

‘Must Women play Football?’ Women’s Football in Germany, Past and Present

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Abstract

Soccer was from its beginnings a game for boys and men. Whereas in some countries like England or France, women played soccer after the First World War, in Germany football was male only. Several attempts by women to participate in this sport failed and it was only in 1970 that women were officially accepted on the soccer fields. Despite the growing interest of German girls and women in soccer and despite the successes of the German teams, women’s soccer was and is still marginalised. This article provides an overview of the history of women’s soccer in Germany and discusses the chances and barriers for female soccer players today. The interpretation of the development of women’s soccer is based on theoretical discourses about gender and the gender order. From this perspective ‘doing sport’ is always ‘doing gender’ and playing soccer is still a demonstration of masculinity.

Fighting for possession of the ball, the ‘squad’ of eleven players and ‘*Deutschland vor – noch ein Tor*’ (‘Germany in the lead – another goal we need’): there are numerous associations, symbols and myths linked with football that glorify not only masculinity but also national superiority. In the world of football women have always lived in the shadows. But, all things considered, what is masculine about playing football? Kicking a ball and trying to get it into a net is surely something that both women and men can do. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1970s that women were able to conquer the male preserve of football. This paper traverses the arduous path that German women football players had to take from being marginalised to being tolerated and from there to being gradually accepted in sport and in society.

Sport is a man’s world: The development of women’s sports in Germany

Both gymnastics as well as its German counterpart *Turnen* were developed by men for men.¹ On the grounds reserved for *Turnen* at the beginning of the nineteenth century young men were taught to love, and trained to defend, their fatherland. These grounds were no place for women. It was not until the 1830s that sporadic demands were made for the introduction of ‘physical exercise for the weaker sex’ so that ‘maidens’ cheeks [might] blossom with the healthfulness of roses and lilies and their delicate limbs [be] blessed by the goddesses of beauty and grace’.² While girls had been able to take part in gymnastics lessons at a number of schools for daughters of well-off families or

in the gymnastics courses of several sports clubs since the middle of the century, it was not until the end of the 1880s that adult women began to take up *Turnen* or participate in gymnastic games (*Turnspiele*) pioneered by the movement. There arose not only independent women's gymnastics and women's sports clubs but also women's sections of men's clubs, which were, however, mostly unwilling to grant their female members any rights while at the same time expecting them to fulfil their (financial) obligations.

While opposition to women's *Turnen* slowly decreased, sport was still considered to be particularly 'unfeminine' because of its orientation towards performance, competition and record-breaking. Nevertheless, women, too, were overcome by the growing fascination with sport and dared, individually at first, to take up various sports from cycling and tennis to skiing. After the First World War, a heated debate emerged regarding the question of whether women should take part in sports contests. Karl Ritter von Halt, the well-known athlete who later became a leading sports official, believed, for example, that 'contests belong to men by right; they are totally incompatible with women's natures . . . so let us do away with the Women's Athletic Championships'.³ Von Halt, however, did not succeed in pushing through his demands; increasing numbers of women began to take up athletics, and women's athletic events were even incorporated into the Olympic Games in 1928 for the first time. Besides athletics, women's handball was a contested terrain. Handball had been developed out of various early forms of the game at the end of the First World War as a *Turnspiel* for women, and it had become increasingly 'sportified' after men, too, started to play the game. Thus, handball changed from a female pastime to a male sport.

'Ladies' play football – for a good cause

Even more than athletics and handball, football belonged to those sports that, according to popular belief, 'was not suited to the female disposition, looked anomalous and deforming, and therefore should be left to the male of the species'.⁴ This, however, did not stop women in England and France from trying out football as a game for themselves.⁵ As early as 1894 a 'British Ladies' Football Club' was inaugurated and only a year later various women's teams were playing matches against each other in England before thousands of spectators, both male and female.⁶ Accompanied by the nationalist fervour of the First World War, women's football reached a zenith when football matches were organised between women's teams in order to raise money for charity. In 1921 there were around 150 women's football teams in England, one of the best known and most successful being the Dick, Kerr Ladies Football Club, founded in 1917. The 'ladies', who all worked in the Dick, Kerr Munitions and Engineering Works, not only played matches against other English women's teams but also against foreign women's teams, for example against a team from France in 1920. The return match took place in Paris in the autumn of 1920 in

front of 22,000 spectators. After the war, charity matches lost much of their significance and in 1921 the Football Association urged clubs to end their support for such 'spectacles', which were now felt to be unbecoming to women. Despite the founding of a Women's Football Association, the ban proclaimed by the Football Association signalled the decline of women's football in England, even if it did not prevent women from playing football.⁷

In France, teams were founded during the First World War.⁸ In 1917 the first women's football championships were held and in 1922 two Football Cup competitions were introduced. In the 1920s, numerous matches took place not only between French teams but also against women's teams from other European nations.⁹ Although a French Women's Football Association was also founded, opposition to women's football had long been smouldering, and in the early 1930s this opposition became more virulent. It was above all the 'street urchin-like' appearance of the young women that seems to have provided a special target for criticism.¹⁰ During the course of the 1930s news reports of women's football in France became rarer until they vanished completely.

This comparatively tolerant attitude towards women's football in England and France is partly due to the exceptional circumstances prevailing during the First World War, but it can also be attributed to specific constellations of sports politics, not least to the existence of and competition between various women's sports organisations. Despite repeated news in Germany of football matches being played between teams of women in England and in France, there was never any question about the belief that the football field was no place for German women.¹¹ 'All types of sport which go beyond a woman's natural strength, like wrestling, boxing or football, are unsuitable; furthermore, they look unaesthetic and unnatural' was, for example, how Willy Vierath expressed it tersely in his book *Modern Sport*, published in 1930.¹² Consequently, few women dared to expose themselves to the criticism of 'masculinising' themselves by playing football. Thus, it was not until 1930 that the (reportedly) first German women's football club was founded in Frankfurt, its 35 members, all of them young women, training regularly on Sundays on the Seehofwiese in Sachsenhausen. After press reports of this 'scandal' caused a public outcry, the women's football club ceased its activities in 1931.¹³

This brief excursion into the history of football shows that, although playing football was labelled everywhere a man's activity, the intensity of the opposition to women entering this male domain varied from country to country. It also shows that there was always a more or less close association between football and masculinity.

Why is football a male preserve? Theoretical considerations

The question therefore arises as to why it is particularly in football that women are faced with such intense opposition. The answer on this question is connected with our scientific or everyday theory about the 'nature' of men and

women. How are gender and the gender order produced and reproduced in different historical periods and societies? And what role does sport play in this process? I propose to interpret the development of women's football using a theoretical concept of gender, which allows an integration of other theories, including concepts about socialisation, biographies and life courses.

According to Judith Lorber, and this is a good, succinct summary of her approach, gender is 'a process of social construction, a system of social stratification, and an institution that structures every aspect of our lives because of its embeddedness in the family, the workplace and the state as well as in sexuality, language and culture'.¹⁴ She bases her arguments on the following assumptions: 'The social reproduction of gender in individuals reproduces the gendered societal structures; as individuals act out gender norms and expectations in face-to-face-interaction, they are constructing gendered systems of dominance and power'.¹⁵

In recent years, the studies of several authors from different scientific areas have supported Lorber's main theses about the social construction of gender. Stefan Hirschauer for instance interpreted gender as a system of knowledge and the French biologist Natalie Angier demonstrated how the signs and signals of the body are used to reinforce the prevailing gender ideology.¹⁶ According to these authors gender is not a homogeneous entity, it has different dimensions and must be interpreted as a life-long process with ambivalences and contradictions. Lorber suggests that a distinction should be made between the various components of gender on the individual and the institutional level.¹⁷

Gender as an institution

Despite intercultural variability, most societies develop rigid and consistent gender relations, which undergo only gradual change, and which repeatedly produce an imbalance of power between the sexes. Gender, as a social institution, structures society and organises daily life.¹⁸ Social responsibilities and duties are allotted according to gender, age, class and ethnic origin, the categorisation being legitimised by norms and values and carried out by institutions such as religion and science, law, administration, schools and the media. In these domains gendered scripts are produced that influence thinking and behaviour as well as perceptions and interpretations in everyday life.¹⁹

Western societies are based on the dichotomy and polarity of two sexes.²⁰ The female/male dichotomy is one of the most powerful dichotomies pervading all social fields and is inextricably interwoven with the symbolic cultural system. In addition, as emphasised by Robert Connell and Lorber, the organisation of the labour market is both the basis and the product of the gender order.²¹ The decisive factors here are firstly the responsibility of women for reproduction, and secondly the economic structure of our society, which can be characterised as a dual economy, that is the combination of paid work in the production process and unpaid work of women in the reproduction process.

Individual appropriation of gender

Gender relations and identities are based on institutionalised arrangements between and among men and women and are appropriated in life-long socialisation processes. As Helga Bilden emphasises, it is the very process of interaction that leads to 'self-training in cultural practices', in which gendered social reality is appropriated and at the same time the symbolic order of gender duality is represented?²²

Doing gender

People are categorised as belonging to social groups and also to one or other of the sexes by means of outward features such as dress, hairstyle, the way they move or their body language. As a rule this happens unconsciously. Even though what is considered typical and befitting a man or a woman changes according to the cultural context, it is always more or less strictly defined. Gender, therefore, is not something we are or have but something we produce and do. As Lorber suggests: 'Gender is constantly created and re-created out of human interaction, out of social life, and it is the texture and order of that social life . . . it depends on everybody constantly doing gender'.²³ The ubiquitous gender signs and signals are taken for granted to such an extent that they are not consciously perceived. In this way, the production of gender takes place unnoticed and the hierarchical relationship between the sexes is 'naturalised', that is, regarded as natural and taken for granted.²⁴ The way gender is enacted and how 'doing gender' functions can be seen in the 'masquerade' of transvestites and transsexuals; and with this example, indeed, those who construct gender are caught in the act.²⁵ The terms 'staging/enactment/acting out' and 'masquerade' do not mean, of course, that genders can be changed or modified as one pleases.

Doing gender in sport

Since sport is physical activity, and involves the presentation of the body and the demonstration of the body's capacity to perform, doing sport is always doing gender. This means among other things that definitions and social contracts on which sport is constituted, as well as the associations and evaluations which are connected with sporting activities, are created through discourse, constructed socially and influenced by the gender order. Consequently, the different types of sports are stereotyped as male or female, and women and men develop preferences for certain sports and skills in certain disciplines in accordance with gendered social norms, values and expectations. The experiences and emotions conveyed by sport are, in turn, filtered through gender identity and thus serve to reinforce this identity.²⁶

Why then has football got the tag 'male'? The exclusion of girls and women from football has to do, first of all, with the labelling of the game as a competitive sport. In contrast to *Turnspiele*, like castle ball or tambourine ball,

football was considered in Germany from the late nineteenth century onwards to be competition-oriented, strenuous, aggressive and potentially dangerous. Well into the twentieth century a good number of *Turner* (gymnasts) and *Turnlehrer* (gymnastics coaches) did what they could to resist the spread of football in boys' schools, which they described deprecatingly as an 'insult to the ball'.²⁷ They criticised boys and men for playing football, but playing football was totally incompatible with the prevailing ideal of femininity.²⁸

Even today football has connotations of rough and aggressive play and this is a reason for viewing women's football sceptically, for marginalising it or even rejecting it. Women players interviewed in various projects agree that now, as before, football is regarded as a tough, male sport.²⁹ Several studies have pointed out how sport is used for the production and demonstration of masculinity. This is especially true for soccer and to an even higher degree for American Football, which is a clear demonstration of 'male' traits like strength, power, and aggression. Michael Messner describes doing gender in football in the following terms:

Football, based as it is on the most extreme possibilities of the male body . . . is clearly a world apart from women, who are relegated to the role of cheerleaders/sex objects on the sidelines . . . in contrast to the bare and vulnerable bodies of the cheerleaders, the armoured bodies of the football players are elevated to mythical status and as such, give testimony to the undeniable 'fact' that here is at least one place where men are clearly superior to women.³⁰

As Eric Dunning was able to show, using rugby as his example, sport gains particular importance as a source of male identity in times when a shift takes place in the balance of power between the sexes.³¹ Football teams can be interpreted, from their rituals and enactments, as male bonds, alliances founded above all on the exclusion of women and the rejection of both femininity and all the qualities related to it, such as gentleness and mildness.³² This 'polarity of gender traits', namely those unchangeable, nature-induced differences between the sexes, however, not only plays an important role in male bonds but is anchored in society as a whole. Women who play football have transgressed the socially fixed boundaries between the sexes; they pose a threat to ideals and myths of masculinity and call into question the prevailing gender order, and with it the whole social order. Thus, attempts to keep women off the football pitch were by no means just simply a question of sport but had to do with the structure and the legitimacy of the social order as a whole.

Finally, it must be noted that in Germany, as in many other countries, football is a national sport, the sport with which the German (male) population identifies. National sports and myths of masculinity are interwoven here in a

particular way: 'A specific male identity is produced and maintained in the national sport of any given society. This explains why the national sport in every society is not only a male preserve . . . but is also bound up with sexual claims, needs and anxieties'.³³ This explains why, even after the War, women were confronted with resistance when they wanted to enter the soccer fields.

'Ladies' football' after the Second World War

When women in Germany again began to take an interest in football after the Second World War, the German Football Federation (DFB) was forced to consider whether or not to recognise women football players. Its reaction in 1955 was one of total rejection, forbidding its clubs from either founding women's sections or putting their grounds at the disposal of women's teams. Nevertheless, in 1957 'neglected football dames' and lonely 'football wives' presented the DFB with a 'revolutionary demand: "equal rights for all! We want to play football, too!"'³⁴ At the same time football matches were played between women's teams, and in 1957 there was even a women's international between Germany and Holland in the Komwestheim stadium near Stuttgart. Many spectators were attracted to the stadium by the promise of a highly amusing and entertaining afternoon. Although it appears that the women played quite creditably, reports of the game contained descriptions of the women covered in mud but failed to mention the result.³⁵ In the same year a match took place between a women's team from West Germany and a women's team from West Holland in the Dante Stadium in Munich in front of 14,000 spectators. While the sports reporters spoke enthusiastically about the victory of the West German team, 'the spectators, the majority of whom were men', seem to have taken a less sporting 'and even less than gentlemanly attitude': 'The men clapped and slapped their thighs and burst out laughing whenever a player slipped and fell on the grass'. In the same article, there was also a report on a 'West German Women's Football Association' with 22 affiliated clubs.³⁶

The author of this article then put forward the proposal that the DFB should incorporate women's football and take it under its wing in order to stop sensationalism and profiteering, and prevent women's football from sinking to the level of women's wrestling. Banning women's football was pointless, the author went on, and did not make any sense since ideals of femininity had changed and women had proved themselves in many other types of sport. A later edition of *WFV Sport* carried the reply: the author, a doctor, agreed that the DFB should open up a section for women's football in order to 'put a stop to abuse and excesses'. At the same time, however, he totally rejected football played by women on both aesthetic and medical grounds. His arguments ranged from special anatomical characteristics such as knock-knees and the difficulty of conditioning female muscles to the 'diminished ability to reproduce' and the masculinisation of women football players.³⁷ In 1957 the question was raised again and again: 'Should women play football?'³⁸

Neither the demands of women football players nor the founding of their own association succeeded in inducing the DFB to change its mind. On the contrary, in 1958 it was again unanimously confirmed that grounds, apparatus and referees were not to be put at the disposal of women's football teams.³⁹ The DFB, too, cited medicine in support of its arguments. An expert opinion drawn up by doctors warned of the dangers that women allegedly exposed themselves to while playing football.⁴⁰ The doctors were supported by the renowned philosopher F.J.J. Buytendijk, who had remarked in his psychological study of football published in 1953 that:

Football as a game is first and foremost a demonstration of masculinity as we understand it from our traditional view of things and as produced in part by our physical constitution (through hormonal irritation). No one has ever been successful in getting women to play football. . . . Kicking is thus presumably a specifically male activity; whether being kicked is consequently female – that is something I will leave unanswered.⁴¹

In the 1950s and 1960s because of the DFB's negative attitude, women were only able to play football 'unofficially' in recreational teams.

Women's football becomes socially acceptable

It was not until 1970, at the DFB's national conference in Travemünde, that 'ladies' football' was officially recognised. The reason for this change of mind was, as Hannelore Ratzeburg, the best-known of the DFB's women officials, notes, the fear of losing control over the women's football movement, all the more so since in the meantime several women's football clubs had been founded.⁴² The *Oberst Schiel* women's team in Frankfurt had formed a club two years before, in 1968, for example.⁴³

The growing 'empowerment' of the female soccer players and the decrease of resistance are closely connected with general social developments, which changed, among other things, women's roles and women's lives. In the 1970s the increasing level of education and the growing integration of women in the labour market as well as the new women's movement contributed to a new image and a new self-concept of women who identified themselves no longer with the 'weaker sex'. The most important change was the invention of methods of birth control that allowed women greater choice about their bodies and their futures. In this climate of women's 'liberation' it was no longer possible to keep women in their traditional areas inside and outside sport.

A pioneering role was also played by women's football initiatives abroad. In Italy, for instance, a first unofficial World Cup tournament was held in 1970, which was watched by 35,000 spectators and in which a selection of women players from German clubs from two small cities, Bad Neuenahr and

Illertissen, took part.⁴⁴ Since women's enthusiasm for football could no longer be suppressed, it was thought that they should at least be 'kept on the right track' via suitable guidelines. Thus, in collaboration with a female doctor named Bausenwein, the DFB's Games Supervisory Committee developed a set of rules on how the game should be played by women's teams. In the years that followed, however, these rules proved for the most part to be superfluous, if not senseless, and today there are only two regulations that apply exclusively to women: first, the ban on tackling the goalkeeper in the penalty area and, secondly, the possibility of protecting the body with the hands.⁴⁵

The rise of women's football

In 1971 the West German Football Association held the first football training course for female students. Though enthusiastically received by participants, the course leader was less convinced and thought that the only benefit of such courses for the Association was the role of the future physical education teachers as multipliers. In primary schools they would possibly have to teach boys and might instil in them a love for football.⁴⁶ This course was soon followed by others in which girls and women were coached in 'ladies' football, rather than in the physical contact version.⁴⁷

In the 1970s women's football in West Germany experienced a rapid growth, reflected in the institutionalisation of the game: in 1971 the first knockout competitions were organised, in 1972/73 championship matches took place in the regional associations of the German federal states and in 1974 the first German championships were held.⁴⁸ In 1980/81 club cup matches were introduced in which all women's teams could take part regardless of the league in which they played. Since then selected regional teams have competed for the DFB Women's Federal cup.⁴⁹ In 1985/86 regional and upper leagues were introduced. In 1990 teams were divided into fourteen regional leagues (regional league, association league or upper league) and a national league with two divisions of 10 teams each. Since 1997/98 twelve teams have formed a national league with a single division in an attempt to concentrate women's football on the best clubs, thereby raising playing standards.⁵⁰

In the German Democratic Republic, women's football spread during the 1970s, without being officially recognised as a top-level competitive sport. In 1979 a working group on women's football was set up to develop the game at both local and state level. In 1979 a survey was carried out for the first time to determine the best players and the best clubs, although championships were not held. It was not until the late 1980s that an upper league was introduced and not until 1990 that the German Football Association, which was shortly afterwards incorporated into the DFB as the Regional Association (North East), 'finally gave women's football the recognition it had fought for 21 years'.⁵¹ Women players from former East Germany were then integrated into German women's football as organised by the DFB.

In the 1980s major breakthroughs were achieved by women's football at the international level, and German women belonged to the best and most successful players of the game. The first unofficial world championship in women's football, held in Taiwan in 1981, was won by German club team SSG 09 Gladbach, whose members had to finance the trip themselves. Subsequently, in 1982, an 'official' national team was formed from the best players. In the same year the German women's eleven played their first international against Switzerland, which they won five to one. Since then 88 internationals have been played, of which twenty were lost, 55 won and thirteen games were drawn. In 1989, 1991, 1995 and 1997 the German women's national team won the European championship.⁵² In 1991 the first official world championship was held in China, where the German team took fourth place. In the second world championship tournament in Sweden in 1995 the German team lost to Norway in the final, thus becoming runners-up in the world champion title. Women's football became an Olympic discipline in the 1996 Atlanta Games.⁵³

The spread of girls and women's football is due partly to the establishment of women's committees and the appointment of officials in charge of girls and women's football within the DFB and the regional associations. Ratzburg, who in 1977 was the first woman to be made a member of the DFB's Games Supervisory Committee, together with the bodies and individuals responsible for girls and women appointed in the period that followed, initiated numerous projects and schemes in order to not only establish women's football as a recognised sport but to ensure its continuous growth and development.

Women's football today

In 1996 the DFB counted 706,346 women members. Despite the rapid recent growth (from 1990 to 1996 the growth rate amounted to almost thirty per cent) girls and women still only represent a small minority of twelve per cent of DFB members. Moreover, it can be assumed that the majority of girl and women members of the DFB do not play football, at least at competition level. In 1996 there were, in effect, only 4,760 girls' and women's teams registered with the DFB, that is, a mere three per cent of all teams. This means that only about ten to fifteen per cent of the DFB's female members take part in official DFB-organised games.⁵⁴ Women's football is becoming popular not only in Germany but also all over the world; in 1994 about 20 million girls and women played football in 85 national associations affiliated to FIFA.⁵⁵

The continuing development and the record of success of women's football in the past should not be allowed to obscure the fact that female football players are still confronted with numerous problems. Opposition on the part of male players, officials and the general public persisted well into the 1980s and still exists today, if perhaps in a more subtle form. The most effective weapons against women's football were mockery and ridicule, but doubts about the abilities of the players also belonged to the repertoire of

arguments put forward by opponents of women's football. The football idol Paul Breitner, for instance, expressed the opinion that women's football 'was wrecking the game of football'.⁵⁶ As late as 1994 female players reported to a journalist of the *TAZ* newspaper, herself a woman, about the 'strange reactions' they met with when they told people about their hobby, such as: 'You wouldn't be able to tell from looking at you' or 'Can women do that?'.⁵⁷

In football associations and clubs, there were doubts about the abilities of the players. Football played by women should 'be a most elegant game and pleasing to watch. They should not fight for the ball roughly and stubbornly, since that does not suit them at all'.⁵⁸ To put women's football in an appropriate framework, instructions for training and playing were published, for example in the journal of the West-German Football Association.⁵⁹ Techniques and tactics were repeatedly glorified but it was also emphasised that women players could not and should not emulate their male counterparts: 'It is here that the training of techniques, especially those of kicking the ball, differs from men's training. The ball is not to be kicked with the same force and intensity that men use, for example, when shooting at the goal or clearing. They [the women] will pass the ball to each other, for instance'.⁶⁰ Elsewhere it stated: 'Women, of course, are not Günter Netzer or Fritz Walter. All the same, they, too, can learn this sophisticated shot'.⁶¹

A further problem that is still as topical and as serious today as it ever was is the lack of women in executive bodies.⁶² Almost without exception, decision-making bodies are made up of men, and it is very difficult to assert claims or push through demands. Monika Koch-Emsermann, a player and coach from the early days of women's football, remembers that 'just about everything was turned down' that she proposed and she slowly acquired the reputation of being a virago.⁶³

The development of women's football also depends to a large extent on the work of committed coaches who are favourably disposed towards women. It was not until 1985 that the first woman applied for a licence as a football coach. By the end of 1994, 24 women had obtained 'A' licences and five had qualified as coaches.⁶⁴ Then, in 1996, Tina Theune-Meyer became the first woman to be given the position of national coach; her assistant, Silvia Neid, is a member of the women's national team. Nevertheless, it is still difficult today to find coaches, whether male or female, for girls' and women's football teams. And, with a women's share of 1.3 per cent among referees, refereeing is still firmly in men's hands.⁶⁵

At club level, women's teams usually play 'second fiddle', even when they are more successful than the men's teams. The clubs' lack of interest in women football players' results in discrimination – from the allocation of pitches to financial backing.⁶⁶ 'We are the flagship of our club', commented an association league player in M. (a town in Westphalia), 'but when it comes to financial support, we're always at the end of the queue'.⁶⁷

In contrast to their male counterparts, female football players still have amateur status. Whereas women in the USA earn up to \$US150,000 a year and great sums are involved in Japan's women's professional league, playing women's football in Germany continues to be unpaid.⁶⁸ Not only are most players unpaid, they must also pay their own expenses.⁶⁹ Further, bonuses paid to these players for winning international matches are poor. While each player received DM30,000 after winning the men's European Cup in 1980, the women of the successful team in the 1989 European championship were presented with a coffee set. Because of the lack of funding, and the 'double burden' of work and football, top-level training is often scarcely possible for female players.⁷⁰

A further problem is that of motivating talented girls to play football. At school, football plays only a minor role, if any, and does not usually have a very high standing for girls. It is not 'cool' in the same way as horse-riding or ballet are. Thus, it is difficult to form girls' teams and even more difficult to keep them together.⁷¹ Teams that do exist often suffer from fluctuation and a lack of continuity. In addition, many parents are not exactly thrilled when they learn that their daughter has discovered a taste for football.⁷² After the final of the 1995 World Championship in women's football Gero Bisanz commented: 'We have seen that football is a sport for women and I hope that many parents will give up their aversion to girls playing football'.⁷³

One of the greatest problems facing women football players is the lack of public interest. Women's football matches are played virtually in private, so to speak. In 1993, for example, women's football was shown only three times on television for a total duration of four hours and twenty-one minutes. In 1995, the year of the qualifying games for the European championship, approximately five hours of women's football was broadcast.⁷⁴ In the print media, too, women's football scarcely exists.⁷⁵ Today journalists still find it difficult to comment enthusiastically on women's football. Even so, the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a German daily newspaper, wrote in 1989: 'A few years ago the spectators used to sit there highly amused and slapping their thighs; today the predominant feeling is one of recognition'.⁷⁶

Women's football is caught in a vicious circle. The lack of interest shown by the media and, thus by the general public leads to a corresponding lack of interest among sponsors, which hinders the professionalisation of women's football and prevents it from getting the public attention it deserves. Changes are not only possible, they are inevitable. There are many steps already done on the way to lead women's soccer out of the shadow. The success of the German national team in the last years and the positive image of women's soccer in the US will contribute to a better acknowledgement of this sport. In this way sport can contribute to a deconstruction of gender symbols and images. Playing football for women presents and performs an image that differs from traditional feminine ideals. The question arises if this will lead to a change in 'doing masculinity'? How will the balance of gender difference regained?

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8. On the development of women's football in France see Laurence Prudhomme, 'Sexe faible et ballon rond. Esquisse d'une histoire du football féminine', in *Histoire du Sport Féminin. Vol. I.*, eds. Pierre Arnaud and Thierry Terret (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 111-26.
9. For example, see the report on the cup final in 1926 in *Fémína Sport*, vol. 7, 1926, 10ff.
10. *Sport und Gesundheit*, vol. 11, 1932, 16.
11. On women's football in other countries see *Sport und Gesundheit*, vol. 17, no. 9, 1938, 18.
12. Willy Vierath, *Moderner Sport* (Berlin: P. J. Oestergaard, 1930). 61.
13. Bianka Schreiber-Rietig, 'Die Suffragetten spielten Fussball', *Olympisches Feuer*, vol. 2, 1993, 36-41. See also *Das Illustrierte Blatt*, 27 March 1930. On the development of women's football in Austria, see Matthias Marschik and Christa Maria Eder, 'Männerspiel – Frauenspiel. Die Männlichkeit des österreichischen Fussballs und die

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Versuche, Frauenfußball zu etablieren', *SWS-Rundschau*, 36, 1996, 317-28. Women's attempts to play football in Austria in the 1920s and 1930s were met with great opposition and were finally abandoned.

14. Judith Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 5.
15. Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*, 7.
16. Stefan Hirschauer, 'Wie sind Frauen, wie sind Männer. Zweigeschlechtlichkeit als Wissenssystem', in *Was sind Frauen? Was sind Männer? Geschlechterkonstruktionen im historischen Wandel*, ed. Christiane Eifert (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1996), 240-57; Natalie Angier, *Frau. Eine intime Geografie des weiblichen Körpers* (Munich: Bertelsmann, 2000).
17. Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*, 31-5.
18. Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*, 15
19. Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*, 1
20. Carol Hagemann-White, 'Die Konstruktion des Geschlechts auf frischer Tat ertappen? Methodische Konsequenzen einer theoretischen Einsicht', *Feministische Studien*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1993, 68-78; Karin Hausen, 'Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere" – eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben', in *Seminar: Familie und Gesellschaftsstruktur*, ed. Heidi Rosenbaum (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1978), 161-95; Ute Frevert, *Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann. Geschlechterdifferenzen in der Moderne* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1995).
21. Robert W. Connell, *Gender and Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987); Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*.
22. Helga Bilden, 'Geschlechtsspezifische Sozialisation', in *Neues Handbuch der Sozialisationsforschung*, eds. Klaus Hurrelmann and Dieter Ulrich (Weinheim: Beltz, 1991), 279-301.
23. Lorber, *Paradoxes of gender*, 13
24. Marie-Luise Angerer, ed., *The Body of Gender. Körper. Geschlechter. Identitäten*. (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 1995).
25. Hagemann-White, 'Die Konstruktion des Geschlechts auf frischer Tat ertappen?'; Gertrud Lehnert, *Wenn Frauen Männerkleidung tragen* (Munich: dtv, 1997) suggests that the term 'masquerade' be used for the staging/enactment/acting out of identities. She also points out in this connection that masquerade and identity are identical and no authentic subject is concealed either behind or beneath it.
26. See for example Gabriele Klein, 'Theoretische Prämissen einer Geschlechterforschung in der Sportwissenschaft', in *Und sie bewegt sich doch*, eds. Ulrike Henkel and Sabine Kröner (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1997), 103-25.

27. On the general resistance to women's football see Gertrud Pfister, 'Sport auf dem grünen Rasen. Fussball und Leichtathletik', in *Vom Ritterturnier zum Stadtmарathon. Sport in Berlin*, eds. Gertrud Pfister and Gerd Steins (Berlin: Forum für Sportgeschichte, 1987), 68-96.
28. Gertrud Pfister, "'Der Kampf gebuehrt dem Mann": Argumente und Gegenargumente im Diskurs ueber den Frauensport', in *Sport and Contest*, eds. Roland Renson, Theresa Gonzalez Aja, Gilbert Andrieu, Manfred Laemmer and Roberta Park (Madrid: Instituto National de Education Fisica de Madrid, 1993), 349-65.
29. See for example, Karin Linsen, 'Frauen im Fuß ballsport – zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit', in *Für eine andere Bewegungskultur*, eds. Ulrike Henkel and Gertrud Pfister (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1997), 245-61.
30. Cited in Jim McKay, *Managing Gender: Affirmative Action and Organizational Power in Australian, Canadian and New Zealand Sport* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), 22.
31. Eric Dunning, 'Sport as a Male Preserve: Notes on the Social Sources of Masculine Identity and its Transformations', in *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*, eds. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 267-307.
32. See various contributions in Gisela Völger and Karin v. Welck, eds., *Männerbände Männerbünde*. 2 Bde (Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, 1990).
33. Michael Klein, ed., *Sport und Geschlecht* (Reinbek: Rororo, 1983), 18; on the link between national symbols and myths of masculinity see Ute Gerhard and Jürgen Link, 'Zum Anteil der Kollektivsymbolik an den Nationalstereotypen', in *Nationale Mythen und Symbole in der zweiten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, eds. Jürgen Link and Wulf Wüefling (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1991), 17-42.
34. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 7, no. 7, 11 April 1957.
35. *Christ und Welt*, 19 September 1957.
36. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 7, no. 7, 11 April 1957.
37. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 7, no. 11, 13 June 1957.
38. *Sport im Spiegel*, 14 June 1957; Carl-und-Liselott-Diem Archive, Deutsche Sporthochschule Cologne, Liselott-Diem-Collection, File 334.
39. Liselotte Diem, 'Frauen-Fußball - ein Stück Emanzipation?', *Das Parlament*, 22/23 June 1978, 11.
40. Beate Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball* (Dortmund: EFeF, 1995), 25.
41. Frederik J.J. Buytendijk, *Das Fussballspiel. Eine psychologische Studie* (Würzburg: Werkbund, 1953), 20.

42. DFB, ed., *Damenfussball – Grundlagen und Entwicklung* (Frankfurt: DFB, 1983); Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball*, 31.
43. See Hannelore Ratzeburg and Horst Biese, *Frauen Fussball Meisterschaften* (Kassel: Agon Sportverlag, 1995), 21 ff.; on the development of women's football see also Makrina Kröger, *Frauenfussball in der öffentlichen Diskussion – Entwicklungen und Veränderungen seit 1970* (Unpublished Examensarbeit, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1996); Gudrun Laur, *Mädchen- und Frauenfussball – (k)ein Thema für den Schulsport?!* (Unpublished Examensarbeit Pädagogische Hochschule, Weingarten, 1997). In addition, numerous reports and articles on sport were used which appeared in the magazine for women's football "*dieda*".
44. Hannelore Ratzeburg, 'Fußball ist Frauensport', in *Frauen-Bewegung-Sport*, ed. Sylvia Schenk (Hamburg: VSA, 1986) 85-95.; Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball*, 31.
45. DFB, 'Damenfussball', 12 ff.
46. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 21, no. 13, 1 July 1971.
47. See the coaching instructions printed in various issues of *WFV-Sport*, 1971 and 1872.
48. Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball*, 35.
49. Ratzeburg and Biese, *Frauen Fussball Meisterschaften*, 21 ff.
50. Kröger, *Frauenfussball in der öffentlichen Diskussion*, 31.
51. Doreen Meier, 'Frauenfußball in der DDR', in Ratzeburg and Biese, *Frauen Fussball Meisterschaften*, 37.
52. On the successful record of the German women's national team see Gero Bisanz, 'Mannschaftsführung aus psychologischer Sicht am Beispiel der deutschen Damen-Nationalmannschaft', in *Psychologie im Fussball*, ed. Gunnar Gerisch (St. Augustin: Academia, 1995), 23-9.
53. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3 August 1996; See also Laur, *Mädchen- und Frauenfussball*.
54. Deutscher Sportbund, ed., *Bestandserhebung* (Frankfurt: DSB 1997), 5; see also Linsen, 'Frauen im Fußballsport', 245-61.
55. *Dieda*, no. 5, 1994, 8.
56. *Charucho*, vol. 1, 1986, 23.
57. *TAZ*, 23 September 1994, p. 14; see also Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball*, 80.
58. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 21, no. 11, 10 June 1971.
59. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 21, 1971; *WFV-Sport*, vol. 22, 1972.

60. *WFV-Sport*, vol. 21, no. 11, 10 June 1971.
61. *WFV-Sport*, no. 20, 21 October 1971; Soichi Ichimura and Roland Naul, 'Cross-Cultural Assessments and Attributions to Female Soccer: Japan and West Germany', in *Sport for All: Into the 90s*, eds. Joy Standeven, Ken Hardman and Dick Fisher (Aachen: Meyer and Meyer Verlag, 1991), 212-46; Dieter Muetzelburg, 'Spezifische Probleme der Fussballausbildung von Mädchen und Frauen', in *Beitraege und Analysen zum Fussballsport*, eds. Roland Naul and Werner Schmidt (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Deutsche Vereinigung für Sportwissenschaft, 1987), 103-12; Roland Naul, 'Sportwissenschaftliche Analysen zum Frauenfussball', in *Beiträge*, eds. Naul and Schmidt, 38-58; Alexander Thomas, 'Zur Sozialpsychologie des Damenfussballs', in Dirk Albrecht, ed., *Fussballsport* (Berlin: Bartels und Wernitz, 1979). 218-36.
62. See the figures in Linsen, 'Frauen im Fußballsport'.
63. *Carucho*, vol. 1, 1986, 23.
64. Ratzeburg and Biese, *Frauen Fussball Meisterschaften*, 48.
65. Linsen, 'Frauen im Fußballsport', 248.
66. See *dieda*, no. 5, 1994.
67. Linsen, 'Frauen im Fußballsport', 256.
68. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 May 1995, p. 18; *Spiegel*, no. 45, 1995, p. 191.
69. According to Fechtig, *Frauen und Fussball*, 43 the highest salaries in women's football are around DM300 per month.
70. *Fit for Fun*, no. 6, 1995, 204
71. Laur, *Mädchen- und Frauenfussball*.
72. This is revealed in the biographies printed in *dieda* and is also confirmed by statements made in interviews. Today's parents increasingly seem not only to accept their daughters' interest in football but also to encourage it.
73. *Die Welt*, 20 June 1995.
74. Walter von Mende, 'Frauenfussball und die Medien', *dieda*, vol. 6, 1995, 6-8.
75. See the analysis of contents undertaken by Kröger, *Frauenfussball in der öffentlichen Diskussion*.
76. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 June 1989.