

# “Warriors in cleats” in the struggle for recognition: accounts about prejudice in Brazilian women’s soccer

CDD. 20.ed. 796.33

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1807-55092016000200313>

Leila SALVINI<sup>\*/\*\*</sup>  
Wanderley MARCHI JÚNIOR<sup>\*/\*\*</sup>

\*Departamento de Educação Física, Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba, PR, Brasil.  
\*\* Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Socioculturales del Deporte, Curitiba, PR, Brasil.

## Abstract

This article aims to describe and analyze reports about the motivations and difficulties faced by female soccer players in Brazil. To that end, we interviewed four players from an amateur soccer club in the city of Curitiba-PR. All players at some point in their careers played for the Brazilian national team. After reviewing the information, we found that prejudice - whether related to gender or to lack of incentive - is recurrent in the interviewees speech, as well as the adjective “warrior” appears at the end of this paper as a innate feature of women who seek the soccer practice and place their professional opportunity in it.

KEY WORDS: Women’s soccer; Prejudgement; Resilience; Brazil.

## Introduction

Brazilian historical accounts that address women’s participation in sports are permeated by situations involving difficulties and overcoming, or even fights that are not always presented explicitly and transparently by the media. If we return to roughly the middle of last century, it can be identified that some sports were deemed more suitable and even encouraged at the expense of practitioner’s gender.

Among the sports encouraged for the female audience, such as gymnastics, dance and swimming, are those aimed at preserving the body shape according to normative gender behavior, the softness in gestures and physical fitness with an eye on preserving and promoting the health of future mothers<sup>1, 2</sup>. In the context of these practices, we recollect the pioneering swimmer Maria Lenk, who competed in the 1992 Olympics in Los Angeles as the only woman among the 67 athletes in the Brazilian delegation<sup>3</sup>.

Rather, the sporting practices that could lead to some body deviation or misconduct were limited by a decree-law. Among these sports we can highlight soccer, an exclusive space for men. The legal delimitation of sports activities for women took place in 1941 with the Decree-Law 3199 a, which forbade women to practice sports that were not adequate to their nature<sup>4</sup>. With this Decree-Law,

the practice of certain sports by women did not go to a more technical or professional level. However, it did not have an effect in the sport practice for leisure, as RIGO<sup>5</sup> describes in his paper on women’s soccer in the city of Pelotas, RS.

As the decree-law was enforced by the National Sports Council in 1965, the prohibited sports became explicit: fights and combat sports of any kind, soccer, football, beach soccer, water polo, polo, rugby, weightlifting and baseball. The same decree was revoked between the late 1970s and early 1980s; considering a delay of just over 30 years, we assume that women who were practicing sports deemed acceptable to their gender were already performing at a more advanced level, while women who were practicing ‘forbidden’ sports continued to face prejudice even after the Decree-Law was revoked.

Shifting our focus to women’s soccer, we state that the notion of prejudice in that sport is a recurring theme<sup>6</sup> that ranges from gender prejudice, which in turn question the sexuality of athletes<sup>7-9</sup>, to prejudice related to low visibility in the media<sup>10-12</sup> and also to the lack of financial incentive and championships<sup>4, 13</sup>. Yet resilience<sup>14</sup> is another concept that appears along the reflections on women’s soccer, or even the notion of willpower as necessary for women to continue practicing in spite of so many opposing factors.

We intend this paper to be about the notion of resilience or tenacity, which is attributes described by the players themselves as being in the foundations of Brazilian female soccer

players' "habitus"<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, our main goal is to describe and analyze accounts on the difficulties and motivations faced by female soccer players in Brazil.

## Method

In order to meet the proposed objective, we interviewed four players that were part of the female soccer team at an amateur football club from Curitiba city, in the Brazilian state of Paraná (PR) during 2010/2011. The players invited to participate in this study played for the Brazil national team at least once in their careers (2005 to 2011). The semi-structured<sup>15</sup> interviews lasted an average of 50 minutes each and were recorded on the club premises. Previously, the script for the interviews was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Paraná Federal University and registered under the protocol number: 1050.175.10.11. Each interviewee also signed an informed consent. In order to protect the players' identity, we will refer to them along this paper as "player 1, player 2 player 3 and player 4."

Regarding the interview script, we present five questions that guided the writing of this article: *"Have you ever suffered any kind of prejudice for being a soccer player? If so, why do you think this happens?"*

*From your point of view, is there something that can be changed for future generations? What are the main challenges of Brazilian football in your point of view? How do you define the woman that plays soccer?"* We emphasize that we used a semi-structured interview script of, other questions and answers emerged in the course of conversation, however, only elucidated questionings were used for the analysis.

Such questionings generated pieces of information that were transcribed and then analyzed under the concepts of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's reflexive sociology - especially the concepts of "habitus", field, symbolic violence and male dominance. Those pieces of information were then described in this article in a way that they initially present the players' views with respect to prejudice related to different aspects and suffered along the career. Following, also from the players accounts, the paper illustrates some factors that lessen the prejudice and the motivations for them to remain in this sport which gives them little recognition in Brazil.

## Results and discussion

### Prejudice in practice: what the players say

Prejudice "gives the impression of being in the order of things" when it comes to Brazilian women's soccer. Nevertheless, the experiences presented by the interviewees report that while there is prejudice it is not and was not enough for them to abandon the sport. The player 1 emphasizes that she has suffered prejudice, and says "[...] I think all the girls who play have suffered or suffer some kind of prejudice." The player 3 has not suffered prejudice directly, however, she claims that "[...] I've seen different looks, ah you play football? That's cool, but it's not the same thing, right? I thought men were the only ones who played" and she notes that there were many questions at the beginning of her career,

among them: "Is it possible to live off football? Does it pay? Is it professional?" And those questions today take a different turn: "Do you know Martha?"

The player 4 states that she has suffered a lot of prejudice, and quotes an example:

It is sometimes difficult when they ask what do you do [...] first I'm an athlete and then a gym teacher, so people ask "what do you play? Soccer, "Oh, cool!" Often you hear a 'cool' that is not very cool, but this never affected me. I will not talk much more about this because prejudice is everything that people do not understand, do not know and do not experience.

For her, the prejudice will always come from people who do not understand the situation and that it is up to each one to accept or not, "I never accepted," she reveals. "To my players I always say: you play women's soccer,

it is a sport that is growing in Brazil, but unfortunately you will suffer prejudice from those idiots”.

The player 2 is incisive when she says she never suffered prejudice for being a soccer player, but she says she has seen it happen with other girls, and says: “there are parents who say ‘what are you training for? You are not gonna get anywhere anyway’” She goes on telling:

I never had prejudice. Soccer has always opened many doors: ‘You play soccer? How cool!’ [...] So for me playing soccer has always been a very positive thing. I know girls who have had prejudice, I know girls who have suffered with this. I personally never felt that. I always arrive in a room to “Do you play soccer? Oh that’s cool”. And as a Gym teacher, “Hey, the teacher plays soccer?” And so the whole class loved it. For me it was always a plus.

When referring to the possible reasons that cause people to have prejudice towards the women’s soccer, the player 2 reports that:

A soccer player is not always concerned with her image when off the playing field. When she is on the field she is there playing properly, but when off the field there’s a lot of indiscipline. It happens mainly among adults, not much in the young categories. *After the game she goes for a beer, goes for a smoke, puts on the cap, ‘goes all homosexual’, takes the girls hand, and this and that.* If I say to you that women’s soccer is not completely in evidence, much of it is because of the athletes. [...] They never worry if there’s people watching, as soon as there’re off they start drinking [...] and end up being an influence to the younger players that are beginning, the soccer environment is full of that.

In addition to the lack of discipline in the health care area such as smoking and / or drinking alcohol, she points out that the prejudice towards players may be related to how the players behave off the playing context and she believes that actions that will bring the woman close to a possible masculinization may favor questionings regarding sexuality. In the player view, when some players leave the field and wear cap (clothing accessory culturally understood as a male piece as it is mainly worn by males in order to protect or hide the hair), or “hold the girl’s hand,” meaning gestures that refer to homosexuality, the player end up feeding the notion that soccer masculinizes the woman, and thus, pushes the players away from normative gender behavior.

In terms of the influence that football can impose in the younger players, both the soccer school and

the club’s starting category enforce a few rules that aim at maintaining this new Brazilian women soccer format tied to normative femininity<sup>16</sup> precepts. Among them “it is forbidden to swear, to train wearing a cap, the uniform shirt must be tucked in the shorts”. The player 2 goes on saying: “we talk a lot about issues with clothing, sometimes we see the girl with the shorts hanging lower, with the loose shirt. And the one that plays well, the ace, influences the younger, who will imitate the role model.” This imitation happens from playing style to how they dress, how they behave and their haircuts.

We do not lose sight that football in Brazil is a space of male domination<sup>17</sup> and is immersed in cultural values that do not encourage women to practice the sport. Women who started the female soccer practice in the mid-1980s did not show great engagement with grooming and physical appearance<sup>18</sup>, the prejudice that falls over the female soccer player corporeity - and therefore sexuality - is guided by deconstructing the normative stereotype of femininity.

When “feminizing” bodies and uniforms appearance, women’s football “habitus” seeks to be closer to the female habitus in other social spaces, promoting change that is slow and within a threshold symbolic and tacitly allowed by the dominant group, stressing that there is a power scale since even if the dominant ones are dominant, the ones under their dominance can still offer pressure in the way they present themselves in the field, in the way they advertise their products, in the incentive to consuming this sport, and also in the search for financial incentive and sponsorships.

BOURDIEU<sup>19</sup> states that the principle of the transformation in the practices and sports consumption must be sought in the supply and demand transformation. In order for women’s soccer to be a marketable practice or one with market value, some prerogatives such as the practitioners’ masculinization must be destroyed as far as possible, so that other prerogatives can be built, such as feminization, or femininity adaptation to soccer fields.

By bringing this practice closer to gender normative behavior precepts, supply changes happen, as BOURDIEU<sup>19</sup> calls it. This concerns the competition struggles for imposing legitimate sports practices for achieving clientele. Changes in demand correspond to changes that are more time consuming and costly, or changes in lifestyle, which justifies joining or not a certain sport option. When it comes to women’s soccer, which is historically and culturally coated with dubious issues both about sexuality and

about physical capacity, this transformation tends to be time consuming, especially as dominant agents are in charge in this structure.

### **Brazilian soccer players in the fight for incentive**

The disbelief about physical abilities, or dubious issues regarding sexuality, takes another turn when the athletes get to the high level practice, when they play for the Brazilian national women's soccer team, and especially when they take soccer as their profession. Considering women's soccer's amateur level in Brazil, when athletes reach the highest point in the sporting career, which is representing the national team, people that initially did not believe in the women players start to look at them with different eyes. For player 4, the fact that she played abroad and also in the national team, has changed the way people see her as a player:

People began to see me in a different way, because we start in a way and things improve along the way, and you end up getting to top-level sport. So that's where people start to see you completely different. When you started, when you're in a small club. [...] They start to show more respect, to see you in a better way than they did. But the way you are is important, there's no use in being a national team player and be a boring and annoying person. But people give a lot of importance to where you are.

Entering the national team gives the players a new position in the women's soccer and also attests their position in their local club because, as player 1 told us, "I started to get paid more for each game." The player 3 claims that being in the national team is what every player wants, but in order for that to become real, an investment in the sport is necessary, and says:

When you are in the national team you become targeted both in a positive and negative way. You need to be able to accept both situations. I've been playing for many years, so people know me because I play. Sometimes people don't really know me, but have heard of me. And when people see you in the national team they go 'oh she got there'. I've been fighting with women's soccer for 15 years. I've been playing for 15 years and the achievement of being in the national team, if I can say so, is due to a lot of work I did 10 or 15 years ago, so wanting to be there it's always the top for any player. People change with respect to thinking: is she's making money? You don't earn a lot of money with women's soccer.

Not all players who go through the national team can call the sport a profession and make a living out of soccer. Player 1 also says that soccer is not a profession yet because, "I had another job for seven years, but I am excused in order to play the games. There are some proposals to go to soccer as a profession, but I'm still analyzing them".

As player 4 says:

To me it is a job, always has been. I went out to play when I was 14 or 15 until 18, I would go to inland São Paulo state, where I only played the weekends and they paid me. After I went to top level professional sport, it became my livelihood, but my job was always soccer.

Player 3 emphasizes:

I consider football to be my profession for 15 years. I take my football as a profession, and the day I stop taking it as a profession, then I stop playing because then I will not have time to train every day, I will not have time to keep my body fit every day, to keep my mind well every day. So the day I realize that I got amateurish, even if women's soccer is amateurish in Brazil, if you have a amateur thinking, you'll never get to be in a good team or a good club [...] football can be amateur, you cannot.

Player 2 can say that soccer is a profession, since she "work with it, get paid for it, I make money for it nowadays, thank God I don't play for free, nowadays women's soccer is not played for free anymore". Greatly, she brings up the view that the fact that the athletes do not play for free means progress and at the same time was harmful, because, according to her,

It created a bad habit among athletes. So then, athletes do not play if they don't get anything, even if it's a sandwich, anything. It caused damage and was an evolution at the same time. Why damage? Because there are few people who would put money in the game to give to athletes, as there is no financial return. The business owner or the person wants to invest that money, good! So this team is good, and the others? The ones that can't afford but where there are girls wanting to play? Then they ended up being harmed, more so that there were four teams in our championship in the Paraná state not because there aren't girls to play, because there is no incentive, no budget for these girls to play. Our club became elitist, because there was a president; they paid the girls monthly, so the best ones played here, and the other teams that did not have much money ended up not entering the championship because they didn't have incentive.

Player 2 speech shows symbolic violence nuances which the sport and the players suffer because of a lack of support from staff in prominent positions in the football subfield. The male domination through the lack of incentive that is exerted by agents in a prominent and dominant position, appears natural when she claims that “athletes developed a bad habit [...] they do not play if they do not get something”, this speech reproduces the male view that women’s soccer is amateur and do not need greater incentives. Similarly, this account defends that in order for championships to have enough competing teams, players should play for no charge, since there is no financial incentive in the other clubs.

In view of acting and incorporating domination, we base ourselves on BOURDIEU<sup>20</sup> to stress that those are not evident, but disguised to the point that the players that suffer it often do not realize it. As in the case described above, when the player herself understands that other players should not charge, because then there would be more teams, and perhaps more championships.

Keeping in mind that the most prominent positions in associations or in the direction of the sports clubs are occupied by men, the players are unanimous when stating that one of the biggest challenges for the Brazilian women’s soccer is the lack of incentive. The player 1 adds prejudice to the lack of incentive as one of the major barriers to the development of the sport. The player 3 follows the same line of thought and claims: “if there is no competition schedule, then it is difficult to get sponsorship”. And she goes on listing some more challenges for women’s football development in Brazil:

First the players, since unfortunately not all of them are in a structured system that allows them to be professionals. [...] The lack of structure in women’s soccer makes for women not becoming professionals or not wanting to become professional because the sport is not taken very seriously by some, by the very people who work with women’s soccer. Today, the highest revenue is in federations, in leagues promoting championships, and this is the greatest difficulty today. Because there is a demand with girls wanting to play, there are girls with technique, there are girls willing to play, and there are good professional soccer players. Sometimes clubs do not keep themselves because there are no championships.

The lack of incentive for an annual calendar is also highlighted in the player 2 speech:

The lack of a competition calendar harms your possibilities of having a team playing the whole year, so the girls end up going to other countries and playing elsewhere because here they are not always playing, they are not always in evidence. I think it is a difficulty. [...] If you are a high-level top athlete, you will hardly stay in Brazil if you have the opportunity to play abroad because their culture is different, and the financial return abroad is much higher, so this is why we cannot keep an athlete here, we cannot keep Marta and Cristiane here. They are well recognized here, but not financially. Biggest challenge? I’ll say it is the lack of incentive. Most athletes stop playing because there is no incentive, and because when they get to 18 years old they have to work and play. If until you are 18 soccer has not given you anything back, then you have to work.

The amateurish structure, be it in the behavior and actions of players, or of the confederations and federations, or of club managers and directors, appear as a great impediment to the sport becoming professional. Or perhaps it is in how dominant agents see the sport and run it, showing certain disregard for the management of soccer as a women sport because, as claimed by the interviewees, the lack of a calendar leads to so many other problems, such as the lack of sponsorship, the difficulty of making a living of soccer, the difficulty of maintaining physical fitness required for the sport, and as a result, the staying in the margins of the sport structure.

Regarding improvements to women’s soccer, the player 4 in reports as an outburst:

We don’t improve if we’re not making anything; we don’t improve if we are making something, then the challenge is to know what does it take to take off. Because if a national team that has no support gets to be the second best in the world in the Olympics, then I think there really is a lot of potential and if there is support, then there isn’t anything to be discussed. In Brazil there are many good women players, really good, but there is no support, no sponsorship, no championship calendar, so a lot is left behind and it is very limited. The challenge is things improving a lot in terms of sponsorship help.

In order to find possible solutions to this “dilemma”, she utters:

If every men soccer club took 1%, 2% and gave to women’s, if each club had a women team, you can imagine how great it would be. Firstly because big clubs draw a lot more attention,

and the fans, the public would already look at things differently. The fans are always following great teams, and the teams that stand out in the women category are not really standing out in the men's soccer. If each club put together a women's team, then it would already be much easier to get sponsorship, it is easier for an Atlético, to a São Paulo (prominent soccer team in Brazil) than for an amateur club. I think there still is a lot of sexism, so they do not make room for women [to take positions in federations].

The absence of women in prominent positions in the sports club's management is a "contextualized reflection" of the absence of women in public and political environments of the late nineteenth century. On this track, BOURDIEU<sup>16</sup> relates that the social world functions as a symbolic goods market dominated by male vision, and thus marked by the perception and analysis categories of male nature. In this context, being female is avoiding all practices that can serve as signs of virility, amongst them are mainly political or administrative positions with regard to soccer.

Based on all the statements described here, we prompted ourselves to get acquainted with the interviewees' view on Brazilian women that play soccer, the key word was "warrior". This word relates to the constant struggle of dominated agents in the soccer subfield for the legitimacy of their condition in entering and keeping themselves in this structure.

The player 1 defines the Brazilian woman playing soccer as a warrior, and says: "it is for everything we face in order to play." Player 2 adds:

First word is *warrior*, because there are many challenges, many obstacles that we have to go through, and then it is very difficult. So I think the woman is a *warrior* and has a lot of willpower, because it is not one of those sports you enter and get everything you already have all the recognition, so you have to go through a lot of things, say, bad things, for you to be where you are. I will speak for myself, it happened before that I had to leave the playing field with the whole team after me to beat me; it happened that I had to go away with police after me and all these things. So they are barriers, they are things we face that maybe you don't have to expose yourself to in other sports. So I say that the woman is a *warrior*, because she goes through a lot of difficulty, sometimes she will have to travel to a championship out of her own pocket. The woman has a lot of will, a lot of guts to go on, otherwise she quits. A person who does not have strong personality to be here, she gives

up, because the challenges are too big, and in the middle of everything you face injuries that happen within the club and get no support from the club. I know many girls who quit because of injuries, so you have to have a very strong mind. It's you, and it's you. You come running on your own; you prepare yourself, for what? Seeking uncertainty?

The personality element also appears in the player 3 speech:

I would define the player as a different woman in regards to personality, firstly the woman soccer player is already a *warrior*, if it is a term that I can use, because she has to be more than a common woman to play women's soccer in Brazil, she has to be a woman who goes to get what she wants. We are not a women's soccer country of and we will not be one soon, we are far behind men's soccer. We are not born in a European or North American country where girls begin to play early. We start late, we are fighting for this space and suddenly when we get it, there is no championship calendar to compete in. Then we are forced to leave, to play abroad.

The player 4 corroborates the previous statements and brings to light the issue with equality in the field, equality in the play rules, but not in the conditions and in the incentive to the practice.

I define the player as a *warrior*, persistent and sometimes headstrong. Look, we insist, we say it will change, and it doesn't. I think the Brazilian woman in soccer is a talented woman, a woman with quality, with guts, because I know women who have children, husband, and always find time for soccer. I think the Brazilian woman rules. We know the soccer in the field is the same thing; it is outside the field that we have those difficulties.

When they call themselves *warriors*, the interviewed players allow to surface in their speeches the difficulty or the "battle" they face to establish themselves as soccer players, whether in childhood, when they were fighting for a place in the boys team; in adolescence, when searching for schools to specialize in the sport; or in adulthood, when struggling to be able to live off football, in the sense of having the financial and professional recognition.

Battle or combat features seem to be linked to athletes in general, because of the constant struggle of the athlete with themselves in order to achieve technical or physical improvement, or even because of the race against opponents. However, we find these characteristics more clearly in women that are seeking to be legitimated in sports that are historical

and culturally understood as a breeding space of masculinity elements.

In addition to the *tenacity* and the will to win, which imbue many different athletes, Brazilian women that are playing soccer and seeking to be professionals in this sport bring *tenacity* as an intrinsic part to a dominated “habitus” that was and is partially built in the sports area, where the struggle for space and recognition go beyond the borders and the challenges of the playing field, and go towards political disputes that are intrinsic to this sport in Brazil.

When describing the players’ reports on the difficulties and motivations they face in order to maintain their presence in the sport, we noted that the issue with prejudice is recurring in the interviewees’ speech, whether it is gender prejudice or prejudice due to lack of incentive. And following the same line, the adjective “*warrior*” appears in end of this paper as an innate characteristic of women who seek to practice soccer and put in the sport their professional chance.

At this point, we return to the issues raised by of one of our interviewees. She utters, “*What does it take for Brazilian women’s soccer to take off?*” Next, in order to respond to this question, we will outline some notes in the form of hypothesis based on the above reported speeches.

Pondering the cultural elements of the patriarchal society we belong to, together with the history of the sport in our country, it is clear that male domination assimilated by men and women in Brazilian soccer is reflected in the restricted consumption of the sport by a number of agents, or even in the absence of consumption at all, among other factors. Women’s football in Brazil does not foster consumption much since it is historically and culturally linked to gender prejudice, which drove women away from the sport for many years, and demanded perseverance of those who sought to remain in that space.

About 30 years after it was made legal for women to play football, it appears that the sport has gone through different stages, and in all of them the female athletes’

body, or the way in which those bodies are displayed was trending. For at least 20 years (1980-2000), the presentation of normatively female bodies and sporting skills were seen as dichotomous. In the 2000s, a few pieces published in *Placar* (popular sports magazine in Brazil) showed body care and normative beauty habits among players that are in federations, in an attempt to bring the sport skill (usually seen as a male skill) closer to a normative female body<sup>16, 18, 21</sup>.

Thus, there must be consumption for women’s football to take off. And in order for consumption to be present, there must be some kind of offer available, be it offer of products, or teams, or championships or, in a broad view, of incentives. And there must be demand together with offer. However, in order to exist a demand for consumption in this sport, players are encouraged (by directors, clubs and also sponsors) to present a female gender normative behavior. This new guise in players’ appearance happens in order to demystify the stereotype of the soccer player as a woman who does not take care of the physical appearance beyond the sport duties.

Finally, we understand that whether it is gender prejudice or prejudice due to lack of incentive, prejudice is characterized as symbolic violence, which according to BOURDIEU<sup>22</sup> “consists of a violence that is exercised with the tacit connivance of those who suffer it and also often with the connivance of the agent, as one or the other are not aware of inflicting it or suffering it” (p.22). Thus, the need to link the football player to the normative female attributes intends to extend the boundaries of consumption in this sport, bringing the player closer to the body that is consumed by patriarchal society.

With this paper, we highlight that even with all the adversity presented above, the characteristics of war and combat is another aspect of soccer, or rather, another aspect of women players, that was unanimously highlighted among interviewees. Besides talent, resilience is inherent to women soccer players in order for them to face existing disputes in the Brazilian soccer context.

## Notes

- a. The Decree in full is available from: <http://www6.senado.gov.br/legislacao/ListaPublicacoes.action?id=152593>. It was revoked in 1975 by Law 6251/75. Available from: <http://www3.dataprev.gov.br/SISLEX/paginas/42/1975/6251.htm>. [Cited 2013 May 16].
- b. The habitus is [...] the principle that generates and unifies, that re-translates the characteristics that are intrinsic to a position in an univocal lifestyle [...] of choices, of people, of possessions, of practices<sup>20</sup> (p.21-2).
- c. Paraphrasing BOURDIEU<sup>16</sup>, when He states that “Biology is in the order of things”.

## Resumo

"Guerreiras de chuteiras" na luta pelo reconhecimento: relatos acerca do preconceito no futebol feminino brasileiro

O presente artigo tem como objetivo descrever e analisar relatos acerca das dificuldades e motivações enfrentadas por jogadoras de futebol no Brasil. Para tanto, foram entrevistadas quatro jogadoras de um clube de futebol amador da cidade de Curitiba-PR que em algum momento de suas carreiras defenderam a seleção brasileira. Após análise das informações, constatamos que o preconceito – seja de gênero ou pela falta de incentivo – é recorrente no discurso das entrevistadas, assim como, o adjetivo "guerreiras" aparece no final deste escrito como sendo uma característica nata das mulheres que buscam a prática do futebol e depositam nele seu ensejo profissional.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Futebol feminino; Preconceito; Resiliência; Brasil.

## References

1. Mourão L. Representação social da mulher brasileira nas atividades físico-desportivas: da segregação à democratização. *Movimento*. 2000;13:5-18.
2. Goellner SV. *Bela, maternal e feminina: imagens da mulher na Revista Educação Física*. Ijuí: Unijuí; 2003.
3. Lenk M. *Braçadas e abraços*. Rio de Janeiro: Bradesco; 1982.
4. Franzini F. Futebol é "coisa para macho"?: pequeno esboço para uma história das mulheres no país do futebol. *Rev Bras Hist*. 2005;25:315-28.
5. Rigo LC, Guidotti FG, Theil LZ, Amaral M. Notas acerca do futebol feminino pelotense em 1950: um estudo genealógico. *Rev Bras Ciênc Esporte*. 2008;29:173-88.
6. Teixeira FLS, Caminha IO. Preconceito no futebol feminino brasileiro: uma revisão sistemática. *Movimento*. 2013;19:265-87.
7. Darido SC. Futebol feminino no Brasil: do seu início à prática pedagógica. *Motriz*. 2002;8:43-9.
8. Goellner SV. Mulher e esporte no Brasil: entre incentivos e interdições elas fazem história. *Pensar Prát*. 2005;8:85-100.
9. Knijnik JD. *Femininos e masculinos no futebol brasileiro [tese]*. São Paulo (SP): Universidade de São Paulo, Instituto de Psicologia; 2006.
10. Mourão L, Morel M. As narrativas sobre o futebol feminino: o discurso da mídia impressa em campo. *Rev Bras Ciênc Esporte*. 2005;26:73-86.
11. Souza JSS, Knijnik JD. A mulher invisível: gênero e esporte em um dos maiores jornais diários do Brasil. *Rev Bras Educ Fís Esporte*. 2007;21:35-48.
12. Martins LT, Moraes L. O futebol feminino e sua inserção na mídia: a diferença que faz uma medalha de prata. *Pensar Prát*. 2007;10:69-81.
13. Salvini, L. *Novo Mundo Futebol Clube e o "velho mundo" do futebol: considerações sociológicas sobre o habitus esportivo de jogadoras de futebol [dissertação]*. Curitiba (PR): Universidade Federal do Paraná, Departamento de Educação Física; 2012.
14. Borges CNF, Lopes SM, Alves CA, Alves FP. Resiliência: uma possibilidade de adesão e permanência na prática do futebol feminino. *Movimento*. 2007;12:105-31.
15. Flick U. *Métodos qualitativos na investigação científica*. Lisboa: Monitor; 2005.
16. Bourdieu P. *A dominação masculina*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil; 2007.
17. Salvini L, Marchi Júnior W. Velhos tabus de roupa nova: o futebol feminino na revista Placar entre os anos de 2000-2010. *Práxia*. 2013;2:55-66.
18. Salvini L, Marchi Júnior W. Uma história do futebol feminino nas páginas da revista Placar entre os anos de 1980-1990. *Movimento*. 2013;19:95-115.
19. Bourdieu P. *A economia das trocas linguísticas*. In: Ortiz R, organizador. *Pierre Bourdieu: sociologia*. São Paulo: Ática; 1983.
20. Bourdieu P. *Razões práticas*. Campinas: Papyrus; 1996.



21. Salvini L, Marchi Júnior W. Notoriedade mundial e visibilidade local: o futebol feminino na revista Placar na década de 1990. *Sociol Plurais*. 2013;2:144-59.
22. Bourdieu P. Sobre a televisão. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar; 1997.

ENDEREÇO

Leila Salvini  
Centro de Pesquisa em Esporte, Lazer e Sociedade  
Departamento de Educação Física  
Setor de Ciências Biológicas  
Universidade Federal do Paraná  
R. Coração de Maria, 92  
80210-132 -Curitiba - PR - BRASIL  
e-mail: leila.salvini@hotmail.com

Submitted: 05/21/2013  
1a. Review: 03/23/2014  
2a. Review: 10/17/2014  
Accepted: 10/19/2014