PART IV

Society
This chapter explores some of the ways in which gender relations are played out in football and at some of the connections – and disconnections – between gender studies and sports studies. Gender intersects with other forces of differentiation and especially inequalities, such as those based upon class, race, ethnicity and disability, in sport. Football has its own distinctive capacities but gender relations remain a powerful force across the field of sport. In light of changing times and its popularity at all levels among a range of people, including women internationally, it might be claimed that football now occupies an equal playing field. The sport, which has a long history of class-based affiliations and a tradition of particularly male, working-class community support, is popular among young people of both sexes at grass-roots levels of participation as well of course as crossing generations in its huge support fan base, in many, if not all, parts of the world in the twenty-first century.

This trend towards fuller participation by women has recently been encouraged by the governing bodies of football. For example, FIFA expresses commitment to widening participation for women in its development programmes (FIFA, 2015a). Structures such as the FA Super League in the UK (Super League, 2015) also offer competitive possibilities for women as well as men in the sport.

The chapter starts by mapping out the significance of gender, first as an empirical category, for example in terms of the relative participation of men and women and the levels at which they play; and, second, and very importantly, as a concept which can be used to explain differences and inequalities in football and in society more widely. The chapter shows how sex and gender can be used as explanatory concepts through which to make sense of changes and continuity in football and as a means of evaluating the extent of the democratisation of football as well as the endurance of deep, gendered inequalities. Gender studies offer useful insights into participation in football and the culture and practices of the sport, for example in relation to gendered identities, especially masculinities. Gender in football is not limited to women: men too are gendered and the sport is a powerfully gendered field, although most of the strategies and policies which have been suggested to redress the gender imbalances in football have been directed at increasing women’s participation and have paid little regard to the configuration of masculinity within the sport. Any reference to gender in football tends to suggest women. One significant aspect of the focus upon women relates to widening participation and more women playing the game.
A changing game of numbers

The increasing numbers of women playing football as well as following the sport has had some impact upon its sexual politics and offers some evidence of progress towards a more gender equal playing field. FIFA estimates that there are currently 29 million women playing football at some level, of the total 265 million people playing the game (FIFA, 2015a, 2015b). The sport is becoming more popular in terms of the numbers of women and girls who participate (Williams, 2007, 2013). Much of the discussion of gender in sport is based upon statistical data, which show, usually increasing, numbers of participants and the debate evaluates greater democratisation of the sport according to these data. Gender as an empirical category suggests that football is changing, especially in terms of global statistics (UEFA, 2015).

According to the UEFA report Women’s Football, Across the National Associations, 2014–15 (UEFA, 2015b), significant progress has been made in expanding women’s participation in Europe. Thirty associations (up from 28 in 2013/14) have more than 1,000 registered adult players with Denmark, England, France, Germany, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden having more than 60,000 female players. Fifty-one countries have a women’s national league, and 53 associations have a national team. The UEFA report claims that in the nations with women’s associations, there has been a 4 per cent increase in the number of registered female players and the number of female players has grown five times since 1985. More and more girls are playing football, with the number of registered players under 18 now standing at over 750,000. The major challenge for associations, the report suggests, is not only to promote women’s football, but also to retain women playing in the longer term.

Progress is not only measured by the number of players on the field, at whatever level. It is also apparent that when one looks at the figures for women in comparison with men and the overall numbers, women’s participation remains very low, albeit growing. The report recognises that the majority of coaches and trainers of women’s teams are men, as are referees of whom there are a total of five million worldwide (FIFA, 2015b) although there have been developments on the latter; there are 7,461 qualified female referees, with 31 associations now having development programmes that target female referees (UEFA, 2015b).

The increases seen in the number of registered female players, the number of national associations organising a national women’s league, the number of football academies dedicated to girls and the number of associations adopting a strategy for women’s football are all signs of the incremental progress that is being made (UEFA, 2015b). The Football Association Super League (FA WSL) has recently begun, having been established in 2014, with two divisions (Super League, 2015), but greater visibility of women playing soccer is a key element in transformations; media invisibility marginalises women’s sport, as feminist critics have noted (Markula, 2009).

More media coverage was promised. For example, in 2015 the FA Women’s Cup final was held at Wembley for the first time in the competition’s history and was shown live on the BBC. Visibility at high-status locations matters. Sky has already played a significant role in broadcasting women’s sport, including football. This is the beginning of mainstreaming and all part of shifts towards changing times. Of national associations, 75 per cent have some form of television coverage. Highlights of national team matches, live national team matches and highlights of decisive league matches are the three most common types of coverage. A total of 11 national associations have ‘regular exposure’ on television (UEFA, 2105b: 34).

Unlike the men’s game, the professionalisation process in women’s soccer however, is in an incipient state and the sport is thus not dominated by the global sport media nexus, which shapes developments in the men’s game to a large extent, which may have advantages as well as
disadvantages, for example in terms of visibility. The enduring inequalities which include the intersection of race, ethnicity, sexuality and gender, although gender carries some distinctive aspects (Caudwell, 1999; Scraton et al., 2005), in the men’s game through its governance and culture (Goldblatt, 2015) might yet invade the women’s sport, but, so far, for women, what matters is performance and opportunities. The women’s game, in spite of its popularity at the start of the twentieth century (Hargreaves, 1994), in the twenty-first century is at an early stage. Nonetheless progress has been rapid in terms of numbers of participants. Growth in the women’s game has led to more widespread player migration as new forms of professionalism emerge (Williams, 2013).

World championships, which are the top-ranking competitions of national teams, as well as indicators of the development, performance level and the global spread of a sport, are also indicative of the extent to which women are playing a greater role in soccer worldwide. In the USA, women’s soccer has had a sustained presence in recent years, with the US women’s team having won more international competitions than any other national team with ten million registered women players (Markovits and Hellerman, 2003). Nonetheless, even with extensive media coverage the women’s game is still subject to patriarchal and often sexualised constructions in the media. As Markovits and Hellerman argue, soccer, in spite of its popularity in terms of numbers of participants, occupies a relatively marginal space in the sports landscape in the USA. Women’s presence in international competition, for example championships in sports, which have a relatively short history, such as women’s soccer is also largely unremarked but nonetheless of considerable significance. The Women’s World Cup, which has been organised by FIFA since 1991, attracts an increasing number of teams, which participate in the qualification matches. The number of participants and their performance demonstrate that women’s soccer has now spread to many parts of the world (Williams, 2007), including China where there has been considerable recent growth (Hong and Mangan, 2003). However, the recognition and support given to women’s soccer, as well as its organisational bases, vary considerably from country to country; for example, although there were 120 football federations listed in the FIFA Women’s World Ranking with an active national squad in 2013, women’s soccer leagues exist in only 61 countries (Williams, 2013). Numbers alone deliver little about reasons and explanations, however. What can an understanding of sex and gender offer?

**Sex gender definitions and categories**

Gender and women’s studies have made enormous contributions to understanding the importance of sex and gender as social systems and processes which have significant impact upon social relations. Some theorists have differentiated between sex as a biological category, based upon anatomy, genetic make-up and reproductive capacities and gender as a social, often culturally specific set of practices, dispositions and ways of being in the world (Oakley, 1972; and see Woodward, 2011 for further discussion). Sex as a biological category has been influential in shaping what are now called gender verification tests in sport in a process which has increasingly accepted that human sex is not simply a scientifically definable biological category, but one inflected and influenced by cultural, social and psychological forces. The distinction between sex and gender has been useful in challenging deterministic views which reduce women to a set of fixed biological attributes and deny the possibility of change: an approach which has so clearly been challenged in sport where, for example, women are constantly improving standards and in some sports, such as swimming have already surpassed earlier records set by men. In football the limits of sex are best illustrated by the increasingly skilful, assertive and inventive play of women’s teams from the Doncaster Belles and Charlton to more recently,
Manchester City and Arsenal (WiF, 2015). This is not to say that bodies and biology play no part and that there are no limits. Human beings operate within enfolded constraints, but bodies and biology are not the same things (Rose, 1985) and sporting bodies can be trained and remade (Woodward, 2009).

Gender has been the preferred term for many scholars within gender and sports studies because its incorporation of social and cultural forces allows for the possibilities of change and gender suggests a social system rather than a very limited biological category. Sex can also confuse biology with bodies. Bodies are not only central to sport, but they are also the focus of its practices and its transformations. Gender, although, might underplay the centrality of bodies and embodiment; and gender studies theorists like Judith Butler have endeavoured to meet this challenge by arguing that sex and gender are enmeshed and interconnected (Butler, 1990, 1993). Sex is socially constructed and put into discourse through practice and sex, as well as gender, is performed and, according to Butler, made through routine everyday practices, which include those on the pitch and in the changing room.

Sex and gender are not the same as sexuality but sex and sexuality often overlap in football, not least in expressions of homophobia and the heteronormative culture of football. Aggression on the terraces in football is still expressed in misogyny and homophobia and football is embedded in what Butler calls the heterosexual matrix (1990).

Gender and sport

Sport is organised around two sexes: there are men’s competitions and women’s competitions and a legacy of women’s sports and men’s sports although this is changing, not least with the inclusion of boxing in the Olympic Games in London 2012 (Woodward, 2014). In the governance and practice of sport, it is also seen to be particularly important to be able to be certain about the category to which participants belong. The understanding of what Michel Foucault called a regime of truth about sex and sexuality (Foucault, 1981) in the world of sport, is much less fluid and mobile than in many other social worlds. The possibilities of transformations, which technoscience and changing cultural norms promise in relation to gendered performance, hold limited sway in sport even though sport is increasingly subject to ever more sophisticated training and performance enhancing interventions.

Football as a sport is premised upon a sex–gender binary, which informs its regulatory framework and the embodied practices of practitioners. A version of masculinity, which is deeply embedded in traditional norms of heterosexuality and physical aggression is part of the culture and practice of football.

The governing bodies of football such as FIFA and the FA, which have subsections for the women’s game, are not only dominated by men numerically, but are also premised upon the cultural and social primacy of the men’s game (the World Cup is the men’s competition; only the women’s is marked by gender) and establishes men and masculinity as the norm.

There are women’s competitions and men’s competitions and very few that are mixed, especially at the highest levels. Mixed doubles in tennis is one of the few competitive mixed sports with public recognition, unlike foursomes in golf which are more low status, leisure activities with the high prizes and kudos going especially to top male golfers. Mixed competitions are still based upon the supposed balance of the female–male binary and take difference on board in all its dimensions; enfolded difference and that of cultural practice and recognition which means that male athletes top the table in terms of rewards and mixed activities are mostly relegated to the lower echelons of both status and reward. Bodies matter in sport and the characteristics of male bodies in terms of size, weight, and upper–body strength for example, are
Gender and football

particularly celebrated. However fluid gender categories may be in parts of contemporary western cultures and however far gender studies engages with the nuances of queer politics (Butler, 1990, 1993) and the politics of lesbian, gay, bi, trans and queer translated into the diversity politics of LGBTQ citizenship (Richardson and Robinson, 2015), in sport they remain firmly entrenched in a clear dichotomy of difference, which is also one which privileges one aspect of the binary, notably that of the male and the attributes of masculinity (Woodward and Woodward, 2009). The impact of sport resonates far beyond the pitch, field, ring, pool and track (Woodward, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c) and is particularly a field in which hegemonic masculinity is enacted and circulates (Connell, 1995), which is well illustrated in football. Periodically, as in the 1990s there is the emergence of the alternative figure such as the new man or ‘metrosexual’ embodied in David Beckham (CNN, 2013; Telegraph, 2013). Dominant discourses remain homophobic and heteronormative, nonetheless, not least because the ‘metrosexual’ Beckham’s own orientation was enduringly heterosexual, whatever his interest in fashion and his appearance. Football demonstrates the endurance of particular versions of masculinity which, at the time of writing in the second decade of the twenty-first century appears to include the eruption of violence on the field of men’s play and on the terraces as well as a disturbing misogyny.

Violence in sport

The persistence of violence against women across the globe is well documented (WHO, 2015) and football is far from exempt from gendered aggression among men as part of the display of aggressive masculinity and by men against women. Although it seems shocking to claim that sport and violence against women are inextricably linked in the contemporary world, violence has become taken for granted (Huffington Post, 2013). There have been several instances of violence, in international competitions, in the Premiership, among players (Luis Suárez), around the ground among spectators and, in one of the most widespread but often least publicised forms, against women. The case of the Sheffield United footballer Ched Evans, who was convicted of rape before having the ruling overturned on appeal, might have been the tip of the iceberg.

The evidence is widespread, not least in the UK, which has prided itself on being in the vanguard of social equality (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010) and anti-racism in sport through organisations like Kick it Out (www.kickitout.org). There is now increasing recognition that violence against women has to be addressed. Violence against women often involves domestic violence, which implies private actions within the home, but every mega sporting event, especially the big men’s sporting competitions like the men’s football World Cup, generates concerns about the exploitation of women sex workers and increased domestic violence against women. When such stories hit the news media they demand explanation in order to address what is a continuing social problem. Violence against women is not only a personal individual trouble, it is also a large-scale social problem in which gender inequalities and traditional gender roles play a key part, not least in sport. Recent publicity given to the NFL scandals in the USA (Guardian, 2014b) show the endurance of patriarchal power structures and, sometimes, deeply embedded misogyny within sport. Periodically violence erupts among male spectators as in the recent case of Albania v Serbia, which UEFA, not surprisingly, deemed ‘unacceptable’ (Guardian, 2014c). Such activities involve the intersection of ethnic, and class-based forces with those of a traditional masculinity which acts aggressively.

Another element in this masculinity leads some men to assume the right to vent their anger and frustration on the bodies of women and to discriminate against women in a number of
different ways, which include the sexualisation and marginalisation of women. The gender politics of sport goes much further than policies and practices about women being permitted and encouraged to participate freely and competitively in all sports, even those traditionally associated with male competitors (although this is a significant start). Cases of hostility of misogyny have to be addressed before sport can really be equal and just. There has been collusion with male aggression in relation to women’s place in sport in the past, but the field of sport is changing and patriarchal assumptions are being challenged.

If these unequal and even aggressive relations can be made in sport they can be overturned and new gender relations can be created. Sport does not simply reflect social relations and inequalities; sport also generates social divisions and inequalities, not least in relation to the making and remaking of particular traditional, embodied masculinities, as well as being a site of transformation and of opportunities for change and more democratic practices. This has been acknowledged for some time in the rhetoric of equality and gender inclusion which has, for example in the UK been translated into legislation and the promotion of a set of diversity policies aimed at wider social inclusion.

Rehearsing the rhetoric of social inclusion and diversity is not enough. Indeed, it is not enough to wear the T-shirt with the equal opportunities or anti-racism, anti-sexism slogan. Things are changing with not only recognition of the issues and presentation of evidence, but also a call for action. International bodies like the UN and the WHO have identified the pressing need to tackle the global problem of violence against women, which has been called domestic violence. Gendered critiques of violence against women in sport have highlighted the oppressive culture of misogyny which has pervaded sport, especially elite men’s sport, such as football, where players are seen as role models for young fans. When a player is imprisoned for rape, as Ched Evans of Sheffield United (Telegraph, 2014) was, there have been protests about his reinstatement at the club on his release from prison. Progress has been made first by recognising what is happening and by naming it. This exposure of violence has led to engagement with the activism of resistance, which, in the UK for example has come from a variety of sources with campaigns such as End Violence Against Women (EVAW, 2011; see also Guardian 2014a). These activities are not spoil sport because they reclaim sport as a democratic and shared enterprise and one which has to be reconfigured to eliminate the misogyny which marginalises and damages women, to create a fair playing field which we can all enjoy.

Women and the men’s World Cup

The 2014 men’s World Cup was marked by some diversity in the weeks leading up to the competition. The critical social comment paid more attention to the problems of poverty and the politics of corruption than sexual divisions and gendered inequality in Brazil – or in football. It was not so different from the situation in 2010 when women were silenced as pundits. On that World Cup occasion the main media focus on gender was about women being sex workers. This resulted because in South Africa prostitution was legalised temporarily as one of the entertainments to be laid on for fans (BBC, 2008) in recognition of the increase in demand for sex workers at mega events attended by large numbers of men. There was opposition from church leaders but support from sex workers, for whom this would be an employment opportunity. This acknowledges the problems of poverty and the deep inequalities embedded in sex work.

The role of WAGs (wives and girlfriends of football players) is sadly a topic which was revisited in some press coverage in the run-up to the 2014 men’s World Cup. It is quite difficult to read the comparisons of different ‘WAGs’ as anything but objectifying and sexualising
women and doing nothing for football, although women making the best of their lives through an association with a footballer is perceived as entrepreneurial too in light of England manager, Roy Hodgson’s decision not to invite wives and girlfriends along to Brazil (although of course they can make their own arrangements for travel and accommodation).

Change is marginal and incremental but women’s expertise in the sport is being recognised. One of the most significant factors is the growing presence in the public arena of the media of women who are there to talk about football because they know about football. Football may not be the best place to look for change in the sexualisation of women (Woodward and Woodward, 2009) but more women playing the sport and more women being involved as serious pundits is a start.

**Gender and the men’s World Cup**

The men’s World Cup in 2014 might have signalled some small-scale transformations in the binary logic of sex and gender, which operates so powerfully in football. Not only is the sport divided into the men’s and the women’s games in the actual practice of the sport at all levels, but also its culture is dominated by patriarchal values and a traditional hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Woodward, 2012a). Hegemonic masculinity refers to a social and cultural version of masculinity which is constructed through associations with male, especially patriarchal, power which values traditionally male qualities of aggression and force, which are exercised not only over women, but also men who do not concur with its values and prescriptions. Hegemonic masculinity operates through networks and cultural practices, which in the contemporary world can include those of journalists and commentators as well as the governance of sport and players themselves.

Even though it was the men’s competition in 2014, it might have been possible to see some evidence of change. Women were included, if not in commentating on games, as experts who could be interviewed about the national team’s prospects. There was the usual discussion of players’ sexual partners under the category of wives and girlfriends, who even in 2014 were called WAGS (World Cup, 2014), sex workers (McKenna, 2014) and the customary visibility of attractive reporters who, unlike the vast majority of male commentators, tend to be appointed for their appearance, and clear enunciation, rather than experience of playing the game or particular expertise. Although all mega events attract some discussion of the working opportunities afforded by the presence of large groups of men a long way from home, in a configuration of hegemonic masculinity which is embedded in the culture of football, one hoped for change in 2014 and there were some glimmers of light and there was some evidence of incremental change.

These issues raise dilemmas for the football fan, who has a commitment to equality, not least in the negativity of such inequitable forces, such as those which sexualise women and deny them the right to be taken seriously as players, or indeed fans (Woodward, 2012b). Critical analysis both demonstrates the entrenched patriarchal structure of football and alternatively highlights the excitement the sport offers and argues for change, which can make football more socially inclusive and broaden its base and widen its appeal (McKenna, 2014).

But 2014 was certainly not all negative; there were opportunities and possibilities, which promised transformations or at least marginal incremental shifts including the acknowledgement of expert knowledge, such as that of statistician Dr Susan Bridgewater and some expert commentators in the run-up, for example by the BBC prior to the big event itself. Women footballers were also interviewed in the sports media. For example, Arsenal player Rachel
Yankey was invited to comment on England’s chances before the competition, as a serious pundit (Yankey, 2014).

Overall, 2014 showed little departure from previous masculine-dominated mega football events, however, and the culture and practices of hegemonic masculinity remained entrenched on the pitch and in the sociocultural context and location of the competition. Aberrations and aggressive practices on the pitch received no comment from sports commentators based on an analysis of the enactment of embodied masculinity. This tournament, like many mega events, suggests that gender in sport is more an outcome of masculinity than femininity.

The resistance to women’s full participation in football might be less attributable to particular (Woodward, 2009) practices such as tackling like a girl to paraphrase Iris Marion Young’s essay *Throwing Like a Girl* (2005), but more about kicking (and biting) like a boy. There is a case to be made that in evaluating the extent of sex equality in soccer, attention should be focused upon masculinity rather than assuming the ‘problem’ to be femininity or that gender is just about women and in particular about empirical evidence of participation in the sport. The popularity of football and increased numbers of women who play is enormously important in democratising the sport, but a concentration upon numbers is not the whole story of changing times. Nonetheless, football is very popular at all levels and its growth across the globe is encouraging for wider participation.

Change is marginal and incremental but one of the most significant factors is the growing presence in the public arena of the media of women who are there to talk about football because they know about football. Football may not be the best place to look for change in the sexualisation of women (Woodward and Woodward, 2009) but more women playing and more women as serious pundits is a start in transforming the gendered culture of football.

**Gendered Culture**

The signs on the pitch are encouraging, with the increased involvement of women, but there is little evidence of any cultural shift towards a more inclusive sport and gendered hostility endures. Misogyny remains part of contemporary social life. It is one thing to exclude women from participation on the pitch and within regimes of governance and even the public space of media representation, but misogyny goes much further. In the wake of the National Football League scandals in the USA in 2014, there have been myriad examples of misogyny in football. In the UK, ongoing debate about the reinstatement at various football league clubs of the (at the time) convicted rapist Ched Evans through 2014, on his release from prison on licence and cases of what was called sexist chanting at Premiership grounds, suggest that there remains deep antagonism against women in football. In spite of the UK priding itself on anti-racist and diversity policies aimed at promoting social inclusion, the last bastion may indeed be prejudice against women. Apologists for such chanting which has been called ‘banter’, fail to acknowledge the hatred, which informs and underpins such practices (Gibson, 2015). Owen Gibson suggests more female role models and interestingly highlights the temporal dimensions of contemporary sexist practices, especially in relation to the endurance of an unequal sexual politics. He suggests that the culture of football remains unchanged since the 1970s; it also remains framed by a defensive discourse couched in terms of good humour and the platitude that sexism is a joke and not serious (Gibson, 2015). Another aspect of the debate, which demonstrates a conversation with the past, is the use of the term sexist, which has largely been abandoned in contemporary gender studies where other axes of power have been identified (Richardson and Robinson, 2015; Woodward and Woodward, 2009).
Gender and football

The Football Association has called upon fans to report sexist abuse at games after being shown disturbing scenes of women officials and staff being subjected to obscene chants. For example, BBC footage showed Chelsea’s former doctor, Eva Carneiro and a female assistant referee Helen Byrne suffering taunts and extreme verbal abuse in 2015. FA board member Heather Rabbatts stated that such abuse should not be tolerated and pleaded with fans to report. While such behaviour is formally unacceptable to clubs, which have a responsibility to implement equality legislation, as with anti-racism programmes there is an element of paying lip service to statutory requirements and failing to address the embedded cultures of social exclusion and prejudice.

The club had no option but to state its opposition as Chelsea claimed to in this case (BBC Sport, 2015). This is not only a matter of individual responsibility of fans or of clubs; it also demands an exploration of the persistence of such entrenched attitudes and a culture shaped by gender relations over a long period of time. The greater participation of women in football, including line judges and medical staff at the pitch side forces the sport to confront these attitudes. In the 2014–15 English Premier league football season, there have been, at the time of writing in March 2015, 25 match–day incidents of sexist abuse reported to anti-discrimination campaign group Kick It Out (Kick it Out, 2015; WiF, 2015), whereas in the previous season, there were only two. No action has been taken by football’s governing bodies against the perpetrators due to lack of specific, direct evidence, but the reporting of these misogynous acts, including the documented abuse of Chelsea medical staff, suggests that this is structurally and culturally enduring and is a phenomenon which challenges the more positive features of football for women.

Manchester City, the club against which Chelsea was playing when the abuse was so loudly expressed as the doctor ran onto the pitch added that new training programmes should be implemented (BBC Sport, 2015), which suggests, given the length of time that the UK has had anti-discriminatory legislation, either that the club thought battles against discrimination had been won or that gender equality was not something high on the agenda.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of gender to an exploration of the culture and practices of football. Football is a strongly gendered field in which issues of gender, sex and sexuality play a large part. It is only possible to understand gender relations in football if gender is understood as a key social and cultural affiliation of human beings. However, they are classified in terms of sex and whatever gendered identity people adopt. Gender studies suggest that sex, sexuality and gender are interconnected. Thus by focusing on the meanings and structures of these relationships and how they are played out in football, it is possible to go beyond understanding sport, and football as a particularly popular and important sport which involves powerful feelings and attachments as well as being a key component of the exchanges of global capital, in terms of description of participants and spectators. Violence and hostilities on and off the pitch are part of the making and remaking of masculinities, which are constitutive of the culture of football. Gender is concerned with much more than how many women are playing football, although the increased numbers are hugely important and likely to contribute to changes and the greater democratisation of the sport where its embodied practices are available to all those who want to participate, in whatever capacity.
References


FIFA (2015a) www.fifa.com/mm/document/footballdevelopment/women/01/59/58/21/wf_backgro


Gender and football


—(2012a) Sex Power and the Games, Basingstoke: Palgrave.


