

FOOMI-NET



www.diasbola.com

Working Paper No. 1

Author: Jean Williams

Title: Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labour Markets

Date: 20.09.2011

Download: <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labour Markets

Jean Williams

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'.ⁱ 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 onwards. There is, however, no mention of football until page 386.ⁱⁱ 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 by the national and international governing bodies until the late 1960s has made this especially the case for women football players. In terms of acceptance by sports bureaucracies, the women's game appears to have slightly over a century of development to catch up on, therefore. It is also often helpful also to look outside the logic of sport, at the wider context of female patterns of employment. How have football's gendered labour-markets shaped opportunities for individual women, whatever their personal motivations for pursuing a career?

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 indicates 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 to participate at whatever level of intensity they chose.ⁱⁱⁱ So the first section of this chapter discusses methods and sources for this project. 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 specialize 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.^{iv} 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 complicate the picture.

While we can be encouraged by an emergent professionalization with structural and socio-cultural conditions 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 describe female professional football. 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 establishment of a Women's World Cup), to macro professionalism (with a multiplicity of international competitions and tournaments where women might showcase their football talent). While presently 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 of the key issues. 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 facilitating 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.^v This project has necessarily also 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.'^{vi} 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

recognition, even today, there is little literature on migration concerning those sports with little international publicity and less on 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.^{vii} Women's football is now a growing academic subject from a variety of disciplinary approaches examining globalization, commercialization and professionalization processes. By not engaging with business interests who set up the early women's leagues in Italy in the late 1960s, the football authorities have limited the global labour market for women players. A paradoxical situation has developed whereby employment opportunities for women are now emerging forty years later but the product 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. This purpose is two-fold. First, the women cited here have collaborated in the research process 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 sports history, is significant. First though, it is important to give a brief survey of how the project has been approached.

Methods and Sources

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.^{viii} 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.^{ix}

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 sets of 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.'^x 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.^{xi}

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.

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. The women's game could have developed much earlier than it did. 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 some 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 the team 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 his raises a wider question of quite how some elite women players developed their skills given the lack of infrastructure at this time. The more intangible dilemma is how many good female athletes were lost to football, given that there was little viable professional career to be had at this time.

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!!'^{xii} 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 particular kind of semi-professional club-amateur international tension 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 and temporary migration

Sue first began playing in the South Hants Ladies' Football Association League created in 1966 by women inspired by the 1966 World Cup victory. Each club affiliated for the equivalent today of 50 pence, players registration cost 35 pence and an affiliation fee of 15pence. Transfers of players between clubs cost 12 pence. It is clear that she 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) had changed their name to Real FC in 1967-8. Following the Deal international tournament in 1967, a larger 32 team event in the next year and 52 entries in 1969 Lopez became aware

of more European teams: these included Start 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, jointly organised by the holiday camp chain, ITV and the *Daily Mirror* the Deal tournament and the personnel who were active saw that there was enough interest, home and abroad to create the Women's Football Association in England. As there was no official England team, Sue 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.'^{xiii}

'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 may be it was their kit. Harry and his wife had a 1st 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 Cassal to play in a trial friendly game against Verdon (a Lausanne team) at the Stadio Communale 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 agree 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. He attended most of our matches. 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 U.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 some times! There were absolutely no hassles and I loved the Italian way of life. So, it was a very difficult decision not to return as yes 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 to maybe 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

WILLIAMS, J. (2011), "Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labor Markets", foomi-net Working Papers No. 1, <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

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 emphasize that she earned 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, Wnedy Own 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 national team coach appointment in favour of a woman with no qualification at that level when Hope Powell was appointed. She 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 Sports 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 Rose Reilly, the long-term migrant

(To be completed)

Case Study: Vera Pauw, the 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 in the post-war game. The Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio Femminile (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.^{xiv} 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: Gao Hong, the elite Asian migrant into Europe

Gao Hong was born 27 November 1967 and her football career started after a school career of table tennis, gymnastics and basketball at the Sadie sports school where 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.^{xv} 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 years, 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 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 first 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 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 support her when she made the squad as second-choice 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 plus a salary of \$7,000 offered in Japan to play professionally there.

In 1997 however, she chose to move back to PR China on a lower salary of about \$700 per month because she missed the country and though 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 her and Sun Wen increased followed shortly after by the 2000

WILLIAMS, J. (2011), "Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labor Markets", foomi-net Working Papers No. 1, <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

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 and joined the non-profit organization, Right to Play in PR China for three years. As someone who has an increased spiritual awareness and gender mentoring role, 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 wanted to Women's World Cup in 2007 as a commentator. 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 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.'^{xvi}

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. A 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 flux into and out of Europe. The cautious approach to establishing a women's tournament was reflected in that this first event was called a World Championship, and that tentative attitude showed the football administration both expanding beyond its traditional geographical and gender limits. 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.

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

In 1985 UEFA surveyed national associations for a second time about the status of women's football in their country. 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.^{xvii} 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.

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

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.^{xviii} 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 Final round 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. 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. Those twenty-eight national associations of the forty-four who were affiliated to UEFA at

WILLIAMS, J. (2011), "Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labor Markets", foomi-net Working Papers No. 1, <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

the time were divided into those requiring particular help to develop were those with fewer than 1,000 in total.

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

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

FIFA Women's World Invitationals, such as the 1984 event in Chinese Taipei, eventually led to the Women's World Championship in 1991, though notably these were not yet called World Cups. The grip on 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 is another factor in the move towards increased competitions, which have led to increased player segmentation (U20, U17) and more sub-brands. The 2009/10 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.^{xix}

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 only 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. European club competition for women questionnaire, circulated to gauge interest at this level 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 in favour in both cases (No 15, Yes 31) and comparable for a Youth Championship (No 16, Yes 30).^{xx}

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. For its ninth season in 2009/10 it was relaunched as the UEFA Women's Champions League. 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.^{xxi} 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 helped to a large extent by the signing of Marta for the second title. Apart from Arsenal's victory in 2006/7, and Duisburg in 2008/9, the other title-holder 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.^{xxii} For each phase played from the thirty-two team round, each club is paid 20,000 Euro via its national association, which may, in turn, deduct costs for referees.^{xxiii} 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. 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 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, they operate under the umbrella, financially and

WILLIAMS, J. (2011), "Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labor Markets", foomi-net Working Papers No. 1, <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

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.

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). This represents something of a policy-commercial tension on the European level more widely because to be recognized by

FCZ Frauen provided two interesting examples related to women who have moved in relation to football careers. 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.^{xxiv}

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 USD 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.^{xxv}

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.^{xxvi} 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.^{xxvii} 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 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 are available, centrally issued by the FA and annually negotiated from 1st December to 30th 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 doubt 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.'^{xxviii} 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 between the elite female pinnacle 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 a more competitive Women's Premier League (which the FA took over in 2004). There have traditionally been problems of over-concentration of the best playing talent in a relatively few teams, such as Arsenal, Fulham and Croyden which on the one hand means that results can be predicted before games, and on the other that if a club withdraws 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 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 heir 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 growths are 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 therefore are available under the Women's Super League payment scheme central England contract, the club contract and additional duties, such as administration, ambassadorial 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 through 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 play if a none-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 and may change. For example, the FA may allow 40% of club income for wages.

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 months 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 paid for a slot Tuesdays at 6.30 for a highlights package, rights to production and footage. In addition to product FAWSL.com each of the eight clubs has a website of similar standard, design, product and branding perspective.^{xxix} 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. A break is scheduled currently after each 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 references earlier called his presentation 'Before They were Champions: Developing the 1999 US Women's Champions National

Team Brand.^{xxx} 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 1999. 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 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, suggested avoiding an image that was too girly, fluffy, or pink as this would discredit what they felt to be a serious enthusiasm. Cliché's 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.^{xxxi} 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

WILLIAMS, J. (2011), "Women's Football, Europe and Professionalization 1971-2011: Global Gendered Labor Markets", foomi-net Working Papers No. 1, <http://www.diasbola.com/uk/foomi-source.html>

recent FIFA promotional campaigns using models like Adriana Sklenarikova, wife of Christian Karembeu, even though she has never played the game.^{xxxii} 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.^{xxxiii} 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.^{xxxiv} 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.

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

On 29 October 2010 the Executive Committee approved an increase of USD 1.2 million in the prize money to be awarded at the 2011 FIFA Women's World Cup, bringing the total to USD 7.6 million.^{xxxv} 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.^{xxxvi} 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 parity of occupational conditions in sport remains elusive and 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.^{xxxvii}

Women's World Cup particularly, and international competition generally, has 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.^{xxxviii} 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. This development has taken two forms: creating new entities licensed and benchmarked to precise standards by the various national bodies and the confederation. 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 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. For example, development in coaching from women's football committee Karen Espelund Norway; Susanne Erlandsson Sweden; Vera Pauw (Russia); Sheila Begbie (Scotland) and Aleksandra Nikolovska (FYR Macedonia). Tools like the Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) compared football players with the percentage of women in a total population have led to more sophisticated sports development, and grouping together countries for development.

At the KISS development workshop, Lizzy Johnson raised the issue of brand positioning to the European-wide audience. 'Why do you do 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.^{xxxix} We nevertheless await the first female President of FIFA, of UEFA and of the English FA with some anticipation.

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

ⁱⁱ 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.

ⁱⁱⁱ Jean Williams *A Game For Rough Girls: A History of Women's Football in England* (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* (Berg 2007).

^{iv} 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.

^v John Bale and Joseph Maguire (Eds.) *The Global sports arena: athletic talent migration in an interdependent world* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

^{vi} John Bale and Joseph Maguire *The Global sports arena* p. 7.

^{vii} 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)].

- ^{viii} Willi Hink DFB *FIFA Questionnaire on Women's Football* 23 September 2009.
- ^{ix} Ragnar Austad Røa IL Team Manager personal communication 13 May 2010.
- ^x 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.
- ^{xi} 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.
- ^{xii} Sue Lopez *UEFA Europe, Professionalisation and Women's Football 1971-2011 Questionnaire Response* 30 December 2010.
- ^{xiii} Sue Lopez *Women on the Ball* p. 42-43.
- ^{xiv} Vera Pauw *UEFA Women's Football Committee Members' Questionnaire Response* 21 December 2010.
- ^{xv} 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.
- ^{xvi} 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.
- ^{xvii} UEFA *UEFA Minutes of Committee on Women's Football* 14 May 1985 at the Park Hotel, Rotterdam pp. 1-3 (Nyon: UEFA Archive).
- ^{xviii} UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes 28 October 1993* FIFA HQ, Hitzigweg p. 2 item 4 Report on the Final Round of the European Women's Championship in Italy between Denmark, Germany, Italy and Norway.
- ^{xix} 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.
- ^{xx} UEFA *UEFA Women's Football Committee Minutes* 12/13 April 2000 UEFA HQ, Nyon p. 6.
- ^{xxi} 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.
- ^{xxii} UEFA *Draw Ceremony Notes 2010/11 UEFA Women's Champions League 2010/11* (Nyon: UEFA) 19 August 2010 pp.1-2.
- ^{xxiii} UEFA *Regulations of the UEFA Women's Champions League 2010/11* (Nyon: UEFA, 2010) p. 29-30.
- ^{xxiv} Marion Daube, Executive Officer, *FC Zürich Frauen* personal communication 2 February 2011.
- ^{xxv} Per Iversen, General Manager, *Røa Fotball Elite* personal communication 16 February 2011.
- ^{xxvi} Jaqui Oatley 'English Women's League Prepares for Re-Boot' *FIFA World* (Zurich, FIFA, March 2011) pp. 39-43.
- ^{xxvii} Kelly Simmons 'Women's Football in England' *FIFA Second Symposium for Women's Football* Long Beach, USA 4 October 2003.

- ^{xxviii} Jaqui Oatley 'Q and A' *FIFA World* (Zurich, FIFA, March 2011) p. 41.
- ^{xxix} Football Association <http://www.thefa.com/Leagues/SuperLeague> accessed 31 March 2011.
- ^{xxx} 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.
- ^{xxxi} Dave Smith 'On the ball with the beautiful game - here come the girls' <http://www.givemefootball.com> (Manchester: Professional Footballers' Association) 25 February 2011.
- ^{xxxii} 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.
- ^{xxxiii} 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.
- ^{xxxiv} EPFL *EPFL Annual Report of Activities 2008-9* (Nyon: EPFL, 2010).
- ^{xxxv} FIFA 'Exco Briefs' *FIFA World* (Zurich: FIFA, November/ December 2010) p. 15.
- ^{xxxvi} Deborah Simonton *Women in European Culture and Society* p. 389.
- ^{xxxvii} 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 employed, reportedly on six figure salaries by TalkSport, see for example, John Plunkett Richard Keys and Andy Gray join TalkSport *The Guardian* 8 February 2011 guardian.co.uk accessed 22 March 2011.
- ^{xxxviii} Matthias Kunz 'The Female Figure: Vital Statistics From the Women's Game' *FIFA World* (Zurich: FIFA, March 2010) pp. 44-45.
- ^{xxxix} UEFA Skills Challenge 'Woody and Wulfy in Bilbao' <http://www.uefa.com/trainingground> accessed 24 February 2011.