38 - THE COLLECTIVE SPORT OF CONFRONTATION AS A FIELD OF THE FEMALE IDENTITY TRANSGRESSION

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I. Introduction

The present study has seeks to deepen the debate around the participation of the teenagers in the universe of oriented sport as leisure, having as its focus the representations that sustain their choice and permanence in collective sports of confrontation - basketball, handball, futsal - as they are events of male predominance. It interests us, also as a research, to contribute for the understanding of the sports practice as a space of the female move in culture.

As much as in other life dimensions, some women are conquering a participation space in the sports world. This historical process is made by concessions and transgressions, in a way which men and women, even though they find a bigger move possibility in this field, meet in new claims for equality and liberty. If the number of women practicing sports activities is growing, it seems it is not enough that their participation is quiet in all activities.

Men and women present different behaviors in physical activities practice in sports as leisure. Salles Costa at al (2003), when studying adults from a specific institution and their leisure options, observe that the most practiced sports by men are characterized as being collectives and of use of muscle strength, while the ones practiced by women are characterized as being individuals and connected to a goal of controlling the body image.

Mourão (1996) and Soares, Leal and Lovisolo (1996), when describing the scenery of the first half of the 20th century, present a time enlargement from the women space beyond the private duty, expanding it to a public space with conquers in work and leisure. These advancements were made through tension, marked by the reaction and the lassitude of the male's hegemonic culture which described women always as "*marks of fragility, inferiority and subordination when compared to the speech about men*" (MOURÃO, 1996, p.62). Women seem to have found an emancipation space on arrangements over the social interests in the market with their own desire to conquer their esteem as a subject.

The social role designed to women, built along the history, is related to activities connected to a behavior of inactivity, submission and demands from the femininity beauty patterns. According to Mourão, still related to the last century, *"the simple exercise practice by woman represented socially a violence to her body esthetic, a threat to her graciousness and beauty"* (1996, p.63). Demonstrating the power of this role reflected in the sports field, it was pointed out swimming, rhythmic gymnastic, gymnastics, dances and volleyball as activities suggested and encouraged to women; and the events of fighting or collective sports of confrontation, such as soccer and handball, unadvised or even forbidden by law in the last century (MOURÃO 1996, SOARES, LEAL E LOVISOLO 1996 e SARAIVA 2005).

Although, even in the first half of the 20th century, women were appearing in almost all sports events, the prevailing interest is still for the individual events connected to health and the body built and far from confrontation and from practice of collective contests. Still today, deciding for activities from other patterns cause the stigma of being out of their set role of social rights and duties.

This dynamic historical-cultural construction has its reinforcement and challenges in the processes of socialization. Family and school, according to Bourdieu (2002) are particularly significant to the girls' position when participating in sports activities. But, at the same time that these institutions, in high scale, orient and establish the social role which the girls are supposed to follow, the school, intentionally or not, promote space for the experiment of new possibilities. Abreu (1990), Duarte (2003), Pereira (2004) *e* Saraiva (2005), in their studies, present in a very similar way the conflicts and difficulties faced by the girls when participating effectively of the physical education classes together with the boys. The contents, teaching strategies and the teacher's interventions are raised as provocative of an atmosphere of gender discrimination and of valorization of the athletic acting- sporting as capital of power and male hegemony. Altman (2002, p. 13) goes beyond and, when describing mixed junior high classes of physical education in school, observes the exclusion of the present gender, but demonstrates that "*gender, age, power and ability - among other possible criteria - form a net of exclusions experienced during the classes and recreation time*" and only being a girl do not determinate the exclusion in the sports practice.

In all school studies, the collective sports of confrontation are almost always presented as a tension field between relationships of hegemonic and cons hegemonic strength in gender contests. As for being a cultural and historical area of male predominance (DUNNING, 1992) and for depending on an athletic profile and emotional attitude against the social role traditionally given to women, handball, basketball and futsal put in question the competitiveness, the aggressiveness, the strength and the technical ability as manipulation factors to the girls' exclusion. Using the argument that the women history is associated to the distancing from the publics space on leisure and that their socialization imposes passivity attitudes since childhood, these studies tend, in lower or higher scale, to suggest that the gender and performance match in a way so that these sports practice become a sex tool. However, all those studies is also presented the interest of some girls, that can effectively play with the boys, and break the logic of the hegemonic discourse, unveiling the homogenization the female gender, setting the table for a negotiation of space, desire and interest for these events.

Pasko (2005), in a quantitative survey about the sports culture of the students from the last year of junior high, reinforces the picture of the prevail interest of the girls, in and outside the school, for the activities connected to their traditional social role, but also points out that, their participation and interest in the collective sports events of confrontation is crescent and significant. The school, as social institution, seems to contribute to the diversity of the female sports practice, and, therefore, to a slow and gradual change in the perception of the social role given to women. The difficulties for the girls when participating in collective sports of confrontation is being shaped also as a space of transgression and reserve to the female diversity, destabilizing what was called as " a space for male predominance" proposed by (DUNNING, 1992).

To deepen this thematic, leisure and adolescence combined become a privileged space of observation of the girls' behavior in sports activities with male predominance. It is in adolescence that girls start having more autonomy over their choices, either being for their age that allow them to make decision without the parents' consent, or, as they have concluded the junior high, for have lived the experience of participating in a variety of contents of physical education in school with all the ups and downs, which allow them to choose between the tradition of the events where there is a female predominance and the continuity of the reorganization of these roles

Contrary to the spaces in school and the sports efficiency to their obligations, means of coercions and extrinsic interest to activity, leisure is, at first, a simple choice of free time occupation. We still consider the orientated leisure, that presupposes the learning continuity, and the spaces multi sportive where the girls can experiment, change and choose activities, we can identify and analyze clearly the transgression condition that has been orienting the female behavior deconstruction of its traditional role in sports participation.

II. Research plan

This study is characterized as of survey of a *Survey* type (BABBIE 2002), because it allows working with descriptive statements about population, which means discovering the distribution of some features and attributes. Continuing this observation, we use ethnography in this place, the model chosen for having the intention of *"lining the curve of a social discourse; setting it in a inspectional form*" (GEERTZ, 1989. p.29).

The Sports Center Miécimo da Silva (CEMS), located in the west area in Rio de Janeiro, is a space with those characteristics, that makes available more than 25 sports events activities and with a weekly public of 15000 users. In this complex works a free sports initiation project from the city hall that has as orientation the social inclusion with all the activities open to men and women. The place is the biggest leisure option in the region and the women are present in all ages and in all existing events, but not in a homogeneous way.

III. Data Discussion

From a preliminary survey of the CEMS data, through the observation of the daily life and the existing numbers in the attendance report from the rhythmic gymnastic event classes, dance, body built, volleyball, judo, handball, basketball and futsal, in classes aged over 15 years old in only one class segment, we observed that there is a bigger women than men participation, that they are in all activities, but they are not really more present in activities related to beauty and physical well being than in activities that suggest a physical confrontation and competition.

Female participation over 15 years old in some of the activities offered in the place

SPORTS	RHYTHMIC	DANCE	GIMNASTICS	VÔLLLEY	JUDÔ	HAND	BASK	FUTSAL	TOTAL
GIRLS[1]	15/15	25/25	102/107	3/16	12/32	8/13	2/18	18/54	185/280
ÍNDEX[2]	1	1	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.7

The gymnastics and dances activities have a predominance or almost exclusivity to women, while in the judo, handball, basketball and futsal events the proportional participation of the women is smaller.

If we consider these events where there is the girls participation together with the boys, and we observe the predominance index in an age segment in the same day of the class on the previous table, we observe that the predominance qualitative indicator of the gender points to a women proportional growth over the class total in futsal and handball events as long as the age raises, the maintenance in judo and the decline in volleyball and basketball events. We can suppose that there is a conspicuous moving of the girls in other events, or even new female students, to handball and futsal events starting from adolescence when girls have bigger autonomy to make their leisure choices.

Index of feminine predominancy by age group

SPORTS	VOLLEYBALL	JUDO	HANDBALL	BASKETBALL	FUTSAL
5-10 YRS. OLD	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.0
-15 YRS.O LD	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0
+ 15 YRS. OLD	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.3

Regardless the number of participants, there is, it seems like, a proportional increase in the number of girls in the collective modalities of confrontation from the teenage stage and end of the fundamental level at school. Maybe the handball, as the feminine sport in the school tradition, according to Pasko and the futsal, direct reference of the Brazilian culture, dominate these choices.

Despite the little feminine participation in the collective sports of confrontation in the leisure field, it can be observed in the CEMS a proportional increase in the number of teenage girls in these modalities thus occupying an activity that is of quantitative masculine predominance.

This note suggests some questions: Is there a bigger search of feminine participation not yet attended in these activities? Are there barriers that prevent a greater participation of women? What are these barriers and of what kind? Why do some girls risk occupying a space that does not belong to them culturally? Who are these girls and how do they organize their life narrative to manage keeping on these activities apparently just as a pastime and purely to occupy their free time? Thinking of these questions we have the central problem to be investigated: What are the representations that sustain the permanence of teenage girls in collective sports of confrontation in a multi-sport environment of oriented leisure?

Scott (1995) presents the gender as the constitutive element of relations based on the differences noticed between sexes and a primary field where the power is articulate, but also observes that since this concept is a historic construction, its discourse and representations are constantly changing. Scott, once concerning this movement of change and analyzing the studies in this field states that there is a two-way and polarized thought about genders in a fixed hierarchy of domination-submission and that to advance these studies it would be necessary to ban these logic.

This criticism to the polarization and invariability brings Scott's concept of gender closer to Hall's interpretation (2005) and Giddens' (2002) about the new cultural identities of modernity. Hall states that the structural changes, known as post modernity, are fragmenting the cultural landscapes and leading the subject to experiment an identity crisis. In the same way, explaining the phenomena of fluidity of identities in the high modernity, Giddens points out that globalization fosters the amplification of space-time in the local life of the subject putting out of joint the traditional social institutions and the project to overcome the dogmas of tradition, very distant from elucidating a unique truth of nature, produces diversity in knowledge and consequently dubiety. The guarantee of stability based in a traditional moral corrupts itself and the multiple possibilities of choice make the identities of the subject become fluid and dependent of a constant re-organization of the individual.

The "life style and the colonization of the future" (GIDDENS, 2002), become fundamental to build a coherent narrative and give meaning to the existence of each subject.

The modernity, ergo, affects intimate and existential questions. The loss of the protective reference of tradition must be replaced for what Giddens named as an ontological security, generated through a reflexive project of construction of self-identity, in other words, according to the author, beyond the narcissism and the lack of collective interest in our days, the search for personal identity is a subversive power of bigger importance. Due to the need of exercising the power of their personalities and the existence of space for such, the individuals look to group around a common identity that provokes the fight for new spaces of equality for all in a collective level.

Woodward (2205), with the intention of contributing to the understanding of the concept of identity presents its direct

relation with difference and exclusion. A person or group mobilizes a narrative of identity when it needs to differ from others, in other words, the identity is relational and fixes a boundary between who "we" are and who the "others" are. This differentiation to classify the world and our relation with its interior is marked, according to Woodward, through symbols - objects, costumes or attitudes that identify that specific group. We can, then, suspect that the choice and the permanence in a determinate sport may also be a symbolic constitutive marker and a constructor of a specific cultural identity of these adolescents trying to reinforce their place on their quotidian space.

IV. Final Consideration

The participation in collective sports of confrontation in leisure seems to be constituted in a space where the affinities of adolescents meet seeking to socialize a new narrative that sustains a construction of their identities to value their desires and opinions. At the same time, distant from being a hegemonic group as we observed, the practitioners of such modalities, specially the group of girls from futsal, when sharing the same space of practice of oriented leisure with the others seem to find boundaries characterizing them by, what Norbert Elias entitled "outsiders" (ELIAS; SCOTSON, 2000). As well as in the study of the British city, in the sports courts of the studied place, people with the same socio-economical condition divide and that group considered "original", "of roots" (the men in their reserved area or the women on their traditional role in these case), tends to build, through ironic commentaries and gossip or simply ignoring its presence, narratives that value its hegemonic power of established and boundaries to cohabit with unwelcome "outsider", but inevitable.

Weller (2005) observes the invisibility of the feminine sex in the studies about the culture of the youth movements. Comparing black youth and of Turkish origin in the Hip-Hop movement in São Paulo and Berlin, Weller tries to comprehend the re-elaboration of this cultural product and the dispute established in the aesthetic-musical field to combat the traditional roles related to the sexes in our society. The sport, as much as the Hip-Hop are global cultural phenomena and a space in which the youth express their creativity and organize themselves as subjects of the discourse and, despite the social transformations, the feminine participation still constitutes as minority. The data collected in these two cultural fields converge in the age group of women - 15 years old - and in the puberty as a factor of differentiation and separation between boys and girls that until then played together without showing restrictions.

The investigation of feminine participation in collective sports of confrontation becomes, therefore, relevant to contribute for an understanding of the juvenile manifestations in the sports practice as a symbolic marker (WOODWARD, 2005) and to comprehend the phenomena of transgression of cultural norms in the construction of new narratives of identity that change the current social roles. Besides that, it offers the chance to advance in the studies of gender for beyond the binary scheme (LOURO, 2001) towards plurality, contributing to a debate of physical education at school in the issues of co-education and gender; contents and strategies of education; and their importance to the adherence of women in the sportive leisure.

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THE TEAM SPORT OF CONFRONTATION AS A SPACE OF TRANSGRESSION OF FEMININE IDENTITY

Abstract

The present study has an as objective to go deeper into the debate about the participation of adolescents in the oriented sports and leisure universe, having as its main focus to analyze the different choices and ways in which adolescents can represent themselves in confrontation sports such as basketball, handball and indoor soccer as those are sports that men normally are predominant. According to Giddens (2002) and Woodard (2005) on the concepts of identity and modernity, and to the historical analysis of Mourao (1996), among others, on female participation in contact sports, we intend to review the idea of

males taking advantage of confrontation sports to impose themselves over females in the early phases of in school socialization. A survey from a public source on the practice of leisure in a multi sport social project, done with people from all ethnic groups from that same location, model chosen for its intention to "trace a curve in a social speech, and fix it in a non inspectional form" (GEERTZ, 1998), at the end of basic schooling (middle school) it was observed a growth in the number of females involved in sports in general, and specifically in sports where males tend to be predominant. The results that have been checked till this point, compared with other similar studies about the involvement of adolescents in male predominant sports reveal the major influence that physical education classes have in the development of new identities, in the level of participation and in promoting diversity in gender in sports and other leisure activities in modern days.

Key words: team-confrontation sports, female adolescents, oriented leisure.

LE SPORT COLECTIF DE CONFRONTATION COMME SECTEUR DE TRANSGRESSION DE L'IDENTITÉ FEMININE

Resumée

Le but de cet'étude est d'aprofondir la discussion sur la participation des adolescentes dans le champ de loisir orienté, avec le propos d'analiser les représentions que soutiennent le choix et la permanence des jeunes filles en sports colectifs de confrontation - basketball, handeball, futsal, que se révèlent de prédominance masculine. Selon Giddens (2002), Hall (2005) et Woodward (2005) sur les concepts d'identité et modernité, e de l'analyse historique de Mourão (1996), sur la participation féminine dans le monde du loisir sportif, on pense revisiter la vision des sports coletifs de confrontation comme pratique de domination masculine pendant la socialization à l'école. Ayant comme base un étude de *Survey* dans um appareil publique pour la pratique du loisir, centré dans um project social polisportif, et suivant une ethnographie locale, avec lê but de "tracer la ligne d'un discours social et le fixer dans une forme qu'on puísse inspeccioner" (GEERTZ, 1989), on a observé un agrandissement de la participation des femmes dans la pratique sportive en general et, de façon specifique, un agrandissement des modalités masculines, après le temps de formation fondamentale. Les resultats verifiés, en comparation avec les autres études semblables sur la participation des adolescentes en activité d'orientation masculine, ont revelé l'influence de l'éducation physique à l'école et la participation en activités de loisir sportif dans la construction des nouvelles identités que promovent la divesité de genre dans la modernité.

Mots-clé: sports coletifs de confrontation, adolescents féminines, loisir orienté.

EL DEPORTE COLECTIVO DE CONFRONTO COMO CAMPO DE TRANSGRESSIÓN DE LA IDENTIDAD FEMENINA

Resumo

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo profundizar el debate acerca de la participación de las adolescentes en el universo del lazer deportivo orientado, teniendo como foco analizar las representaciones que sustentan la elección y la permanencia de las en los deportes colectivos de confronto - básquetbol, handebol, futsal - que se presentan como masculinos. Según las propuestas analíticas de Giddens (2002), Hall (2005) y Woodward (2005) sobre los conceptos de identidad e modernidad e del análisis histórico de Mourão (1996), entre_otros, sobre la participación femenina en el mundo del lazer deportivo, nos proponemos rever la visión de los deportes colectivos de confronto como práctica de dominación masculina en el momento de la socialización que se da en la escuela. A partir de un estudio de tipo *Survey* en un equipamiento público de práctica de lazer**,** en lo cual funciona un proyecto social multiesportivo, e en continuidad de una etnografía en este local, modelo seleccionado para cumplirse la intención de "trazar la línea de un discurso social; fijar-lo en una versión inspeccionadle" (GEERTZ, 1989), se a observado un avanzo de la participación de las mujeres en la práctica esportiva en general e, específicamente, un avanzo en las modalidades de deportes de hegemonía masculina, cuando se concluye la escolarización básica. Los resultados hasta acá verificados, se uno los compara a otros estudios similares sobre la participación de adolescentes en actividades de predominio masculino, revelaron la influencia de la educación física de la escuela e la participación en actividades de lazer deportivo en la construcción de las nuevas identidades que promoven la diversidad del género en la modernidad.

Palabras-llave: deportes colectivos de confronto, adolescentes femeninas, lazer orientado

O ESPORTE COLETIVO DE CONFRONTO COMO ÁREA DE TRANSGRESSÃO DA IDENTIDADE FEMININA

Resumo

O presente estudo tem como objetivo aprofundar o debate acerca da participação de adolescentes no universo do lazer esportivo orientado, tendo como foco analisar as representações que sustentam a escolha e a permanência delas em esportes coletivos de confronto - basquetebol, handebol, futsal - por serem tipicamente de predomínio masculino.

A partir dos entendimentos de Giddens (2002), Hall (2005) e Woodward (2005) sobre os conceitos de identidade e modernidade e da análise histórica de Mourão (1996), entre_outros, sobre a participação feminina no mundo do lazer esportivo, pretende-se rever a visão dos esportes coletivos de confronto como prática de dominação masculina na fase de socialização escolar. A partir de um estudo do tipo *Survey* em um aparelho público de prática de lazer**,** onde funciona um projeto social multiesportivo, e em continuidade de uma etnografia neste local, modelo escolhido por ter-se a intenção de "traçar a curva de um discurso social; fixá-lo numa forma inspecionável" (GEERTZ, 1989), observou-se um crescimento da participação das mulheres na prática esportiva em geral e especificamente um crescimento nas modalidades de esportes de predomínio masculino após o fim da fase de escolarização básica. Os resultados até então verificados, comparando-os com outros estudos similares sobre a participação de adolescentes em atividades de predomínio masculino, revelaram a influência da educação física escolar e a participação em atividades de lazer esportivo na construção das novas identidades que promovem a diversidade do gênero na modernidade.

Palavras-chave: esportes coletivos de confronto, adolescentes femininas, lazer orientado