depth research on football and the EU. As much of the material is not in the public domain, further direct references will appear as Pierre Lanfranchi Personal Communication 1st November 2010. Kevin Marston is a PhD student with whom I work. Kevin is writing a cross-national case study of the professionalisation of youth football from the 1970s in the US, France and England. Further direct references will appear as Kevin Marston Personal Communication 1st November 2010.

¹⁷ For sport generally see Richard Holt, J. A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (eds.) *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (Frank Cass: London, 1996); Maurice Roche (ed.) *Sport, Popular Culture and Identity* (Aachen: Meyer and Meyer, 1998). For football specifically see John Bale 'The Adoption of football in Europe: an Historical-Geographic Perspective' *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* vol. 11 no. 2 1980 pp. 56-66; Christiane Eisenberg 'Football in Germany: Beginnings 1890-1914' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* vol. 8 no. 2 1991 pp. 205-222; Steve Redhead (ed.) *The Passion and the Fashion: Football in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993); John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (eds.) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup* (Aldershot: Arena, 1994); Siegfried Gehrmann (ed.) *Football and Regional Identity in Europe* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1997); Adam Brown 'European Football and the European Union: Governance, Participation and Social Cohesion-Towards a Policy Research Agenda' *Soccer and Society* vol. 1 no. 2 2000 pp. 129-150; Matthew Taylor 'Football, History and Memory: The Heroes of Manchester United' *Football Studies* vol. 3 no. 2 2000 pp. 24-41; Anthony King 'Football Fandom and Post-national Identity in the New Europe' *The British Journal of Sociology* vol. 51 no. 3 September 2000 pp. 419-442; David Head 'Europeanization Throughout Football: The Cross-cultural Impact of Jürgen Klinsmann and Sven-Göran Eriksson in England' *European Journal For Sport and Society* vol. 1 no. 1 2004 pp. 23-33; Liz Crolley and David Hand *Football and European Identity: Historical Narratives through the Press* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁸ Christos Kassimeris *Football Comes Home: Symbolic Identities in European Football* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2010) for example looks at the meanings of various team badges and, in Chapter Five particularly, the 'ethno-symbology' of clubs to their local community across Europe.

¹⁹ See for example Pierre Lanfranchi 'Exporting Football: Notes on the Development of Football in Europe' in Richard Giulianotti and John Williams (eds.) *Game without Frontiers: Football Identity and Modernity* (Aldershot: Arena, 1994) pp. 163-172.

²⁰ Robert Edelman *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sport in the USSR* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Ronald Kowalski and Dilwyn Porter 'Political

football: Moscow Dynamo in Britain in 1945' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* vol. 14 no. 2 1997 pp. 100-121.

²¹ V&A *Cold War Modern: Design 1945-1970* (V&A, London, 25 September 2008 – 11 January 2009). 'The first exhibition to examine contemporary design, architecture, film and popular culture on both sides of the Iron Curtain during the cold war era' http://www.vam.ac.uk/exhibitions/future_exhibs/cold_war accessed 1 April 2011.

²² See, for example, Artemio Franchi et al. *25 Years of UEFA* (Switzerland: UEFA, 1979); Union des Associations Européennes de Football *UEFA: 40 Years of European Unity* (Bern: UEFA, 1994); Graham Turner and John Idorn *UEFA 50 Years*; Paddy Agnew 'Foreword: Football and Evolving National Identity' in Philip Dine and Seán Crosson (eds.) *Sport, Representation and Evolving Identities in Europe* (Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

²³ Matthias Marschik 'Offside: The Development of Women's Football in Austria' *Football Studies* no. 1 vol. 2 1998 pp. 69-88; Ali Melling 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football 1920-45' *The European Sports History Review* vol. 1 no. 3 1998 pp. 24-42; Laurence Prudhomme-Poncet *Histoire du Football Feminine au XXème Siècle: Espaces et Temps du Sport* (Paris: L'Harmattann, 2003); Andrei Markovits and Steve Hellerman 'Women's Soccer in the United States: Yet Another American Exceptionalism' in Fang Hong and J. A. Mangan *Soccer, Women and Sexual Liberation: Kicking Off a New Era* (London: Frank Cass, 2003) pp. 14- 30; Sheila Scraton, J. Cauldwell and S. Holland "'Bend it Like Patel' Centring 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* vol. 40 no. 1 2005 pp. 71-88.

²⁴ Martin Polley 'Sport and National Identity in Contemporary England' in Adrian Smith and Dilwyn Porter (eds.) ***Sport and National Identity in The Post War World*** (London and New York: Routledge, 2004) pp. 22-23.

²⁵ Mark Dyreson 'Icons of Liberty or Objects of Desire? American Women Olympians and the Politics of Consumption' ***Journal of Contemporary History*** vol. 38 no. 3 pp. 435.

²⁶ Stephen Wagg "'If you want the girl next door...": Olympic Sport and the Popular Press in Early Cold War Britain' in Stephen Wagg and David Andrews (eds.) ***East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*** (London and New York: Routledge, 2007) p. 100-101.

²⁷ European Commission *Europa: The Gateway to the European Union* ‘Member Countries’ and ‘History’ <http://europa.eu/about-eu/member-countries/> accessed 25th October 2010.

²⁸ Mark Chaplin 'UEFA President sets out the challenges ahead' <http://www.uefa.com> accessed 23 March 2011. Now in his second term of office, Michel Platini outlined the centralised sale of media rights for national-team qualifying matches to which all 53 UEFA member associations have signed a mandate.

²⁹ European Commission *White Paper on Sport Brussels 391 final* 11 July 2007 sections 932-936 available at <http://ec.europa.eu/sport/white-paper/whitepaper> accessed 10 January 2011.

³⁰ This sense of EU solidarity and prosperity through sport is not unique to football of course, but articulations are specific to various organizations of sport, see for example Alexandre Miguel Mestre 'The Relationship Between Olympism and the European Union: roots and Causes' *Journal of Olympic History* vol. 18 no. 3 December 2010 pp. 24-35.

³¹ This has been the subject of popular as well as academic writing, see for example Simon Kuper ‘Gazza, Europe and the Fall of Margaret Thatcher’ *Football Against the Enemy* pp. 70-5.

³² Christiane Eisenberg et al. *100 Years of Football* pp.58-68.

³³ For more detail on the role of Madame Milliat see M. Leigh and T. Bonin ‘The pioneering role of Madame Alice Milliat and the FSFI in establishing international trade for women’ *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 4 no. 1 Spring 1977 pp. 72-83. Women had been included in Olympic competition in swimming, athletics, archery, golf, tennis, gymnastics and figure skating for example from 1900, though events were subject to controversy and elimination from the schedule.

³⁴ There has been a sustained popular and academic consideration of the Dick, Kerr team during 1917-1921, see for example Ali Melling *Ladies Football: Gender and Socialisation of Women Football Players in Lancashire 1926-1960* unpublished PhD thesis University of Central Lancashire November, 1999; Gail Newsham *In a League of Their Own* (London: Scarlet, 1998); Barbara Jacobs *Dick Kerr's Ladies* (London: Constable and Robinson, 2004); Patrick Brennan *The Munitionettes: A History of Women's Football in North East England During the Great War* (Donmouth: Donmouth Publishing, 2007).

³⁵ Roger Munting 'Norwich Girls' Football in the inter-war years' *Bulletin of the British Society for Sports History* BSSH March 2007 pp. 8-15; F. Z. Claro 'Kynock Women's football team, 1916' Essex Record Office I/Pb 11/5 <http://www.winningendeavours.org/71-136/bw-photo-of-kynock-womens-football-team-1916> accessed 2 April 2011.

³⁶ However in terms of the history of international football the 1930 tournament has been argued to be localised rather than a world event, with only four European countries (France, Yugoslavia, Romania and Belgium) present. See, for example, Matthew Taylor 'Global players? Football Migration and Globalization 1930-2000' *Historical Social Research* vol. 31 no.1 2006 pp. 7-30.

³⁷ For an overview of the competition see Brian Glanville *The Story of the World Cup* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1980).

³⁸ Matt Taylor *The Association Game* p. 265; Pathe newsreel clips of the film are available at Film REF: 493.05 'Wolves beat Honved' <http://www.britishpathe.com> accessed 7 November 2010 and the crowd excitement for European football is evident.

³⁹ UEFA 'Football's Premier Club Competition' <http://www.uefa.com/uefachampionsleague> accessed 15 November 2010.

⁴⁰ Sir Bobby Charlton 'Under the spell of Europe' *My Manchester United Years: The Autobiography* (London: Headline, 2007) p. 109.

⁴¹ Bobby Charlton *Bobby Charlton's Book of European Football* (London: Souvenir Press Ltd, 1969) and subsequent editions by the same publishing house.

⁴² Matthew Taylor *The Association Game: A History of British Football* (Harlow and London: Pearson Longman, 2008) pp. 205-208.

⁴³ UEFA 'New format provides fresh impetus' <http://www.uefa.com/uefaeuropaleague> accessed 15 November 2010.

⁴⁴ Eduard Hoffmann and Jürgen Nendza *Verlacht, Verboten und Gefeiert: Zur Geschichte des Frauenfußballs in Deutschland* (Weilerwist: Landpresse, 2006) p. 32.

⁴⁵ Christiane Eisenberg et al. *100 Years of Football* p. 187.

⁴⁶ Bert Trautmann was famously signed in 1949 by Manchester City for nothing. Following early anti-German feeling at the club he became their Players' Player of the Year in 1956, when the team achieved fourth place in the English First Division.

⁴⁷ Jean Williams *A Beautiful Game* p. 25 and related Pathe newsreels REF: BP010157149729 Women's Football in Struttgart 1 January 1957; REF: BP050857149724 Germany and United Kingdom ends with draw 1-1 5 August 1957 which shows Bert Trautmann at what may have been the final match of the tour won by Corinthians 4-0; REF: BP010158154511 Millions take a breather 1 January 1958 <http://www.itnsource.com>.

⁴⁸ See Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball: A Guide to Women's Football* (London: Scarlet Press, 1997) pp.21-2 for oral history accounts from some of the players involved in these tours.

⁴⁹ See Jean Williams *A Beautiful Game* where evidence suggests football was not one of the 48 allowable sports for women approved by the Soviet Ministry of Health, but an outraged spectator had seen two teams playing that summer.

⁵⁰ Neil Carter *The Football Manager: A History* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁵¹ Anon. 'Sports in Brief' *The Times* 18 May 1968 p. 8.

⁵² FIFA *Minutes of the First UEFA Women's Football Conference 22 March 1973* (Zurich: FIFA Archive).

⁵³ For example the work of Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson *Globalization & Football* p. 147 which largely ignores the idea of communities in discussing aspects of football's perceived universalism.

⁵⁴ UEFA *Minutes of Meeting on Women's Football 21 March 1973 Hotel St Gottard, Zurich* (Nyon: UEFA Archive).

⁵⁵ UEFA *Minutes of Meeting on Women's Football 22 March 1973 Hotel St Gottard, Zurich* (Nyon: UEFA Archive).

⁵⁶ UEFA *Minutes of Meeting on Women's Football 22 March 1973 Hotel St Gottard, Zurich*. Item 4 Memorandum issued at Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio (FIGC, the Italian Football Federation) HQ Via Gregorio Allegri, Rome 20 November 1971 (Nyon: UEFA Archive).

⁵⁷ FIFA *Minutes of the Second Conference on women's football 17 March 1981 Hotel Atlantic, Lisbon* (Nyon: UEFA Archive). The eighteen national associations present were Austria; Belgium; Czechoslovakia; Denmark; England; Finland; France; FR Germany; GD Germany; Republic of Ireland; Italy; the Netherlands ; Norway; Portugal; Scotland; Sweden;

Switzerland and Wales. Four women attended: England's Pat Gregory; Germany's Hannelore Ratzeburg; Belgium's Frau Vandelaanoote and Norway's Ellen Wille.

⁵⁸ UEFA *Minutes of the Second UEFA Women's Football Conference* 19 February 1980 (Zurich: FIFA Archive); FIFA *Minutes of the meeting of the 1981 FIFA Technical Committee Item 1 Women's football and competitions. Discussed by Group A Zurich: FIFA House 17/18 December 1981* (Zurich: FIFA Archive); Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball* p. 124-5.

⁵⁹ Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball* p. 123; Christiane Eisenberg et al. *100 Years of Football* p. 188.

⁶⁰ Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball* pp. 62-3.

⁶¹ UEFA *Minutes of UEFA Committee on Women's Football* 31 March 1982 Hotel Atlantic Sheraton Zurich (Nyon: UEFA Archive) p. 2.

⁶² UEFA *UEFA Minutes Committee on Women's Football* 10 July 1984 Hotel Intercontinental in Geneva (Nyon: UEFA Archive) pp. 2-6. This meeting was Chaired by Carl Nielsen, also present were Pat Gregory and Hannelore Ratzeburg along with UEFA President, Jacques Georges, and General Secretary, Hans Bangerter.

⁶³ Anthony King *The European Ritual: Football in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 49-69.

⁶⁴ Jean Williams *A Game for Rough Girls* pp.143-4 for the Vanessa Hardwick case in 1999 and p. 195 for the details of the Theresa Bennet case in 1978.

⁶⁵ UEFA '1984: Sweden Take First Title' <http://www.uefa.com/womenseuro/history> accessed 15 November 2010.

⁶⁶ Fien Timisela, 'Fien Timisela Profile' *Dutch Soccer Academy in the United States* <http://www.dutchsocceracademy.com/coaches> accessed 2 April 2011.

⁶⁷ Raffaele Poli, Loïc Ravenel and Roger Benson *Annual Review of the European Football Player's Labour Market 2010* (Neuchatel: The Professional Football Players Observatory, 2010) p. 44.

⁶⁸ Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor *Moving With the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) p. 5.

Women's Football, Europe and Professionalisation 1971-2011

But this is History. Distance yourselves. Our perspective on the past alters. Looking back, immediately in front of us is dead ground. We don't see it, and because we don't see it this means that there is no period so remote as the recent past. And one of the historian's jobs is to anticipate what our perspective of that period will be.¹

Chapter Two: Sources and Methods

2.1 WOMEN'S FOOTBALL AND PERCEPTIONS OF A GLOBAL GAME

Playing professional football is not a language-specific skill or dependant upon educational qualification (although attitudes and practices relating to mixed football vary). Boyle and Haynes argue that Sergio Cragnotti, President of Lazio FC and others describe it as perhaps *the* global product.² It is, however, a gendered labour market and in its professional female form since the establishment of Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA) in 2000, it is one that has proven difficult to sell. While Giulianotti and Robertson contend that the rapid commercial transformation of the industry as a whole means that it is possible to talk about the 'footballization' of national and global economies.³ However, as the introductory comments have shown, it was only in the last three decades of the twentieth century that internationalism and professionalism became pressing issues for the female game.

We know that professional football was accepted by the English FA for male players from 1885 onwards as a viable occupation. So, why was there almost a century before the issues were raised for women? Part of the answer to this, as has been argued, was the lack of enthusiasm and under-developed infrastructure of various national associations that remained until 1970. A FIFA-conducted survey to its 139 constituent affiliated national associations produced ninety responses, only twelve of which replied in favour of endorsing the women's game.⁴ As the introductory comments outlined, UEFA had discussed women's

international and professional football extensively since the 1971 extraordinary Congress of Monte Carlo. Yet there is little written on subsequent developments leading to professionalism in the women's game on the continent.

This is all the more astonishing because of the disparity between the economic values of the men's and women's versions as 'social capital'. What we mean by this is that women's football is much less prestigious as an activity and less valuable as a commodity compared with the male game. The contrast raises questions about the so-called 'global' nature of the football in its many variant forms. How can football claim to be global when only around ten per cent of its participants are female? Certain FIFA national associations still claim to have no women's football at all in 2011. Even when it is now played worldwide, local variations in the women's game, mean that assumptions of football's global penetration, as a participation sport; as a cultural industry and as a social phenomenon require reconsideration. Perhaps those who make a case for globalisation have become blinded by the figures at the extreme end of professionalism: at the turn of the millennium, annual football-related business was estimated at around 250 billion Euros, with the 2006-7 season in Europe valued at 13.6 billion Euros.⁵ In England alone, the twenty Premiership clubs' share of 2.3 billion Euros, was a two-hundred per cent increase on the previous decade and nine times higher than when the League began. It is easy to see why such large sums lead to big claims for political-economic explanations when, in 2004, 1.7 per cent of the Spanish GNP involving 66,000 jobs, for example, was estimated to be generated by football.⁶

If the small percentage of female players in the overall participant population is noteworthy, some of the big numbers around women's football also caution against a story of relentless expansion. The WUSA league began its first season in April 2001 with eight teams in the United States. Among these eight teams, a spread of twenty founding national team players were drafted and became shareholders of the franchise. It was a co-operative model that signalled player empowerment and has not been reproduced elsewhere subsequently. It had considerable cross-over appeal: talk show host David Letterman christened the women's national team 'babe city.' Up to four international players were

allowed on each squad and provided an example of a core of activity attracting migrant groups of players from the stronger elite countries and individual talents from others. Though it was primarily intended to provide professional employment for United States national team players, the league also aimed to be a breakthrough for women's football world-wide. For a brief three seasons, it did achieve that goal.

Among the notable talents were PR China's Sun Wen, Pu Wei, Fan Yunjie, Zhang Ouying, Gao Hong, Zhao Lihong, and Bai Jie. This is not surprising as they had played against the US team in the 1999 WWC Finals in front of 93,000 fans at the Rosebowl stadium, losing only on penalties. Strikers like Kelly Smith of England and Germany's Birgit Prinz were increasingly important to the overall competitiveness of the games. Germany's other players included Conny Pohlers, Steffi Jones and Maren Meinert. They were joined by Norway's Hege Riise, Unni Lehn, and Dagny Mellgren. Not all of the migrants were European: Brazil's Sissi, Katia and Pretinha plus Canada's Charmaine Hooper, Sharolta Nonen, and Christine Latham also played at least one season. The league also employed Maribel Dominguez of Mexico, Homare Sawa of Japan, Julie Fleeting of Scotland, Cheryl Salisbury of Australia and Marinette Pichon of France. In spite of backing from John Hendricks, founder of the *Discovery* channel, the league suspended operations on September 15, 2003, shortly after the end of its third season, after making cumulative losses of around US \$100 million. Originally forecast as requiring eight corporate sponsors to spend \$ 2.5 million each per year, only two, Hyundai and Johnson and Johnson agreed to that commitment. WUSA's average attendance also slipped from 8, 000 to 6, 700 a game, a drop of 5% in live support. Some blamed player wages, others a failure to tie in investors for long-term partnerships and all agreed that the economic downturn after 11 September 2001 added to its demise. The league did establish an important first for women's football in spite of these difficulties.

This project has sought to explore from where the impetus for professionalism has come in European women's football. It is not a simple story of football's globalizing effect having some kind of inevitable influence on women's participation, leading somehow to professional leagues. The answer is complex and involves elements of the relationship

between national rivalry and international community explored by academics more generally in relation to sport. The relative lateness of football for women as a FIFA-endorsed sporting spectacle has already been raised as of particular note. It can not be over-stated, as Barbara Keys has shown that the 1930s saw ‘The most significant internationalization...in the realm of elite, high-achievement sport. Here a truly transnational culture was established, one that attained an existence independent of the countries participating in it.’⁷ Part of the reason for the delayed promotion of transnational competition, as we have seen, was football's manly image. Another part of the story is that UEFA and FIFA did not consider that there was sufficient a base of female athletes to produce an elite spectacle capable of attracting a paying audience. This may well have been a self-fulfilling prophesy and it would be interesting to know how many women went into other sports in order to better support themselves. However, given that we know individuals like England’s Sue Lopez and Scotland’s Rose Reilly had to choose a professional club or an amateur international career in the early 1970s, there were arguably transnational markets for good women players largely ignored by, but increasingly of concern to, governing bodies. This continued attitude can be seen in the format of the second Women’s World Cup of 1995 in Sweden, when it was combined with an athletics event because of perceptions of an under-developed spectator base. Women's football has become one of a number of new markets for the sport's governing bodies created by social change, new technologies and adapted formats since the third WWC in 1999.⁸ It is a topic beyond the scope of this study, that I intend to research further in a project on the history of women's world cup competition.

If the transformation of international sport became part of our imagined world of modernity, women’s football missed out on being part of this ‘fraternity of elites’ until 1982 if we use the UEFA competitions as a European indicator, or until the 1990s, if we use the world cup competitions as a marker.⁹ While there is evidence of participation going back to the 1880s, most people will be aware of the early phase of spectator-supported popularity in England, France, Germany, Spain and the United States roughly between 1917 and 1922.¹⁰ Thereafter, national associations, like the English FA, who projected a masculine image for their sport in 1921 with a ban on women’s teams playing on Football League and Football Association-affiliated grounds, seem to have avoided female players whenever possible. The

French female league established by Alice Milliat and others lapsed for want of support in 1932 for example. This legacy has meant, and still means, that association football lags behind more popular sports and leisure activities for women world-wide. A woman's marathon was not included in Olympic competition until 1984 and many of the female pioneers like Joan Benoit and Grete Waitz had to run other distances in official competitions until then.¹¹ However, running for fitness and as a sport in itself has seen an exponential rise in commercialisation since the mid-1980s with female participants important consumers and role models. There are more women who have been made wealthy through running as professionals than those who have done so through football. Individual sports involving contact, like boxing, continue to attract some women away from football's relatively under-developed infrastructure.¹²

Assumed globalisation of football's popularity therefore requires considerably more nuance, as does the migration of female players in search of various kinds of professional career within the game. Given the broadly amateur nature of women's football in Europe to this day, the combined effects of Title IX legislation in the United States of America, made college-based soccer an increasingly popular specialism in a decade when the first female Olympic competition was to be held in Atlanta in 1996 and the Los Angeles Women's World Cup in 1999 became a milestone in mass entertainment for women's sport more generally.¹³ Careful cultivation of the media, White House politicians and a fan base of young female players expanded the global popularity of women's football. While female migration to North American colleges would be a another project altogether, it does indicate one of the primary factors in creating a degree of paid work for women football players in Europe.

In 2000, at a special round-table discussion with the national coaches of the European participants in the Los Angeles Women's World Cup, the implications of the tournament for European women's football was debated.¹⁴ Chaired by Andy Roxburgh with Susanne Erlandsson, the meeting comprised: Frits Ahlstrom; Lars Arnesson; Gero Bisanz; Yuri Bystritsky; Des Casey; Marika Domaski-Lyfors; Karen Espelund; Carlo Facchin; Paul Højmoose; Anne King; Marina Kravchenko; Tina Theune-Meyer; Tatiana Oberson; Guido

Tognoni and Robin Russell. The coaches were concerned that, comparing the three Women's World Cups in 1991; 1995 and 1999, Europe was lagging behind other confederations. Norway was considered the best European team in 1999, finishing fourth but UEFA needed to make some changes in order to regain its position as the leading confederation in women's football. On the whole, the coaches felt that the technical and tactical skills had improved significantly since Sweden 1995 and the Olympic football tournament in 1996. Those in attendance felt that WWC '99 also marked a media breakthrough, as even people who were not normally interested in women's football had enjoyed following these matches. The success of WWC '99 consequently spurred a degree of inter-confederation rivalry: the fourth UEFA Conference on Women's Football in 2001, held at Oberhausen in Germany, was entitled *The Future of Women's Football in Europe - The Key Issues*. Professionalisation began to include payment for national team players as European nations sought to hold onto talented females who might be tempted to careers in the US.

The women's team national coaches at the millennium meeting summed up a need for continuing rapid development of European women's football because it was not good that players had participated in all the possible female elite competitions by the time they had reached twenty years of age. Perhaps more importantly, an infrastructure of girls' football needed to be built up in every association, in an aim to keep female players for longer. In many cases players had left football by the time they reached twenty-one years of age. The coaches believed a European club competition for women was extremely important. It was, they felt, increasingly difficult for a European team to compete with Brazil, the USA or China. Europe had to build its own structures to prevent the 'Atlantic Drift' of female European talent.¹⁵ This has consequently remained a concern of European national associations, UEFA and, to an extent, FIFA in the last decade. Also important has been the L League, the Japanese women's equivalent of the men's J. League, but semi professional. Some individual players, however, are professional and still more have moved since the league was formed in 1989 to play in Asia on semi professional contracts. Furthermore the league is expanding from its original eight-team format to two divisions in

2004. By 2010/11 the first division had increased to ten clubs and the second division was further divided into an East and West group of six teams each.

The migration of athletes is a phenomenon dating back to the earliest days of sport itself and certainly in the wake of codification, modernization and industrialization. If new markets for female players are an important factor 'pulling' them towards employment over increasingly wide geographical areas, 'push' factors can be financial, a lack of prestige and a chance to experience new cultures. Being a female football player has not been an aspirational career path for many talented women athletes. We do not know how many women and girls have been lost to the sport because no viable living could be made from it. We do know, however, that for every Mia Hamm, Birgit Prinz or Marta there have been thousands for whom playing the game has cost much more than they will ever earn from it. What is especially important about these worldwide markets is that migrant female players are often the only professional players in the receiving club. They are significant exceptions that counterpoint the essentially amateur nature of the female game as a whole.

So in a context of premature professionalism, the motors driving individuals to move include a growing world-wide interest in football by, and for, women. At the same time, gendered labour-markets enact a restraint of trade preventing players earning a living in the more fully-developed extant male leagues. Put simply, we are at a moment when women as individuals are pioneering increasingly-sustained professional careers in high-profile and lucrative football contracts, at the same time as helping to construct the leagues as a segmented labour market in which they might find paid work. While the male player is now an active agent in when, how and to whom his labour can be sold, the elite female footballer has the added burden of making the intangible product 'women's football' a societal construct in which she can play as a professional. The professionalization of sport itself in the last forty years has seen a rise both in specialization of function and increase in roles. We have moved away from the image of a volunteer running 'back-room' functions of clubs at elite levels generally but football's female playing labour has been slow to formalize. Even slower have been club activities and administration in women's teams and leagues to meet

the challenges of establishing a market-oriented commercial future for the women's game. This, in itself raises further questions.

In theorizing this, I am by no means the first to have drawn on Benedict Anderson's term 'imagined communities' to outline an 'imagined world of modern sport...based on a fraternity of elites, among both the athletes who garnered public adulation and the officials who wielded power behind the scenes.'¹⁶ Though Anderson is now somewhat dismissive and thinks the term a cliché because the phrase has been so widely adapted, there is some use, I think, in asking what is the wider 'imagined community' of fans who might become the consumers and supporters of professional women's football in Europe? Is the product to be understood in different terms than the men's game? What implications are there for UEFA's policy and role, and by extension, for the domestic and foreign policies of European nation-states more broadly? If, by the final decades of the twentieth century, sport had become an important marker of national identity, both domestically and internationally, we know that in most European nations women's football was less important than football for men. It does not engage the passionate support of fans to the same extent and even Women's World Cup 2011 is being seen very much in the wake of the 2006 (men's) World Cup in Germany. What does that mean for the way that football (with the same rules, same dress code, same sub disciplines in competition) is imagined, packaged and sold in its female form? It is a question to which the next chapter in this work will return where the case studies will also be outlined.

2.2 Methods and Sources for this project

In bidding for the project and writing it up, I reviewed the academic literature about women's football, European football, the changing nature of European society, culture, and politics and of the economic position of professionalism in sport, as the previous sections have highlighted. It became apparent that women's football has received increased academic interest since my last work in this area in 2007 and that much of this is focussing on the question of nationalism and international player migration. I have continued my broadly qualitative approach as the topic is not a duality of amateur-professional but a spectrum,

mainly comprised of semi-professionalism involving considerable shades of grey. For instance, the Frauen-Bundesliga has twelve clubs that are populated by 'semi-professional and amateur' players, said one source.¹⁷ In another example, Røa, a Norwegian club who have consistently done well in Europe over the past ten years, offer their players contracts of between one and five years, with varying financial rewards.¹⁸

Under FIFA rules they would be considered professionals as they earn above their basic expenses from the game and in some cases spend most of their working lives playing it. However, most are more accurately semi-professional, as they either work in addition to football to support themselves or are studying at the same time. Having highlighted the discrepancy between evidence in the public and private domain and 'official' versions of events, I have used personal interviews, teleconferences, email communication, electronic and paper-based questionnaires and attendance at proceedings (from UEFA-organised development events and draws; to individual sports contests, training sessions and promotional activities; to academic conferences and media briefing exercises). Secondary data collection and meta-analysis took more time than I had originally envisaged due to the uneven datasets of the various UEFA and FIFA questionnaires, available in the main as hard-copy questionnaire returns. As suspected at the outset, getting returns to these various requests for information remains the single most difficult aspect of the research process. I also contacted clubs like Zvezda, from Russia, to reflect the emerging eastern countries in top-flight competition. In spite of briefly meeting, and introducing my project to Zvezda club representatives in August 2010, for example, none of my subsequent emails had a response.

A major challenge then, was access to primary data across such a wide geographical spread in the timeframe of the project. However, some evidence European elite was identifiable in the final 16 clubs of UEFA's Women's Champions League 2009/10 and in 2010/11. If an emergent professional market was to be evident it would be here and in the twelve-club Frauen-Bundesliga in Germany, the eight-squad Vrouwen Eredivisie in the Netherlands and the new eight-team FA Women's Super League in England. However, there are problems in assuming that these leagues are stable: after AZ and Willem II, FC Utrecht

also discussed leaving the Eredivisie in the 2011/12 season. As the highest women's league in the Netherlands only five teams have confirmed their intention to continue to play next year at a recent meeting with the KNVB. Challenges included making the franchise more interesting to families by, for example, playing on Friday instead of Thursday; a free market for players and a new financial agreement between clubs. It is not yet clear what that free market or the financial arrangements might entail.

The FC Utrecht unease is particularly noteworthy as the team won both the Dutch Supercup and KNVB Cup in 2010. This all the more so because Bristol Women's Football Academy, one of the eight English Super League teams, have signed twenty-five year old international Anouk Hoogendijk who left FC Utrecht after four seasons in March 2011, where she had been Captain. As an ambassador for the sportswear company Nike, the midfielder had become one of the best-known women sports stars in the Netherlands with sixty caps for the national team. Two further British-born players who had worked in the Netherlands last year, Jess Fishlock, 24 and Alex Culvin, 27 also signed for the Bristol squad. Jess is a current Welsh International with 36 caps. Alex, 27, is English, previously playing for Leeds and Everton, and both transferred from Dutch club AZ Alkmaar. Little wonder then, that academics have theorised male and professional leagues as part of a regime of inequality: 'the story of women's soccer in the Netherlands is one of struggle for resources, acceptance, visibility, and legitimization with little result.'¹⁹ Since this article was published, we can be more optimistic as the women's national team of the Netherlands has continued to do well and growth in participation levels means that the results in that country have not been as 'little' as has been suggested. However, controversy in 2008 over FC de Rakt players attempting to play in skirts to make the sport more 'feminine' do show how gender, sexuality, class and media images challenge the wider acceptance of female players. Transfers within the EU have also meant the usual rehearsals of concerns about the influx of international players on the development of national team players in the Netherlands, Germany and England.²⁰

I have already indicated that more eastern and central-European countries would strengthen the research. With more time and funding, the project would have benefitted from

looking more closely at the Iberian peninsular for three key reasons. First because as the South Africa 2010 World Cup Champions, Spain are a growing force in world football and the women's team has more recently strengthened its international position. Secondly, the relationship between Portugal and Brazil is interesting because of the shared language and recent South American interest in the women's game. Thirdly, there is an under-developed range of issues around religious conviction, in this case mainly Catholic countries, and female participation that the peninsular might be used to explore.

Besides the geographical variance, a representation of three kinds of ownership and model of club football in women's football were important to demonstrate. Examples of sports clubs include Røa, in Norway and Umeå IK from Sweden. Here football is one of many codes in a community-driven club that is not linked to a professional men's club. Both have been important at top-level European female competition nevertheless. English club Arsenal, France's Olympique Lyonnaise, FC Bayern Munich in Germany and AZ Alkmaar from the Netherlands, are all owned and run by professional men's clubs, or were until very recently. 1. FFC Turbine Potsdam and FCR 2001 Duisburg are proudly independent women's clubs. This affects the way that they perceive their role in the community and in their own self-image. It also affects the way that clubs are imagined by their local communities.

In summary, the enlargement of the European project has corresponded with an increase in the popularity of playing football by women in many of the constituent countries, as a result of rulings in the late 1960s by FIFA that national associations should take control of the female game. Individual interviews are therefore an essential method in exploring this period because relatively few women could earn a living from football at this time. This was followed by haphazard and varied degrees of integration until the FIFA Los Angeles Declaration in 1999 marked a new commitment on behalf of governing bodies to the women's game. I have talked to teams, administrators and coaches to tell this story from their point of view. Since then, a degree of professionalization for some European women across the globe (but particularly in the United States) and for a number of international female players and coaches within the continent have been the main 'push' and 'pull' factors

influencing migration.²¹ FIFA and UEFA had, by this period, become themselves large bureaucratic organizations specializing in developing multiple competitions.²² As a consequence of this I have used material from the archives of the governing bodies and have benefitted from personal interviews with key players, coaches and administrators. I have also had to be necessarily selective in narrowing down the examples of competition to the FIFA Women's World Cup from 1991 to 2011, the new UEFA Women's Champion's League, which in 2010/11 is in its second season and, in England, the planned Super League for 2011. From these varied sources, this project as a whole explores the growth, specialized development and multiple aspects of professionalism in European women's football.

¹ Alan Bennet *The History Boys* (London: Faber and Faber, 2004) p. 74.

² Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes *Football in the New Media Age* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2004) p. 5.

³ Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson *Globalization & Football* (Los Angeles and London: Sage, 2009) p. 63.

⁴ Christiane Eisenberg et al. *100 Years of Football* p. 188.

⁵ Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson *Globalization & Football* p. 63; Deloitte *Annual Review of Football Finance* (London: Deloitte, 2008) p. 5.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ Barbara J. Keys *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁸ Current new markets for competitions include The FIFA Beach Soccer World Cup; FIFA Interactive World Cup; Blue Stars/FIFA Youth Cup; FIFA Club World Cup; FIFA Futsal World Cup; FIFA U-20 Women's World Cup and, most recently, the Youth Olympic Games competition held in Singapore where Chile and Bolivia were respective winners in the girls' and boy's competitions.

⁹ See M. Leigh and T. Bonin 'The pioneering role of Madame Alice Milliat and the FSFI in establishing international trade for women' *Journal of Sport History* vol. 4 no. 1, Spring, 1977 pp. 72-83. The FSFI's world championships, held from 1922 to 1934 offered a full programme to female athletes

¹⁰ See Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball: A Guide to Women's Football* (London: Scarlet Press, 1997); M. Marschik 'Offside: The Development of Women's Football in Austria' *Football Studies* no.1 vol. 2 1998 pp. 69-88; Laurence Prudhomme-Poncet *Histoire du Football Feminine au XXème Siècle: Espaces et Temps du Sport* (Paris: L'Harmattann, 2003); Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls* and *A Beautiful Game*; Paul Dietschy *Histoire du Football* pp. 502-507.

¹¹ BBC Sport 'Grete Waitz Obituary' <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/athletics> accessed 19 April 2011.

¹² Ireland's Katie Taylor may well earn more money from endorsements related to her boxing activity, such as her Lucozade commercial 'Simply Unstoppable' with Tinnie Tempah and Blink 182 drummer Travis Barker, than her football career.

¹³ For a more in depth discussion of this issue see A. Markovits and S. Hellerman *Women's Soccer in the United States: Yet Another American Exceptionalism* in Fang Hong and J. A. Mangan *Soccer, Women and Sexual Liberation: Kicking Off a New Era* (London: Frank Cass, 2003) pp.14- 30.

¹⁴ UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes* 12/13 April 2000 UEFA HQ, Nyon (Nyon: UEFA Archive)p. 6.

¹⁵ Katie Liston and Sara Booth 'The Atlantic Drift: Preliminary empirical and theoretical observations' *Sports as a Global Labour Market; Female football migration Research Workshop* Department of Exercise and Sports Sciences, University of Copenhagen 2-3 December 2010.

¹⁶ Benedict Anderson's *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Barbara J. Keys *Globalizing Sport* p. 14.

¹⁷ Willi Hink DFB *FIFA Questionnaire on Women's Football* 23 September 2009.

¹⁸ Ragnar Austad Røa IL Team Manager personal communication 13 May 2010.

¹⁹ Annelies Knoppers and Anton Anthonissen 'Women's Soccer in the United States and the Netherlands: Differences and Similarities in Regimes of Inequalities' *Sociology of Sport Journal* vol. 20 no. 4 December 2003.

²⁰ Tony Leighton ' Women's Super League concerned about influx of foreign internationals' [guardian.co.uk http://www.guardian.co.uk/football](http://www.guardian.co.uk/football) accessed 6 February 2011.

²¹ There is a growing literature on the history of male football migration: see for example John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.) *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London; Frank Cass 1994); Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor *Moving With the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (Oxford :Berg) 2001 and Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson *Globalization & Football*.

²² Mikael Salzer (UEFA Head of Women's Competitions and Futsal) Personal Communication 16 August 2010; Anne Vonnez (UEFA Head of Women's Competitions Division) Personal Communication 16 August 2010 both made the point about the increased bureaucratization of the governing bodies with Mikael's experience of the Swedish FA from 1974-6 and Anne's varied career at UEFA since 1998.

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALISATION 1971-2011

I play football - and you? Ich spiele football - un du?¹

CHAPTER THREE: MICRO, MESO AND MACRO PROFESSIONALISATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A recently-published survey aimed at Britain's growing number of family historians, had, as its primary aim, to convey 'the range and diversity of women's work spanning the last two centuries - from bumboat women and nail-makers to doctors and civil servants - and to suggest ways of finding out more about what often seems to be a 'hidden history'.² Professional women football players are part of this hidden history. More surprisingly, no athletes were listed among the 300 or so entries, either in a generalist or specific category: perhaps, because of the significance of amateurism as a prevailing ethos in sport until the 1960s. Another newly-released academic survey by Deborah Simonton *Women in European Culture and Society* does make reference to the rise of the female global sports star, beginning with Suzanne Lenglen's rather shocking appearance in short skirt, bandeau and sleeveless dress at Wimbledon in 1919. There is, however, no mention of football until page 386.³ The book's argument concludes on page 393. Given that the subtitle of that book is *Gender, Skill and Identity from 1700*, we are reminded that football as a sport has often stood for modernity since its codification from 1863 onwards. Historic exclusion has made this especially the case for women football players. It is also often helpful sometimes to look at the wider context of female patterns of employment to help us understand what happens in sport.

Often described as a product of so-called 'second wave' feminism of the 1970s playing football seemed to combine the invasion of traditionally 'male spaces' such as the pitch and the locker room with signs of an assertive physicality on behalf of women with enough stamina to compete in a contact sport for ninety minutes. However, this can be overly deterministic, in that my previous research indicated that most of the women playing at this time did not define themselves as feminists or politically active. They simply had been

introduced to football, enjoyed playing and did what they had to do in order to participate at whatever level of intensity they chose.⁴ We also know that women have played football for over a century, so the story of increased female forcefulness and resilience in the 1970s seems to be misleading. After discussion with colleagues who specialise in the analysis of migration, I have conceptualized the period between 1971 and 2011 as having three overlapping stages of professionalism: these are micro, meso and macro.⁵ It is important to emphasize however, that these phases describe a growing infrastructure of opportunities for women generally, but that cross-European variation in the developing and core countries for women's football also complicates the picture. I am not suggesting that we have reached a phase of widespread female employment in using the phrase macro professionalism. Rather, this indicates conditions that are more favorable prospects than at any previous time in history.

While we can be encouraged by an emergent professionalization with structural and socio-cultural conditions that differ significantly at international level from 1971, in some European countries, football for women is still neglected in civil society and excluded from sport and economic support systems. The organization of semi-professional leagues consequently sees the current opportunities for women as some way off full-professionalism. This cautionary note about the use of the three-part model should also contextualise it as a point of departure to stimulate further debate. I nevertheless intend to move from micro professionalism (where important individuals can be identified), to meso professionalism (with the establishment of greater international opportunities presented by European competition and the creation of a Women's World Cup), to macro professionalism (with a multiplicity of international competitions and tournaments where women might showcase their football skill and identity). We can estimate with some confidence that few women earn a full-time living-wage entirely from their football playing career in Europe. It is also possible to see that the ancillary occupations around the sport (coaching, sport development, public relations, administration, physiotherapy and sports psychology, for instance) enable women to increasingly support themselves from related-earnings. It would be easy and of limited value to be distracted by taking Premiership or Serie A wages and contracts as comparators in talking about female professionalism. Football is as varied and transient an

occupation for many men who work in it as it can be for women. What the qualitative data highlights, therefore, are some areas for future research. Some of these have policy and applied implications, for instance, those that could be addressed to prevent a loss of female expertise and talent from the game as the structures around professionalism continue to develop.

It is important to note that both sport, football particularly, and its academic study have changed considerably during the 1971-2011 timeframe focussed on by this project. In 1994 two of the pioneers of labour migration in sport, Joseph Maguire and John Bale, noted that the movement of workers was gathering pace and spanning more widespread geographical areas for an increasing number of sub-disciplines.⁶ This project has looked at the clubs and leagues into which the women have migrated because, as Bale and Maguire indicated we are not just concerned with the actions of individuals but also 'we are dealing with ethnoscapes, and technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes.'⁷ This is an area that I will return to in the concluding chapter to discuss what kinds of community have been imagined in, and through, women's football. Despite this growing academic treatment, even today, there is little literature on migration concerning women's sports with little international publicity and less on individual female migrants.

This is itself changing with more cutting-edge research in sport generally, as the recent Oxford University symposium on Women's Sport in Africa evidenced, with papers on running, netball and football.⁸ Women's football is now a growing academic subject from a variety of disciplinary approaches examining processes of globalization, commercialization and professionalization. A paradoxical situation has developed whereby employment opportunities for women are now emerging but the product 'women's football' remains intangible to prospective sponsors. Because FIFA, UEFA and national associations struggle to define the Unique Selling Point of the women's game in relation to the men's there are, in general, poor economic conditions for leagues, clubs and female footballers alike. In the sections that follow I have included direct quotations from players I have spoken to, and have differentiated their longer comments by font style. My reasons are two-fold. First, the women cited here have collaborated with me by giving their time and expertise to the project

and the diversity of their experience is one of the key findings of the research-process. Second, their interpretation of events is little-known and deserves a wider recognition. As people who have made their own careers and formed their own opportunities, this aspect of women's work, let alone of sports history, is significant.

3.2 Micro Professionalism: Pioneering Individual Women Football Players

An international network of women's football existed from the mid 1960s, while into the 1980s UEFA/ FIFA were still debating whether there was sufficient depth in competitive women's football to host 'official' tournaments. The careers of some of the pioneering women of the 1970s and 1980s show how a nascent professionalism developed first outside, then inside the structures of the sports governing bodies. It took radical and forward-looking people in different countries to get things organised, and especially so in Italy. It is clear that there were outstanding women players at this time, and some evidence of strength in depth. The case studies begin with Sue Lopez who briefly played in Italy as an interruption to her career with Southampton Women's Football club from 1966 to 1986. In 1971 Sue spent a season helping Roma to win the national cup and to be runners up in the league: Why did she go to Italy? 'For Roma: Medri and skipper and centre back Lucia Gridelli were international players. The team played a passing game of football, and some had outstanding ball control. Probably another reason I liked it Italy, though some of the Southampton teams I played in were very skilled, which is why there were always five or so in the national team! Our opponents in Italy also had some good international players of course, especially our main rivals, Piacenza, who won the league when I was there, and we came second. I scored in a crucial game against them but we lost 2-1. I think it was them that wanted to sign me, or Bergamo! It would have been interesting to have discovered how Italian players became so good!' It is clear that Lopez went primarily for competitive reasons and her observations tell us about the wider standard of play at this time. This raises a wider question of quite how some elite women players developed their skills given the lack of infrastructure.

Sue Lopez suggests that Italy was the most important European country for the development of professional women's soccer at the beginning of the period, 'In 1968 there

were several active women's football teams in large cities such as Rome (Roma, Lazio), Florence, Turin, Milan, Naples, Genoa, Piacenza as well as Sardinia (Cagliari). Next year there was a championship with ten teams, and a national game against the Czechs. So by the time of the Turin tournament in November 1969, women's football was being taken seriously in Italy, hence their national team was well provided for. By appearance and conduct on and off the pitch, the French and Danish also looked serious about the game, too. Despite being a group of players from two or three clubs who hadn't played together before, 'England' certainly performed in a competent manner, but by comparison, we looked very much the 'poor relations'!

Reflecting on the *Corriere dello Sport* cuttings of the tournament, Sue felt that they 'illustrate how important women's football was to the Italians, way back then! Serious, comprehensive coverage, with super photos. Matches played on good pitches, especially the final in Torino at the Stadio Comunale in front of around 10,000!!'⁹ This media and business interest was clearly one of the primary 'pull' factors to encourage players, spectators and those interested in the commercial prospects of the game to Italy. Along with Sue, English players like Dorothy 'Dot' Cassall also went to Italy and Joan Clements had one or two games for Roma but neither stayed for a whole season. I do not propose here to focus on this 'curiosity migration' preferring instead to look in-depth at a player who experienced a semi-professional club or amateur-international dilemma that limited her ability to earn a living from the game in which she excelled. It highlights structural factors including lack of national team opportunities; the antipathy of national associations and media scepticism over female footballers' credibility as the most significant drivers to 'push' players from England to Italy.

Case study One Sue Lopez: the temporary migrant

Sue first began playing in the South Hants Ladies' Football Association League created in 1966 by women inspired by England's 1966 World Cup victory. Each club affiliated for the equivalent today of 50 pence, player registration cost 35 pence and a WFA affiliation fee was set at 15 pence. Transfers of players between clubs cost 12 pence. It is clear that Lopez and her team-mates had their eyes on European football as the Royex team for whom she first played (an office team based on the Royal Exchange Assurance office in the town) changed their name to Real FC in 1967-8. The Deal international tournament first held in 1967, grew to a larger 32 team event the next year and had 52 entries in 1969. Through this competition, Lopez became aware of more European teams: these included Sparta Praha and Slavia Kaplice from Czechoslovakia and a side from Vienna. Cambuslang Hooverettes, the Scottish champions from Glasgow also participated. In the 1970 Deal tournament Cambuslang lost to Southampton on penalties to give the team its first title. Combined with the Butlins Cup (which was jointly organised by the holiday camp chain, ITV and the *Daily Mirror*) the Deal tournament encouraged enough domestic interest to create the Women's Football Association in England. As there was no official England team, Lopez first travelled to the FIEFF tournament 'to discover how advanced women's football was in Europe; how it was played and how it had been allowed to flourish.'¹⁰

'The English team for the 1969 tournament had the bare basics. The guy, Harry Batt manager of Chiltern Valley women's club, who had received the invite to this tournament from FIEFF brought a second-hand used red kit, red socks, white shorts – most of us brought our own shorts! We all wore our own tracksuits – some sewed on little Union Jack flags to give a sense of national pride! The Italians and French had quality-looking national team replica kit and the Danish wore a 'professional' looking all-white strip. Most of them were from the Danish Femina club, who wore white, so maybe it was their kit. Harry and his wife had a First Aid kit, but I can't vouch for their medical knowledge.

Food, accommodation and travel in Italy was very good. All was free of charge, including travel to Italy (by train). Training facilities were better than most of us experienced at home. Our match versus Denmark was played at Valle d' Aosta, near the

accommodation we shared with the Danes. The Italy versus France match was at Novara, (not sure where this is in the vicinity of Turin). The Final and third place play-off was at the outstanding Stadio Comunale in Turin attended by 10,000 spectators. In the Final Italy beat Denmark 3-1, and we beat France 2-0 there to take third place. I scored one of the goals, and captained the team again. By far this was the most professional atmosphere I'd played in! Even the Aosta local pitch was very good, but the Turino Stadio Comunale was at least similar to a good Championship or Division One ground in England.

As we were accommodated with the Danes and several spoke good English, we found that they also had the basis of some organisation in their country. Their better players were looking to play professionally, and after the tournament two of the Danish team, including Maria Sevcikova (who was in fact a Czech!) stayed on with me in Turin to trial for Real Torino. I was feted by the organisers as one of the top players in the tournament, and was very happy to be guests of Real Torino for a few days, while our teams went straight home after the final games. I returned in March 1970 with Dot Cassall to play in a trial friendly game against Verdon (a Lausanne team) at the Stadio Comunale again, and we won 10-0. I scored 5 goals. By this time the English and Italian national Press was regularly reporting about my possible move to Italy.

The FFIGC started a league in 1970 with nine, then ten teams, and in 1971 it grew to fourteen. In December 1972 it seems that FICF and FFIGC united and there was a *Serie A* and *Serie B* League system. After I returned home to consider the move, Roma started phoning me and inviting me there, which of course I subsequently accepted. Torino had not been very specific about the deal, whereas Roma were very persuasive regarding accommodation, travel, and they were at the time quite a successful club.

I agreed with the impression from the Danes (and Czech!) that Italy offered the opportunity to play competitive full-time football to a good standard in an organised national league at no cost to us. I felt respected by my manager, trainer and colleagues, and

fans! I was absolutely amazed that the national sports paper *Corriere dello Sport* reported all our matches in a full, serious and respectful way. They had a dedicated sports reporter in Gianni Bezz. He was a charming man who treated us with great respect whenever we met him at matches and he attended most of them. And of course, it was an attractive country in which to live. I never knew what kind of money was offered to players at Roma or elsewhere. I was very happy to be a full-time player.

I had accommodation within walking distance of Mira and Franco Bellei's apartment at Ostia Lido, a short train journey from the centre of Rome. I took my main meal of the day with the Bellei's and they arranged breakfast at a local café. I lodged in a one-room apartment with Gibus. Monika Karner, an Austrian striker lodged at the Bellei's where she occasionally assisted them with certain off the field club duties.

At the end of the season, we had an all-expenses paid trip to Bangkok. Roma had been there before, too. We played at the Palasuka National Stadium after a men's 'rubber' match with two arch rival men's teams, including the local champions. Our first match was against a local Under 18 Bangkok select boys' team. We lost 8-1 as the boys were fitter, and stronger than us! We played another game two days' later against a less good boys' team but I can't remember the score! The price of tickets ranged from 15, 20 30 baht. On arrival at Bangkok airport we were received by our local hosts, and each garlanded with flowers beside the plane, and inside the airport. Photos were taken by the local press and our visit and two matches were reported in the Bangkok Post. We stayed in a first class hotel, and were escorted on a tour of the city, temples and the Floating Market, and an official visit to a local children's hospital.

On return to Rome, I went home early in the New Year. At the time I was also being lured away to one or two of the northern Italian teams for the new season (spring time), but I was also being told by the WFA that players playing abroad wouldn't be considered for

the impending first ever official England team, so I didn't return! Also, my colleagues at Southampton were keen for me to return as there was a national Cup impending.

I realised playing in Italy that I was one of the best players, and as a successful striker, very valued, and respected by everyone I encountered – unlike in England sometimes! There were absolutely no hassles and I loved the Italian way of life. So, it was a very difficult decision not to return as I was patriotic and very keen to see the game develop here in England, and I believed it would develop more quickly than it did! Also, I'd been a big football fan of English men's football since about the age of 9 or 10 when my grandfather would take me to some Saints matches, and Mum would buy me a football magazine to feed my love of the game, and she was a big fan, too. I guess if I'd known how slow it would be to develop in this country, and without the threat of a ban if I played abroad, I would have returned to Italy, maybe to a bigger club in the north, and learnt the language, and made a career there. But I wouldn't have played for England, presumably, nor had the thrill of winning 8 FA Women's Cup Finals.

But women's football was still not being taken seriously in England and I can only say that my whole football experience in Italy was enjoyable and positive. By contrast in England it was a constant battle to have the game recognised as a serious female sport, and dependent on players paying their own way for most things. Belatedly, I realised that the pleasure of playing in Italy was not to have all the distractions that players had to put up with here. Despite an England team starting, there weren't any official tournaments like now. And the unofficial ones were soon banned. Also, the local and national political battles impacted on players.'

In concluding this case study, we can see that Lopez was careful to distance herself from the players in the Italian leagues who reportedly earned upwards of £40 a week at the time, and was herself careful to emphasise that she was an amateur (drawing only living and travelling expenses) in case of a ban for professionalism. Sue played a leading role in the England team along with Janey Bagguley, Syliva Gore, Wendy Owen and Lynda Hale until

she retired in frustration from international football in 1979. Notables Debbie Bampton, Gill Coulthard and Marianne Spacey were to follow. However, in spite of being only one of seven women to hold the highest A Licence coaching certificate, Lopez was overlooked for the England women's national team coach job in favour of a woman with no qualification (at that level) when Hope Powell was appointed. Sue has earned a living from her coaching, continued as an academic and teacher of physical education but has had to negotiate a career path that has seemingly always involved multiple roles in order to support herself.

'Since writing my book, I left my role as Coaching and Development Officer for Hants FA, where I organised and delivered FA Licence course for the county, and in 1998 at the same time ran the newly-evolved post of Director of Saints Girls Centre of Excellence. In 2000 I joined Southampton FC full time as Head of Women's football, running the Premier League women's team, Reserve team, Academy, and Centre of Excellence until the whole women's programme was cut when Saints men were relegated in 2005. During my time in that role 27 girls were in the England Talent Identification group, several went on to represent England at various youth levels, and one became a full England player. I then became a part time Tutor of FA courses for Hants FA and local higher education establishments. I have received several honours since: the 1999 *Sunday Times* Sportswoman of the Year, Coach of the Year; 2000 MBE for service to women's football; 2004 National Football Museum Hall of Fame – 3rd female inductee and in 2006 an Honourary Doctorate from Southampton University for services to women's football.'

Case Study Two Rose Reilly: the long-term migrant

I am still compiling the data for this case study but wanted to include it as an example here because it contrasts with the excerpts above. Having interviewed Rose, I know that she was born in 1955.¹¹ A natural athlete, at 16 she was chosen to represent Scotland at the

Commonwealth Games in the pentathlon. However she decided to move on from the athletics track and concentrate on her skills on the football field, moving to mainland Europe to further her career. Her subsequent list of achievements is incredible considering the obstacles faced by female footballers in the early 1970s. At 17 Reilly had a trial for Rheims in France and by the age of 18 she was playing for AC Milan. Her full list of clubs was Stewarton in Scotland, Reims in France, AC Milan, Catania, Lecce, Trani, Napoli and Fiorentina. In all, she won eight Seria A league titles; four Italian Cups and had a highest goal scoring record of 45 goals in one season. Having moved to Italy in her late teens, she learned the language before playing for the Italian national side. Rose was capped 13 times for Italy as captain, before official FIFA World Cups. She was voted best player in the victorious Italian World Cup team that beat the USA in the PR China in the final of the Asian Ladies Football Association in 1983. In the same competition she won the Golden Boot and scored in the Final. Rose stayed in Italy until the age of forty-five and married her then coach, Norberto at the age of forty. Norberto was a doctor from Argentina by profession who volunteered for the local football team. She had her daughter, Megan, five years later and she returned to Scotland to nurse her mother who was by then elderly and frail.

Case Study Three Vera Pauw: the European internationalist

Vera Pauw's career began somewhat later than Sue Lopez with her dual role as player and coach/ technical development specialist beginning in 1986 for the football association of the Netherlands (KNVB). From that point on, her perspective was European and internationalist, rather than nation-specific. It helped at that stage to get her UEFA A coaching Licence in 1986 and to have been involved in coaching and sports policy since then. As a staff tutor of the association football development policy, Pauw developed and delivered coaching and tutor courses for adults and children. From 1986 onwards Vera worked more and more outside of Europe on technical courses, seminars, lectures and soccer camps in the US and Canada but also in Africa and Asia. This has made her one of the most significant figures for the development of women's football world-wide. The Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio Femmine (FIGCF) affiliated to the Italian FA in 1980 and some of the competition between the leagues that Sue Lopez experienced during her time as a player was

resolved by officially recognising only the FIGCF. Vera played professionally in Italy for Modena FC for the 1988-1989 season, when she earned 1,500 Euros in addition to having an apartment, car, six flight tickets, food and training camps provided. Living in the country also allowed her to study Italian. Sixteen years ago, she also married her coach.

Reflecting on her motivations, she prioritized 'recognition and competitiveness, to be able to live for my sport at the highest level. Later the value of status showed and this goes until now. At that moment I never realized what 'side effects' it would bring, but it has influenced my total career.'¹² However, Pauw then went on to outline that, with the exception of the year in Italy, she had always worked in addition to her playing career to supplement her income and because of her enjoyment of the game. This included volunteering as a coach. While Vera therefore considers the preparation for the Dutch National Team as professional-style preparation without the pay, the difference between club level and representative football is the main area of development that she has seen. The tension between club and country is evident before her retirement in 1998 in this excerpt, 'in my time the difference was massive. Now the club level is preparation for the National team also, but in my time as a player club-level experience was a necessity. If I would have had the choice, we would have stepped out of the league to prepare with the National Team only.'

Case Study Four Gao Hong: the elite retired-player migrating into Europe

Gao Hong was born 27 November 1967 at school she mainly played table tennis, gymnastics and basketball at the Sadie sports school. However, she was perceived to be under-height to be a good basketball player. She consequently began work, aged fourteen, at a yarn factory in the Mongolian region of Huheate which had a mainly female workforce and where she continued to play basketball at an amateur level.¹³ When she was eighteen the Diermas Fangzhi factory established a women's football team and, though she was not keen to join initially, after three months she made the Nei Menggu (inner Mongolia) provincial team as goalkeeper. The team competed for the national championship and Gao was offered a place at a sports school, with a standard package of reimbursement from the provincial

government including a salary, accommodation, training and food, plus a win bonus. Not the most enthusiastic participant in training by her own admission, Gao claims to have had 'one great game' in the Mongolian national championship, though this is likely to be modesty. As a result, four provincial teams made an approach with improved contracts and she chose Shan Xi over Beijing because she was over-awed by the scale of city life in the latter. Nicknamed 'grandma' for her supposedly advanced age, she then sat on the bench for four years. It looked as though her career would stall at this stage in spite of playing against boys' teams and an intensive training regime that saw her technique improve considerably.

In 1989 thirty women's senior teams competed for the national championship of the PR China and at this tournament Gao Hong won an award for the best goal keeper in the competition. This transition to national squad selection, and then to be the first-pick goalkeeper for the team was a difficult one personally, in terms of new expectations about her performance and the isolation of competing with others on the same side for selection. In addition to the national team, Hong played for the Ban Qiu Dian Qi company team in south China. This was necessary because those sports not in the Olympic charter did not receive the same level of provincial funding as those covered by it and football, as had been said, was not to be included until 1996. At company level Hong was funded for three years as a star player but the training was more intense for the company team and less about the wider community role. After doing some training at the Beijing Sports University in physical education, particularly at elementary school level, a 1993 Asian championship competition was to lead to Hong's first trans-national migration. In 1994 the Takalazaka team from Japan signed her, mainly at that stage for the second team, on a salary of \$3,000 a month, tax-free, plus accommodation.

The period between 1994 and 1996 was consequently a turning point in Gao Hong's career because she worked with a very professional set-up under German coach Hermedo. In 1995, for the second Women's World Cup in Sweden, Gao was re-selected for the national team at the relatively late age of twenty-eight. This re-call saw a new confidence in the team and its preparation, using for example visualization techniques, better nutritional preparation and positive psychological development of up to three months duration. However,

competition was intense among the four possible goalkeepers as only two were expected to join the squad. Hong recalled being supported by her club coach who flew out to see her when she made the squad as second-choice goalkeeper but did not start the third game against Denmark. The quarter-final match against Sweden was therefore a big moment for the team as a whole since in the 1991 tournament China had lost to them at that same stage 0-1. Having been selected, Gao Hong announced to the squad that she was ready to lead 'My Generation' and saved two penalties to become feted by journalists as the 'smiling goalkeeper' who was a powerhouse in her team. This legend grew in 1996 at the Olympic competition, when some assessed her to be the best female goalkeeper in the world and from 1996 to 1999 she had the possibility to emigrate to Canada for a college-based career. An alternative offer was a move back to Japan for a salary of \$7,000 to play professionally there.

In 1997 however, she chose to return to PR China on a lower salary, of about \$700 per month, because she missed the country and thought she would have a better chance of selection for the national team. Gao Hong nevertheless felt that she was mainly a domestic star, with an outgoing and boyish style, until her selection for the FIFA All-Star team to play in the approach to Women's World Cup 1999. Thereafter, as losing finalists international interest in she and Sun Wen increased, followed shortly after by the 2000 Olympic competition. In 2001 Gao moved to play for the New York Power team in the Women's United Soccer Association for two and a half seasons, and a half season for Washington Freedom having realized her ambition to emigrate to the United States. With the suspension of trading of WUSA in 2003 though, she and many others lost their right to work in the United States Gao joined the non-profit organization, Right to Play, in PR China for three years. As someone who had experienced an increased spiritual awareness and gender mentoring commitment, the Right to Play initiative involved using sport as a development tool in the lives of women and young girls. This was followed by a year at York University in Toronto, Canada. Gao went to Women's World Cup in 2007 as a commentator but did not enjoy media work and sought instead to develop a coaching career. She identified European influences as particularly significant in making the transition to coaching on her retirement from international football, particularly those from Denmark, Norway and England. Consequently when I interviewed her in 2010 she was in England on a student visa

studying a coaching course at Worcester University, while also getting experience at Birmingham City Ladies' FC and had worked with Hope Powell and Maureen (Mo) Marley at Loughborough University. In concluding, I asked why England as her current base, given Gao's multi-lingual and varied skill-set. In response she answered simply, 'To experience the British football culture: to be in a country (sic) where football matters very much, every day.'¹⁴

3.3 Meso Professionalism: Club Football, Growing Internationalism and World Championships

The decisions leading to the establishment of a Women's Euro competition, with an inaugural tournament held between 1982 and 1984, provides a way into the historical context of meso professionalism. It has already been said that the original sixteen-team tournament sharpened trans-European rivalries and provided important precursors to wider UEFA and FIFA control and development of the women's game. Confederation-organized international tournaments marked a degree of jurisdiction over, and promotion of, elite female play. England lost to Sweden in the first women's Euro event before Norway went on to win in 1987 and 1993, while the tournament has been dominated by Germany in more recent times. Scandinavia and Germany seem to have been at the heart of the development of the women's game in Europe, while Italy, France and England also appear central. Whether these countries have also provided core-centres for employability, drawing in players from the European periphery and beyond needs further investigation still. We have some preliminary evidence to support this hypothesis, for example, Scotland's Rose Reilly earned a living for several years in Italy from the late 1970s into the early 1980s, for example. But Sue Lopez's briefer journey to Italy also suggests transition between core countries. So club-based competition in Europe is significant at this next phase of development, because many of those women playing at elite level traversed the unofficial semi professional subculture outside of national association control before playing in sanctioned leagues and national squads. More significantly, key individuals have gone on to act as players, coaches and managers in the current systems.

The point can be succinctly illustrated by looking at the golden boot winners for Euro tournaments across its history: Anne Mäkinen (2005); Hanna Ljungberg (2001); Carolina Morace (1997); Birgit Prinz (1995); Hege Riise (1993); Silvia Neid (1991); Doris Fitschen (1989); Heidi Støre (1987) and Pia Sundhage (1984). Sundhage, for example, currently coaches the US women's national Team, Sylvia Neid coaches the German women's national team (managed by Doris Fitschen) and Carolina Morace has coached both the Italian and the Canadian women's national team, in addition to earning a living as a television presenter. These women are important potential mentors and ambassadors in the macro phase of professionalism. I have tried to contact each to participate in this research but was not successful by the time of writing-up. I would hope therefore to extend the use of case studies in the previous section in developing this research to include more data from this group of significant individuals. An online European football Hall of Fame would help to focus and promote their wider visibility.

By the time of the first Women's World Cup in PR China 1991, female player migration was therefore in what could be described as its incipient stages but with gradually increasing fluxes into, and out of, Europe. Football at this moment perhaps assumed more globalized characteristics as the female population became more properly incorporated into the remit of the football bureaucracies. While the percentage of top players who left the developing countries of women's football to play in overseas leagues can be seen from the micro examples previously described, migration (albeit temporary and for particular tournaments) was undoubtedly stimulated by the introduction of more competition and a growing internationalism. In 1985 UEFA surveyed national associations for a second time about the status of women's football in their country.

Table 1: Analysis of UEFA 1985 Survey on women's football

Country	Players	Clubs
Austria	1, 000	59
Belgium	3, 500	150
Czechoslovakia	800	22

Denmark	30, 000	1, 500
England	10, 000	272
Finland	2, 157 women 1, 207 girls	103 women's 74 girls'
France	27, 000	920
FR Germany	374, 694	2, 455 women's and 975 girls'
German DR	4, 000	221 but 50 regularly engaged teams
Hungary	280	6 in regular competition
Iceland	2, 300	42
Italy	10, 000	406
Luxembourg	207	5
Netherlands	24, 267 women 11, 014 girls	2, 500
Norway	41, 000 (over 10 years of age)	1, 779
Northern Ireland	200	10
Portugal	743	41
Poland	650	16
Republic of Ireland	1, 680	720
Russia	1, 475	775
Spain	1, 256	56
Sweden	37, 577 (over 15 years of age)	1, 500
Switzerland	2, 200	94
Wales	80	5
Yugoslavia	3, 000	20

Though this information has to be read in the wider context of a primary concern with the number of women players, it does give us a snapshot of European-wide perceptions of the game in the thirty-four national associations affiliated to UEFA that year.¹⁵ For example, in Albania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Liechtenstein, Malta, Romania, Turkey and the USSR the national association declared that there was no women's football in their country. Cross-European comparison became an increasingly-used tool to measure the overall rise in participation from this date onwards. Whilst the statistics do not represent

either the 'facts' or the 'reality' of female participation in any straightforward way, they do tell a story of institutionalized surveillance and development that increased from the early 1980s onwards.

This was not a geographically even, sustained or steady rise though. A report on the final round of the European Women's Championship hosted by Italy in 1993 by Chrisophe von Wattenwyl summarised more negative feedback than positive.¹⁶ The Press service was deemed inadequate for overseas media and it was recommended that a UEFA press representative should attend in future. The marketing concept of the tournament should also be reconsidered. Sports centres had been used for competitions and a lack of exclusivity for players and team preparation had led to confusion. Future recommendations included that each delegation should have an official to help and accreditation should be given. There should also be an opening and closing ceremony, sufficient team accommodation provided at an hotel or sports school and financial accounts were to be made clear. It is when basic organizational elements as this are laid bare that the somewhat ad hoc nature of the competition into the 1990s is made evident.

The period also saw an increasing focus on competitions for girls and young women. We know that professionalism has driven the specialisation of football skills at increasingly young ages in male football. So a concern with age is part of those wider patterns. The following two tables give results from questionnaires on how many licensed Under 20 and Under 16 women and girl players there were in associations from 1993. The twenty-eight responding national associations (of the forty-four who were affiliated to UEFA at the time) were divided into those with fewer than 1,000 registered players in total or those with more.

Table 2: Analysis of UEFA 1993 Survey on Girls and Women's Football - National Associations with Fewer than 1, 000 Registered Under 20 players in Total

Country	Under 16	Under 20	Total
Austria		500	500
Belarus	13	78	91
Bulgaria	16	29	45

Croatia	24	22	46
Faroe Islands	270	460	730
Greece	152	403	555
Latvia	150	18	168
Liechtenstein	20	20	40
Northern Ireland	40	90	130
Poland	120	210	330
Portugal	77	205	282
Romania	35	341	376
Scotland	500	200	700
Ukraine	81	157	238

These associations were targeted as requiring extra help by UEFA and FIFA, but the exercise was also used to gauge a level of interest in female youth football in terms of planning for more competitions. The national associations who had more than 1,000 registered U20 players are listed in the following table. Again, there was more widespread interest than had been anticipated.

Table 3: Analysis of UEFA 1993 Survey on Girls and Women's Football - National Associations with More than 1, 000 Registered Under 20 players in Total

Country	Under 16	Under 20	Total
Belgium	649	1, 053	1, 702
Denmark	13, 000	15, 000	28, 000

England	3, 500	3, 000	6, 500
Finland	5, 344	1, 115	6, 459
France	12, 955	2, 725	15, 680
Germany	25, 000	40, 000	65, 000
Holland	13, 000	5, 000	18, 000
Italy	500	3, 500	4, 000
Norway	30, 000	15, 000	45, 000
Republic of Ireland	1, 680	720	2, 400
Russia	1, 475	775	2, 250
Spain	290	1, 177	1, 467
Sweden	11, 000	12, 000	23, 000
Switzerland	1, 345	2, 307	3, 652

A subsequent Working Group on Women's Football 3rd May 1994 Hotel Doyle Montrose Dublin, led by Karen Espelund, Per Ravn Omdal and Maria Theresa Grau concluded that the first UEFA Under 18 female youth tournament should be staged without any subsidies whatsoever to gauge the financial burdens for each participating association.¹⁷ It was acknowledged that many associations would not be able to compete under these conditions, however, financial considerations must take precedence over development issues. For example, costs for the UEFA Women's Championship in 1991/3 subsidies had been CHF 700,000 for the qualifying rounds to produce an overall small net profit. Meanwhile the male Under 16 youth tournament and Under 18 youth championship for the 1992/3 seasons had each been supported by CHF 1 million subsidies. At the most recent European Women's Championship meanwhile, statistics had shown that 15% of players had been under the age of 20; 40% between 20 and 25, and 45% had been over 25 years old. So gradually the focus began to shift from the existence of a national league and a senior female representative team in each country to look at a proliferation of competition, increasing specialization at a young age and a move towards club competitions. Some of these changes were driven by the changing nature of football in Europe, some by the developing geopolitical situation in the

continent itself and others in response to increased world-wide processes in the elite women's game.

3.4 Macro Professionalism: Women's Champions' League and Women's World Cups

FIFA Women's World Invitationals, such as the 1984 event in Chinese Taipei, eventually led to the Women's World Championship in 1991. The patronage of women's football consequently increased at the same time that PLC status, the breakaway to form the Premiership and growing global consumption of men's professional leagues became less subject to the control of the national football associations. Equality and diversity has therefore been as much a pragmatic response to the remaining areas under national association control as an ethically-drive impetus. The growing awareness of tournament-football as products to be marketed was another factor in the move towards increased competitions, which have led to increased player segmentation (U20, U17) and more sub-brands. Football competitions, like other sporting mega-events, saw a rise in overall profitability. This, in turn, led to the branding of more products with which to generate both income and a higher awareness of each sport: in 2009/10 the UEFA Champions League (for men) pulled in 750 million Euro, of which even the smaller clubs knocked out in the early rounds earned 8,500,000 to 9,000,000 Euros.¹⁸ Could the same formula be adapted to promote the commercial and public relations profile of club-football for women in Europe?

The UEFA Women's Champions' League

Increasing youth and club competition for women became a priority of the late 1990s in Europe. UEFA rules for an Under 18 tournament were drawn up, and in 1997 Denmark beat France to the inaugural title. Though there had been youth competitions, especially in the Nordic countries, this was another increasingly visible sign of official support for women's football. When this became allied with the male structures of UEFA and became an Under 19 competition in 2001/2 season Germany continued to win for the third successive year (and again in 2006 and 2007). In 2010 France became the only other European country to have won for a second time (after first winning in 2003), though Sweden (1999); Spain

(2004); Russia (2005); Italy (2008) and England (2009) have also taken the title. A questionnaire to test the viability and interest in European club competition for women, circulated in 1999 also produced positive responses: votes for an official league were strongly for this initiative (No 8, Yes 38); for an official club Cup or an International Club tournament (No 15, Yes 31) and for a Youth Championship (No 16, Yes 30).¹⁹

The UEFA Executive Committee approved the proposal to introduce a European Women's club competition in 2000, and thus the UEFA Women's Cup was inaugurated. Frankfurt's Waldstadion provided the venue for the Women's Cup final where a crowd of 12,000 people was described as a record for European women's club football.²⁰ It was the last match to be played at the arena in its 72-year history before its reconstruction in time for Germany to host the 2006 FIFA World Cup finals. Taking part were Umeå IK from Sweden and hosts 1. FFC Frankfurt, who won 2-0 thanks to goals from Steffi Jones and Birgit Prinz. Frankfurt were to win the tournament again in the 2005/6 tournament and again in 2007/8. Umeå IK won twice in successive years 2002/3 and 2003/4. The team was helped to a large extent by the signing of Marta for the second title, where the first leg was played in front of 5,409 spectators and the second 9,500 at the Bornheimer Hang Stadium. A reported 420,000 TV viewers in Sweden and 210,000 viewers in Germany watched this second leg in Frankfurt.²¹ Arsenal won in 2006/7, and Duisburg in 2008/9. For its ninth season in 2009/10 the competition was re-launched as the UEFA Women's Champions League. The other titleholder has been 1. FFC Turbine Potsdam in 2004/5 and 2009/10, thus becoming the first winners of the UEFA Women's Champion's League.

This expanded tournament had fifty-three contenders and the changing nature of European football was reflected in clubs like Zvezda from Russia becoming more prominent. While the expansion of the Women's Champions League is therefore very encouraging and its profile growing, a seeding system is designed to ensure that the sixteen best teams begin the competition by playing the return leg at home. This, and a rule preventing clubs from the same association being drawn against each other, is designed to simultaneously spread the matches across Europe, but also to ensure rigorous competition.²² For each phase played from the thirty-two team round onwards, each club is paid 20,000 Euro via its national association, which may, in turn, deduct costs for referees.²³ From the quarter Finals onwards,

only one sponsor is allowed on the front of the shirt and none on the shorts and socks. All other items of clothing and equipment must be free of sponsorship. All other aspects of the competition, from what should be provided to eat and drink, to where the cameras should be positioned and dope testing protocols are stipulated by UEFA. The Final money is distributed between the finalists (possibly the semi, and quarter finalists) the host association and UEFA. Craven Cottage will host the 2011 Women's Champion's League Final on 26 May, two nights before the men's UEFA Champions League Final at Wembley.

An indication of the state of professionalism can be revealed by who owns and who buys the players' labour. Unlike their male counterparts who are supported by the players unions, such as the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) in England, and who receive attractive wages, health benefits, advice on how to invest their earnings and so forth, women footballers often lack formal labour rights or adequate health insurance. So, how can female football migrants gain long-lasting social capital and establish viable post-playing careers? There is still plenty of evidence of individual women negotiating their own career pathways. In spite of a reputation that some of its women, such as Sonia Bompastor, are amongst the highest paid in Europe, the women's league in France falls under the control of amateur football, the Fédération Française de Football (FFF). So structural forces sometimes 'push' women to play in the United States. Other times we can see 'push' and 'pull' factors. Ifeoma Dieke, a member of the Scotland women's national team first made her debut in January 2004 against Greece and went on to play in seven qualifying matches for the 2007 FIFA Women's World Cup. Dieke earned her 50th international cap on May 12, 2009, and was honored before Scotland's 3-1 victory over Northern Ireland. However, her skills were developed in the United States, at Florida International University from 1999-2003 before joining the Women's United Soccer Association's Atlanta Beat in 2003. After the suspension of the WUSA franchise she moved to Sweden's Damallsvenskan, appearing for Qbik in 2007 and Kristianstad DFF in 2008. After signing a WPS contract as a free agent Dieke will play as a defender for Boston Breakers in the 2011 Women's Professional Soccer league. The next transitional phase of her career will be an interesting move to follow.

Today we can also see a strong Swedish presence in the Women's Professional Soccer league rosters for 2010 and 2011 with Kosovare Asllani, Jessica Landström, Madelaine Edlund also making the draft alongside Norway's Solveig Gulbrandsen, Denmark's Johanna Rasmussen, Finland's Laura Kalmari, Holland's Daphne Koster, Switzerland's Ramona Bachmann and France's Sonia Bompastor. While there is a separate legal entity in Sweden, the Elitföreningen Damfotboll (EDF), who have jurisdiction over professional women's football, operate under the umbrella, financially and administratively, of Associations Svenska Fotbollförbundet (SvFF), the Swedish FA. On the one hand, the EDF will continue to benefit from a 1.5 billion kronor-deal with sports media rights agency Kentaro (the equivalent of around £150 million over five years) that is shared between themselves, the SvFF and the Föreningen Svensk Elitfotboll (SEF) from 2011 to 2015. On the other, evidence suggests that Sweden has provided female playing talent for a wide range of semiprofessional leagues across the world and is more likely to export players than import them.

There are many different marketing strategies used by the Champions League clubs too numerous to develop here but generally the demographics of the 'feminist-fathers'; 'soccer-moms' and others identified by academic research as supporters of the women's game are under-exploited commercially. As an example, before moving on to the case of the attempt to brand a Women's Super League FCZ Frauen provided two interesting instances of female migration related to women who have moved for careers in football. The first was an administrator who had not, herself, played the game: 'I never played football myself. I studied Business economics with a specialization in Marketing. Then I got involved in my hometown Frankfurt, Germany with women's football and started a project called "girls kick", football fun events for girls. When I moved to Zurich, I started first again as a consultant in a marketing and communications agency, and on a voluntary basis as a marketing consultant in the women's club before I got the opportunity to work full time for the FC Zürich Frauen, which was integrated into the structures of the men's professional club, FC Zürich.'

FCZ Frauen also provided examples of local and regional migration: 'Most of our players are Swiss and from the local area. Recently we had one player from Finland. She

married a Swiss man and therefore, moved close to Zurich and joined our club. For a few months, we also had a player from New Zealand in our squad. Her mother is Swiss and she came to Switzerland for a while. During this time, also joined our club but this was temporary and informal, it was not a permanent move.'

Secondly because of this woman's expertise I asked, 'How has the experience of playing in the women's Champions League changed any marketing plans that FCZ Frauen have? Has it helped in promoting women's football either locally or more widely? 'We do not have a marketing plan and therefore the participation in the UEFA Women's Champions League has not changed. However, we can say that the participation in the UEFA Women's Champions League is a success. Just because of the name and the famous background as well as the uniqueness helps to create more interest with all parties and stakeholders. It is easier to sell the game to sponsors, attract more spectators and use a bigger stadium. It has helped a lot to promote women's football both locally and in our community.'²⁴

There was perhaps more equivocation from Røa, in Norway, regarding the state of professionalism in their team and the wider publicity attendant from the Champions League: 'We do get some inquiries from foreign players, but most of the time these players are not interesting to us, that is, not on the skill level we are looking for/demanding. Presently we have only Norwegian players in our squad. This is similar to the situation in 2010. As the leading female team in Norway over the last decade, we are drawing attention from potential players from all over Norway. Presently we have several players born and raised well outside the Oslo-region. Most players are students, and therefore Oslo is an interesting area also in that respect. Other reasons than football might lead potential players to Oslo, and Røa. No female footballer is able to make a living solely on football wages...We have approx 20 players in the squad and the total salary budget for 2011 is less US\$ 200.000. Participating in the Women's Champions League has not helped us, or the national FA, in terms of getting more publicity, sponsors or general attention towards female football. As far as I know, there has been no changes in marketing plans or anything else as a result of the Women's Champions League - not on Norwegian FA level, or club level.'²⁵

The Women's Super League: the English model of professionalism 2011

The Football Association took full control of women's football in 1993, having previously supported the Women's Football Association (WFA), somewhat distantly since 1969. In 2002 football overtook netball as the most popular participation sport in England, by some indicators, and there are now over 150,000 FA-affiliated players.²⁶ Kelly Simmons, speaking at the 2003 Symposium in Los Angeles, reported that in the last five years the FA had invested £1. 2 million; the National Lottery had granted £8. 0 million and the Football Foundation £2. 25 million total for a total spend on girls and women's football of £11. 5 million.²⁷ In addition, £60 million had been put into grassroots football. The additional grants and funding had been leveraged through health, crime, drugs, education, community cohesion and social deprivation projects. Having spoken with Mary Guest; Tessa Hayward; Rachel Pavlou; Kelly Simmons and Zoe Wishman of the FA, it is clear that licensing by the national association is the model for the newly-launched Women's Super League (WSL) of eight teams. At around £3 million spent on the project so far, the national association is also the major stakeholder. This is the culmination of fourteen years of work as, in 1997, the FA approved the its first Women's Football Talent Development Plan. This levered new funding to establish a network of 50 FA Girls' Centres of Excellence across England licensed by the national association. Having used a series of five-year development plans to lobby for more funding from the governing body, women's football has helped the Corporate Social Responsibility programme of the association, in addition its equity and diversity agenda, by targeting areas of government concern to draw in external income streams.

English women national team players were also offered central contracts for the first time in the 2008/9 season. Twenty England women's contracts of £16,000 per annum were available, centrally issued by the FA and annually negotiated from 1 December to 30 November each year, paid in monthly installments. The contract covers training requirements, national team image, national fixtures and some promotional rights. A player can only work up to 24 hours a week in another job and hence, rather than being a full-time professional agreement it is seen as providing the 'freedom to train'. This is because the

fitness of so many England players was in need of improvement because of holding down employment and training in what free time was left. Freedom to train is not, however, an entitlement to play or a right to selection. The application process for this is handled by the Professional Footballers' Association as so few women have agents, though the union considers the players semi-professionals.

None of American-based England national team players for 2009/10 had central contracts (these included Kelly Smith and Alex Scott at the Boston Breakers; Eniola Aluko at Saint Louis Athletica; Anita Asante and Karen Bardsley at Sky Blue FC or Karen Carney, Ifeoma Dieke and Katie Chapman at the Chicago Red Stars). However, the Chicago Red Stars had to suspend operations for the 2011 Women's Professional Soccer season, and while some players negotiated contracts in the United States as 'free agents', others, like Karen Carney, returned to England. Carney felt that the 2009 move to Chicago was 'Fantastic, one of the best experiences of my life. I went over there young, just out of university, and got to play professional football. It opened my eyes to so many things.'²⁸ There seem to be a number of factors in Carney's decision to return to Birmingham: these include overcoming injury to be fit for the approaching World Cup, increased opportunities for the national team coach to watch her play regularly and boost selection chances, plus less travelling. There is a clear message from the English association that returning women players to domestic football is a priority. In order to have a central contract there is a stipulation that a player must be home-based in order for their training to be monitored and so they 'must be registered to play for a football club affiliated to an English County FA.' I was told that while the application process is open to all, none of the US-based players applied. Paradoxically, earning a living as a player in the US would not be exempt from the 24-hour rule. Controlling both the league and the national team is, however, meant to increase synergy for the English female elite of the game.

The motivations for creating the League stem in part from wanting England players to play full time in England, but also to provide a more stable platform for greater competitiveness in the Women's Premier League (which the FA took over in 2004). There had traditionally been problems of over-concentration of the best playing talent in a

relatively few teams, such as Arsenal, Fulham and Croyden. On the one hand this meant that results could be predicted before games, and on the other it meant that if a club withdrew suddenly from the league, as Fulham did, then the effects are disproportionate for women's football as a whole. In the wider context of the sport's development, the mainstay of female competition for twenty-plus years was volunteer-created regional leagues and these have been increasingly replaced by 40 FA-initiated county structures. The reconfiguration in 2001/2 meant that any new women's team had to join a county league and remain there until promotion to a regional league. A new four-year strategy will be devised from 2012, with current targets to create 1,281 girls' teams by then. In each of these county leagues there is evidence of migration across regions and the British home nations, but there are also examples, such as Keynsham in Somerset which is next to an international college, where the mix is more diverse.

The Women's Super League will have eight teams because Hope Powell has prioritized the quality of football that is played in a 'less is more' strategy. The sixteen clubs who had applied to join were: Arsenal Ladies; Barnet; Birmingham City Ladies; Bristol Academy Women; Chelsea Ladies; Colchester United Ladies; Doncaster Rovers Belles; Everton Ladies; Leeds Carnegie Ladies; Leicester City; Lincoln Ladies; Liverpool; Millwall Lionesses FC; Newcastle United Women's FC; Nottingham Forest and Sunderland Women, though Leeds later withdrew due to financial problems. The North and North East in particular, are therefore not included and there have been accusations of a southern bias. There are also wider criticisms about the much-vaunted sustainability of the exercise considering that each club had to have a business plan to raise £70,000 a season in the first two years which would be match-funded by the FA. Sunderland, who could guarantee £49,000, were de-selected on this basis. A official from this club and another who prepared Birmingham City's bid (who both asked to remain anonymous) suggested that clubs had inflated their expected spectator figures in the documentation because the FA had communicated their minimum requirements in this regard. Doncaster Belles first game against Lincoln on 13th April 2011 attracted 750 spectators, while the more publicized Arsenal versus Chelsea tie saw 2, 200 supporters pay between nothing and £6 a ticket.

Slow and conservative growth were the key messages of the Women's Super League. Each club may pay four players each year in excess of 20k (central England contracts are excluded). If any player is earning more than basic expenses, they must have a written contract. Three sources of income are therefore available under the Women's Super League payment scheme: one a central England contract; two, the club contract and three, additional duties, such as administration, ambassadorial work or coaching. Three ambassadorial posts per team are part-funded by the FA, these are subject to the salary cap and the non-playing obligations are part of the contract. A draft system was thought to be good for competitive clubs but unpalatable for players and limiting overseas players would have been gender-specific, so also problematic legally. Though a player would need a work permit in order to play if a non-EU citizen, to get work permit a player would have to have played a percentage of national team games in period stipulated by the Home Office and that national team must be in top 100ish in the world. At the time of writing, no players require work permits to be employed by the league because either EU rules or dual nationality allows them freedom of movement. This and other factors may change. Income and revenue distribution will be reviewed after two years. For example, the FA may allow 40% of club income for wages.

Stefan Szymanski has recently questioned the idea of player salary-caps, as has been used in US Baseball, as of indeterminate benefit for team achievement and overall competitiveness. 'An implicit assumption in the regression-specification is that wages cause performance—but it could be argued that causality runs in the opposite direction, from performance to wages. For example, it is usual for winning teams to be paid bonuses, and it is sometimes said that team owners would rather come second than win a championship in order to avoid excessive bonus payments (an example of the limited role of prizes in rewarding team, as opposed to player, performance).'²⁹ The relative balance of match or championship uncertainty remains to be seen in the long-term future of the Women's Super League.

How, then, has the Women's Super League been conceptualized as a product and brand? Messages and communications across the FA group now run on a two monthly cycle,

focusing on one main product, using television, match-day boards, programmes, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter. So the Superleague really began to be sold in March 2011. Marketing rationale began with the premise that Women's Premier League is not a tangible product to sell, and so there was a need to create a fan-base, mostly comprised of girls aged 9-15. Rather than launch a thirty-six team franchise based on the existing women's Premiership, which would spread the playing talent too far, a Licensing system sought to give coherence to a smaller inaugural group. ESPN, the pay-for-TV broadcaster identified a slot on Tuesdays at 6.30 for a highlights package and also bought rights to production and cross-league footage. In addition to product FAWSL.com each of the eight clubs has a website of similar standard, design, product and branding perspective.³⁰

Gender has been downplayed as part of the media story and the 'new' product emphasis has been on a summer league as a differentiating factor. This has been perceived within the FA as news for the media, in a quiet time for football, although the first game is played 13th April 2011, a busy time in the fixture list in domestic leagues and international competitions. A break is scheduled after the teams' seventh match on 12th May 2011, so games will resume in late July and complete in August. This means that the WSL launches somewhat awkwardly around the scheduling for Women's World Cup in Germany. The opening ceremony and match for that forthcoming tournament for sixteen nations will take place in Berlin on the 26th June 2011. The final will be held on the 17th July in Frankfurt.

Sustainability has been key message of WSL but the lack of national coverage, with two Liverpool and two London teams, and interruptions to the media presentation will challenge this. Telling a coherent public relations story about women's football and making players accessible are other aspects of the Unique Selling Point. This is not so very different from the way that WUSA or WPS was conceptualized. Mark Noonan, speaking at the same 2003 Symposium as Kelly Simmons referenced earlier, called his presentation 'Before They were Champions: Developing the 1999 US Women's Champions National Team Brand.'³¹ Noonan's message was a simple one: 'A Big event, a special team, a moment in time. We see them as a group of sport and gender pioneers: we present them to the audience in lots of games, in lots of cities with the players very connected to their audience.' The WSL live

experience is also intended to borrow from the grass-roots marketing that proved such a successful ticket sales strategy in WWC '99. WSL will be family-orientated, so branding it that way includes match-day kits comprising photo boards, cameras, laptops to look at Facebook and live entertainment at each of the clubs. Since 9-15 year old girls are the primary target market teen media such as *Shout* and *Bliss* have also been prioritised. Celebrity endorsements, include Parade, a girl band at the launch match. N-Dubz, a hip-hop band originally from Camden, have a female vocalist T'leeza who is known to enjoy football and she has also been approached to act as an ambassador. Branding the stadiums to have uniform appearance is also key in presenting the league to a media audience. The FA wanted four commercial partners and have two in their first season: a financial services provider, Yorkshire Building Society and Continental Tyres, a multi national car tyre manufacturer.

Pre-launch focus groups, with current female football players aged 9-15, suggested avoiding an image that was too girly, fluffy, or pink as this would discredit what they felt to be a serious enthusiasm. Clichés such as 'On the ball with the beautiful game - here come the girls' still abound in marketing women players, as the Women's World Cup in Germany, has made clear.³² For the most part these formulaic narratives have been avoided: the colours purple and grey were instead felt to be neutral but a dynamic backdrop for each club's own colours. Rather than a female player, a somewhat amorphous image of a football and a small star make up the logo along with the letters The FA WSL.

Digital ambient marketing is intended to use social-networking habits and technologies in an interactive format entitled *Call the Shots*. An interactive generation will be asked what music should be played at half time or if a goal is scored, what should the league mascot be called and so on. Players have been educated in merchandising awareness and expected to take part in marketing the club and league brand. At this stage, to establish brand awareness, giveaways are perceived to be more important than purchasing items. No alcohol, gambling or cosmetics endorsements have yet been agreed. Nor has an overtly sexualized glamour been used in photo-shoots compared with recent FIFA promotional campaigns using models like Adriana Sklenarikova, wife of Christian Karembeu, even though she has never played the game.³³ Women's football is instead being 'normalised'

through its multiple femininities as an aspirational, committedly athletic, attractive, fun, approachable version of the game. This has extended to media training for players in how to handle the negative stereotypes that, while diminishing, continue to surround female participants.

In spite of claims for professional aspects of women's football made here, a considerable caveat remains that the thirty-member European Professional Football Leagues (EPFL), which was founded in 2005, has no female leagues affiliated.³⁴ It has no immediate plans to incorporate women's leagues within its scope of activities despite of core values promoting unity Unity, Professionalism and Reformism.³⁵ This is largely due to questions over sustainability, effective commercialization rights and player union structures in the current formulations of women's football. There is evidently some way to go before 'a right to train' becomes full professionalism in a commercially vibrant league.

3.5 Conclusion: From FIFA Women's World Cup Germany 2011 to Canada 2015

On 29 October 2010 the Executive Committee approved an increase of US\$ 1. 2 million in the prize money to be awarded at the 2011 FIFA Women's World Cup, bringing the total to US\$ 7. 6 million.³⁶ The Women's World Cup remains the most lucrative showcase of elite female football talent at the time of writing, far surpassing that of any domestic league or club-based competition. The Germany 2011 budget stands at €51m, for example, most of which is aimed to be recouped by ticket sales: this is a challenging prospect, even in a country which is seeking to be the first to win a third consecutive World Cup. There is encouraging news that the tournament will exceed expectations, with more than 400,000 tickets sold earlier than expected, a further tranche of 100,000 were released on general sale in March 2011.

Germany won the FIFA Women's World Cups in 2003 and 2007 respectively and in 2011 will defend the title on home soil. The USA is the other dominant force in the tournament, winning the inaugural title in PR China 1991 and on home soil in 1999, in front of a crowd of 93,000 spectators. FIFA launched an Under 19 Women's World Championship

hosted by Canada in 2002 which the US also won. From 2008 this was re-named a World Cup and aligned with male competitions to become an Under 20 event, again won by the US in Chile that year. Germany won in 2004 and 2010 while North Korea took the title in the 2006 edition, hosted by Russia. Following the second successive Women's World cup in the United States, more serious treatment of women's tournaments included an increase in the number of women's teams in the Olympic competitions; FIFA Women's World Player of the Year and FIFA Women's World ranking exercises; more FIFA courses for women's football and a commitment to more women in senior management positions at FIFA. The latter remains to be fully recognized however.

The United States are the only team to have reached the semi-final of each Women's World Cup to date, though Norway is also an important contender, having lost in the final in 1991 and winning a twelve-team tournament in 1995. Of late, Brazil has become a significant team, reaching third in 1999, losing the final in 2007 and providing key individuals in the women's game. Canada has finished in fourth place in 1999 and Sweden had a third place in 1991 and lost the final in 2003. Brazil, PR China, Germany, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden and USA are the only countries that have been part of all five previous editions of the Women's World Cup. Given this overall context, a tantalizing prospect for 2011 is that Germany and the USA have never met in a final. While the USA lead the scoreboard for most goals scored in all FIFA World Cup tournaments with 85 goals, Germany currently have 84. While sufficiently established to have its own set of traditions and statistics such as those above, however, there remains a problem of how to pitch the competition to the media, more especially when it expands to a twenty-four team tournament in 2015 in Canada. What can we conclude from the place of the World Cup in professionalizing football as an occupation for women?

In her survey of women's changing place in Europe over 300 years Simonton describes a gradual move from what she calls 'intimate spaces' of self, home and family to wider community roles including friendships to elected office and then to shaping wider national and international worlds.³⁷ This pattern of shift can be seen in a compressed form for women's place in football between 1971 and 2011 in terms of playing, coaching and

administration. While this project has tried to identify these main shifts, it is also about the continuities that predominate in the twenty-first century as football shows itself to be more conservative than even the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in not having a woman on its Executive Committee in the world governing-body, FIFA. We know that women have been participating in football since the late 1870s and early 1880s at least and yet the number of women who can earn a living wage from the game remains, at best, in the low hundreds worldwide. By comparison Olympic sports, which first saw female participation in 1900 and were amateur until 1984, can offer financially lucrative careers to the 5,000 female participants expected in 2012. This will be the first time approximate parity of male and female athletes is achieved at the Summer Games (some of whom will be football players) but wider parity of occupational conditions in sport remains elusive. They are still specific to the individual. If we compare male and female opportunities in football, the story is not an encouraging one, though the situation is gradually changing as this project has shown. Consequently, there is an awful lot of chauvinistic continuity in the change to include more women as paid workers in more diverse roles in the sport.³⁸

The amateur nature of the industry-view of women's football up to the present moment cannot be overstated. For example, at a presentation 'Women's Football in the Country of the World Cup and European Champions' which was meant to showcase UEFA's contribution to the women's game the following milestones in Germany were highlighted: '1960s women play football; 1970 General Assembly inform Exco to devise guidelines for women's football; 1971 approval of championship games in sub-regional associations; 1974 first club championship; 1977 Hannelore Ratzeburg becomes member of technical committee; 1981 first Club Cup competition; 1982 first international with coach Gero Bisanz; 1985 Tina Theune Mayer obtained UEFA Pro license; 1989 Germany hosts third European championships (22,000 spectators at Final); 1990 reunification of Germany.' This project has covered some of this same ground. However, what is notable in the changing strategies behind development is that a priority was to copy men's football structures but maintain strictly amateur female football: there was to be no money paid to players 1970-2003. Players had to be prepared to commit themselves as amateurs until a change in priority to

keep the strength of football in Germany made it necessary to offer money to play for the national team.

Women's World Cup particularly, and international competition generally, have undoubtedly been a major motor for the professionalization of women's football in terms of providing a platform for elite specialization, a product to be sold to sponsors and spectators alike plus an increasing calendar of fixtures. In PR China in 1991 just 45 national teams competed in the first worldwide qualifying round and there were fewer than 100 women's international matches played a year.³⁹ For Germany 2011 a record 122 national teams competed in 355 qualifying matches for that competition alone. In 2010 women's international matches numbered 512, played by 141 countries. However, of FIFA's 208 member associations 185 men's representative teams played that year, compared with 141 women's squads. A long-term aim to include more national associations to develop, promote and support women's football remains a priority therefore. It should also be noted that the quadrennial cycle of the Women's World Cup Finals sees peaks and troughs in this overall rising trend. In spite of 368 internationals between 100 national teams in 2003, just 255 matches between 84 countries took place in 2005. Similarly, 447 fixtures in 2006 between 134 national teams fell to 307 international matches between 86 countries in 2009.

One tension in the current formulations of women's semi-professional leagues is between national association intervention and market forces. At the moment national associations have taken it upon themselves to encourage and assist existing women's clubs and to mould new leagues, rather than opening the women's game to the market. An aspect of the problems can be shown by the English Women's Super League club Birmingham City, who had thought to use the Women's FA Cup as a way of raising their profile in the game more generally and, in particular their financial income. However, in spite of intensive pre-season preparation for the Super League, they lost their FA cup match in March 2011 to Barnet, a team based in the current Women's Premiership, not in the elite eight. This was attributed to a change in the playing season for the WSL in its April to August schedule, while those women who were used to the traditional calendar for football were more match-

fit. There may be something to this, but it had followed a month-long training camp by the England team in Cyprus the previous month, so it is not entirely convincing an explanation. Unlike the German Women's Bundesliga, many of the Super League teams have dropped their reserve sides to concentrate on their squad of twenty and so the depth of the playing personnel outside the eight teams is also an issue for analysis. In any case, the broader question is whether licensing and benchmarking will translate to an overall increase in playing standards, and furthermore, if that will increase national squad performances in more European countries.

There are though promising developments in terms of European-wide awareness over the need both to develop the mass of participants and elite players, as the recent KISS development workshop held by UEFA in 24-25th February 2011 in Nyon, indicates. The Women's Football Development Programme (WFDP) will make 100,000 Euro per year per national association available incentivized for administrative and playing development. This is supplemented by KISS workshops and expert advice in a working group drawn mainly from the Women's Committee, notably Karen Espelund (Norway); Susanne Erlandsson (Sweden); Vera Pauw (Russia); Sheila Begbie (Scotland) and Aleksandra Nikolovska (FYR Macedonia). Tools like the Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) are also allowing comparison of the number of female football players with the percentage of women in a total population. This leads to more sophisticated sports development, and grouping together countries for relevant development.

At the KISS development workshop, Lizzy Johnson raised the issue of brand positioning to the European-wide audience and I'll return to this in the conclusion. 'Why do you play football', women and girls were asked, 'What does it mean at an emotional and rational level'? These are interesting questions that I have asked myself in getting players to define an essence of why all the effort is worthwhile. 'The Real Beautiful Game: Football as it should be' is a disappointingly clichéd response. This was thought to entail fair play, dynamic femininity, to be empowering, part of a team (togetherness), honesty, elegance, accessibility and entertainment. Women are now being more thoroughly integrated into marketing campaigns, such as the Star Challenge *Woody and Wulfy in Bilbao*.⁴⁰ So, as the

concluding chapter outlines in making its set of recommendations, there are complexities around understanding professionalisms in sport, some of which are a general part of the 'peculiar business' of how that cultural industry operates, and others which are particular to gendered labour-markets and football.⁴¹

¹ Gisela Gottringer 'Women's Football in the Country of the World Cup and European Champions' *Fifth UEFA Women's Football Conference* Oslo, Norway 17 October 2005 (Nyon: UEFA Archive).

² Margaret Ward *Female Occupations: Women's Employment 1850-1950* (Berkshire: Countryside Books, 2008) p. 3.

³ Deborah Simonton *Women in European Culture and Society: Gender, Skill and Identity from 1700* (Oxon; New York: 2011) p. 386. There is no indexed reference to football and sport has only five references.

⁴ Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls: A History of Women's Football in England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003); 'An Equality Too Far? A Thematic Review of European Issues Relating to Women's Football' *New Approaches in Football History Themenheft von Historical Social Research* 1/2006 pp. 34-43; *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* (London: Berg, 2007).

⁵ I am grateful to Nina Tiesler, University of Lisbon, Vera Botelho and Sine Agergaard, University of Copenhagen who discussed this way of conceptualizing female migration at the *Research workshop: Sports as a Global Labour Market; Female football migration* University of Copenhagen 3-4 December 2010. This idea emerged particularly from Vera's research on the emigration of Scandinavian female footballers.

⁶ John Bale and Joseph Maguire (eds.) *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

⁷ John Bale and Joseph Maguire *The Global Sports Arena* p. 7.

⁸ Michelle Sikes *Women's Sport in Africa* Lincoln College, University of Oxford 7 March 2011 [with the support of Oxford's African Studies Centre, the Royal African Society/African Studies Association (UK) and the British Society of Sport Historians (BSSH)].

⁹ Sue Lopez *Europe, Professionalisation and Women's Football 1971-2011 Questionnaire Response* 30 December 2010.

¹⁰ Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball* p. 42-43.

¹¹ Rose Reilly 'Rose Reilly: inducted 2007' *Scottish Sports Hall of Fame* <http://www.sshf.co.uk> accessed 10 March 2011.

¹² Vera Pauw *UEFA Women's Football Committee Member's Questionnaire Response* 21 December 2010.

¹³ All spellings of Chinese names and places are as they were given to me by Gao Hong in an interview at the training ground of Birmingham City Ladies' FC, Stratford Upon Avon 10 July 2010.

¹⁴ Gao Hong interview at the training ground of Birmingham City Ladies' FC, Stratford Upon Avon 10 July 2010. The interview lasted an hour and a half. Given the language difference and the timescale, any incorrect interpretation of her opinion or factual inaccuracy of the transcript is, of course, my own.

¹⁵ UEFA *UEFA Minutes of Committee on Women's Football* 14 May 1985 Park Hotel, Rotterdam pp. 1-3 (Nyon: UEFA Archive).

¹⁶ UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes* 28 October 1993 FIFA HQ, Hitzigweg (Nyon: UEFA Archive) p. 2 item 4 Report on the Final Round of the European Women's Championship in Italy between Denmark, Germany, Italy and Norway.

¹⁷ UEFA *UEFA Minutes of Working Group on Women's Football* 3 May 1994 Hotel Doyle Montrose, Dublin (Nyon: UEFA archive).

¹⁸ UEFA *UEFA.direct Three Trophies to Conquer* Number 100 August 2010 pp. 6-7 Maccabi Haifa FC earned 8,530,000 and Debreceni VSC 8,966,000 respectively.

¹⁹ UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes* 12/13 April 2000 UEFA HQ, Nyon (Nyon: UEFA Archive) p. 6.

²⁰ UEFA 'Frankfurt claim maiden crown' <http://www.uefa.com/womenschampionsleague> accessed 30 March 2010. It is clear that during, and shortly after World War One women's football teams drew crowds of between ten and fifty thousand people and games played in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s at various club and representative tournaments had also reached at least the same levels, depending on where they were staged.

-
- ²¹ UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes* 14 October 2004 (Nyon: UEFA Archive).
- ²² UEFA *Draw Ceremony Notes 2010/11 UEFA Women's Champions League 2010/11* (Nyon: UEFA) 19 August 2010 pp.1-2.
- ²³ UEFA *Regulations of the UEFA Women's Champions League 2010/11* (Nyon: UEFA, 2010) p. 29-30.
- ²⁴ Marion Daube, Executive Officer, *FC Zürich Frauen* personal communication 2 February 2011.
- ²⁵ Per Iversen, General Manager, *Røa Fotball Elite* personal communication 16 February 2011.
- ²⁶ Jaqui Oatley 'English Women's League Prepares for Re-Boot' *FIFA World* (Zurich, FIFA, March 2011) pp. 39-43.
- ²⁷ Kelly Simmons 'Women's Football in England' *FIFA Second Symposium for Women's Football* Long Beach, USA 4 October 2003.
- ²⁸ Jaqui Oatley 'Q and A' *FIFA World* (Zurich, FIFA, March 2011) p. 41.
- ²⁹ Stefan Szymanski *The Comparative Economics of Sport* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) p. 24.
- ³⁰ Football Association <http://www.thefa.com/Leagues/SuperLeague> accessed 31 March 2011.
- ³¹ Mark Noonan 'Before They were Champions: Developing the 1999 US Women's Champions National Team Brand' *FIFA Second Symposium on Women's Football* Long Beach, USA 4 October 2003.
- ³² Dave Smith 'On the ball with the beautiful game - here come the girls' <http://www.givemefootball.com> (Manchester: Professional Footballers' Association) 25 February 2011.
- ³³ FIFA 'Adriana Karembeu: A passion for women's football: FIFA.com caught up with the beautiful game's most glamorous standard-bearer' 3 January 2011 <http://www.fifa.com/womensworldcup/news> accessed 2 February 2011.

³⁴ EPFL traces its foundation back to an earlier twelve-party organization, founded in 1997 the Association of European Union Premier Professional Football Leagues (EUPPFL) see for example <http://www.epfl-europeanleagues.com> accessed 10 January 2011.

³⁵ EPFL *EPFL Annual Report of Activities 2008-9* (Nyon: EPFL, 2010).

³⁶ FIFA 'Exco Briefs' *FIFA World* (Zurich: FIFA, November/ December 2010) p. 15.

³⁷ Deborah Simonton *Women in European Culture and Society* p. 389.

³⁸ As the recent 'Lino-gate' controversy in England showed when Richard Keys and Andy Gray made disparaging remarks about Sian Massey and Karren Brady. Louise Taylor 'Sky Sports: the perfect TV set for the boors who will be boors' *The Guardian* 27 January 2011 guardian.co.uk accessed 22 March 2011. However, two weeks later they were reportedly employed on six figure salaries by TalkSport. For further details see, for example, John Plunkett 'Richard Keys and Andy Gray join TalkSport' *The Guardian* 8 February 2011 guardian.co.uk accessed 22 March 2011.

³⁹ Matthias Kunz 'The Female Figure: Vital Statistics From the Women's Game' *FIFA World* (Zurich: FIFA, March 2010) pp. 44-45.

⁴⁰ UEFA Skills Challenge 'Woody and Wulfy in Bilbao' <http://www.uefa.com/trainingground> accessed 24 February 2011.

⁴¹ Simon Rottenberg 'The Baseball Players' Labor Market' *The Journal of Political Economy* vol. 64 no. 33 (1956) pp. 242-258; Walter C. Neale 'The Peculiar Economics of Professional Sports' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* vol. 78 no. 1 (1964) pp. 1-14; Peter J. Sloane 'The Economics of Professional Football: The Football Club as a Utility Maximiser' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* vol. 18 no. 2 June 1971 pp. 121-146 are the three seminal articles that address the economic implications of the structural features of the markets in which professional sports teams operate. Neale, in particular, debated the distinctive mix of cooperation and competition that characterizes sports markets and the 'fourth estate benefit' of selling a sport by media coverage through radio, TV and newspaper sports writers.

Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011

Sport remains one of the most conservative and inflexible areas of public life, lagging far behind other social structures. Distributional data has demonstrated that in Europe, despite more than a decade of strategies and actions to support progress towards gender equity in sports organisations, women are still under-represented in executive and decision-making positions.¹

Emma Byrne: The Arsenal Ladies' goalie who bakes her own bread.²

4.1 Conclusion: A Beautiful Pink Future for Women's Football?

When Fanny Blankers-Koen won four gold medals at the 1948 London Olympic Games it was reported that the 'World's Fastest Woman is an Excellent Cook'. In 2011, Emma Byrne, the Arsenal Ladies' Irish goalkeeper was also presented as having good culinary skills. That a magazine like *Sky Sports* should feature a woman footballer at all is indicative of the changes in the sport in the last sixty years: that her domestic abilities are a main focus of the article illustrates how little has changed and not just in media perceptions of female athletes. Football's 'manly' customs have been enduring, even while research into female participation over the last century is now well-established in academic circles and cultural industries.³ In the search to give a feminine-appropriate image to women's football, one approach has been to emphasise a very girly, youthful 'pink' image to the game.⁴ As an example, Sue Ronan of the FA of Ireland credits the Soccer Sisters campaign aimed at 7-12 year girls, including an Aviva-sponsored pink kit and cerise water bottle, with doubling participation numbers to 21,590 at that age.⁵ As has been seen by the example of the Women's Super League, in some cases this use of pink has been seen as trivialising female participation and, as such, purple has been used in branding a more empowered, mature dynamic for the brand.⁶

However, as the cover image for this report, a mosaic entitled 'The Pink Side', indicates, shades of pink can have complex and multiple symbolisms, incorporating matriarchal tradition, role models, awareness of other cultures, diverse aesthetics, fashionable modernity, good health and fun.⁷ I have included sepia images from the 1917-23 period on the back cover to indicate that football has plenty of founding mothers, daughters, sisters and aunts in its history and heritage, as well as the more well-known fathers, sons, brothers and uncles. In a world where the humanities is increasingly squeezed in favour of hard sciences, business, law and technology, funding a history project in the first tranche of the UEFA Research Grant Programme may remind us that, in our enthusiasm for the present and future prospects of football, we should not forget the past.

The colour pink is now institutionalised worldwide with campaigns for breast cancer-which, in turn, often use 'fun-runs' of up to six kilometres that are overtly accessorised with various other 'pink' paraphernalia.⁸ The emphasis in these *Race for Life* events is collaboration, altruism, inclusion, celebration and mutual support. In the sometimes violent, homophobic, xenophobic and intensely competitive atmosphere of football, some of these values would perhaps be welcome on a wider scale. Yet, there is a narrative about females bringing only good moral values to sport that risks essentialising women's football as a story of 'sugar and spice and all things nice' as the nursery rhyme goes. As we know from doping scandals, the occasionally violent world of ice-dance and the stories of exploitation, anorexia and sex abuse in swimming and gymnastics, girls and women can be the perpetrators *and* victims of immoral and illegal behaviour in sport. It is to be hoped that pink will not become only colour, nor the cliché, whereby women's football becomes feminised: instead it is desirable that a more diverse rainbow of other identities for women and men, girls and boys, will also be part of the future.

Commodification is a part of that process. The higher visibility of female players has seen more manufacturers, for example Puma, wish to become the number one manufacturer of women's football clothing. Individual presentation, as with other expressions of personal identity, will negotiate a path between what is commercially

available and what the person chooses to wear. On a broader level, in a sport that has the same playing rules and uniform for male and female players, one defining feature of professional football in women-only leagues is the extent to which it becomes feminised in its colour, layout and branding. It may seem a rather trivial and distracting point to highlight the use of a particular colour in imagining and branding football as a female-appropriate sport but it is clear that pink is, like the use of the phrase 'beautiful game', now a cliché in trying to normalise the participation of women and girls. With a tag line 'The Beautiful Side of 20Eleven' the Women's World Cup in Germany has trademarked the phrase as integral to the presentation of the woman player. I have also been party to the perpetuation of this term as a way of conceptualising the female part of the football family. The publisher of my previous book insisted on the title *A Beautiful Game* and, in spite of being aware that every undergraduate student who writes on the topic uses the phrase as the title of their essay thinking that they are the first to do so, I gave in on the issue.⁹

My reservations remain, not least, because the new markets and key regions for development include the Middle East, Asia more generally and Africa. Consequently, Western, particularly Eurocentric, ideas of female attractiveness are no basis for developing a sport, whether the imperatives are commercial or motivated by a concern for human rights. That *would* be superficial and tokenistic. There is encouraging evidence that mercantile and development initiatives can be combined to good effect from European countries though: for example the German Foreign Office recently organised an eight-team tournament in Bahrain to promote the FIFA Women's World Cup 2011 and women's football in general as part of its outreach activities in non-qualified countries. This is not an isolated initiative. Since 2008, for instance, more than 30 FIFA courses related to women's football have taken place in the Middle East in Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Qatar, Syria, United Arab Emirates from beach football, to development seminars, futsal tournaments and refereeing courses.¹⁰

Women's sport more broadly, represents an area of scant historical inquiry compared to other facets of life in Europe such as religion, politics, family, education,

work, and community institutions. Nevertheless, European women's football has a history going back to the nineteenth century and intersects with each of the areas listed above. This female tradition is often overlooked in favour of a story of rejection of women players by the sport's governing bodies and the cultural implications of that attitude, which ranged across the continent from prohibition to antipathy. In the current era of overt progressivism, this long-standing agency on behalf of women players could be more often and explicitly told as part of football's history because it shows the extent of the game's universal appeal for over a century. Not least, Roland Robertson has defined globalisation as a concept that 'refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.'¹¹ While this project argues that greater connectivity (more migration and digital communication) and globality (people are reflecting on the state of the world and their place in it) are evident in Europe during the period 1971-2011 in women's football, we can also see traces of these processes in earlier phases of popularity.

Most of the early twentieth century teams were formed either by workers of the same factory, such as the most famous British example, the Dick, Kerr Ladies of Lancashire or, as in French case of Fémina in July 1912 by Pierre Payssé, the Olympic gymnast. This Parisian club diversified its sporting range and in 1917, added association football.¹² Fémina toured England in March 1920, first playing Dick, Kerr's in Preston. The image of the kiss of welcome between the two captains to open the first match, though very chaste, was widely circulated across Europe: from this moment on mediated international matches and regional competition were an important part of the story of women's football. Female football migration was very evident in this early period. Competitive rivalry extended by 1921 to 150 British teams including Liverpool, Birmingham, Bath and Plymouth and 'internationals' against Scottish, French and Belgian women's teams. A planned US and Canada Dick, Kerr's tour, a form of which eventually took place in late 1922, saw them play against male professionals with Lily Parr as captain and the 'star draw'. Parr is thought to have earned 10 shillings a game for her entire playing career, until she retired in 1951. Alice Mills, who had never previously been out of Britain before this tour followed many other Lancashire cotton migrants and

moved to the Pawtucket area the year after, retiring from football to raise a large family and remaining in the United States for the rest of her life. If some of the 'pull' factors at this time were the opportunity to play football at the highest level, the 'push' factors could include wider economic forces. It is, of course, a moot point, the extent to which these migrants were semi-professional: Dick, Kerr's certainly drew playing personnel from outside the immediate area, with French (Louise Ourry) and later Scottish players (Nancy 'the cannonball' Thomson) moving to Preston and working while they played. Nevertheless, the principle of 'signing on' the best player(s) of the opposing team was established at the outset. So the timeframe of this current project could be extended to incorporate this earlier period in future research.

By 1921, the English Football Association had banned women from the fields Football League and of Association clubs in England, in part because players 'expenses' absorbed too much from charity money raised and because it was 'unsuitable'.¹³ If male professional players were to be controlled by maximum wage caps and the retain and transfer system, however difficult these were to police, female professionalism was not to be tolerated. As has been seen, this antipathy towards women's football generally permeated most of Europe but did not always lead to an outright embargo. Women in France began playing at a similar time to those in Britain and promoted the popularity of the sport internationally in part via the Women's World Games 1921-1936. These were pioneered Alice Milliat in protest at female exclusion from many disciplines at the Olympic Games (revived in its modern form by Baron De Coubertin as a festival intended for male youth). A 1923 game in Barcelona, between a French and an English team, may well provide one of the earliest important examples of player migration when Florrie Redford (formerly a prolific striker of Dick, Kerr's) seems to have played for Les Sportives.¹⁴ Women's football also developed in Germany and Austria after the First World War and there seems to be evidence of a game in Russia (of which we know little): in 1919 Austrian Weekly *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*, based in Vienna, reported matches; in 1920 a Frankfurt women's football team turned to rowing after public ridicule and by 1925 there were debates in *Sport und Sonne* about the essentially masculine nature of football, as one article headline indicated, 'Das Fussballspiel ist

Männerspiel'.¹⁵ Thereafter, the DFB regularly discouraged women from playing and banned men's teams from forming related women's squads. Notions of the body and permissiveness were, nevertheless, changing as the elegant 'sport girl' exemplified by the willowy tennis player in whites and the 'new woman' of boxing and athletics in the Weimar Republic graced the covers of *Sport und Sonne* in the 1930s.¹⁶ In contrast, pioneers of women's football, like nineteen-year-old Lotte Specht, were making the Frankfurt weekly press look very much like they had just played a hard match. Around 40 women played for DFC Frankfurt in 1930 while 850,000 took part in Turnen, so while numerically we would need to contextualise this activity, there is some emerging evidence of a history of female football as a European-wide activity on which to build future research projects involving migration before World War Two.¹⁷

As the Introduction of this work has shown, cultural, social, economic and political changes spread across Europe after 1945 and there was an increase of women participating in sport, including football, giving rise to what can appear to be the late modernity of women's football. Events in Europe included the formation of a West German Women's Football Association in Essen in August 1955 with twenty-two clubs. Who were these players and what can this period tell us about women's football at the time? This was followed by the 2-1 victory in an international with the Netherlands in 1956 in front of a crowd of 18,000 in Essen and then, in 1957 to a European Women's Championship with the final in the 40,000-seater Poststadion a 4-1 victory for 'England' over 'West Germany'. However, in the Pathé newsreel footage of this tournament nothing is made of the humiliation of English football in 1953 by Hungary or Germany's 1954 success in the World Cup and so it seems to stand apart from those defining 'football' moments. What we need to ask in reviewing these early periods therefore are questions like, 'How significant was 1954 for German women's football? What did the audience in the cinema make of these newsreels as sport, entertainment, and mediated public spectacle in Germany, in England and across Europe?' FIFA, by its own admission only began researching early women's football matches during the last few years and claims of the 'first' official international between France and the Netherlands in April 1971 is open to debate.¹⁸

After initially modifying the rules to make them less 'rough' for women in the 1960s, the DFB then abandoned the modifications and gave official permission for women's matches to be played as double headers prior to men's professional matches. So by May 1970 at an FC Kaiserslautern versus FC Cologne match, the Landau and Augsburg women's teams played in front of 18,000 people. Matches in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were often played as part of town's Volkfest, annual people's fair, and filled town stadiums. In 1990 the formation of a regional North East league consisting of teams from GDR and Berlin saw the formation of a National League North and South with most clubs being sections of local sports clubs and football one of a number of sports played. Some of the key teams in German women's football have been TuS Worrstadt (formed in 1969) who won the first national championship in 1974 and Bergish Gladbach (formed in 1973) who won the national championship 1977 and also the Cup Final in 1981 and 1982 and 1984. Bayern Munich, who won the national championship in 1976, were runners up 1979 and also runners up in their Cup Final appearances 1988 and 1990.

Before the reunification of Germany 1. FFC Turbine Potsdam (fully known as '1. Frauen-Fußball-Club Turbine Potsdam 71 e. V') dominated the East German women's league. It remains the only team from the former East Germany to win the unified title. The team also won the UEFA women's competition in the 2004/05 season, beating the Swedish team of Djurgården/Älvsjö 5-1 overall in the final. Turbine Potsdam have been the most significant East German team to maintain a place in the Frauen Bundesliga, created in 1990, after integration and the national team benefited a great deal from East German players, in spite of the fact that the women had not been supported at all by the East German Football Association because it was not considered to be a top-level (i.e. Olympic) sport. In contrast, male players had been greatly treated favourably by both the ruling party and the state in spite of unfavourable cost-benefit ratios in terms of their international achievements. If there was variation within Germany, development across the major countries of Europe was considerably more uneven. The football association of Denmark, for example, incorporated women's football in 1972 despite clubs such as BK Femina being formed in 1959. This gradual acceptance created some player fluxes to particular centres of football at particular times. As the national associations reversed

their previous institutional discouragement to include the growing participation of women into officially-sanctioned football leagues, the concentrations of players have changed. These leagues have produced a network of proto-professionalism which has enabled women to begin to negotiate paid work by migrating to play football.

The Frauen Bundesliga has been of considerable domestic importance as it is estimated that since 2000 the DFB has invested over 100 million Euros in the development of Germany's young football talent. This is encouraging, as Cup Finals have been played in Berlin prior to the Men's matches since 1985 and women's teams have been paid 13,000 to 21,000 Euros a year, including TV money, of which the DFB decides the proportion. However, the Frauen Bundesliga has an importance beyond the Germany itself because it provides elite competition and some employment for players from national teams who have yet to break through into World Cup competition. This can be seen in the case of quite wealthy countries, such as Switzerland, where Marisa Brunner, Martina Moser and Danique Stein played for German clubs in 2009/10.

There is a gradual but widening public recognition of women who pioneered professional and semi professional roles in football, in part due to the increasingly European-wide practice of electing key individuals to respective Halls of Fame. At the National Football Museum, Preston, England Female inductees are Debbie Bampton; Pauline Cope; Gillian Coultard; Sue Lopez; Lily Parr; Hope Powell; Brenda Sempare; Marieanne Spacey; Karen Walker and Joan Whalley are remembered.¹⁹ At the Scottish Football Museum Rose Reilly was inducted in 2007.²⁰ She remains the sole woman to be recognized in this way. Others, like Welsh international Karen Jones have been awarded honours, in this case the Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for services to football as an administrator and volunteer. With more time, it would surely be possible to compile a more comprehensive list of the growing number of women across generations who have been recognized for their contributions to the sport and to society more widely.

To provide a wider context, the football industry as a whole underwent a revolution while women's football took a slower evolution: in spite of considerable national, regional and local variation across Europe in 2011, it is possible to say that across 30 leagues the trans-nationalism of male player movement has increased, with the percentage of expatriates at levels of up to 35% in some clubs in recent years.²¹ However, it is also indicative of how concentrated that market for labour is, when this statistic is balanced by figures which show that the majority of first team players are expatriates in five of thirty-six European leagues. The economic and sporting gaps between championships in European football are consequently subject to considerable variation. Even so, it is possible to say that Western European expatriates are most represented in top leagues, whilst Eastern Europeans are most numerous in the bottom leagues, generally situated in this part of the continent, though the variations are relatively small.²² This is generally also the case for women players: however, the varied nature of semi professionalism makes this difficult to quantify or to definitively state that the individual moved for football-related employment: work permits are still relatively rare and within the EU are not required at all. The only significant case to come before the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS), which was recognised in 2002 by FIFA in a move to formalize dispute resolution, has been the case of Olympique Lyonnaise vs UEFA and Fortuna Hjørring in January 2010.²³ CAS cancelled the decision in UEFA's appeal court that gave Fortuna a victory in their protest against Olympique Lyonnais's use of two Norwegian players who they claimed infringed amateur and club transfer rules.²⁴ It effectively meant that the Women's Champion's League could not be enforced as an amateur competition. In comparison, men's football accounted for one third of all CAS's two hundred strong caseload in the same year. Women's football simply has not been legislated and dissected to the degree of the more socio-economic and commercially developed male sector, but this may well change in the next decade.

Some of the case studies and individuals cited here indicate, though, that an emerging market within Europe has provided both alternative and additional opportunities to earn a living from the game compared with those in the United States and the Japanese 'L' League. While moving alone for rational reasons including

competitive factors, recognition and monetary rewards is central to player motivation, it is relatively rare that players move in isolation. While some in a particular tranche may stay in a particular country longer than others, the networks of participation are often reflected in patterns of movement. This is not so much a process of 'pull' and 'push' as 'drag', since a small group of triallists will often move temporarily together and some will be more successful, and stay for longer than others. Success though, is not always measured in football terms, as lifestyle and lifecycle considerations also shape player migration. The new professionalism therefore still owes much to the voluntary and amateur structures that primarily continue to define women's football. Because elite players pool in a relatively few high-profile clubs, they can tend to migrate in small groups to see what the career opportunities in a particular locale are. Significant 'pull' factors are the enjoyment of physical labour, social capital, climate, lifestyle and education (from learning new languages to developing academic and vocational skills). Football culture, as expressed in a particular locale, is also a key driver.

One way of developing this work is to stress an even more diverse range of local responses to purported globalization processes in football. There are many glocalised structures across the European countries to suggest that the sport is not best understood by a continuity of heterogeneity or homogeneity but by the interplay of global and local forces. For example, this work has established that globally women and girls are an under-developed and readily identifiable sector of the football participant demographic. If there is one consensus that unites those who work in the sector it is that the general profile of the women's game needs to be raised: I have not spoken to one individual who felt that women's football was over-exposed in its public relations profile or over-exploited as a commercial prospect. Why is there not more political will to invest significantly in marketing and sales departments to further strengthen the market share of the women's game? Historical under-investment takes specific forms but some overall patterns are emerging.

As a regional response, the new UEFA scheme HatTrick III represents a continuing investment in female football markets at national association level. There is

little chance that female European participation will reach levels in which that demographic is fully exploited at any time in the near future. From 2012 to 2016, for example, each national association will receive €3 million.²⁵ This is in addition to a further €1.5 million per year, over the four-year period, in solidarity payments that will be linked to commitments such as the implementation of a Club Licensing scheme, participation in competitions and membership of the UEFA Coaching Convention and Grassroots Charter, among others. Therefore, the total amount payable per national association via HatTrick III is €9 million, which represents an increase of more than 15% in comparison to HatTrick II. In particular, the Executive Committee noted the huge growth in European women's football, both in terms of registered players and participation, and agreed to support the UEFA Women's Football Development Programme (WFDP) via a yearly payment of €100,000 per year between 2012 and 2016, from the HatTrick III payments. While this is encouraging, by definition it limits female development to a relatively small percentage of the overall budget. An interesting, and provocative, proposition might be to require that national associations spend the money equally, 50% each for male and female development. Strategic philanthropy perhaps has its limits in developing football.

As individuals and perceived gatekeepers to familial interest, it makes sound business sense to develop female consumers of the game as well as fulfilling sports development and Corporate Social Responsibility agendas.²⁶ However, the development issues in Norway are unlike those in Germany and different again than priorities in Iceland. As well as being subject to national association structures, the profile of the women's game in each country is subject to considerable regional variation, with accusations that the Women's Super League in England, for example, is Southern-centric.²⁷ This mirrors perceptions since the Football Association took over the women's game in 1993 that a specifically London-dominated national squad selection-process has been in place. The migratory trends highlighted in 2011 therefore look likely to increase as more opportunities present themselves to a growing number of women in European football. The meeting between local conditions, regional priorities and global structures nevertheless shapes that overall rise.

The individual and group patterns of women football players also reflect some wider trends in migration studies themselves such as the flows and fluxes of skilled and technically-talented females in the workforce, more generally. This project has reflected trends of the educational migrant who stays for a limited span of time to develop or prolong a playing career by one of a number of ancillary occupations, most notably coaching. Others might sustain themselves, a partner or family in their country of occupation or of origin. We can see from these case studies that the historical exclusion of women from football as a highly portable social and cultural activity has gendered the image of the sport world-wide and this could be more actively addressed by the governing bodies in the public relations literature. It is possible to say that making a living as a football player is now no longer the exclusive preserve of men, but that few European women do manage to earn a living entirely from playing at the highest level. There is not set educational or career pattern for the female worker.

We might judge the development of professionalization by the growing number of women who chose to take up a job in football as athletes, as managers and coaches or in ancillary occupations listed above. What is more problematic, as the case studies have shown, is the move towards a viable post-playing career. While the survey of the Women's Champions League Clubs and those playing in some of Europe's female elite competitions indicates an increasingly market-oriented attitude towards commercial development, this again is largely dependent upon the voluntary and community structures that have historically been the mainstay. Helping these clubs to conceive of their product as something marketable and with a viable commercial future remains challenging. The decisive shift would have to be one in which reciprocity of sponsorship for public relations value based on worthy or encouraging ideals becomes genuine compensation for the added value that women's football as a product can bring to the sponsor.

As it becomes more normalized to see women professional players as aspirations figures, it may well be that increasing numbers of young girls seek to specialize in

football at an increasingly early age. The academic literature around the efficacy of role models on motivating the young is, however sparse, and this is another area that could be studied by longitudinal methods.²⁸ What we can say, is that to gain recognition and material wealth in football for the foreseeable future, women will have to move to do so. While some move towards market-driven rationality is detectable, this is an as yet emerging sub-discipline of the football industry. Obvious cultural and geographical factors, such as proximity of migration between countries of origin and destination which are closely linked by language or border are also evident in that the Irish and Welsh may move to England and migration between Scandinavian and Nordic countries also marked. However, another major factor is the distinct shape of European women's football up to the present day. Consequently, female players' movement is often different than male players generally and elite migrants particularly, because of the human geography of club location. While world cities such as London, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen are part of this story, Lincoln in England, Montpellier in France, Duisburg in Germany and Fortuna Hjørring in Denmark are also part of the map of elite European women's football. So there is no neat fit for the continent's capitals or 'world cities' to which fans of the game would normally pay pilgrimage.²⁹

Denmark, France, Norway and Sweden provide attractive conditions for migrant women football players, while the Netherlands, Germany and England have proto-professional leagues. Eastern European countries have yet to create elite leagues which draw in significant diasporas of north, west or southern female talent but, as the case of Vera Pauw indicates, there are signs of increasing integration. Whatever the civil processes at work here, the emerging models of European professional women's soccer offer interesting examples of leagues that combine aspects of North American franchises with the traditional models of football. As such, they have wider implications for how the sport is presented to a European and world-wide audience. The English Women's Super League can be seen as perhaps the most Americanised example of a professional football league in Europe. Explaining why this has not been adopted for male football leagues, Szymanski outlines: 'A salary cap tailored to the average team in the top division of a national league would seriously handicap a leading team in that league which was also

competing at the European level. Moreover, a salary cap applied only in one national league would cause the most talented players in that league to move to rival national leagues which did not operate a cap. Any European-wide system would face the obstacle of significant international differences in standards of living, tax rates, and administrative systems. Only if a closed superleague system emerged in Europe, constructed on similar lines to the major leagues, is it likely that such arrangements would become feasible.¹³⁰

What is the goal of establishing professional leagues licensed by national associations in Europe? What is the intellectual property of the 'imagined community' of female player? The project has begun to answer some of these questions. Trademarks, logos and mascots have been developed; players are increasingly media-trained and aware of community-based public relations opportunities; the media and print journalism has been targeted; digital social networking is key; shirt sponsorship and field boards, tickets, promotional rights for merchandise agreed. The Unique Selling Point appears to be that the players are approachable sport and gender pioneers who love their football and are grateful to be able to play professionally. They are linked with, and give back to their communities. The overwhelming feeling is that female professionalism is multicultural; passionate; humble; community-engaged; diverse and digital. Within female football's European elite, the leagues' brands combined speak of an inclusive culture around an exclusively talented pinnacle of players.

Europe has been central to the world-wide development of women's football but to what extent will it remain a core of activity that attracts players, rather than being a donor of female talent? The FIFA Executive Committee in 2005 ratified Russia 2006 as an U20 not U19 competition. They also confirmed the number of slots per delegation for Women's World Cup 2007 as hosts 1, AFC 2, CAF 2, CONCACAF 2.5, CONMEBOL 2, CFC 1 and UEFA 5. An expanded tournament will pressurize European countries to earn a place in a more competitive environment. However, the development of the sport is not isolated to football-only tournaments. The 2004 Olympic football competition in Athens was the first time that a women's event had been staged as part of a Summer Games in Europe. Three European countries, including hosts Greece, were among the ten in the

tournament. Germany and Sweden joined Australia, Brazil, China PR, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, and the USA (compared with 16 men's teams at the same games). London 2012 will provide another increased opportunity to raise the profile of this sport as against others. Questions remain for future research however: Will one of the European examples here become the world's best female soccer league and thereby the new brand for women's football? Should resources be pooled to establish a continent-wide female football league for a new Europe? How will football compare with other professional leagues in other team sports, such as netball, and with individual disciplines where lucrative careers can be made?

Tensions that have been explored here include the strategic philanthropy of the FA owning and promoting a licensed closed Women's Super League, with its limited salary cap. Will this and its counterparts in Germany and the Netherlands retain the best European players? The uncertain market for women's football as a whole is one complicating factor here. The growing trans-national opportunities for female playing-talent are still more. Will the 'Atlantic drift' continue as players move to the, currently reduced, five-team Women's Professional Soccer League in the United States, or will other European leagues draw the elite? Notably, Karen Carney has returned from the US to play for Birmingham City in England in 2011. Meanwhile, Gemma Davison (Barnet, England) and Caroline Seger (a Swedish international who had played for Linköpings FC since 2005) will appear in the 2011 WPS season for Western New York Flash, for example. Czech international, Vendula Strnadova, who studies in the United States and lives in New Mexico, is an important player for Atlanta Beat. Ifeoma Dieke, a member of the Scotland Women's National Team, will play for Boston Breakers as will England internationals Alex Scott and Kelly Smith. Veronica Boquete and Laura del Rio Garcia of Spain; Holmfridur Magnúsdóttir of Iceland and Lianne Sanderson of England have signed for Philadelphia Independence. English national team players, Eniola Aluko Anita Asante and Karen Bardsley are on the squad for Sky Blue FC, based in New Jersey, as are Finland's most capped still-active player Laura Kalmar and Sweden's Therese Sjögran. Evidently, the move to the United States with the college infrastructure, WPS and W leagues, high female participation rates and the prospect of Puma sponsorship and

Nike endorsements remains an appealing draw compared with, say, an English WSL sponsored by Continental Tyres and the Yorkshire Building Society.

To return to a theme first raised in the Introduction of this work, can women's football in Europe develop a sense of 'Unity in Diversity'? This implies an inclusiveness of the various stage of development across national associations but also a diverse sense of female identity that the sport can promote including ethnic and religious backgrounds, sexuality, disability, age and class. A very brief perusal of UEFA's own documentation, such as *UEFA.direct* indicates some positive steps in this regard. As well as coverage on specific preparation for female tournaments, such as Sweden's bid to host the Women's EURO 2013 for instance, there are national association news items which integrate youth player development for boys and girls, plus articles on elite competition and tournaments for players with learning difficulties.³¹ What is also evident is that international competition will continue to dominate club loyalties for the foreseeable future, in providing an international stage for elite talent. This work then has highlighted that national squad players are but a small percentage of the mobile female football talent in Europe. Future projects could explore as to whether the youth competitions that have been a main growth area in driving overall standards of play up, have encouraged girls and young women to specialize increasingly early in a football-career. Other research and analysis of club operations could identify where business practices differ from volunteer and community initiatives, and where there are areas of overlap.

¹ Margaret Talbot 'Gendering the Agenda in Sport Decision-Making' *European Woman and Sport Conference* Helsinki Finland 6 July 2000

² Sky Sports 'Emma Byrne: Away From the Game' *Sky Sports* April/ May 2011 p. 17.

³ Colin Yates and Phil Vassilli 'Moving the Goalposts: History of Women's Football in Britain Exhibition (1881-2011)' The Peoples History Museum in Manchester 15 March 2011 <http://www.footballfineart.com> accessed 12 April 2011. A Pink neon outline of a football boot is part of the installation. Female soccer fiction now has its own developing

sub genre, see for example Narinder Dhami *Katy's Real Life: The Beautiful Game Series* (London: Orchard, 2011). Subtitled Friends and Football, the Perfect Match, the series uses prominent pink and lavender in its marketing and includes *Team Jasmine*, *Georgie's War* and *Hannah's Secret*.

⁴ Football is not alone in this. The 'dowdy' and upper class world of equestrianism has recently seen the launch of Katie Price's pink and black branded clothing and horse accessories. Also known as Jordan, the glamour model, author and business-woman had hoped to represent Britain in the 2012 London Games <http://www.kpequestrian.com> accessed 1 April 2011.

⁵ Sue Ronan *Soccer Sisters: FA of Ireland KISS Workshop presentation* Nyon: UEFA HQ 24 February 2011.

⁶ Zoe Wishman FA Women's Super League Marketing Brand Manager personal interview Wembley Stadium London, 15 March 2011.

⁷ Siobhan Tarr *The Pink Side (2011)* will be exhibited at the Schwules (Gay) Museum Berlin during the Women's World Cup 2011 along with 19 other commissions by contemporary artists June to August 2011 as part of the cultural celebrations of that event. The Schwules Museum opened in 1985 <http://www.schwulesmuseum.de> accessed 1 April 2011. For tourism and marketing of destination cities in Germany 2011 and hospitality packages including cultural highlights see <http://hospitality.fifa.com/wwc> accessed 1 April 2011.

⁸ Race For Life <http://www.raceforlife.org> accessed 10 January 2011; WPS 'Project Pink' Breast cancer charity shirt launched by Puma in 2010 <http://www.womensprosoccer.com/projectpink> accessed 10 January 2011.

⁹ Anjana Gadgil 'The more beautiful game?' *Guardian.co.uk* Wednesday 29 January 2003 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/football/2003/jan/29> accessed 1 April 2011.

¹⁰ Michele Cox 'Gaining Acceptance' *FIFA World* (Zurich: FIFA, March 2011) pp. 32-7. Sheikha Hussa Bint Khalid Abdulla Al Khalifa, at twenty-five years of age, is the first ever female Executive Committee member of the Union of Arab Football Associations.

¹¹ Roland Robertson *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992) p. 8.

-
- ¹² Laurence Prudhomme-Poncet *Histoire du Football Féminin au XXe Siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003) pp. 5-10.
- ¹³ Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls: a history of women's football in England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003) p. 20.
- ¹⁴ Patrick Brennan 'Football Feminine' http://www.donmouth.co.uk/womens_football accessed 1 April 2011 with wonderful images of the media coverage of this time.
- ¹⁵ Eduard Nendza and Jürgen Hoffmann *Verlacht, Verboten und Gefeiert* (Auflage: Landpresse 2006) p. 14.
- ¹⁶ Erik Jensen *Body by Weimar: Athletes Gender and German Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- ¹⁷ Eduard Nendza and Jürgen Hoffmann *Verlacht, Verboten und Gefeiert* (Auflage: Landpresse 2006) p. 24.
- ¹⁸ Sebastien Duret 'First Ladies' FIFA World (Zurich: FIFA, April 2011) pp. 34-9.
- ¹⁹ National Football Museum 'Hall of Fame Inductees' <http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/halloffame> accessed 10 January 2011. Players must be aged at least 30 years or have retired and have played/ managed in England for five years to be eligible.
- ²⁰ Scottish Football Museum 'Hall of Fame' <http://www.scottishfootballmuseum.org.uk/hall-of-fame> accessed 10 January 2011.
- ²¹ Raffaele Poli, Loïc Ravenel and Roger Benson *Annual Review of the European Football Player's Labour Market 2011* (Neuchatel: The Professional Football Players Observatory, 2011) p. 45.
- ²² Raffaele Poli et al. *European Football Player's Labour Market 2011* pp. 46-7.
- ²³ UEFA 'Lyon restored to the quarter-finals' 25 February 2010 <http://www1.en.uefa.com/womenschampionsleague> accessed 10 March 2011.
- ²⁴ For a reaction to this from the Danish Football Association (DBU) and Fortuna see <http://www.danacup.com/FortunaoutoftheChampionsLeague> accessed 1 March 2011.
- ²⁵ UEFA '069: UEFA Executive Committee decisions from Prague meeting' <http://www.uefa.com/uefa/mediaservices/mediareleases> accessed 20 December 2010

²⁶ Roger Levermore 'CSR for Development Through Sport: examining its potential and limitations' *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 31 No. 2 pp. 223-241.

²⁷ The first game of the Women's Super League, televised by ESPN Wednesday 13th April was Chelsea versus Arsenal at Tooting and Mitcham's ground in Morden, Surrey at 5 pm. At 7pm the same night Lincoln Ladies v Doncaster Rovers Belles kicked off without the same kudos as an inaugural game. See for example, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-1376263/Chelsea-Arsenal> accessed 13th April 2011.

²⁸ Marianne Meier and Martha Saavedra 'Esther Phiri and the Moutawakel effect in Zambia: an analysis of the use of female role models in sport-for development' *Sport in Society* vol. 12 no. 9 pp. 1158-1176.

²⁹ Jason Wood 'Secular Pilgrimage and Reliquary: Recapturing Place, Memory and Meaning at Britain's Historic Football Grounds' *AHRC Network: Sport History and Heritage Network Meetings Liverpool June 2008* <http://www.dmu.ac.uk/research/humanities/international-centre-sport-history-culture/ahrc-sport-history-heritage> accessed 10 December 2010.

³⁰ Stefan Szymanski *The Comparative Economics of Sport* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) p. 48.

³¹ UEFA *UEFA.direct: Three Trophies to Conquer* Number 100 (Nyon: UEFA, August 2010) pp. 16-22.

Recommendations

History and Knowledge-Transfer Projects

- 1. Publicise the history of women's football more widely** via UEFA media (including the website; social networking messages; leaflets; downloadable Fact Sheets; feature pieces in magazines; key dates and so on).
- 2. Host symposia on women's football** to facilitate the exchange of academic research; to encourage more projects in a wider range of countries and to form networks to bid for EU funding (knowledge transfer to industry funding schemes; social inclusion and equity funding schemes, for example).
- 3. Develop inter-and multi-disciplinary panels on a given topic** to help respond to 'challenges' such as the EU and the legal status of professional women players; sports development and cultural change; marketing and PR for instance.
- 4. Develop a UEFA-Research Programme Project** bank of summary material, available online by distance learning for Master's Level students and above to disseminate the wider benefits of the cutting-edge research.

European Football

- 5. Write women into UEFA material on the history of European football whenever possible** including key dates and events, particularly for the era after World War Two.
- 6. Include specific questions on inspiring historical examples into future surveys** in order to draw on country-specific examples of female pioneers to supplement more recent examples of women role models and mentors.

7. Begin to compile visual and aesthetic examples of European women's football to show how the female player has been represented and depicted, examples of which can be shown online and exhibited as cultural accompaniments to major events.

8. Sponsor/ facilitate legacy events/ competitions incorporating the stories of women football players across Europe as examples of football's place in the creative industries more widely.

Professionalisation

9. Host a conference on female professionalism in football inviting mainly European, but also US, Brazilian and Japanese speakers to exchange ideas about the challenges and opportunities.

10. Add a workshop on marketing and promotion to the Women's Champions' League draw in 2011/12 season to share ideas of how clubs might leverage more sponsorship/ community support/ media coverage.

11. Player retention and progression: initiate a UEFA mentoring-focus group to see how women might be encouraged to stay in football in a post-playing career.

12. Promote examples of positive action when key administrative posts are taken by women and where overall % of female workforce increases in national associations.

Marketing and Promotion of Women's Football

13. Move away from 'copying men's football' mentality to see what extra markets women can bring to football (premium fashion products; designer-uniforms; branded-equipment; cosmetics and perfumes; mother and baby products etc).

14. Diversity and Equity can embrace more consumers, as well as being good moral values for sports development (disability football; anti racism initiatives; Special Olympics and so on could all have inspiring stories of women and girls).

15. More interactive social networking can be used to promote a European Female Player of the Year; Hall of Fame; 100 Club and so on (Twitter; Facebook; online polls etc.

16. Media training to link more women elite players to high-profile men's events (rather than models to make draws at ceremonies); as ambassadors of football (not just for females) and as LOCOG officials.

Player Migration

17. Facilitate more analysis of female player migration by networking opportunity.

18. Host ongoing qualitative research online to stimulate wider public interest.

19. Approach partner, e.g. FIFPro, to begin to chart female migration patterns.

20. Encourage European case-study dissemination of female semi-professional, professional examples.

Some Key Dates of European Union, integration and expansion¹

Phase One 1945-1965

1945	End of World War II
1946	Civil war breaks out in Greece; European Union of Federalists (EUF) formed
1947	Soviet walkout of Four Power Council of Foreign Ministers signals the beginnings of the cold war; Committee for European Economic Co-operation (CEEC) set up
1948	Benelux states (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) commence economic union and a European Congress is held at The Hague
1949	Federal Republic of Germany established; North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington to create NATO and Council of Europe formed
1950	Korean War begins; European Defence Community (EDC) launched and Council of Europe adopts a European Convention on Human Rights
1951	Treaty of Paris establishes the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
1952	European Defence Community Treaty signed in Paris
1953	Draft Treaty for a European Political Community is adopted
1956	USSR invades Hungary to put down an anti-communist rising; France becomes involved in conflict in Algeria and the nationalization of the Suez canal by Egypt resulted in a failed attempt to occupy the zone by France and England
1957	The Treaty of Rome establishes the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)
1961	Association Agreement signed with Greece: Britain, Denmark and Ireland apply for membership
1962	Norway applies to join the EEC
1963	De Gaulle announces his veto of British Membership
1965	The 'empty chair crisis' when the French boycotted all Council of Ministers meetings in protest at how the revenue to finance the budget would be raised

Phase Two 1966-1985

- 1966 'Luxembourg compromise' established the principle of national contributions and national governments would retain the right to veto
- 1967 Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland make a second application for membership of the EC; Sweden applies to join; Jean Rey becomes first Commission President for the combined communities (ECSC, EEC, Euratom)
- 1968 Merger Treaty comes into effect establishing a Customs Union and common external tariff
- 1969 Resignation of President De Gaulle; new German government under chancellor Willy Brandt and his policy of Ostpolitik to improve relations with the communit bloc; The Hague summit sees 'the Relaunching of Europe' and commits to completion, widening and deepening of European integration
- 1970 Membership negotiations begin with Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway
- 1971 Collapse of the international monetary system
- 1972 Start of the 'snake in the tunnel' system of EC monetary co-ordination for approximating exchange rates of member currencies while holding their values jointly against the dollar
- 1973 First enlargement of the EC from six to nine member states; the 'snake' is broken as the British and Italian governments are forced to float currencies on the international markets; the OPEC oil crisis and resultant 'stagflation' produces economic divergence in the EC.
- 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus; creation of a European Council
- 1975 Greek application for membership of EC
- 1977 Roy Jenkins become President of the European Commission and calls for monetary union; Portugese and Spanish applications for membership
- 1978 Brussels European Council agrees to a European Monetary System (EMS)
- 1979 First direct elections to the European Parliament; Margaret Thatcher demands a British budget rebate
- 1981 Greece becomes a member of the EC

1985 Portuguese and Spanish accession treaties signed to join the following year as the EC expands to twelve member states

Phase Three 1986-1999

1986 The Single European Act (SEA) is signed by Foreign Ministers to come into effect the following year

1987 Turkey applies for EC membership

1989 German monetary union; start of collapse of Communism in eastern Europe and Austria applies for EC membership

1990 First stage of economic and Monetary Union; Cyprus and Malta apply for EC membership; Re-unification of Germany and former East Germany becomes part of the EU; European year for tourism

1991 Sweden Applies for EC membership; Maastricht European Council agrees the principles of Treaty on European Union (TEU); Yugoslavia begins to break apart

1992 Maastricht Treaty on European Union signed; Finland, Switzerland and Norway apply for membership; Swiss withdrawal of application; European Year for Security, Hygiene and Health in the Workplace

1993 Treaty on European Union comes into effect, the Single Market is completed with the 'four freedoms' of movement of goods, services, people and money; European Year of Older People and Solidarity between Generations

1994 Stage Two of Economic and Monetary Union begins; Hungary and Poland apply for EU membership; Norway referendum rejects EU membership; European Nutrition Year

1995 Austria, Finland and Sweden become members of the EU; Romania, the Slovak Republic, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Bulgaria apply for EU membership; the single currency will be called the Euro (not the Ecu); Bosman ruling. The European Court of Justice decrees that football federation rules restricting the number of foreign players in football teams and those relative to players' transfers are contrary to Community law; European Year of Road Safety and Young Drivers

1996 Czech Republic and Slovenia apply for EU membership; European Year for Lifelong Learning

1997 The Commission presents *Agenda 2000 - for a stronger and wider Europe*, its opinions on the applications of ten central and eastern European countries; European Year against Racism and Xenophobia

1999 The euro is officially launched. Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal and Spain adopt the euro as their official currency.

Phase Four 2000-2011

2001 Greece becomes the twelfth member country to join the euro zone

2002 Euro coins and notes enter into circulation

2004 The biggest enlargement in terms of scope and diversity with 10 new countries occurs, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia representing all together more than 100 million citizens, join the European Union; the European Year of Education through Sport, EYES 2004, is launched

2007 The accession of Romania and Bulgaria completes the fifth enlargement of the EU that began in 2004, raising the number of Member States to twenty-seven and the population within the union to 492.8 million inhabitants; The EU now has 23 official languages, following the addition of Bulgarian, Romanian and Irish; Slovenia successfully adopts the euro

2009 Serbia applies for EU membership

¹ Compiled from Stephen George and Ian Bache Politics in the European Union (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Europa 'History of the European Union' <http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/> accessed 9 November 2010;

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALIZATION 1971-2011 Appendix 2

Some Key Dates for European Association Football¹

Phase One 1857-1918

- 1857 Creation of Sheffield FC, and formulation of Sheffield rules
- 1857 Publication of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes
- 1863 Formation of the Football Association (FA) in England and 14 Laws of the Game
- 1871 Formation of Rugby Football Union – marks the split in football codes; first Scotland-England rugby international
- 1872 First Final of the FA Cup; First home international England-Scotland (0-0); Havre Athletic Club established
- 1881 The first England-Scotland women's international match and subsequent tour
- 1883 Blackburn Olympic beat Old Etonians (2-1) in the FA Cup; first team from the north of England to win the Cup
- 1885 Professionalism accepted by the Football Association
- 1886 First meeting of the International Football Association Board (IFAB) to set the laws of the game is comprised of the four British Football Associations
- 1888 Creation of the Football League; Foundation of Celtic Football and Glasgow Athletic clubs
- 1889 Preston North End – first team to win Football League and FA Cup Double
- 1892 Genoa Football and Cricket Club formed
- 1894 The British Ladies Football Club formed in London and versions of the team go on to play 68 games in 1895-6
- 1899 FC Barcelona created
- 1900 Deutscher Fussball Bund created
- 1902 First European continental match Vienna-Austria Hungary (5-0); Ibrox stadium disaster kills twenty-seven people; English FA bars male teams playing against women's teams
- 1904 Foundation of the Federation Internationale de Football Associations, FIFA in Paris; France and Brussels (3-3)
- 1908 First Olympic football tournament

- 1911 Reports of women's football in Russia
- 1912 Eleven teams play in the Stockholm Olympic Games football tournament
- 1914 George V becomes the first English King to attend an FA Cup Final; creation of football battalions under Kitchener
- 1916 the Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (CONMEBOL) was inaugurated
- 1917 Growth of 'Munitionettes' football in England - up to 150 teams by 1921
- 1918 First Final of the Charles Simon/ Cup of France between l'Olympique de Pantin and FC Lyon (2-1)

Phase Two 1919-49

- 1920 Belgium win the Olympic tournament in Antwerp; Jules Rimet assists at two women's football matches in Paris; British teams withdraw from FIFA until 1946
- 1921 Election of Jules Rimet as president of FIFA; English FA ban women's teams playing on Football League and Football Association-affiliated grounds (until 1971)
- 1923 Wembley stadium inaugurated
- 1924 Victory for Uruguay over the Swiss (3-0) in the Paris Olympic football tournament; Professionalism accepted in Austria
- 1927 First edition of the Mitropa Cup won by Sparta Prague; four British associations leave FIFA over the question of amateurism
- 1928 Second Uruguay victory in an Olympic tournament (2-1 against Argentina) in front of 90,000 spectators; FIFA decides to hold its own tournament; a professional Spanish league is created; Dynamo Moscow stadium inaugurated
- 1930 First World Cup won by Uruguay (2-1 against Argentina) in Montevideo in front of 100,000 spectators; Arsenal's FA Cup victory using manager Herbert Chapman's consciously modern methods
- 1931 First France versus Germany fixture (1-0) and Raoul Diagne becomes the first black player to play for France
- 1932 Professionalism accepted in France and Uruguay
- 1933 Professionalism accepted in Brazil; the DFB exclude Jews and workers' sport movement members
- 1934 Italian success over Czechoslovakia (2-1) in the Italian World Cup watched by Benito Mussolini

- 1938 Italian victory at the World Cup in France (4-2) against Hungary; England-Germany game at the Olympic stadium Berlin is an example of sport as appeasement
- 1942 Brothers Starostin of Spartak Moscow are exiled to Siberia
- 1945 Dynamo Moscow tour England
- 1946 German and Japanese national associations excluded from FIFA, the return of the British associations
- 1947 Entry of the Soviet national association to FIFA
- 1949 First Latin Cup won by FC Barcelona; Superga disaster, Torino AC (Il Grande Torino) returning from a match in Lisbon crashed near Turin airport - 18 players killed
- 1951 Football matches played at Festival of Britain

Phase Three 1950-85

- 1953 Defeat of England by Hungary (3-6) at Wembley Stadium
- 1954 Foundation of UEFA with 30 member associations (Albania; Austria; Belgium; Bulgaria; Czechoslovakia; Denmark; England; Finland; France; FR Germany; German DR; Greece; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland Republic; Italy; Luxembourg; Netherlands; Northern Ireland; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Scotland; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; USSR; Wales and Yugoslavia); Asian Football Confederation (AFC) was formed; Jules Rimet becomes FIFA President; first TV transmission of World Cup; West Germany win the World Cup over Hungary in Switzerland 3-2 in a tournament that set records for goal-scoring
- 1955 Creation of the European Club Champions' Cup instigated by *L'Equipe* journalist Gabriel Hanot; DFB re-state position regarding women's football; Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, contested by ten teams from April 1955; Turkey join UEFA
- 1956 Real Madrid win the European Club Champions' Cup; following the Hungarian Revolution, a mass migration of players takes place from the country; German women's team win 2-1 over a team from the Netherlands in Essen
- 1957 unofficial women's European competition in Germany with teams from Austria, England, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany; Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF) was founded
- 1958 Munich Air Disaster and the death of 8 Manchester United players
- 1960 First edition of the UEFA European Nations Cup/ Henri-Delaunay Cup held even years between men's World Cup competitions; Malta join UEFA

- 1961 Election of Stanley Rous as head of FIFA; the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF) was created
- 1963 Bundesliga inaugurated
- 1964 Cyprus join UEFA
- 1966 England win the World Cup 4-2 against Germany at Wembley; Oceania Football Confederation (OFC) was constituted
- 1967 Celtic the first British club to win the European Cup after beating Inter Milan 2-1
- 1968 Manchester United win the European Club Champions' Cup; Asian Ladies Football Association host an unofficial 'World Cup' competition
- 1969 FIFA reconsiders its view of women's football; UEFA forms a Commission Committee on the Players' Union and on the Common Market
- 1971 First re-titled UEFA Cup won by Ajax of Amsterdam; FIFA and UEFA surveys about the status of women's football in national associations; two Italian professional leagues for women recruit internationally
- 1972 West Germany win the European Championship at their first attempt, defeating the Soviet Union 3–0 in the final
- 1973 Ajax win European Cup for third consecutive season; fourth year in a row that a Dutch team has won in after Feyenoord's victory in 1970
- 1974 Election of João Havelange to FIFA President; West Germany beat Netherlands 2–1 in the World Cup final at the Olympiastadion in Munich; Liechtenstein join UEFA
- 1975 Leeds United supporters riot at the final of the European Champion Clubs' Cup at the Parc des Princes
- 1976 Bayern Munich win European Cup for third consecutive season
- 1978 European-wide campaign to boycott the World Cup in Argentina
- 1979 PR China re-join FIFA
- 1982 Italy win their third World Cup beating West Germany 3–1 in Spain, Poland are third and France fourth; 340 people die at the Lenin stadium at a match between Spartak Moscow and Dutch club Haarlam.
- 1984 France win the UEFA seventh European Football Championship held in France, their first major title and Michel Platini scores nine goals in five matches, Spain are runners up;

1985 Thirty-nine Juventus FC fans die at a match between their team and Liverpool FC at Heysel stadium Brussels.

Phase Four 1986-2011

1986 The Maradona Hand of God incident at Argentina's 2-1 victory over England in the quarter finals at the Estadio Azteca in Mexico City. Four years after the Falkland's War it increased rivalry between the two countries. Maradona's second goal was voted Goal of the Century by FIFA.com. Argentina went on to beat West Germany in the final.

1988 San Marino join UEFA

1989 Ninety-five spectators die at Hillsborough stadium in Sheffield

1990 Faroe Islands join UEFA

1991 First Women's World Cup in PR China won by the United States who beat Norway in the Final, while Sweden and Germany took third and fourth place.

1992 Satellite company BSkyB sign a £300 million contract to televise the newly-formed Premier League; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania join UEFA

1993 Armenia, Belarus, Croatia, Georgia, Slovenia and Ukraine join UEFA; creation of the men's professional J League in Japan

1994 Brazil win the World Cup USA '94 in the United States to take the title for the fourth time. Italy are second, Sweden third and Bulgaria fourth; Azerbaijan, Israel, Macedonia, Moldova and Slovakia join UEFA

1995 Second Women's World Cup Sweden; Bosman case challenges 'quota systems' for the transfer of foreign players

1996 First Olympic competition for Women's football in Atlanta; Andorra joins UEFA

1998 Bosnia and Herzegovina join UEFA

1999 Third Women's World Cup in United States of America

2002 Kazakhstan joins UEFA

2007 Montenegro joins UEFA

2010 World Cup in South Africa; U20 Women's World Cup Germany; U17 Women's World Cup Trinidad and Tobago

2011 Launch of Women's Super League; Women's World Cup Germany

¹ Adapted from Patrick Brennan http://www.donmouth.co.uk/womens_football accessed 25 October 2010; Christiane Eisenberg, Pierre Lanfranchi, Tony Mason and Alfred Wahl *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004); Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls: a history of women's football in England* (Routledge: 2003) and ***A Beautiful Game: international perspectives on women's football*** (Berg: 2007); Paul Dietschy *Histoire du Football* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2010). I am also grateful to Neil Carter and Dil Porter for their suggestions for key dates.

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL, EUROPE AND PROFESSIONALISATION 1971-2011

Appendix 3

Summary of European-wide developments in women's football A-Y by national association

This summary uses the available surveys into the status of women's football in European national associations to provide a comparative review. These range between the 1974 UEFA questionnaire (the earliest available) and the 2003 FIFA survey (the latest) to begin to map out European-wide developments. The sources comprise: *UEFA Survey on women's football in 1974* (correspondence, agendas, personal notes, newspaper articles, questionnaires); *UEFA Survey on women's football in 1985* (mainly comprised of questions on player numbers); *UEFA Questionnaire on women's football in 1996* (player numbers; league structures; national association control; administration arrangements and areas of women's football development); *FIFA Survey Circular 609 on status of women's football in 1997* (player numbers league structures; national teams at each level; women's refereeing/coaches); *FIFA Women's Football Research in 2003* (player numbers; league structures; national association administration, women's football development) and the *UEFA Questionnaire on Domestic Women's Leagues in 2003* (player numbers; league structures; national association control; administration arrangements; areas of women's football development and suggestions for how UEFA could help). The information from 1974 and 1985 has largely been incorporated into the main body of the report and so is not expressly summarised here. I have used it mainly to indicate where a national association repeatedly returned little or no information about women's football.

There is also a later UEFA survey that could be used, the Club Licensing Survey in 2008. This concerned proposals for a Club Licensing System for top division women's leagues and was sent to the forty-four associations with clubs participating in the 2007/08 UEFA Women's Cup. Twenty-six replies were received but the information was embargoed at the time of my visit in 2011. Questionnaires are only as good as their design, communication and completion. Sometimes, depending on time, circumstance and personnel, the information for a given national association contradicts or contrasts

with other information in the public domain and with subsequently completed questionnaires. Where this is the case, and when possible, I have presented who completed the information and at what date. For some examples the questionnaires were completed anonymously, so only the date is given. Some are also undated. Where a national association was surveyed according to the records but did not return the questionnaire a nil-return (N/R) is registered. Any interpretation in this summary belongs to the person who completed the questionnaire. The data is not neatly comparative and I chose to reflect the problematic nature of the source material rather than to sanitise it by drawing up tables in order to regularise the information. It contains multiple and overlapping voices therefore which, in a project of this scale, I thought it important to reflect. The questions asked by the governing bodies reflect their clear priorities: the respondents do not necessarily share those same views. Nevertheless, this is a somewhat 'official' view of women's football and if the grassroots supporter who facilitates play week-in, week-out had been surveyed, the results would no doubt have been somewhat different. Nevertheless, some of these individuals are represented here.

There are two important caveats to this provisional material, which is intended to supplement the main body of the report, rather than reflect a definitive snapshot of the women's game. Firstly then, some countries, particularly Germany, England, France, the Netherlands and some Scandinavian examples are treated more briefly than might be expected. They have been more widely discussed in the report proper. In addition, their histories have already been extensively developed in discrete academic works, and if incorporated here would have run to several tens of pages and therefore distort the attempt at an overview. Secondly, I ran out of time when consulting the many surveys so this country-by-country analysis should be taken as a draft, indicative of how the work will be further developed. Strictly speaking, a case study approach such as this was beyond the remit of the original project but, given the generosity of the UEFA individuals who made material available to me, was nevertheless an opportunity to begin to summarise European-wide developments from previously uncollated documentation. Taken as a whole, this material supports the thesis made in the body of the project. The widely amateur nature of women's football in the late twentieth century is indicated by player status, by administrative voluntarism, by an under-developed infrastructure and by

limited financial support plus attendant under-exposed commercialisation of the women's game.

Albania joined UEFA 1954 (N/R) 1974; 1996; 1997; no attendance at UEFA conference for women's football held in London, England 27-30 October 1998

Andorra joined UEFA 1996 (N/R) 1996; No attendance at UEFA conference for women's football held in London, England 27 to 30 October 1998

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Christian D'Argeuyrolles 17 May 1997. Women's Football has existed since 1997 in Andorra with no previous evidence of interest in women's sport, though 3 women work in the national association. Overall it was reported a total of 37 players, 100% beginners/amateurs. Andorra would like national and international competitions to stimulate growth.

Armenia joined UEFA 1993

1996 UEFA Questionnaire response by S. Navasardian, Youth Football Department, was a letter dated 14 May 1996. The letter reported no national championship in Yerevan but some participation by three groups of girls aged twelve and thirteen years old. The Armeninan national association hoped to have women's football in the future.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 covering letter from Pavel Khachatryan, General Secretary of the Football Federation of Armenia 21 May 1997. There is no women's football at any level and this information is final.

No attendance at UEFA conference for women's football held in England 27 to 30 October 1998

Austria

joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire response by Alfred Ludwig GS of Österreichischer Fussball-Bund 5 March 1996. Seventy-one official women's and girls' teams were reported. The overall number of participants by age-groups were: Under 12, 998; 12-16, 1000; 16-20, 980; over 20, 2,540. Women's and girls' football was integrated into the national association and overseen by Sepp Pösinger, with the season lasting September to June. There were eight regional leagues, the largest four of which are: Steiermark (14 teams); Salzburg (7), Vorarlberg (12) Burgenland (12). The First Division was won in 1994/5 season by USC Landhaus, Wien (Vienna) and the Cup by Union Kleinmünchen. All the players were amateur and the First Division clubs were: Union Kleinmünchen; USC Landhaus; DFC Heindenreichstein; ASV Vösendorf; ESV Südost; 1 DFC Leoben; SC Neunkirchen and FC Vienna. Second Division clubs were: DFC Obersdorf; SV Altlenzbach; ATSV Deutsch-Wagram; SC Brunn; SV Horn; SV Donau; DFV Juwelen Janecka and DFC Pellendorf.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 (no covering letter) Austria has had women's football since 1968 and it has been recognised by the national association since 1971. Two women administrators were reported and there was a bundesliga with 6 teams, and a second division with 10 clubs. In addition there were regional and junior leagues, all reported as 100% amateur, with junior participation from 10-13 and 10-14. There were two women A list coaches; three with mid-range and five with lower qualifications. The Austrian national association would like more help in attracting sponsorship, more media coverage and an increased number of competitions.

2003 FIFA Survey Circular 871 letter-headed Umfrage Frauenfussball Fragenbogen für Nationalverbände Austria, response 23 September 2003. 'Women's football has been organised within the national association since 1982. It has been known in Austria since 1935 but the Austrian FA intervened in 1973 because of the interest of profit-seeking groups and individuals. In 1973 approximately 18 teams played in organised competitions, hence the need for supra-regional competitions where 400 to 500 players participated and some international awareness developed. There were no national teams

in 1973 as there were only 18 teams. There were no professional and no semi-professional players in 2003.'

Ten amateur teams have competed in the Bundesliga since 1982 with a further 34 playing in a second division from 1999 onwards. Junior (under 15s) teams have been developed from 1999 onwards with some mixed football. There has been a national team since 1990 and the best clubs were USC Landhaus; Union Kleinmünden and Lechen, SV Neulengbach. Key personnel were: Ernst Weber, Team Chief Ernst.weber@oefb.et; Tito Spindler, Team Manager A and U19 squads Tito.Spindler@oefb.et and Renado Gligorosla Renado.Gligorosla@oefb.et. The committee for women's football oversaw the development of national and international teams. Development priorities for 2003 included schools football for boys and girls.

Azerbaijan joined UEFA 1994 (N/R) 1996

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Fuad Musayev, President of Association of Football Federations of Azerbaijan, (AFFA) 42 Hussi Hajievstr, 370009 Baku, Azerbaijan on 13 May 1997. 'Women's Football in our country has developed from 1986. Three women's football teams were organised and they successfully played at the championship of the USSR until 1990. After the Soviet Union was disintegrated, Women's Football in the Republic stopped its cultivation (sic). The reason was the departure of the Russian-speaking population to the other republics, which had previously provided the main staff of the team. The majority of leading players started their activity in the best women's teams of Turkey and Russia, under the supervision of AFFA. At the current time, AFFA undertakes the necessary measures of cultivation for women's football in the Republic. That is why the Federation of Women's Football was created, and now it makes efforts to create new women's teams, the hosting of our country's championship and the functions of a women's national team in the Republic.' So, though there is evidence of women's football since 1986 and some teams and players appear to have participated in the USSR championship between 1980 and 1990, the Azerbaijan federation has taken control of women's football since 1997. Five women on committees

were reported, there was no national league; no top players; no interationals; no referees; no tv coverage and elementary participation otherwise. The prospects for women's football, though, were assessed as positive.

No attendance from at UEFA conference for women's football held in London, England 27 to 30 October 1998

Belarus joined UEFA 1993

1996 UEFA Questionnaire response by Alexander Gursky President The Football Federation of the Republic of Belarus 29 Febraury 1996. Gursky reported that, even with economic difficulties, interest among women and girls was growing. There were twenty-four registered teams catering for 450-500 players. Total participation rates by age group were: Under 12, 70; 12-16, 140; 16-20, 140 and over 20, 100 players. A separate Belarus Association of Women's Football was responsible for development and one woman, Belkevich Yelens, was on the Executive Committee. The season was played May to the end of September. There was no regular championship. There were ten teams in the first division and fourteen in the second. The 1994/5 season League Champions were FC Victorian-86, Brest and the Cup winners were Belcar Bobruisk. For the 1995/6 season, the First division clubs were FC Victorian-86, Brest; Nadezhda-Spartak, Mogilev; Elektronika-Elinta, Minsk; Universitie Vitebsk; Slavianka Bobruisk; Yunost Mogilev; Nika Brest; Gloria Kobrin; Titan Grodno. Semi-professionals comprised 40% and amateurs 60% of the total number of female players. League entry fees were \$200 and a minimum age of 15 for senior competitions. School football is arranged at city level in the Republic and at city district level in Minsk, Mogilev, Bobruisk and Brest. The European Championship was important to attract more girls, as were friendly-internationals, most recently with Poland, Germany and France.

1997 FIFA questionnaire Circular 609 completed by Valery Yakunin, Head of Women's Football Department, Belarus Football Federation 8/2 Kirov Street Minsk 220030, 31 October 2003. Womens football in Belarus has been part of the association since 2003.

There were 80 registered players in 1990; 140 in 1995; 210 in 2000; 270 in 2003. The playing season is April to October. There have been a league matches since 1992 and a Belarus Championship since 1995. There are 8 semi professional clubs active since 1992. The most well known teams are Bobruichanka; Nadezhda and Vitebsk. The national team first played at Euro 2007.

2003 FIFA Survey Circular 871 response by Valrey Ykunin, Head of Women's Football Department, 8/2/ Kirov Street Minsk 220030, 31 October 2003. Women's football was organised by the BFF since 1992: women have their own football association and players can get a licence at age 16. In 1990 the BFF licensed 80 players; in 1995, 140 players; in 2000, 210 players and in 2003, 270 players. The unlicensed estimates were, in 1990, 40; in 1995, 70; in 2000, 110 and in 2003, 120 plus, at under 16 level, 150 participants. The season runs from April to October with eight semi-professional clubs in the league of the Belarus Championship. There has been no mixed football since 1992. There have been youth competitions for seven teams, each at 15-16 and 14-15 age-levels since 1995. There has been a Belarus Open and U19 competition since 1995. There are a national and under 19 national team. Euro 2007 qualification was important for the national squad. The most successful teams were Bobruichanka, Nadezhda, Vitebsk and in 2003 Bobruichanka were champions. Spectators for national games have ranged between 500 in the year 2000 and 2, 000 in 2003 with an average of 1500; league games attracts crowds of 500-1000 supporters with an average of 750 per game. Some games were transmitted on national TV channels and local stations. The press covered national team matches often and sponsorship, in the form of financial support and equipment, was provided by Belinvestbank, Elitasport. Developments were supported by the State budget and the women's FA. Priorities for development were girls' football lessons in schools with an expected spend of US \$70-100, 000 per year. The federation had fifty-two staff of whom 37 are employed and 15 are volunteers. There was one employee for women's football and four volunteers: Sergei Safarian Vice (President); Valery Yakunin (chairman of women's committee); Mikhail Andruzheichik; Gennaoly Pashevich and Irina Bulygina (all members of the women's committee). They had responsibility for all women's football matters, except refereeing. There were no plans to involve more women in the

association but there were plans to develop female coaching. The respondee thought that FIFA was doing well in regular tournaments and awareness-raising days.

Belgium joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire response Alain Courtois, Secretary General of the Belgian national association, 5 May 1996. Belgium had increased women's and girls' participation in last five years to the grand total of total 11,066, which was broken down by age groups: Under 12, 2,113; 12-16, 1637; 16-20, 1637 and above 20 years of age, 5,679. Madame B. Vandelannoote is President of commission for women's football: all five people on the commission were women. The season ran September to June. The current League Champions were Anderlecht, and Cup winners Standard Fémina de Liège. All players were amateurs. There were four national teams at the following age-bands: A, U21, U16 and U14. There were no special coaching courses for women and around 80 female referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by J Peeters, Secretary General of the Belgian national association, 5 June 1997. Belgium has had women's football since 1971 when it was first recognised and since then it has been administered by the national association. There were five female representatives on a women's commission of six individuals. One national league, and a second division were reported with seven provincial leagues. Players were 100% amateur. The Under 21 and Under 16 teams played on average three national team matches per season.

2003 FIFA Survey Circular 871 response by Jean-Paul Hoben, Secretary General Union Royale Belge Des Societies De Football-Association, Av. Houba De Strooper 145 1020 Bruxelles, 18 November 2003. Women's football had been organised under the national association since 1971 and a girl could obtain a licence at 5 years old. By 1973 there were 100 teams and 2, 000 women playing in a first division (of the 14 best teams) and a second-level competition (of nine provinces) for a regional championship. In 1990 there were around 8, 000 licensees; in 1995, 10, 620; in 2000, 15, 486 and in 2003, 20, 014

and an additional 7, 507 at under 16 level. The number of unlicensed players was not known. A separate appendix showed 57 autonomous clubs in 1988 and 48 in 2003 with female sections of male clubs since 1995 starting at 100 and totalling in 156 by 2003. The season ran from mid august to end of May. There were no professional or semi-pro-amateur female players since 1971 and the Coupe de Belgique since 1976 for amateurs. There had been mixed football for juniors up to 14 since 1997. A senior and junior league and national team had been organised since 1979. The best teams were KSC Eendracht Aalst; Rapide Wezemall and RSC Anderlecht. In 2003 the champions were SK Lebbeke Aalst. The current national teams were at senior U19 and U17 levels. There was little coverage on television and in the press, though Nike sometimes sponsored equipment. The key objectives for development included talent identification and a diploma for coaches and trainers. The national association expected to spend 110, 600 Euros in the 2002/3 season. Of the 150 people employed by the association (plus 100 volunteers), 2 employees and 20 volunteers ran women's football. Nathalie Bosmans was the secretary of the commission for women's football. The women's committee had the responsibility for development of the league. Other initiatives, like the national team, belong to the technical committee, the central refereeing committee, the medical committee and the school committee with no discrete provision for female administrators. Other priority developments include regional structures. The respondent asked for help in communication between FIFA and UEFA, and saw Belgium in the first phase of development.

Bosnia-Herzegovina joined UEFA in 1998

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Mr Miso Bogdan, President of the Commission for Women's Football, 12 May 1997. Bosnia and Herzegovina has had football for past twenty years and women have been part of the association since 1994. Until 1992 female players and teams participated in the First division in Yugoslavia. Slow development was reported because of the war and working conditions. The football federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina established a commission for women's football in 1994. A national league with 6 teams was reported, with the players 100% amateur.

There was one national team, but there had been no regular play against other national teams. For 30% of women's teams there was a woman coach and a further two female teachers were qualified as coaches. While private companies were said to sponsor women's teams, no names or examples were given.

2003 FIFA Survey Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football has been played since 1968 and was integrated in 1996 within the FFBH i.e. organised within the national association. Players could get a licence at age 15 and the total in 2003 was 27 players. The season ran from May to June and eight amateur clubs compete with players aged 15-35. There was no mixed soccer.

Bulgaria joined UEFA in 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire response by Bontcho Todorov Secretary International BFU Karnigradska 19 1000 Sofia, 28 Feb 1996. Five teams catered for approximately 280 players: of this total, by age group, the numbers were broken down as Under 12, 90; 12-16, 60; 16-20, 65 and over 20, 65. There was a commission of women's football and one woman administrator worked at the national association. There was an amateur national league of five teams: FC 'Grand Hotel Varna'; Locomotiv Stara Zagora; CSKA; NSA and Septemvri. Eight per cent of female players were professional and the rest were amateurs. School football only existed in Varna. FC 'Grand Hotel Varna' organised an international tournament and there was one female international referee in the country.

Croatia joined UEFA in 1993

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Josip Cop GS CFF Zagreb 6 March 1996. Five clubs with a total of 150 players were reported, broken down by age group as follows: 16-20, 60 and 20 years of age 90. The main contact for the women's football committee was Mrs Ivancica Sudac-Junaci, who also acted as the international secretary. There was one woman on the Executive Committee. The women's football season was played between 15 September and finished on the 20 May each year. The five main clubs for

1995/6 season were are ZNK Elektro Osijek from Osijeck; ZNK Maksimir-Trgometal, Zagreb; ZNK Loto, Zagreb; ZNK Susedgrad, Zagreb and ZNK Viktorija Slavoknski Brod with ZNK Elektro Osijek winning both the national league and the cup. All players were amateur. There were no junior and only friendly international matches, but UEFA competitions were though to be important networking devices.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 (no covering letter). Croatia has had women's football since 1937 and the committee for women's football had been part of the federation since 1972 but economic and conflict difficulties had made continuity difficult. Two of the five members of the women's committee were female. There was a Croatia championship for women's teams and a cup competition for five clubs. All players were amateur and totalled approximately 175 participants. The national team competed for Euro championship qualifiers. No further detail were provided on coaches and referees. Some sponsors were reported as private firms. New circumstances of peace and improved economic conditions were encouraging for the growth of the women's game.

Cyprus joined UEFA in 1964

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter response from Andreas Stylianou, Manager of the Cyprus Football Association Nicosia, 7 February 1996. The national association did not organise women's football.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 letter Andreas Stylianaou, CFA manager Stasinou Street Engorni 2404 Nicosia PO Box 5071, 2 June 1997. The letter reported no women's football and no association/ commission.

Czechoslovakia joined UEFA in 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Petr Fousek, International Secretary Football Association of Czech Republic, 19 May 1996. A 'restrained optimism' was reported with 59 clubs catering for the following numbers of players: 12-16, 438; 16-20, 759 and

over 20, 1,643. All were amateurs. Otto Beichel was Chairman of the Committee for Women's Football and Sarka Novotna Committee Secretary. The season ran from September to the end of April each year. There was a national First division of 12 clubs and a Second division of 9-10 teams. League champions were Sparta Praha, there was no national cup competition. There was a senior national team only and one female referee, Mrs Damkova, officiating in the Second division.

Denmark joined UEFA in 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Jorgen Hermansen, Secretary of the Dansk Boldspil-Union Brondby, 4 March 1996. Approximately 40, 000 players were registered as active in 2, 300 teams, with just over half, almost 25, 000, aged between 12 to 16 years of age. First had women's football in 1964 run by women until Danish FA took over in 1972. The Danish FA was responsible for development and employed three women. The season ran from the end of March to the end of October each year. The playing pyramid comprised an elite division, two First divisions, with 8 teams in each, and other regional leagues. Fortuna Hjorring were the current holders of the league, cup and indoor championship titles. Other elite teams are Hjortshoj-Ega; Rodovre; Vejle Boldklub; Odense Boldklub; Brondby IF; Kolding Boldklub and AC Ballerup. All female players were registered as amateurs. There was no female school-age football in Denmark. The national association had, for many years, organised the Algrave Cup in Portugal, together with Sweden, Norway, Portugal, in which eight nations take part. In addition, the Open Nordic Club Championship was also organised between Finland, Norway, Swden and Denmark. There were 60 female referees active, of whom 9 officiated in the Elite division.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 response by Jorgen Hermansen, General Secretary of the Dansk Boldspil-Union Brondby, 12 May 1997. Denmark has had women's football from 1950 and it has been recognised by the national association since 1972. There was a women's committee of which three members are female and one woman was on the Executive Committee. There was a national league with eight teams and a second

division, then regional leagues with 12 teams, plus 6 local union competitions. The national association organised youth team competitions and the national team take part in the Algarve Cup and Nordic Club Competition. Two women are qualified as top category coaches; there were 60 female referees and 75% of female matches were refereed by women. Sponsorship was provided by insurance company TOPDANMARK.

England joined UEFA in 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Helen Jevons, Women's Football Co-ordinator, 27 February 1996. The early 1990s saw unprecedented growth growth from 263 teams in 1989 to 500 for 1994/5 with 8,000 registered players. A women's football committee was established in 1993 plus the employment of a North, Midlands and South regional directors, in addition to a secretary for the Women's Premier League. There was one female on the FA council. The season ran from Sept to April each year. The Premier League winners were Arsenal and other clubs in the elite division were Croydon, Doncaster Belles, Everton, Ilkeston Town Rangers, Liverpool FC, Millwall Lionesses, Villa Aztecs, Wembley and Wolverhampton Wanderers. Arsenal won the Women's FA Cup that year and Wimbledon the league cup. All female players were amateurs.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 response by Helen Jevons, Women's Football Co-ordinator, 31 March 1997. Women's football in England went back to 1900. Growth from 263 teams in 1989 to 500 for 1994/5 with 8,000 registered players. FA took over from WFA in 1993. There were three female development staff and a women's co-ordinator. Two female coaches had obtained the Level 4 elite certificate.

Estonia joined UEFA in 1992

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Mark Tarmak, Estonian Football Association Vice President and General Secretary, undated. The first championship for women had been held in 1994 and since then there had been growing interest. Currently there were 7 female teams with about 220 players. No adult women were involved and at the youth

level 75 players were under 12; 112 were in the 12-16 age group; and 33 were in the 16-20 category. The season ran from the end of July to mid-October and mid-April to end of June with a winter break. There were low numbers of school-age football for both boys and girls. The national team played in Nordic tournaments. There was one woman coach, Lea Ilves, who lived in from Tulevik Vilandi. The best teams were Central Pärnu; JK Tulevik Viljandi; Chikens Nõmme and SK Arsenal Lasnamäe. The highest scorers were Aire Lepik the Tulevik number 12 (also player of the year 1994 and 1995); Kaire Kaljurand, the Arsenal number 6; Kristlin Põbb, the Central number 4 and Marje Rannu also a player for Tulevik.

Faroe Islands joined UEFA 1990

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Isak Mikladal, General Secretary The Faroe Islands' FA Tórshavn, undated. Women's football started in 1985 with 45 teams and increased to a stabilisation of 108 in 1990 and 104 in 1992, with a subsequent decrease to 88 teams in 1995. The breakdown by age groups was 546 players in 39 teams Under 12; 480 players in 32 teams aged between 12-17 and 334 players in 14 teams over 17. There is no separate committee or association and no women on the Executive Committee. The season runs from March to September each year. There is a First division of eight teams from which one is relegated the Second division of 6 teams each year plus regional leagues. At the 14-17 age band 11 teams are divided into two groups and at the 12-14 age band 21 teams are divided into north, east, mid, west and south groupings, all of which played on artificial grass. The domestic champions were Havnar Bóltfelag HB of Tórshavn and Second division winners were Leirvikar Itrottartfelag LIF of Leirvik. In the 14-17 age group, Tofta Itrottartfelag of Toftir were winners. Euro competitions are the first internationals of their kind in the country but there have been previous friendly matches against Iceland and Westfalia of Germany.

Finland joined UEFA in 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Pertti Alaja Football Association of Finland General Secretary 27 February 1996. There had been good growth to around 8000 players in 1994 and 10000 in 1996. There were 327 teams catering for up to 4952 female players in the 12-16 age category; 3382 participants aged between 16 and 20 years of age and 699 adults. Ms Outi Saarinen was the international secretary but there were no other women administrators. The season starts in April and ran til the end of October each year. There were ten clubs in the First division, twenty in the second division and Third divisions with 6-8 groups of 10 teams each in each. The Finnish Champions for 1995 were Helsingen Jalkapalloklubi (HJK) and the Cup winners were FC Kontu who were also the indoor champions. The top clubs were HJK, FC Kontu, PU-62, MPS, PuiU, Ives, Pyrkivä, FC United, TiPS and SeMi. All female players were amateurs.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous response. Women's football had been played in Finland since 1971 and it was recognised by and integrated into national associations activities from 1972 onwards. There were currently around 10,000 players and 13 women administrators active across 14 committees. The First division had 10 teams, the Second division 24 teams, split into 2 regional groupings for the north and south. In addition 30 district-organised teams played in lower divisions. Elite players numbered 206, though all were considered amateur. There was one female Pro level coach, one at Advanced level, three in mid level and 80 plus women referees. The national team was sponsored by the Finnish Post Company, who invested 1 million FIM annually in national teams. In addition local tournaments had been sponsored by Snickers and Coca Cola. Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest daily newspaper in Finland, covered some of the international games.

France joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by G. Enault, Director General French Football Federation, 23 Feb 1996. There was a detailed breakdown of age and participation by region that I have not been able to reflect here due to time constraints. The national First division had 12 clubs followed by a second tier of competition subdivided into 3 regional

leagues of 10 clubs and 6 interregional leagues of 7 clubs. There were numerous pages of additional information that could be incorporated into a future survey of this kind.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 response by Elisabeth Loisel and Marilou Durringer FFF amateur division undated. Women's football has been known since 1968 and given national association recognition since 1970. There was one woman on the Council National du Football Amateur (CNFA) and twelve on the Commission Central Feminine (CCF). There was a national league of 12 clubs, a second regional tier of 3 groupings of 10 clubs, then six interregional leagues of seven clubs. These catered for around 28,065 players in total, all of whom were amateurs. The federation was concentrating on developing U21, U18 and U16 national squads. As one of the most important countries for women's football, in modern times a 25th anniversary international tournament was being organised to mark the occasion in France.

Georgia joined UEFA 1993 (N/R) 1996; 1997

Germany FR Germany and German DR joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. FR Germany had 43,700 players in 1985, the highest number of registered players in Europe. As with the case of France, there was extensive additional information returned in the questionnaire. As Germany is quite well-covered in the main body of this report, a brief summary of additional information will suffice as an example here. Each of the 16 district associations of FR Germany was responsible for their championships, the winning teams would then play for the national championship which had been organised by the DFB since 1974. Also a Cup competition and 16 teams for title of cup winner had been organised since 1979. Each district has a representative team and indoor competitions. All female players were amateur. In the GDR there had been 50 teams in fifteen regular regional competitions, the winner of each would compete in a national championship. FSV Frankfurt was particularly noteworthy for its indoor, league, cup and other wins that year.

Teams Bundesliga Nord 95/6 and

Bundesliga Sud 95/6

Tennis Borussia Berlin

TUS Ahrbach

SV Grün Weiss Brauweiler

FSV Frankfurt

SG Rot Weiss Hillen

TSV Crailsheim

Turbine Potsdam

SC 07 Niederkirchen

FC Eintracht Rheine

SG Praunheim

PSV Rostock

VfR Saarbrücken

FC Rumeln Kaldenhausen

SC Klinge Seckach 1981 e.V.

TSV Siegen

VfL Sindelfingen

VfR Eintracht Wolfsburg

TuS Wörrstadt

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous response undated. Women's football in Germany started in 1970 and was recognised by the national association the same year, promoted by Willi Hink; Heike Ulriche and Hannelore Ratzeburg. Of an elite 400 women, playing at the top-level of the sport 50% were considered amateur, 49 % were semi professional and 1 % were professional. The main focus was to develop successive generations of young women and Under 20, Under 18 and Under 16 national teams had been established. There were twenty-five women coaches who held the A license; 500 the B license and 6 the fussball-lehserin.

Greece joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. Women's football began experimentally ten years ago, at the initiative of certain people in three or four women's clubs. There is no separate women's association and Zissos Bellos has overall responsibility, there are no women in the national association. Now there are 30 clubs in the national women's championships and another 10-15 which do not compete at this level, purely for financial reasons. Also there was somewhat stagnant growth, due to the country's economic conditions. From a peak of 800 women players the number is now descending. Participation is most active in cities such as Athens, Thessalonika and larger towns. The

season begins at the end of October and continues until the end of May. In the First division 12 teams play home and away ties; in the Second division 18 teams compete in 3 regional groups, also a home and away format. There is no national cup and no schools championship. Doxa Pireus won the league and the other teams in Division One are: Artemis Pireus; A O Neapolt Athens; Ifestos Athens; AO Peristeri Athens; AO Egina; Olympiada Thessaloniki; AO Ilioupoli Thessaloniki; Olympiakos Kozani; Filyriakos Florina; Niki Kalamata and Rodopi Komotini. All female players are amateurs..

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. The few first women's football clubs formed in 1987 and by the 1989-1990 season the federation was organising a national championship between 15 teams in 3 groups. Since then 15 more clubs have joined. Mr Zissis Bellos oversees the administration of the federation and is President of the Committee for Women's Championships. There are no woman on any committees. There are two kinds of women's championships because of the geographical and economic situation; a Pan Hellenic competition of 10 teams at national level and a peripheral tournament of 3 groups comprising 6 teams. There are about 100 top-level women players and each is an amateur. There is one woman coach and thirty qualified referees.

Hungary joined UEFA 1954 (N/R) 1996; 1997

Iceland joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Klara Bjarmrtmarz, Secretary Women's Committee of the FA of Iceland, Laugardal 104 Reykjavik Iceland, 1 March 1996. There were a total of 128 teams catering for the following number of players by age groups: Under 12, 1925; 12-16, 1595; 16-20, 448 and 617 adults. There was a women's football committee but no separate association. Elisabet Tomasdottir was on the board of the FA of Iceland and Chairs the women's committee. The playing season started on the 20 May and finished on the 15 December. There were two divisions and 8 teams in the national First division. Five of the women's teams were from around Reykjavik; one was

from the north of the island, another from Vestmann island, close to south coast of Iceland, and the eighth from Akranes, about an hour's drive from Reykjavik. The second division was comprised 14 teams, subdivided into 3 regional groups and there was also a cup competition. The league winners for the last three years in a row were Breidablik, the milk cup champions were Valur and the indoor champions Breidablik. The eight teams in the first division were Breidablik, Valur, IA, KR, Stjarnan, IBA, IBV and Afturelding. All female players were amateurs. There were senior, Under 20 and Under 16 national teams. There was one female coach, Vanda Sigurgeirsdottir for Breidablik. In addition, Arna Steinsen was the former coach of KR. There were 30 qualified women referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Klara Bjartmarz, Secretary Women's Committee of the FA of Iceland, Laugardal 104 Reykjavik Iceland, 17 May 1997. Iceland has had women's football since 1972 and it was recognised by the national association the same year. There were 8 teams in the top division and between 12 and 15 in the second division. Klara Bjartmarz is secretary of women's committee, a further 3 women sit on that committee and one on the technical board. All 3, 308 players (2/3rds of whom are over 19) are amateur. There are round 30 women referees. There are two national coaches, both female ex-players and several (up to fifty) at lower levels in the game.

Republic of Ireland joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by secretary Pauline O Shaughnessy Secretary of the Ladies Football Association of Ireland (LFAI) 4 April 1997. Ireland has had women's football since 1971 and has been recognised by the national association since 1973 as the Ladies Football Association of Ireland (LFAI). There were 320 female teams registered as an affiliate of, and funded by the Football Association of Ireland (FAI). The President Niamh O'Donoghue was the LFAI representative on the national council, the international committee, the appeals, coaching and referees committees of the FAI. There was no national league. There were 6, 842 registered players of whom 3, 325 were adult. The Schools Football Association oversaw developments in Irish Schools. There were no female certified coaches and 34 referees.

Israel joined UEFA 1994

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Jacob Ereal General Secretary of The Israel Football Association 12 February 1996. There was no women's football but the national association intend to establish girls' football in the 14-16 age range.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Israel has had women's football since 1982 and it has been recognised by the national association since 1997. There was no national team or women administrators.

Italy joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed with letter and enclosures from Marina Sbardella, President and Secretary of Women's Football Committee, 10 February 1996. Like France and Germany, the details of the enclosures were too extensive to incorporate here. There were 60 teams with 350 elite players in Serie A and B divisions plus a further 350 clubs in regional structures and approx 12,000 registered players. Marina Sbardella is President and secretary of the women's committee, supported by Fiorella Sciascia and Pina Debbi. There were 80 plus qualified women referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 (N/R)

Latvia joined UEFA 1992

1996 UEFA Questionnaire completed by Voldemars Brauns, LFF General Secretary, 5 March 1996. There were 12 teams with 141 players of which 103 were in the 12-16 age group; 18 in the 16-20 band and 20 adults. There was no separate women's association and no women on the Executive Committee. The season ran from May to October and the top clubs included Fortuna (Ogre) who had two teams; Daugava; Kimikis; RAF; Dominante; Viksna; Varpa; Delfins; Osta; Solo and Jauniba. All female players were

amateur. The national association took part in the annual Baltic Cup (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia) since 1992 but were not ready to enter the Euro competitions yet.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Voldemars Brauns, LFF General Secretary, 5 May 1997. Latvia has had women's football since 1986 and it was recognised by the national association in 1991. There were now a reduced number of players and teams, so the national association want to start school football but finance remained an issue. There were about 98 registered players in total. Both adults and under 18s were all classified as amateurs. There was onne woman on the women's committee and one female coach but no referees. Newspapers such as Diena, Vakara Zinas and Riga Balss sometimes covered women's matches.

Liechtenstein joined UEFA 1974

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. There were 40 female players.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. The country has had women's football since 1985 and it was recognised by the national association the same year. There was a separate women's section and one person dedicated to female players. There were about 30 women players who were all classified as amateurs and 7 Under 15 participants. There was one woman coach.

Lithuania joined UEFA 1992

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. Development was overseen by the women's committee of the Lithuania Football Federation and there were two women on the Executive Committee. The season is played from the start of May to the end of October. There is one division of six teams. The League winner for that season was Kaunas Polytechnic women's team. All female players were amateurs. In 1994 Lithuania took part in the Euro competition for the first time. There were no female coaches or referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. The country has had women's football since 1994 and it was recognised by the national association the same year. There was a combined women's and youth committee. Developments were hampered by a shortness of money but were promising. There were no women on any committees. Lithuania co-organised the Baltic Countries Tournament with Latvia and Estonia. There were three women coaches and no female referees.

Luxembourg joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. There was little interest but one team played in the German championship. Madame Chantal Berscheid had been on several FIFA refereeing courses.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Luxembourg has women's football since 1975, it was recognised by the national association the same year. There were 6-8 adult teams.

FYR Macedonia joined UEFA 1994

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter response from Ilija Atanasovsky General Secretary, 12 February 1996. There were no competitions for women or girls.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 letter from Ilija Atanasovsky, General Secretary on behalf of the Macedonian Football Union, 9100 Skopje Udarna Brigada 31-A Republic of Macedonia, 24 March 1997. There was no women's football.

Malta joined UEFA 1960

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter from Mrs Mary Micallef Secretary of the FA of Malta, 20 February 1996. There were 9 female teams with 141 registered players of which 43 were in the 12-16 year-old category; 15 in the 16 to 20 age band, plus 88 adults. There was a Chairman, Dr H Messina Ferrante, and a Secretary, Mrs Mary Micallef, in charge of female development. A seven-a-side league was played from February to the end of May each year and plans were in place to have a full-team league the following year. All female players were amateurs. There was no school football, no female coaches and no women referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 (N/R)

Republic of Moldova joined UEFA 1994

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter from Pavel Ciobanu, General Secretary of the Moldavian FA, 15 February 1996. There have been no competitions since 1991 but the national association intended to start a championship with six teams next season.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. The Republic has had women's football since 1989 and it was recognised by the national association since 1992. The difficulties of the transition period have hampered growth. Moldova aimed to take part in the European championship and the Balkan Games in 1997. Valeriu Usatiuc, the Federal Inspector for women's football was part of the national association but there were no women on committees. There was a national amateur league on which 120 players participated (about half of these were young players). The national team took part in friendly matches in Lyon, France; Germany; Romania and the Ukraine. There were two female coaches and two qualified referees.

The Netherlands joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter from Mr Piet Hubers, the main contact for women's football, 12 February 1996. The Netherlands had 46,000 female players compared with 950,000 male players. There were some 2,000 clubs, more than 75% of which had only

one team and many shared facilities with men's clubs. Twelve clubs play in the national league. All regions played girls and mixed football at under 12 and under 15 years of age but there was no specific competition for girls aged under 18. The development of mixed football had led to 25% increase in participation. There were 1, 256 senior teams and 329 junior teams plus 516 at seven-a-side. One woman sat on a district committee and one on the national board for professional football. The football season for male and female players ran from September to the end of May each year. There was one elite league of 12 teams, two national leagues of 12 teams and nine further district leagues. Female players were considered amateurs in all ways. The respondee was unclear on the number of female coaches and thought that there were about 100 female referees. R Belksma-Konink was an international FIFA-recognised referee.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Women's football had been known in the country since 1950 and was recognised by the national association since 1971. There were now almost 60,000 women and 28,000 girls playing football. Since the introduction of mixed football this had expanded rapidly. The national football association oversaw all kinds of players. Joke Stig Rynbeek was the one woman on any of the committees. There was a national division of twelve teams; two divisions of 12 teams each plus numerous district leagues. Regional divisions had up to 1300 teams. In the top national leagues there were 207 elite players but all were considered amateurs. The national team played in the Algarve Cup and the Nordic tournament. There were nine top-level; 6 mid-level and 30 lower-level female coaches. There were 90 plus qualified field referees and 58 indoor referees. There was only regional sponsorship, plus sponsors of the Dutch national team and the association. The Netherlands national association had organised a national symposium in 1997 to raise awareness of women's football.

Northern Ireland joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire letter from David Bowen 15 March 1996. The NIWFA oversaw developments with honorary secretary, Maura Muldoon, in charge. A national

league ran from April to August, plus three regional leagues with 8 teams in each. First division winners that year had been Belfast Amazons, while the Kilroot Strikers had won the Second division. A national Cup had been contested by the Belfast Amazons and the Carryduff Shield Ballymena All Stars. All female players were amateur. There were four qualified coaches but the national team was not strong enough for international participation.

Norway joined UEFA 1954

1996 UEFA Questionnaire anonymous, undated. The association placed a high priority on national teams with six full time talent-instructors for boys and girls equally. There had been a steady increase in playing numbers from 3, 900 overall in 1990. In 1995, by age group, there were the following number of players: Under 12, 1, 800 clubs with 23,000 players in seven-a-side teams; in the 12-16 age-band 1, 100 teams with 17,000 players; in the 16-20 age-band 146 teams for 2, 400 players and at senior level 842 teams for 13, 500 players. This gave a grand total of 3, 984 teams with 55, 500 players. Three of eight people on the FA Executive Committee were women. The season ran from mid-April to the end of October. The First division had 10 teams; there were six second divisions of 10 teams each and fourteen third divisions in which the number of teams varied. A further seven district divisions operated in areas with the highest activity i.e around Oslo. SK Trondheims/Orn was the current holder of League Championship and IL Sandviken was the Cup winner. Clubs in the First division were Asker SK; Boler IF; Gjellerasen IL; SK Haugar; Klepp IL; Kolbotn IL; IL Sandviken; Setskog/ Holand FK; SK Sprint/ Jeloy and SK Trondheim/ Orn. All female players were considered amateurs but national team members may receive some financial support from the association. There were 240 qualified female referees.

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous undated. Norway has had women's football since 1972 and it has been recognised by the national association since 1976. There were 4,000 teams and close to 60,000 players, or about 1 in 5 players in Norway. All female players are considered amateur. Everyone at the association was responsible equally for

men's and women's football. There were two full time and 1.5 part-time posts to help development (supplementary information was provided here, too extensive to include in this overview). There was a First division for 10 teams at the elite level; a second division in 6 sections with 10 teams in each section; a third division of 10 teams in each section and a fourth, regional, division. Elite players had also competed in 18 matches at the Nordic Cup and Algarve Cup. Nine women held the highest-level coaching qualification; 37 at mid-level and there were 260 female referees. Up to 90% of elite level matches were officiated by women. One exclusive sponsor promoted broad coverage of the national team.

Portugal joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous undated. Portugal has had women's football since 1981/2 and it was recognised by the national association since 1993/4. There were about 600 adult women players and the national association wanted to increase the number of young women and girls. Natália Castro headed up the women's committee, as there was no independent commission. There was a national championship for 14 teams. All female players are considered amateurs. 1. 4% of coaches were women. There were no women referees. The national association also organised the Algarve Cup.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football was first played in 1980, there has been a national team since 1981 and league matches since the 1985/6 season. The most successful women's clubs are Boavista FC; Gatoes FC and SU 10 Dezembro. There was an A national team, plus U19 and U18 squads playing 6 or 7 national games a season. No real TV coverage was reported. There were 110 licensed players under 16, 1, 297 adults plus unlicensed participants, estimated at 345, in schools football. The season ran from June to July, playing in 42 amateur clubs and 15 seven-a-side teams, plus 16 squads in youth competitions. There was an amateur league knockout Cup and seven-a-side competitions. Ana Caetano was Secretary of the women's committee, Nuno Cristovao was the national team head coach and Monica Jorge was the assistant head coach.

Russia

USSR joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous undated. The Football union of Russia has had women's football since 1987 and it was recognised by the national association in 1989. Since that time the quality of play had improved but the number of teams had decreased because of financial problems. In the 1991-3; 1993-5 and 1995-7 rounds, Russia was the Group winner of their European Championship qualifying matches and in 1997 they made it to the Final. The national association target was Women's World Cup qualification. The Association of Women's Football of Russia, with Oleg Lapshin as President, was incorporated into the Union. There were two women administrators: Olga Timofeeva (finance) and Raissa Alkina (Judicial). There was a Premier League with 12 teams. Regional competitions are held by Krasnoyarsk for 6 teams; Chouvashya for 4 teams; Voronezh for 6 teams and Ryazan for 4 teams. There were 32 women professional players; 180 semi-professional participants and 1, 400 amateurs plus children: in all some 2,280 female players (sic). There was a national senior team, U18 and U16 squads. Between 1992 and 1996 the national team played 51 international matches and the U18 14 fixtures. Olympic sports were favoured above football in schools. A Department for women's football had now been established in the Academy of Sports. There were three women coaches with midrange qualifications, plus 8 qualified referees and 12 assistants. There were no permanent sponsors.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football had been part of the association activities since 1992. There were 24 U16 elite players and 378 adult players, with potentially 6, 970 unlicensed players in total (youth figure was not known). The season ran from April to October with five professional women's clubs; 12 amateur adult clubs; 8 squads at U18 level and 8 youth clubs at U16 level in competitions. Since 1995 the age limit for mixed football has been 12 years old. There was a Russian National League Championship; a team championship; a Cup Championship of Russia; a Sports Day for Students and a Championship of Siberia. The best teams were Energia Voronezh; SCK Samara and Lada Toliatti. There was a senior national team and an U19 squad. Around 6, 500 viewers watch women's national team

games and a total of 120,000 for league games. There were 73 league games of which 56 in top division were televised drawing a total of 66,750 and 54,750 live supporters respectively to the games. Not many national team games appeared on TV but highlights packages appeared on 7TV; NTV plus; Eurosport and local stations. Rosetel.com, Nike communications and sport equipment manufacturers sometime sponsor teams and individuals. Atovz cars sponsor Toliatti and Stavropol Energy provide some basic sponsorship. The national association wanted to develop children's football in regional competitions but no development plan is listed. An U17 WWC was a suggestion for FIFA, plus media events and promotions.

Romania joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Christian Bivolaru, Secretary General 12 March 1997. Romania has had women's football since 1990 and it was recognised by the national association the same year. There were a decreasing number of female players, the problem was a lack of money in the economy generally. Mme Rodicia Siclovan is Head of the Women's Commission within the national association. There were no further responses between 2.2 and 4.2 to this questionnaire.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football in Romania has existed since 1990 and 145 licensed players were registered in 2002/3. There were no under 16 participants and unlicensed players were estimated at around 300. The season ran from September to June. There were six amateur clubs with no age-limit on mixed football. Knock out and league structures fed into an A national team and U19 squads. The best teams were Motorul (Oradea); Fartec (Brasov); Conpet (Ploiesti) and Clujana (Cluj), who were the current champions. Around 100 league games had been noted and 300 national games had taken place. Some matches were broadcast on Realitatea TV, Antena 1. There was no main sponsor but Adidas provided some kit. The first participation of the U19 team in 2002/3 championship was seen as a milestone. Mixed football for 8-13 year olds was encouraged. Of the 130 total number of staff employed by the national association, there were 8 women including: Liana Stoicescu;

Stefania Rasadeanu; Georghe Staicu; Maria Delicoiu (assistant national coach) and Luminita Camen (physiotherapist). The women's football committee had no development plan for women but there was one for girls, mixed football and women referees. The association recognised that 10% of FAP must be used for women's football, plus some of their own money should be committed.

Republic of San Marino joined UEFA 1988

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous undated. There was no women's football. There were mixed 'mini calcio' et 'primi calci' small-sided games for 5 to 10 year olds. There were no further responses to this questionnaire.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 (N/R)

Scotland joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Maureen Mc Gonigle, Secretary of the Scottish Women's Football Association (SWFA) 12 April 1997. The SWFA was formed 1972 and affiliated to, but was not fully integrated with, the Scottish Football Association. From 1991 figures of 27 teams, for 400 players and 23 qualified coaches numbers had grown by 1996 to 230 teams for 2,705 players and 2,074 qualified coaches. There was a senior league, with one national and three regional divisions. Of the 2,900 registered players, 800 were adults. All female players were amateur. Trips to Brazil had been organised and a triangular tournament took place between Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. There were two Advanced-level and 9 B-level coaches, plus 20 qualified referees.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football had been organised by the national association since 1998 but a national team around since 1972. Under the age of 16 there were 1,500 players, plus 4,000 adults. Estimates suggested potentially 55,000 unlicensed players under 16 and the same number of adults. The

season was played August to June. There were 40 amateur adult clubs and a further 30 x 3 leagues at U13/ U15/ U17 levels. The most important team was Kilmarnock (sole answer). There was a national team, an U19 and U17 squad, with about 15 overseas players from Australia, Norway, Denmark, Canada and the Netherlands playing at club level in the country. Some national team games were transmitted on Sky TV. The national association had the same kit sponsor as the men i.e Diadora and Fila. The women were also sponsored by Safeway supermarkets and the domestic league by Amicus, a Trade Union. Five female staff worked full time on women's football only; most notably Vera Pauw; Sheila Begbie and Maureen Mc Gonigle, Secretary of the Scottish Women's Football Association (SWFA). There was a women's section, not a committee. They have had a development plan since 1998. The respondee asked FIFA to lobby for more financial support for girls and women.

Serbia and Montenegro

joined UEFA in 1954 as part of Yugoslavia: Serbia re-joined UEFA in 2006 and Montenegro joined in 2007 as independent nations

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. The Football Association of Serbia and Montenegro was formed in 2003 and disbanded in 2006 by mutual consent. As former parts of Yugoslavia, the republics have organised women's football since 1972 and there was a national team since 1974. In 2003, there were estimates of 200 under 16 players and 200 adults plus a further 2, 400 unlicensed participants in schools. All were amateur and there were 10 youth clubs in a league structure. The three top teams were Hasinac Classic WIS; Sloga Zehun and Yumco Vranje but there were no EU or overseas players in any of the clubs. There was an A national team, an U21 and U19. Some matches were televised on SOS Channel and All About Sport. The main sponsors were Yumco Vranje. A development plan was in place with Perica Krystic head coach. There was a women's football committee, with specific targets of girls' football in school, an U16 national team by 2004 and an U14 national squad by 2006. The respondee asks for financial support just for women's football.

Republic of Slovakia joined UEFA 1994

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Women's football has existed since 1968 and was integrated to the association the same year. The women's football committee is part of the activities but no female administrators worked at the association. There were 6 clubs which preferred only junior development, with 4 more such clubs planned. There was a national league in two groups with 14 elite teams overall. There were 885 female players, of which 407 were adults. All were considered amateur. There were two coaches in the second (regional) category and two without qualifications plus two women referees.

Slovenia joined UEFA 1994

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 letter from the Football Association of Slovenia, Ljubljana, undated. Women's football was incorporated by the national association in 1990 with approximately 182 players under the age of 16, 182 adults and about 600 of each as unlicensed participants. There were 8 amateur senior clubs, 8 youth clubs and 40 schools clubs. There had been 40 national team matches and league matches. The top teams were Ilirija Ljubljana; Skale Velenje and Krha Kovo Kesto. Overseas players from Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro sometimes played in these teams. There was an U19 and U17 squad in addition to the senior national team. The main aim of the association was the development of youth leagues and the existing five-year development plan estimated to spend 50,000 Euros to this effect. There were no employed women's football staff but there was a women's football committee on which some female volunteers sat.

Spain joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Teresa Andreau Grau, Presidenta Comite Nacional Futbol Femenino, 15 March 1997. Spain has had women's football since 1970 and it was integrated to the association in 1980. There were a reported 2, 497 players in 1992/3 and 7, 500 in 1996/7. Teresa Andreau Grau was the President of the national

committee for women and the main contact. There was a national league comprising 48 teams subdivided into 4 groups, plus national cup competitions. There were 6, 977 adult players and all were considered to be amateurs. There was one coach at level three (international); 58 at level 2 (regional) and 244 assistants (arbitras) in total.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. Women's football has been played in Spain since 1981 and the national association took over in 1983. There have been 500 licensees since 1990 and the current figure was 9, 217 players in 120 amateur clubs playing within a national league structure (mixed football up to age 12). The best teams were Oroquieta Villaverde; Añorga KKE and Karbo. The TV station, Autonomicos sporadically showed games. There was no main sponsor but there were some regional arrangements such as supermarket-sponsorship of local teams. There were development plans for a national league and no women in the administrative infrastructure of 105 people. There was a committee for women's football which was supporting many positive developments.

Sweden joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Sweden has had women's football since 1968 and it was integrated with the national association activities since 1970. The Swedish team had finished sixth in the Olympic finals and qualified for the European Championship in 1997. There was one woman on the Executive Board and 13 on standing committees across the national association. Pia Sundhage was mentioned as the main contact. There was a national league for 12 teams, three second division groups of 10 teams and nine third division groups also with ten teams each. In addition there were district leagues of 4 and 5 teams. In total an estimated 95, 000 girls and women played in Sweden broken down by age as: 60,000 under 16 years of age; 14, 400 under 18 years old and 19, 700 older than 19 (sic). There were five women coaches at the highest level; 9 qualified referees in the first division and 20 more in lower leagues. The national team was sponsored by national Lotto company, Svenska Spel.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 included an extensive covering letter 25 April 2003. 'Women's World Cup 2003 was a big success for us. Both the silver medal and the media coverage was important, when the final against Germany was watched by 3.8 million people, almost half the Swedish population. This closed a three-year project called Damprojektalen (almost like Ladies projectpile in English. A big success).' Women's football in Sweden has been around since 1973 and there has been a national team since 1974. Players were licensed at the age of 15 years. Therefore player numbers, broken down by age group were: 60,000 participants under 16 in 2003 and 39,730 adults, in addition to unlicensed players. The season ran from April to November and there was mixed football since 1996. Some players were semi professional in the twelve elite clubs; there were an additional 2000 amateur and 7000 youth clubs. Competitions included a national league, FA cup, regional league structures for semi pro and amateur players plus the Swedish Championship for Futsal five-a-side. The best teams were Alvsjo AIK; Nalmu77 Umeå IK and Sitex/ Utaback. Ten to fifteen overseas players performed in the elite teams, from Finland, Norway, USA, England and Poland. There was a national team plus U21; U19 and U17 squads. Attendance at home national games was about 29,000 spectators and league totals for all games 92,000 supporters (across 132 league games). Women's games were sometimes shown on TV 4, 1 on SVT 24 and SVT 1. Betting and the lottery, Svenska Spel, were the main sponsors. Aftonbladet was the main newspaper coverage and 3 telecom companies (not named) also provided sponsorship. Equipment providers included Adidas, Puma, Nike and Umbro plus regional sponsors. The big developments in recent years were listed as the national team and youth teams, plus a 'ladies project' for women leaders. The national association had spent eleven million Swedish Krona, equating to 1.25 million Euro between 1999-2003 on various projects. Of 90 administrative staff 10 are women including Markia Mominski Lyfors (National coach); Anne Signeul (coach U19) ; Annelie Gustafsson (U17); Nils Andersson and Cecilia Sanders. The resposdee asked FIFA for a Women's Football Development Committee with five-year plans and would welcome more meetings on the issue.

Switzerland joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by the Secretary of the FA, undated. The Swiss FA has recognised women's football since 1970 under, the ZUS (amateur league) control. Female players were integrated to the SFV association since 1993 with, between 3, 000 and 6, 000 players. There was a national division for 10 teams; a second division of 10 teams; plus there were regional leagues with 2 groups of 10 and further district leagues in groups of ten, with around 110 junior clubs. There were estimated a total of 250 teams. All female players were amateur and 87 % of Swiss players were adults. There were 4 A-licence, 13 B-licence and 86 C-licence women coaches. There were 5 qualified female referees and 10 assistants.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. There has been a Swiss national team since 1970 and the national association took over women's football in 1993. There were a reported 5, 000 Under 16 licensed players and 8, 500 adults plus unlicensed estimates of 30,000 participants Under 16 and 30,000 adults. The season ran from August to June for 200 adult amateur clubs and 200 clubs for under 15 players. The best clubs were Bern; Sursee, Schwerzenbach and Seebach. Some Italian players played at elite levels but the respondent was not sure whether they did so as professionals. There was a senior national team and U19 and U17 squads. There was no official sponsor. The national association had a development plan for women's football, including developing the under 17 national team further, and it had invested about Swiss FR 700,000. The women's football administrators were Betrice von Siebenthal and Marcello Cuccuzza as Chair and Secretary of the committee respectively. The women's Committee also had a development plan for a national team talent identification project. The respondee asked FIFA for an U17 World Cup for women, an Under 19 development symposium and more media promotion.

Ukraine joined UEFA 1993

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 completed by Karcharov Sergei Chair of women's football committee, 5 April 1997. Ukraine has had women's football since 1988 and it

was integrated to the association since 1991. However, the unstable and precarious economic set-up adversely affected the promotion of women's football. Karcharov Sergei was Chair of women's football committee. The number of sides fell from 24 to 7 in the last year, with maybe 600 women still active as players. All were amateur.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. There had been a national team in Ukraine since 1993 but there was no national league. The season was played from April to November for 10 amateur adult clubs and 10 youth teams. The total number of players was given as 150 under 16 years of age and 300 licensed adults. Estimates of unlicensed players ran to 800 under 16 participants and 400 adults. Since 2002 Ukraine had hosted The Leather Ball Cup, an Under-14 mixed-event. The most successful teams were 'Donchanka' from Donetsk; 'Legenda' from Charnigov and 'FC Kharkiv' from Kharkiv. The latter were the 2003 champions. Between 1999-2000 there had been fifteen foreign players including those from Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Then, in 2000/1 ten players from Russia, Moldova and Belarus, decreasing to eight the next season from Russia, Moldova, Lithuania and just six in 2003 from the same three countries. The national association had launched the All-Ukraine Programme of football development in Ukraine 2003-8. This five-year plan includes women in management and administration. There were no women in decision-making bodies but there was, for example, a Finance Director, Head of International Licensing and secretaries. There were also plans for female coach licensing and admittance to universities. Six female referees had been included in the plans for international competitions. There was a women's football committee. Since 2000, the national association had hosted more regional competitions, plus 4% of FIFA funding had been given to football classes in schools and the association for women's football. This had totalled US\$ 100, 000 by the FFU for the development of women's football in clubs. There were no main sponsors of the women's league but plants, factories and private companies did offer some financial support. The All-Ukraine fund for the Development of Music, Culture and Sports had also contributed and some Lotto funding had been donated. There was limited TV coverage on First National and regional stations. There was currently no national league but plans for one. There was no discrete development plan for girls football. The

respondee asked FIFA for more media coverage, including the best female player in the world.

Wales joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Wales has had women's football since 1972 and it has been integrated at association level since 1992. There followed a significant increase over five years, with a national development-team and the first schools junior female tournament. The women's coordinator was Helen Croft and David Collins was Secretary General of the association. There were no female professionals, up to 1,000 adult amateurs and 800 players below 18.

2003 FIFA questionnaire Circular 871 anonymous, undated. There were a total of 17 staff in the organisation and none were dedicated solely for the development of women's football. Coaching and development were the national association priorities. There were no sponsors. There was no development plan for girls and women's football. Press coverage was occasional and there was little television interest. There was an official league and a national team which had played matches since 1993. The most successful teams were Cardiff Ladies; Newport Strikers and Bangor City. No foreign players were currently active in Wales. There was a senior national team and an Under 19 team. The season ran from August to May for 30 senior clubs and 20 youth clubs subdivided at U12 and U16 levels. It was estimated that there were 600 under 16 600 non-licensed players and 300 adults.

Yugoslavia joined UEFA 1954

1997 FIFA Survey Circular 609 anonymous, undated. Yugoslavia had women's football since 1969 and the activity was integrated to the SFV association on 15 July 1972. A commission for women's football oversaw an A league (of 8 clubs) and a B league (of 6 clubs) comprising 209 players. Of this total, 20% of female players were considered professional; 30% semi professional and 50% amateur.

Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011

Select Bibliography:

- Abrams, N. (2005) 'Inhibited but not "crowded out": The Strange Fate of Soccer in the United States' *International Journal of the History of Sport* Vol. 12 No. 3 December pp. 1-17.
- Adderley, J. (2006) 'Women's Football' *BBC Nation on Film* London: BBC 10 November..
- Andrews, D., R. Pitter, D. Zwick and D. Ambrose (1997) 'Soccer's Racial Frontier: Sport and the Suburbanisation of Contemporary America' in G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti (eds) *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football* Oxford: Berg.
- Anon. (1895) 'Ladies football' *Penny Illustrated* 23 February.
- Anon. (1895) 'THE LADIES' FOOTBALL CLUB' *Daily Graphic* 25 January.
- Anon. (1917) 'Personal Column' *The Times* Tuesday December 18.
- Anon. (1921) 'Should Women Play football?' *Table Talk* 28 July.
- Anon. (1921) 'English Girl Teams Play Football for Charity' *Pawtucket Times* 9 September..
- Anon. (1983) (possibly Qiu Zhenqi) 'Women's football in ancient China' *National Women's Soccer Invitational Brochure* Beijing China.
- Adidas promotional leaflet* (1999) FIFA Women's World Cup 1999 Los Angeles.
- Aldis, C. (2001) *British University Sports Association* files..
- Anderson B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. New York: Verso.
- Anthony, David (1970) 'When to kick is unwomanly' *Times Educational Supplement* 10 October.
- Armstrong, G. and Giulianotti, R. (1997) *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football* Oxford: Berg.
- Bale, J. (1979) *The Development of Soccer as a Participant and Spectator Sport: Geographical Aspects* Sports Council/Social Science Research Council.
- Bale, J. (1980) 'Women's Football in England and Wales: a Social-Geographic perspective' *Physical Education Review* Vol.3 No.2.
- Bale, J. and Joseph Maguire (eds) (1994) *The Global Sports Arena: Athletic Talent Migration in an Interdependent World* London; Frank Cass.
- Banet-Weiser, S. (1999) 'Hoop Dreams: Professional Basketball and the Politics of Race and Gender' *Journal of Sport and Social Issue* 23 No.4.
- Batt, P. (1973) 'Dates have the order of the boot' *The Sun* 17 April.
- Battersby, K (1994) 'Mohr earns Germany first leg advantage' *Daily Telegraph* 2 December.

- Begbie S. (1996) 'The Story So Far: Recent Developments in Women's Football in Scotland' *Scottish Journal of Physical Education* Vol. 24.
- Bethell, A. (c1983) *Gregory's Girl* (an adaption of Bill Forsyth's original film script by Andrew Bethell) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beveridge, S. (1975) 'Edna – The Sad Soccer Star' *Sunday People* 31 January.
- Bhattacharya, N (1992) *Hem and Football* London: Secker and Warburg.
- Blatter, J. (1984) *General Secretary FIFA Circular 338 to all associations 22 June* Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA.
- Blatter, J. (1995) 'The Future is Feminine' *FIFA News* Zurich July .
- Blatter J. (2006) 'Promising Preparations for WWC 2007' *FIFA News* Zurich 19 March..
- Boaler, J. (1994) 'When do Girls Prefer Football to Fashion?' *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 20 No. 5.
- Bourke, W. (2000) daughter of Alice Mills Lambert, essays, newspaper cuttings and eulogy provided by personal communication 23 June.
- British Ladies Football Club Programme (1895) London: Mizen Printers 23 March.
- Broadbent, M. (1934) LD 7096.6 RG 27 *Alumnae Biographical Files for the Broadbent Papers* Mount Holyoke College Archives 1 Oct.
- Brownell, S. (1995) *Training the Body for China: Sport and the Moral Order of the People's Republic* Chicago, Illinois and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Burke, P. (2005) 'Patriot Games: Women's Football during the First World War in Australia' *Football Studies* Vol. 8 No. 2.
- Carroll, S. (1999) 'The Disempowerment of the Gender Gap: Soccer Moms and the 1996 Elections' *Political Science and Politics* Vol. 32 No. 1 Mar pp. 7-11.
- Caudwell, Jayne (1999) 'Women's Football in the United Kingdom: Theorising Gender and Unpacking the Butch Lesbian Image' *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* Vol. 23 No.4 pp.390-403.
- Caudwell, J. (2002) 'Women's experiences of sexuality within football contexts: A particular and located footballing epistemology' *Football Studies* Vol. 5 pp. 24-45.
- Chang, W. (1981) *President ROCFA 'Welcome Speech' World Women's Invitational Tournament 1981* Taipei 11 October.
- Chastain, B. (2004) *It's Not About the Bra: Play Hard, Play Fair, and Put the Fun Back Into Competitive Sports* New York: Harper Collins.
- China PR Football Association (1991) *Football in China: Present Problems and Future Prospects* 16 November CFA document Peking: China.

China PR Team Statement (1991) *China '91: 1st FIFA World Championship for Women's Football for the M&M's Cup* Zurich: FIFA Archive.

Chye Hin, T. (1981) *Vice President ALFC 'Re: Women's Football in Asia' 28th October 1981* FIFA Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA Archive.

Close, P. et al. (2006) *The Beijing Olympiad: The Political Economy of a Sporting Mega – Event* London and New York: Routledge.

Collins, S. (2006) 'National Sports and Other Myths: The Failure of US Soccer' *Soccer and Society: Special Edition Making It Happen: Fringe Nations in World Soccer Celebrating World Cup 2006* Vol. 7 No. 2-3 April pp. 353 – 363.

Corinthian v Lancashire Ladies Programme (1951) Festival of Britain Craven Park 21 July.

Corinthian versus Bolton Programme (1952) Manchester Athletic Ground, Fallowfield 20 August.

Cubberley, H. (1932) 'Soccer for Girls' *Spauldings Athletic Library-Soccer for Women* New York: American Sports Publishing Company.

Davis, J. and J. Brewer (1992) 'Physiological characteristics of an International Female Soccer Squad' *Journal of Sports Science* Vol. 10 pp.142-143.

Davis, J. and J. Brewer (1993) 'Applied Physiology of Female Soccer Players' *Sports Medicine* Vol. 16 pp. 180-189.

Davies, P. (1996) *I Lost My Heart to The Belles* London: Mandarin.

Duke, V. and Liz Crolley (1996) *Football, Nationality and the State* London: Longman.

Eisenberg, C. Pierre Lanfranchi, Tony Mason and Alfred Wahl (2004) *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

European Commission Communication (1996) *Incorporating equal opportunities for women and men into all Community policies and activities* Section 67 Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Communities Commission (1998) *Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into all Community Policies and Activities* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Communities Commission Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs (2001) *Towards a Community strategy on gender equality (2001-2005)* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

English Schools FA (1986) *Curriculum Time Football Questionnaire* September.

English Schools FA (1988) *Goodger and Auden letter to English Schools FA* 17 March.

English Schools FA (1988) *Report: Girls' Football Survey* 19 September.

English Schools FA Secretary Allatt C. (1988) *Analysis of questionnaire with reference to the interest shown in girls in full time education in the playing of Association Football* 19 September.

Equal Opportunities Commission (1978) *The Football Association Limited and Nottinghamshire Football Association v Miss T Bennett* Transcript of Judgement 28 July.

Equal Opportunities Commission (1999) *Hardwick, Vs the FA* Employment Appeal Tribunal Transcript 30 April.

Espelund, K. (1995) *Developing Women's Football* UEFA Youth Conference Paper

Fasting, K. (1997) 'Sports and Women's Culture' *Women's Studies International Forum* Volume 10 No.4.

Fasting, K. (2004) 'Small Country Big Results: Women's Football in Norway' in Hong and Mangan *Soccer Women and Liberation Kicking Off a New Era* London: Frank Cass.

FIFA (1973) *Minutes of the First UEFA Women's Football Conference* 22 March Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1974) *Letter from Dr H Käser to Mr T Croker* 17 January Correspondence file FIFA, UEFA and The Football Association Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1974) *Letter from H Käser Secretary to Pat Gregory* 20 June Correspondence file to the Football Association Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1980) *Minutes of the Second UEFA Women's Football Conference* 19 February Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1981) *Minutes of the meeting of the 1981 FIFA Technical Committee Item 1 Women's football and competitions. Discussed by Group A* Zurich: FIFA House 17/18 December Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1984) *Walter Gagg FIFA Proposition Pour L'Organisation D'Un Tournoi Mondial De Feminin Pour Equipes Representatives* Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1985) *Willy Simonsen Norges Fotballforbund* Item 4 Oslo 30 December Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1986) *Minutes of Meeting with Peter Verlappen, General Secretary AFC* 17 April Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1986) *Minutes of the 45th Ordinary Congress Mexico City* 29 May Correspondence File Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1988) *Minutes of the 46th Ordinary Congress* 2 July Zurich: FIFA Archive.

FIFA (1991) *China '91: 1st FIFA World Championship for Women's Football for the M&M's Cup* FIFA Zurich: FIFA Archive.

- FIFA (1992) *1st FIFA/ M&Ms Symposium on Women's Football* November Zurich: FIFA Archive.
- FIFA (1997) *Survey of Women's Football* Zurich January unpublished paper Zurich: FIFA Archive.
- FIFA (1997) Committee for Women's Football *Minutes of meeting No.10* 18 February Zurich: FIFA Archive.
- FIFA (1998) *Evaluation of the questionnaire on women's football as at 30.7.97*, 2 March Zurich: FIFA Archive.
- FIFA (1999) *2nd Symposium on Women's Football* 8 July Los Angeles Hilton and Towers: Los Angeles.
- FIFA (2000) *Minutes Meeting Number 6 of the Organising Committee for the Olympic Football Tournaments* 27 September Sydney.
- FIFA (2002) *Minutes Meeting Number 2 of the Organising Committee for the Olympic Football Tournaments* 29 October Zurich Attachments 4 and 15.
- Fishwick, N. (1989) *English Football and Society: 1910-1950* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Foulds, S. and Harris, P. (1979) *America's Soccer Heritage* Manhattan Beach; California: Soccer for Americans .
- Gibson, A. and W. Pickford (eds) (1906) *Association Football and The Men Who Made It* 4 Vols London.
- Glanville, B. (1973) 'Goals and Gals don't really mix' *The Sunday Times* 24 June.
- Gregg, L. (1999) *The Champion Within: Training for Excellence* Burlington: JTC Sports.
- Hall, M.A. (2003) 'The Game of Choice: Girls' and Women's soccer in Canada' *Soccer and Society* Vol. 4 No. 2-3 pp.30-46.
- Hamm, M. (1999) *Go For the Goal: A Champion's Guide To Winning In Soccer And Life* New York: Harper.
- Hamm, M. (2004) with Carol Thompson *Winners Never Quit!* United States: Byron Press Visual Publications
- Harris, J. (2001) 'Playing the man's game: Sites of resistance and incorporation in women's football' *World Leisure* Vol. 43 pp. 22-29.
- Harris, J. (2005) 'The Image Problem in Women's Football' *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* Vol. 29 No. 2 pp. 184-197.
- Harvey, A. (2005) *Football: The First Hundred Years* NY; Oxon: Routledge.

Havelange, J. (1991) *China '91: 1st FIFA World Championship for Women's Football for the M&M's Cup* Zurich: FIFA Archive.

Hennies, R. (1995) 'Firm Bases – Scope at the Summit?' *FIFA Magazine* Zurich May

Henry, J. and Howard Comeaux (1999) 'Gender Egalitarianism in Coed Sport: A Case Study of American Soccer' *International Review For the Sociology of Sport* Vol. 34 No. 3 pp. 277-290.

HMSO (1975) *The Sex Discrimination Act* 12 November.

Highfield Oral History Group and the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football (1993) *Highfield Rangers: an Oral History* Leicester: Leicester City Council Living History Unit.

Hill, J. and Williams, J. (1996) *Sport and Identity in the North of England* Keele: Keele University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (1990) *Nations and Nationalism Since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holt, R. and Mason T. (2000) *Sport in Britain 1945-2000* London: Blackwell.

Hong, F. (1997) *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* London: Frank Cass

House of Common Select Committee (2006) *Second Special Report: Women's Football* Department for Culture, Media and Sport 25 July.

House of Common Select Committee (2006) *Fourth Report of Session 2005-06: Responses from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Football Association and the Football Foundation* 19 October.

International Olympic Committee (2000) *The promotion of Women in the Olympic Movement* Department of International Co-operation, February.

International Olympic Committee (2005) *IOC Report Women participation at the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad Athens 2004* Dept of International Co-operation and Competition, February.

International Olympic Committee (2006) *Women in the Olympic Movement – Women in Sport Leadership Evaluation of the 10%-20% Objectives* Department of International Cooperation and Development, November.

ITN Source (1957) BP010157149729 'Women's Football in Struttgart' Pathé 1 January.

ITN Source (1957) BGY502140342 Britain beat Germany 4-0 in European Championship in Berlin Pathé 1 January.

ITN Source (1957) BP050857149724 'Germany and United Kingdom ends with draw' Pathé 1-15 August.

- ITN Source (1958) BP010158154511 'Millions take a breather' Pathé 1 January.
- ITN Source (1959) BP020759158729 'Football's A Girl's Game' Italy: Pathé 12 July.
- ITN Source (1960) BGY503290098 'The First International Show Girls Soccer Tournament Brazil' 10 August.
- ITN Source (1975) BGY509180617 'Eire: Woman footballer to play in Belgium's Leading Ladies Team' 14 January.
- Jarvie, G. (2003) 'Internationalism and Sport in the Making of Nations' *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* Vol. 10 No. 4 pp. 537-551.
- Jacobs, B. (2004) *Dick Kerr's Ladies* London: Constable and Robinson.
- Jinxia, D. (2002) 'Ascending then Descending? Women's Soccer in Modern China' *Soccer and Society* Vol. 3 No. 2 pp. 1-18.
- Käser, H. (1980) letter *Re: Women's Football / The Olympic Games to Pat Gregory Women's Football Association England* dated 17 June private collection.
- KICK IT OUT* (1999) promotional material distributed by the Football Supporters Association.
- Lanfranchi, P. and Taylor, M. (2001) *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* Oxford: Berg.
- Leigh, M. and T. Bonin (1977) 'The pioneering role of Madame Alice Milliat and the FSFI in establishing international trade for women' *Journal of Sport History* Vol. 4 No.1 Spring pp. 72-83.
- Leenders, T. (1991) *China '91: 1st FIFA World Championship for Women's Football for the M&M's Cup* Zurich: FIFA Archive.
- Les Mirrior Des Sports Paris* weekly editions 1919–1921.
- Longman, J. (2001) *The Girls of Summer: The U.S. Women's Soccer Team and How It Changed the World* New York: Harper Paperbacks.
- Lopez, S. (1997) *Women on the Ball* London: Scarlet.
- Marschik, M. (1998) 'Offside: The Development of Women's Football in Austria' *Football Studies* No.1 Vol. 2 pp. 69-88.
- Melling, A. (2001) 'Charging Amazons and Fair Invaders: The Dick Kerr's Ladies Soccer Tour of North America of 1922 – Sowing Seed' *European Sports History Review* Vol.3 Spring.
- Melling, A. (1998) 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football 1920-45' *The European Sports History Review* Vol.1.

- Melling, A. (1999) *Ladies Football: Gender and Socialisation of Women Football Players in Lancashire 1926-1960* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Central Lancashire November.
- Menesson, C. and J. Clement (2003) 'Homosociability and Homosexuality: The Case of Soccer Played by Women' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* Vol. 38 No. 3 pp. 311-330.
- Myotin, E. (1999) *Sports Socialisation of 11-20 year old Brazilian girls in the 1990s: A Social Psychological Study* unpublished PhD University of Loughborough.
- Nelson, M. B. (1996) *The Stronger Women Get, The More Men Love Football: Sexism and the Culture of Sport* London: Women's Press.
- Newsham, G. (1998) *In A League of their Own* London: Scarlet.
- Office of National Statistics (2001) *Social Trends No.31*.
- Pannick, D. (1983) *Sex Discrimination in Sport* London: Equal Opportunities.
- Parillo, B. (1999) 'Women's World Cup 1999' *Providence Journal* 10 May.
- Pauw, V. (1999) 'From Wishful Thinking to Development Policy' 2nd FIFA Women's Symposium: Los Angeles.
- Pfister, G et al. (1998) 'Women and Football – A Contradiction? The Beginnings of Women's Football in Four European Countries' *The European Sports History Review* Vol.1.
- Prudhomme-Poncet, L. (2003) *Histoire du Football Feminine au XXème Siècle: Espaces et Temps du Sport* Paris: L'Harmattann.
- Richards, J. (2001) 'Our Kelly' *Total Football Magazine* July.
- Russell, D. (1997) *Football and the English: A Social History of Association Football in England, 1863-1995* Carnegie: Preston.
- Scraton, S. J. Cauldwell and S. Holland (2005) 'Bend it Like Patel' Centring 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* Vol. 40 No. 1 pp. 71-88.
- Talbot, M. (2000) *Gendering the Sport Agenda in Sport Decision Making* European Women and Sport Conference 6/8 July 2000 Helsinki.
- Taylor, M. (2005) *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England 1900–1939* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Taylor, M. (2006) 'Global players? Football Migration and Globalization 1930-2000' *Historical Social Research* Vol. 31 No.1 pp. 7-30.
- The Football Association (1969) *Minutes of the FA Council* Item 37 1 December.

The Football Association (1971) *Minutes of the FA Executive Committee 16 December 1970 item 16 and 19 January 1971* Item 46.

The Football Association (1974) *Minutes Joint Consultative Committee for Women's Football Lancaster Gate* 3 October.

The Football Association (1997) *Women's Football Alliance Minutes* 21 November Appendix D.

The Football Association (2001) 'Developing Asian Girls Football' *On the Ball* May.

Tischler, M. (1981) *Footballers and Businessmen: The Origins of Professional Football in England* New York: Homes & Meyer.

UEFA (1998) *Third Women's Conference on Women's Football* London: England

UEFA (2001/2- 2008/9) *UEFA Women's Cup Regulations* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2001) *Fourth Conference on Women's Football* Oberhausen: Germany

UEFA (2001) *Coaches Round-Table Discussion with Women's National Team Coaches* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2003) *Questionnaire on Domestic Women's Leagues* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2004) *First Elite Coaches Forum* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2004-2010) *UEFA Direct Magazine* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2005) *Fifth Conference on Women's Football* Oslo: Norway

UEFA (2006) *Second Elite Coaches Forum* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2007) *Third Elite Coaches Forum* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2009) *Women's Champions League Regulations 2009/10* Nyon: Switzerland

UEFA (2009) *First National Team Coaches Conference* Nyon: Switzerland

Wagg, Stephen (1984) *The Football World: A Contemporary Social History* Brighton: Harvester.

Walvin, J. (1994) *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited* 2nd Edn. Edinburgh; London: Mainstream Publishing Co.

Whitehead, L. (2007) 'Women's Professional Soccer: A Comparative analysis between the top domestic leagues in Denmark, England and Germany and the Women's LLC League in the USA' unpublished MBA/ Football Industry thesis, University of Liverpool.

WFA Correspondence File (1973) *P. Gregory to Dr H Käser Secretary FIFA* 20 July.

WFA Correspondence File (1974) *P. Gregory to Dr H Käser Secretary FIFA* 2 June.

WFA Correspondence File (1974) *P. Gregory to Dr H Käser Secretary FIFA* 6 July.

Williams, J. (2003) *A Game for Rough Girls: A History of Women's Football in England* Oxon: Routledge.

- Williams, J. (2008) *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* London: Berg.
- Williamson, D. (1991) *The Belles of the Ball* Devon: R & D Associates.
- Woodhouse, D (2001) *The Post War Development of Football for Females: A Cross Cultural and Comparative Study of England, The USA and Norway* unpublished PhD University of Leicester.
- Zhenqi, Q. (1982) 'Women's Soccer has a Bright Future' *National Women's Soccer Invitational Brochure* Beijing: PR China Football Association Zurich: FIFA Archive.



Jean Williams

Tel: (0116) 250 6304
Email: jwilliam@dmu.ac.uk

Cover image by kind permission from an original 'The Pink Side' by Siobhan Tarr