



WOMEN'S FOOTBALL COACHES AND ASSISTANT COACHES IN BRAZIL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE IN SPORTS LEADERSHIP

*TREINADORAS E AUXILIARES DO FUTEBOL DE MULHERES NO
BRASIL: SUBVERSÃO E RESISTÊNCIA NA LIDERANÇA ESPORTIVA* 


*ENTRENADORAS Y AUXILIARES DEL FÚTBOL FEMENINO EN BRASIL:
SUBVERSIÓN Y RESISTENCIA EN EL LIDERAZGO DEPORTIVO* 

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Abstract: Based on cultural and gender studies, this research addresses women's representativeness as coaches and assistant coaches in women's football, seeking to identify the subversion and resistance strategies adopted for their inclusion and permanence. The analysis focused on participants' speeches and document sources such as news articles and academic works. It shows how professionals gained access to the roles resulting from their leadership experiences as athletes and/or interns and their high levels of training. They ensure their permanence by confirming their competence on a daily basis, maintaining their level of ability, and overcoming gender stereotypes. They personify women's eminent resistance in spaces traditionally reserved for men, thus tensioning power relations. However, consolidation of equal conditions requires financial investment and, above all, a commitment to deconstructing gender stereotypes.

Keywords: Gender-based division of labor. Football. Women working. Stereotyped behavior.

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1 INTRODUCTION

For some time in Brazil, women were not allowed to circulate freely in many public spaces, nor did they have equal access to the world of labor, being limited to domestic roles and motherhood (GOELLNER, 2003). According to Coelho (2009) and Goellner (2005), the sports environment is a territory for asserting “male” identity that preserves and reinforces cultural inequalities between genders, reproducing stereotypes about the roles played by men and women. Therefore, football is fertile ground for studies with analytical approaches to gender, given its homosocial characteristic.¹ Damo (2007, p. 137) states that “it does not take an expert to identify marked male predominance in football, be it practical or symbolic.” Furthermore, the author sees distinct ways of playing football – one of them being the spectacularized one, which presents monopolistic, globalized and centralized patterns, in addition to performative excellence as a requirement imposed from the outside through mediations from sponsors, entrepreneurs and the audience’s interests (DAMO, 2005).

Regarding women’s participation as athletes in sports in general, data² from 2020 show that equality has been gradually achieved. However, when it comes to women occupying sports leadership positions, the reality is different. Some studies shed light on women’s low representation as leaders in the sports field (GOMES, 2006; OLIVEIRA; TEIXEIRA, 2009; PFISTER; RADTKE, 2007; READE; RODGERS; NORMAN, 2009). Even today, men prevail in management positions (TORGA, 2019), as coaches (NOVAIS, 2018), referees (MONTEIRO, 2016), commentators, and reporters. Conducting longitudinal analysis, Passero *et al.* (2020) found that:

[...] men occupy most (85%) coaching staff positions in the Brazilian Women’s Football Championship. The largest percentage of women (22%) were found as assistant coaches. If there are no setbacks in the process of linear and gradual increase in the participation of female professionals in the coming years, numerical equality between men and women in technical staff positions might be reached by 2030. (PASSERO *et al.*, 2020, p. 13).

This scenario fuels the search for understanding the trajectories of women willing to build professional careers by occupying leadership positions in football. Therefore, anchored in a feminist epistemology (RAGO, 1998) and grounded in cultural and gender studies, which consider the set of rules that converge to maintain heteronormativity³ as one of the possible challenges faced by these women, this research addresses the processes of inclusion and permanence of women football coaches and assistant coaches in coaching staffs, to identify the gender-based difficulties they face to build their careers.

1 “Homosocial” was at that time a word that had been occasionally used in history and the social sciences, where it described social bonds between persons of the same sex; it was a recently made-up word, obviously formed by analogy with “homosexual,” and just as obviously meant to be distinguished from “homosexual.” In fact, it was applied to such activities as “male bonding,” which may, as it often is in American society, be characterized by intense homophobia, which is the fear and hatred of homosexuality. (SEDGWICK, 1985; CAMARGO, 2016)

2 The last edition of the Olympic Games (2016) saw a 70% increase in participation of Brazilian women compared to 2012 (COMITÊ OLÍMPICO BRASILEIRO, 2017). The Brazilian delegation included 253 men and 209 women, who were 45.23%. For the Tokyo Olympics on April 3, 2020, Brazil had 178 athletes classified (COMITÊ OLÍMPICO BRASILEIRO, 2020), of which at least 83 were taken by women (46.62%). In addition, in two team sports, Brazil will be represented, so far, only by women: Handball and Rugby Sevens.

3 Standard that brings together the notions of gender and sexuality, naturalizing a certain coherence between sex (he was born a man, she was born a woman), gender (he became a man, she became a woman), and sexual orientation (as a man, he will have affective and sexual interest in women and vice versa) (SEFFNER, 2013, p. 150).

Discussions about this category lead to debates on power relations⁴ historically and culturally established between men and women (NORONHA, 2016). Therefore, the option to address gender as an analytical category is based on the view that sport is a cultural construction to which discourses, values and practices are added and end up marking representations of femininities and masculinities that also define social positions (GOELLNER; KESSLER, 2018). Strict representations of femininity supported by the heteronormative concept and the discourses on what is or is not “a woman's role” in this society are intertwined with women's opportunities to access certain environments, bodily practices, and jobs in Brazilian sports.

Therefore, this article seeks to give visibility to the professional trajectories of women's football coaches and assistant coaches in Brazil, shedding light on possible causes associated with low representation. The study is justified because it allows us to understand how such trajectories contribute to reframe and reconstruct gender relations within coaching staffs, showing subversion and resistance strategies in the field of sports leadership.

2 WOMEN'S FOOTBALL IN BRAZIL

Some data in our project date back to 2016, when our investigation began. That year was marked by sporting and political⁵ events that are closely related to our object of study. As stated by Goellner (2007):

Adopting women, sports and their historicities as an object of investigation is, without a doubt, an individual option and is pervaded by meanings ascribed by each author in her or his investigative effort. It is also political because it focuses on the academic environment, where themes such as these are often in shadow areas, and it is up to researchers to bring them to light, conquer spaces, assign meanings. It is also political because researching demands epistemological and methodological choices that are never neutral or ahistorical, much less universalistic. (GOELLNER, 2007, p. 173-174).

For these reasons, we adopted the term “women's football” instead of “female football” (Portuguese for *futebol feminino*) based on the reflections put forward by Kessler (2015). The author advocates a change in the view about this universe in order to include the diversity present in women's football worlds:

The term *women's football* is related to a complex and heterogeneous universe pervaded by exchanges between people of different social classes, ethnicities, genders and religions within that collectivity. That is, I understand ‘women’ as encompassing bodies and subjectivities of subjects who are not neutral, abstract or universal. (KESSLER, 2015, p. 32).

Today, women's football in Brazil has its official national championship organized by the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF): the Brazilian Female

4 Power must be distinguished from political structures, governments and repressive institutions that supposedly exercise it over subordinates, to reflect on the existence of ascending micropowers present in any human relationship (FOUCAULT, 1987).

5 It was a time apparently favorable for women's football in terms of promotion of actions, creation of a Reform Committee within CBF, appointment of Emily Lima as the first female coach of the Brazilian women's football team – after three decades of male command – and the visibility provided to football due to the Olympic Games held in Brazil. On the other hand, the same historical-political moment was marked by the misogynist coup in which legitimately elected president Dilma Rousseff was impeached (on August 31, 2016) after a long and controversial process in Congress. Emily Lima's dismissal was also controversial, sudden and unjustified.

Football Championship⁶, divided into two series since 2017, when it had its format changed.⁷ In the first year of this investigation, the Brazil Cup still used to be played.

The scenario established around women's football in 2016 led the International Football Federation (FIFA) to launch a global action to promote it. When we started the interviews with our subjects, there was positive expectation in their narratives regarding measures that would compel men's football clubs to have women's teams from 2019 on. These measures, set by FIFA, materialized as licenses⁸ granted by the South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL). They determined that men's teams aspiring to continue playing in Copa Libertadores da América and Copa Sudamericana should have adult and youth women's football teams. CBF followed the continent's flow and decided that, in order to continue playing in the A Series of the Brazilian Men's Football Championship, clubs should follow the same guidelines. In 2019, licenses took effect and women's football experienced a historic moment during the World Cup: "The competition broke an audience record: according to a FIFA report, there were 1.12 billion viewers around the world – including TV and internet audiences – a 30% increase over the average from the 2015 World Cup in Canada" (RODRIGUES, 2019).

This set of factors had a positive impact on the offer of coaching staff jobs for women but did not result in significant increase in their representation in coach and assistant coach positions. We will present some percentage data and, while the figures reveal that women are under-represented, the research has a qualitative approach focused on description, induction, grounded theory, and the study of personal perceptions (MINAYO, 2007). We seek to understand the meanings and significances of the object of study from participants' perspectives and discourses, combined with document sources.

Nine women coaches and assistant coaches who were members of coaching staffs in Brazilian women's football teams in 2016 collaborated with the research.⁹ They were found by consulting official match reports available on the CBF website, and the interviews were conducted via Facebook video, WhatsApp audio, and phone calls. These resources do not compromise data collection, being already recognized and widely used in this field of research (FÉLIX, 2014). Audios were recorded, and the transcription process followed the Basic Transcription Manual¹⁰ of the Sports Memory Center (CEME).

The dialogue between sources was developed through Content Analysis (BARDIN, 1977). We use Thematic Analysis (MINAYO, 2007), which focuses on

6 "Female" (*feminino*) will be kept here as it is the official term.

7 It consisted of a single series played by 20 teams selected according to criteria set out in the specific regulation. As of 2017, it was divided into two series (A1 and A2) of 16 and 36 teams, respectively, with the first and last teams ascending and descending to the other series. Copa do Brasil used to be played by 32 clubs.

8 FIFA has worked with club licensing since 2007 in order to raise the level of competitions and clubs worldwide, with each confederation being allowed to adapt the system to its local needs through its own regulations, creating a positive impact in clubs' various technical and administrative areas as well as in infrastructure. In South American football, CONMEBOL incorporated club licensing in 2016. Since then, regarding continental club competitions, CBF recognizes CONMEBOL's authority to establish its own licenses. By delegation of CONMEBOL, CBF will work directly with Brazilian clubs to grant and monitor licenses applicable to the aforementioned international competitions. (PINHEIRO, 2017).

9 Seven interviews were conducted in 2016 and two in 2017. The study's inclusion criterion was: having been a coach or assistant coach in the 2016 Brazilian Championship and/or Copa do Brasil.

10 CEME internal document, available online at the time, on the tab of project "Garimpando Memórias":

understanding subjects' experiences and their perceptions about a particular object or phenomenon, giving voice and visibility to those who are protagonists when the subject is women's representation as coaches and assistant coaches.

Considering these theoretical-methodological assumptions and given the material collected and analyzed, we will highlight two categories for further study: the trajectories of women's football coaches and assistant coaches in Brazil, shedding light on possible causes associated with their low representation in these positions; and their subversion and resistance strategies to remain in the field of sports leadership.

3 COACHES AND ASSISTANT COACHES: TRAJECTORIES AND ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH LOW REPRESENTATION

While men still lead and prevail in football, there is no doubt that women have been showing their potential for subversion by breaking barriers imposed on their inclusion in leadership positions (NOVAIS, 2018). Sharing the assumptions of Goellner and Kessler (2018, p. 33), we start from the premise that "[...] knowing women's histories and trajectories is crucial to recognize their leading roles in football." Although representation of women coaches and assistant coaches in women's football itself is low, those who occupy these positions do so by investing in training, as well as a result of their good performances as athletes and/or Physical Education professionals (NOVAIS, 2018). Thus, we should give visibility to these trajectories and seek to understand the factors associated with low representation.

Starting with the pillar of visibility, we will proceed to characterize our collaborators. Their average age is approximately 34. Most of them reported playing sports since childhood and having started playing football at that time; seven subjects continued playing football or futsal during adolescence, in addition to playing at clubs and schools, until they became high-performance athletes in adulthood. This was a driving factor in their careers towards becoming coaching staff members. With regard to ethnicity, there were two self-declared black, two brown (*pardas*), and five white women. As for nationality, eight were Brazilian and one was Chilean. We believe that to be important in their trajectories since their answers showed how much the cultures in which they were raised produce different representations about women in football and, therefore, influence their personal and professional trajectories. Regarding marital status, eight subjects declared themselves single and one said she was married. There were no mothers in the group.

Only two subjects worked exclusive on women's football coaching staffs, while the others reported accumulating occupations to make a living, since professional coach or assistant coach careers are still lacking in several aspects, especially payment.

They all hold at least Physical Education diplomas. Their education levels will feature prominently in discussions.

The trajectories of the coaches and assistant coaches are similar in their involvement with sports since childhood and as football and/or futsal athletes, specifically. It is agreed in literature that active childhoods are related to involvement with sports management and practice in adult life (FERREIRA, 2012; PISANI, 2012;

FERNANDES, 2014) and that girls subjectify their relationships with the ball, their bodies and sports since childhood, building vigorous and challenging attitudes and behaviors. Specifically about football/futsal, more than half of subjects claim to have started their contact with the sport by playing in the streets with boys or in Physical Education lessons.

I started playing like most girls: at school, in Physical Education lessons. When teachers sent the girls to one side and the boys to the other, I always went with the boys [laughs] (Luana Paula¹¹, assistant coach, 32 years old).

I started playing football with my cousins at home, on the terrace of my house, in the garage and later at my grandmother's... My family ended up letting me play in the street with them [...] (Thaissan Passos, assistant coach, 31 years old).

Narratives such as Thaissan's – when she says that her family “ended up letting” [her play] – show some resistance to her involvement with football; Luana's speech also highlights the fact that it is not natural – not even at school – for girls to experience football. Undoubtedly, the stimuli and speeches experienced in the family environment are more influential than Physical Education classes themselves. Until they reach school age, girls tend to attend other spaces that reinforce gender stereotypes, and they ascribed meaning to football as a function of what they are or are not allowed to do.

Damo (2006, p. 1) sought to “show [...] how the game lends itself to dramatizing certain ethical and aesthetic codes associated with being male or female” when analyzing the reality of the streets, based mainly on the fact that football is culturally defined as male and masculinizing. With an eye on the group's dynamics, he concluded that football is played for symbolic reasons and that, in this dimension, not only motor skills are valued, but also courage and virility. Therefore, subjects who, as children, occupied the space of the streets and showed courage to play the “tough game” are seen by boys as “equals”. This results in something often observed in women's trajectories in sports: participation of facilitating agents (BOURDIEU, 2005) in their processes of initiation and continuity in sports – that is, people who share their sociability spaces and seek to make their intentions viable. When asked about this support and encouragement, two subjects reported not having received it. Among the positive responses, encouragement came predominantly from men and sometimes with reservation from some family members:

My father encouraged me a lot. But the project's coach encouraged me the most [...]. My family gave me very little (Fabiana Guedes, coach, 32 years old).

[...] I had more [encouragement] from my brother [...]. Not from my mother. My mother didn't like it very much (Talita Oliveira, assistant coach, 27 years old).

In these cases, fathers, brothers and coaches were the agents in their social capital who acted to expand their possibilities for circulating and rising (BOURDIEU, 2005) in the field of football. However, it is not a matter of attributing responsibility or merit to men, but rather of pointing to the constant negotiations that pervade social relations. In this sense, coaches and assistant coaches who have played football since

11 The names of the subjects are real, and their disclosure was authorized. For more information, see the report of the UFJF Human Research Ethics Committee under Protocol 1947687.

childhood resisted and undertook maneuvers to continue in the football sphere. One such maneuver is the presentation of attributes valued in the symbolic dimension of the game. However, remembering that the game is seen as “masculine and masculinizing,” they face constant challenges related to issues of femininity. Some narratives showed how women themselves ascribe meaning to femininity and the social role assigned to them in order to reproduce stereotypes in the education of their daughters or for the girls to restrict themselves to them:

[...] I was scared because my mother had a beauty salon and she tried to sign me up for ballet lessons [...], but she never forbade me. I was afraid of frustrating my mother. [...] So, it's not that my mother was biased. I was afraid of not being what she would like me to be, you know? (Thaissan Passos, assistant coach, 31 years old).

In a hegemonic view of femininity, a “true woman,” beyond her biological sex, is the one whose body reflects socially conceived standards of beauty and vanity. As noted by Goellner (1999, p. 49), “[...] to be beautiful, a woman's body must be strong, agile, harmonious and athletic. However, it must also be graceful, delicate and fertile [...]”. The attitudes of the mother and the teenager at the time reflect their attempts to correspond to the ideal of a feminine woman. This requires conforming not only her body but also her bodily practices to those rules.

Seeking to understand their representations of women coaches and assistant coaches while still practicing football, we asked them about what they used to hear:

Women are the weaker sex, and we can't play football (Neila Rosas, coach, 49 years old).

Back in my day [laughs], they were called macho, male-female, dykes [...] (Gleide Costa, coach, 40 years old).

They all mention verbal bias. They used to hear comments about “the weaker sex” all the time, insults linking them to what has been established as “male” and, consequently, innuendos and suspicions about their sexuality. Since sexualities are not the object of our analyses, we did not ask them questions about it or further discuss marital status and motherhood. However, just as their past as athletes is directly related to their careers, these two points influence the way they experience their work routines. Femininity standards encompass not only the attributes and behaviors set forth by Goellner (1999) but also the choices and paths to be followed, such as marriage and their desire to be mothers. Subjects subvert these ideas since they live and pursue their careers as single women, not as lack of femininity but rather highlighting one more possibility within the countless femininities to be manifested. Ferreira *et al.* (2013) concluded that maintaining a coach career and a family, whether one is a mother or not, is a difficult task for women, given the characteristics of the work and the way gender relations are established in daily household life.

Bias goes beyond femininity and sexuality issues, seeking to reinforce the notion that sport – and later practice – are not for women. The association of sports practice with the male figure is still an obstacle to accepting women as coaches (NORMAN, 2010). Regarding how they joined those coaching staffs, subjects reported that leadership and technical/tactical intelligence characteristics presented within the field/court were decisive:

[...] I always tried to advise the team, I always liked to go deeper in this area, so I used to get some coaches who were more intelligent and who had stronger backgrounds, and they'd tell me: "Hey, you've got the potential to be a coach." (Patrícia Gusmão, coach, 38 years old).

Access to coaching staffs was not ensured only by subjects' leadership attributes added to their experiences as players. Those who did not have opportunities arising from their performances in the game dedicated themselves to internships and studies.

The class had 40 people; there were only three women and two of them didn't stay, so I staid and started to stand out, you know? Then my teachers set me up for internships at a club (Macarena Celedon, coach, 30 years old).

[...] I decided that I'd study and focus on sports [...]. And then I went to Physical Education college in the South, and in the first semester, already knowing the area I wanted – which was football – I always tried to take all the courses I could [...] (Michele Kanitz, assistant coach, 26 years old).

The combination of being a former athlete and undergoing training in Physical Education has provided the subjects with an advantage for working in their positions, as they are able to associate the experience of the game with academic education, which opens doors for them to join coaching staffs. We observed that women's football coaches and managers in Brazil see competence for leadership in teams as unrelated to gender and, contrary to the principle of similarity (KILTY, 2006), they invite and hire women to work at clubs based on their physical, intellectual and behavioral performances. However, they are in the minority. The paradigm in which women are expected to be involved in care, receptiveness and safekeeping activities still surrounds this field, while men are expected to exercise leadership and decision-making (ROMERO, 2009).

Since sport, and especially football, is a fertile field for producing and demonstrating hegemonic masculinity (CONNELL; MESSERSCHMIDT, 2013), even though the category of gender is used as an argument that places women in a hierarchically inferior condition in power relationships, the subjects show that their aptitude for leadership positions is due to their constant search for improvement and experiences that culminate in the necessary competence. However, as reported by Jaeger *et al.* (2010), in Brazil, symbolic issues about football and femininity significantly entail low representation of women in coaching staffs.

Considering 2016, 15 women coaches and assistant coaches were identified in a universe of 45 teams (all teams participating in the Brazilian Championship and Brazil Cup minus seven teams that competed in both). In an ideal situation, if each team had a coach and an assistant coach, two positions would be occupied by different people and 90 professionals would be working. Thus, the absolute number of 15 women coaches/assistant coaches corresponds to 16.66%. For 2017, with the change in the format of the Brazilian Championship and the extinction of the Brazil Cup, despite the increase in the number of teams involved, women coaches or assistant coaches accounted for only 5.76% (six women: four coaches, two in each series; and two assistant coaches in the A2 series).

Most women, when asked about the prospects for change in this scenario, would bet on improvements. Some were more precise when mentioning that their belief in sport's further development was based on the expectation around the licensing created by CONMEBOL. However, in its first year, women coaches and assistant coaches in the two series of the 2019 Brazilian Championship were 15.38% (16 women) – not significantly above the percentage observed in 2016.

In an attempt to explain the decrease – albeit subtle – in representation of women coaches, despite the optimistic scenario that has been established, we can point out two possibilities. One is the fact that the changes carried out by CBF in 2017 caused disruption in clubs with a tradition in women's football. The other is related to the arrival of the major clubs and their interests only in complying with licensing, with short time for adaptations and investments that did not necessarily maintain or improve women's work, pay and practice conditions.

In 2020, with the format of the Brazilian Championship preserved, women accounted for 20.19% of coaching staffs. There are 21 women (two coaches in the A1 series and six in the A2; four assistant coaches in the A1 series and nine in the A2). This is the highest number recorded since our studies started, as observed by Passero *et al.* (2020). The absolute numbers of assistant coaches present in coaching staffs are noteworthy, and this shows that researchers should study the reasons for women's representativeness as assistant coaches to grow more rapidly than as coaches.

4 SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE STRATEGIES IN SPORTS LEADERSHIP

Women's football coaches and assistant coaches in Brazil invest in training to gain access to positions; they all have higher education diplomas in Physical Education and most have later completed specialization or shorter courses focused on football and practice. It is possible to say that competence and high investment in training have directly reflected and still reflect in their access to the positions, namely: higher education, personal invitation by clubs' directors/coaches, internships, and having worked at youth football schools.

After the inclusion issue has been solved, when asked about what would be essential to guarantee women's permanence as coaches or assistant coaches, they confirm that it is about continuing to study:

The first thing is studying. Learning. Having been a very good player is not enough to be a good coach [...] (Macarena Celedon, coach, 30 years old).

Get training. I want to study, take courses, learn, do internships [...] (Thaissan Passos, assistant coach, 31 years old).

Achieving the right to the positions analyzed here for their performance in football, together to their efforts at training, is a powerful strategy to resist and subvert the underrepresentation scenario. All of them underscore practical experiences, extra training, as well as higher education, as paramount:

[...] I took some training [...] and some courses in the South itself; and in the middle of the process, during college, I started taking License C from CBF. I took License B the other year; I took Performance Analysis too. Now I'm completing a specialization course in football at UFV, in Minas Gerais [...] (Michele Kanitz, assistant coach, 26 years old).

[...] I had a CBF scholarship to take License C. Unfortunately, costs are quite high; we need a lot of planning to be able to do it [...] (Thaissan Passos, assistant coach, 31 years old).

Licenses are expensive,¹² and investments in women's football in Brazil are clearly not as high as in men's football, played on a professional level and national scale.

The career of women's football coach is just beginning. [...]. It's different from men's football. [...] Unfortunately, we have to work in other jobs to be able to work in women's football. For what I've seen, pay is very low, and I've already had proposals from other clubs, and it's incompatible. [...] (Gleide Costa, coach, 40 years old).

Furthermore, according to this investigation, the reality of the subjects did not include any well-established culture where clubs invest in training their professional staff. Therefore, women coaches who get the highest plausible level of training in Brazil do so on their own merits and face unfavorable or even precarious financial situations: pay is low, they need to work in more than one job, and the time dedicated to the work is exhausting. Nonetheless, they claim that the possibility of entering and remaining in the position is the result of their dedication to studies and, therefore, they spare no effort at that (NOVAIS, 2018).

In addition, we question the fact that women are required (although not legally) to have specific education to work as coaches while men do not. Male individuals who want to be coaches or assistant coaches are not even required to have Physical Education diplomas. This results in deplorable statements such as that by coach Renato Gaúcho:

Those who need to learn have to study, go to Europe... Those who don't need it go to the beach. I say this, and many have criticized it. They said: they are bringing a coach who was playing footvolley... Then I ask: so what? Football is like riding a bicycle. Some people just know it. Those who don't will have to study. (WERNEK; SALDANHA, 2016).

Dozens of coaches work without any formal education, often because they used to be good athletes. The competence of these men is not questioned either, as their sex seems to be a legitimate passport to the job. In an article published on *Folha UOL*, Cosenzo (2017) states that, if the basic training as a Physical Education professional were required, only nine of the 20 coaches in the A series of the men's Brazilian Championship could keep working. This points to the gap with regard to the training/education of male coaches in Brazil. On the other hand, even though women have increasingly more training, that does not reflect directly and proportionally on their representation.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Women's low representation in sports leadership positions has been analyzed in detail. Male predominance in those roles is still remarkable, confirming the gendered characteristic of sport and its potential for reproducing stereotypes and social

¹² License C entitles people to work in clubs' youth football schools and costs BRL 4,480.00. The other licenses, B (BRL 6,170.00), A (BRL 8,840.00) and Pro (BRL 19,130.00), respectively, are for basic and professional categories. More information at <https://www.cbf.com.br/cbfacademy/pt-br/cursos?categoria=1>. Accessed on January 11, 2021.

representations about the places occupied and roles played by men and women.

An effort persists – whether veiled or not – to maintain male hegemony in football and marginalize women, relegating their professional activities to basic categories and sports training, putting their femininities and sexualities in suspicion, questioning their competence for leadership, and financially devaluing their work. Nevertheless, the coaches and assistant coaches interviewed here personify the strong resistance offered by women in spaces historically and socially reserved for men, as they have efficient strategies to challenge established power relations and gain access to positions through their own maneuvers.

However, more effective actions have to be taken towards women's football that result in proper recognition and visibility of leading roles played by women such as the coaches and assistant coaches featured in this study, in addition to investments that can ensure equal conditions for their training, inclusion and permanence in sports leadership. That equal condition requires financial investment and, above all, a commitment to deconstructing gender stereotypes assigning social responsibilities to women that may be obstacles in their trajectories.

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Resumo: Fundamentada nos estudos culturais e de gênero, esta pesquisa analisa a representatividade de mulheres em cargos de treinadora e auxiliar no futebol de mulheres, buscando identificar as estratégias de subversão e resistência adotadas para sua inserção e permanência. Os materiais de análise foram os discursos das participantes aliados a fontes documentais, como notícias e produções acadêmicas. A análise evidencia que as profissionais conquistaram o acesso aos cargos em decorrência das experiências como líderes enquanto atletas e/ou estagiárias e por seus altos níveis de capacitação. Elas asseguram sua permanência ao atestarem diariamente sua competência, mantendo o nível de capacitação e superando estereótipos de gênero. Elas personificam a eminente resistência oferecida pelas mulheres em espaços tradicionalmente reservados aos homens, tensionando as relações de poder. Contudo, a consolidação de uma condição equânime requer investimento financeiro e, sobretudo, empenho na desconstrução de estereótipos de gênero.

Palavras chave: Divisão de trabalho baseado no gênero. Futebol. Mulheres trabalhadoras. Comportamento estereotipado.

Resumen: Fundamentada en los estudios culturales y de género, esta investigación analiza la representatividad de mujeres en cargos de entrenadora y auxiliar en el fútbol femenino, buscando identificar las estrategias de subversión y resistencia adoptadas para lograr su inserción y permanencia. Los materiales de análisis fueron los discursos de las participantes, aliados a fuentes documentales, como noticias y producciones académicas. El análisis muestra que las profesionales conquistaron su acceso a los cargos debido a sus experiencias de liderazgo como atletas y por sus altos niveles de capacitación. Aseguran su permanencia probando diariamente su competencia y superando los estereotipos de género. Encarnan la resistencia ofrecida por las mujeres en espacios tradicionalmente reservados a los hombres, tensando las relaciones de poder. Sin embargo, la consolidación de una condición de ecuanimidad requiere inversión financiera y, sobre todo, un compromiso con la desconstrucción de los estereotipos de género.

Palabras clave: División de trabajo basado en el género. Fútbol. Mujeres trabajadoras. Conducta estereotipada.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in this study.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Mariana Cristina Borges Novais: Conceptualization; Data curation; Formal analysis; Investigation; Methodology.

Ludmila Mourão: Conceptualization; Formal analysis; Methodology; Resources; Supervision.

Osmar Moreira de Souza Junior: Formal analysis; Methodology; Resources.

Igor Chagas Monteiro: Validation; Viewing; Writing – proofreading and editing.

Bárbara Aparecida Bepler Pires: Validation; Viewing; Writing – proofreading and editing

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EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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