## 100 - BLACK WOMAN IN THE SPORTS WORKING MARKET: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

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In the studies on gender one of the most promising tendencies suggests to think the feminine not as a natural essence, but as being constituted in accord with a structure that can only be understood if it is contextualized and if other categories are considered as class, race and ethnics. According to Butler (2003) "... it became impossible to separate the notion of gender from the political and cultural intersections in which invariably it is produced and maintained." Therefore, one of the ways to understand the situation of the black woman in Brazil is through the indicators that point to its social-economic and occupational condition.

The effects of the prejudice in the working market grieve the black people, who as consequence, when admitted in this market earn inferior incomes than the whites. When we study the relation gender and race, we realize that the black men occupy a place below of that of the white women as for the wage's income. By their turn, the black women, who find themselves even further below in the occupational pyramid: earn the lower wages, even in the cases when they attend command

positions. The black women are doubly discriminated, for being women and for being black

According to IBGE's data (2005, p. 259), in the international agreements in which Brazil has been signatory, the conditions of gender equality have been pointed as one of the prioritary objectives. "... in the Brazilian case, the education matters do not reflect the recognized gender equalities common in other societies: women already have an average of years of study superior than men (7,0 versus 6,8 in 2003) (ibid, p. 260)." The positive aspect of the women's higher school level, however, does not reproduces in terms of income in the work market. Women earn less than men, in all school levels (Ibid, 261). In the period of eleven years or more of study, the relation between the incomes remained practically unchanged, women earned 58,6% from the men's income (ibid, p.261)

As for the complexion, the situation is not encouraging at all. The classification system used by IBGE in its domiciliary researches is constituted of five categories: white, mulatto, black, yellow and indigenous (Ibid, p.315). The table below (aggregated since IBGE, 2005, p. 331), illustrates the inequalities of monthly average income of all the works of the busy population, in Reals, by complexion and sex.

Total Men 1037,20 491,00 Women: 891,70 442,90 White complexion 681,60 Black and mulatto 361,50

According to Futema (2003), a research carried through by Dieese affirms that in the São Paulo's metropolitan region, the rate of unemployment of the black woman is of 26,2% against 18,8% of non-blacks. The unemployment of the black

woman is higher than the rate of the black man (19,9%) and of the non-black (13,3%).

Not even the high school level is able to reduce the impediments for the ascension of the black woman in the work market. In the Federal District, for example, the rate of unemployment for the black women with superior education is 10,3%, against an unemployment of 9,5% for the non-blacks. Among the blacks with incomplete middle education the unemployment raises to 40,3%. In the public field, where the hirings are made by public concourse and without the burden of the discrimination for the hiring, the occupation is higher for the non-blacks.

The research reveals that the black women occupy less command positions in the companies. In São Paulo, only 4,2% of black women occupy command positions, against 15,7% of the command positions occupied by non-black women.

From the situation presented above we may infer that the inter-ethnic relations between blacks and whites express a complementarity: the prejudice and the discrimination against the black workers serve to designate them to the most discredited and badly remunerated positions. On the other hand, predominate in the positions that concentrate greater prestige, power and income those workers who mostly get closer to the white man stereotype, European descendent.

When thinking on the situation of the black woman in the current Brazil we have to take into consideration that in a democratic society its fundamental the respect to the differences of race, ethnics, gender, sexual orientation and physical appearance, not abandoning each segment to its own luck but questioning the power relations that hierarchize the different positions. In what concerns the physicist-sporting activities, is necessary to also take in account the patriarcalism in the management and administration of sports.

# Black woman and sports

In what concerns the sports, we have the sensation that in the Brazilian society, predominates the representation that the black man and the black woman may socially ascend, through the sport of efficiency or through the art. In fact, the

success models, for the blacks, come from these two types of activities.

To deprive black men and black women of the hope to conquer a place under the sun contributes to keep them in the delinquent situation in which they find themselves. The blacks' problem while racial and social discrimination is not only their problem. It is an aspect of the reigning injustice in Brazil, as well as the hunger and the poverty ones are in general. Therefore, it requires effective positioning and actions of blacks and whites, in the sense of being faced and of searching alternatives of its overcoming or reduction. Affirmative actions, alone, are not going to solve the problem of the Brazilian cordial racism, but depending on its force and cohesion they will call the attention of the Brazilians to it contribute to decrease it. Allied to a sensible improvement in the job's levels in the distribution of income and in the social politics, will be able to contribute in a permanent. improvement in the job's levels, in the distribution of income and in the social politics, will be able to contribute in a permanent way for the improvement of the standard of living of the white and black Brazilians and, particularly, of the black women.

In this article we will offer evidences of that the black women, ignored and kept out of society in some sectors of the it, are also in the sports. Therefore, the discrimination and the closing of chances are verified when they are searching for a job, or maintenance and ascension in their profession, either when they are in their daily activities of going to the market, doctor; or

<sup>1-</sup>Somente a partir de 1987 foi que as pesquisas do IBGE passaram a incorporar investigações sobre indicadores relacionados à cor da pessoa.

<sup>2-</sup> A observação da existência de desigualdade racial no mercado de trabalho pode ser comprovada através de dados do Dieese (Departamento Intersindical de Estudos Sócio-Econômicos).

<sup>3-</sup> Consideramos que, no caso de efetivação profissional via concurso público, a discriminação se dá pelo fato de as negras terem menores oportunidades de preparo para concorrerem em igualdade de condições.

<sup>4-</sup>Observe-se que o esporte não aparece como categoria específica na síntese dos indicadores sociais, e sim reunido a atividades recreativas e culturais, por sua vez incluídas na megacategoria Outros serviços coletivos, sociais e pessoais.

<sup>5-</sup>Em maio 1998, deu-se seguimento a esta Conferência em Windhock Namíbia. Em 2002 a Conferência foi em Montreal Canadá. Os princípios da Conferência estão desenvolvidos em uma declaração com dez tópicos: igualdade na sociedade e no esporte; escola e esporte juvenil; desenvolvimento da participação; esporte de alta performance; liderança no esporte; educação; treinamento e desenvolvimento; informação e pesquisa no esporte; fontes e cooperação

when they look for alternatives of leisure or the practice of their physical and sporting activities.

We refer to the gender inequality to interpret the differences of opportunities between men and women (with emphasis in the blacks) in the field of sports, in the most diverse areas. Since the International Conference on woman and sports, organized in 1994, in Brighton - Great Britain, with support of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.), one looks to accelerate the process of correction of the inequalities that women face in their participation in sports, as well as the inequalities that are verified in the opportunities to which women have access (Sports Council, 1994). In Brazil, few black women, succeeded in transposing barriers, in using breaches of the sports' patriarchal culture itself and in ascending as high

We can affirm, in general, that the situation of the black woman in the sport of efficiency in Brazil is "darker" than what we think. Although the ciphers of participation and wages for the woman in sports in general, and above all for the black woman still remain in shade area, we claim to be valid, for her, what is evidenced in other countries: a) the female practicers or athletes receive different trophies or prizes and of lesser value than the youngsters or the men; b) the feminine teams do not have access to the sportive installations, or always train in late schedules; c) the female trainers receive inferior remuneration; d) the female referees or arbitresses have difficulty to progress in their careers; e) clubs extinguish the feminine modalities alleging lack of money; f) the public resources applied to the feminine sports are precarious and g) clubs or confederacies confer little space to women in the directive positions, among others.

Following we will present some of these black female athletes who, with its trajectory, point out to critical points of strangulation in the categories of gender and race, which they had to face in their sportive careers in the sports of high

efficiency.

## 1. AÍDA DOS SANTOS:

The lack of a Physical Education teacher took Aída Dos Santos to the athletics. She trained volleyball in Niterói and one day, when the teacher was absent, her friend invited her to do athletics. "I did not want, but the threat to lose the bicycle hitchhiking ended up convincing me."

Her evolution in the modality was fast, and already in the first jumps she obtained impressive marks. In 1957, in her 20's, she marked 1,50m and beat the state record. In 1958 participated of her first competition. After that, she interrupted her

career. "I had to work to help at home and I stopped to train for three years."

In 1961 she went back to sports, by the Vasco da Gama Regatas' Club, won a South American in Peru and she did not stop anymore, although more than once she trained with hunger. That because since the beginning of her involvement with sports, she hardly had money to go from her house to the training places. I even fainted of hunger some times during the training for not having money to eat." To continue competing, Aída managed to conciliate sports to the studies. She graduated in Physical Education, for the UFRJ and, with scholarship, in Pedagogy and Geography, for the Gama Filho University.

Aída never surrendered to the fatigue, as she had to study, to train and still to help in the services of the house, which was in the Monte do Arroz, in Niterói. On the eve of the selective that would define the only vacant for the Olympiad of 1964 in Japan, the Brazilian Athletics Confederation suggested that she stayed concentrated with the other athletes. But her mother was incisive: "You are going to confederate, for sure, but at home, carrying water and rubbing the floor".

In this Olympiad, carried through in Tokyo, she was the only woman of the Brazilian delegation and the only black woman to compete in the finals of the high jump. She ended up in the fourth place in the high jump with 1,74m and she was applauded inside of Brazil and abroad as a champion. Without medal nor trophy, Aída Dos Santos entered to the history of the Brazilian sports. This is the best Olympic mark already conquered, individually, by a Brazilian woman in the athleticism (COB, 2005). What makes her a heroine, beyond this mark, were the obstacles faced before getting to the track. At the time, with 27 years, she was the only woman enrolled in the competition, but she was far from being a positive bet for the country. Aída faced the indifference before and after embarking for Japan. Besides the lack of friends, she suffered with the lack of official support, since nobody believed that she could obtain a good result. Before the embarkation, Aída had to resolve even the lack of the uniform.

Aída Dos Santos disputed the pentathlon in the Olympic Games in Mexico in 1968, when Brazil took 84 athletes, of which 3 women. Aída was the great hope of Brazil in such way she struggled in the preparatives that she disrupted the thigh

muscle, and even thus she concurred, after seriously injured.

Aída was bronze in pentathlon in the Pan-American Games of Winnipeg in 1967 and Cali, in 1971. In this occasion, she went to jump by request of a Mexican photographer and twisted the left foot, needing to be hospitalized. She did not conform with the situation, ran away from the hospital and went to the Olympic Stadium. Determined to jump no matter how, she had to sign a term of responsibility demanded by the head of mission of the Brazilian delegation. She finished in the 20th place, but broke the South American record.

After the Olympiad, she received proposals of several sporting clubs, as well as offers of a scholarship in the United States. But she discarded the offers to take care of her parents, already quite aged. In the beginning of the 70's decade, she got

married, had three children and left the athleticism.

At the end of the 80's decade and beginning of the 90's decade, Aída became athleticism's manager of the Botafogo Soccer and Regattas, and was athleticism's technician in the Mangueira's project and in the Vasco da Gama Regattas. She retired as Physical Education professor in the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Today, still in Niterói, Aída cannot live far from the sport and disputes master tournaments in her specialty, the

athleticism. "I stopped during 15 years. I didn't do anything. But than I had an angina, I ended up in the ITU and I had to get back to the track to get better". In July of 1997, she conquered four second places in the world-wide championship of athleticism in Durban, South Africa. In October of 1993, in Utah, United States, her team got the second place in the volleyball championship and her, the first one in the 200 meters of the athleticism. "It was a competition for people with more than 60 years", speaks, proud.

Aída faced the color prejudices during the whole career, but above all in its beginning: "go to the stove, you black woman", was the expression she frequently heard. Instead of relieving to the offence, Aída reacted readily with a phrase that is typical to her: "I will take the challenge, even if I break the neck".

As one can imagine, Aída, multipurpose athlete, heard more racial offences in the whiter sportive modalities, asin the case of the volleyball:

'I saw, the person spoke like this: get out of there Creole, your place is in the kitchen. I saw this very often in the volleyball, you know? (...) In volleyball days they used to go with percussion instruments, these things, they went there, were dancing, the girls I can't bear it they are beating, I said: they are beating, is to dance for them, this is what you have to do, go there, they beat we dance. So, these things make me grow.

2. ELIANE PEREIRA: In the years of 1960, becomes the swimmer with the better international results the only

<sup>6-</sup>As outras duas atletas foram: Irenice Maria da Conceição Cypriano nos 400m e 800m e Maria da Conceição Cypriano que chegou a alcançar 1,74m no salto em altura nas provas de classificação, terminando com a marca de 1,71 e em 11º lugar (Souza de Oliveira e Costa, 2005). 7-Aída é mãe da atleta Valeskinha, que integra a seleção brasileira de vôlei (foi eleita a melhor bloqueadora do Grand Prix da Ásia, em 2003). Mas a trajetória da

jogadora foi oposta à da mãe. Aída teve de enfrentar a resistência dos pais para competir. Valeskinha, ao contrário, começou na natação aos dois anos, também fez sapateado, jazz e, claro, atletismo; o vôlei foi um dos últimos esportes que praticou.

black athlete of the team, coming across racism during the sportive career. In the 1960's decade, no Brazilian swimmer was summoned for the Olympic Games. Eliane Pereira was the best positioned in the Pan-American Games of Winnipeg, in 1967. Born in the 1st of July of 1952, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, daughter of Wilson Pereira and Georgina Maria Pereira, Eliane had a humble infancy. She attended elementary public school, and secondary private school, in the Brazilian College of São Cristóvão, paid by Vasco; she formed as a elementary school teacher, and later she concluded the course of Physical Education of the State University of Rio De Janeiro (UERJ).

Her grandfather was the responsible for her initiation in swimming, in gratuitous classes in the swimming pool of the Leão XIII Foundation: at seven years old, Eliane was the only black in the group and one of the most distinguished. With the grandfather's moving she stopped swimming, but at nine years old her father registered her in the Vasco's swimming school, from which she left before one month, to integrate the team. In the first competition she equaled the record of the test which she participated, without at least knowing what this meant. With financial difficulties, she started to gain the sportive material from the club.

Training hard, she became Carioca and Brazilian champion, winning, at twelve years old, the 100 meters chest in the Brazil Trophy, in the Corinthians' swimming pool, after receive hiss from the group of rooters for being the only black in the game. She was trained by Basilone, Denyr de Freitas and, as youthful, by Carlos Robert Pável, who, according to her, stimulated her to practice the athleticism and to abandon swimming, for she could be more successful in this modality.

Her parents did not use to attend the competitions, but they stimulated her in the trainings, that she would rather take with the men, for that the girls used to discriminate her, supposedly for being better athlete but, the main reason, according to our interpretation, was for being black. She started to integrate the Brazilian team as the best one of the Country. In 1967, with fourteen years old, she had the best rank of a Brazilian in the Pan-American Games of Winnipeg: the fourth place in the 100 meters chest.

"The first Pan-American in Canada ... when the referee was going to whistle, the bleacher crowded, and only me black, in front... I took the forth place ... that, for me, was the first place".

She was South American champion in the same contest, in Lima, Peru, in the XX South American Championship, 1970. She did not go to the Olympic Games, according to her statement, because at the time the women would only be convoked if there was a complete relay team.

Devide (2003) presents as outstanding fact in the athlete's trajectory the fight against the racial resistance to which she had to submit herself in some occasions: in the competitions, in the convocations, in the lodging with other athletes, in restaurants in the exterior, in the inscription in the private school and in the Physical Education classes. Eliane currently is teacher and technician of swimming of the Vasco da Gama Regattas Club.

**3. ELISANGELA MARIA ADRIANO** was born in 27 of July of 1972 in São Paulo. Since 18 years old, the athlete dominates the tests of Weight and Discus Throw of the country, being thirteen times champion of the Brazil Trophy. She started to train with twelve years old. Poor and black, Elisângela went through many difficulties to train and to compete in a test that is not traditional in Brázil.

The 32 years old athlete, considers hersel privileged for belonging to the biggest team of athleticism of the country, that is the BM&F/Mizuno//São Caetano/Pão de Açúcar, has training and expenses allowance.

Elisangela was gold medal in the Discus Throw in the Pan-Americans Games of Winnipeg in 1999, took part in the Atlanta's Olympiad in 1996, silver medal in the Weight Throw in the Pan-American Games of Saint Domingo in 2003 and was hexa-champion of the South American in 2003, keeping a ten year hegemony. In the Athens Olympiad (2004), she was in the 18<sup>th</sup> position in the Weight Throw, 13<sup>th</sup> in the Discus Throw (BOC, 2003).

The athlete is Physical Education teacher, postgraduate in physiology and wants to be technician to form new

athletes. She intends to give lessons in beginners' schools to work in the precarious renewal of the modality of Weight and Discus Throw.

4. DELMA GONÇALVES (PRETINHA): The feminine soccer player born in May 19 of 1975 in the neighborhood of Senador Camará in Rio de Janeiro, daughter of a mason and a housewife. With a family who loves soccer, Delma Gonçalves, also known as Little black, begin to play soccer with only seven years of age. Her mother forbade her to play ball with the boys, but her father followed her in the games.

Little black who has only incomplete basic education, and is offensive player of the San Jose CyberRays of the American league, began to play professionally for the Nova Iguaçu team and later she had her pass sold to the Radar, arriving at the Brazilian team, in 1991.

She was athlete of the Vasco, and for the club she conquered the titles of Brazilian champion of 1998 and the Carioca pent-champion (1996/2000). With Brazil's shirt, her main titles are the conquest of 4<sup>th</sup> place in the Atlanta's Olympiad (1996), 3<sup>rd</sup> place in World-wide of U.S.A. (1999) and the South American bi-championship (1995/98).

**5. SOLANGE CHAGAS DO VALLE:** She was one of the great runners of the country, being athlete of the Vasco da Gama Regattas Club in the period from 1967 to 1976. She started running with thirteen years old, earning more than 800 medals. She won gold medal in the South American of 1968; in the South American of 1970 she won one gold and two silver

medals and in the South American of 1973 she won gold again (Souza de Oliveira, 2002).

In 1976, she stopped running because of a rupture of ligaments during a jump; it was then that she decided to invest in the technician career. She formed in the first class of Physical Education of the State University of Rio de Janeiro, in 1979, and turned to be technician of Vasco, where she works to this day. With two other technicians, Francisco de Carvalho and Carlos Alberto Cavaleiro, she developed an Internal Olympiad to choose athletes, in 1980. They also organized the I Festival of the periphery of São Cristóvão, placing in the club two thousand athletes, who after go through a selection, became athletes of Vasco.

In 1983, the year when she was technician of the Carioca team for the first time, she started to break the hegemony of the Gama Filho team in the athleticism of Brazil, forming with her team Brazilian and South American athletes, champions, mainly in the feminine sector.

In 1984, she was technician of the Brazilian masculine the feminine team in the Pan-American in the Bahamas and in the South-American of Venezuela. In 1989, she was again technician of the Brazilian Feminine and masculine team in the South-American in Montevideo, in Uruguay and in the Pan-American in Danta Fé, Argentina, in which Brazil ended up in the 4th place.

In 1990, the team of Vasco by her command, was three times Brazilian champion of athleticism. In 1991, the club was eight times state feminine champion of athleticism, adult category and Solange was consecrated as technician of the athletes, who carried her in the arms and made great compliments to her, who was a big mother for them.

Solange was invited to work in many clubs, but she never left Vasco, where she was consecrated as athlete,

obtained her first job as operator, was married in the chapel of the club and took her daughter for the trainings of athleticism.

Solange is proud for having made many friends in the athleticism and for always opening way for her athletes, who

did not have chance to study, taking many of them out of the marginality. Currently, she has accords with many schools and

universities. It's been five years since she left the track to co-ordinate the whole athleticism of Vasco. It was a chance that the club offered so that other professionals enter as male and female technicians. She counts on seventeen male and female technicians working in her team.

Today, with 51 years old, she said to be gratified for her life in the sport. She was technician of the Brazilian team many times, classified athletes in all possible categories, in the Brazilian, in the World Championship, in the Pan-American, in all the South American competitions and in the Olympic Games of Sidney in 2000.

6. DAIANE GARCIA DOS SANTOS: The 22 years old athlete, was born in 10th of February of 1983 in a poor family of Porto Alegre, and only initiated in the Olympic gymnastics modality with 11 years old, when most of the gymnasts already dispute international competitions.

Fortunately Daiane always had at home her parents' support for the practice of the sport. Her mother who is a

school cook, played Handball and practiced athleticism. Her father played soccer.

In the beginning of the career, besides the difficulty of training far from home and going alone for the trainings, Daiane faced prejudice of many technicians who doubted the possibility of that black girl to win in a sport dominated by the European Olympic potencies. They suggested, also moved by the prejudice, that she abandoned everything and tried the athleticism, more commonly associated to the poor and blacks. They could not dissuade her.

The athlete who also studies physical Education the College, and is sponsored by the BrasilTelecom won great

notoriety in the Pan-American of Winnippeg in 1999 and in the Pan-American of 2001 conquering 4th place in the Bar, 3rd place in the Jump, and the 1st place in the Ground. Its main conquests are the four gold medals in the ground in the stages of the Gymnastics World's Cup in Stuttgart/2003, in Cottbus/2004, Lyon/2004, Brazil/2004 and the silver medal n the jump on the horse (Lyon/2004) and the gold medal in the World Championship (Anaheim/2003).

## Final Considerations

The black athletes congregated here show that the color of the skin discriminates, most in some sportive modalities than in others, most in some athletes than in others. It also reveals that the effect of the discrimination is not determinant, in the sense that many athletes had made the way with the own feet, succeeded in carrying through their career, made alliances, collected votes of confidence made their dreams come true. What constitutes in reference point for the fight of the candidates to the sport of endurance, independently of their ethnic characteristics.

When revealing ourselves as sole people and, at the same time, dependents of others to recognize on one hand, our personal characteristics and, on the other the differences between those who surround us, we become capable to define our own values constructed in the multi-ethnicity, the multi-culturalism, in the fight against prejudice and all types of exclusion.

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# BLACK WOMAN IN THE SPORTS WORKING MARKET: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

When we think about the situation of the black woman in Brazil, we have to take many things into consideration: in a democratic society it is fundamental to have respect toward differences of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and physical appearance, without abandoning every segment to its own luck, but questioning the relationships of power that create hierarchy among different positions. In what concerns physical-sporting activities, it is necessary to take into consideration the patriarchalism, present in conduction and administration of sport. In Brazil, a few black women have overpassed barriers, by using tools of their own culture to succeed as icons of sport. The goal of this study is to present some black athletes of high level who, by their trajectory, show us critical points of resistance in the categories of gender, race, they have to overcome. Aida dos Santos, Eliane Pereira, Elisângela Maria Adriano, Delma Gonçalves, Solange Chagas do Vale and Daiane dos Santos show us that the color of their skin has discriminated them, more in some modalities than in other, more for some athletes than for other. They also show us that discrimination is not determinative, in the sense that many of these athletes have made their way with their own feet, they have made agreements, they have won confidence and, most of all, they have conquered their dreams. They have been established themselves as points of reference in their fight in sports of high level, independently of their racial characteristics.

Key-words: gender, race, sport.

Quand on pense sur la situation de la femme noire au Brésil, on doit considérer que, dans une société démocratique, il est fondamentale avoir du respect aux différences de race, ethnie, génère, orientation sexuelle et apparence physique, sans abandonner chaque segment à as propre sorte, mais en questionand les relations de pouvoir que hierarchizent les différentes positions. Dans ce que concerne les activité phisique-desportives, il est nécessaire considérer aussi le patriarchalism dans la gestion et administration du sport. Au Brésil, peu des femmes noires on transposé les barrières, en utilizant les sources de as propre culture, pour devenir athlètes de haut niveau. La tâche de ce travail est présenter quelques athlètes noires qui, avec leur trajectoire, nous ont montré les points critiques de difficulté dans les categories race e génère, qu'elles ont eu de facer, dans leurs carrières au sport de haut niveau. Solange Chagas do Vale et Daiane dos Santos nous montrent que la couleur de la peau discrimine, plus en qualquer modalités qu'en autres, plus pour quelquer athlètes que pour autres. Elles affirment, aussi, que l'effet de la discrimination n'est pas déterminatif, dans le sens que plusieurs athlètes ont fait leur chemin avec leurs propres pieds, ont eu succès dans leurs carrières, ont fait des alliances et ont gagné voeux de confiance, ont vaincu. Ça se constituit en point de réference dans la lutte des candidates au sport de haut niveau, independement de leurs characteristiques raciales.

Mots-clé: génère, race, sport

## RESUMO

Cuando uno piensa sobre la situación de la mujer niegra en Brasil, hay que pensar que en una sociedad democrática es fundamental el respecto a las diferencias de raza, etnía, genero, orientación sexual e aparencia física, sin abandonar cada segmento a su propria suerte, mas cuestionando, siempre, las relaciones de poder que hierarquizan las diferentes posiciones. En lo que respecta las actividades fisico-deportivas, es necesario tener en cuenta también el patriarcalismo en la gestión administrativa del deporte. En Brasil, pocas mujeres negras han conseguido transponer las barreras, utilizar los espacios de la propria cultura patriarcal del deporte e ascender como atletas de alto nivel. El objectivo de este estudio es presentar algunas de esas atletas que, com su trajectoria, nos apuntan para aspectos estratégicos de dificultades de genero e raza, que tuvieron que enfrentar en suas carreras, en el deporte de alto rendimento. Aída dos Santos, Eliane Pereira, Elisângela Maria Adriano, Delma Gonçalves, Solange Chagas do Vale e Daiane dos Santos nos mostran que el color de la piel discrimina, más en algunas modalidades que en otras, más para algunas atletas que para otras. Afirman, también, que el efecto de la discriminación no es determinante, en el sentido que muchas de esas atletas hizieron el camino com sus proprios pies, completaron sus carreras, han hecho alianzas, ganado votos de confianza e realizaron sus sueños. Lo que se constiye en punto de referencia para la lucha de las candidatas al deporte de rendimento, sin atención para sus características raciales.

Palavras llaves: genero, raza, deporte

## RESUMO

Ao pensarmos sobre a situação da mulher negra no Brasil temos que levar em consideração que em uma sociedade democrática é fundamental o respeito às diferenças de raça, etnia, gênero, orientação sexual e aparência física, não abandonando cada segmento à sua própria sorte, mas questionando as relações de poder que hierarquizam as diferentes posições. No que concerne às atividades físico-desportivas, é preciso levar em conta também o patriarcalismo na gestão e administração do esporte. No Brasil, poucas mulheres negras conseguiram transpor barreiras, utilizar as brechas da própria cultura patriarcal do esporte e ascender como atletas de alto nível. O objetivo desse artigo é apresentar algumas dessas atletas negras que, com sua trajetória, nos apontam para pontos críticos de estrangulamento nas categorias de gênero e raça, que tiveram que enfrentar em suas carreiras no esporte de alto rendimento. Aída dos Santos, Eliane Pereira, Elisângela Maria Adriano, Delma Gonçalves, Solange Chagas do Vale e Daiane dos Santos mostram que a cor da pele discrimina, mais numas modalidades esportivas do que noutras, mais para algumas atletas do que noutras. Afirmam também que o efeito da discriminação não é determinante, no sentido de que várias atletas fizeram o caminho com os próprios pés, conseguiram realizar sua carreira, fizeram alianças, angariaram votos de confiança e realizaram seus sonhos. O que se constitui em ponto de referência para a luta das candidatas ao esporte de rendimento, independentemente de suas características raciais.

Palavras chaves: gênero, raça, esporte.