

The Global Game

A FOOTBALL MONTHLY

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IMAGE FROM WWW.FOOTSTAMPS.COM

Scouring the past for 'pony-tailed hooligans'


Treatments of the history of women's football typically mention the Chinese game of "tsu chu," and the existence of frescoes, dating from the Later Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), depicting stylized female figures who appear to be dancing with a ball between them. Significantly enlarged above is part of a stamp that the Chinese government issued in 1986 in its "Sport in Ancient China" series. The image gives the lie to modern prejudice against women's participation in sport and serves as a fitting icon for the upcoming women's competition—better than some furry mascot.


2003 FIFA Women's World Cup


The Global Game offers the first of two previews of the [Women's World Cup](#) (20 September–12 October), in which you will find little of the relevant information: no rosters, venue layouts, player profiles, or perforated fixture lists to attach to your refrigerator. Oops, sorry about that. Instead, we highlight the following features to click and enjoy. Look for the second preview issue in mid-September.


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PRIVILEGING THE OPPOSITION

In the [1999 Women's World Cup](#), the United States defeated China in the final—do I really need to mention it?—by virtue of penalty kicks' random justice. The victory came on a Saturday. The next morning, my wife and I sat in the pews of [Oakhurst Presbyterian Church](#), not to give thanks for the victory, although, to my surprise, the result was mentioned during communal prayer. There was scattered applause before the pastor lightly chided us. "I don't think we can forget, like the television announcers did, about the Chinese players. We didn't see their faces when they lost," our pastor, Nibs, said, or something to that effect.

He would not be happy to know that I have by now forgotten countless sermons, but I have remembered what he said about the Chinese footballers. Of course, it is rare when football is discussed amongst our brethren, so I was tuned in. But I have debated inside myself whether I took too much jingoistic pleasure from an American victory. Part of the result of that internal debate, presented here, is emphasis on the "opposition." Please do not misinterpret: the U.S. players are extraordinary individuals who have fought their own private and institutional battles. They have prepared hard for alternative careers while making space for themselves on the pitch. Their efforts must be acknowledged, but not while remaining blind to the experiences of women of non-English languages and non-American cultures.

In this issue, therefore, we "preview" four World Cup sides: Ghana, South and North Korea (PRK), and China. Four more will follow in the second issue. I suppose the theme thus far is confinement. The women pictured at right confined their athletic pursuits to gym class; women footballers in Ghana, the Koreas and China have been confined, to different degrees, by cultural expectations. China, which until a few months ago was to have hosted its second Women's World Cup finals, is especially fascinating, with just 369 registered women players nationwide ([Dong Jinxia](#) and [J. A. Mangan](#), "[Ascending Then Descending? Women's Soccer in Modern China](#)," *Soccer & Society* 3 [summer 2002]: 13).

My concern with this issue of *Global Game* is that the joy of football only manages to leak through in second-hand statements of Ghana's [Alberta Sackey](#), for whom the thrill of play more than balances the prospect of loss.

—JOHN TURNBULL

Incidental contact, circa 1943



COURTESY THE [LIBRARY OF CONGRESS](#), CALL NUMBERS LC-USW3-038613-E AND LC-USW3-038612-E. PHOTOGRAPHS BY ESTHER BUBLEY.

"For most of the first six decades of the 20th century, women's soccer was confined to gym class, informal pickup games and college intramural competition," writes Dave Litterer in the [American Soccer History Archives](#) (22 October 2002). The women above were photographed at [Woodrow Wilson High School](#) in Washington, D.C.



GHANA | Group D

- v. China, 21 September (Carson, Calif., 23:15 EDT)
- v. Russia, 25 September (Carson, Calif., 19:15 EDT)
- v. Australia, 28 September (Portland, Oreg., 20:15 EDT)



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Making the Accra-to-Chicago connection

The Global Game conducted a telephone interview on 7 August with **Kurt Melcher**, the women's soccer coach at [Robert Morris College](#), Chicago. Four Ghanaian players and one Nigerian international form part of his team's current roster, with a former international from Serbia and Montenegro (**Sladjana Jesić**) and players from England and Brazil added to the mix. The Ghanaians are **Alberta Sackey**, 30, forward, the 2002 [Confédération Africaine de Football](#) (CAF) women's player of the year and RMC's all-time leading goal-scorer with 69; **Kulu Yahaya**, 27, midfielder; **Elizabeth Baidu**, 25, midfielder; and **Basilea Amoah-Tetteh**, 19, midfielder. **Patience Avre**, 27, who scored 48 goals in the 2002 season, tying a record in the [National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics](#), plays for Nigeria. Avre, Sackey, Yahaya and Baidu all made NAIA All-America teams in 2002, as the Eagles advanced to the association's national tournament for the first time.

GG: On paper, looking at players' hometowns, it appears that there is a division on the [Robert Morris roster](#) between international and home-grown players. Is this reflected at all in how the players relate as a unit?

KM: It's a neat team dynamic, with all the players coming from so far away. Early on we started with



Alberta Sackey:
Team "mom"

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE WOLTMAN.

COPYRIGHT © 2002 [ROBERT MORRIS COLLEGE ATHLETICS](#)

team-building activities because we were such a diverse group. But, in the end, people are people and a soccer team's a soccer team. We are all focused on the same goal. It's been a positive that people have different backgrounds, that they are able to find out about other people's hometowns. It's a neat cultural thing. We have people from the suburbs from around here, who probably went to high school and didn't know anyone from a different country.

GG: [FIFA reports](#) that you first saw the Ghanaian team at Soldier Field in Chicago in the 1999 World Cup. Can you expand on how you were able to interest Alberta Sackey and then her teammates in Robert Morris?

KM: We saw them play in '99. In
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POSTCARD FROM ACCRA

Three years old now, the [Community Sports Programme](#) of the [British Council, Ghana](#), is now established in two Accra communities, involving some 250 participants, boys and girls. "Prior to this there was little organised football but lots [of] disorganised football," writes **Andrew Bottomer**, the sports project development officer, of CSP, which incorporates community improvement and computer training with the football components.

Facilities have proven to be a problem—one mud pitch and another at a secondary school are used heavily—along with the expected challenges of integrating boys and girls, Christians and Muslims in an unfamiliar culture. "Originally it proved hard to get girls interested in the CSP," writes Bottomer, "as the preconception was that Muslim girls would not play football for cultural/family reasons. But we now have 40 girls who train regularly." One of the girls is profiled below; see the "[Football Culture](#)" site for many more.

BEATRICE QUAYE

Favorite player: **Leticia Ampofo**, Ringsco Ladies
Funniest football memory: A funny thing is the time I played a friendly match some time ago. One of the girls started screaming, and as we approached her we saw that a green snake was crawling on the pitch. I am not afraid of snakes but didn't know what to do. One of the boys watching the game, however, got a big stone and killed it. We were all relieved.

Football dream: To play in one of the best teams and become a player for the Ghana national women's squad. . . . Just like almost any Ghanaian, I love football very much. . . . We are like a big family when it comes to football. [For full file, click [here](#).]



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PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY THE CONFÉDÉRATION AFRICAINE DE FOOTBALL



Alberta Sackey hoists the trophy she earned last year as Africa's woman footballer of the year. Sackey [told FIFA](#), "People would always ask me why I wanted to play such a game that was made for boys instead of playing a soft sport made for girls. The boys were very physical and I received some beatings everyday. But I enjoyed playing football more than the beatings."

MISCELLANY ON GHANA

Ghana in 1957 became the first black African nation to win its independence, but the British colonial background is evident: "The children . . . have first names that could be found in the starchiest British public school: Patience, Jonas, Victoria, Comfort" ([Adam Cohen](#), "[Lending a Hand in an African Village](#)," *New York Times*, 1 August 2003). The worst stadium disaster in African history occurred 9 May 2001 at [Accra Sports Stadium](#); a stampede killed 126. "Gbomo nyemi dzi gbomo" ("We are our brother's keeper") [reads the monument](#) now standing in front of the main gate.

Sackey's footballing honors span oceans

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the NAIA, upper-echelon teams are filled with international players because they're sometimes too old for the [NCAA](#), and it gives them opportunities here they might not have in their own countries. With the Ghanaian players, I knew they spoke English. There was a professor here from Ghana, and we talked to him. He didn't have direct links to the soccer federation, but about eight telephone numbers later, and 10 to 15 calls later, I was talking to Alberta Sackey. She was familiar with Chicago already,

and next year she brought the others in.

GG: What about Alberta Sackey makes her stand out?

KM: Alberta is more responsible than your average college junior. She's a leader. Some of the girls call her "mom" jokingly. She runs the straight and narrow for sure. . . . First of all she stands out because of her talent level. She has the gift for soccer and scoring goals. The other thing that makes her unique—and most of the Ghanaians are like this—is that she is unassuming and down-to-earth, humble. They don't give their opinion unless you ask them; you have to draw information out of them. Alberta is a 4.0 student, and she works hard, very hard, at her academics. She comes to me to get books before classes even start.

GG: What had these players' experience been in Ghana as far as training and coaching?

KM: They're all part of the national team, and when they assemble the national team it's pretty serious. They set up a camp and train two times a day. Outside the national team they play on women's

club teams. Corporations have a club team they sponsor, so they play on these teams in Ghana. I ask some of these questions, too, and it's sometimes hard to get information.

But generally it seems that the environment is pretty poor, the fields and uniforms are pretty poor. They have a [club] coach, and after their jobs they go and practice and such. Women's athletics is just not big in Ghana. Among our players, most started playing through a brother or father who played.

GG: Over time has each Ghanaian player emerged with her own personality?

KM: In fact I see Kulu [Yahaya] around. All the players have cellphones now, and every time I see her she's on her cellphone. I don't know who she's talking to, but I always see her on the phone. She's talking to somebody. They seem to have made themselves at home here.

GG: What is your impression about how these women are regarded in their own country?

KM: Alberta is a celebrity, everyone knows her for sure. She signs autographs, people come up after games to get her autograph. From what I can tell it's mostly Ghanaian males who have heard she is here. Every interview about the Ghanaian team it's Alberta they're talking to. As for the women's national team, although it has been the most successful [in Ghana], they don't have a lot of respect. I think it has to do with the gender issues.

GG: Do you feel added responsibility in coaching and leading these Ghanaian women, given that they play an important role internationally and in their country?

KM: You do sort of feel an added responsibility, to make every practice session important, to make sure not you are not running through the motions. You know you have international players, you don't want to bore them. I guess we feel that pressure a little bit; on the other hand, we're able to watch them. We're in amazement as well.

**REPUBLIC OF KOREA | Group B**

- v. Brazil, 21 September (Washington, D.C., 15:15 EDT)
- v. France, 24 September (Washington, D.C., 19:45 EDT)
- v. Norway, 27 September (Foxboro, Mass., 12:45 EDT)



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POSTCARD FROM SEOUL

The Republic of Korea's first appearance in the Women's World Cup finals—secured in a 1-0 victory over Japan in the third-place match at the [Asian Football Confederation Women's Championship](#) on 21 June—seems even more surprising after reading the research of **Eunha Koh**. The women's national team formed as a fully supported organization in March 2001, and, as of last year, Koh writes, there were only 66 women's teams in the entire country, from elementary school to adult teams affiliated with corporations. The following is an excerpt from a paper that Dr. Koh, who recently completed a two-year term as visiting professor at the University of Maryland, presented at the "[Soccer Nations and Football Cultures in East Asia](#)" conference in Vienna in March 2002. Revised versions are scheduled to appear this year in [Soccer & Society](#) and in the forthcoming Frank Cass volume, *Soccer, Women, Sexual Liberation: Kicking Off a New Era* (ed. **Fan Hong** and **J. A. Managan**). The following is used by permission of Dr. Koh.

The male population has taken possession of modern sport from its introduction to Korea. The main reason for this development can be found in the Confucian tradition of the Choson dynasty. Originally, Confucianism was not part of the traditional values of Korean society. From the Three Kingdoms Age to Silla to Koryo, both moral and religious values were based on Buddhism, which for more than 1,400 years was at the core of Korean culture. When the new dynasty of Choson seized power through a revolution against the Koryo dynasty (1392 C.E.), the new power severed and suppressed the spiritual culture of Koryo, employing the "respect Confucianism and oppress Buddhism" policy. Accordingly, state religious ceremonies were moved from Buddhist temples to Chongmyo, the ancestral temple of the royal family, and family ritual standards were set up based on Confucianism. Buddhism was reduced to a pure religion and was deprived of the role it used to play in defining the central values of Korean society.

The Confucianism that formed the foundation of social values in Choson was a school of Sung Ri Hak from China, the most conservative among the various schools of Confucianism.

PHOTOGRAPH OF EWHA HAKDANG ONLINE AT WWW.KOREA.NET

'Sung Ri Hak strictly divided the domestic and social roles of male and female, and spread the notion of "predominance of man over woman."'

We need to pay attention to the fact that Sung Ri Hak strictly divided the domestic and social roles of male and female, and spread the notion of "predominance of man over woman," which defined womanhood as a subordinate gender to manhood in the society at large. Moreover, Confucianism not only separated the daily domains of men and women under the rule of "boys and girls over seven years old [must] never be in the same room" and cut off women from educational opportunities, but also produced the "docile body" of woman, to use

Foucault's term, by presenting detailed standards for bodily action and behavior. It is remarkable that Sung Ri Hak weakened in China where it originated, and almost disappeared through the Communist revolution, but that it still exercises influence over Korean society.

Gender discrimination and the neglect of women's rights and needs have occurred in almost every society; however, discrimination in Korea was different from that in Western countries in that it hid female bodies from the public. As a result, physical activities such as sport did not accord with the social standards

—Eunha Koh

governing bodily behaviors and clothing in early-twentieth-century Korea. The Ewha School [pictured above], the first modern school for girls, taught gymnastics in physical-education classes, but ended up being harshly criticized. Angry parents withdrew their daughters from school, and the municipal government sent a document to the school asking that it stop teaching gymnastics.

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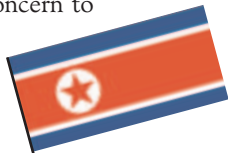


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The history of women's football in Korea is more than fifty years old, although it is only over the last decade that the sport has drawn attention. The first official women's football matches were held as a part of "National Girls' and Women's Sport Games" in Seoul from June 28 to 29, 1949, along with track and field, tennis, volleyball, basketball and handball. Although only four middle-school teams competed in the Games, it was significant that women's football made its first appearance in a national sporting event. Public opinion was against the pioneers from the very start. Women's basketball and volleyball won public recognition, but football was regarded not only as unsuitable for women but also as unattractive to the public.

Through the 1960s and '70s, when elite sport was intensely promoted, and the 1980s, when professional leagues were established, women's football remained of no concern to both the government and the public. De-



DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA | Group A

- v. Nigeria, 20 September (Philadelphia, 14:45 EDT)
- v. Sweden, 25 September (Philadelphia, 16:45 EDT)
- v. United States, 28 September (Columbus, Ohio, 15:45 EDT)

MISCELLANY ON THE KOREAS

"Virtual unknowns." "Secretive." Such are the terms used to describe the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its women footballers, who have proven themselves the best in Asia. **Eunha Koh**, whose article on women's football in the Republic of Korea is excerpted above, says even she cannot answer questions on the women in the North, given the lack of information.

The North-South division, of course, is tragic, having kept blood relatives apart since the armistice of 27 July 1953, now more than 50 years ago. **Julie Chao** of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* writes ("Korean War Still Rages for Families Torn Apart," 27 July 2003, p. A4), for example, of **Hong Seung-deok**, who left his family in North Korea to escape the draft. "When I left home, my sister was just over 20 and very pretty," he said. "Now she's an old grandmother."

spite the efforts of a few instructors, women's football did not establish itself in colleges, not to mention professional leagues. The public did not have an interest in women's football in spite of general enthusiasm for the sport among spectators and participants through the 1980s, nor did the football authorities provide financial support or recruit athletes. The conflict between the masculine image of football and society's feminine ideal stigmatized football as an inappropriate sport for women. . . .

When women's football was officially adopted in 1990 as part of the Beijing Asian Games, Korean sports authorities decided to form a national team with athletes from other sports such as Tae Kwon Do, hockey and track and field. The result was complete defeat against Japan, North Korea, China and Taiwan, which was no wonder without a single team on the professional level nor an established national team. Nevertheless, this event, representing the appearance of Korean women's football on an international level, had great influence on the development of women's football in Korea. . . .

The [1999 Women's World Cup](#) in the United States is judged as the event that set off global interest in women's football. Mass media, football fans and sports authorities around the globe paid attention to the event and were impressed by the

heat of the crowded stadium and the dynamic action of players. This event gave momentum to the women's football rush in East Asia, including Korea. The [Ministry of Culture and Tourism](#), which is in charge of sports policies, provided sponsorship for new teams and adopted women's football as a part of the National Sport Games. About the same time, after watching the 1999 Women's World Cup, Sungmin Corp. and a famous football mogul, Jong Hwan Park, joined to establish Sungmin Wonders, who became the strongest professional team and a motivation for other professional and school teams. And the [Korea Football Association](#) finally started to invest in women's football, establishing the Women's Football Association in 2001 as an independent organization. . . .

It is remarkable that the progress of women's football is not related to the extension of women's rights, the women's movement, or to the women's sports movement at all, but is based on the confirmation of national identity through victory. For instance, whereas the enactment and enforcement of Title IX in 1972 is seen as a landmark in the history of women's sport in the United States, there was no such a law or regulation in Korea, nor a systematic effort in the women's sports movement, but only the fragmentary promotion of individual sports. . . .

The goal of unification seems more distant with the People's Republic now cast as a pariah nation, but, in 1991, men from North and South competed as one at the [FIFA World Youth Championship](#). (See the excellent "Chronicles" section on the [Korea Football Association](#) website.) Perhaps the most attention paid to North Korean football of late has been the documentary film *Game of Their Lives*, commemorating the stunning 1-0 victory over Italy in the [1966 World Cup](#) (poster above right). The North Korean women may be prepared for such a result, perhaps over the United States?



**PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA | Group D**

- v. Ghana, 21 September (Carson, Calif., 23:15 EDT)
 v. Australia, 25 September (Carson, Calif., 22:00 EDT)
 v. Russia, 28 September (Portland, Oreg., 23:00 EDT)



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POSTCARD FROM LEICESTER, ENGLAND

In a rather negative assessment of the Chinese women's game, excerpted below, **Fan Hong** and **J. A. Mangan**, both of [De Montfort University](#), conclude that "women's football, in short, is for the few not the many, for international prestige not national pleasure, for show not for fun" ("Will the 'Iron Roses' Bloom Forever? Women's Football in China: Progress and Problems"). ("Iron Roses" is the national team's nickname, translated from the Chinese.) In their essay, Fan and Mangan review the mercurial history of the women's game in China, from its beginnings in physical-education classes in 1924, to the demise during the Cultural Revolution, to a rebirth in 1979—again through physical-education instructors.

Now, as the authors note, the women's national team is held up as an example for the men's side, which failed to score a goal in the [2002 World Cup finals](#). This does not mean, however, that they are treated as well in material terms. "[I]t seems [that]

'The idealised image of the "ladylike" sportswoman is still praised by most parents and the public. This spills over into football.'

women footballers are willingly exploited," Fan and Mangan write. "A top male football player receives monthly income of 160,000 Ren Min Bi (£13,000) while a top female football player receives . . . 700 RMB (£60), and some have to wait for several months to receive their wages." Fan and Mangan's paper will appear in its entirety in the forthcoming *Soccer, Women, Sexual Liberation: Kicking Off a New Era* ([Frank Cass](#)). The excerpt appears with Dr. Fan's permission.

The development of women's football has not gone smoothly. There have been problems, setbacks, complications and contradictions. Indeed, in the future some problems may become major obstacles, even to the extent of limiting ama-

teur and professional women's participation in competitive football—at home and abroad.

One looming problem is the continuation of gender bias. Lucian W. Pye, the cultural historian, has recently remarked: "In China the post-Mao era of 'opening to the world' revealed the fact that while China had changed, there was still much continuity." Traditional culture still strongly influences people's attitudes to femininity and masculinity. This has produced both confusion and complexity. On the one hand, the dominant trend in women's football has been "to play like a man," to model female action on the values and traditions of men's football, in which aggression and physicality are endemic. On the other hand, for many sportswomen, including women football players, playing "men's sports" like men exposes them to criticism and ridicule. A Confucian form of sexism remains. The idealised image of the "ladylike" sportswoman is still praised by most parents and the public. This spills over into football. By way of example, Sun Qingmei, one famous player, recalled that in the 1980s her parents locked her in her bedroom to pre-

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Taking sides

Women count among the supporters of Shanghai Shenhua, the "Blue Devils." Says [Wang Qihao](#), president of the fan association, "The atmosphere is really exciting when we play, the fans sing songs and we all do the 'Mexican Wave,' it's a lot like games in England and Spain." Women in China prefer men's to women's football. (The image is part of a series on football culture, spanning some 15 years, by U.K.-based photographer Alistair Berg. Visit his [website](#) for a portfolio.)



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vent her going out to play football. Liu Ailing, another famous player [formerly of the WUSA's [Philadelphia Charge](#)], has stated that her parents once confronted her coach and told him that they did not want their daughter, "such a lovely girl, to play a boy's sport."

Little has changed in the minds of many, despite the fact that women's football has achieved such remarkable victories. One young girl interviewed in 2001 stated rather poignantly: "I love to play football. I went to our local football school and received one year's training. When I was in the last year of my middle school my mother asked me to give up football and to concentrate on my studies in order to get

to university. A football career is for boys, not for girls. Therefore I gave up football. I am now studying accountancy. Sometimes I miss football." Another recalled: "My father is a football coach; therefore, I want to play football. But my mother will not let me. She has told me that if I play football people will think I am not a real girl. It will be difficult for me to find a good boyfriend. However, she encourages me to play table tennis. She thinks that is all right, but not football. Football is so violent, it is a game for boys."

These girls' experiences were by no means exceptional. Their experiences were confirmed in the same year by Feng Jianmin, the director of women's football of the [Chinese Football Association](#). He pointed out: "The lack of parental support is a big problem. In China we have this one-child policy. Parents don't want their daughters to become footballers. Their ambition for their daughters is to go to university and then find good jobs. The belief, widely held, is that a girl should not play football. It is so aggressive and masculine."

To summarize: traditional gender differences are retained and, in some instances, being reconstructed and reproduced—publicly and privately—in the post-Mao era. Such reactionary manifestations deny change. They endorse a traditional cultural climate, in which femininity should not incorporate images of aggression, force and

physicality. The consequences are dramatic. There are now no national or regional female football programmes for the young or in state schools. Given that there are few football opportunities for most girls and young women, therefore, Chinese women's football faces a very serious problem: lack of recruits.

Thus it comes as no surprise that when a junior Coca-Cola Cup Competition took place in Beijing in July 1999—the year in which the Chinese women's team won second place in the World Cup—there were 1,666 teams with more than 30,000 young players participating, but there were only three girls' squads, comprising 72 players. Zhang Hen, the chairman of the organising committee and the general secretary of the Beijing Football Association, stated anxiously: "If we don't pay special attention to the change in cultural attitudes . . .

very soon then our women's football will lag behind the American and European countries."

There are only ten officially recognised girls' football schools in China. Most of them are detachments of local sports schools. In the biggest football school, the Chinese Football School in Qinghuangdao, there are more than 1,000 boys but only 30 girls. In Shengyang, in the north, a girls' football school with 70 players from age 9 to 15 is attached to the city's sports school. The coach, a formal national player, had to take her team to train in Dongwan, in the south, three thousand miles away from their hometown, due to lack of training facilities and support in the sports school. The lack of support, facilities and money shortage is a big problem. The football school does not get any support from regional or local sports bodies. Girls in her school have to pay 4,500 Ren Min Bi (£375) per year just to cover their boarding costs. With regard to the cost of facilities she has to depend on sponsors. She has claimed: "There are more than 300 girls in Shengyang who want to play football. However, due to their parents' attitudes and due to lack of money (they cannot even pay the 4,500 RMB boarding fee) they have to be excluded from football."

Girls, in general, don't play football inside or outside school. Those who play football are those who want to become professional players. Self-evidently, they are small in number.

'Sometimes I miss football.'

—Chinese girl (2001)

MISCELLANY ON CHINA

"It is a truism to state that football [meshes] with national and international politics. This is as true of China as elsewhere" ([Dong Jinxia](#) and [J. A. Mangan](#), "[Football in the New China: Political Statement, Entrepreneurial Enticement, and Patriotic Passion](#)," *Soccer & Society* 2 [autumn 2001]). Football and modernity in China, write Dong and Mangan, have a symbiotic relationship, one driving the other. In 1992, the country launched a Ten-Year Plan specifically for football, culminating in the (men's) first appearance in the World Cup finals in 2002.

In a companion piece ("[Ascending Then Descending? Women's Soccer in Modern China](#)," *Soccer & Society* 3 [summer 2002]), Dong and Mangan contemplate why support for the women's game in China lags and also how cultural mores, gradually, are changing. In a 2001 match between the Liberation Army women's team and Henan, the army team scored and two players removed their shirts. "The authorities smiled benignly on the shirt removals," Dong and Mangan write.

PUBLICATION DETAILS

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