
Original research article

WOMEN'S FOOTBALL AND SOCIALIZATION IN WORKING-CLASS DISTRICT: A CASE STUDY IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS

Wane Cheikh Tidiane¹

¹University of FrancheComté, France

UDK 796-332:316.736-055.2

SUMMARY

The reflections proposed in this work are based on one conducted during a séance of football in Physical Education and Sports among teenage girls in the same class and live in four working-class districts in Paris (Choisy, Créteil, Vitry, Villejuif). In these neighborhoods where the interpretation of the original culture is often an artifact of characterization or stigmatization of young people's behavior, football is among sports most practiced by teenagers. However the practice of football by teenage girls is often hindered by socio-cultural determinism related to parents' background. We try to examine, through ethnographic observation and semi-structured interview, the reasons why teenage girls of these neighborhoods with high rates of immigration practice football in Physical Education and Sports. To what extent their way of practicing football is based on their view of the world and how does it reflect their lifestyle?

Correspondence author

Wane Cheikh Tidiane
wcheikhtidiane@yahoo.fr

INTRODUCTION

"In the postwar period, the children of Polish and Italian immigrants assert their presence in the national team, as shown in the composition of France's team in 1958, like Raymond Kopascewskiknown as 'Kopa', Roger Piantoni or Marian Wizsniewski. In 1998 the team, composed of 'black, white, arab' winner of the World Cup, seems to confirm that sport promotes integration and allows to stage cultural diversity of France". (ajouter reference si citation)

This extract from the exhibition of the National Museum of history and immigration "Go France! Football and immigration, crossed stories from 26 May to 17 October 2010" reminds us that the diversity involving groups or individuals, is an inherent feature of French society, which should be thought and taken effect consequently.

Cultural diversity and the experience of otherness can be considered as a source of enrichment which promotes flexibility of thought and action. In the cultural field, the practices of sports are still distributed strongly with regard to sexual identity. From an early age, young people and their parents tend to choose a sport based on their gender (dancing or riding for girls, football for boys).

The teaching of Physical Education and Sports does not neglect the difficulties arising from the differentiated relationships: accepting or rejecting activities strongly identified as male or female ones, difficult management of diversity, any membership or different motivation of girls.

Davisse and Louveau¹ show most sports activities are rooted in male social models and in fact, exclude women from these activities. Developed in human history, most practices are deeply based on historic signs of male social models.

As a consequence, the study of sports socialization helps to understand the processes of building and transformation of social relations. Several studies discussed about such inequalities and differences between boys and girls in the practice of sports² or experience of women engaged in so-called male sports³.

¹Davisse, Annick., & Louveau, Catherine. (1998). *Sports, Ecoles, Société : la différence des sexes, féminin, masculin et activités physiques*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 1998.

²Davisse Annick & Louveau Catherine, Op.cit., 1998 ; Louveau Catherine, « Sexuation du travail sportif et construction sociale de la féminité », *Cahiers du genre*, 2004, n° 36, p. 163-183; Lentillon Vanessa. (2009), « Les stéréotypes sexués relatifs à la pratique des activités physiques et sportives chez les adolescents français et leurs conséquences discriminatoires », *Bulletin de psychologie*, 2009, n° 499, p. 21-22; Mennesson Christine et Neyrand, Gérard, « La socialisation des filles et des garçons dans les pratiques culturelles et sportives », 2010, 147-166 ; Combaz Gilles & Hoibian Olivier, « La pratique des activités physiques et sportives : les inégalités entre les filles et les garçons sont-elles plus réduites dans le cadre scolaire ? », 2011, 167-185; Mennesson Christine et Julhe Samuel, « L'art (tout) contre le sport ? La socialisation culturelle des enfants des milieux favorisés » *Politix*, 2012, n° 99, p. 122...

³Louveau Catherine, *Inégalité sur la ligne de départ : femmes, origines sociales et conquête du sport*; *CLIO*, 2006, 119-143, Mennesson Christine. (2004). Être une femme dans un monde « masculin » Modes de socialisation et construction des dispositions sexuées, in *Sociétés Contemporaines*, n°55, 69-90.; Barbusse Béatrice, « Des sports et des femmes » in Collard L. (dir.), *Sport et bien-être relationnel. Facteur d'intégration, de socialisation, d'insertion des jeunes*, Paris, Chiron, 2012, 127-148 ; Broucuret Fabienne, *Le sport féminin. Le sport, dernier bastion du sexisme ?* Paris, Michalon, 2012.

However work on perceptions of cultural differences in the practice of sports among women and especially in team sports are rare. The latter is usually considered as spaces for the same gender⁴.

So, this paper analyzes the influence of sociocultural determinants on the sociability, the self-representations, others and football practiced by girls from very different cultural backgrounds (French, North African, African, Caribbean, Chinese, Cambodian),

Does the cultural diversity, inherent to that class composed predominantly of teenage girls often coming from underprivileged classes, require or generate comprehension skills in communication and mutual cooperation which are promising enrichment in order to avoid conflicts and violence?

In other words, it's about understanding in intercultural situations, the determinants that structure the relationship between adolescents and that give meaning to the practice of football. To understand the different levels of relationship building we consider the group of girls as a sports team; in other words "like a gathering of two or more individuals who have a collective identity, have common objectives and goals, share the same fate, have structured models of interaction and modes of communication, have common perceptions of the group structure, show interdependence in personal and operational situations, show mutual interpersonal attraction and consider themselves as 'be a group'"⁵.

Thus we try to understand how this group of teenage girls from different ethnic and social origin, interact and what makes sense for them the practice of football in Physical Education and Sports. How can we recognize the careers, life stories and relations that allow knowing oneself and identifying oneself in others?

In this context, our reflection is based on two hypotheses. The socio-cultural environment promotes the staging of 'specific' behaviors that are related to the activation of internalized socio-cultural requirements, which can make difficult the commitment of girls from working-class districts in football. Nevertheless the practice of football in Physical Education and Sports will be the place of a secondary socialization in which cultural diversity will be a source of enrichment. The football will be in it, a way of meeting and discovering others.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first part deals with our theoretical framework and our research methodology. The second part analyzes

⁴Guérandel Carine. & Beyria Fabien, Le sport, lieu de questionnement des rapports sociaux de sexe ? In revue Sociologies en ligne, 2012.

⁵Carron Albert V., & Hausenblas Heather, Groups Dynamics in Sport, 2e éd, 1998, 3-14, p.3

the results. It is meant to understand the problems of practicing sports by teenage girls in popular neighborhoods and in particular the so-called male sports. So these girls will allow to access to social and symbolic concerns in the practice of football in their specific environment. Finally in the third part, we focus on behaviors in situation. It is about to understand how the female footballers perceive and how they live the diversity inside the group. In other words when and where do girls interact in the football lessons?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS

With globalization, cultural shock is the fundamental feature of Western societies. Diversity is what characterizes the human and thus leads to universality. Each individual builds their identity in increasingly differentiated ways based on examples outside his group birth⁶.

The interactions between individuals and/or groups of various cultures lead to changes in the way of seeing others and their culture. The latter is defined in a social space of relationships and praxis.

For Abdallah Pretceille⁷ "Cultures are procedures that do not correspond in fact to reality. In this sense, they are merely artifacts". Intercultural can, then, be understood here as a construction opening to the understanding of constituent phenomena of intercultural interactions, such as relationships between identity and otherness, often rooted in practices, speech, institutions or socialization process. Thus according to the specificity of people coming from multiple backgrounds and in which this study is based on, our approach is meant to be anthropological. It takes into account different cultural systems of representation in order to understand the individual and the global. We intend to analyze the relationships between teenage girls, from the processes and dynamics based on rationality within the variation and complexity. So, it is primarily an ethnographic approach, an analysis, a look and a way of searching cultural interactions.

Askaës says, "ethnology is not only a journey to others, the alien: it is an indictment of knowing others, their belittling or their manipulation for the benefit

⁶ Abdallah-Pretceille Martine, *La pédagogie interculturelle: entre multiculturalisme et universalisme, Education et formation interculturelles: regards critiques*, 2010, N°9, 10-17, p.10

⁷ Abdallah-Pretceille Martine, *Op. Cit.*, 2010, p.11

agents idealized of knowledge, a critique of categories through which the other is thought"⁸.

3. METHODOLOGY

This research is based on participant observation work during lessons of football with first grade students for vocational training certificate on hairstyle composed of 16 girls of 15-17 years old and 2 boys. The 16 girls who are the subject of this study were all born in France most of their parents are immigrants. The group is therefore composed of: 4 girls whose parents are from Mali, 3 Algerian, 3 French (1 from Paris, 1 from Martinique, 1 from Guadeloupe) 2 Moroccan, 2 Senegalese, 1 Chinese, 1 Cambodian.

In this group the level is very heterogeneous and with a rather diverse relationship in football. Six girls play football in the city or in women's association clubs in which the number is currently increasing. They show interesting technical and tactical qualities and at the departmental level. Five other girls have little experience as footballer in schools. The rest of the girls; five have never practiced the activity. In this class, some students have little or no motivation to practice football. It appears that this low level of motivation for students in this particular context may be due to negative representations of the activity and a feeling of low competence.

As Bideau⁹ stated in his testimony as an experience teacher in football in Seine-Saint-Denis. In neighborhoods, football appears to involve relationship modes and a set of rules that go well beyond the scope of the practice itself. The 'hopeless in football' starts with a handicap since on the relationship level. During our lessons of observation we transcribed ethnographic notes on the most remarkable facts of the séance, lessons, and locker rooms. These notes are completed with semi-structured interviews with 13 girls who are the most regular. The goal of semi-structured interviews is to enable us to collect the opinions of the female players that lead us to consider inferential elements about their conception of football, diversity, relationships, and interactive routines that they have developed.

Regarding to the processing of interviews, we choose for thematic analysis. The work allows for thematic categories, as shown by Blanchet, Gotman, & De

⁸Kaës René (dir.), *Différence culturelle et souffrances de l'identité*, Paris, Dunod, 1998, p.7

⁹Bideau Matthieu, *Une expérience d'enseignement du football en Seine-Saint-Denis*, Revue EP&S n°314 - Juillet 2005, 51-54

Singly¹⁰, to bring elements of meaning together and thus facilitate data analysis afterwards. We then proceed to a content analysis¹¹ of female players' speech based on an interpretation of the statements, the themes being units of meaning of a small group of meanings.

4. PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1. Teenage girls and football in popular neighborhoods

In popular neighborhoods there are permanent problems, sometimes difficult to overcome, as long as the conditions of possibility of overcoming them have not yet established. There are also words, behaviors, stereotypes that last, believing to repress or to reject them, in fact, they are always resuscitated, revitalized and developed in practice by communicative activity. The popular neighborhood is a membership of a territory and an important place of secondary socialization for youth¹², but also a stigmatized place, considered as undesirable that many people want to leave. The cities are often perceived according to Blanc¹³ as "a socially marked space of rejection and stigma."

Lili says "*I have always played football since I was young in the street with my buddies then in school playgrounds. So, uh I saw that all the boys were playing it and I wanted to and I started playing with them.*"

As for Eleanor, she emphasizes that her commitment to football is related "*to the fact that she grew up with her cousins in the city and they used to play football in a city stadium just for fun.*"

For Tiphaine, "*in our city there are many immigrants and I would play only with boys and of course football was the most accessible sport to us. We could not afford to enroll in other sports.*"

For these girls, football was time for sharing, being accepted and respected by the boys. Here football is a socializing factor with its share of different gender representations. Thus, one of the major problems faced by teenage girls we

¹⁰Blanchet Alain., Gotman Anne., & De Singly François, *L'Enquête et ses méthodes : l'entretien*. Paris : Nathan Université, 1992.

¹¹Bardin Laurence, *L'analyse de contenu*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris : 9ème édition, 1998.

¹²Tourrilhe Catherine, *Socialisation des jeunes en difficulté dans les quartiers « sensibles »*. Création de nouveaux espaces sociaux, 2007, 39-52

¹³Blanc Maurice, *Espace disqualifié : handicap ou ressource identitaire ?* 2007a, 189-204, p.190

interviewed in working-class districts is the reputation, the definition of conceptually consensus definition of the roles, female and male status.

As Eleanor emphasizes " *in elementary school: the supervisors or teachers told me uh yes you're a girl you do not necessarily have to play all the time like this with boys. You're a girl and you must remain a girl. You gonna do girls activities. It was often choreographed dance for the New Year's holidays, and I just refused.*"

For Marine " *my older brothers did not want me to play football in the neighborhood. For them a girl should not hang out in the neighborhood.*"

Clair's¹⁴ work on the sexuality of suburban youth, shows that for these teenage girls from different cultural origin "the father is the symbolic reference, the father's judgment is very important, but in everyday life, the elder brother is the contact person for questions related to female sexuality".

Based on interviews with young people, the author adds "a girl, who has a powerful and respected elder brother, is unlikely to have a bad reputation. The simple fact of having this elder brother gives her an image of 'sexual purity', regardless of sexual practice".

This analysis supports Cindy's speech, she believes that " *the neighborhood is a "zoo", people think that we belong to them. You cannot do anything and everyone evaluates you. You have to be careful. That's why I 'm so happy to play football in school. It allows me to relax because in our neighborhood a girl who plays football is not well considered unless you play better than the boys and this is not my case.*"

These teenage girls from working-class districts are people divided between a certain rigidity in the family micro-context and the neighborhood that increases the pressure on everyone in the creation of their own identity and on of a greater freedom offered by people in the native place and residence, which is supposed to allow everyone to adapt their identity to the circumstances.

In this perspective, Robin's¹⁵ sociological investigation helps us to discover the "extraordinary" experience of girls practicing football inside Bosquets in Saint-Denis, as a prism enlightening the girls' daily difficulties in the suburb faced with the mechanisms of reputation.

This work shows how their own experience reveals social issues specific to the field of "city", motivating the fact of being interesting in the football

¹⁴ Clair Isabelle. De la place des jeunes filles dans les quartiers Populaires, in *Les après-midi de Profession banlieue*, 2008, n°11, 1-12

¹⁵ Robin Audrey, *Les filles de banlieue populaire : footballeuses et garçonnnes de cité : mauvais genre ou nouveau genre ?* Editions, L'Harmattan - coll. Logiques sociales, 2008.

playground and mostly in all so-called male's playgrounds as a girl in working-class districts.

Being away of the practices in working-class districts for a long time, the appropriation of certain 'male' sports by girls has been growing: martial arts or boxing have more and more female players¹⁶, although this remains marginal. How and why do popular suburban girls invest and adopt more and more ways of doing things, and being and appearance to be coded as masculine? In the following paragraphs we'll try to identify the representations related to the practice of teenage girls in order to understand their reasons and motivations for action? In other words what meaning do they give to the practice of football in Physical Education and Sports, a sport that is still perceived as an activity conveying masculine values?¹⁷

4.2. What representations around the practice of football in these teenage girls' mind

Football practiced by teenage girls in poor neighborhoods creates multiple representations.

Assaid by Rama: *"for girls, sports, we will say, it is the place where we meet friends"*.

Tiphaine says, *"my parents did not want me to practice sports like football or rugby. They were afraid of injury for me. But as for my grandfather, football is not a sport for daughter. In his Asian culture girls do not play that game. But I discovered football in physical education and sports and I really like it and I would like to practice it outside school."*

As for Fatou, *"I love playing football in Physical Education and Sports. I especially like to learn tricks like juggling, dribbling"*.

Farida emphasized: *"in my city, people do not even believe me when I tell them that I can play football. The boys keep telling me that I am hopeless at football."*

These statements made by Rama, Fatou and Farida, beyond a report to the particular and various football, raise the question of the persistence of teenage

¹⁶Barbusse Béatrice, « Des sports et des femmes », in Collard L. (dir.), *Sport et bien-être relationnel. Facteur d'intégration, de socialisation, d'insertion des jeunes*, Paris, Chiron, 2012, 127-148

¹⁷Broucaret Fabienne, *Le sport féminin. Le sport, dernier bastion du sexisme ?*, Paris, Michalon, 2012.

girls'reputation, because of retrograde despotism, of social reproduction of ways of doing, of principles of vision and gender division,of characteristics of male domination¹⁸.

Thus Marina reminds us "*at school some teachers do not care enough for girls who have difficulties. I think that to him that was not for girls. This is completely different from what our teacher Yves saidhe is very patient. And what I prefer is playing football in our team at our sports association. We meet other girls, it'sgreat fun*".

So for a girl or a boy,practicing a sport considered atypical for their sex will be quickly defined as "abnormal" or even stigmatized. "We denounce or we fear adeficient masculinity or femininity. In girls as in boys, there may be a hint of gender confusion or homosexuality which is also believed to be perceived in the physical appearance, attitudes or sport gesture (boy too skinny girl too muscular)"¹⁹.

Nevertheless, "the girls venture into male territory more than boys in to girls' "²⁰. These multiple considerations show the complexity of being a girl in a popular city. However, "girls are venturing more and more into male territory than boys in to girls" and when they manage to get into a women's team, they face men's contempt, who criticize highly the 'masculine' character of their body hexis. If we refers to the work of Mennesson²¹ and Bourdieu²², hexis, is defined by a set of skills, habits, ways of doing things.

So, Nadia says,"*many people call us tom boy. In the district they say that because we wear jeans or sports swits. Whereas at school, especially in Physical Education and Sports, boys who call us tomboys when they play better football, it's normal, we annoy they arewhen we are better than them* " Changes in women-only groups also facilitates the adoption of critical positions in regarding dominant gender norms. Their commitment to soccer is also linked to the structure of the family.

¹⁸Bourdieu Pierre, *La domination masculine*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1998.

¹⁹Naves Marie-Cécile et Octobre, Sylvie, *Inégalité et différences filles-garçons dans les pratiques sportives et culturelles des enfants et des adolescents*, 2014, 139-169, p.158.

²⁰Baudelot Christian et Establet Roger, *Quoi de neuf chez les filles ? Entre stéréotypes et libertés*, 2007, Paris, Nathan, p.87.

²¹Mennesson Christine, « Socialisation familiale et investissement des filles et des garçons dans les pratiques culturelles et sportives associatives », *Réseaux*, 2011, n° 168-169, p. 87-110

²²Bourdieu Pierre, *Le sens pratique*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, 1980

For Mennesson, 'reversed' gender provisions are due to family influence, male pair and groups. Girls turn out to be the model of 'tomboy' in some families in which siblings are exclusively female. They are thus, invested in a male sport to meet, as to say the greatly disappointed expectations of fathers. Moreover, the presence of brothers who are nearly the same age as the sisters makes them follow their male games.

For Tiphaine "*I was a tomboy, I was around the boys and we played football*".

Angelica meanwhile said her commitment to football is related " *to the fact that I have two brothers, one older and one little. I would play with my little brother in the city*".

For these teenage girls, football is a way or being accepted and being respected by the boys. It is also a factor of socialization with its share of representations and different gender therefore the teaching of football in this class requires significant relationship skills such as patience and sympathy from the teacher.

4.3. Building social relationships during the séance of football

From the idea that the individual is the product and the holder of culture, we can deduce that in this intercultural encounter during the football cycle in Physical Education and Sports, the interaction of teenage girls from different background, is based on the values and norms they have internalized. In this study we will show how in football, when meeting others, the different influences can build and enrich your identity, which is moving continually in the 'popular' background. What are the elements that structure the relationships between adolescents and that give meaning to soccer practice?

For Yves Professor, "*well, we are in a suburb, there are cities as well as housing estates. There is a bit of everything. But in general, girls who are in this class are people whose parents live in working-class districts. Girls often come from difficult suburbs. Physical Education and Sports allows them to express themselves and to relax. Moreover, they are often motivated except when it's swimming time.*"

But in terms of discipline, the teacher stated that "*all the girls get along very well. They are very supportive to each other. But they have difficulty in accepting authority. They have difficulty in concentrating. At times no hierarchy but it's not bad*".

During our observations, we find that teenage girls are quite open and very openhearted. There is no clan, everyone get involved. They seem to be very spontaneous and their mood is communicating. They often talk and laugh a lot even when they perform the activities recommended by the teacher. Between two activities some do not miss the opportunity to give a hug. One can also note that

this fairly jovial atmosphere does not prevent them from working. The question of otherness arises here as obvious and is almost part of inter-subjective understanding.

As highlighted in the words of Lili "*there are white as well as Africans, Caribbeans, even Cambodian (laughs) but it's not the important thing: it is football. It is the activity that matters, so realize that there is no racial problem in fact.*"

To Mary "*such stereotypes we will say that Africans are like this, white people are like that but we forget that we are all human beings. Whoever is not correct, it is not because of their race or culture, it's just their mentality, their personality. You have to be with people, share moments to get to know them. We must stop generalizing 'So these teenage girls in the presence of each other will meet in the same place'.*"

They associate and mix the languages, customs, symbols, and bodies. They generate something different from themselves, children who are different from their origins. Only an imposed violence, the one of apartheid, can prevent such a process²³. Differences transform themselves and generate new ones. Here meeting others as an essential gateway to build identity takes place at several levels during the journey leading to the stadium, in the locker room, during the course, during and after matches in different forms (clothing, ways of warming up, languages group forms, rituals, dances, songs, etc.). The identity of teenagers can then be apprehended from the strategies they implement according to interactional contexts and circumstantial situations.

For Ferreol & Jucquois²⁴, "the identifications in intercultural context therefore do not result from the juxtaposition of ethnic identity data, but in negotiation, within multiple interactions, affinity and oppositions, proximities and distances, to form a new reality, identity carrier."

In this way, Farida report states "*being in a group with so much diversity allowed me to know other cultures by being a little more open. In terms of football I am a beginner and I was very afraid of being ridiculous but girls help me a lot and we have fun*".

²³Audinet Jacques, *Le temps du métissage*, Les Editions de l'Atelier/Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris, 1999, p.40.

²⁴Ferreol Gilles & Jucquois Guy, *Dictionnaire de l'altérité et des relations interculturelles*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2003, p.158.

Thus the discovery of one's own identity requires", partly external, partly internal, a dialogue with others"²⁵. It is not about learning the culture of others, but seizing their humanity, that is to say in what differentiates them in their own context –as well as in the common values that can be released. So as Auge²⁶ states "others are essential in the building of one's self."

Cindy and angelic confirm it to us through this remarks "*Well I generally got along with everyone. But then there are people with whom I have created more relations with funny stuff, and then uh, when you have the same abilities we get together to make passes or juggling then*". "*Well as I just said for me it's a family, it is a true family that means if we have a problem uh they will be there for us, apart from the football they will be there to listen*". To us, relations are determined by self-indulgent dimensions (fun) and technical (football skills) therefore, they structure the relationships. So, otherness represents the inter-subjective frame in which notions of identity and culture can be defined as a product of relationships and communications²⁷.

In this process of socialization of self-discovery, the locker room and celebrations (birthday, victory) represent good times. Joing's and Vors²⁸ research on 'victimhood and school climate in secondary school' shows that the locker room of physical education and sports are unique places which are kept out of the sight and vigilance of adults. It seems that these places are favorable to some victimhood practices such as mockery, collective fights, hiding objects which can affect the well-being of students.

As our research is concerned, we conducted a survey and for the teenage girls questioned, the locker room is favorable place of expression, entertainment and mostly staging of body techniques (dance, music, songs). It's a place which brings lighting up and strengthening of civic bond.

Virginie says "*There were such activities and we see the different cultures in their music, dance and everything*."

As Marine highlights "*Girls have really good time and we see the cultural diversity. Everybody has their own dance, between blacks African, Arabs, French and*

²⁵Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalisme, différence et démocratie* (traduit de l'américain), Aubier, Paris, 1994, p.97

²⁶Augé Marc, *La communauté illusoire*, Paris, Payot, 2010, p.15.

²⁷Abdallah-Pretceille Martine, *Quelle anthropologie pour l'éducation et la formation ?*, Pratiques de formation, 2004, 167-180, p.78.

²⁸Joing Isabelle. et Vors Olivier. « Victimation et climat scolaire au collège : les vestiaires d'éducation physique et sportive. », *Déviance et Société* 1/2015 (Vol. 39), 51-71

Caribbean people. They don't have the same dance, not the same way to move the body. It on the musical style level and tradition. In this group I discover all of these now and that's great!"

Through dance and song a diversity of styles, which characterizes the human, is shown. It takes part in the teenager girls socialization process and leads to universality. According to a teacher, girls spend much time in the locker room. *"I have to remind them the rules every time. But they have difficulty in doing fast and they do the same at the end of the class."*

These different events are part of the teenage girls socialization, the building of social relationship and the strengthening of civic bond as highlighted. By Safietou *"Bah, as for me, it's an opportunity to share our secrets, we also discuss about the lessons. We, girls, like to chat (laughs)."*

Thus, being in contact with others and sharing their ways of life, teenage girls expand their ways of life and develop new opportunities for actions and experience. Through this process, responsiveness and activity overlap, the world, as it is seen, represents a crossing of subjectivity of those who are in relationship with it in a mimetic way²⁹.

Football in physical education and sports is, in fact, a place in which the diversity is shown in new civic bond. In this group of girls, westerns, Africans, Carabbians, are artefact, a reading chart which, obviously, can characterize the teenage girls but mostly disrupt and change the representations.

Angelique says *"There's friendship, no racism, no hypocrisy, in fact it's a healthy relationship. If they have something to say, they will say it whether you like or not. If they are happy they will act the same."*

As the teenage girls are concerned, what is most important is humanity, to be natural, in other words to be a simple person. The objective is not to learn other people's culture but to get their humanity, in other words, expressing different cultures doesn't mean common values cannot be shown.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this reseach is how teenage girls of different background invest in football. And especially how their civic bond are characterized in a football session in physical education and sports.

²⁹WulfChrostoph, « Anthropologie historique nouvelles perspectives sur les fondements et les conditions de l'éducation », *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 2004, 33/4 | 571-586.

We are interested in the identification of the contextual elements which make sense for teenage girls and also the nature and the evolution of their relationship with others in their psychological, social levels and issues of identity. The results show that the relationship between teenage girls from different background can be realized without their symbolic dimensions which are shown especially in speech and gesture performed as values and source of membership and commitment in playing football.

The center of interests, songs, dance, raving mainly structure their relationship and not their ethnic and cultural origin even if the latter make sense.

The discourse analysis of teenage girls also allows us to identify consistency between their relationship to the world, to others and their different ways of acting. It seems that the intersubjectivity that grew out of the experience of teenage girls' otherness guide their commitment, their technical, tactical and strategic decision.

The anthropological approach seems relevant to highlight that cultural diversity and the experience of otherness can be considered as a source of enrichment encouraging the versatility of thought and action.

Therefore, there is "an undeniable distance between the theoretical cultural models and the cultural practices in everyday life in communication, in relationship, in other words in different events to meet others. It's in this difference that an education on otherness and diversity can be placed"³⁰.

The sources of failure and conflict are found in this difference. As emphasized by Dervin³¹ if the intercultural "it is to meet others beyond prejudice of 'his' and 'my' way of life, is to meet in its diversity, not its diversity for show (artifact, stereotypes) is to accept that we are much different as similar to others but also we are the same (i.e.) the one who comes from the same space-time. How hoping to deal with others if in the other hand my identity is formatted, it is solidified by confining it in a 'culture' which can only be re-presented, imagined and essentialized."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abdallah-Pretceille, Martine.(2004). Quelle anthropologie pour l'éducation et la formation ?, Pratiques de formation : *Analyses*, p. 167-180

³⁰Abdallah-Pretceille Martine, Op.cit., 2010, p.13

³¹Dervin Fred, Pistes pour renouveler l'interculturel en éducation, 2010, n°9, 32-42, p.35

2. Abdallah-Pretceille Martine. (2010). La pédagogie interculturelle: entre multiculturalisme et universalisme, Education et formation interculturelles: regards critiques N°9-Novembre 2010, *Recherches en Education*, 10-17
3. Audinet Jacques. (1999). *Le temps du métissage*, Les Editions de l'Atelier/Les Editions Ouvrières, Paris
4. Augé Marc. (2010), *La communauté illusoire*, Paris, Payot
5. Barbusse Béatrice. (2012), « Des sports et des femmes », in Collard L. (dir.), *Sport et bien-être relationnel. Facteur d'intégration, de socialisation, d'insertion des jeunes*, Paris, Chiron, p. 127-148.
6. Bardin Laurence, (1998). *L'analyse de contenu*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris : 9ème édition.
7. Baudelot Christian et Establet Roger. (2007). *Quoi de neuf chez les filles ? Entre stéréotypes et libertés*, Paris, Nathan.
8. Bideau Matthieu. (2005). Une expérience d'enseignement du football en Seine-Saint-Denis, *Revue EP&S* n°314 - Juillet 2005, 51-54
9. Blanc Maurice. (2007a). Espace disqualifié : handicap ou ressource identitaire ? In, Koebel, M., & Walter, E. *Résister à la disqualification sociale : Espaces et identités*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 189-204.
10. Blanchet Alain, Gotman Anne., & De Singly François. (1992). *L'Enquête et ses méthodes* : l'entretien. Paris : Nathan Université.
11. Bourdieu Pierre. (1998). *La domination masculine*, Paris, Editions du Seuil.
12. Broucayet Fabienne. (2012), *Le sport féminin. Le sport, dernier bastion du sexisme ?*, Paris, Michalon.
13. Carron Albert V., & Hausenblas Heather. (1998). Groups Dynamics in Sport. 2e éd. Fitness Information technology, 3-14.
14. Combaz Gilles & Hoibian Olivier. (2011), « La pratique des activités physiques et sportives : les inégalités entre les filles et les garçons sont-elles plus réduites dans le cadre scolaire ? », *Carrefours de l'éducation*, n° 32, 167-185.
15. Clair Isabelle. (2008). De la place des jeunes filles dans les quartiers Populaires, in les après-midi de *Profession banlieue*, n°11, 1-12.
16. Davaisse Annick, & Louveau Catherine. (1998). *Sports, Ecoles, Société : la différence des sexes, féminin, masculin et activités physiques*. Paris : L'Harmattan.
17. Dervin Fred. (2010). Pistes pour renouveler l'interculturel en éducation, In *Education et formation interculturelles: regards critiques*, coordonné par Driss Alaoui, Recherches en Education, n°9, 32-42
18. Ferreol Gilles & Jucquois Guy. (2003). *Dictionnaire de l'altérité et des relations interculturelles*, Armand Colin, Paris, 354 p
19. Guérandel Carine. & Beyria Fabien. (2012). Le sport, lieu de questionnement des rapports sociaux de sexe ?, *Sociologies en ligne, Théories et recherches*, mis en ligne le 09 mai 2012, consulté le 10 avril 2015. URL : <http://sociologies.revues.org/3974>
20. Joing Isabelle & Vors Olivier. (2015) « Victimation et climat scolaire au collège : les vestiaires d'éducation physique et sportive. », *Déviance et Société* 1/2015 (Vol. 39), p. 51-71
21. Kaës René. (1998). (dir.), *Différence culturelle et souffrances de l'identité*, Dunod, Paris.
22. Lentillon Vanessa. (2009), « Les stéréotypes sexués relatifs à la pratique des activités physiques et sportives chez les adolescents français et leurs conséquences discriminatoires », *Bulletin de psychologie*, n° 499, p. 21-22.
23. Louveau Catherine. (2004), « Sexuation du travail sportif et construction sociale de la féminité », *Cahiers du genre*, n° 36, p. 163-183.

24. Louveau Catherine. (2006). Inégalité sur la ligne de départ : femmes, origines sociales et conquête du sport in, Terret T., & Zancarini-Fournel M (dir.). *Le Genre du sport*, CLIO. Histoire, femmes et sociétés, n°23, pp. 119-143.
25. Mennesson Christine. (2004). Être une femme dans un monde « masculin ». Modes de socialisation et construction des dispositions sexuées, in *Société Contemporaines*, n°55, pp. 69-90.
26. Mennesson Christine et Neyrand, Gérard. (2010), « La socialisation des filles et des garçons dans les pratiques culturelles et sportives », in Octobre S. (dir.), *Enfance et culture. Transmission, appropriation et représentation*, DEPS, ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, p. 147-166
27. Mennesson Christine. (2011), « Socialisation familiale et investissement des filles et des garçons dans les pratiques culturelles et sportives associatives », *Réseaux*, n° 168-169, p. 87-110.
28. Mennesson Christine et Julhe Samuel. (2012), « L'art (tout) contre le sport ? La socialisation culturelle des enfants des milieux favorisés », *Politix*, n° 99, 109-128
29. Naves Marie-Cécile et Octobre, Sylvie. (2014), Inégalité et différences filles-garçons dans les pratiques sportives et culturelles des enfants et des adolescents, 139-169 ; in *Lutter contre les stéréotypes filles-garçons*, travaux coordonnés pas Marie-cécile Naves et Vanessa Wisnia-Weil, janvier 2004 ; commissariat général à la stratégie et à la prospective www.strategie.gouv.fr
30. Robin Audrey. (2008). *Les filles de banlieue populaire : footballeuses et garçonnnes de cité : mauvais genre ou nouveau genre ?* Editions, L'Harmattan - coll. Logiques sociales
31. Taylor Charles. (1994). *Multiculturalisme, différence et démocratie* (traduit de l'américain), Aubier, Paris.
32. Tourrilhe Catherine. (2007). Socialisation des jeunes en difficulté dans les quartiers « sensibles ». Création de nouveaux espaces sociaux in, Koebel, M., & Walter, E. *Résister à la disqualification sociale : Espaces et identité*. Paris : L'Harmattan, pp. 39-52.
33. Wulf Christoph. (2004). « Anthropologie historique nouvelles perspectives sur les fondements et les conditions de l'éducation », *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 33/4 | 571-586.

ЖЕНСКИ ФУДБАЛ И СОЦИЈАЛИЗАЦИЈА У РАДНИЧКОМ ОКРУГУ : СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА ФИЗИЧКОГ ВАСПИТАЊА И СПОРТА

САЖЕТАК

Рефлексије дате у овом раду су засноване на истраживању спроведеном током утакмица фудбала, област физичког васпитања и спорта, међу тинејџеркама исте друштвене класе које живе у четири округа у Паризу (Choisi, Creteil, Vitri, Villejuif). У овим насељима где је интерпретација оригиналне културе често артефакт карактеризације или нетрпељивости према понашању младих, фудбал међу осталим спортовима највише играју тинејџери. Међутим, играње фудбала међу тинејџеркама је често ометао

социо- културни детерминизам који се односи на порекло родитеља. Ми покушавамо да испитамо, кроз етнографска посматрања и полуструктурираним интервјуом, разлоге због којих тинејџерке ових насеља са високом стопом имиграције играју фудбал, у настави физичког васпитања и спорта, као и у којој мери се њихов начин играња фудбала заснива на њиховом погледу на свет и како се то одражава на њихов животни стил.

ЖЕНСКИЙ ФУТБОЛ И СОЦИАЛИЗАЦИЯ В РАБОЧЕМ РАЙОНЕ: КЕЙС СТАДИ ФИЗИЧЕСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ И СПОРТА

РЕЗЮМЕ

Отражения, предложенные в данной работе, основаны на проведенном исследовании во время футбольных матчей в области физической культуры и спорта среди девочек-подростков в одной и той же общественной классе и которые живут в четырех районах в Париже (Choisi, Creteil, Vitri, Villejuif). В этих районах, где интерпретация оригинальной культуры часто является артефактом стигматизации поведения молодежи, футбол среди остальных видов спорта наиболее практикуют подростки. Однако практике футбола среди девочек-подростков часто препятствовал социально-культурный детерминизм, связанный с происхождением родителей. Мы попробуем рассмотреть, через этнографические наблюдения и полу структурированного интервью, причины, почему девочки-подростки в этих районах с высоким уровнем иммиграции практикуют футбол в области физической культуры и спорта и насколько их образ практики футбола зависит от их взгляда на мир, и как это отражается на их образ жизни?
