



## Article

# Covid-19: Reflections on threat and uncertainty for the future of elite women's football in England

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1 **Covid-19: Reflections on threat and uncertainty for the future of elite women's football**  
2 **in England**

3 Beth Clarkson, Alex Culvin, Stacey Pope & Keith Parry

4 **Abstract**

5 This commentary offers an analysis of the implications of Covid-19 on the future of elite  
6 women's football, with the intention of reflecting on and illuminating the threat and  
7 uncertainty facing the game. Topics covered include (1) organisational and economic  
8 repercussions; (2) consequences for player contracts, migration and investment; and (3)  
9 player wellbeing. These significant challenges require swift and decisive action in order to  
10 mitigate their potential effects. Recommendations are made for governing bodies, parent  
11 clubs and practitioners, in addition to possible future research directions for academics. We  
12 reflect upon what can be done during and post-pandemic to continue the momentum and  
13 growth of women's football in England, highlighting the need for football clubs to learn from  
14 previous crises by embracing innovation and entrepreneurship.

15

16 *Keywords:* coronavirus, Covid-19, sport, women's football, elite football, wellbeing

## 17 **Introduction**

18 In 2020, the world has witnessed the spread of coronavirus disease 2019 (Covid-19) to nearly  
19 every country in the world. Having emerged in China at the end of 2019, its global impact led  
20 the World Health Organisation (WHO) to declare a Public Health Emergency of International  
21 Concern (PHEIC) (WHO, 2020a). Global fear about the potential for rapid spread of Covid-  
22 19 has resulted in substantial restrictions to lives across the world (Hellewell et al., 2020),  
23 travel bans (WHO, 2020a), and the cancellation of mass gatherings and events (WHO,  
24 2020b). Many major sports events around the world have either been cancelled or postponed.  
25 Postponements have also hit most domestic sports leagues, including Association football  
26 (hereafter football) in England.

27

28 The English Football Association's (FA) suspension of competitive fixtures of elite men's  
29 and women's football has been consistent, however the pressures placed on them by the  
30 pandemic are different. The financial consequences of postponed games and reductions in  
31 broadcasting revenue will be significant in men's football; however, questions are raised  
32 around the extent to which this will be passed on to elite women's clubs, many of which are  
33 already economically fragile. For the majority of these, the biggest losses will be felt through  
34 organisational and economic repercussions (e.g., maintaining personnel costs, loss of  
35 commercial sponsors), consequences for player contracts, migration and investment, and  
36 player wellbeing. Indeed, the infrastructures, personnel, and commitment of those involved in  
37 the game's development were under significant strain prior to Covid-19 (Wrack, 2020a).

38 With this in mind, the present commentary offers a brief analysis of the implications of the  
39 pandemic on the future of elite women's football, with the intention of illuminating the threat  
40 and uncertainty facing the game.

41

## 42 **The landscape of elite women's football in England**

43 The relationship between women and football is complex, highlighted through a controversial  
44 FA ban of women's matches being played on the grounds of FA affiliated clubs between the  
45 years of 1921-1971 (Williams, 2013). Women's football had been a popular sport during the  
46 First World War, with thousands of spectators attending matches, but this ban in 1921  
47 instigated the decline of the sport (Dunn & Welford, 2015; Petty & Pope, 2019). While the  
48 purpose of this commentary is to analyse the impact of Covid-19 on the shape of today's  
49 game, it is important to highlight some of the history of elite women's football in England to  
50 (a) contextualise the way that elite women's football looks today, and (b) understand the  
51 origins of the current pressures.

52

53 Since the reintroduction of organised women's football in 1971, the game has experienced a  
54 significant image problem in English football culture with players facing stereotypical  
55 attitudes and gender discrimination, as well as perceived associations with lesbianism (Harris,  
56 2005; Pope, 2018; Scraton, Fasting, Pfister, & Bunuel, 1999). At this time, tensions existed  
57 over the direction of women's football, with some advocates pushing for integration with  
58 well-established and dominant structures of men's football and others favouring a liberal  
59 approach aligned with radical feminist ideals of separation (Welford, 2018). Direction was  
60 provided in 1993 when The FA took back control of women's football, with the game's  
61 development centred on participation growth ahead of commercialisation, spectator support,  
62 and media interest (Williams, 2003). As a result, stereotypical attitudes and gender  
63 discrimination were not overtly challenged by the governing body. Over the following twenty  
64 years, and perhaps owing to this direction, women's football struggled to recruit fans to the  
65 game (Pope, 2018).

66

67 The 2015 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Women's World Cup  
68 saw England win the bronze medal and domestic viewing audiences peaked at over two  
69 million (Burnton, 2019). Petty and Pope (2019) showed that coverage of this tournament was  
70 generally very positive, focusing on the skill and achievements of the England national team,  
71 rather than undermining their achievements and reducing them to sex objects. They argue  
72 that elite women's football has entered a 'new age' of media coverage, with a shift towards  
73 greater equality. This suggests that attitudes towards women's football have been changing in  
74 recent years. At this time, the FA also launched a strategy to advance elite women's football  
75 by translating support for the national side into active interest in domestic leagues. The top-  
76 tier of elite women's football, The FA Women's Super League (WSL), was formed in 2011  
77 and initially operated over the summer period in a bid to create its own identity, attract fans,  
78 sponsorship and media interest (Fielding-Lloyd, Woodhouse, & Sequerra, 2020). The FA  
79 announced in July 2016 that the league would move from summer to winter, in line with the  
80 traditional football calendar in England and other women's leagues around Europe, with an  
81 aim to improve the performances of the English national side at major tournaments. Record  
82 attendances have been observed at the Women's FA Cup Final for the last five years,  
83 currently standing at 43,264 in 2019 (Football Association, 2019a).

84

85 The 2019 FIFA Women's World Cup in France was also highly successful, exemplified by  
86 average viewing numbers of 17.27 million, more than double the 8.39 million average set by  
87 Canada in 2015 (Fédération Internationale de Football Association, 2019). Following the  
88 success of this tournament, which saw England reach the semi-final before losing out to the  
89 eventual winners of the tournament, the USA, one survey suggested that one-third of adults  
90 now consider themselves interested in the women's game and 69 percent of those believe that  
91 women's football deserves the same profile as the men's game (Barclays & YouGov, 2019).

92 Professionalisation of the WSL also came into effect at the start of the 2018/2019 season – a  
93 major milestone in the development of the elite women’s game. Proposed changes to Super  
94 League licences were approved by the FA and clubs were encouraged to meet new criteria in  
95 order to secure professional status (Garry, 2017). New criteria included: a minimum of 16  
96 hours contact per week for players; a minimum level of investment per club; an academy as  
97 part of club and financial fair play and salary cap. The second tier, the Women’s  
98 Championship, is now made up of 11 teams who meet part-time criteria. However, this  
99 overall growth in the women’s game has stretched the infrastructures, with some media  
100 commentators arguing that more could be done by seemingly wealthy parent clubs to ensure  
101 poor playing surfaces, low wages and inadequate conditions are brought up to the standard of  
102 a semi-professional and fully professional league system (Culvin, 2019; Wrack, 2020a). We  
103 now turn to consider the potential impact of Covid-19 on elite women’s football, specifically  
104 to predicted organisational and economic repercussions (e.g., maintaining personnel costs,  
105 loss of commercial sponsors), consequences for player contracts, migration and investment,  
106 and player wellbeing.

107

### 108 **Organisational and economic repercussions**

109 The financial viability of clubs is a topic that has been discussed by academics and  
110 practitioners alike (e.g., Hoffmann, Chew Ging, Matheson, & Ramasamy, 2006; Hudson,  
111 2019; Klein, 2018; Wrack, 2019). Significantly increased revenues from TV coverage and  
112 sponsors have started to gain traction. For example, the FA recently signed a three-year, six-  
113 figure deal with Sky Mexico and Scandinavian broadcaster NENT to broadcast the WSL  
114 matches overseas for the first time in its history (Football Association, 2019b). However,  
115 revenues are still lagging behind the record attendances and growth in popularity of the game.  
116 One way that Covid-19 threatens elite women’s football is in a diminishment of expected

117 income from gate receipts, sponsorship, and merchandising, likely caused by drops in global  
118 economies. A long-standing disparity in sponsorship spending between men's and women's  
119 sport has meant that women's football clubs are restricted to a small pool of potential  
120 sponsors (Shaw & Amis, 2001). This pool may shrink further as companies who previously  
121 wanted to invest in women's football, may no longer be in a financial position to make such a  
122 contribution. Clubs will, therefore, need to focus their scarce resources into marketing  
123 departments to maximise their revenue potential from such sources. Yet, there is likely to be  
124 increased competition for funding as all clubs fight for access to a smaller pool of potential  
125 sponsors. Commercial deals or sponsorship represents a large percentage of WSL clubs'  
126 income, dwarfing their matchday and broadcasting revenue streams. For example,  
127 Manchester City Women FC recently detailed their turnover activity in their 2019 financial  
128 report as comprising: commercial activity (79.7%), WSL central development fund (10.2%),  
129 matchday (6.0%), and broadcasting (4%) (Millington, 2020). This breakdown exemplifies  
130 WSL clubs' reliance on commercial deals and sponsorship, and why the restricted pool of  
131 sponsors as a result of Covid-19 threatens the future of elite women's football. In the face of  
132 such adversity, marketing departments must look to innovative funding solutions away from  
133 traditional (men's) football sponsorship. For example, in the short-term, they may look to  
134 explore alternative sources of funding, such as crowd funding (Abdourazakou & Leroux-  
135 Sostenes, 2016). A key advantage that women's football possesses over men's football is the  
136 greater access for fans to players, therefore we recommend that marketers utilise this unique  
137 feature of the game as a differentiator to potential sponsors.

138

139 Given the significant investment by the FA since professionalisation occurred in 2018, it will  
140 be of great concern for elite women's football that the governing body have predicted the  
141 economic consequences of Covid-19 as likely to be in excess of £100 million (Independent,

142 2020). As the FA is a non-profit organisation, this will impact the ability of the governing  
143 body to reinvest in all levels of the game. Worryingly, when the FA has previously been  
144 faced with ‘financially turbulent times’, it has cut investment in the women’s game  
145 (Woodhouse, Fielding-Lloyd & Sequerra, 2019, p.2007). Yet, investment allocation in  
146 executive positions has been protected and steadily increasing over recent years (Maguire,  
147 2020). It is currently unclear whether funding to elite women’s football will be significantly  
148 reduced, but many clubs who already struggling financially will be rightly concerned about  
149 the threat that Covid-19 poses to their future if the FA does not continue to fund elite  
150 women’s football.

151

152 The FA may need to look to other ways to recoup those economic consequences with  
153 innovative strategies. For example, they may wish to capitalise on the 12-month delay to the  
154 Women’s European Championship tournament, now due to be held in England in 2022 (Euro  
155 2022). One possible solution for the FA to bolster ticket sales and generate economic income  
156 through tourism would be to shift the marketing style of this competition to capitalise on  
157 British tourism, which could be lucrative. For example, by changing some host stadiums to  
158 those that are close to transport links and located near areas of natural beauty (e.g.,  
159 Southampton where the city has an airport and the New Forest National Park is 6 miles  
160 away), the FA could offer packages combining football and attraction tickets within the price.  
161 Such a strategy would recognise the tough economic circumstances that are resulting from  
162 the pandemic and also a likely desire for people to embrace the ability to travel once  
163 restrictions are lifted. In addition, the FA should look to leverage mainstream interest in the  
164 Men’s 2022 FIFA World Cup, due to be held in Qatar, to promote a ‘festival of football’ and  
165 attract fan interest in the women’s game. Failure to do so could result in the men’s  
166 tournament overshadowing the women’s tournament and any strategic advantages being lost.



167

168 In addition to Covid-19-related disruptions to the FA, top-level men's football has been  
169 interrupted and this has put a financial strain on leagues, clubs and national governing bodies.  
170 This has a knock-on effect for elite women's football where the majority of women's teams  
171 are incorporated as a secondary side under the umbrella of the professional men's club (i.e.,  
172 the parent club) – a strategic initiative when the FA established the WSL (Dunn & Welford,  
173 2015). There are numerous examples in recent history where relegation or financial hardship  
174 with the parent club has resulted in the separation of any relationship with the women's team.  
175 When this occurs, some women's teams are left with no choice but to fold. For example,  
176 when the men's club withdrew their financial support, Notts County women's club collapsed  
177 the day before the new season in 2017/18, leaving their players jobless and in some cases  
178 homeless (Guardian, 2017). Indeed, prior to the United Kingdom Covid-19 lockdown, former  
179 Yeovil Town chairman Steve Allinson gave an interview with *The Times* newspaper  
180 expressing apprehension about the sustainability of the new league system and the reliance on  
181 men's clubs to prop up the women's equivalent (Myers, 2020).

182

183 With the Premier League predicted to lose at least £1 billion if the season does not resume  
184 after the pandemic (MacInnes & Steinberg, 2020), history warns us that financial support to  
185 their associated women's clubs may stop (Wrack, 2019). This is the risk (and reward) of  
186 women's football teams being financially connected to men's clubs; organisations'  
187 commitment to gender equality is often trumped by the need for revenue generation (de Haan  
188 & Sotiriadou, 2019). Covid-19 is, therefore, likely to threaten the financial viability of the  
189 WSL if the level of funding previously received from their male counterpart is reduced. In  
190 this situation, women's sport has to "compete" for resources with well-established, male-  
191 dominated clubs (Lusted & Fielding-Lloyd, 2017).

192

193 Once the season resumes and is completed, Covid-19 also threatens the ability of  
194 Championship clubs to financially move up from part-time to full-time status, despite  
195 winning a promotion place to the WSL. Therefore, leadership teams at parent clubs must  
196 view women's teams as integral to their core business in light of Covid-19, rather than  
197 separate enterprises that can be cut adrift. By taking the latter approach, elite women's  
198 football could be set back decades. One way that clubs may be hindered is in the lack of  
199 female representation in football governance. In their examination of football politics and  
200 gender, Ahn and Cunningham (2020) argue that the presence of women in leadership roles is  
201 crucial, as these women are often advocates for fairness and equality. Navigating gender in  
202 the football workplace is wrought with organisational and sociocultural issues (Clarkson,  
203 Cox, & Thelwell, 2019); however, in the long-term governing bodies should continue pursuing  
204 gendered initiatives in football governance so that when the next crisis comes and boards are  
205 faced with hard financial decisions, women's football is better represented.

206

### 207 **Player contracts, migration and investment**

208 In addition to organisational and economic repercussions facing elite women's football in  
209 light of Covid-19, the labour market could face both short- and long-term consequences.  
210 These relate to player contracts, migration and investment. Women footballers do not receive  
211 the same luxuries afforded to their male counterparts in terms of length of contracts and  
212 financial compensation. In 2017 International Federation of Professional Footballers (FIFPro,  
213 2017), the world players union, found that 50 percent of the 3,295 women footballers  
214 surveyed globally received no salary from their club, whilst those who receive a salary earned  
215 on average less than \$600 (approximately £470) per month (Culvin, 2020). Indeed, there is  
216 much variation between players in and across leagues. Financial rewards for players between

217 clubs within each league will largely depend on the level of investment and financial  
218 capabilities of their parent club. Fully professional and semi-professional women footballers  
219 alike are often on short-term contracts that typically finish at the end of the playing season  
220 each year. To supplement this income, the FA offers central contracts to national players to  
221 cover additional responsibilities involved with playing international football. Semi-  
222 professional women footballers typically receive pay that will only cover their expenses and  
223 so bolster their small football earnings with ancillary occupations like coaching,  
224 administration or physiotherapy (Williams, 2011). These players may also hold jobs outside  
225 of sport. For example, Rosie McDonnell, who currently plays for Portsmouth Women, is a  
226 qualified nurse working on the frontline of the Covid-19 pandemic.

227

228 The lack of financial security will be felt by players at all levels of women's football. For  
229 full-time professional players, due to the short-term nature of contracts coinciding with the  
230 postponement of fixtures, some will find themselves without a club in the intervening time.  
231 For semi-professional players, their off-field employment is likely to have been impacted by  
232 the pandemic, especially for those who may have used casual or zero-hour contracts, which  
233 do not provide any minimum working hours, to flexibly fit with their variable footballing  
234 commitments. Therefore, in order to retain the integrity of the league, crisis management  
235 must be conducted higher than at a club-by-club basis and with the support of local player  
236 associations. Organisations must also work together to limit the inaudible effect on player  
237 health and well-being during quarantine and for a subsequent period of time after.

238

239 As the women's leagues in England are part of an open system where teams can be promoted  
240 and relegated, there are open recruitment rules and international player mobility is possible  
241 (Andreff, 2011). With some notable exceptions (e.g., Agergaard & Botelho, 2014; Botelho &

242 Agergaard, 2011; Botelho & Skogvang, 2013), literature on sports labour migration has  
243 largely eluded elite women's football. Yet, the WSL, as the first fully professional elite  
244 women's football league in Europe, has spearheaded a trend of migrant female footballers  
245 pursuing employment opportunities in European countries, previously only enjoyed by a  
246 limited number of players migrating to Scandinavian countries or to North America. This  
247 shift reflects the rise of European national teams on the global stage, but also of greater  
248 investment at the domestic level. Player migration is influenced by economic crises and  
249 national financial weakness, the existence of only semi-professional opportunities, and  
250 attraction of unrivalled lucrative contracts (Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). High profile  
251 transfers into the WSL (e.g., Australian player Sam Kerr's reportedly \$1million transfer to  
252 Chelsea WFC in 2019) have helped to raise the investment potential of the league and, pre-  
253 Covid-19, it was hoped that this heralded a new age where such transfers became the new  
254 normal – as is the case in elite men's professional football.

255

256 Covid-19 has already restricted the movement of players between countries, in the short term,  
257 due to travel bans and government restrictions (Ebrahim, Ahmed, Gozzer, Schlagenhaut, &  
258 Memish, 2020). If, in the long-term, reductions in salaries, facilities and resources also occurs  
259 for women's clubs in England, the world's best players may be less attracted by the reduced  
260 off-field support at a club and league level. English women's football clubs must also remain  
261 attractive propositions for the most marketable current players so that their star players do not  
262 leave for other countries because of reduced resources. If this migration away from the WSL  
263 was to occur, there would likely be negative implications for gate receipts, sponsorship, and  
264 merchandising as a result of a less globalised, less fast-paced league that is lacking in star  
265 players that are a key motivator for attendance and attracting sponsors.

266

267 Andreff (2011) describes how promotion-relegation of open leagues forces teams into an  
268 ‘arms race’ in which “each team attempts to recruit the best players to improve its relative  
269 strength compared with opponent teams; the latter, in turn, are led to overbid” (p.8). While  
270 this arms race may lead to an improvement in relative quality of talent in women’s teams  
271 (Lazear & Rosen, 1981), the issue with such investment in elite women’s football is that few  
272 teams are able to recoup their investment costs and this means that many teams will be  
273 operating at a deficit, shored up by profits made by the clubs’ men’s teams as noted above (in  
274 the hope of a long-term benefit). The cluster of rich clubs able to heavily invest in sporting  
275 talent will likely be reduced by Covid-19 related disruptions as clubs prioritise their more  
276 lucrative men’s teams and may therefore hamper the growth of the WSL. This fear may not  
277 be unfounded – indeed, an illustration of the secondary role assigned to women’s sport can be  
278 seen by how in Australian rules football the women’s competition has been terminated while  
279 the men’s competition was merely suspended as a response to Covid-19 (Canil, 2020). It is  
280 vital that WSL clubs weather the financial difficulties in the short term in order to capitalise  
281 on the publicity of the Euro 2022 tournament to market themselves and their players.

282

### 283 **Player wellbeing**

284 There are currently unique demands and stressors for athletes at work. As this pandemic  
285 causes uncertainty and precarity globally, workers everywhere are experiencing  
286 redundancies, unpaid salaries, violations to their worker rights and income loss. Covid-19 is  
287 likely to impact the livelihoods of professional footballers, particularly women who operate  
288 within the margins of the sport. While FIFA reassure women’s football funding will not be  
289 cut (Wrack, 2020b), it is critical to understand the unique components of elite women’s  
290 football that mean its fragility puts players in unprecedented, precarious situations. FIFPro  
291 (2020) identify the Covid-19 pandemic as an existential threat to elite women’s football if no

292 specific protections are given to the industry. Described as the “little sister” of English  
293 football (Woodhouse, Fielding-Lloyd & Sequerra, 2019), the fragility of professional elite  
294 women’s football in England (and globally) will likely be exposed during the current  
295 pandemic and any inequities facing women’s football will undoubtedly be further  
296 exacerbated by this pandemic. Ambiguity exists between growing professionalisation of elite  
297 women’s football and the uncertain work conditions in which players operate (Culvin, 2020).  
298 Careers in sport are short-term, fragile and precarious (Culvin, 2020; Roderick, 2006). The  
299 emphasis on short-term results often constrains managers and coaches to overlook long-term  
300 objectives such as the wellbeing and welfare of their players (Culvin, 2020). Moreover, it  
301 also remains to be seen whether clubs and organisations have the capacity, or indeed the  
302 propensity, to safeguard the careers of professional women footballers in England following  
303 this global pandemic.

304

305 The increased uncertainty due to Covid-19 will likely threaten the wellbeing and welfare of  
306 professional women footballers. The reality for professional women footballers, in  
307 comparison to their male counterparts, is that their work conditions are more uncertain,  
308 unstable and peppered with precariousness in the form of insufficient employment and work-  
309 life policies based on social gendered expectations (Culvin, 2020) – much as has long been  
310 the case in the wider sport and leisure industry (Aitchison, 2000). Moreover, players now  
311 lack control over the pandemic and its outcomes. Thus, while the move to professionalisation  
312 and semi-professionalisation is progressive for elite women’s football, players are  
313 particularly vulnerable to occupational fragility and with that, wellbeing and/or mental health  
314 symptoms (Culvin, 2020; FIFPro, 2020). A cause for concern and consideration is how  
315 players will respond to this new threat to their careers. A perceived loss of autonomy and  
316 disempowerment has been established as a key factor in athletes developing depression and

317 anxiety (Hughes & Leavey, 2012). Indeed, FIFPro (2020) report that the number of  
318 footballers reporting symptoms of depression has doubled since the sport shut down. Anxiety  
319 symptoms have also risen amid concerns about the longevity and implications of Covid-19  
320 (Ames, 2020). We acknowledge that these mental health issues are likely to affect the broader  
321 population and are not just isolated to elite women players (WHO, 2020c). However, the  
322 uncertain, unstable and precarious position that elite women players face means that these  
323 effects could be felt more acutely in comparison to their male counterparts and therefore  
324 governing bodies, practitioners and researchers alike must take care to understand the effects  
325 of Covid-19 on player wellbeing. Given women are likely to experience the mental health  
326 effects of employment differently to men (Dinh, Strazdins, & Welsh, 2017; Rosenfield,  
327 1989), careful planning is required especially in light of funding depletion to women's  
328 football. Policy makers may look for guidance from domains outside of sport that share  
329 similar characteristics (e.g., occupational therapy, Bonder, 1987).

330

331 At this point it is unclear whether players will receive the support they need from their clubs,  
332 governing bodies and government. The report from FIFPro (2020) indicates that for elite  
333 women's football to survive Covid-19, and indeed to thrive post-pandemic, urgent action  
334 from governing bodies is essential. It is crucial to use the current situation to centralise the  
335 needs of professional women footballers, to develop a safety net and the gender-specific  
336 employment and workplace policies needed to mitigate wellbeing and welfare concerns.

337

### 338 **Conclusion**

339 While it is difficult to accurately predict what the future of elite women's football in England  
340 will look like in a post-Covid-19 world, the intention of this commentary was to reflect upon  
341 some of the immediate threats and uncertainties for the governing body, leagues, and clubs. It

342 adds to the discussion surrounding sport and Covid-19, led by Parnell, Widdop, Bond and  
343 Wilson's (2020) rapid analysis of football networks, by broadening the conversation to  
344 include elite women's football. We encourage academics to follow developments as they  
345 occur with primary and secondary research projects that better understand the historical,  
346 sociological, economic, management and psychological effects of this pandemic on elite  
347 women's football. We implore football clubs to consider how other organisations have  
348 navigated previous, unforeseen catastrophes. For example, Flammer and Ioannou (2015)  
349 surveyed 3500 US publicly traded companies following the Great Recession (2007-2009) and  
350 found that organisations sustained competitive advantage by adjusting their investments in  
351 strategic resources during the financial crisis. Intangible assets and resources (i.e., efficiency,  
352 innovation, adaption to shifting demands, and organisational resilience) became particularly  
353 valuable at these times (London Business School, 2020). When we consider women's  
354 football, those clubs which maintain their relationship with women's teams might be viewed  
355 as innovative and this could be used as a means to maintain a competitive advantage in the  
356 future. Such a strategy will require careful management to ensure that the maintenance of a  
357 women's team is not viewed as a positive public relations stunt by cynics. Moreover,  
358 women's clubs should be encouraged to embrace an entrepreneurial mindset (Ratten, 2010)  
359 and explore innovative revenue sources, such as crowd funding.

360

361 We also urge that the community of women's football supporters remain ardent in their  
362 support of the game, as having visible advocates will show the governing body and parent  
363 clubs that there is a sustained demand for women's football. What is certain, is that elite  
364 women's football in England has come a long way commercially and financially since the  
365 2015 World Cup. Rapid growth of any sport is vulnerable to stretching the limits of its  
366 infrastructures and sudden derailment, without feeling the effects of a world pandemic. For



367 professional footballers, specifically, we must ask and understand, what are the mental  
368 wellbeing costs to a halt in pursuing performance orientated goals? Prior to Covid-19, elite  
369 women's football was facing poor pitches, low wages and conditions far behind men's clubs.  
370 Professional women footballers were already engaged in a battle to prove themselves in an  
371 occupation that has devalued them for so long, coupled with work issues, a lack of policy  
372 support and little or no safety net. The threat and uncertainty facing the future of elite  
373 women's football is significant. Therefore, all those within women's football must urgently  
374 rethink their approach to growth in the face of organisational and economic repercussions,  
375 reduced player contracts, migration and investment, and player wellbeing. These significant  
376 challenges require swift and decisive action in order to mitigate their potential effects.

377

378 Finally, and whilst acknowledging these very real threats to the progress of elite women's  
379 football – and perhaps its very existence –we should also reflect upon what can be done to  
380 continue the momentum and growth of women's football in England. There are a number of  
381 policy implications recommended in light of Covid-19 associated threats to elite women's  
382 football. First, the governing body's pressure to integrate elite women's football teams with  
383 professional men's clubs presents the governing bodies of elite women's and men's football  
384 (i.e., the FA working in partnership with the Premier League and the English Football  
385 League) with an opportunity to unite men's and women's football as part of their response to  
386 Covid-19. One strategy that could be implemented is a division of financial support provided  
387 to the men's clubs so that a percentage is ringfenced for the women's teams. This approach  
388 would delay any women's teams from immediately folding, stop the precedence of men's  
389 clubs from quickly withdrawing financial support to women's football, and also be symbolic  
390 to wider football fans that the future of men's football is interconnected with women's  
391 football. Financial integration is a strong indicator of being in partnership (Welford, 2018).

392 Second, the FA should consider the delay of the European Championships, now hosted by  
393 England in 2022, as an opportunity to refocus towards spectatorship and tourism in order to  
394 build on the back of the success of previous tournaments and continue in what has been  
395 described as a 'new age' of women's football (Petty & Pope, 2019). Third, and finally, the  
396 governing bodies must take strategies that acknowledge issues surrounding player wellbeing  
397 that might be felt acutely in women's football. One approach could be to take a human rights  
398 framework to help marginalised groups, such as women players, in football at a time of crisis.  
399 Strategies to protect young athletes may also be pertinent for women players (Platts & Smith,  
400 2009).

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