

FOOTBALL

RHYMES

WITH WOMEN







WHEN FOOTBALL RHYMES WITH WOMEN







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List of abbreviations

AFC Asian Football Confederation

CAF African Football confederation

CIES International Centre for Sports Studies

ExCom Executive Committee

CONCACAF Confederation of North, Central America and Caribbean Association Football

CONMEBOL South American Football Confederation

FA English Football Association
FFF French Football Federation

FIFA International Federation of Association Football

OFC Oceania Football Confederation

UEFA Union of European Football Associations

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FOREWORD

port promotes central and universal values such as team spirit, tolerance, honesty and solidarity. It is also a powerful vehicle for social inclusion and dialogue and a remarkable lever for promoting gender equality. But, let us make no mistake: it can also sometimes be the breeding ground for unhealthy behaviours leading to division, discrimination and intolerance. Football bears these two dimensions.

Faced with this challenge, and to tip the scales to the right side, UNESCO and its partners have set themselves the task of promoting the universal values of sport. They have chosen to focus on those promoted by football, a sport that promotes the empowerment of girls and women and promotes mutual respect, equality and fair play.

Significant prejudice persists against women players, referees, coaches, staff and managers, who are still often viewed as not belonging in this environment and as illegitimate, ostensibly incompetent, and simply "out of place" because of their gender. This is in addition to the problem of violence against women, from which football is not immune and for which distrust of LGBT people is one motivation. A gap also persists in media coverage of women's competitions and female athletes, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in addition to the self-censorship of women themselves.

Any inquiry into the feminisation of football therefore requires an examination of the factors that promote gender discrimination and inequality, of which the structural and institutional foundations and manifestations are historical, sociological, economic and religious.

Any inquiry into the feminisation of football also entails a review of the progress made and the improvement levers implemented in the short and long term. The question of the feminisation of football therefore also requires that we examine developments in the football world in recent decades but, first and foremost, that we consider its future, its trends and the reforms to be made to effect real and lasting change.

Studying the issues that connect questions of gender and football is an ambitious task and this report will clearly not meet this challenge on its own. This work must, on the contrary, be part of an even broader initiative, so that each of these issues is brought to the fore and receives the comprehensive and exhaustive treatment it deserves. In other words, this report in no way marks the end of the research on and debate around such a complex topic. On the contrary, it seeks to make a modest contribution to the work currently being done by universities, research organizations, and national and interna-

tional organizations, in particular NGOs. Similarly, although a significant effort has been made to gather testimony from a variety of stakeholders representing the specific cultural approaches of each region, this report acknowledges its European perspective.

For UNESCO, this report presents a view that helps inform a two-track strategy: I) the creation of the "Observatory for Women, Sport, Physical Education and Physical Activity", intended to implement Action 4 of the "Kazan Action Plan" recognised by the UN in 2018²; and 2) the co-publication, with UN Women, of a practical guide for sports organizations to combat violence against women and gender-based violence³.

UNESCO, IRIS and the UNFP therefore hope that this report will inform and advance an important debate. We are convinced that the perception of women in football and, more broadly, in sport can be changed only by increasing the number of initiatives — like this report — that highlight the diverse and complex issues raised by the game's feminisation. Accordingly, this report is just one of any number of mechanisms to mobilise stakeholders and partners for gender equality.

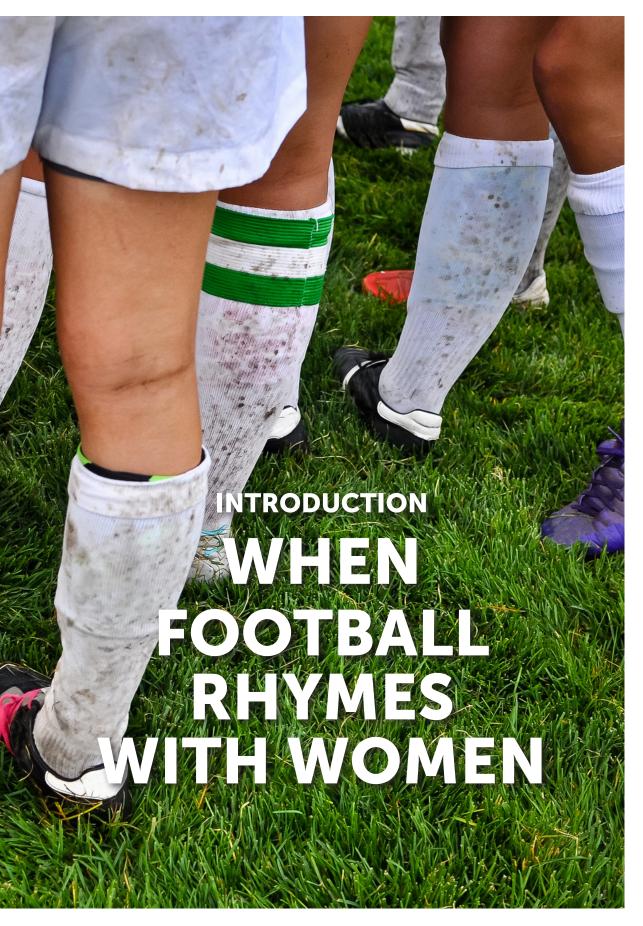
I Kazan Action Plan, https://en.unesco.org/mineps6/kazan-action-plan

² See A/RES/73/24 of 3 December 2018,

https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/RES/73/24

³ Women and girls in sport,





hat if, with very little fanfare, the year 2018 turned out to be a major milestone in the history of football? FIFA's publication of the very first "Women's Football Strategy"; the awarding of the first "France Football" Ballon d'Or in history to Norwegian forward Ada Hegerberg²; the record number of matches played by national teams³; society's lower tolerance for sexism; as well as condemnation of insufficient media coverage - all suggest that the football world has recognised the importance of greater openness to women both on and off the pitch. While football is an empire that has conquered every continent, it is now increasingly looking to the other half of humanity, which it has too often ignored. "Football's next internal frontier is the role of women in the sport"4.

l FIFA, Women's Football Strategy, 2018, <u>https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/z7w21ghir8jb9tguvbcq.pd</u>

² The Ballon d'Or has been awarded every year since 1956 to the best football player. There was no women's category until 2018.

³ See charts in Chapter I

⁴ Boniface, P. 2014. Un empire pacifique et joyeux. La Revue internationale et stratégique, No. 94, pp. 49-53.

Preparing this report in the run-up to the eighth FIFA Women's World Cup™ to be held in France in June-July 2019, at a moment that may mark a significant turning point in football's development, offers an opportunity to go beyond a merely quantitative analysis. This debate should seek to examine the role of women in this sport; to guestion the motivations of the football world; to increase openness to women; to analyse the persistence of prejudice and obstacles; and to consider all gender-related issues, i.e. the invisibilisation and exclusion of women, the glass ceiling, sexism and homophobia. This ultimately means considering the role of women in each society and how football can — or cannot — serve as leverage for emancipation and empowerment.

UNESCO, the UNFP and IRIS believe in the social power of football, in line with Sustainable Development Goal No. 5 on gender equality¹, and see this report as an opportunity to humbly propose a number of ideas and concrete actions — not just words — for developing football's enormous potential to serve society.

When there is more to the issue of the feminisation of football than sport alone

In many ways, sport is still often considered a game or a hobby, as though it were a separate world, distinct from issues of political or diplomatic power. Yet it is difficult to deny the important role sport has played since antiquity, whether through contests between local, regional and national teams, medal competitions or sports boycotts, given that it was so often used to exert pressure or, conversely, to leverage rapprochements among nations, influence and now soft power. Currently, "it is important to

The feminisation of football thus involves several types of stakeholders. Those that are directly concerned include football's governing bodies, which have seen more and more women and young girls join clubs and federations, take to the pitch and crowd the stadiums. They are also concerned with the role of women in football governance, at the local, national and international level, and their access to power. The media must, for their part, meet society's demand to cover female players. Clubs and federations can no longer sit on the sidelines amid this paradigm shift, which is taking place at the global level, at a time when FIFA is seeking to give women a more prominent role in football.

The goal is to seek greater social justice (equal treatment for women and men), but it is also strategic and financial since it means bringing in new fans and new players. These ambitions are perfectly complementary.

From a purely mathematical point of view, the pool of players and volunteers is no longer among men but among women. Women therefore make up a mass of talent that organizations can no longer do without. Promoting play from a very young age and encouraging and enabling women to become actively involved in football would therefore breathe new life into this sport and provide football's governing bodies

enter a new and even more democratic phase, in other words, to invest in sport to support strong, virtuous and progressive policy choices that benefit everyone". Promoting gender equality is just one example. It should be noted that sport has also been a tool for promoting education and that it has been enshrined since 1978 as a fundamental right by the International Charter of Physical Education, Physical Activity and Sport³.

I Website, "Sustainable Development Goals", https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/

² Naves, M-C. and Jappert, J. 2017. Le pouvoir du sport, Paris, FYP, 2017.
3 UNESCO. Nov. 1978, revised in Nov. 2015, International Charter of Physical Education, Physical Activity and Sport, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/physical-education-and-sport/sport-charter/

and their partners with new opportunities for development.

Non-sport organizations, mainly schools and higher education, that would like to make sport a lever for education for all, regardless of gender, will not be left behind, since, as Ingrid Beutler notes, "physical education bestows the experience (of) equality, freedom and a dignifying means for empowerment, particularly for girls and women". In Western countries, co-education in and through sport has increased substantially in educational institutions.

and international organizations, recognising the reality on the ground, have sought to embed these considerations in the long term and address them through diplomacy, and sometimes through the law. Thus, while the discussion around the impact and use of sport for development purposes was ini-

tially somewhat disjointed,

it has now become more

structured. In particular,

A number of regional

the United Nation's (UN) concept of "Sport for Development and Peace" (SDP) has gradually been developed.

In 1978, UNESCO adopted its International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, which enshrined sport and physical education as a fundamental right². It is this charter, which in November 2015 was revised and renamed the International Charter of Physical Education, Phys-

I Beutler, I., 2008. Sport serving development and peace: Achieving the goals of the United Nations through sport. *Sport in Society*, pp. 359-369. 2 UNESCO, op.cit.

ical Activity and Sport³, that confirms the importance of gender equality in sport. Two articles are of particular interest in this regard: Article 9.3 states that "physical education, physical activity and sport can serve as a powerful tool to prevent the universal phenomenon of gender-based violence by addressing its root causes, especially gender inequality, harmful social norms and gender stereotypes". Article 1.4 goes beyond affirming this important principle and states that "equal opportunity to participate and be involved at all supervision and decision-making levels in physical

education, physical activity and sport, whether for the purpose of recreation, health promotion or high performance, is the right of every girl and every woman that must be actively enforced"5. This commitment to placing sport at the centre of a strategy for societal change and the emancipation of women and young girls is one of the pillars of the Kazan Action Plan, adopted in 2017 by the Sixth International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical

Education and Sport (MINEPS VI)⁶. This plan notably reiterated the importance of gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls in and through sport. One of its five actions is, for example, to establish a sorely needed

FOOTBALL'S
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FRONTIER
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³ UNESCO. 2015. International Charter of Physical Education, Physical Activity and Sport.

http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/physical-education-and-sport/sport-charter/

⁴ Ibid., Article 9.3.

⁵ Ibid., Article 1.4.

⁶ MINEPS VI. 2017. Kazan Action Plan, Kazan, Russia. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000252725

Global Observatory for Women, Sport, Physical Education and Physical Activity.

This commitment is also reflected in a closer collaboration with the football authorities, mainly involving the establishment of a partnership between UNESCO, the UN World Food Programme and FIFA¹. A letter of intent seeks to strengthen cooperation among these three organizations. The "Football for Schools" programme aims to make football more accessible to boys and girls around the world, thereby contributing to their education and development. It also intends to grow through pilot projects in Latin America, Africa and Asia within the national federations.

In the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted in December 1979, the UN encourages, through Article 10, "States Parties [to take] all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women [...] the same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education"². On 25 September 2015, the UN also adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development³, of which Goal 5 is to "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls". In the Agenda, sport is specifically mentioned as "[being] also an important enabler of sustainable development [for its] growing contribution to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the

In 2000, the International organisation of the Francophonie (OIF) formed a working group within CONFEJES – "Conference of Youth and Sports Ministers" – to promote the participation of women and young girls in youth and sports activities (GTCF)⁵.

The European Union has also made significant progress in recent decades, mainly through its 2007 "White Paper on Sport"; legislation on egual treatment (Article 157 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union); gender mainstreaming in all of its policies (Articles 153 and 19); and the adoption of specific measures to empower women, such as the creation of the European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality. The European Parliament also adopted a resolution on 5 June 2003 stating that "the goal of equal opportunities is to overcome barriers between so-called "masculine" and "feminine" sports and that the aim is to encourage all sports to be open to both sexes and enable all girls and boys to engage in the physical activity of their choice". More recently, the European Union's Multiannual Financial Framework for 2014-2020 and the "Rights, Equality and Citizenship" programme - which aim to combat discrimination, promote gender equality and prevent violence against women - received a budget of EUR 15 million. In December 2015, the Commission published its "Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019", building on the strategy it launched for the 2010-2015 period,

contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives"⁴.

I "FIFA, UNESCO and the World Food Programme agree innovative partnership", Press release, 24 January 2019, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/news/fifa-unesco-and-the-world-food-programme-agree-innovative-partnership

² Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, December 1979, Article 10,

https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

³ Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Articles 83m, 107f, 183, 280d,

https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf

⁴ United Nations General Assembly, "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2030 Agenda) Resolution", 25 September 2015,

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E 5 Presentation of the GTCF, (only in French)

http://www.confejes.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Rapport-2015.pdf 6 European Parliament resolution on women and sport, 5 June 2013, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P5-TA-2003-0269+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN

and the Council has adopted the relevant action plan. Sport is referenced in this strategic engagement, in particular with regard to combating gender-based violence and stereotypes, but also with the aim of promoting equality in women's access to leadership positions (governance, coaching). Furthermore, calls for proposals on the issue of gender in sport have been launched every year since 2007.

it was designed as a lever for equality and personal development for both women and men, it puts pressure on decision-makers to make it a cross-cutting subject of public policies. Health, education, social cohesion, inclusion, workforce participation, and the fight against all forms of discrimination are just some of the agenda items whose objectives could become more ambitious thanks to sport.

Council The Europe has also been involved, since the early 2000s, in the examination of and progress on the subject, notably with the 9th Conference of European Ministers responsible for Sport in 2000, as well as the establishment of the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport (EPAS), implemented in 2010. The work done in the past² and currently underway shows how important this subject is to the Council of Europe demonstrates commitment to pursuing research in this field.

"FOOTBALL IS NOT A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH. IT'S MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT"

BILL SHANKLY,
FOOTBALLER AND
MANAGER
OF LIVERPOOL FC

Is football the right tool for women's empowerment?

The positive impact that sport can have on the empowerment of young girls and women has been demonstrated for several decades. Playing a sport, but also taking on leadership positions within sports bodies, is a powerful driver for the empowerment of women and young girls.

And what about football? Can it actually play a positive role in women's empowerment? How

can we prove this? Given the "strong and lasting link [established] between men, masculinity and sport", a study of women's participation in football is particularly overdue in that, in the collective imagination of some, football is a game with highly gendered connotations. Put more bluntly, football is ostensibly a sport for men where women theoretically have no place. This

We therefore have to agree with Bill Shankly (1913-1981), the legend-

ary footballer and manager of Liverpool FC, when he said that "football is not a matter of life and death. It's much more important than that". Sport, and the universal game of football in particular, can power a social project: as

I Conference of European Ministers responsible for Sport (Bratislava, 30-31 May 2000) - Secretary General's Report, https://rm.coe.int/native/09000016804e366e

² Talleu, C. 2011. Gender Equality in sports - Handbook on good practices, Council of Europe and Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport. https://edoc.coe.int/en/gender-equality/6957-gender-equality-in-sports.html

³ Joncheray, H. and Tlili, H. 2010. Joueuse de rugby de première division : une activité dangereuse ? *Staps*, No. 90, pp. 37-47.

statement is worth disputing. First, because in certain cultures and regions of the world, the gendered connotations of football are partially reversed: – "soccer" is considered a "women's" sport in the United States. This has not stopped wage discrimination against female players on

the national team and their staff, which has caused outrage in recent years. Second, because we are now, as noted above, at a turning point in its development, with an increase in women's interest in participating from a very young age and working in a range of functions, as well as in the entertainment value. Furthermore, the fact that certain political and religious groups would like to continue to ban or restrict women's participation or their presence in stadiums is evidence of the sport's importance and social influence. In an article on women's participation in football in Nigeria, South Africa and Senegal, Martha Saavedra thus considers that "the bans on women's football by some Islamic regions [are] a sign of the success of women's football"

officially allowed into the stadium for the first time since 1979. Football, therefore, appears in many ways to drive social change in support of freedom for young girls and women. Because it is a team sport, has simple rules and offers significant educational potential, football possesses

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GIRLS

qualities that should not be glorified but, rather, considered as appropriate levers, if they serve the common good, for changing attitudes and driving social progress. This positive aspect of football has been documented in recent years through social science research and feedback from the field.

The international organizations and many bodies national now generally adopted feminisation policies, which involve taking concrete steps that have measurable impacts and go beyond stock messaging and communications strategies. Football, therefore, has the opportunity to be one of the best tools for supporting, accelerating and highlighting gender equality and women's empowerment in many regions of

the world, from a very young age.

This report, therefore, seeks to align and confirm two parallel dynamics: football's potential to be an active tool for promoting the common good and lasting social development by targeting women in particular; and its inter-

In this area as in others, the power of football is very real. It was, in fact, because of the Iran-Spain match at the 2018 FIFA World Cup™ that Iranian women were, once again,

I Saavedra, M. 2003. Footbal feminine - development of the African game: Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa. Soccer & Society, pp. 225-253.

est in establishing policies that foster women's participation at every level of play and responsibility. This report only addresses voluntary approaches and not the normative or legal aspects of the feminisation of football.

Report methodology

This report challenges the expression "women's football". because it is essentialist, simplistic and often derogatory. It does so by focusing more extensively on the role of women in football and looking primarily at players, both amateur and professional, but also by studying female referees, coaches, staff and managers.

After the publication of the "Colour? What colour?"report1. UNE-SCO wished to continue to explore the world of sport and, more specifically, the world of football, this time through a gender lens. This common interest was shared by the UNFP, which, given the increasingly

important role of women in football and in particular on the pitch, wanted to be a part of the conversation and play a role both in advancing research in this field and more broadly in shifting the perception of a game played, supported, refereed, commentated and also staffed by women. IRIS, which has developed recognised expertise in sports geopolitics and governance, wished to take part in the multidisciplinary research on the feminisation of sport and to highlight its eco-

nomic as well as societal,

political and geopolitical challenges, which essential for a proper understanding of the subject.

This report was prepared between April 2018 and March 2019 and took a two-pronged approach — theoretical and practical — comdocumentary bining research with interviews with male and female actors in and witnesses to the challenges of the feminisation of football and, more broadly, of sport. Given the wide range of issues raised by the question of the feminisation of football. the initial work involved gathering key information from articles, books, reports and documentaries. To that end, the authors believed it was important to combine historical analyses with discussions about con-

temporary societal challenges without ignoring the economic approach to this fast-developing sector. Although the number of sources was far from equal, the authors always attempted to take an international approach and to account for national dynamics whenever data were available.

FOOTBALL HAS THE **OPPORTUNITY** TO BE ONE OF THE BEST TOOLS FOR SUPPORTING. ACCELERATING AND HIGHLIGHTING GFNDFR **EQUALITY** AND WOMEN'S **EMPOWERMENT** IN MANY REGIONS OF THE WORLD.

FROM A VFRY

YOUNG AGE.

https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000235721

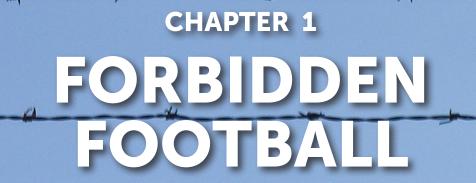
I UNESCO. 2015. Colour? What Colour? Report on the fight against discrimination. UNESCO Publishing.

To supplement and fine-tune the research evidence gathered, the authors identified experts working on these topics while seeking at all times to keep an international approach in mind and combining different perspectives to be able to obtain as clear a picture as possible of the situation of women in football at the global level. These interviews, which took place in person, by telephone, over Skype and sometimes through written exchanges, helped identify both shared and conflicting findings, as well as ideas and best practices. Beyond the responses provided, these interviews in particular showed not only the interest that the feminisation of football can generate but also the importance, and even the urgency, of the debate. FIFA would like to double the number of female players to 60 million

by 2026, as announced in 2016 in its "FIFA 2.0: the vision for the future" roadmap, at the same time as feminisation policies are being developed within the national federations, leading to increased adherence to practices. With encouragement and backing, the current phenomenon of the feminisation of football could, if it is documented, supported, monitored over the long term and measured, drive a broader movement towards women's emancipation. With a perspective that ranges from young female players and their local clubs to FIFA, and includes fans, the media and economic partners, the question of the feminisation of football is an important issue that is worth exploring more than ever before.

I FIFA roadmap. 2016. FIFA 2.0: the Vision for the Future. https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/drnd5smfl6dhhxgiyqmx.pdf_







aking football a factor in emancipation and equality may seem paradoxical at first. As Lois Bryson highlights, "sport is one of the most significant areas for forming and maintaining masculine and feminine identity, and this in turn underpins the reproduction of male dominance". Depending on the country and the context, sexism and men's omnipresence — if not omnipotence — in the governance and practice of sports is still widespread. As Jean Williams specifies, "the sporting achievements of women are routinely trivialized, ridiculed or simply ignored by a media fixated on male sport"2. Football, despite the substantial progress made in recent decades, is no exception to the rule. Wolfram Manzenreiter states in one of his articles that "the marginalisation of women is not unique to football of course, but a relic of historically acquired inequalities of the sexes in sport in general"3. However, sport also relies on the values of meritocracy and openness which, on paper, encourage everyone to participate, whether male or female.

I Bryson, L. 1997. Gender, Vamplew, W., O'Hara, J., Cashman, R. and Jobling, I. (eds), The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, p. 179.

² Williams, J. and Hess, R. 2015. Women, Football and History: International Perspectives. The International Journal of the History of Sport, pp. 2115-2212.

³ Manzenreiter, W. 2004. Her Place in the 'House of Football'. Globalisation, cultural sexism and women's football in East Asian societies. Football Goes East: Business, Culture and the People's Game in East Asia, London, Routledge, p. 25.

When women took up football

To understand why women have fallen behind in football, and the obstacles they may face, it is important to review their history as players. Football originated in England in the early 19th century and was initially played only by men. It was not until the early 1880s that the first female football players emerged in England. As Jean Williams highlights, while some forms of women's play existed within Japan's upper class and among Native American populations, "the British example is the most important". While the first match took place on 9 May 1881³, it was in 1894 that the British Ladies' Football Club, the first women's football association, was founded by Nelly Honeyball⁴. It was under her leadership that, in March 1895, what history remembers as the first "women's" football match⁵ was played in London between teams representing the North and the South of England⁶. It was not until the early 20th century that the first female players emerged in the rest of the European continent: 1910 in France, 1911 in Belgium⁷ and Russia⁸, and 1914 in Spain⁹. These cases were exceptional, however, and female play remained extremely rare before World War I.

The key role of World War I in developing the women's sport

A significant societal change occurred with World War I. In the face of the prolonged conflict and given the need to keep the factories open, women were called on to replace male workers. The British Ministry of Munitions created a Health and Welfare division to promote recreation and sport, and football in particular. Companies also developed this participation "in the context of a certain social paternalism [where] female workers in the war factories [were] encouraged by the factory superintendents to play this sport and organise charity matches. This was a way for women to show their patriotism"10. The number of women's teams increased across the entire United Kingdom, As Xavier Breuil clearly explains in his dissertation, "Activists saw this as an opportunity to prove themselves and make their claims. Feminists from the upper strata of British society thus hoped that men would remember this after the war and give them the right to vote as well as a larger role in the public debate". Given the interest aroused, the number of matches increased and the year 1917 was marked in particular by a game between two teams from the Preston factories before of a crowd of 10,000 people, which took in £600¹².

Once the war was over, women's presence on the pitch continued to grow. We can thus see evidence of a mixed-gender match in Norway in 1919¹³ and a women's team was created in 1921 in the Netherlands¹⁴, while in France, the Femina Sport players won the first French championship organised by the "French federation of women's sporting organizations" (FSFSF)¹⁵. This increase in

¹ Eisenberg, C. (dir.). 2004. 100 years of football: the FIFA centennial book, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p.17.

² Williams, J. 2003. The fastest growing sport? Women's football in England. Soccer & Society, pp. 112-127.

³ Team photos and press clippings, Langton, H. 1996. 1000 Years of Football: FIFA Museum Collection. Quintessence Publishing, cited in Prudhomme-Poncet, L. 2003. Histoire du football féminin au XX° siècle. coll. "Espaces et Temps du Sport", Paris, L'Harmattan, p. 24.

⁴ Breuil, X. 2007. Femmes, Culture et politique. Histoire du football féminin en Europe de la Grande Guerre jusqu'à nos jours. Doctoral dissertation in history, Université Paul Verlaine, Metz, p. 27.

⁵ Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶ Breuil, op. cit., p. 27.

⁷ Ruffin, R. 1989. *La Diablesse. La véritable histoire de Violette Morris, Paris,* Éditions Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, cited in Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 25.

⁸ Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 24-25.

⁹ Martínez Calatrava, V. 2011. Los primeros pasos del fútbol femenino en España. *Cuademos de Fútbol*, No. 20.

¹⁰ Breuil, op.cit., p. 10.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 396.

¹² Eisenberg (dir.), op. cit., p. 184.

¹³ Pfister, G., Fasting, K., Scraton S. and Vázquez, B. 1998. Women and Football – A Contradiction? The Beginnings of Women's Football in Four European Countries. The European Sports History Review, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

¹⁴ Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 25.

¹⁵ Dietschy, P. 2010. Histoire du football, Paris, Perrin, p. 604.

participation paved the way for the first international women's match played in 1920 between the British Dick, Kerr Ladies team from Preston

and a French team led by Alice Milliat¹. Outside of Europe, there is evidence of play in Canada² and in the United States, where football was included in the secondary school curriculum for young girls³. In Oceania, there is some information on women's matches in New Zealand⁴ and Australia as early as 1915⁵.

However, despite probeginnings mising several continents, and significant popular interest at the Christmas. 1920 match (the Dick. Kerr Ladies team played

before 53,000 spectators⁶, and before 30,000 in 19227), opposition to the women's game occasionally grew vicious in the 1920s. Women's

increased

participation

in the workforce and in

community life outside the home, therefore did not accelerate their social and political emancipation as much as they, and the feminist movements, had anticipated. Dissenting voices began to be heard. They gradually took hold, with some "decrying any social and cultural emancipation of women and recommending that they go back home"8, and others criticising women's participation in sport as a whole for causing too much mingling between social classes. In fact, "many male and female athletes from the bourgeoisie feared the popularisation of women's sport, since it could be synonymous with downward social mobility"9.

> This type of talk, heard with increasing frequency, ultimately led to action. In England, the Football Association (FA)10 considered on 6 December

1921 that, following complaints, "the Council feel impelled to express their strong opinion that the

of the International Women's Sports Federation, Portrait of Alice Milliat, women's sports activist, website of the national sports museum, http:// www.museedusport.fr/

IN THE CONTEXT OF A CERTAIN SOCIAL PATERNALISM [WHFRF] FFMALF in the war FACTORIES [WFRF] **FNCOURAGED** BY THE FACTORY SUPERINTENDENTS TO PLAY THIS SPORT AND ORGANISE CHARITY MATCHES. THIS WAS A WAY FOR WOMFN to show their PATRIOTISM

I Alice Milliat (1884-1957) was one of the greatest French athletes of the early 20th century. An advocate of sport "for and by" women, she founded the "French federation of women's sporting organizations" (FSFSF). She sought to promote women's sports and ensure their recognition both in France and abroad. She objected to keeping women from participating in sports competitions and was the driving force behind the four women's Olympics held in the inter-war period as well as the creation

² Hall, A., 2003. The Game of Choice: Girls' and Women's Soccer in Canada. Soccer & Society, pp. 30-46.

³ Markovits, A.S. and Hellerman, S.L., 2003. Women's soccer in the United States: Yet another American 'Exceptionalism', Soccer & Society, pp.

⁴ Cox, B. and Thompson S. 2003. From heydays to struggles: Women's soccer in New Zealand. Soccer & Society, pp. 205-224.

⁵ Williams and Hess, op. cit.

⁶ Hughson, J., Moore, K., Spaaij, R. and Maguire, J. 2016. Routledge Handbook of Football Studies, Routledge, p. 512.

⁸ Breuil, op. cit., p. 96

⁹ Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁰ Eisenberg (dir.), op. cit., p. 185-186.

game of football is quite unsuitable for females and ought not to be encouraged [...]; the Council requests the clubs belonging to the Association refuse the use of their grounds for such matches". The "Belgian Union of association football organizations" prohibited its affiliated clubs from renting out their stadiums for football matches played by women².

Why this abrupt step backwards? Several reasons can be given here. As A. Melling³ was able

OPPOSITION

WOMEN'S GAME

OCCASIONALLY

GREW VICIOUS IN

TO THE

THE 1920s

to demonstrate, women football players were generally tolerated during World War I, not only because society became aware of the important role they played in keeping industry going, but also because the proceeds from the matches went towards the war effort and to charity. These actions were highly valued, since they strengthened national patriotism at a time of war. However. this practice appears to have been considered merely temporary, and was allowed only because the men were away at

war. The end of the war therefore also marked the end of this period of tolerance.

Theories were also put forward that related to health. Gertrud Pfister thus revisits the numerous arguments made to dissuade women from engaging in physical activity which is "not suitable for their condition", by routinely referring to their health, viewed as fragile, but which could, in particular, interfere with their reproductive capabilities, a key issue in this post-war period⁴. She thus cites the German gynaecologist Hugo Sellheim, who did not shy away from warning against "too frequent exercises, as practiced by males [which] will masculinize women's bodies [...]. The female abdominal organs wither and the artificially created virago is complete"5. Conflicting messages were heard and would persist for a long time. These included blaming women for a certain fragility while fearing their "masculinisation" through

> sport. These "arguments", which misuse biology to justify excluding women from sport, are common to a number of sports and even today fuel certain collective representations, which have real consequences.

Decency and morality arguments were also used. Thus, Henri Desgranges, the famous French journalist and founder of the Tour de France, did not hesitate in 1925 to express his formal opposition to women's play: "If young girls want to play sports among themselves,

on a completely enclosed field that is inaccessible to the public, that's fine. But if they want to make a spectacle of themselves, on certain holidays, and invite the public, if they go so far as to run after a ball on a field that is not surrounded by thick walls, that is intolerable"6. The traditional challenge to women's legitimate place in the public

I Ibid., p. 186.

² Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 138.

³ Melling, A. 1999. Ladies' Football: Gender and the Socialisation of Women Football Players in Lancashire 1926-1960, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Central Lancashire.

⁴ Pfister, G. 2006. Physical activities, health and the construction of gender differences in Germany. Clio. History, women and society.

⁵ Sellheim, H. 1931. Auswertung der Gymnastik der Frau für die ärztliche Praxis, Medizinische Klinik, No. 27, p. 1439-1442. See also Gomez, C. 2019. Sport: un empire géopolitique. Diplômées, n° 266-267, pp. 129-142.

⁶ Desgranges H. 1925. L'Auto-vélo : automobilisme, cyclisme, athlétisme, yachting, aérostation, escrime, hippisme.

space, outside the domestic sphere, is in play here — the vision of the "public woman", otherwise known as a prostitute, prevails.

In other words, the post-war period was characterised by two conflicting trends: on the one hand, the increased presence of women on the field in many countries and, on the other, the implementation of restrictions, if not outright prohibitions. In light of these increasingly frequent bans, and the inability to play without being criticised and slandered, women quickly disappeared from the fields of Western Europe on the eve of World War II¹. It is also worth noting the prohibition by the Vichy government in 1941 on the pretext of "too great a risk of the masculinisation of women, with dire physical effects'².

Post-war resurgence and attempts at organization

After 1945, a new era began that offered women new and better cultural, social and athletic opportunities. It was really in the 1950s and 1960s that women's role in football was con-

firmed, driven by a new generation of women who called for real change to ensure equal

THE POST-WAR PFRIOD WAS CHARACTERISED BY TWO CONFLICTING TRENDS: ON THE ONE HAND. THE INCREASED PRESENCE OF WOMEN ON THE FIELD IN MANY COUNTRIES AND. ON THE OTHER, THE **IMPLEMENTATION** OF RESTRICTIONS. IF NOT OUTRIGHT PROHIBITIONS.

opportunity in various fields³, The European and North American continents, which were the first to give women the right to vote, where gender equality is established in constitutions (except in the United States) and where the feminist movement was particularly active, are those where the desire to play football first re-emerged⁴, before spreading to all continents. Bans on playing were gradually lifted which allowed participation to develop internationally: in 1951 in Costa Rica, where the federation took advantage of the Pan American games held in Buenos Aires to make the case for "women's football"5,;in Asia, with the creation of the Asian Ladies Football Confederation (ALFC) in 19686; in Iran, with the creation of Esteghlal FC in 1970; and in Senegal, with the

Gazelles team. Competitions were developed in subsequent years, under pressure from players and club presidents determined to assert their rights, within or outside FIFA. Continental competitions were gradually developed, taking prec-

I Eisenberg (dir.), op. cit., p. 186.

² Boniface, P. 2018. L'Empire Foot, Paris, Armand Colin.

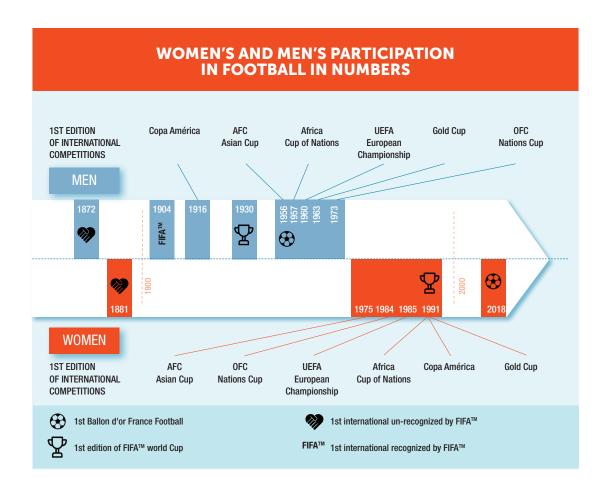
³ Ibid

⁴ Dietschy, op. cit., p. 605.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 606.

edence over equivalent men's competitions. In the 1970s, these events became symbols of the globalisation of the women's game. The 1990s were also very important: the first FIFA Women's World Cup™ was held in 1991 and for the first time women were allowed to participate in the Olympics starting with the 1996 games in Atlanta.





CHAPTER 2

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IS WON ON THE PITCH

ince the first FIFA Women's World Cup™ was held in 1991, media coverage of women's play has been cyclical. Yet major changes take place on a regular basis and the number of women taking to the pitch and becoming involved in the governance bodies has increased exponentially. As such, 2018 was a particularly successful year for football: participation was more globalised and more extensive than ever, and the coverage was unprecedented. The 8th FIFA Women's World Cup™, a major 2019 event that will be held in France, promises to be an excellent opportunity to take the feminisation of the football world to another level.

However, while feminisation figures have risen for several years, we still need to take a critical look at this phenomenon, which continues to face insufficient resources, deep-rooted prejudice and the invisibilisation of women. These challenges are sometimes hard to overcome. It is also important to understand that the question of women's role in football goes well beyond the sport spectrum alone and does not end with the mere analysis of figures and statistics. To grasp what is at issue in the feminisation of football, we need to consider the fight for women's presence in the most popular sport, but also in society more generally.

Are women finally storming the field?

The total number of players worldwide was estimated at 30,145,700 in 2014, compared with several tens of thousands at the end of World War I. However, growth in women's participation has not been uniform given the divergent national — or even local — situations based on cultural, social or political environments. In some countries, football is a mixed-gender sport, or even one that is played mostly by women. In others, it has traditionally been a men's sport and even today the role of women is not widely recognised or accepted. However, by implementing feminisation plans and working to involve more women in football, the national and international governance bodies are demonstrating their commitment to breaking through the boundaries reached thus far and making women a target audience.

While FIFA would like to reach 60 million female players by 2026, accurately estimating the number of women participating in football is a tall order. When information is available, it is both heterogeneous and recent, making it virtually impossible to contextualise. Moreover, this deficiency leads to a regrettable dearth of discussion on the subject. How, therefore, should we consider development over the medium and long term if we cannot see the full picture?

By combining the data from the report published by FIFA in 2014, relying on figures from the "Torneos femeninos" report² and manually gathering data from dedicated pages on the FIFA website³ listing the official matches played

by women's national teams between 1991 and 2018, a number of conclusions can be drawn⁴.

Women's participation increased overall between 1991 and 2018

In the space of a few decades, women's participation in football has gone from secret and sometimes barely tolerated to an official FIFA development priority, as demonstrated by the global strategy published in October 2018⁵.

It is helpful to compare the matches played by national teams between 1991 and 2018. The number of federations with a women's national team that played at least one match between 1991 and 2018 has more than tripled, increasing from 50 to a record-high 159. Furthermore, never have so many international matches (615) been played.

Another area of improvement is that, between 1991 and 2018, only 16 FIFA-affiliated national federations never organised a single match, i.e., approximately 7.5% of federations⁶.

A country analysis is also useful, since it shows the efforts made in the last 27 years. South Africa tops the list and has the largest differential: starting from the context of apartheid and with zero official matches recognised, the country played 19 matches in 2018 and even reached 22 matches in 2012. In contrast, eight national teams played fewer matches in 2018 than in 1991. While one might be tempted to think that these are countries in crisis or affected by conflict, it is worth noting that, on the contrary, some are major football nations (Germany, Norway, Denmark, United States). This may be because par-

^{1.} FIFA. 2014. Women's football survey.

https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/fifa-women-s-football-survey-2522649.pdf?cloudid=emtgxvp0ibnebltlvi3b

^{2.} FIFA. 2011. Torneos femeninos.

https://resources.fifa.com/mm/document/footballdevelopment/women/01/99/95/82/02wfcompetition_iul_final.pdf

^{3.} It should be noted, however, that records for four countries were either inaccessible or incomplete.

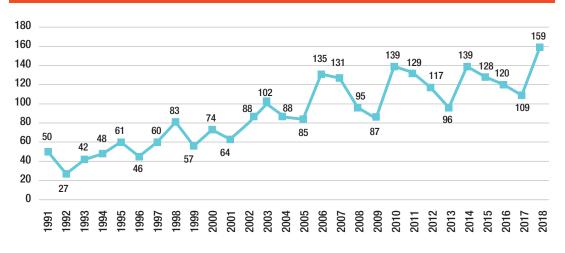
^{4.} The last update was performed on 18 December 2018; it was based on data published by FIFA and took into account matches scheduled for the end of the year.

^{5.} FIFA. 2018. Women's football survey.

https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/z7w21ghir8jb9tguvbcq.pdf

^{6.} According to FIFA's website, the 16 federations that have never organised official matches with their women's teams are the federations of Brunei, Cape Verde, Chad, Gibraltar, Liechtenstein, Mauritania, Montserrat, Oman, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, the Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Turkmenistan, Yemen.

NUMBER OF NATIONAL TEAMS THAT HAVE PLAYED AT LEAST ONE INTERNATIONAL MATCH



	1991	2003	2010	2018	Change (1991/2018)
Number of federations that have a women's national team that played	50	102	139	159	218%
% of federations that have a women's national team that played	29.4	50	66.8	75.3	
Total number of matches played by women's national teams	166	368	514	615	270%
Average matches played each year by each existing women's national team	3.32	3.61	3.7	3.87	16%

Source: FIFA website

ticipation was already high in those countries in 1991 and they could not maintain that pace, at least not in 2018, the year before a FIFA Women's World CupTM.

Growth in women's participation remains geographically localised

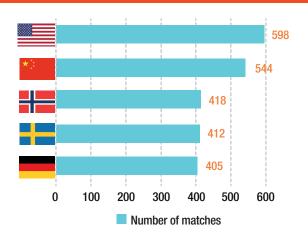
While visible progress has been made at the international level, the lack of uniformity in the increase merits discussion. For example, in 2000, while average matches played by the 74 teams that participated that year were 3.35 matches

per year on average, the US team, which was at the top of this global "ranking", played 41 matches.

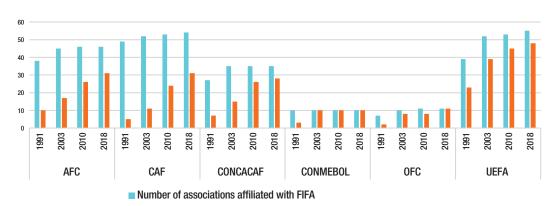
Furthermore, if we count only the matches of the United States, the People's Republic of China, Norway, Sweden and Germany, we arrive at 13% of the total number of matches played during the

I. There are several reasons for this record figure: first, this international activity related to the women's Gold Cup and the women's tournament at the Sydney Olympics, as well as various practice matches. Second, the United States was just about to launch its first domestic league, the Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA).

WOMEN'S NATIONAL FOOTBALL TEAMS THAT HAVE PLAYED THE MOST INTERNATIONAL MATCHES SINCE 1991 (INCLUDING WORLD CUPS)



COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS AFFILIATED WITH FIFA AND THOSE WHOSE WOMEN'S NATIONAL TEAM PLAYED (1991-2018)



Number of associations whose woman's national team played

1991-2018 period, with this figure even reaching 23% when the calculation is expanded to the 10 teams¹ that played the most, or nearly a quarter of all the matches reported on FIFA's website.

It is also worth looking at the issue at the confederation level. In 2018, all of the women's national teams of the respective federations of the South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) and the Oceania Football Confederation (OFC) participated in at least one

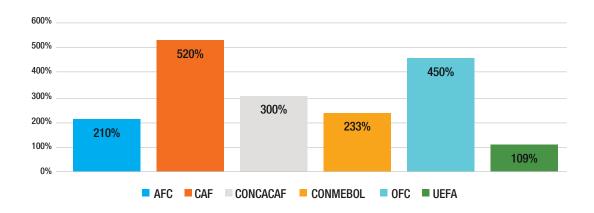
I. This means adding Canada, Denmark, France, Japan and the Netherlands to the five teams already listed.

match; CONMEBOL achieved this figure as early as 2003!

While these gross data are important, we also need to consider the percentage increase

institutionalised as bans were lifted and, in the end, has become accepted worldwide. Thus, beginning in the 1960s, independent clubs were formed, some multi-sports clubs created a women's section, and regular matches and real cham-

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS WHOSE WOMEN'S NATIONAL TEAM PLAYED BETWEEN 1991 ET 2018



within these confederations. The CAF certainly has the lowest level of women's national teams that played in 2018, but it differentiates itself by having the sharpest increase in terms of number of teams, with a 520% rise in 27 years, followed by the OFC (450%) and the CONCACAF (300%).

Given these figures, the African and Asian confederations have the most room for improvement in the future.

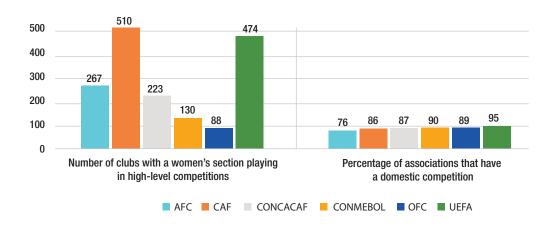
Change in club participation and the proliferation of competitions as a lever for development

Originally an exceptional phenomenon, women's participation in football gradually became

pionships were organised. Although awareness has been growing for several years, thanks to the publication of various reports on increased participation in clubs, accessible data are, again, very incomplete, making it difficult to put them into perspective or conduct a comparative analysis. This is, however, an important development priority for federations since, as the 2014 FIFA report showed, there is a real correlation between the existence of a domestic league and the national team's ranking. At the national level, the French team Olympique Lyonnais is an interesting example in many ways. This club was able to build on the growth in women's participation starting in 2004 and its women's team has achieved national and European stature, winning the Champions League five times. Because the club's president implemented a medium-term development plan, dedicated

^{1.} This statistic requires some context, as Chile's team, for example, did not play any matches between 2015 and 2017.

COMPARISON BY CONFEDERATION OF THE NUMBER OF CLUBS WITH A WOMEN'S SECTION PLAYING IN HIGH-LEVEL COMPETITIONS AND PERCENTAGE OF ASSOCIATIONS THAT HAVE A DOMESTIC COMPETITION



the necessary time and human and financial resources and, in particular, never wavered in his confidence in the team, he was able to make the women's section a leading actor on the international stage.

Several points in the 2014 report and the FIFA Global Club Football 2018 Report¹ are also of particular interest. In the space of just three years, the number of countries that organised a women's championship increased from 138 to 172, i.e., a 24% rise. An analysis by confederations also provides a better understanding of the trends at play.

Comparing the number of clubs per confederation with the percentage of national associations that organise a top-tier competition is fairly instructive and helps identify the Asian and African regions as having real opportunities for growth.

FIFA. 2018. Global Club Football 2018 Report,
 https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/fifa-global-club-football-report-2018-web.pdf?cloudid=plstmtbjzbps7c2vkfir

However, care should be taken when interpreting these quantitative data. There have been numerous attempts to develop championships within the national associations that ultimately ended in failure. The lack of preparation, political backing and support for participants and volunteers has made it difficult, if not impossible, to implement these initiatives in the long term. Developing participation within clubs that play in a championship is the type of work that requires increased cooperation between football's governing bodies and the clubs, as well as political institutions. The initiative also needs to be covered by the media to attract new players to the pitch and provide the youngest girls, in particular, with role models they can identify with — this stands in sharp contrast to the experience of young boys, who have an easier time finding an example to follow given the star players on the men's side.

The proliferation of local and regional competitions may also be viewed as a driver of growth in female staff. While local and regional competi-

tions were held sporadically throughout the 20th century, the early 1970s marked a turning point in women's play, with the number of competitions increasing exponentially. A true watershed moment came in 1991 with the organization of several official women's continental competitions (African Nations Championship, Gold Cup² and Copa América³), as well as the first FIFA Women's World Cup™ held in China. The inclusion of women's football in the Olympics starting with the Atlanta games in 1996 was another milestone in its recognition at the international level.

Today, holding youth, school and non-school championships (Youth Olympic Games, the Gymnasiades, etc.), at the national continental and international level, is also a powerful driver of development and helps encourage young girls to participate on a regular basis. The introduction of the FIFA U-20 Women's World Cup in 2002 and the FIFA U-17 Women's World Cup in 2008 was therefore a very positive sign. National teams exist either because a national competition or top-tier championship exists, or because competitions were introduced for the youngest girls, in order to support and encourage their participation and performance. As some practitioners have noted, these competitions have a fundamental impact on the development of senior football, as they enable young girls to reach the senior national team with the experience needed to play at a high level. Furthermore, these youth championships also help even out the sometimes large gap between the weekly matches that lead up to the national championships and the demands of top-level play.

Thus, debates need to be held at both the national and continental level to draw attention to the specific lever of school sports. As such, the school federations are setting a strong example

for the development of women's and mixed-gender participation in sports in Europe.

Levelling the playing field for referees

The role of women referees is often left out of the analyses but is nonetheless worth considering. As is the case with female footballers, the number of "women in black" is increasing. Although it is difficult to chart the ongoing change in the figures, this increase may be due to a number of factors:

- legislative developments, for example in England where, in 1975, the "Sex Discrimination Act" made it easier for women to train to become referees⁴:
- the proliferation of official competitions, prompting federations to grow their referee corps. For example, there were no high-level women referees at the inaugural Women's EURO in 1984, but a number of women officiated on the pitch at the national level. Driven by the Scandinavian and North American countries, referee training intensified as the importance of developing this corps came to be understood. In 1989, FIFA organised a training course for women referees with the Norwegian Federation. In 1991, six women officiated at the FIFA Women's World Cup™. Eight years later, as a result of a decision by FIFA, all women's matches were officiated by women⁵.

This trend is far from uniform, however. One such example is the case of Florencia Romano in Argentina, who began a hunger strike in 1996 to demand admission to the Argentine Federation as a professional referee after receiving her qualifications. She paved the way for other women by obtaining her status and refereeing Primera D

I. See Appendix I.

^{2.} Competition organised by CONCACAF.

^{3.} Competition organised by CONMEBOL.

^{4.} Doble, A. 2015. The secret history of women's football, BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/33064421/the-secret-history-of-womens-football

^{5.} Ibid., p. 192.

Confederation		Number of women referees	Average women referees per association	% of women referees	
AFC		16,264	478	6%	
CAF		1,331	30	6%	
CONCACAF	United States – Canada	48,411	24,206	28%	
	Other associations	348	13	6%	
CONMEBOL		370	37	11%	
OFC		286	29	16%	
UEFA		9,448	193	4%	

Source: 2014 FIFA report

(the lowest Argentine division) matches starting in 1998.

From the standpoint of the change in the number of women referees, and like the figures on the number of players, data on growth in the number of women referees remain incomplete and make it impossible to conduct an analysis over the long term.

However, several conclusions can be drawn from the table above. With the exception of the United States and Canada, where the figures are encouraging, referee representation within the different confederations remains extremely low. Developing ways to identify and train women referees appears to be a top issue for all confederations.

This question seems to have been prioritised since 2014. For UEFA, for example, the number of women referees increased by 70% between 2013 and 2017, rising from 7,505 to 12,785.

Beyond the importance of referees to the game of football itself, the promotion of women referees is particularly appropriate at a time when the emancipation and empowerment of women in and through football is at stake. Implementing programmes to identify, train and support women referees is therefore a key issue for the national federations and FIFA, particularly as only 103 federations² have specific programmes to develop and recruit women referees³.

The vital development of coaches

Here as well, the 2014 FIFA report proved particularly valuable for obtaining quantitative data on the number of female football coaches. In 2014, factoring in non-responses, 83,262 women coaches were counted. An analysis by confederation once again shows the superiority of American and Canadian women, as they represent nearly one-third of the total. There is therefore still tremendous room for improvement in this area. It is difficult, however, to make projections over time and to see any upward or downward trend in these figures.

These figures are particularly significant as they

^{1.} UEFA. 2017. Women's football across the national associations 2016/2017.

https://www.uefa.com/MultimediaFiles/Download/OfficialDocument/uefaorg/Women'sfootball/02/43/13/56/2431356_DOWNLOAD.pdf

^{2.} More specifically, 57% of the 190 federations that responded to the survey

^{3.} FIFA Activity report 2017, 2017, p. 14.

are correlated with the performance of women's teams. As highlighted in the report, developing training programmes for women coaches could be an effective way to promote women's football. Media coverage of coaches such as Salma Al-Majidi in Sudan, Chan Yuen Ting in China and Hong Kong, Corinne Diacre in France and Tina Theune in Germany also has a key role to play in constructing role models for

young girls and women who would like to participate in football.

As with women players and referees, encouraging women to become coaches will be an extremely important issue for the next few years. The national federations, with their training courses, and FIFA, with the mentoring programme it launched in October 2018, understand what is at stake. While it is still far too early to judge the effectiveness and sustainability of these measures, which focus on combating self-censorship, mentoring, coaching, raising

awareness of gender stereotypes and recognising women's skills, each national federation must acknowledge the necessity of thinking about developing coaches through the prism of both awareness-raising and training.

This role on the pitch must be supported and encouraged. Tools and best practices exist, developed in particular through European projects, like the SCORE (Strengthening Coaching with the Objective to Raise Equality) 2015-2016

project supported by Erasmus+ Sport, which identifies European best practices for mentoring and disseminates a toolkit to facilitate women's access to coaching positions. Wider dissemination would be useful.

Coaches, who have a lower media profile than players, deserve our full attention, and the development of specific analyses would be welcome.

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The persistence of barriers or the impediments to women's full participation on the pitch

Given the exponential growth in men's football, why is the number of women playing this sport still so low, despite the gathering momentum? The sport follows a logic that is partially its own and partially common to other social spheres. Thus, generally speaking, men and women "do not participate in society in the same way, whether one is talking

about politics, work, community associations or personal relationships: women and men are not at parity in the representative bodies, do not work in the same sectors and have very uneven access to senior positions. The differences in their trajectories cannot be due solely to individual preferences that determine choice of career, profession and work/life balance. They are also evidence of a historically constructed divide between the private sphere (on the women's side) and the public sphere (on the men's side),

Confederation		Number of women coaches	Average women coaches per association	% of women coaches	
AFC		17,264	523	8%	
CAF		1,669	38	6%	
CONCACAF	United States – Canada	29,423	14,712	21%	
	Other associations	623	23	6%	
CONMEBOL		119	17	3%	
OFC		357	40	17%	
UEFA		33,807	735	4%	

Source: 2014 FIFA report

and of an implicitly hierarchical treatment of women and men based on gender differences". These considerations also apply to sport and in particular to the football world.

Like other sports, football, a site for the social construction of masculinity from a very young age², reflects the perpetuation of a standardised ideal of femininity that is constantly reinforced by the patriarchy in its various traditional or religious forms³. As Gertrud Pfister notes, it has long been widely acknowledged and firmly rooted in mentalities that certain sports and activities were suitable for women while others were "unsuitable". These social constructions, which are based on a binary view of men and women as being destined for different (but complementary) social roles, were supported and echoed by

any number of scientists and doctors who were happy to state, for example, that "football as a game is essentially a demonstration of masculinity as we understand it from our traditional view of things and as produced in part by our physical constitution. No one has ever been successful in getting women to play football".

Indeed, the impacts of traditions, customs and prejudices on participation continue to be felt. They act as institutional and structural barriers that are particularly difficult to deconstruct since they may be unconscious. A number of social and human science studies have shown that sport, and football in particular, has long been a major site for the construction of virility in Western countries. This rationale has long been central to federal and public (sports, urban) policies. This history and this culture have informed representations of the duality between "girls' sports" and "boys' sports", but also of gender-based ways to participate, with competition still widely seen as being masculine "by nature", for example. Sport is the leisure activity where gender stereotypes are most frequently found because it involves physical identity. The develop-

^{1.} Naves, M-C. and Wisnia-Weill, V. (dir.). 2014. Lutter contre les stéréotypes filles-garçons. Un enjeu d'égalité et de mixité dès l'enfance. Rapport pour la ministre des Droits des femmes, Commissariat général à la stratégie et à la prospective. https://www.strategie.gouv.fr/sites/strategie.gouv.fr/files/archives/CGSP_Stereotypes_filles_garcons_web.pdf

^{2.} Damont, N. Socio-ethnographie de l'apprentissage du métier de footballeur. Observations et suivi de cohortes du passage au centre de formation, Thesis in sociology, EHESS, in progress.

^{3.} Tilili, F. 2002. Statut féminin, modèle corporel et pratique sportive en Tunisie. Staps, vol. no 57, pp. 53-68.

^{4.} Pfister, G. 2010. Women in Sport – gender relations and future perspectives I. Sport in Society, March pp. 234-248.

ment of dispositions, of a "bodily hexis", consistent with the child's gender, in the eyes of family, friends and school, plays a role in constructing a gendered bodily capital, based on the argument that preferences and abilities are allegedly innate.

age. In addition to performance and the quest for medals, it is also an issue of democracy, since it involves giving every girl and boy the freedom to choose his or her sport and play it under the best possible conditions.

Many young girls and women are still prevented or discouraged from participating and getting involved for the following reasons: the idea that football "is not a girl's sport", sometimes promoted in the mainstream media: continued resistance in certain families that see a girl who plays football as a "gender transgression"2; the poor welcome they are still given by clubs, which deny them admission (justified by an arbitrarily determined minimum number of girls); the failure to provide dedicated locker rooms; the lack of time slots, transportation, equipment and staff; and safety concerns. That is why developing gender balance is a lever that should be pulled from a very young age.

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Outside of the stadiums, facilities in urban settings, including football pitches, are mainly used by boys due to self-segregation (sticking with one's peers). This socio-athletic model monopoly contributes to institutionalise the masculinisation of football. As Carine Guérandel notes in France's case, "historically, policies of "integration through sports" were pursued for boys from deprived neighbourhoods. In the early 1980s, and in the wake of urban riots, sport was seen to play a peace-making, socialising and educational role, under two assumptions: the indisputably positive values of sport; and the transfer of learning. The implicit focus on boys resulted in the unintended exclusion of

girls"³. It is therefore important to think about where sports are played (examination of practices, improved access to facilities) and assess the initiatives that encourage participation; as long as they lead to a male view of play, the resulting behaviour will be one of avoidance or of adapta-

To develop of pool of female champions in as many sports as possible, girls need to have the same resources as boys from a very young

^{1.} Court, M. 2010. Corps de filles, corps de garçons : une construction sociale, Paris, La Dispute.

^{2.} Naves, M-C. and Octobre, S. 2014. Inégalités et différences filles-garçons dans les pratiques sportives et culturelles des enfants et des adolescents, in Naves and Wisnia-Weill (dir.), op. cit., p. 139-169.

^{3.} Proceedings of the "Women and sport: When will equality become a reality?" conference, Sport and Citizenship and Fondation Chanel, Université Paris Diderot, 18 December 2017.

tion to this male practice, preventing other practices, including female ones, from emerging.

A new market?

The perception also remains that neither men nor women will watch women's football live or

on TV. This assumption can easily be challenged with figures. Some matches do sell out. broadcasters are starting to develop attractive loss-leaders for broadcasts of national championships, and major international athletic events such as the FIFA Women's World Cups™ beat viewership records every year. For example, 86 million people followed the last competition on online or mobile platforms² and 764 million watched at least one minute of a competition match. FIFA's website saw a 178% increase in daily visitors to the 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup™ pages compared with the 2011 event. In France, the W9 channel

attracted a record audience for digital terrestrial television for the 2011-2015 period, with 4.1 million viewers for this competition in 2015. Lastly, FIFA's YouTube channel received 28 million views in June 2015, compared with 19 million in June 2014 during the 2014 FIFA World Cup Brazil™.

More generally, the official account of the Women's World Cups had more than 679,000 followers on Twitter and 982,000 on Facebook. It is, therefore, difficult to continue to defend the idea that no one is interested in the women's game.

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Openly sexist attitudes persist, as illustrated by the remarks made by the president of Steaua Bucarest, who helieves that women's presence on the football pitch aligns to "Satan's ideas", and by the sexist comments after Ada Hegerberg's win: on 3 December 2018, as she was accepting the first Ballon d'Or awarded to a female footballer, the French DI Martin Solveig, who hosted the event, asked her if she knew how to twerk (twerking is a highly sensual or even sexual popular dance). The difference is that. in this day and age, this type of sexism is no longer acceptable. But it can still have an impact, even if it is immediately condemned.

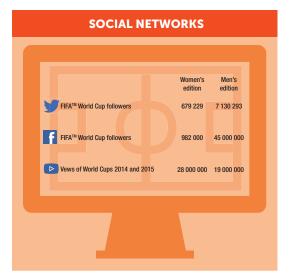
Women are marginalised or discouraged from playing or getting involved in sports governing bodies because of a wide range of violence: verbal, symbolic, physical and/or sexual. Jayne Caudwell, for example, believes that women on the pitch have faced "harassment, discrimination and abuse" Sexual violence, a subject that has long been taboo and difficult to broach in

I. Ibid.

^{2.} FIFA. 2015. Record-breaking FIFA Women's World Cup tops 750 million TV viewers

https://www.fifa.com/womensworldcup/news/record-breaking-fifa-women-s-world-cup-tops-750-million-tv-viewers-2745963.

Caudwell, J. 2011. Gender, feminism and football studies. Soccer & Society, pp. 330-344.



sport, owing to the importance of hierarchies and what is doubtless a very specific relationship with the body compared with other areas of society, is increasingly being reported in sport. While books reporting situations of sexism have proliferated in recent years, the mobilisation of feminists, in particular in the younger generations and on the social networks, as well as the recent #MeToo moment, is giving many women a voice and allowing these voices to be heard more frequently in the media and receive greater social acknowledgement. This context is important, but we are probably only in the very early stages of uncovering a phenomenon whose scope is unknown. Events at the end of 2018 confirmed this observation, with the chilling allegations of threats, assaults and rape made by members of Afghanistan's women's national team.

More and more researchers are studying the representations of women's role in football. These concern every culture, and the comparative aspect is interesting and well worth exploring. As we will see below, understanding the motivations and manifestations of these representations and their impacts on discourse and practices is crucial to effectively combating them.

A gender transgression, because it calls the dominant vision into question, often has a social cost for the community as well as for the women concerned, who face obstacles and hostility. Suspicion of homosexuality relates to the "suspicion of going against one's gender", in other words to a social role viewed as immutable, and often fuels violence². In South Africa, for example, "research indicates that women playing football are commonly met with what is 'negative' stereotypes, which include 'masculinising' women and or putting women 'at risk' of being/becoming lesbians''3. Female footballers are seen as "anomalies" there4. In other words, in many countries, the femininity of women who are interested in or part of the football world is almost always challenged, their sexual orientation questioned, and ultimately their place on the pitch disputed, as this is a place still viewed by some as "a bastion into which women should not be allowed"5.

As Thierry Terret rightly notes, numerous historical and sociological studies show that "sport is a masculine arena that not only excludes women but also makes male dominance the natural relationship. The points of reference tend to be the games that have traditionally had the most mas-

I. Examples include Barbusse, B. 2016. Du sexisme dans le sport. Paris, Anamosa, and on the academic side: Guérandel, C. 2016. Le sport fait mâle. La fabrique des filles et des garçons dans les cités. Presses universitaires de Grenoble; Bohuon, A. 2012. Le test de féminité dans les compétitions sportives. Une histoire classée X. Paris, éditions iXe, p. 192.

^{2.} It should be noted that fear of female homosexuality is not as strong as fear of male homosexuality, which is less widely accepted in most regions of the world, and that gender transgression is generally considered more serious in boys than in girls, in particular in leisure activities. In collective representations, male activities have more value than female activities, as demonstrated, for example, by the lack of a masculine equivalent for "tomboy".

^{3.} Engh, M.H. and Potgieter, C. 2015. Social cohesion, sexuality, homophobia and women's sport in South Africa.

https://www.academia.edu/24014964/Social_cohesion_sexuality_homophobia_and_womens_sport_in_South_Africa

Ogunniyi, C. 2014. Perceptions of the African Women's Championships: female footballers as anomalies. Sport in Society, pp. 537-549.

Knijnik, J. 2015. Femininities and Masculinities in Brazilian Women's Football: Resistance and Compliance. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, pp. 54-70.

culine connotations (baseball, boxing, American football, rugby, etc.), schools and the media. They thus tend to value the 'negative' aspects of masculinity such as pain, injury, misogyny, homophobia and violence against women''. Researchers' work

in this area is critical to understanding gender stereotypes are shaped and solidified, so that they can then be deconstructed. This work is crucial for sports officials and politicians in that it can serve as a decision-making tool for awareness-raising, training and sanctions. The grassroots work done by associations that fight sexism and homophobia is also critical and must be encouraged and recognised, since practical knowledge drives the collective debate and action.

denounced the treatment they have suffered. As described in the FIFPro report on working conditions in women's football published in December 2017², given the lack of recognition from their club or national federation and in order to

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protest their precarious status, several US3, Argentine, Australian, Brazilian and Nigerian teams demanded sometimes by refusing to play matches proper training conditions and compensation or salaries commensurate with their commitment, similar to what men receive. In March 2019, the US women's team therefore did not hesitate to file a lawsuit against its federation for "institutionalized gender discrimination". These claims, which can be found worldwide, show that there is still a long

way to go before women are considered highlevel athletes just like their male counterparts.

In conjunction with this question of professionalisation and even as the number of semi-professional and professional players has grown, assistance for female players has become a key issue because they need to be supported, guided and even protected to the same extent as their male counterparts. As such, FIFPro's strong focus represents a positive trend since this report is intended to "pave the way for decent

The challenges of player professionalisation

Barriers are not limited to occasional play but are also seen at the highest levels. Some former players have highlighted the many difficulties they faced to survive in that role, without financial support, without training camps and without appropriate equipment. In other words, everything was —and sometimes still is — a negotiation. While a great deal of resistance remains silent, the proliferation of strikes by local and national teams, as well as the reporting of instances of discrimination, serve to highlight a general unease. Given how difficult it can be to play their sport under the right conditions, several teams have openly

I. Terret, T. 2006. Le genre dans l'histoire du sport. Clio Histoire Femmes et société, No.23, pp. 209-238.

^{2.} FIFPro. 2017. 2017 FIFPro Global Employment Report — Working Conditions in Professional Women's Football. https://fifpro.org/attachments/article/6986/2017%20FIFPro%20Women%20Football%20Global%20 Employment%20Report-Final.pdf

^{3.} The US soccer federation is a good example; see, for example, Andrew Das, "In Fight for Equality, U.S. Women's Soccer Team Leads the Way", The New York Times, 4 March 2018.

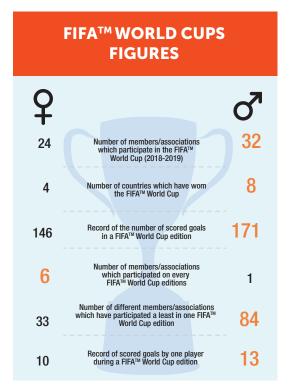
	Data for women from FIFPro's 2017 report	Data for men from FIFPro's 2016 report ¹
Average contract length	12 months	22-23 months
Gross monthly salary	\$600 (average)	\$1,000-\$2,000 (median)
Salary breakdown (per month)	< \$600: 60% > \$600 and < \$2,000: 30% > \$8,000: 1%	< \$300: 21% < \$1,000: 45% < \$4,000: 74%

 $I.\ FIFPro, ``2016\ FIFPro\ Global\ Employment\ Report\ -\ Working\ Conditions\ in\ Professional\ Football'', 2016, \\ \underline{https://fifpro.org/images/documents-pdf/2016-fifpro-global-employment-report.pdf}$

and secure jobs for women as professional foot-ballers''. The wage gap, among other issues, is highlighted, although much more work still needs to be done.

Lastly, in terms of participation, it is important to take each country's political, historical,

^{1.} FIFPro report, 2017, op.cit.



social and religious contexts into account. As women's participation in football may still arouse misgivings or outright bans, in view of its history and image, it may be advisable — while also promoting the traditional women's game — to increase participation in new games that are not as "tainted" by this heritage. For example, futsal is increasingly popular and is played in a more diverse group of regions than football. It would therefore seem important not to dismiss these types of games, which could be another complementary or alternative way to encourage young girls' involvement in sports organizations, thus enabling them to develop skills and qualities that promote their emancipation, well-being and self-confidence. While universalist objectives should not be abandoned, it is likely that targeting mechanisms will be needed; the hope is that, in the future, gender-neutral policies will truly guarantee equality.

Is invisibility being erased?

During the interviews conducted, the issue of media coverage emerged as the key to developing the feminisation of football, as it has an impact on the increase in the number of women participating, on the social representation of this sport, and also on the image that it projects of women. As UNESCO perfectly summarises, "Sports cov-

erage is hugely powerful in shaping norms and stereotypes about gender".

For the last 15 years, study after study has pointed out the significant differences in the media treatment of men and women athletes. Two observations in particular have emerged from these studies. First, women athletes suffer from quantitative discrimination with very few matches, championships and features broadcast. This creates uneven, if not non-existent, media coverage of women's sports, with the notable exception of the Olympics and Paralympics² and, to a lesser extent, competitions with men's and women's draws, like the Grand Slam tournaments in tennis, for example.

Second, women athletes suffer from qualitative discrimination, with low-quality broadcasts — on TV channels with limited audiences or during off hours — that do not provide the same level of representation as for men, habitually traffic in sexist and homophobic stereotypes and stigmas, and often offer only superficial analyses. According to Nicolas Delorme, "the media influence viewers because of the subjects that they select and the exposure that they give them. Because of its invisibility, women's sport is considered less important, which helps (re)produce and maintain hegemonic masculinity in sport"3. He adds that this is all the more questionable as it also pertains to the online press, since the "lack of space" argument does not hold water as it does for print media.

As part of its strategy, FIFA decided to implement an active communications policy, as demonstrated by the more varied media used to illustrate the feminisation of the sport, as well as

the introduction, in February 2019, of the #LegendsAssemble campaign. Accordingly, all forms of media — print, radio, television and online — have a real role to play, in particular given the theory of agenda-setting, which describes media's tendency to influence public opinion and interest in various topics.

Combating women's invisibility in football

Anyone who has tried to follow a regular championship match or qualifying rounds has been confronted with the problem of finding a broadcast channel. A growing body of literature and research has addressed this oft-decried lack of media coverage of women footballers. This work has backed up this finding with figures and data and has also been used to put pressure on the governing bodies.

But the tide is definitely turning, for several reasons. First, the national, continental and international organizations, as well as the broadcasters, seem to have recognised the extraordinary potential that broadcasting women's football holds for increasing staffing and, in particular, audience segments (offering new niches for advertisers), given the finding that more women are interested in sport in media and also that male viewers watch women's sports. This is confirmed by the increase in the number of teams participating in the FIFA Women's World Cup™ (up from 12 teams in 1991 to 16 in 1999, and to 24 starting in 2015) and the Olympics (the number of teams rose from eight in 1996 to 10 in 2004 and to 12 as of 2008); the increase in the number of broadcasters between 2011 and 2015 for that competition; and the rollout of additional resources to properly cover the women's matches.

Second, broadcasts of women's matches reach a large audience, which has beat viewership for men's matches several times, including for the US/Japan final of the FIFA Women's

I. UNESCO website, https://en.unesco.org/themes/gender-equality-sports-media

^{2.} Delorme, N. 2013. Were Women Really Underrepresented in Media Coverage of Summer Olympic Games (1984-2008)? An Invitation to Open a Methodological Discussion Regarding Sex Equity in Sports Media. Mass Communication and Society, No. 17, pp. 121-147.

^{3.} Proceedings of the "Women and sport: When will equality become a reality?" conference, op. cit.

World Cup Canada 2015™, which had more than 25.4 million American viewers and even peaked at 31 million during the last 15 minutes.

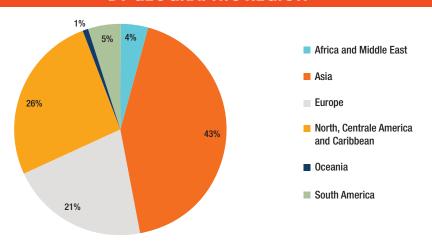
Similarly, the final of the EURO 2017, carried on the Dutch channel NPO1, had the largest audience for a sports broadcast for the year 2017, with more than 4.1 million viewers and an 82.7% audience share. In France, more than 51 hours were broadcast live on France Télévisions group channels, a 325% increase compared with the previous competition!

female players and coaches. The awarding of the UNFP³, the FIFPro⁴ and The Best FIFA Football Awards^{TM5} prizes is part of this effort to "make the invisible visible".

Promoting "high-quality" media coverage

Beyond broadcasts of matches, documentaries and interviews, any exploration of media coverage should also consider its "quality". Many experts have warned of the danger of having media coverage "just because". Such coverage would not

VIEWERS WATCHING MORE THAN 20 CONSECUTIVE MINUTES OF THE FIFA WOMEN'S WORLD CUP CANADA 2015™ BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION



The figures from the FIFA Women's World Cup Canada 2015TM are also of interest for two reasons: to show the growth in audience and also to examine the geographic breakdown of the audience².

In addition to the matches broadcast, it is important to stress the potential importance of the various initiatives implemented to recognise reflect expectations or national environments and could propagate and possibly reinforce stereotypes or sexist and gendered comments.

Current media coverage of women athletes and women's competitions is, however,

^{1.} Eurodata TV. 2017. Women's Sport insight.

^{2.} FIFA TV by KantarSport, 2015. FIFA Women's World Cup Canada 2015 – Television Audience Report,

https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/zwlvubsz9gaxziwfh60s.pdf

The UNFP's award for female player of the year has been given since 2001 and for best female young player since 2016.

^{4.} The team of the year has been named since 2016.

^{5.} From 2001 to 2015, FIFA handed out the female player of the year award: "FIFA World Player of the Year", "FIFA Ballon d'Or", "The Best FIFA Football Awards™".

	World Cup 2011	World Cup 2015	Change
Number of viewers who watched at least I minute of a match (millions)	Data not available	764	/
Number of viewers who watched at least 3 minutes of a match (millions)	408.5	555.6	+36%
Number of hours broadcast	5,939	7,781	+31%

not immune from criticism. Features on female. athletes are often few and far between and can be superficial. In addition, many articles and commentators discuss female players by focusing on their physical appearance, their clothes and their family or marital status, rather than on their performance on the pitch. According to Sandy Montañola, "While for men's sports the angles chosen relate more to competition and performance, when it comes to women's sports, other aspects (private life, other irrelevant topics) are highlighted. The problem is that this treatment fits into journalistic practice, and that it is shared. This shows a different and hierarchical consideration of women's and men's sports. (...) This difference in treatment and consideration affects the media coverage of women's sports and their appeal".

It seems that the personal and sexual life and the physical appearance of female players are more important than the number of passes made or goals scored. The sexualisation and eroticisation of female champions' bodies is a recurring theme among commentators: a real female athlete must be "feminine" according to current stereotypes (not too muscular, not too tall, thin, charming, wearing make-up, etc.). This is true for all media, not just television. Eoin J. Trolan thus believes that "print media (also) focused on the physical appearance of women athletes much more than their athletic skills and abilities"².

Consequently, if it does not deconstruct the

stereotypes that it promotes, media coverage of female athletes will continue to perpetuate gender inequalities and potentially keep some young women and girls from playing football and sports in general (and from a career in sports journalism).

Why is media coverage a major issue?

This lack of media coverage means that female footballers who could be role models for men and women are not given enough attention. While players such as Zinedine Zidane, Lionel Messi, Samuel Eto'o and Neymar da Silva Santos Júnior have a certain aura and enjoy international recognition, Marta Vieira da Silva, Ada Hegerberg, Dzsenifer Marozsan, Saki Kumagai, Megan Rapinoe and Amandine Henry do not, and cannot become full-fledged role models.

which is often presented as a "sub-category" of football ("football" and "World Cup" with no modifier refer to the men's game; the universal (masculine) is thus distinct from the marginal (feminine)), it is important to be able to quantify and put names to the female players, coaches, managers and volunteers without whom many clubs would not be able to function. In other words, these "invisible women" should be made visible. To that end, the clubs and federations, as well as the media, have a key role to play in making sure that these dedicated women are given their due. FIFA also made this one of its strategic priorities in its 2018 framework document. By posting information on the clubs' sites, holding events to promote the teams and staff, and broad-

Much like the designation "women's football",

^{1.} Proceedings of the "Women and sport: When will equality become a reality?" conference, op. cit.

^{2.} Trolan, E.J. 2013. The Impact of the Media on Gender Inequality within Sport. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, pp. 215-227.

casting matches and features, each of these actors can play its part to give these women greater and more equal visibility. Similarly, it would also be worth discussing ways to highlight and promote initiatives that focus on the role of women in football. Awarding a special prize to recognise the best

projects for promoting women's role in football could increase their visibility and thus their legitimacy.

Because, in parallel with the form of media coverage, there is also the question of featuring role models. For men and women, and in particular for the younger age groups, these women are visible evidence of the feminisation of football. As Marianne Maier notes. "The transfer of such life skills from the pitch into 'real life' should have top priority for SDP programmes. Role modelling is a decisive transfer enhancer''1. With more features on and interviews with Gaëlle Enganamouit, the forward from Camer-

oun, Katayoun Katiana Khosrowyar, the coach of the Iranian U20 team, and Bibiana Steinhaus, the German referee, the public could learn more about them, judge their accomplishments, draw inspiration from them and emulate them. For young girls, the possibility of seeing themselves in these well-known and high-profile women cham-

pions affects their self-confidence and motivation to play a sport.

In addition to the findings of Christine Mennesson and Christine Louveau, who showed that, within the family, fathers and brothers generally

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play a greater role in sport socialisation², the emergence of these role models could be a game-changer, Prejudices and stereotypes can also be fought if women are regularly seen to play, officiate and coach, whether on the screen or on the field. That is exactly why it is so important to have TV broadcasts, radio commentary of championship matches continental/international competitions, specialised websites and video content. apart from any athletic and technical considerations. This brings us to the galvanising impact of the media. Nicolas Delorme thus believes that "the more we talk about women's sport, the more important it

will become to the people, which will give it a more prominent place in the news hierarchy³". Similarly, encouraging sports media to introduce rankings for women players and dream team rosters, as they do for male footballers, could be

^{1.} Meier, M. 2015. The value of female sporting role models. Sport in Society, pp. 968-982.

^{2.} Mennesson, C. 2004. Être une femme dans un sport 'masculin' : modes de socialisation et construction des dispositions sexuées. *Sociétés contemporaines*, No. 55, pp. 69-90.

^{3.} Interview with Delorme, N. 2018. Quelles représentations de la femme au sein des milieux sportifs? Geostrategic Observatory on Sport, IRIS. http://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Obs-Sport-N.Delorme.pdf

an important lever. This type of initiative has the potential to make the media's treatment of male and female footballers a little more equal.

Considerable thought therefore needs to be given at the national level to determine the best strategy. As such, an observatory for the feminisation of football, with a research unit that has the necessary time and human and financial resources, would be highly pertinent here. By publishing reports and analyses, as well as by developing relevant projects such as action research and conferences, this observatory could give women's football a more prominent place.

Other ideas could be proposed, including awareness-raising campaigns and training ses-

sions on subjects relating to feminisation and gender stereotypes. Target audiences might include media that have obtained broadcasting rights for a match or competition, associations for media professionals, and working journalists and journalism students. UNESCO is a key partner through its programme for gender equality in media.

While it will be several years before this project has an impact on the ground, it is probably one of the most effective ways to change mentalities. The use of such measures, intended for media professionals, to combat invisibilisation and women's under-representation in football, can help supplement the actions that target the sports governing bodies themselves.





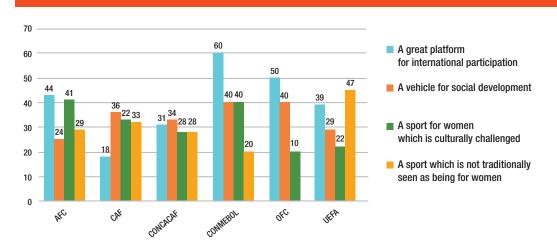
epp Blatter, FIFA's former president, went so far as to say at the first symposium on "women's football" held in 1995 that "the future of football is feminine"; how then should we understand and analyse the relatively poor results presented earlier in this report, given that developing women's role in football has supposedly been a priority for nearly 30 years? Even though a stronger focus was established in the roadmap 2.0 in 2016, why was the first global "women's football" strategy not published until October 2018, i.e., 27 years after the first Women's World Cup? In other words, why is it that football, which can be a powerful driver for social empowerment, has remained off-limits to women for so long and thus not played as empowering a role as it has for men?

To find explanations and identify the barriers that might account for this anaemic growth, the responses to one of the questions posed by the CIES for a report published in 2014 are particularly instructive. Confederations were asked to express their views not on the actual situation but on their perception of so-called "women's" football. There were four possible responses, as shown in the chart below. Beyond the gross responses, what is most striking is the wide range of confederation profiles, from those that believe football is a vehicle for social development (between 24% and 40%) to those that consider that football is not traditionally seen as being for women (from 0% in Oceania to 45% in Europe). In other words, football is pluralistic and there is no single way to make it female.

The feminisation of the governing bodies is still in its infancy

In 2014, only one federation (out of 209) was led by a woman. On average, the percentage of women on executive committees of national federations is 8%1. This figure plummets to 2% when we look at the CONMEBOL federations. At the international level, only six women from the confederations sit on the FIFA Council (16%). There is still a long list of statistics highlighting the very low level of women's representation in the governing bodies. "In terms of staffing, jobs and human resources, the sport faces the same gender equality and gender balance issues as other

PERCEPTION OF WOMEN'S FOOTBALL (%)



^{1.} FIFA. 2014. Women's football survey. op.cit.

professional and leisure spheres". Women face a glass ceiling in sports, as they do in other social spheres. First and foremost, it should be stressed and understood that the question of the feminisation of football, whether it occurs on the pitch,

on the bench, in the stands or the box seats, in offices, in conference or other meeting rooms, or in positions of power should not be raised by women alone. To move towards equality, men and women need to work together to construct the football that they would like to see in the future.

One can imagine that "in the short term, there will be some personal 'transaction costs'''2. In other words, sharing positions of power and the salaries that go with them — is already sparking resistance and will do so in the future: in football as elsewhere. the "current asymmetry of male and female positions may mean that men will initially 'lose' what are thought to be the most desirable positions according to

social norms. While, in the medium term, men and women gain from living in a more egalitarian society, progress can be slow and sometimes takes a full generation'³.

Believing that women have a role in football, and in particular in its governance, means acknowledging that, as in the business or political world, the practice of "wasting talent" must be ended. [126 should be smaller] It is not that

women have specific qualities that complement men's characteristics — it is important not to fall into that essentialist trap — but disregarding women because of self-segregation, self-perpetuation, the concurrent holding of multiple elected offices over time, and outright discrimination, is to run the risk of doing without valuable experience, skills and perspectives on the world.

In the business world, numerous studies have emphasised that greater representation of women in upper management has an impact on firm performance⁵: not because women are better "by nature" but because more gender-balanced management respects the work/life balance

(for all employees); has innovative recruitment

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I Proceedings of the "Women and sport: When will equality become a reality?" conference, op. cit.

² Naves and Wisnia-Weill (dir.), op. cit., p. 26.

³ Ibid.

⁴ De Vergès, M. L'égalité des chances entre femmes et hommes progresse dans le monde, mais pas partout. Le Monde, 27 February 2019. 5 According to a study conducted of nearly 22,000 companies in 91 countries, upper level management that is at least 30% women sees an up to 15% increase in profitability; see Marcus Noland, Tyler Moran and Barbara Kotschwar, "Is Gender Diversity Profitable? Evidence from a Global Survey", Working Paper, Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE), 2016.

and promotion processes to diversify its work-force and take advantage of skills or degrees that are often undervalued; and is more supportive and attentive. Performance is measured mainly by lower staff turnover, lower rates of sick leave, improved well-being at work and increased motivation. In addition, the pervasive issues of the social and environmental responsibility of organizations, and of companies in particular, increasingly require that the latter take the demands of diversity and the promotion of equality into account in their management. It may be of interest to develop interdisciplinary research to assess these issues in the football world.

The 2013 turning point

As summarised in Sustainable Development Goal No. 5 on gender equality, "Women and girls represent half of the world's population and therefore also half of its potential". In light of this gap, the football world has gradually become aware of the work to be done and reforms to be made. While holding symposiums was indeed important and helped fuel the debate, the establishment of the FIFA Task Force for Women's Football in October 2013, chaired by Moya Dodd, marked a real step forward. At the 64th FIFA Congress in São Paulo, 10 key development principles to promote women's football were approved². The Task Force's report, "FIFA, football and women: why reform must specify inclusion and investment"3, submitted in October

The work of increasing the number of women in governing bodies remains extremely important. A lack of self-confidence and the internalisation of social inferiority are greater impediments to success than a lack of skills and affect women in particular. Unlike men, women wait until they are sure they have achieved a high level of expertise before seeking a specific position or salary. This is referred to as the "confidence gap"6. Mechanisms need to be developed that help combat self-censorship of women and that combine carrots and sticks to ensure that managers become aware of the importance of the issue (and of the benefits of increasing the representation of women in their organizations, at every level and not just within top management; the problem of finding volunteers also needs to be overcome). Some believe that allowing women to penetrate football's institutions, whether clubs or national,

^{2015,} will also make an important contribution to advancing not only the debate but also, and in particular, specific measures, in order to rectify the under-representation of women in the football spheres in the short, medium and long term. A clear call was therefore made to make the issue of the feminisation of football a priority for the 2016 FIFA Reform Committee. FIFA continued to demonstrate heightened awareness with the adoption in February 2016 of a series of reforms approved by FIFA's Executive Committee⁴ and in May 2017 of its human rights policy⁵. At the continental and national level, in addition to various statements and commitments, it would be particularly useful to develop country-specific advocacy to help change mentalities and, most importantly, practices.

I UNESCO. Gender Equality: Why It Matters. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Goal-5.pdf

² The 10 principles are: I. Member associations to create a women's football development plan to exploit the game's huge growth potential. 2. Equal access to football for girls and women as for boys and men. 3. Work towards sustainable professionalised competitions. 4. Improve marketing and promotion to build up own women's football brand. 5. Need for experts in all decision-making areas. 6. Keep former referees and players involved in the game. 7. Develop and mentor female coaches to increase their number and raise standards. 8. Member associations to involve women at all decision-making levels, including executive committee. 9. Incubate women's football via appropriate organisational structures with the necessary focus. 10. Make football a leader in fighting discrimination against women in sport and society, https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/fifa-congress-2014-minutes.pdf?cloudid=qbla7vsmrhogbtqgaftc

³ FIFA, 2015. FIFA, football and women: why reform must specify inclusion.

https://resources.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/footballgovernance/02/72/23/75/201510fifareformsubmissionwftffinal_neutral.pdf

⁴ FIFA. 2016. The Reform Process.

https://www.fifa.com/governance/how-fifa-works/the-reform-process.html 5 FIFA. 2017. FIFA's Human Rights Policy,

https://resources.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/footballgovernance/02/89/33/12/fifashumanrightspolicy_neutral.pdf

⁶ Damour, L. 2019. Why Girls Beat Boys at School and Lose to Them at the Office. *The New York Times*.

continental or international federations, would be merely symbolic. It is, quite the contrary, a crucial issue of democracy and society. The federations should also be encouraged or even forced to give more consideration to their female players (salaries, bonuses, training conditions, staff quality, access

to sponsors) because women's participation in sports competitions has been, and in some respects — notably in terms of financial independence — remains, a long struggle.

In 2018, FIFA launched a reform of its governance mainly through a five-pronged strategy!:

- Develop and grow on and off the pitch
- Showcase the game
 —improve women's
 competitions
- Communicate & commercialise broaden exposure & value
- Govern & lead strive for gender balance
- Educate & empower
 build capacity & knowledge

players, referees and coaches, data are scant. However, the FIFA report published in 2014 gives us some quantitative data on increased representation of women in the governing bodies. For the 177 associations that responded to the survey, only 188 women sat on executive committees,

with a much greater presence of women in the US and Canadian federations (approximately three women, or one-fifth of the committee) and an extremely low, if not negligible, presence within CONMEBOL. UEFA also lags behind the other confederations.

Things have also changed for FIFA, in particular starting in 2016² with the requirement that each federation elect at least one woman to the FIFA Council. Each federation will follow this requirement to the letter; this will accomplish little, however, as only one woman will be elected. Thus, within the FIFA Council, there will only be six women among the 37 members, none of which are vice-presidents, for example³. While these

reforms are a step in the right direction, and their implementation will take time, it is important to remain vigilant on this key point.

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The necessary tenacity

These governing bodies, which were originally all-male, remain a bastion of masculinity even today. As with the other data available for female

I FIFA. 2018. Women's Football Strategy. https://www.fifa.com/womens-football/strategy/

² FIFA. 2017. Governance report 2016 – 67th FIFA congress, Manama, Bahrain, 11 May 2017. https://resources.fifa.com/image/upload/governance-report-2016-2878923.pdf?cloudid=gkpaxp18nq4kphki81gk.

³ Data gathered from the FIFA Council page, https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/fifa-council/

Confederation	Average number of women on executive committees	% of women on executive committees		
AFC	1.2	9%		
CAF	1	8%		
CONCACAF	1.4	13%		
of which United States and Canada	3	19%		
CONMEBOL	0.4	2%		
OFC	1.2	15%		
UEFA	0.9	6%		

Source: FIFA website

	AFC	CAF	CONCACAF	CONMEBOL	OFC	UEFA
Number of FIFA Council members	7	7	5	5	3	9
Number of women	1	1	1	1	1	1
Percentage	14%	14%	20%	20%	33%	11%

Source: FIFA website

Furthermore, and in order to reinforce this commitment to feminisation, the national federations could be asked to provide an annual comparative analysis report, like the one that is mandatory in France for companies with more than 50 employees, to monitor the change in their workforce. Beyond the purely quantitative assessment, this would make it possible to provide a truly qualitative analysis of the results of the policies implemented, to highlight their limitations and flaws, and thus to quickly make adjustments. This would allow for a proper evaluation of football's feminisation policies.

The political will to feminise the governing bodies is still too weak

As is the case for women players, referees and coaches, the current low numbers

of women staff within the governing bodies, and in particular, in positions of power, can be explained by the lack of recognition of women in football. Even in 1970, FIFA believed that "it does not have jurisdiction over this question and therefore provides no advice to the affiliated national associations. It's a matter of biology and education that should be left to doctors and professors".

However, where does this feminisation process stand today? Although FIFA has announced and presented goals that are steps in the right direction and encourage increased representation of women in football's governing bodies in the medium term, a number of articles and many of the people interviewed tend to put the progress made into perspective. They emphasise, in particular, the lack of resources made available to the feminisation committees/com-

I Prudhomme-Poncet, op. cit., p. 186-187.

missions, thus preventing them from making real change on the ground. For some federations, developing "men's" football remains the priority and this takes up all their time and human and financial resources. To this day and in some experts' opinion, a number of the commissions for the development of "women's football" are too small to be able to have lasting impacts and effect real change. Others are quick to point to "shell" commissions, which nonetheless receive

funding that is supposed to be used to develop participation. public fund-Some ing is earmarked for increasing participation among the most marginalised populations, including women, but these resources are not always used². Lastly, messages about the values of sport and the opportunistic co-optation of women's sport for commercial or reputational purposes are often an expression of harmful gender washing. This leads us to consider creating or developing diagnostic and monitoring tools to qualify and quantify the various developments. division, the adoption of strategies for the development of "women's football", the various reforms encouraging the feminisation of the governing bodies, and the appointment in 2016 of Fatma Samoura as Secretary General of FIFA and of Sarai Bareman as the Chief Women's Football Officer for the international body are all promising signs that would appear to indicate a genuine willingness to make the feminisation of football a key issue for the international federation at this time.

Some

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A KEY ISSUE

can also be seen at the national level. Many experts believe that the federations' view shifted in 2011, with FIFA the Women's World Cup™ held in Germany marking a truly decisive turning point. The shift was particularly dramatic within the French Federation. Despite few pioneering voices that had been trying to change the national policy since the mid-1970s. the watershed moment in 1998, with was the support of Aimé

Jacquet, an international French football coach, but thoughts and views truly shifted with the presidency of Noël Le Graët, starting in 2011. This step-change was particularly remarkable in that some had been quick to call mid-1980s France a "backwards country for women's football3" with a glaring lack of policy. Thus, the appointment of women to strategic positions

Despite this relatively grim picture, some political will appears to be emerging. The appointment of Moya Dodd to chair the Task Force, the creation of a "women's football"

I Wrack, S. No idea where money goes': Fifa urged to help Somalia's women footballers. *The Guardian*, 3 January 2019.

 $[\]label{lem:https://www.theguardian.com/football/2019/jan/03/fifa-somalia-women-footballers-money-fear-extremists$

² Proceedings of the "Women and sport: When will equality become a reality?" conference, op. cit.

³ Mennesson, C. 2006. Le gouvernement des corps des footballeuses et boxeuses de haut niveau. Clio. History, Women and Society, No. 23, pp. 179-196.

within the Federation - Florence Hardouin as Deputy General Manager in 2013. Brigitte Henriques as Vice President and Laura Georges Secretary General, but also Frédérique Jossinet as head of women's football and of "Impact and Legacy of World Cup 2019'' — are particularly strong signs. The will to feminise football is therefore no longer just theoretical, it is reflected within the governing bodies and also on the pitch, in particular by developing tools for the clubs and communications campaigns (now gender-neutral) that promote participation by women and girls. In France, Nathalie Boy de la Tour's election as head of the Professional Football League (LFP) also confirms this commitment to giving women key positions within football's governing bodies.

These appointments and elections, which could seem inconsequential, are, on the

contrary, important for several reasons. They are evidence of the political recognition of these women's ability to govern and thus send a strong message. Philosophically, women are also finally

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Furthermore, and as a number of experts stressed. have the question of training and support seems important here. Incorporating women into clubs. commissions committees is not just a single piece of quantitative data, but on the contrary requires an investment and support to help these women improve their skills. This support should be provided regularly and over the long term, to enable women to progress and reinforce their skills.

Thought should also be given to appointing women to governing bodies so as not to "confine" them to committees related to the development of women's participation and, to a lesser extent, those that deal with global governance or development.

Substantive work therefore needs to be

done to create permanent departments able to take concrete action on the ground through effective initiatives that reflect the national context.

What will the future hold for football?

The year 2019 will no doubt be an important one for the future of football, not only because the progress made in 2018 will have to be maintained and extended, but also because lessons will be learned from the 8th FIFA Women's World Cup™ and from implementation of the strategic plan on the impact and legacy of the competition, whose societal benefits must be evaluated scientifically and independently.

Furthermore. the rise in women's participation in football, the increased number of women and young girls on the pitch, on the bench and in organizations, and the growing interest from a number of economic actors (sponsors, patrons. equipment makers, media) all justify optimism about the development of women's role in international football in the short term. More than ever before, football must position itself as a social actor that sponsors projects and nurtures ambitions that extend

well beyond the world of sports. It could even be a trailblazer, not only in the field of sport but in society as a whole, in promoting equality and diversity. It might therefore be useful if there were media initiatives that highlighted the creation of women's or mixed-gender teams: a team made up of members of parliament, for example, or the inclusion of women on recreational teams.

such as the jubilee or Variétés Club de France teams.

Another challenge for the football of the future is to define the business model for women's play. While this does not yet apply to every country, exponential growth requires that it be a key priority. A number of experts believe that the current momentum in women's participation in football requires strategic choices. What business model should "women's

football" adopt? Could this be an opportunity to innovate? Should we seek to duplicate the admittedly imperfect men's model, which would reinforce the male standard and limit any action to "catch-up" work, or should we try to develop a sui generis model? What inspirational stories might the brands tell? collective debate is therefore needed. nationally and both internationally, and the clubs will play a key role in defining this future. The failures of certain leagues, abandoned after several years precisely because there was no prior discussion, should be a warning to

the governing bodies that they need to build a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable project that should be measured over the long term. Bound up in this question is the important matter of professional status, since the effect of this difference is to exacerbate the gaps between female players who enjoy the benefits related to their participation and those that do

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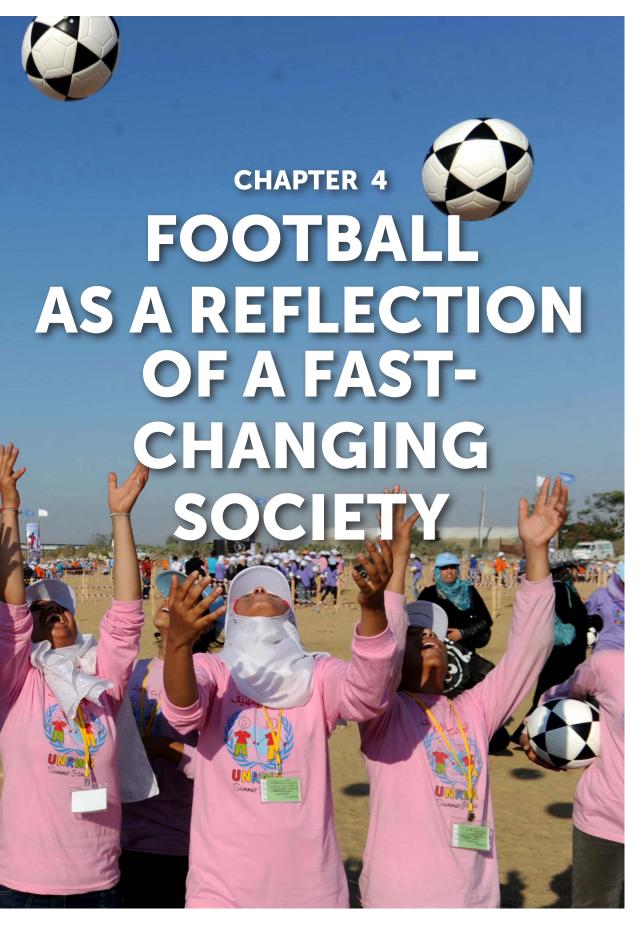
not. While full equality may not be achievable, uniformity within leagues is necessary to protect the "glorious uncertainty of sports" and to help lift up all women's teams.

Lastly, asking questions about the future of women in football means monitoring the dangers of regressing. This question was almost always asked during the interviews conducted for this report and the possibility was generally rejected. The actions taken and plans implemented at the continental and international level, as well as the importance of feminisation as a political matter, mean that a reversal that undermines the progress made in recent years would not be impossible today but would be very difficult. Gender equality is socially accepted by

a majority in many countries and is improving elsewhere. Progress is a long-term proposition everywhere, global condemnation of certain practices (excluding women from stadiums, for example) tends to dissuade sports officials from perpetuating this type of discrimination. In terms of reputation alone, it has become indispensable to promote gender equality, and this lever should not be ignored.

Beyond the purely political aspect, many of the people surveyed also stressed that the growing interest in women's play in general from certain media and sponsors is another important source of confidence, which makes it possible to ensure, at least in the short term, ongoing if not increasing interest.





port is a universal language that everyone, regardless of gender, understands and recognises worldwide. It is also a fundamental right, as set out in Article 1 of the revised International Charter of Physical Education, Physical Activity and Sport¹. Sport's positive contribution to society is universally acknowledged: when it is properly used and governed, sport promotes tolerance and respect and brings together men and women of every age, ethnic origin, religion and social status. When sports activities are properly supervised, they can combat discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes. In other words, sport, in itself, is neither virtuous nor malicious, corrupt or immoral; it cannot do everything, but it can be a tremendous source of solutions and thus provide specific responses to certain contemporary problems. These responses include gender equality and support for the role of women in society.

First among others due to its universality, football has, in recent years, expanded its reach well beyond the confines of the pitch. Because of the increasing globalisation of its competitions, the exponential growth in its economy and the media power it has gained, football has inevitably become — despite the wishes of those who defend the non-political nature of the sport politicised. As a reflection of both the progress and conservatism or excesses — mainly on the neoliberal side — in society, football illustrates the difficulties of giving women equal status, which must then be constantly defended and reaffirmed to fend off challenges. In other words, developing the feminisation of football on the pitch (for players and referees), on the bench (for coaches and staff), and in the federal governing bodies and the clubs is not only a matter of equal rights but also an issue of managerial and business performance and social cohesion.

It is clear from the previous pages that the development of the feminisation of football - and thus progress on gender equality in society - are deceptively complicated to implement. Reminders of the law and its implicit standards are not enough, as the women and men concerned face a host of endogenous and exogenous obstacles. The legacy of historical bans, structural barriers, a lack of political will, sexism, lesbophobia, and a lack of interest on the part of economic actors are just some of the reasons that inhibit and discourage women's presence in football, despite some positive momentum in recent years.

Football institutions' determination to take charge now of the feminisation of their sport has been a key factor in this trend, although it is neither the only, nor even sometimes the most important one. The widespread implementation of feminisation plans within the governing bodies as well as the mobilisation of feminists and the increased number of concrete measures, awareness-raising campaigns, training courses and works of art that point out the weakness or hypocrisy of certain arguments suggest that women's football's time has come.

The rise in the feminisation of football is made possible by the proliferation of civil society initiatives

While the road to the feminisation of football has long been plagued with difficulties, the process has now been set in motion, within sports institutions - but also because of individual and collective actions by civil society. Our survey of recent initiatives and the interviews conducted with various experts and project sponsors have highlighted the proliferation of actions that have played a leading role in promoting gender equality in sport and in football in particular, drawn attention to role models and, more broadly, shown how this sport can play a key role in the perception of women's role in society. These interviews also point to tremendous energy and

optimism about the future. Some admit that the road ahead will be long and that many stereotypes persist but hopes of seeing increased social acceptance of the feminisation of football - and even wider media coverage of female athletes - suggest that equality is no longer out of reach.

The initiatives described below are just a sampling of the projects currently underway, but they illustrate the wide variety of solutions that highlight the role of women in football.

Little Miss Soccer

Little Miss Soccerl is a collaboration between two former French footballers who became journalists, Candice Prévost and Mélina Boetti. They travelled the world to meet female footballers of all ages and levels in 15 countries on five continents to understand the realities of football and the place that women have — or have not — managed to achieve in society. These two young women hope that, by producing a documentary and a TV mini-series, and by

writing a book, they can provide a dynamic view of the reality on the ground and show the complexity of emancipation, where history, prejudice and structural barriers are felt every day. Yet passion and play will not be stifled.

Thewomensgame.com

When Australia's W-League was rebooted in 2008 after a three-year hiatus, it was extremely

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difficult to find data and information about the teams. players and coaches. No one seemed interested in its re-emergence. While analyses were published here and there. no single website followed the league's daily news and offered both results and analyses and thoughts about the game. The Australian website "Thewomensgame''2 was created to fill this void, before expanding to other sports: rugby, cricket, golf, tennis, etc. According to the creators and the current editors. the goal was twofold: to provide regular and documented tracking of the W-League; and to ensure high-quality and regular media coverage of these players and coaches. In the editors' view, this site, conceived as both a platform and a forum, has allowed

them to effect change and fill a gap.

What the foot?!

The "What the foot?!" photo essay launched

I Website: https://littlemiss-soccer.com/

² Website: https://thewomensgame.com/

by the Huma collective has many objectives'. In addition to the art project, it aims to show the realities of play in China, Jordan, Iran and Mexico; it also seeks to use photography to illustrate the daily life of these women players, referees, coaches and fans and to highlight the difficulties that they encounter. A lack of support, the difficulty of appropriating public space, and prejudice are just some of the barriers these women face every day, but their presence on the pitch only confirms their determination to pursue their passion and continue their struggle.

Ladies' Turn

Led by its president, Seyni Ndir Seck, the former captain of Senegal's women's national football team, this organization was founded in 2009 to popularise the women's game in a country where "football is still considered a masculine sport not suitable for women"2. The association seeks to change Senegal's perception of its female footballers by organising a women's beginner league and various tournaments and by advocating through the press, television and radio. It has also produced a documentary film³ for the same purpose. Several great documentaries have therefore been made in recent years to highlight the women's game. The work of Florence Ayisi and Catalin Brylla, with their films "Zanzibar Soccer Queens" and "Going goals: Zanzibar Soccer Dreams"5, is an excellent example.

Gonzo Soccer Academy/Football Academy/Rails Football Academy

With FIFA aiming to reach 60 million female

I The project: https://www.ulule.com/what-the-foot/

https://catalinbrylla.com/zanzibar-soccer-dreams/

footballers⁶, the question of participation has become more important than ever. While development within clubs is critical, the number of football academies for young girls and women has risen in recent years and become a fundamental issue. There are several particularly striking examples, mainly those backed by players: Monica Gonzalez from Mexico⁷, Marinette Pichon from France⁸ and, at the beginning of 2019, Gaëlle Enganamouit from Cameroon.

The establishment of a football academy for young girls in Tripoli, Libya, in December 2018 to try to combat stereotypes is also a very positive sign. As this is a recent initiative, it is currently difficult to estimate its impacts.

ANJUFF – Asociación Nacional de Jugadoras de Futbol Femenino

This Chilean association was founded in July 2016 in response to the lack of investment by its national federation. No official matches were organised after Chile's national team failed to qualify for the FIFA Women's World Cup Canada 2015™, causing the team to fall from 41st place in the FIFA rankings to 128th in 2016. The objective of this association is to expand women's participation in football by formalising matches and improving practice conditions. The group also aims to protect and defend players' rights. Bolstered by the interest generated beyond national borders, it was also the driving force behind the first forum of female football players in South America held in August 2018. There is good reason to think that, given the importance of the feminisation of football, a growing number of countries will look to develop these academies in order to have a presence on the football stage.

² Ladies'Turn website http://www.ladiesturn.org/objectifs/

^{3 &}quot;Ladies' Turn", documentary produced by Alexis Taillant and Jeanne Thibord, 2012.

^{4 &}quot;Zanzibar Soccer Queens", documentary produced by Florence Ayisi, 2007. https://catalinbrylla.com/zanzibar-soccer-dreams/

 $^{5\,}$ "Going for Goals: Zanzibar soccer dreams", documentary produced by Florence Ayisi and Catalin Brylla, 2016.

⁶ Global strategy for football, p. 11.

⁷ Gonzo Soccer website http://www.gonzosoccer.org/about/history/

⁸ Football Académie website http://footballacademie.com/

The increasing importance of new media tools: time for football 2.0?

As we have seen, the question of media coverage – the key to developing football fans and players – poses a number of constraints. However, in addition to the traditional channels, it is also important to highlight the significant

dynamism in the football ecosystem today as seen in the use of new ways to deliver media coverage. As Marie Stéphanie Abouna notes, "women's foothall (professional, semi-professional and amateur) is still marginal in the modern media universe. Its position in the public space, and in the media in particular, is being developed and legitimised, despite the dominant position that men's football still occupies today. The increased visibility of women's football explained in part by its growing presence on various web plat-

forms". Similarly, the many documentaries and short web series are an excellent way to introduce the world of women's play and thus attract new players and referees or inspire women to take on responsibilities in local or national governing bodies.

Thus, the media coverage of football played

I Abouna, M.S. 2018. Internet et mise en visibilité du football féminin en France : entre avancées et paradoxes. *Communiquer*, No. 22, pp. 49-66. https://journals.openedition.org/communiquer/2576

by women tends to reinvent itself and be consumed differently than the game played by men. For example, based on FIFA's count, the pages of its website dedicated to the FIFA Women's World Cup Canada 2015™ had 20 million visitors and 225 million page views. To get around the barriers that may still exist in traditional media, a number of websites have been created in recent years, on an international scale, to keep up with local and national league news, provide

tactical analysis, and publish key information about the leagues.

THE MEDIA
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CONSUMED
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THAN THE GAME
PLAYED BY MEN.

Lastly, the development of sites and apps like Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram and Snapchat has helped break down a number of barriers and made it possible to follow and cover women's play in a different way. For example, FIFA reported 9 billion tweets mentioning the 2015 competition, evidence of significant activity and the now limitless dissemination of information. Even though the Iranian women's national futsal team won the

Asian championship in May 2018 for the second time, very few Iranians were able to watch the match. To overcome this frustration, and that of not being able to follow the team's future performance, various internet users decided to circumvent TV and focus on photos, news and even videos via the social networks. This new type of media coverage is still relatively unknown and should therefore be explored, for example through a media observatory dedicated to women's football.

The prominence of these new media is furthermore helping to support feminisation efforts within the different clubs and federations. Because of the social networks and at a time when news can travel at the speed of light, public pressure can be critical. Some believe that the decision to allow women to attend a match in Iran was due in part to the proliferation of signs and messages on the social networks calling on the Iranian authorities to lift the ban. In that sense, there is

no question that public pressure can be a lever for resolving potentially intractable situations.

Research: the key to the feminisation of sport

Although sport became a topic of study in the human and social sciences starting in the 1970s, the work focused mostly on men's sports (under the pretext, as elsewhere, of universality) by considering their sociological, historical, anthropological, economic and geopolitical aspects. Research into the women's game and into gender-related inequalities in sport

more generally has long been avoided or even neglected, a victim of the same methods used to make gender-based research and approaches invisible for other social issues. In this regard, Catherine Louveau notes that "the history of sport has been told with no distinction as to gender". Gertrud Pfister believes that "the history [of sport] was not her story but his story". Despite these not inconsequential barriers and in order to study, inter alia, the development of women's play, research into the question of gender in sport, as elsewhere, became more widespread as of the end of the 1970s. Nearly 40 years after the publication of "Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of Sport" by the Canadian Ann Hall, research is still in its infancy.

Researchers continue to come up against the lack of information and the existence of incomplete or even conflicting data, as well as the very few university departments dedicated to gender studies and the reluctance of publishers.

Yet, and as the Council of Europe recommends in its handbook practices⁴, good it is important to be familiar with and better understand the world of women's sport so that more effective action can be taken. This undertaking requires qualitative and quantitative research into the "women's football" ecosystem, thereby making it possible to develop a real resource base and

AS THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE RECOMMENDS IN ITS HANDBOOK OF GOOD PRACTICES, IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE FAMILIAR WITH AND BETTER UNDERSTAND THE WORLD OF WOMEN'S SPORT SO THAT MORE

EFFECTIVE ACTION

CAN BE TAKEN.

I Louveau, C. 2006. Inégalité sur la ligne de départ : femmes, origines sociales et conquête du sport Clio. History, Women and Society, pp. 119-143. 2 Pfister, G. 1996. Her story in sport: towards the emancipation of women, Arnaud, P. and Terret, T. (ed.), Histoire du sport féminin, Tome 1 : Histoire et identité. Paris, L'Harmattan, p. 213-228. 3 Hall, A. 1978. Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of

Sport. Ottawa, CAHPER Sociology of Sport Monograph Series.

⁴ Talleu, C., op. cit.

database, provide analyses and thus document and assess the implementation of appropriate solutions that reflect local and national condi-

tions. Public and nonprofit decision-makers need to put more of a focus on interdisciplinary research as a decision-making tool. Awareness must be raised for the feminisation of football to truly be included on the international sports and political agenda and help strengthen the role of women in society. Because, in addition to expanding the range of possibilities for sports for girls (and boys), learning good citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in and through sport also come into play from a very young age. The cross-disciplinary issues of health, education, social integration and job entry are also worth noting.

During their interviews, many experts therefore highlighted the importance of going beyond merely acknowledging this

deficiency and finally implementing and funding research projects, studies and reports that will move the debate forward within the social science disciplines. While some seminal work has already been done, the range of possibilities in terms of interdisciplinary research in the social and human sciences, as well as in the science

IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CENTRALISE ALL OF THIS OUTPUT SO THAT IT CAN BF USFD OVFR THE LONG TERM AND **CONTRIBUTE** OR LEAD TO THE **DEVELOPMENT** OF NEW PROJECTS **SUCH AS THE CREATION OF A GLOBAL OBSERVATORY** FOR WOMEN. SPORT, PHYSICAL **EDUCATION** AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

and technique of physical and athletic activities. in particular, remains largely unexplored. The geopolitics of women's football, the origin and motivations of the fans. the effectiveness of the feminisation plans, the relevance of the training, and the governance of women's commissions are just some of the many topics. It is also important to promote work on male/female interactions in sport and on issues of masculinity, and to combine different approaches. Additionally, socio-economic inequalities, as well as those associated with origin, religion and place of residence must be considered through the lens of gender, because the issues intersect. A narrative is emerging in France, for example, whereby sexism in sport is associated with, and limited to. Islam and the low-income suburbs, perhaps to disclaim

practices. Only research can expose these mechanisms so that the biases they create in terms of public policy do not go unchallenged.

I Naves, M.C. 2016. Dans sa lutte contre le sexisme, le sport doit éviter le piège identitaire. The Conversation, France. http://theconversation.com/dans-sa-lutte-contre-le-sexisme-le-sport-doit-eviter-le-piege-identitaire-70570

This work is therefore a vital resource. The interviewees stated many times that they were unaware of the existence of certain documents or data. In other words, and in order to encourage research and debate on this topic, it would be useful to centralise all of this output so that it can be used over the long term and contribute or lead to the development of new projects such as the creation of a global observatory for women, sport, physical education and physical activity launched under the Kazan Action Plan, adopted by the Sixth International Conference of Ministers for Sport (MINEPS VI)¹. The prominence that the feminisation of football - and sport in general - has gained in recent decades means

I MINEPS VI, op. cit., https://en.unesco.org/mineps6/kazan-action-plan

it is increasingly critical that such a structure be established. This entity will make it possible to analyse, contextualise and, most importantly, support research on this topic of the future, in order to make specific recommendations for each national situation that sports, administrative, business and political leaders will be able to embrace.

A society that is moving towards equality is a society that is more self-confident, more peaceful, more effective and, in a word, stronger. The UN, the OECD and even the IMF point this out on a regular basis. Sports in general, and football in particular, because of the values they embody and the opportunities they provide, have a huge role to play.





n order to go beyond mere statements of intent, effect real change and promote women's role in football, debate should be encouraged and specific measures taken, both locally and at the international level. This project must be a shared responsibility, and both men and women should be encouraged to engage. Furthermore, the most effective approach will be one that reflects each local environment to ensure the success of these developments.

Effectively implement the feminisation of football

The feminisation of football, which has been underway for more than 40 years, now appears to be at a turning point in its development. The commitments made by the federations and by FIFA, as well as the keen interest of a number of economic actors, suggest that this development could accelerate and soon take on a new dimension

Explain the issues surrounding the feminisation of football

The institutional barriers and prejudices regarding the role of women in football are still — and sometimes widely — present, even though playing sports is recognised as a fundamental right. Thus, and like many local and international initiatives, education is essential to convince all stakeholders not only of the benefits of developing the feminisation of football, but also of its necessity and importance, not just for women, but for the football world in general. While it may often seem superficial or secondary, this type of advocacy is, on the contrary, necessary to ensure lasting change over time. Many associations are working daily to combat sexism and homophobia in football and deserve more than ever to be heard and supported. This work could also involve holding panel discussions, for families, young people, coaches and federal officials, on equality and combating stereotypes.

Make the feminisation of football a shared concern

It should be understood and explained that the feminisation of football, whether it occurs on the pitch, on the bench, in the stands, along the touch-lines and in the conference rooms, should not be raised by women alone. To move towards greater equality, men and women need to work together to construct the types of football that they would like to see. Women will not be competing with men and do not want to replace them in certain positions; they do, however, add value for everyone and have every right to participate in the construction of the football of the future. As summarised in Sustainable Development Goal No. 5 on gender equality, "Women and girls represent half of the world's population and therefore also half of its potential"; the football world should not let it go untapped. Here as well, it would be particularly useful to develop country-specific advocacy to help change the situation, both in terms of attitude and, most importantly, on the ground. This could involve, for example, holding an international debate on the societal and sport-related challenges of promoting the role of women in football. In France, the UNFP intends to undertake an extensive consultation open to non-football stakeholders. in order to continue the discussion efforts over the medium term.

The role of the public authorities is also key, at various levels. For example, using proactive municipal policies to promote gender diversity in the use of sports facilities, urban policy and municipal initiatives (free use of indoor and outdoor facilities), rather than defaulting to the male perspective, could be a winning strategy.

This could also involve local subsidies for clubs, the introduction of training courses and a feminisation policy (a welcoming environment for female players, recognition of women in volunteer or salaried roles within the clubs, etc.).

I UNESCO. Gender Equality: Why It Matters. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Goal-5.pdf

Make combating stereotypes, sexist comments and sexist and sexual violence a top priority

Real and effective progress will be made on feminisation only if there is an equally strong commitment to combating sexist and sexual stereotypes, comments and violence.

This could be done, first, through training, by requiring that educators and anyone working in sports receive training on gender equality and combating stereotypes as part of their qualifications. It could also involve developing robust and controlled processes for combating sexist and sexual violence as can be found in universities, in addition to criminal proceedings.

Without financial support and resources, this substantive work will be in vain. It may be useful, for example, to set aside a percentage of the training budget to combat these types of discrimination.

Raise youth awareness of the feminisation of football

As we have seen, many prejudices about the role of women in football remain widespread in our societies. Given that some of these ideas are formed in childhood, and in keeping with the thrust of recommendation I.I, it would seem vital to raise youth awareness of the challenges surrounding the feminisation of football. This could be done by developing projects in collaboration with football clubs, or by organising hackathons with young girls and boys to start a campaign to combat sexism in football (educational projects in physical education, for example).

Continue to actively support women's football

The participation of young girls and women in football, which is the most visible part of the feminisation of football, has nonetheless been

called into question. Leagues have had to shut down mid-season or after a few years for a variety of reasons, including a lack of human resources, a lack of financial resources, and a lack of investment. It is therefore critical that the clubs and federations, with FIFA's encouragement, take on this issue and support these initiatives.

It is also now important to create conditions that allow young girls and women to decide to play football with no fear of criticism. This could involve adopting specific national laws or launching awareness-raising campaigns. Another idea would be to establish a UNFP award that recognises the best initiatives for promoting women's role in football.

Encourage the national federations to publicise their feminisation policies

A number of national federations already have relevant and relatively effective feminisation policies. The next step is therefore to communicate on the topic in order to encourage young girls and women to play football. One lever for action might be for each federation to publish a progress report on the feminisation of football at the local and national level. In addition to the prevention and training aspect, it may be possible to impose sanctions, in particular on federations that do not comply with gender equality legislation. Furthermore, in order to encourage the appointment of new members to the governing bodies, consideration could be given to barring individuals from holding multiple elected offices in the federations over time.

Here too, each national context is specific and it is therefore crucial that the communications campaigns reflect national circumstances, to ensure that they are relevant to the initiatives undertaken. At the same time, a good strategy might be to cooperate with other foreign federations, for example by adopting foreign best practices (mentoring, coaching, access to positions of power, etc.).

Continue to develop other types of participation

The women's game takes many forms, and faces different challenges in Buenos Aires and Kampala, in rural settings and mega-cities. To make football a real factor in the emancipation of young girls and women, it is important to consider the cultural, social and political diversity between and within countries. As women's participation in football may still arouse misgivings or outright bans, in view of its history and image, it may be advisable to increase participation in new games that are not as "tainted" by this legacy. For example, futsal is increasingly popular and is played in a more diverse group of regions than football. It would therefore seem important not to dismiss these types of games, which, like football, ensure young girls' involvement in sports organizations, thus enabling them to develop skills and qualities that promote their emancipation.

Emphasise the new geopolitics of football shaped by the women's game

While sports diplomacy has become a tool in its own right for states and certain organizations, the development of the women's game can take advantage of the growing interest in sport. Seen as a game that is less competitive and not as bound up in the hierarchy of nations, a winning strategy might be to focus on the feminisation of football. Furthermore, while contests to host major sports events have become increasingly expensive and competitive, those to host major women's competitions could be easier and in line with a positive trend towards feminisation, as is the case for the FIFA Women's World Cup France 2019TM.

The importance of supporting development

The interviewees routinely pointed to the question of support, which is key to developing the feminisation of football over the long term, in particular given the new challenges it will face.

Provide intensive and lasting support for training

As a number of experts have stressed, the question of training and support is critical. Recruiting referees, coaches and managers is not limited to obtaining a diploma or training but requires an investment and support to help these women improve their skills. This support should be provided regularly and enable women to progress and reinforce their abilities. It is just as important to think about national-level recognition of skills gained on the job.

This also holds true for players who want to be able to improve their game. The proliferation of competitions for all age categories is a step in the right direction but remains inadequate in some regions.

It would also make sense to develop and disseminate continuing education modules over a dedicated web platform overseen by the ministries of sports or the national federations (MOOCs, toolkits, personal testimonials, individual narratives, bibliographies, etc.).

In other words, the priority must be to feminise football over the long term, and not take one-off stand-alone actions with no follow-up.

Protect and support young players

While the number of semi-professional and professional women players is still low, they must be supported, assisted and protected to the same extent as their male counterparts. The interest shown by FIFPro with its publication of a report on working conditions in December 2017 is part of a positive trend, since this report is intended to "pave the way for decent and secure jobs for women as professional footballers". The core question of salaries is an issue that countries will now have to consider. The FIFPro report is a

I FIFPro report. 2017, op. cit.

key first step in learning more about the high levels of inequality. A more thorough exploration is needed both through new research to better analyse working conditions and thus identify disparities, but also by implementing concrete policies in the national federations so that women players can truly follow their passions.

It is also important to guarantee the safety of amateur players and provide them with adequate training to ensure that their participation receives proper support.

The necessary debate on the business model for women's sports

Although the question of the business model for women's sports only affects certain countries, it should be a top concern; the answer could ultimately be used as a template and inspire other leagues. Many experts believe that the current momentum in women's football requires that certain choices be made. What business model should "women's football" adopt? Are we trying to copy the "men's" model? Are we trying to develop a sui generis model? As such, a national debate is needed, in which the clubs have a key role to play in shaping this future. The failures of certain leagues, abandoned after several years precisely because there was no prior discussion, should be a warning to the governing bodies that they need to build a politically and economically sound project.

The vital role of the clubs

Oft overlooked, the clubs are nevertheless key grassroots players in the feminisation of football. Only an awareness of the importance of enhancing the role of women within the teams and organizations will bring about change.

This change could occur through simple actions, such as having every club post an anti-sexism charter drafted by all stakeholders,

but also by developing a more diversified game involving an emphasis on mixed-gender football games in the clubs for all ages or by organising open houses that encourage girls and families to visit the clubs.

Long-term projects can also be developed such as working with schools to raise awareness of equality between girls and boys and the fight against stereotypes.

It is, moreover, critical to make staff and toolkits available to deal with actual instances of sexism, following the arbitration model, for example.

It is also important to highlight the clubs' feminisation policies, similar to what Olympique Lyonnais has done in France. Best practices in the clubs must also be promoted through a national communications campaign adapted at the local level.

The vital media coverage efforts

Over the course of our research and interviews, the question of media coverage emerged as the key to the feminisation of the game. Accordingly, specific media coverage actions could be considered not just to develop the game but also to improve its quality.

Make the "invisible women" visible

Much like the designation "women's football", which is often presented as a "sub-category" of football, it is important to put names and numbers to the female players, coaches and managers. To that end, the clubs and federations, as well as the media, have a key role to play in giving these dedicated women a higher profile. By posting information on the clubs' sites, holding events to promote the teams and staff, and broadcasting matches and features, each of these actors can play its part to give these women greater visibility.

Promote high-quality media coverage

Many studies and interviewees touched on the importance of implementing an appropriate strategy that reflects the local environment in an effort to establish high-quality media coverage that meets specific expectations. This does not mean simply offering more talk, broadcasts and interviews without improving the context.

One-off initiatives may initially be welcome in order to attract attention. These should not remain exceptional but should, rather, be part of a longer-term approach. Media coverage could take the form of the creation of specialised websites where users can track the results of the local league or competitions, and thus fill the analysis and tracking void; it could also involve outreach through videos and the radio, to publicise existing initiatives. It must go beyond one-off actions and maintain a long-term focus. Media coverage of the feminisation of football should no longer be the exception but, rather, the rule that is taking its proper place on the political agenda. As such, it may be advisable to create a media observatory for the women's game.

Raise the media's awareness of the feminisation of football and its challenges

Despite the increased acceptance of women in the football world, the lack of understanding of the challenges associated with feminisation remains very high and can therefore, consciously or not, give rise to sexist and anti-lesbian prejudice. Actions must therefore be taken with respect to the media to heighten commentators' awareness of gender and diversity issues. Media coverage that is superficial and not focused on the game or uses clichés would be counter-productive, since it would establish a lack of understanding of "women's football" and its challenges. Raising awareness in journalism schools and newsrooms and developing certificate courses (basic and continuing education) could be worth pursuing.

It might also be worthwhile to encourage the media to promote women players' performance by establishing "rankings", dream teams or any other initiative that would highlight the intrinsic qualities of the women's game.

Lastly, newsrooms could take the important and rewarding step of drafting and adopting charters.

Encourage the emergence of role models

Many studies have shown that it is important to have role models in sports. Seeing a woman play, officiate or manage gives young girls and women someone they can identify with. They no longer experience their desire to participate in football as an exception, or even sometimes as an "anomaly" but, rather, as a wish to imitate the actions of a role model. In that respect, media coverage of role models is key to the ongoing feminisation of football and will encourage young girls and women to further commit to this community. Many channels could be used, including radio programmes, advertisements, sponsors, articles in local or national print media and speeches.

Take up the new media challenge

The emergence of new media and means of communication offers a real opportunity to develop the feminisation of football. While some barriers still exist in traditional media, which can be reluctant to give more space to news about women's football, these obstacles can be circumvented with new sharing platforms: there has been a significant increase in all sorts of communications, articles and profiles on Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp and Snapchat, giving effect to the feminisation of football.

The many documentaries and short web series also seem to be an excellent way to introduce the world of women's play and thus attract new players and referees or inspire women to take on responsibilities in local or national governing bodies.

Encourage initiatives that promote the feminisation of football

Given the importance that sport, and football in particular, has gained in the news, many actors outside the traditional sports world have now taken an interest in the issue. Far from weakening it, these initiatives that make sport central to their discussion are, instead, a positive. This report has made its authors more aware of the tremendous energy in the community and the selflessness of the men and women who have worked to make the many aspects and challenges of feminising football better known. For many watchers, the time for observation is now over and must give way to concrete action.

It is particularly important to recognise a number of individual initiatives, such as the creation of websites to track the development of a national league; documentaries that show the realities of the game in several countries around the world; the publication of photographs; the production of films; and the creation of academies for young girls. These initiatives, however modest they might be, play a crucial role in showing the realities of feminisation and provide a real incentive to continue the work.

Promoting the feminisation of football can also involve creating symbolic women's or mixed-gender recreational teams (jubilee, "Variétés Club", charities, politicians).

The key challenge of gaining a scientific understanding of the feminisation of football

The lack of data and analyses is a major

barrier that is impeding genuine progress on the feminisation of football. Without figures and historical data, implementation of development plans is more difficult and much less effective. A quantitative analysis of women's role in football is, therefore, one of the top issues. With this knowledge, it will be possible to develop the most appropriate mechanisms for making football an effective lever for women's independence.

Encourage social science research into the role of women in football and in sport in general

Discussions should also continue, even as concrete actions are being taken. The fact that a lot of data is unavailable or unreliable means that a wide range of analyses is impossible or irrelevant. Accordingly, with the aim of having women's importance in football increase at both the local and international level, an accurate understanding of the situation is now needed to effectively consider the development of this feminisation on the pitch, on the bench or within institutions. To that end, the activity reports published by UEFA are a strong first step for Europe and should be duplicated at every level. Research into women's participation in football and, more broadly, the role of women in football is still a largely unexplored area, although interest has been increasing in recent years. Further work, multidisciplinary work in particular, should therefore be encouraged at a time when women's football is undergoing rapid change. The current and future challenges as they relate to media coverage, financial development and the impact of feminisation policies, to name just a few examples, must be addressed in studies, reports and discussions. It is also important that these debates be cross-disciplinary, to ensure the most holistic view possible.

This, therefore, also requires financial, human and political support for social science research

into the role of women in football. It is also crucial to take a multidisciplinary approach, and to fund action-research related to national and international competitions.

Centralise output on the question of gender in football so it can be more effectively disseminated, by establishing a global observatory for women, physical education, physical activity and sport, as initiated by UNESCO

An increasing number of public and private players are taking action in this field and producing a variety of material: conferences, articles, theses, reports, exhibitions, books, documentaries and interviews. This output forms a set of resources that will be essential to the work of future analysts/researchers. The interviewees stated many times that they were unaware of the existence of certain documents or data. All in all, to encourage research and debate on this topic, it would be useful to centralise all of this output so that it can be used over the long term and contribute or lead to the development of new projects such as the creation of a global observatory for women, sport and physical

education. Its development was approved by UNESCO in 2007¹. The prominence that the feminisation of football - and of sport in general - has taken on in recent decades means it is increasingly critical that such a structure be established. This entity will make it possible to analyse, contextualise and, most importantly, support research on this topic of the future, so that specific recommendations can be made for each national situation. The Kazan Action Plan will trigger the operational start-up of this observatory.

Development and refinement of tools to track the most effective feminisation plans

For several years now, FIFA and the federations have been implementing feminisation plans that cover every group: players, referees, coaches and managers. However, we learned from numerous sources that tools need to be developed to ensure more accurate and effective tracking of long-term trends, by asking the federations to prepare status reports. This would, moreover, help ensure optimal use of the funds provided to the different federations for the development of "women's football".

I See 34 C/Resolution 36 of the General Conference of UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000156046/PDF/156046eng.pdf.multi

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Timeline of women's regional, continental and international competitions (partial list)

1970: 1st Women's World Cup, not sanctioned by FIFA

1974: 1st Nordic Football Championship

1975: 1st Asian Cup

1983: 1st OFC Women's Championship

1984: Ist European Competition for Women's Football

1985: 1st participation of women footballers in the Southeast Asian Games

1986: Ist CECAFA championship (second edition in 2016)

1990: 1st football tournament at the Asian Games

1991: 1st Africa Women Cup of Nations

1991: 1st Sudamericano Femenino (since 2014, women's Copa América)

1991: 1st CONCACAF championship 1991: 1st FIFA Women's World Cup™

1996: Ist participation in the Olympic and Paralympic Games

2000: Ist Caribbean Cup

2001: 1st edition of the Island Games

2002: Ist COSAFA (Council of Southern Africa Football

Associations) championship

2005: Ist West Asian championship

2006: Ist Arab Women's Championship

2009: Ist Copa Libertadores

2010: 1st South Asian championship

2010: 1st participation of women footballers in the South

Asian Games

2010: 1st Futsal World Tournament

2012: Mobcast Cup

2016: SheBelieves Cup

2018: WAFU Women's Cup

2019: FIFA Women's World Cup™ in France

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

Interviews were conducted in person, over Skype or through written exchanges.

ABILY, Camille, former French international football player (France)

ABOUNA, Marie Stéphanie, lecturer and researcher at ILEPS (graduate school for sports professions) (France)

ALEGI, Peter, professor of African history, popular culture and politics, and research director at Michigan State University (United States)

AYISI, Florence, director of "Zanzibar Soccer Dreams" and "Zanzibar Soccer Queens" (United Kingdom)

BACIC, Angela, editor of The Women's Game (Australia)

BARBUSSE, Béatrice, lecturer in sociology at Université Paris-Est Créteil Val-de-Marne (France)

BAREMAN, Sarai, Chief Women's Football Officer at FIFA

BÉLIVEAU, Sylvie, FIFA instructor since 1998, Senior Advisor, Varsity Sports Program, McGill University (Canada)

BIRHAHEKA, Pasteur, founder of the NGO "Sports pour tous" (Democratic Republic of Congo)

BOETTI, Mélina, former football player and co-founder of Little Miss Soccer (France)

BOUZOURA, Amel, director of sponsoring and sports partnerships, Française des Jeux (France)

BOY DE LA TOUR, Nathalie, president of the Professional Football League (France)

BRASSE, Didier, director of the France Women's Division, National Institute of Sport, Expertise, and Performance (INSEP)

BRESSON, Aurélie, founder and editor of the magazine Les Sportives (France)

CALLON, Corinne, national technical director, French Gymnastics Federation, French Ministry of Sport (France)

CHAMPIN, Laurie, diversity manager, INSEP (France)

CHARTRAIN, Cécile, co-president of the "Les Dégommeuses" association (France)

CHEVALLIER, Patrick, president of Femix'sport Occitanie (France)

COMMEGRAIN, William, journalist at Les Féminines (France)

CORDOUAN, Camille, journalist (France)

CORNU, Stéphanie, policy officer at the "Sport, Education, Diversity, Citizenship" National Resource Unit (PRN SEMC) (France)

COSTA, Sandra, journalist and founder of *Portal Futebol Feminino em Portugal* (Portugal)

CROCHU, Dominique, formerly the first woman to serve as director of the French Football Federation (FFF), partner at Digitaly (France)

DA CUNHA VOSER, Rogério, doctor at Pontífica Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil), member of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS - Brazil)

D'AGOSTINI, Franck, member of the local organising committee for the FIFA Women's World Cup^{TM} in France (France)

DELAPERRIÈRE, Madeleine, head of the International Relations Office, French Ministry of Sport (France)

DELORME, Nicolas, lecturer in sports science at the University of Bordeaux (France)

DESTOMBES, Sue, secretary general of COSAFA (South Africa)

DEYDIER, Brigitte, responsible for 2024 performance for the Olympic Games, French Ministry of Sport (France)

DORSEY, James M., research director at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University (Singapore), co-director of the University of Wuerzburg's Institute of Fan Culture (Germany)

DOWNES, Cheryl, editor at *The Women's Game* (Australia)

DURET, Sébastien, founder of the website footofeminin. fr (France)

DUSANG, Sandrine, former French international football player and editor at *Foot d'Elles*

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WHEN FOOTBALL RHYMES WITH WOMEN

What if, with very little fanfare, the year 2018 turned out to be a major milestone in the history of football? FIFA's publication of the very first "Women's Football Strategy", the awarding of the first "France Football" Ballon d'Or in history to Norwegian forward Ada Hegerberg; the record number of matches played by national teams; condemnation of insufficient media coverage - all suggest that the football world has recognised the importance of greater openness to women both on and off the pitch. If barriers still remain, it is however essential to implement, today, political, media or educational actions. This report intends to be a contribution for bringing new reflections to the current work carried out by universities, research sector or national and international organizations, particularly non-governmental organizations, in order to demonstrate that the issue of the feminisation of football goes beyond sports.





