



Gender equality achieved through crisis: Football Federation of Australia (now FA)

Catherine Ordway

To cite this article: Catherine Ordway (2023) Gender equality achieved through crisis: Football Federation of Australia (now FA), *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 15:2, 289-307, DOI: [10.1080/19406940.2023.2188241](https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2023.2188241)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2023.2188241>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 09 Mar 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1876




View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Gender equality achieved through crisis: Football Federation of Australia (now FA)

Catherine Ordway 

Sports Management, University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the governance reform process undertaken to achieve gender equality in Australian football (soccer). As interdisciplinary, professional practice research, this case study analyses the mechanics of influencing board composition, related policy and legal controls. It was not until the international federation for football (FIFA) threatened to withdraw its recognition of its member federation, Football Federation of Australia (now Football Australia), that gender equality measures were adopted. This governance crisis threat led to the Congress Review Working Group being established. The Working Group recommendations led to significant structural change including mandated gender equality measures. It remains to be seen if constitutional amendments, including the 40:40:20 strategy (40% women, 40% men and 20% of any gender), can translate into meaningful and lasting transformation. It is intended that this case study will be a roadmap for other sports to follow.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 29 March 2022
Accepted 3 March 2023

KEYWORDS

Governance; gender equality; football; Football Australia; FIFA

Introduction

As recognised by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association [FIFA], and the International Olympic Committee [IOC], the rebalancing of women's sport and women's place in sport requires, not just equal treatment, but greater investment in resources to counter historical inequities (FIFA 2016, IOC 2018). FIFA requires that all member associations, including Football Australia [the FFA]), adopt policies reflecting: 'representative democracy taking into account the importance of gender equality in football' (FIFA 2016, Art. 15(j)). In the lead up to the 2018 FFA Annual General Meeting, there were no women on the FFA Congress, one woman on the FFA Board and very few women in any of the State/Territory bodies under the Australian federated system. The FFA therefore did not comply with either the FIFA expectation or the Australian Sports Commission Mandatory Sports Governance Principles (ASC 2015).

While the financial sanction lever available to the Australian Sports Commission was arguably more powerful, the FIFA threats had greater impact. After 'months of exhaustive and exasperating deliberations' (Reid 2018), instead of replacing the FFA Board with the threatened 'normalisation committee', FIFA gave the FFA a final opportunity to comply with Article 15(j) through establishing a Congress Review Working Group (Working Group). The all-male Working Group appointed a female Chair. The Chair facilitated the consultation with a range of stakeholders, including the Australian women's football advocacy organisation, Women Onside. Women Onside promoted an approach which focused on the Ethics of Care (Gilligan 1982): aiming to create greater empathy, mutual respect, justice, equality, fairness, trust, solidarity and responsibility for those marginalised in the

CONTACT Catherine Ordway  catherine.ordway@canberra.edu.au  Sports Management, University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

football community, including women. The influential Women Onside submissions highlighted best practice gender equality governance from around the world and in different industries translated for the Australian football context.

The Working Group recommendations, which included some of the Women Onside suggestions, were subsequently adopted by the FFA Congress. Most notably, this included: the expansion of the Congress to include a Women's Council, the requirement that the Chair and Deputy Chair of the FFA Board be of different genders and the adoption of the 40:40:20 strategy (40% women, 40% men and 20% of any gender) (FFA 2018a). In what was hailed as a significant 'win' at the time, Heather Reid AM, 'custodian of Australia's women's football journey' (Edgley 2018), and proud member of the LGBTQIA+ community, was elected to the FFA Board as Deputy Chair in a landslide victory. Having achieved such a significant shift, from low to no women to a 40:40:20 strategy, the FFA case study warrants a detailed analysis.

Historical context

The dearth of women in sport leadership is well-recognised (Geeraert *et al.* 2014, Burton 2015, Houghton *et al.* 2018). The *Sydney Scoreboard*, developed to highlight the gender gap on national and international sport boards (Adriaanse 2017), suggests the situation in Australia is consistent with the extensive research done by advocacy groups and academics, including Women on Boards (WOB n.d.), in the corporate setting (Van der Walt and Ingley 2003, Sheridan *et al.* 2014), public service (Evans *et al.* 2014, Australian Government 2017–18), anti-corruption organisations (TI 2014) and not-for-profit sectors (Daley and Angulo 1994, FECCA 2013, Nehme and Ordway 2016, pp. 228–229). The uniqueness of the sport industry (Healey 2012) alone cannot account for the fact that the number of women in leadership positions in sport is extremely low and the broader diversity profile is worse.

Sport has traditionally been developed by and for men (Hargreaves 2002). From the Ancient Olympics to modern Iran, women have been prohibited from attending men's sport (Lewis 2019). For significant periods, women have been banned from playing football (Pfister 2006, Williams 2013). The 'gaps created by decades of under-investment and disregard for [the organisational] developmental responsibilities' (Lewis 2020) have created a legacy of neglect and false assumptions of male superiority. The current 'merit' system has been founded on more than one hundred years of inequality; creating an implicit and/or conscious bias in assessing 'merit'. Those in positions of influence and power within sports organisations are the beneficiaries of a system established and perpetuating historical and/or current inequities (racism, sexism, colonialism etc.). The observation by now General Campbell, Chief of the Australian Defence Force, summarises the challenge that also faces football: 'If we believe that men and women are equally able, ... then we should be expecting a 50/50 outcome. If we don't get that, then there is either bias or constraints to natural merit' (Chief Executive Women 2016, p. 4). However, as observed by Fink (2008): 'sport's ever present companions of meritocracy and "fair play" make it difficult for people to view sport as a system that provides certain groups advantages over others' (p. 147). It is clear that, for a range of reasons, sport structures and sports governance are inherently gendered (Hedenborg and Norberg 2018). While it is acknowledged that the binary gender categories in sport also require intersectionality analysis, particularly involving race and gender identity (Crenshaw 1991, Ryan and Dickson 2018), broader diversity concerns will not be directly addressed in this case study.

Methodology

For this interdisciplinary, professional practice case study, doctrinal legal research and subjective textual analysis informs an insider-outsider approach. Doctrinal legal research necessarily involves the analysis and interpretation of texts, in this case sport governance documentation and policies, to study the law in practice. Hutchinson and Duncan (2012) note that:

The majority of contemporary legal researchers acknowledge that it is important to build on doctrinal research conclusions by using sociological or other 'outsider' perspectives Many aspects of the law are contingent on context, and need to be interpreted and analysed for meaning. Synthesising the law and, where necessary, applying the law to the facts and context is a highly subjective process. Therefore the analytical, legal reasoning aspect of the process is necessarily a qualitative one. The outcome varies according to the expertise of the individual scholar and cannot be replicated exactly by another researcher. When a researcher undertakes doctrinal work, the outcome is totally dependent on the voice and experience of the individual. Doctrinal research requires a specific language, extensive knowledge and a specific set of skills involving precise judgment, detailed description, depth of thought and accuracy (p. 115–116).

This case study then reflects the experiential learnings of the author. The author has a long professional association with a range of sport organisations, including in football as: Director; Tribunal member; mentor; and legal advisor, and has played a range of sports. Not having been an elite or lifetime grass-roots footballer, the author is a sport 'insider', but a football 'outsider'. As a member of Women Onside, the author was involved in the submissions, presentations at meetings, consultations and media commentary. In this 'insider' context, the author was afforded the opportunity to apply learnings from other settings (Costley 2010, pp. 30–31). Women Onside was not directly privy to the documentation and deliberations of the Working Group, which adds to the 'insider-outsider' perspective (Breen 2007). Women Onside however provided a crucial feminist standpoint role, where: 'women's situated experience was able to express knowledge that had hitherto been marginalised or ignored'. (Harding 1987 cited by Costley 2010, p. 30) particularly in supporting the female Chair of the Working Group. The analogy used by prominent football gender equality advocate, Moya Dodd, to explain this marginalised position is: 'Football governance is a giant arm wrestle between governing bodies, clubs, leagues, and players. Women simply don't have an arm in that wrestle' (quoted in Crawford and McGowan 2019, p. 256). This case study analyses the process to amend the documented Australian football structures to improve gender equality, including: the role of the Working Group, the effect of the input from Women Onside and an examination of their impact.

Australia's commitment to gender equality in sport

Australia is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW] (UN 1979, Australian Human Rights Commission n.d.). Goal 5 of the United Nations [UN] 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development Goals [SGDs] is gender equality and empowerment for women and girls (UN n.d., UNODC 2018). The UN recognises the potential for sport to socially empower women and girls (UN 2007). The Australian Sports Commission is the national funding body reporting to the Commonwealth Minister for Sport. One of the mechanisms used by the Australian Sports Commission, both to achieve good governance, and in implementing the CEDAW and the SGDs, was to directly tie governance requirements to funding for the top seven funded sports through the Mandatory Sports Governance Principles (ASC AIS 2014–15, ASC 2015). The Principles included a forty per-cent gender inclusion 'target' for the National Sports Organisations (Principle 2.6). By linking gender equality, good governance, integrity and elite performance, the Australian Sports Commission created the expectation that this target, together with the other Principles, would lead to both more medals and better integrity outcomes (Ordway and Opie 2017, p. 48). This target has also been included in other women in sport leadership programs around the world (eg: Women in Sport [UK] 2013, Victorian State Government 2017, IOC 2018).

The then Australian Sports Commission Chair, John Wylie, stated that:

Any governance reform is only likely to succeed if there's real consequences if the sports don't comply with what we're looking to do. And so what we're saying to the sports is that if they don't meet these new mandatory guidelines within 12 months, they face a funding cut of up to 20% (Cuddihy 2013).

Both through promoting ‘financial implications for non-compliance’ (Hume 2016), and publishing statistics on implementation in the *Sports Tally*, the Australian Sports Commission effectively created a quota. This transparency methodology also reflected international attempts to positively influence change, for example, through the *Sydney Scoreboard* (Adriaanse 2017) and the *Sports Governance Observer* (Geeraert *et al.* 0000, pp. 208–9). In 2015, the Principles were extended to the top fifteen funded sports, which included the FFA (ASC 2015). While intending to shine a light on (or name and shame) the most errant sports, the *Sports Tally* did not go as far as to detail the degree of non-compliance with the Principle 2.6 ‘target’ (AIS 2017). Despite Wylie’s strong words, the Australian Sports Commission also did not hold the FFA, or any other sport, to account through financial sanctions on inequality grounds.

FIFA’s coercive powers in action

The governance structure for football at the national level consists of two tiers: the FFA Members, known as the ‘Congress’, is the body authorised to elect the upper level, the independent FFA Board. The six Australian States and two Territories make up the Commonwealth of Australia, and this federated system is reflected in the structures in sport. For football, there are two representative bodies for the State of New South Wales, for reasons both historic and reflecting participation size. In the Congress, the State members contributed nine male Presidents (FFA 2017c cl. 6.2(a)), and the men’s professional A-League Clubs collectively included one male representative (FFA 2017c cl. 6.5). At the 2017 FFA Annual General Meeting [AGM], there were only two women (of nine) Board members, which dropped to one in 2018 (FFA 2017a). Proposed gender equity constitutional amendments were rejected by the all-male Congress (FFA 2017c). In the period leading up to the 2018 AGM, the Congress consisted of ten men. FIFA deemed this inequity to be in breach of both its requirements on gender equality and democratic representation.

Rather than the Australian Sports Commission’s political and financial influence having the expected positive effect, the 2018 changes in Australian football governance were achieved through FIFA pressure. The 2016 FIFA Statute amendment specified that member associations, including the FFA: ‘must be constituted in accordance with the principles of representative democracy and taking into account the importance of gender equality in football’ (FIFA 2016 Art. 15(j)). This requirement to ‘take into account’ gender equality reflects the increasing FIFA commitment to women in football, evidenced by a range of initiatives, including the expansion of FIFA’s Objectives to include both women’s football and the full participation of women in governance (FIFA 2016 Arts. 2(e) and (f), Ordway and Dodd 2023a). These objectives were guided by the *Women’s Football: 10 Key Development Principles* prepared by FIFA’s Women’s Football Taskforce (FIFA WFT 2014, Ordway and Symons 2023).

Undeterred by its own inconsistencies in failing to implement structural and financial gender balance initiatives (mandated formally by the IOC 2018), and serious allegations of corruption and major governance failures (Jennings 2006, Schenk 2011), FIFA threatened to impose a normalisation committee to enforce compliance in Australia. FIFA gave the FFA until November 2017 to implement Article 15(j) (FIFA 2017a, FFA 2017b, ABC 2017). Throughout the FFA crisis, FIFA publicised the use of the normalisation committee tool for a range of member non-compliance issues around the world (eg: FIFA 2017b).

Australian football stakeholders were keenly aware that if the FFA was suspended by FIFA, this would impact on the national teams hoping to compete in their respective World Cup qualifier matches, and on their bid to host the Women’s World Cup (WWC) (ABC News Online 2017, Gothe-Snape 2017). The Australian women’s team, the Matildas, were then ranked world #8, and men’s team, the Socceroos, were ranked #36 (FIFA Team Rankings 2018a, 2018b).

Australian football gender inequality position

Launched in 2013, the first FFA Women's Football Strategy 2014–16 aimed to: 'Establish football as the most appealing & successful women's sport in Australia'. While this was to be 'delivered by providing strong leadership' there were no targets for increasing the number of women 'senior administrators' (FFA 2013). Similarly, neither the 2016–2019 FFA Strategy (FFA Staff Writer 2016), nor the legacy plan for 'Leveraging WWC Bid 2023 for Football and Gender Equality' included any reporting requirements, targets or quotas, despite reiterating what was referred to a 'core principle' of becoming the 'leading organisation for females' (Highwood 2018, p. 3).

Blatant inequities in training, support and pay between the men's and women's national football teams reached crisis point when the women's team members felt they had no choice but to go on strike. In 2015, the team refused to board the plane to play arguably the world's best team, the USA, for a series of friendly matches. This led to a collective bargaining agreement which the Professional Footballers Association glowingly refers to as: 'From "No Play" to "Equal Pay"' (PFA 2020) (noting that in 2022, there was still no agreement to pool the prize money between the teams as per the USA landmark precedent: Bossi 2022).

Ahead of public statements about the FFA's intention to bid for the 2023 WWC in June 2017 (Turnbull 2017), and the official launch in October 2018 (FFA 2018b), the women's football team had held the title of having the highest emotional connection of any men's or women's Australian team for several years running (2019 True North Research cited by FA 2019). Australian national women's teams, including the Matildas, have higher emotional connectivity with fans both overall and compared to their male counterparts (Paquette 2020). This is noteworthy, despite the far greater marketing investment and exposure, or perhaps because of highly publicised bad behaviour, of the various men's teams codes over many decades.

The gap between the FFA aspirational statements and the reality at the leadership level was particularly stark. Throughout the FFA governance crisis of 2017–18, the body responsible for electing the FFA Board, the 'Congress', comprised ten men and no women, while the FFA Board, of nine, reduced from two women to one (11%) (FFA 2017a, pp. 65–66). By way of comparison, in 2018, the Charities/Not for Profit sector boasted just over 40% women board members, while the top 100 companies listed on the Australia Stock Exchange had almost 30% women representatives on their boards (WOB n.d.).

Of the available fifty-six State board positions, women held only eleven, and none of them were Chairs or CEOs. Women were poorly represented in Zone Representative positions and on Standing Committees (Mersiades 2017). None of the A-League Clubs had ever had female Chairs or CEOs, and there were very few women in executive or operational positions. The overall gender composition of the FFA staff also remained static at a low 26–27% throughout this period (WGEA 2018, p. 19). The WGEA report for 2017–18 noted that:

Although the proportion of women in management has increased, most senior roles, especially at the CEO level, are still dominated by men. Again this year, there is virtually no improvement in the number of women around Australia's boardroom tables. Just over 35% of the boards and governing bodies in our dataset have no female members (WGEA 2018, p. 1).

The 2017 FFA Annual General Meeting [AGM] brought several threads of tension to the fore. A key challenge to amending the FFA Constitution to satisfy FIFA's requirement were constitutional thresholds: a 75% majority had to agree to water-down their strangle-hold. After months of deliberation, at the 30 November 2017 AGM, members voted against a proposal to increase the total Congress to sixteen, including one representative for 'women's football' (The '9:4:1:1:1' model: FFA Staff Writer 2017). It was also agreed to reduce the 75% requirement to a simple majority (six out of ten) to approve any future changes (FFA 2017c cl.9.9). Unsatisfied with this outcome, but recognising the incremental progress, the FIFA Member Associations Committee agreed to the FFA's proposal to establish a Working Group in lieu of imposing a normalisation committee (FIFA 2017a).

Establishment of the Congress Review Working Group (Working Group)

In February 2018, a delegation from the FIFA Member Associations Committee and the Asian Football Confederation met with stakeholders to discuss the composition of the Working Group (Bossi 2018). One of the stakeholders invited was a newly established group, Women Onside. Women Onside sought to promote women's football and increase the number of women in decision-making positions across the game's ecosystem (Women Onside 2017). Women Onside argued that FIFA's notion of 'representative democracy' demanded an aspirational percentage, beyond the current female playing population of just over 20%. Women Onside recommended the Working Group be comprised of an equal number of women and men to establish a baseline of gender equality.

FIFA agreed to female stakeholder representatives, and specific representation for the women's game (Bossi 2018). However, FIFA did not stipulate a quota for the Working Group, and instead the Terms of Reference allowed the stakeholders to nominate their own representatives on a nine-person structure: an independent Chair; a representative of the FFA Board (1); Member [State/Territory] Federations (4); the Australian Professional Football Clubs Association (APFCA) (2); and the PFA (1) (FIFA 2018b). (Noting that the APFCA then exclusively represented the men's A-League clubs (APFCA 2019)).

Despite being charged with implementing FIFA Article 15(j), the stakeholders each nominated male representatives to the Working Group (Gatt 2018). Recognising this inequity, a female independent Chair was then sourced from within their networks. An Australian lawyer based in London with no Australian football interests was approached by her former colleague, South Australian football President, Sam Ciccarello, and her university classmate and A-League representative, Greg Griffin. Having worked in Formula 1 race promotion contracts and broadcast rights, Judith Griggs was eminently qualified to facilitate discussions between fractious parties with conflicting agendas (Griggs 2022). FIFA supported this unanimous appointment (FIFA 2018c).

By nominating only male representatives suggests that the first challenge can be summarised as: 'privilege is invisible to those who have it' (Kimmel 2015). The failure of any of the organisations to nominate a female representative, resulting in an all-male Working Group, demonstrates that privileged men consider themselves as neutral and/or they are unwilling to give up 'their' seat to create an environment of inclusion (Kimmel 2017). It also serves to demonstrate how gendered sport structures are. The complete absence of women in senior management in football, and throughout the sport eco-system, means that when it came time to nominate people for positions, there were only men to choose from (Hedenborg and Norberg 2018).

To counter this imbalance, Women Onside: 'advocated strongly for 50–50 representation throughout' (CRWG 2018, Women Onside 2018a, 2018b). They requested that, as a minimum, women be co-opted onto the Working Group as observers and to receive copies of documents. Although the Working Group Terms of Reference were agreed on 4 April, permission was not sought for broader representation until late June. FIFA approved 'a female representative' to be 'co-opt[ed]' by 1 July 2018 (FIFA 2018d), but the face-to-face meeting schedule had already been completed. Instead, the Chair directly accessed a range of outsider views on an ad hoc basis, including from Women Onside members, to provide alternate perspectives. While not provided with copies of submissions or minutes of meetings, Women Onside was invited to present and made written submissions (Women Onside 2018a, 2018b, 2018c). To comply with the FIFA deadline, the Chair set a demanding timeline of seven weeks for the Working Group to consult and produce a report, which was complicated by various stakeholders attending the FIFA Congress and the 2018 FIFA men's World Cup in Russia (CRWG 2018, p. 10).

'Why' gender equality matters: contribution of Women Onside to the Working Group

The Women Onside submissions drew the Working Group's attention to the research supporting the view that, apart from being morally right, the synergetic perspectives between women's football and

women in football are essential (Women Onside 2018a, 2018b). Women Onside highlighted that the broad visibility of women in football is a crucial signal that girls have the opportunity and right to achieve at all levels. Originally expressed by American activist, Marian Wright Edelman as 'it's hard to be what you can't see' (Wright Edelman 2015), in the sport and gender context, while being the first or only woman is not impossible, it is a lot more difficult without role models (Broderick 2015).

Women Onside pointed to the research demonstrating that companies with a minimum of 30% of women on their boards perform well, leading to a hypothesis that the female gender is no longer perceived to be an impediment once this threshold had been reached (Kramer and Konrad 2006, Strydom *et al.* 2017). While achieving this critical mass is 'ideal', even adding one woman on a board leads to better performance (Zaichkowsky 2014). Companies hiring and retaining more women have been found to be more competitive, because they are able to draw from a broader pool of talent in an era of talent shortages. People from diverse backgrounds bring different insights and perspectives (Siciliano 1996). Gender inclusive teams benefit from masculine and feminine values (Syed and Murray 2008), and when more women are included, 'the perception of success changes' (Biercuk 2016).

Quotas alone however are not enough, as it can lead to selecting women who 'fit' (Claringbould and Knoppers 2007). 'fit' has been used in the same way as 'merit' to justify the inclusion of people from the same backgrounds, and thinking, as the pre-existing men around the table. As expressed by one male Chair: 'Having a quota does not work . . . If the IOC applies more pressure on that point, I'll put my own wife on the board' (Claringbould and Knoppers 2012, p. 411). Choosing 'safe' women, who do not challenge the status quo, and/or who are not culturally, educationally, age or otherwise diverse from the men in leadership positions, also creates an integrity risk. As was expressed during a review into the recent Australian banking and finance industry crisis: 'we [directors] drive the same cars, live in the same suburbs . . . in a comfortable bubble of sweet content'. (Sainty 2018, p. 15). To achieve positive change,

[t]here are qualified women and men who can advocate for women's soccer, but FIFA hasn't done enough to find and empower those people. The men who vote in the elections apparently would rather have a more compliant woman who would stick to the status quo (Murray 2019).

Finding the balance of including people who are 'of the game', and people who are independent of football, is also important for diverse thinking. Exclusively inviting corporate women with no understanding of football into leadership positions does not reflect the range of voices from different parts of the game. Limiting female leadership roles to women with little or no connection to the game, who are almost silent and invisible in the world of football, does not inspire aspiration and engagement by women and girls in football, and does not provide a pathway for women in the game to progress into leadership positions. Women Onside's submission to the Working Group quoted former FIFA Executive Council member, Moya Dodd:

if girls cannot begin their football journey on an equal footing with boys, they will be at a lifelong disadvantage in participating equally, across the spectrum of football roles. Women's football and women in football are profoundly connected. The latter cannot thrive unless the former does (Women Onside 2018a).

Social commentators, such as Rizvi (2017), also warn against reducing the argument for the benefits of gender equality to an economic one. She contends that gender equality must be pursued as a valuable objective in its own right (Rizvi 2017, p. 204). Consistent with statements repeated throughout the FFA governance crisis, corporate sector research found:

If the impact of board diversity on corporate performance is neutral (or, even worse, negative) and entails implementation costs, then the normative case for "doing the right thing" becomes more difficult to justify. Why should current public shareholders [or sport federations/clubs] incur the costs of providing a public good in the form of greater board diversity? (Broome *et al.* 2010, p. 763 square brackets added).

If gender equality is not believed to be intrinsically valuable, and instead tied to Key Performance Indicators, then the temptation is to revert back to the status quo of the 'pale, male and stale' (Lawler

1996, p. 800) [noting that Fink *et al.* (2001) and Peachey *et al.* (2015), p. 581 would add ‘able-bodied’ and ‘heterosexual’] in times of crisis. This is particularly challenging where those in power benefit from retaining the status quo. This has been reinforced by the report, *Better Together: Increasing Male Engagement in Gender Equality Efforts in Australia*, which found that most men (76%) are gender equality supporters, but few (17%) prioritise taking action. This report also recommended that male engagement could be achieved by ‘mak[ing] it easy’ (Bain and Company and Chief Executive Women 2019, p. 16). Women Onside therefore also supported the Working Group through providing practical, easy, ‘how’ solutions.

Women onside recommendations on ‘How’ to make gender equality ‘easy’

As envisaged through the CEDAW and other UN documents (UN 1979, 2002, 2007), cultural change requires that gender equality is mainstreamed using a range of structural and other tools. As set out by Rees (2002): “‘Gender mainstreaming’ is the systematic integration of gender equality into all systems and structures; policies, programs, processes and projects; into cultures and their organisations; into ways of seeing and doing’. (Rees 2002, p. 3). Mainstreaming therefore requires a consistent approach throughout the FFA and its members through communication strategies, recruitment, retention, and promotion to demonstrate a commitment to valuing diversity in all aspects of the football ecosystem. Women Onside presented the following case studies and research to the Working Group provide ideas and inspiration (2018a):

1. Quota Percentages

The Australian Sports Commission 40% target is set out above (ASC 2015). Noting the challenges around quotas in a federated system, the 40:40:20 requirement was recommended for the entire football ecosystem. This mechanism had been successfully adopted by Australian Canoeing (Paddling Australia 2017 cl. 13.2(a)).

2. ‘Different Genders’ Mandated for Specified Positions

It can be constitutionally required that, for example, the Chair and Deputy Chair roles are ‘different’ genders (Athletes’ Commission, AOC 2018 cl.9.9). This is preferable to the ‘both genders’ binary format, but is insufficient as a standalone strategy to create gender equality (eg: the Australian Olympic Committee [AOC] provision alone would only lead to a 30% outcome (AOC n.a.)).

3. Expanding the pie: Quotas by Numbers and/or Female Only Positions

Boards have traditionally been made up of representative positions, and in some cases each of the Standing Committee Chairs (including the Women’s Committee) have had a vote on the executive (eg: Capital Football 2014). Expanding the board to create ‘women only’ board positions, avoids the threat of an incumbent losing ‘his’ seat. For example, the FIFA Statute requires that each of its six Confederations: ‘elect at least one female member to the Council’ (FIFA 2018a Arts. 27(4), 33(5)). Any Confederation failing to elect a woman will have that seat ‘deemed forfeited’ until the next round of elections (FIFA 2018a Art. 33(5)). However, this ‘female member’ mechanism only guarantees that there will be a minimum of 16% female representation.

The number of Council positions differ by FIFA Confederation, reflecting historical and contemporary power and population bases, meaning that the impact one ‘female member’ can have within a confederation also varies from one of nine (UEFA: Europe), to one of three (OFC: Oceania) (FIFA 2018d Art. 33(4)). The desire to only allow ‘safe’ women to be elected, as identified above (Murray 2019), is exacerbated by the requirement that: ‘No more than one representative from the same member association may serve on the Council simultaneously’. This requirement has also had the unintended impact of excluding many talented and competent women because there are men from the same nation already on the Council, or aspiring to, who take priority (FIFA 2018a Art. 33(6), Ordway and Symons (2023)).

The idea of 'expanding the pie' has also been explored in the entertainment industry, where researchers promote the idea of 'Just Add 5' (Choueiri and Pieper 2014) to address the finding that women have made up less than 30% of speaking roles in the top 100 US films each year for decades (Smith *et al.* 2018, p. 28). Achieving gender equality by 2020 would have required expanding the FFA Congress to twenty and adding five women each year. To achieve this in a contested election requires a: 'first past the post, provided you are a woman' rule. This is used by the AOC Athletes' Commission (AOC 2018 cl. 9.1). Of the eight athletes elected at the Summer Olympic Games, it was mandated that there must be: 'not less than three males and not less than three females' and the Winter Olympic Games elected representatives: 'must comprise one of each sex' (AOC 2018 cl. 9.3). This means that those athletes receiving the most votes may not necessarily be elected. Where there is a tie, the youngest candidate wins; reflecting age diversity affirmative action (AOC 2018 cl. 9.4(6)).

4. Graduated/Staggered Quotas

Following the major governance failures and corruption within the International Association of Athletics Federation [IAAF, now World Athletics] (Independent Commission 2015), 95% of the IAAF Special Congress supported the recommended reforms (IAAF 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). Since 1 January 2019 (IAAF 2016d), the IAAF Council has had a graduated gender balance mandated. Although still couched in binary terms (which is significant given the challenges in athletes for intersex athletes: Cooky and Dworkin 2013), the amended Constitution sets out the minimum number of women required to occupy the seats on the IAAF Council and the Executive Board (IAAF 2016d Arts. 36, 41, 60.7). Maria Clarke, IAAF governance reform Chair, hoped this created a 'gender leadership' environment (NZ Herald 2017). At the 2023 Election, there will be a minimum of ten of each gender elected from amongst the total of twenty-six Council members. At the 2027 Election, the Council will be 50–50, and the IAAF Executive Board (total of 9) must consist of three members of each gender (IAAF 2017a). A graduated approach, by adding one 'female only' position to the FFA Congress each year until the ideal of fifty-fifty is reached, would take a decade to achieve.

5. Applying the 'Rooney Rule' to gender and the 'Inclusion Rider' to sport

The Rooney Rule was designed as an equity measure for black and Latino men applying for coaching and team management positions in the US National Football League [NFL] (Fanning Madden and Ruther 2011). The Rooney Rule concept has effectively been applied to the corporate sphere to achieve gender equality, for example: then Australia Post CEO, Christine Holgate, required that head-hunters have a female on the short list for every role (Tasker 2018). Going even further, Mirvac CEO, Susan Lloyd-Hurwitz, required that every senior role short list be 50–50 (Overington 2018).

Called the 'Inclusion Rider' (Smith 2018), entertainment industry 'stars' are encouraged to include a clause requiring broad race, gender and ability demographics in both onscreen and off-screen staff. The idea of having influential people in positions of power stipulating express diversity requirements in their own contracts was given prominence at the 2018 Hollywood's Oscars [US Film Academy Awards] by Frances McDormand (McDormand cited by Kosin 2018). A similar call has been made for invited (male) speakers to refuse to attend male only conferences and panels ['Manels'] (Collins 2019). In sport, the players' associations can use their leverage to negotiate with the national bodies and the clubs, not only for pay parity, but to demand that there be women in governance and in operational positions.

6. Transparency and Inclusive Language

It is recommended that football stakeholders be required to include gender statistics in their annual reports on their websites. For example, Basketball Australia publishes its Board Charter, a de-identified Director Position Profile and Skills Matrix, and female representation statistics (Basketball Australia 2022). Advertising all roles, including detailed job descriptions, should also be standard. Research by Gaucher *et al.* (2011) found that to attract female candidates to positions, on an equal basis to men, requires inclusive language on websites and in recruitment documentation. Inclusive language can be identified using tools, such as the Gender Decoder (Matfield *n.a.*).

7. Other options including training and term lengths

Other change mechanisms include mandating term lengths (ASC 2015), ethical leadership (Ordway and Opie 2017) and 'entitlement' training, mentoring and sponsorship (ie: shepherding), pay parity and equal media representation (MCC 2019, Price and Payne 2019, p. 7). World Athletics funds targeted recruitment and training programs (IAAF 2018) and has established the Gender Leadership Taskforce to work with the IAAF Women's Committee and male advocates to identify and upskill women with potential (IAAF 2017b). Changing structures, and influencing individual and institutional mindsets, rather than focusing only on changing women, is required.

Implementation of the Working Group report

Some of these recommendations were incorporated into the Working Group report (2018) and accepted by FIFA, despite the FFA Board's reservations (FFA Board 2018). Hurriedly translated into constitutional amendments, the recommendations were adopted by the FFA Congress at the 2 October 2018 General Meeting (FFA 2018a). The Congress voted to 'expand the pie' from ten to twenty-nine through creating a Women's Football Council [WFC] (10); the retention of State Members (9); the expansion of A-League Clubs (from 1 to 9); and the addition of a new representative for the PFA (1). For gender mainstreaming purposes, the most important constitutional changes were:

- (1) New 10 member WFC; each member having a vote on Congress representing a total of 10% voting rights [FFA 2018a cl. 18.4]
- (2) Each member of Congress required to nominate two delegates, one male and one female, to attend each general meeting [FFA 2018a cl. 10.3(a)]
- (3) Adoption of a 40-40-20 gender equity principle for the composition of the board and standing committees [FFA 2018a cl.44. Noting that this is not mandated, the Principle is defined in cl. 45.1 as: 'a gender target of 40% men, 40% women and 20% either'.]
- (4) FFA Board: alternating male/female Chair and Deputy Chair [FFA 2018a cl. 15.9(f)] [brackets added].

Establishment of the Women's Football Council [WFC]

For the WFC to participate in the election of the new FFA Board meant that the body created on 2 October had to be established prior to the 19 November 2018 AGM. This timeline did not give the three nominating stakeholders much opportunity to identify, cajole and elect suitable people. As distinct from other roles, only the WFC had stipulated entry requirements, namely experience in: 'Women's football; professional playing; coaching; refereeing; State Members' governance and management; Club and Football League governance and management; and government affairs' (FFA 2018a cl. 18.4). The ten person WFC was comprised of: 'three members elected by the State Members [9 male Presidents]; three members elected by the A-League Club Members [10 male Chairs]; three members elected by the PFA [7/10 men], one independent Chair elected by the Nominations Committee [3 men] and then ratified by the Congress [10 men]' [brackets added]. This tight timeframe and majority male selection process further increased the likelihood that only 'safe' women would be nominated (FFA 2018a cl. 18.4).

The lack of long-term planning through the recruitment, identification, promotion, sponsorship, support and training for suitable women with leadership qualities over the previous decades meant that the parties were scrambling to come up with names. The baseline gender equality composition of both State members and the professional clubs at the ownership, board and senior management level was very difficult to determine due to poor transparency practices (Mersiades 2018). What was apparent was that there were: 'no female CEOs amongst the member Federations or A-League clubs or the PFA, and there are no female presidents within those stakeholders either. Zero women in key

decision- making and leadership positions' (Reid 2018). Women Onside proactively provided the stakeholders with a provisional register of 36 women and their biographies to assist. It was dubbed 'Elaine's List', in recognition of the 'matriarch of women's football' Elaine Watson OAM (Women Onside 2018c). It is not known if this List was utilised.

The WFC 'election' was deemed to have taken place on 17 November and was ratified at the FFA AGM on 19 November. Businesswoman, Ros Moriarty, was unilaterally appointed independent Chair. Moriarty's primary football credential is her marriage to John Moriarty, who is recognised as the first indigenous Socceroo (Baum 2006, Moriarty 2018, 2022). The State members chose only one current board member for their three nominations: Fran Sankey, ACT Board member [later President] (Capital Football 2018). Although retired, Janette Spencer had previously held positions with Football West and the WA Women's Soccer Association (Tanner Heath 2017). Maha Krayem Abdo's football connection was through her brother, Rabieh Krayem, Chairman of the association representing the National Premier League clubs (AAFC) (Australian Human Rights Commission 2015, Krayem 2018, Mersiades 2019). In an unlikely coincidence, the admission of the AAFC as an FFA Qualifying Member was also on the 2018 AGM Agenda (AAFC 2018)).

The PFA elected three of its Executive Members, including its male President, Alex Wilkinson, to join Elise Kellond-Knight and Lydia Williams on the WFC (PFA 2018). There is no evidence that Wilkinson satisfied the WFC eligibility requirements (cl. 18.4) or had spoken publicly on any inclusion issues. In choosing a man for the WFC, the PFA decision appears to misunderstand the purpose of establishing the WFC and was a misreading of the gender equality maturity of the stakeholders. Also raising questions of diversity, the two female athletes nominated were on the same W-League team, the same US club team, and were both current Matildas (noting that Williams also represents indigenous athletes) (Pine 2017).

Influence of the men's A League Clubs on the WFC

The WFC nomination choices by the A-League clubs are also interesting in the context of the ownership models and gender break-down within the senior leadership of these Clubs. Then, the A-League was the professional men's football league run by the FFA. Commencing in 2005, the A-League in 2018 was contested by ten licenced teams: nine in Australia and one from New Zealand. The W-League was established in 2008 and comprised nine teams. Not all A-League clubs had 'sister' W-League teams (Wellington Phoenix and Central Coast Mariners) and not all W-League clubs had 'brother' A-League teams (Canberra United is owned and managed by Capital Football, and does not have an A-League club). Despite existing for over a decade, only the A-League is referred to in the FFA Constitution, which may assume that the W-League teams would be represented by the men's clubs. In translating the Working Group Report (2018) into constitutional amendments, the FFA missed an opportunity to amend this oversight.

Even those A-League clubs with W-League teams make very little reference to their 'sister' teams on their websites, and very few women hold operational or decision-making positions. In South Australia, all A and W League operational roles were filled by men. The club only had men on their 'Football Subcommittee', although was responsible for: 'senior recruitment and retention': 'talent identification, salary cap and budget management, cultural and football philosophy' (Adelaide United FC 2018). Perception and profile matters: the W-League staff were listed below the A-League and the Youth (Y) League staff on their websites. Even though one club could boast having a female W-League coach, the first woman listed on the website was an 'Executive Assistant' (Brisbane Roar FC 2018). A snap-shot review of the 'Latest News' articles posted by each of the clubs participating in both Round 10 (of 27) in the A-League, and Round 9 (of 14) in the W-League in 2018 revealed that W-League articles were sparse. While Perth Glory actively promoted international multi-award-winning superstar Sam Kerr on its website, her then CEO still only references the A-League Club in his LinkedIn profile (Pignata 2022).

Despite this apparent lack of commitment to the women's game, the A-League clubs were more successful than the State members in nominating currently serving women to the WFC. Erica Berchtold was the sole female director of Sydney FC (Mersiades 2018). Caroline Carnegie was also the lone female voice at Melbourne Victory FC. Carnegie was appointed as Director through her law firm colleague and FFA Board member (now Chairman), Chris Nikou (Carnegie 2018, 2022, K&L Gates 2022). Having no female directors, Melbourne City FC nominated their Head of Community, Susan Crow (Mersiades 2018). Crow was one of the most experienced sport administrators on the WFC and has been quietly supporting women through roles including mentoring Women and African Leadership since 2014 and on the Essendon AFL Football Club Gender Equality Steering Committee from 2016 (Crow 2022).

Election of the board

The main item on the 2018 AGM agenda was the full twenty-nine Members (holding a total of 100 votes) voting for four members of the FFA Board (FFA 2018a cl. 15.1). The break-down of the number of votes per Member were: (i) the nine State members 55 votes; (ii) the nine A-League Club Members 28 votes; (iii) the PFA seven; and (iv) the ten WFC Members one vote each (10) (FFA 2018a cl. 10.1(a)). Under the Constitution, each Member had to be represented at the General Meetings by a male and a female. The votes allocated to each Member could be cast by the representative endorsed by their Board (FFA 2018a cl. 10.3). The maximum AGM composition then was 48 people (18 representing State members; 18 representing the Australian A-League clubs; ten representing the WFC and two representing the PFA), meaning that a minimum of 29/48 (60%) should be women. On the day, there were thirty-three attendees at the AGM (16 men and 17 women) who were there as either a voting member, representative, or proxy of a voting member. Some representatives wore several 'hats', doubling as proxies, and/or members of the WFC. Demonstrating the Kimmel 'privilege' or perhaps wilful blindness, A-League Club representative, the Newcastle Jets CEO, Lawrie McKinna, brought his wife Christine as the club representative (Reid 2018). While the voluntary roles of the many family members in sport is acknowledged, a female club official, or an athlete representative from the Jets would have sent a stronger message of commitment to gender equality. It would also have avoided any suggestions of cronyism.

The FFA Board vote confirmed in order: Reid, Joseph Carrozzi, Nikou and Remo Nogarotto (Tiernan 2018). Nikou was then elected as the new Chairman, and Reid as the first female Deputy Chair (FFA 2018a cl. 15.9(f)). The *New Daily* called Reid: 'The custodian of Australia's women's football journey' (Edgley 2018). While two of six female Board members did not satisfy the FFA/ASC 40% requirement, the Constitution allowed for another three Board members to be invited as Appointed Directors (FFA 2018a cl. 15.16), ideally through a transparent process, at a later date.

Conclusion

The result of the 'arduous' journey outlined is that the football community in Australia, as represented by the FFA, managed to successfully bring the FFA Constitution into alignment with the requirements of the FIFA and Australian Sports Commission (FFA 2018a). Rather than imposing the forced resignation of current office holders to make way for new members representing broader diversity profiles, appealing to incumbents to step aside on 'moral' grounds, and/or waiting for them to resign or die, it was intended that the Working Group Report would create an environment to develop a 'gender leadership' culture. Expressed through the October 2018 constitutional changes, and the election of the new FFA Board, women in football, and the women's game, have been structurally elevated to their rightful position. The Congress has been expanded to provide mandated positions for women in each of the major stakeholders of the game, including: State members, the professional clubs and the PFA, with room to include more. The FFA Chair and Deputy Chair positions must be different genders, and the full participation of women at all levels of football

governance has been guaranteed through enshrining the 40:40:20 principle throughout. Assuming the WFC members are women(!), it creates a quota of 34.5% (10/29) in the expanded Congress to address the previous inequity of zero percent (0/10).

To avoid a criticism that these Constitutional changes are 'hollow' (Mersiades 2019), it is clear more cultural change and entitlement training is required. A football community that genuinely embraces gender equality could not appoint all men to the Working Group, and an all-male Nominations Committee to decide the WFC Chair. It was hoped that a new culture of respect and inclusion could help to achieve the FFA strategic vision, for: 'Football to be the largest and most popular sport in Australia' (FFA 2015). One way to achieve this is by linking gender-equitable governance to organisational values and performance to provide motivation for organisations to make genuine, sustainable change (Piggott and Pike 2020). To create the greatest legacy from the forthcoming FIFA Women's World Cup 2023, the FFA stakeholders must be held to account as they improve their governance, transparency, and commitment to gender equality across the board.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to acknowledge the advice and support in reviewing this article from the members of Women Onside for assisting in capturing this achievement, particularly Heather Reid. Other colleagues who provided advice included Moya Dodd and Dr Lee McGowan.

Disclosure statement

The author was a member of Women Onside and a contributor to the submissions to the Congress Review Working Group throughout the process.

ORCID

Catherine Ordway  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0593-7578>

Social media

It was not until FIFA threatened to withdraw its recognition of Football Australia, that gender equality measures were adopted. The 2018 Congress Review Working Group recommended the 40:40:20 strategy. Can this translate into meaningful and lasting transformation?

References

- AAFC, 19 November 2018. *FFA Congress gives nod to AAFC*. Available from: <http://www.australianfootballclubs.org.au/media-releases/ffa-congress-gives-nod-to-aafc> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- ABC, 30 November 2017. *FFA Congress AGM could see FIFA sack board as Socceroos' World Cup place comes into focus*. ABC News Online. Available from: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-11-30/could-socceroos-be-kicked-out-of-world-cup-ffa-congress-fifa/9206028> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Adelaide United Football Club, 2018. *Management and staff*. Available from: <https://www.adelaideunited.com.au/board-staff> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Adriaanse, J.A., 2017. Gender diversity in the governance of international sport federations. In: N. Schulenkorf and S. Frawley, eds. *Critical Issues in global sport management*. Abingdon: Routledge, 23–37.
- AISS, 2017. *Sports tally*. Australian Institute of Sport. Available from: https://www.clearinghouseforsport.gov.au/australian-sport-publication-archive/ais/Sports_Tally_No_4.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- AOC, 28 April 2018. *Constitution*. Available from: <http://aoc-cdn.s3.amazonaws.com/corporate/live/files/dmfile/aoc-constitution-28-april-2018.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- AOC, n.a. *AOC executive*. Available from: <https://www.olympics.com.au/the-aoc/who-we-are/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- APFCA, 2019. *History*. Available from: <http://www.australianfootballclubs.org.au/history.html> [Accessed 21 November 2022].

- ASC, June 2015. *Mandatory sports governance principles*. Australian sports commission. Available from: https://www.clearinghouseforsport.gov.au/australian-sport-publication-archive/ais/Mandatory_Sports_Governance_Principles_June_2015.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- ASC AIS, 2014-15. *Australia's winning edge investment allocation 2014-15*. Australian Sports Commission and the Australian Institute of Sport. Available from: https://www.clearinghouseforsport.gov.au/australian-sport-publication-archive/federal-government/australian_sports_policy/Investment_allocation_201415_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Australian Government, 2017-18. *Department of the prime minister and cabinet*. Gender Balance on Australian Government Boards. Available from: <https://www.pmc.gov.au/office-women/leadership/gender-balance-australian-government-boards> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Australian Human Rights Commission, 18 November 2015. *Five inspiring Australians short-listed for human rights medal*. Available from: <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/news/stories/five-inspiring-australians-shortlisted-human-rights-medal-0> [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- Australian Human Rights Commission, n.d. *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW): sex discrimination – international activities*. Available from: <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/sex-discrimination/convention-elimination-all-forms-discrimination-against-women-cedaw-sex#:~:text=Contents&text=CEDAW%20was%20adopted%20in%201979,CEDAW%20on%2017%20July%201980.> [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- Bain & Company and Chief Executive Women, 2019. *Better together: increasing male engagement in gender equality efforts in Australia*. Available from: https://cew.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/CEW-BAIN_REPORT_Better_Together_19-03-2019.pdf [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- Basketball Australia, 2022. *Key documents. Policies & by-laws*. Available from: <https://australia.basketball/about-ba/policies-by-laws/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Baum, G., 24 May 2006. *Socceroo dreaming, The Age*. Available from: <https://www.theage.com.au/sport/soccer/fifa-world-cup-2018/socceroo-dreaming-20060524-ge2dig.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Biercuk, M., 28 March 2016. *Q&A highlights, @qanda, ABC television*. Available from: <https://twitter.com/Qanda/status/714414939746598912> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Bossi, D., 20 February 2018. *FIFA given clear view of fractures in Australian football after first day of joint mission*. The Sydney Morning Herald. Available from: <http://www.smh.com.au/sport/soccer/fifa-given-clear-view-of-fractures-in-australian-football-after-first-day-of-joint-mission-20180220-h0wdwx.html> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Bossi, D., 19 May 2022. *Why Matildas won't follow USA with equal prizemoney split*. The Sydney Morning Herald. Available from: <https://www.smh.com.au/sport/soccer/why-matildas-won-t-follow-usa-with-equal-prizemoney-split-20220519-p5amqy.html> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Breen, L., 2007. The researcher 'in the middle': negotiating the insider/outsider dichotomy. *The Australian community psychologist*, 19 (1), 163–174.
- Brisbane Roar Football Club, 2018. *Management*. Available from: <https://brisbaneroar.com.au/about> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Broderick, E., 8 May 2015. *In conversation with Elizabeth Broderick (with Anne Summers)*. Australian Human Rights Commission. Available from: <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/news/stories/conversation-elizabeth-broderick> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Broome, L.L., Conley, J.M., and Krawiec, K.D., 2010. Dangerous categories: narratives of corporate board diversity. *NCL review*, 89, 759.
- Burton, L.J., 2015. Underrepresentation of women in sport leadership: a review of research. *Sport management review*, 18 (2), 155–165. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2014.02.004.
- Capital Football, 27 March 2014. *Constitution*. Available from: <https://capitalfootball.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/CF-Constitution-March-2014.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Capital Football, 2018. *Board and committees*. Available from: <https://capitalfootball.com.au/about-us/board-committees/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Carnegie, C., 20 June 2018. *Book launch panel for match-fixing in sport: comparative studies in Australia, Japan, Korea and Beyond*. S. Steele and H. Opie, eds. Melbourne: Routledge.
- Carnegie, C., 2022. *Caroline Carnegie profile*. LinkedIn. Available from: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/caroline-carnegie/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Chief Executive Women, 2016. *In the eye of the beholder: avoiding the merit trap*. Available from: <http://malechampionsofchange.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/MCC-CEW-Merit-Paper-FINAL.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Choueiti, M. and Pieper, K., 24 Nov 2014. *Cross-Post: A Solution to Gender Inequality in Film - Just Add 5 Female Characters Onscreen*. Women and Hollywood. Available from <https://womenandhollywood.com/cross-post-a-solution-to-gender-inequality-in-film-just-add-5-female-characters-onscreen-86fba609ed6d/> [Accessed 7 March 2023].
- Claringbould, I. and Knoppers, A., 2007. Finding a 'normal' woman: selection processes for board membership. *Sex roles*, 56 (7–8), 495–507. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9188-2.

- Claringbould, I. and Knoppers, A., 2012. Paradoxical practices of gender in sport-related organizations. *Journal of sport management*, 26 (5), 404–416. doi:10.1123/jsm.26.5.404.
- Collins, F.S., 12 June 2019. *Time to end the manel tradition*. National Institutes of Health. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Available from: <https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/who-we-are/nih-director/statements/time-end-manel-tradition> [Accessed 29 December 2022].
- Congress Review Working Group (CRWG), 31 July 2018. *Congress Review Working Group Report for FIFA and the AFC*. Available from: https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2018-08/CRWG-Report-for-Publication-P94_0.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Cooky, C. and Dworkin, S.L., 2013. Policing the boundaries of sex: a critical examination of gender verification and the Caster Semenya controversy. *Journal of sex research*, 50 (2), 103–111. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.725488.
- Costley, C., 2010. Research ethics and insider-researchers. In: C. Costley, G. Elliott, and P. Gibbs, eds. *Doing work based research: approaches to enquiry for insider-researchers*. London: SAGE Publications, 25–35.
- Crawford, F. and McGowan, L., 2019. *Never say die: the hundred-year overnight success of Australian women's football*. Sydney: NewSouth Publishing.
- Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford law review*, 43 (6), 1241–1299. doi:10.2307/1229039.
- Crow, S., 2022. *Susan crow profile*. LinkedIn. Available from: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/susan-crow-a649961b/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Cuddihy, M., 19 March 2013. "Sports bodies told: reform or pay", *AM with Michael Brissenden*. ABC Radio. Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2013/s3718517.htm> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Daley, J.M. and Angulo, J., 1994. Understanding the dynamics of diversity within nonprofit boards. *Community development*, 25 (2), 172–188. doi:10.1080/15575339409489879.
- Edgley, M., 20 November 2018. *As Chris Nikou becomes FFA chairman, is there hope for real change?* The New Daily. Available from: <https://thenewdaily.com.au/sport/football/2018/11/20/chris-nikou-heather-reid-ffa-football/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Evans, M., et al., 2014. 'Not yet 50/50'—barriers to the progress of senior women in the Australian public service. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 73 (4), 501–510. doi:10.1111/1467-8500.12100.
- FA, 4 July 2019. *Matildas crowned Australia's most-loved team following the 2019 FIFA women's world cup*. Football Australia. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/news/matildas-crowned-australias-most-loved-team-following-2019-fifa-womens-world-cup?page=131> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Fanning Madden, J. and Ruther, M., 2011. Has the NFL's Rooney Rule Efforts "Leveled the Field" for African American head coach candidates? *Journal of sports economics*, 12 (2), 127–142. doi:10.1177/1527002510379641.
- Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA), 2013. *Promoting CALD women's participation on boards and decision-making positions*. Available from: http://fecca.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/FECCA-CALD-Womens-Leadership-Project_Summary-Report.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA, 2013. *Women's football strategy 2014-16*. Available from: http://www.womensoccer.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ffa-women_s_football_strategic_plan-2016.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA., 5 May 2015. *We are Football: This is Our Vision. Whole of Football Plan*. Football Australia. Available from https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2019-05/Whole_of_Football_Plan.pdf [Accessed 7 March March 2023].
- FFA, 2017a. *2017 annual review*. Available from: https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2017-11/FFA_2017_Annual_Review_Digital_0.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA, 8 Nov 2017b. *Explanatory memorandum: proposed amendments to the constitution of the football federation of Australia Ltd*. Available from: https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2017-11/2017%20FFA%20AGM%20-%20Explanatory%20Memorandum_0.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA, 2017c. *Constitution*. Approved 30 November 2017. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2017-12/20171130%20-%20FFA%20Constitution%20-%20Final.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA, 2018a. *Constitution*. Approved 16 October 2018. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2018-10/CON%2018-1016%20FFA%20Constitution%20-%2016%20October%202018%20-%20FINAL.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA, 29 October 2018b. *Australians urged to #getonside as AusBid2023.Com is launched*. FFA Media Release. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/news/ffa-media-release-australians-urged-getonside-ausbid2023com-launched> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA Board, 2018. *Board information statement and recommendation to members*. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2018-09/20180928%20-%20Board%20Information%20statement%20to%20Members%20re%2020October%202018%20EGM.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FFA Staff Writer, 10 March 2016. *FFA release strategic plan for 2016-19*. Available from <https://www.myfootball.com.au/news/ffa-release-strategic-plan-2016-19> [Accessed 12 November 2022].
- FFA Staff Writer, 30 November 2017. *Resolution to improve representation in FFA's Congress narrowly fails*. Available from: <https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/news/resolution-improve-representation-ffas-congress-narrowly-fails> [Accessed 21 November 2022].

- FIFA, 2016. *FIFA statutes*, April 2016 edition. Available from: <https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/19a43d5f3a4c750b/original/vga5sv1yxeayptzrdudx-pdf.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 7 December 2017a. *Statement concerning the football federation of Australia*. Media release. Available from: <https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/associations/media-releases/statement-concerning-the-football-federation-of-australia-2923399> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 20 December 2017b. *Normalisation committee appointed for the Malian FA*. FIFA Media release. Available from: <https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/normalisation-committee-appointed-for-the-malian-fa-2925523> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 2018a. *FIFA statutes*, August 2018 edition. Available from: <https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/2a486a4bd551917b/original/whhncbdzio03cuhmwfxa-pdf.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 4 April 2018b. *Congress review working group terms of reference*. Annexure 3 p. 68. Available from: https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2018-08/CRWG-Report-for-Publication-P94_0.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 4 June 2018c. *FIFA statement on congress review working group*. Available from: <https://www.fifa.com/football-development/ffa-connect/news/fifa-statement-on-congress-review-working-group-crwg> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA, 12 July 2018d. *Congress review working group (amended) terms of reference*. Annexure 2 pp. 59–60. Available from: https://www.footballaustralia.com.au/sites/ffa/files/2018-08/CRWG-Report-for-Publication-P94_0.pdf [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA Team Rankings, 2018a. *FIFA women's team rankings, as of 22 June 2018*. Available from: https://www.fifa.com/ffa-world-ranking/ranking-table/women/rank/ranking_20180622/ [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA Team Rankings, 2018b. *FIFA men's team rankings, as of 7 June 2018*. Available from: <https://www.fifa.com/ffa-world-ranking/ranking-table/men/rank/id12210/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- FIFA Women's Football Taskforce (WFT), 2014. *Women's football: 10 key development principles. Summarised in FIFA women's football development programmes and guidelines 2015 - 2019 p. 6*. Available from: <https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/4a0f6da8d4731077/original/i95clphzcaq2uc71agpx-pdf.pdf>. Also available in full: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ymqtdwWtNOsUonL1ZXrZdvjFySAirMDr/view> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Fink, J.S., 2008. Gender and sex diversity in sport organizations: concluding comments. *Sex roles*, 58 (1–2), 146–147. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9364-4.
- Fink, J.S., Pastore, D.L., and Riemer, H.A., 2001. Do differences make a difference? Managing diversity in division IA intercollegiate athletics. *Journal of sport management*, 15 (1), 10–50. doi:10.1123/jsm.15.1.10.
- Gatt, R., 12 April 2018. @gatty54, Twitter. Available from: <https://twitter.com/Gatty54/status/984375056368193537> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Gaucher, D., Friesen, J.P., and Kay, A.C., 2011. Evidence that gendered wording in job advertisements exists and sustains gender inequality. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 101 (1), 109–128. doi:10.1037/a0022530.
- Geeraert, A., Alm, J., and Groll, M., April 2013. Good governance in International Non-Governmental Sports Organisations: an empirical study on accountability, participation and executive body members in Sport Governing Bodies. Working paper In: J. Alm ed. *Action for Good Governance in International Sports Organisations*, Final Report. 190–217. Available from: <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/retrieve/224259> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Geeraert, A., Alm, J., and Groll, M., 2014. Good governance in international sport organizations: an analysis of the 35 Olympic sport governing bodies. *International journal of sport policy and politics*, 6 (3), 281–306. doi:10.1080/19406940.2013.825874.
- Gilligan, C., 1982. *In a different voice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gothe-Snape, J., 27 September 2017. *Women's 2023 world cup bid under threat by FFA governance dispute*. ABC News. Available from: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-27/womens-world-cup-bid-under-threat-over-ffa-dispute/8992764> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Griggs, J., 2022. *Judith Griggs profile*. LinkedIn. Available from: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/judith-griggs-40b19356/?originalSubdomain=ch> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Hargreaves, J., 2002. *Sporting females: critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sport*. London: Routledge.
- Healey, D., 2012. Governance in sport: outside the box? *The economic and labour relations review*, 23 (3), 39–60. doi:10.1177/103530461202300303.
- Hedenborg, S. and Norberg, J.R., 2018. A gender perspective on sport governance. *Gender diversity in European sport governance*. London: Routledge, 141–152.
- Highwood, E., 2018. *Leveraging WWC Bid 2023 for football and gender equality*. Available from: https://avalonsoccerclub.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/WWC-Bid-2023_Legacy_Plan.pdf [Accessed 12 November 2022].
- Houghton, E.J., Pieper, L.P., and Smith, M.M., 2018. *Women in the 2018 Olympic and Paralympic winter games: an analysis of participation, leadership, and media coverage*. New York, NY: Women's Sports Foundation.
- Hume, C., July 2016. *Sports governance principles and resources*. ASC Clearinghouse. Available from: https://www.clearinghouseforsport.gov.au/australian-sport-publication-archive/clearinghouse-for-sport/knowledge_base/Sports_Governance_Principles_and_Resources_11-7-2016_updated.PDF [Accessed 21 November 2022].

- Hutchinson, T. and Duncan, N., 2012. Defining and describing what we do: doctrinal legal research. *Deakin law review*, 17 (1), 83. doi:10.21153/dlr2012vol17no1art70.
- IAAF, 5 July 2016a. *Reform of the IAAF – a new era*, press release. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/news/press-release/reform-of-the-iaaf-a-new-era> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 30 September 2016b. *Time for change: a summary of the final proposal for governance structure reform of the IAAF*. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/download/download?filename=355e5ed5-ce77-4f24-8994-a4cc1789f6a2.pdf&urlslug=Time%20For%20Change> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 4 December 2016c. *Overwhelming vote for IAAF reform delivered by membership*, press release. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/news/press-release/reform-vote-congress-2016> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 2016d. *Constitution*. Effective 1 January 2019. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/download/download?filename=d84a4e154-7244-4c53-a3cf-55faad26d7ab.pdf&urlslug=2019%20IAAF%20Constitution> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 2017a. *IAAF gender leadership current position and future targets*. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/download/download?filename=5b5e269a-e806-48ef-82cc-4c3db6358eff.png&urlSlug=iaaf-gender-leadership-current-position-and-f> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 26 October 2017b. *Athletics empowering women to lead in all areas of the sport*. Press release. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/news/press-release/athletics-empowering-women-to-lead-in-all-are> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- IAAF, 8 March 2018. *IAAF celebrates role of women in athletics with clear targets to increase representation across all areas of the sport*, press release. Available from: <https://www.worldathletics.org/news/press-release/iaaf-celebrates-role-of-women-in-athletics> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Independent Commission, 9 November 2015. *The independent commission report #1 (Final Report)*. Available from: <https://www.wada-ama.org/en/resources/independent-commission-report-1> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- International Olympic Committee [IOC], March 2018. *IOC gender equality review project, IOC gender equality report*. Available from: <https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2018/03/IOC-Gender-Equality-Report-March-2018.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Jennings, A., 2006. *Foull: the secret world of FIFA: bribes, vote rigging and ticket scandals*. London: HarperSport.
- Kimmel, M., 2015. *Why gender equality is good for everyone: men included*, ted talk. Available from: https://www.ted.com/talks/michael_kimmel_why_gender_equality_is_good_for_everyone_men_included?language=en [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Kimmel, M., 2017. *Angry white men: American masculinity at the end of an era*. London: Hachette.
- K&L Gates, 2022. *Chris Nikou profile*. Available from: <http://www.klgates.com/chris-nikou/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Kosin, J., 4 March 2018. *Best actress academy awards*. Available from: <https://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/film-tv/a19081077/frances-mcdormand-oscars-speech-transcript-2018/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Kramer, V.W. and Konrad, A.M., 2006. *Critical mass on corporate boards: why three or more women enhance governance*. Wellesley Center for Women's Publications Office. Available from: <http://www.wcwonline.org/pdf/CriticalMassExecSummary.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Krayem, R., 2018. *Old Tweets Rabieh Krayem, retweets 22 August*. Available from: <https://tweettunnel.com/rabiehkrayem> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Lawler, A., 1996. Goldin puts NASA on new trajectory. *Science*, 272 (5263), 800–803. doi:10.1126/science.272.5263.800.
- Lewis, S., 21 September 2019. *Death of blue girl shines light on women's rights in Iran*. The Guardian. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2019/sep/21/death-of-blue-girl-shines-light-on-womens-rights-in-iran> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Lewis, S., 20 November 2020. *Australian women's football study reveals Matildas' alarming lack of squad depth*. The Guardian. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2020/nov/20/australian-womens-football-study-reveals-matildas-alarming-lack-of-squad-depth> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Male Champions of Change [MCC], 2019. *Pathway to pay equality: elite women athletes*. Available from: <https://malechampionsofchange.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/MCC-Sport-Pathway-to-Pay-Equality-Report-2019.pdf> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Matfield, K., n.a. *Gender decoder for job ads*. Available from: <http://gender-decoder.katmatfield.com/> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Mersiades, B., 29 August 2017. *More on Australian football's governance* Line of Thought, Available from: <https://www.bonitamersiades.com.au/features/more-on-australian-footballs-governance> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Mersiades, B., 18 October 2018. *Know your A-League owners*. Line of Thought. Available from: <https://www.bonitamersiades.com.au/features/long-read-know-your-a-league-owners> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Mersiades, B., 11 March 2019. *Reality check: we've got a long way to go when it comes to women and football: what has the FFA congress done to improve their own gender equality shortcomings?* Line of Thought. Available from: <https://www.bonitamersiades.com.au/features/reality-check-weve-got-a-long-way-to-go-when-it-comes-to-women-and-football> [Accessed 21 November 2022].
- Moriarty, R., 2018. *Ros moriarty books*. Available from: <http://www.rosmoriarty.com.au/books/> [Accessed 16 November 2022].

- Moriarty, R., 2022. *Ros moriarty profile*. LinkedIn. Available from: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/rosmoriarty/> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Murray, C., 21 June 2019. *Here are the steps FIFA could actually take to help women's soccer*, Yahoo Sports. Available from: <https://sports.yahoo.com/here-are-the-steps-fifa-could-actually-take-to-help-womens-soccer-161204242.html> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Nehme, M. and Ordway, C., 2016. Governance and anti-doping: beyond the fox and the hen house. In: U. Haas and D. Healey, eds. *Doping in sport and the law*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 207–231.
- NZ Herald., 22 August 2017. Hot demand for Kiwi sports lawyer Maria Clarke worldwide. NZ Herald. Available from <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/sport/hot-demand-for-kiwi-sports-lawyer-maria-clarke-worldwide/HKRDS5R67QHR2P4CJP247WAJD/> [Accessed 7 March 2023].
- Ordway, C. and Dodd, M., 2023a. Situating the FIFA women's world cup 2023: contextualising and chronicling the gender equality provisions in FIFA's 2016 governance reforms. In: A. Beissel, V. Postlethwaite, A. Grainger, and J. Brice, eds. *The 2023 FIFA women's world Cup: politics, representation, and management*. London: Routledge.
- Ordway, C. and Opie, H., 2017. Integrity and corruption in sport. In: N. Schlenker and S. Frawley, eds. *Critical issues in global sport management*. London: Taylor and Francis, Routledge, 38–63.
- Ordway, C. and Symons, K., 2023. It doesn't happen by magic: creatively exploring the process of changemaking in sport through Moya Dodd and FIFA. In: L. McGowan, ed. *Intersections of sport and society in creative writing*. Singapore: Springer Nature, 177–196.
- Overington, C., 16 November 2018. So you've got to the top. Now what?, the deal issue 109. *The Australian*, p. 3
- Paddling Australia, 4 November 2017. *Constitution*. Available from: <https://canoe.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/20171214-PA-Constitution-as-at-Nov-4-2017.pdf> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Paquette, C., 20 June 2020. *Breaking down why aussie women's teams dominate every emotional connection study*. The Women's Game. Available from: <https://thewomensgame.com/news/breaking-down-why-aussie-womens-teams-dominate-every-emotional-connection-study-549331> [Accessed 12 November 2022].
- Peachey, J.W., et al., 2015. Forty years of leadership research in sport management: a review, synthesis, and conceptual framework. *Journal of sport management*, 29 (5), 570–587. doi:10.1123/jsm.2014-0126.
- Pfister, G., 2006. On the past and present of women's football in Germany. In: A. Tomlinson and C. Young, eds. *German football: history, culture, society*. London: Routledge, 93–127.
- Piggott, L.V. and Pike, E.C., 2020. 'CEO equals man': gender and informal organisational practices in English sport governance. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 55 (7), 1009–1025. doi:10.1177/1012690219865980.
- Pignata, T., 2022. *Tony Pignata profile*. LinkedIn. Available from: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/tony-pignata-73233322/> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Pine, J., 22 August 2017. *Get to know Lydia Williams, Westfield Matildas*. Available from: <https://www.matildas.com.au/news/get-know-lydia-williams> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Price, J. and Payne, A.M., 2019. *You can't be what you can't see: women for media report*. Women's Leadership Institute Australia. Available from: https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ee1ce5_88c20ce959044aab84737b1993c326ca.pdf [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Professional Footballers Association (PFA), 2018. *Executive Committee*. Available from: <https://pfa.net.au/executive-committee/> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Professional Footballers Association (PFA), 2020. *'From "No Play" to "Equal Pay": the empowerment of women in Australian professional football from 2015 to 2019*. Available from http://pfa.net.au/wp-content/uploads/PFA-Womens-Football-Report_DIGITAL.pdf [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Rees, T., 2002. A new strategy: gender mainstreaming. In: *5th European Women and Sport Conference*, Berlin.
- Reid, H., 28 November 2018. *Presentation, women and sport II conference: making space for women in sport the*. Gold Coast: Griffith University.
- Rizvi, J., 2017. *Not just lucky*. Sydney: Penguin, Random House.
- Ryan, I. and Dickson, G., 2018. The invisible norm: an exploration of the intersections of sport, gender and leadership. *Leadership*, 14 (3), 329–346. doi:10.1177/1742715016674864.
- Saintly, R., 7 August 2018. *Moral and strategic re-establishing corporate legitimacy*. The Banking and Finance Oath. Available from: https://thebfo.org/downloads/PDFs/Discussion_Paper_7_August_2018/BFO%20Discussion%20paper_FINAL%2019Nov18.pdf [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Schenk, S., 2011. *Safe hands: building integrity and transparency at FIFA*. Available from: https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/safe_hands_building_integrity_and_transparency_at_fifa [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Sheridan, A., Ross-Smith, A., and Lord, L., 2014. Institutional influences on women's representation on corporate boards: an Australian case study. *Equality, diversity and inclusion: an international journal*, 33 (2), 140–159. doi:10.1108/EDI-05-2013-0029.
- Siciliano, J.I., 1996. The relationship of board member diversity to organizational performance. *Journal of business ethics*, 15 (12), 1313. doi:10.1007/BF00411816.
- Smith, S., 5 March 2018. *Why an 'Inclusion Rider' is the answer we need now*. Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, University of Southern California. Available from: <https://annenberg.usc.edu/research/why-inclusion-rider-answer-we-need-now> [Accessed 16 November 2022].

- Smith, S.L., et al., July 2018. *Inequality in 1,100 popular films: examining portrayals of gender, race/ethnicity, LGBT & disability from 2007 to 2017*. Annenberg Inclusion Initiative, University of Southern California. Available from: <http://assets.uscannenberg.org/docs/inequality-in-1100-popular-films.pdf> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Strydom, M., Au Yong, H.H., and Rankin, M., 2017. A few good (wo) men? Gender diversity on Australian boards. *Australian journal of management*, 42 (3), 404–427. doi:10.1177/0312896216657579.
- Syed, J. and Murray, P.A., 2008. A cultural feminist approach towards managing diversity in top management teams. *Equal opportunities international*, 27 (5), 413–432. doi:10.1108/02610150810882288.
- Tanner Heath, P., 30 March 2017. *Football West AGM 2017*. WomenSoccer. Available from: <http://www.womensoccer.com.au/?cat=25> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Tasker, S.-J., 16 November 2018. Equality 'must come from the top' business news. *The Australian*, p. 19
- Tiernan, E., 19 November 2018. *Canberra's Heather Reid elected onto FFA board in landslide*. Sydney Morning Herald. Available from: <https://www.smh.com.au/sport/soccer/canberra-s-heather-reid-elected-onto-ffa-board-in-landslide-20181119-p50gw8.html> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Transparency International (TI), 7 April 2014. *Policy Brief 01/2014: gender, equality and corruption: what are the linkages?* Available from: www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/policy_position_01_2014_gender_equality_and_corruption_what_are_the_linkage [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- Turnbull, M., 13 June 2017. *Turnbull government supporting FFA Bid to host 2023 FIFA women's world cup in Australia, Malcolm Turnbull*. Available from: www.malcolmtturnbull.com.au/media/turnbull-government-supporting-ffa-bid-to-host-2023-fifa-womens-world-cup-i [Accessed 12 November 2022].
- UN, 1979. *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW)*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- UN, 2002. *Gender mainstreaming: an overview, office of the special adviser on gender issues and advancement of women*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/pdf/e65237.pdf> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- UN, 2007. *Women, gender equality and sport*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/Women%20and%20Sport.pdf> [Accessed 16 November 2022].
- United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2018). Module 9: Gender Dimensions of Ethics, Education for Justice (E4J) initiative. Available from https://grace.unodc.org/grace/uploads/documents/academics/Integrity_and_Ethics_Module_9_Gender_Dimensions_of_Ethics.pdf [Accessed 7 March 2023]
- United Nations (UN). n.d. Sustainable Development Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Available from <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal5> [Accessed 7 March 2023]
- Van der Walt, N. and Ingley, C., 2003. Board dynamics and the influence of professional background, gender and ethnic diversity of directors. *Corporate governance an international review*, 11 (3), 218–234. doi:10.1111/1467-8683.00320.
- Victorian State Government, 2017. *"Change Our Game" program, office for women in sport and recreation*. Available from: <http://www.changeourgame.vic.gov.au/> [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- WGEA, 15 June 2018. *Football federation of Australia public report 2017-18. Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency*, p. 19.
- Williams, J., 2013. *A game for rough girls?: a history of women's football in Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Women in Sport (UK), 2013. *Beyond 30: female leadership in sport*. Available from: <https://www.womeninsport.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Women-in-Sport-Beyond-3025-1-1.pdf?x99836> [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- Women on Boards (WOB), n.d. *Board diversity index 2010-2020*. Available from: <https://www.womenonboards.net/en-au/resources/boardroom-diversity-index> [Accessed 15 November 2022].
- Women Onside (WO), 8, August 2017. Letter to Steven Lowy, AM, Chairperson, FFA Board.
- Women Onside (WO), 11 June 2018a. Submission to the Congress Review Working Group.
- Women Onside (WO), 13 July 2018b. Follow-Up Submission to the Congress Review Working Group.
- Women Onside (WO), 13 October 2018c. Elaine's List.
- Wright Edelman, M., 21 August 2015. *It's hard to be what you can't see*. Children's Defense Fund. Available from: <https://www.childrensdefense.org/child-watch-columns/health/2015/its-hard-to-be-what-you-cant-see/> [Accessed 13 November 2022].
- Zaichkowsky, J.L., 2014. Women in the board room: one can make a difference. *International journal of business governance and ethics*, 9 (1), 91–113. doi:10.1504/IJBG.2014.062774.