The development of sport in Portugal with particular reference to women's participation in sport from the Salazar regime to the democratic period.

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ABSTRACT

This study draws on a figurational sociological framework to examine the organisation and structure of sport in Portugal from the period of the dictatorship of the New State (1930-1974) to the current situation, with particular reference to the participation of women in sport. The study is based mainly on data obtained through the analysis of primary historical documents, including newspapers, sports magazines and government and other publications. These data are complemented by data obtained via semi-structured interviews with eight individuals who were/are involved at the present time and/or in the past in sport as leading athletes and/or as sports administrators.

The analysis of the data focuses on the broader political, economic and ideological processes during the New State and democratic periods, and on their impact upon sport in general and on women's involvement in sport in particular. The thesis examines and places within the wider social context the ideologies disseminated by the government, by the Catholic Church and by other organisations to limit women's involvement in sport. It also examines the social sources of resistance to these traditional views, and the arguments used by advocates of women's sport. The financial support for sport and the gender images conveyed by media coverage of men's and women's sport during the New State period and during the democratic period are also examined. The study also highlights the unplanned outcomes of government policies in a number of areas and the ways in which these unplanned outcomes have impacted upon the position of women in Portuguese society in general and their participation in sport in particular.
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ABBREVIATIONS

ACP  Associação Católica Portuguesa – “Portuguese Catholic Action”
AFPP  Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz – “Portuguese Women’s Association for Peace”
AMAP  Associação das Mulheres Agricultoras Portuguesas – “Portuguese Farming Women Association”
AMDP  Associação das Mulheres dos Diplomatas Portugueses – “Portuguese Diplomat Spouse Association”
AMJ  Associação de Mulheres Juristas – “Women’s Lawyers Association”
AMS  Associação de Mulheres Socialistas – “Socialist Women Association”
APME  Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Empresárias – “Portuguese Business Women Association”
ASPLP  Ação Social e Política da Legião Portuguesa – “Social and Political Action of the Portuguese Legion”
BDM  Bund Deutscher Mädels
CAAD  Complexo de Apoio às Actividades Desportivas – “Complex of Support for Sports Activities”
CDS  Centro Democrático Social – “Social Democratic Centre”
CEFD  Centro de Estudos e Formação Desportiva – “Centre for Sports Studies and Sporting Development”
CIDM  Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres – “Commission for Equality and Women’s Rights”
CNAC  Campanha Nacional pelo Aborto – “National Campaign for Abortion”
CNMP  Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas – “National Council of Portuguese Women”
COP  Comité Olímpico Português – “Portuguese Olympic Committee”
COPCON  Comando Operacional do Continente – “National Operational Centre”
DGD  Direcção Geral dos Desportos – “General Directorate of Sports”
DGEFD  Direcção Geral de Educação Física e Desportos – “General Directorate of Physical Education and Sports”
DGEFDSE  Direcção Geral de Educação Física, Desportos e Saúde Escolar – “General Directorate of Physical Education, Sports and School Health”
ECC  European Economic Community
EFTA  European Free Trade Association
ENDO  Encontro Nacional do Desporto – “Sport National Meeting”
FFD  Fundo de Fomento do Desporto – “Fund for the Development of Sport”
FNAT  Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho – “National Foundation for Joy in Work”
GAMP  Grupo Autónomo de Mulheres do Porto – “Porto Women Autonomous Group”
GATT  General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDR  German Democratic Republic
GFP  Ginásio Feminino de Portugal
GMP  Grupo de Mulheres do Porto – “Porto Women’s Group”
GRAAL  Movimento Internacional de Mulheres Cristãs – “International Movement of Christian Women”
IDM  Informação, Documentação/Mulheres – “Information, Documentation/Women”
IDP  Instituto do Desporto de Portugal – “Sport Institute of Portugal”
IF  Intervenção Feminina – “Feminine Intervention”
IMF  International Monetary Fund
INATEL  Instituto Nacional para o Aproveitamento dos Tempos Livres dos
Trabalhadores – “National Institute for the Good Use of the Workers
Spare-time”
IND Instituto Nacional do Desporto – “National Institute of Sport”
INDESP Instituto do Desporto – “Sport Institute”
INEF Instituto Nacional de Educação Física – “National Institute of Physical
Education”
IOC International Olympic Committee
JCF Juventude Católica Feminina – “Female Catholic Youth”
JUCF Juventude Universitária Católica Feminina – “Female University
Catholic Youth”
LACF Liga da Acção Católica Feminina – “League of the Female Catholic
Action”
LBSD Lei de Bases do Sistema Desportivo – “Basic Law on Sports System”
LDM Liga dos Direitos das Mulheres – “League for Women’s Rights”
LUCF Liga Universitária Católica Feminina – “Female University Catholic
League”
MAPA Mulheres a Preparar o Amanhã – “Women Preparing Tomorrow”
MES Movimento de Esquerda Socialista – “Socialist Left Wing Movement”
MDM Movimento Democrático de Mulheres – “Women’s Democratic
Movement”
MDP Movimento Democrático Português – “Portuguese Democratic
Movement”
MFA Movimento das Forças Armadas – Armed Forces Movement”
MLM Movimento de Libertação de Mulheres – Women’s Liberation
Movement”
MP Mocidade Portuguesa – “Portuguese Youth”
MPF Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina – “Feminine Portuguese Youth”
NATO North Atlhantic Treaty Organisation
OCDE Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OMEN Organização das Mães pela Educação Nacional – “Organisation of
Mothers for National Education”
ONB Opera Nazionale Balilla
OND Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro
PCP Partido Comunista Português – “Portuguese Communist Party”
PIDDAC Plano de Investimento de Despesas e Desenvolvimento da Administração
Central – “Plano of Investment of Expenditures and Development of the
Central Administration”
PPD Partido Popular Democrático – “Popular Democratic Party”
PPM Partido Popular Monárquico – “Popular Monarchic Party”
PSD Partido Social Democrático – “Social Democratic Party”
RTP Rádio Televisão Portuguesa – “Portuguese Radio Television”
SF Sección Feminina de la Falange Española Tradicionalista
TMN Telecomunicações Móveis Nacionais – “National Mobile
Telecommunications”
UDP União Democrática Popular – “Popular Democratic Union”
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INTRODUCTION

Sport during the twentieth century has acquired increasingly important social meanings. Even those who dislike sport or are indifferent to it can feel, in one way or another, its impact in their everyday lives and therefore cannot deny its importance. Because of this importance, sport is a vital subject of sociological study. However, sport is not something apart from other aspects of society. On the contrary, sport involves people who are always forming dynamic figurations, that is, sport involves people orientating towards each other, for different reasons, creating interdependency chains or figurations (Elias, 1980). Sport must, then, be interpreted as a figuration formed by interdependent people. This figuration is part of a wider figuration, which is the wider society (Elias and Dunning, 1992b). This means that sport, understood as a figuration, is closely related to the wider social structure and, for that reason it needs to be analysed and studied always as a part of that society and its associated changes. Sport as a social phenomenon cannot be separated from other aspects of society. As Elias (1992, p.60) has noted, sport is not “a social institution of our time that takes form in a completely autonomous and independent way from other developmental aspects of our society”. In order to have an adequate knowledge of sport, it has to be studied by taking into account the broader political, social and cultural aspects of the country where it is practised.

To apprehend sport’s present figuration it is essential to place it in the framework of the deep changes occurring in western societies; that is, sport should be studied using a developmental approach (Elias and Dunning, 1992b; Dunning, 1993). An approach to sport within that perspective not only allows a clearer comprehension of this phenomenon but also allows a better knowledge of the changes occurring in the broader society since any study of sport is simultaneously also a study of the wider society in which it is embedded. Changes occurring in the sporting context are directly related to the changes occurring in the wider society, such as transformations in gender relations, the thresholds of sensitivity regarding violence, customs, political structure, values and ideologies.

These assumptions also apply to women’s sport. It is therefore important to study women’s sport developmentally. Women’s participation in sport cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, separate from the wider social figuration. The participation of women in sport is directly related to the values, ideologies and social relations in the wider society. For this reason, any study of women’s sport needs to be positioned in an analysis of the wider society and, in particular, of gender relations. It is essential for a study of women’s involvement in sport to examine the interdependent relations between men and women. Thus it is important to understand how men and women interact, the kind of relations they have, the
Introduction

ideologies underpinning those relations and the changes taking place, for such processes influence the involvement of women in sport. According to Elias and Dunning (1992b), changes in the behaviour patterns, in the thresholds of sensitivity to more aggressive and violent actions and behaviour, a decrease in the family size, the changing access of women to jobs which, for a long period, they were not permitted to enter, the possibility of women getting involved in different types of organisations, are key aspects of change in gender relations. An adequate approach to sport, and in particular to women’s sport, is not feasible if one studies separately the culture and the ideological, political and economical spheres of the wider society, for it is not possible to divide society into parts and study each of them separately. Rather than studying each of these parts individually, it is important to ascertain the positioning of such spheres in the broader social figuration, to understand the way they interact and combine together, the type of relations they establish, as well as the changes occurring.

Following the tendency observed in other countries, the significance of sport within Portuguese society is growing. In spite of that, the number of women taking part in sport is still less than that of men, the money allocated to sport goes mainly to male sport, and the attention dedicated to women’s sport in the media is still less than that devoted to men’s sport.

After having completed a Masters degree thesis concerning the development of women’s sports in England (1860-1920) and after having done some research (as part of my academic involvement as a teacher in a faculty of Physical Education and Sports Sciences) related to the sports participation of Portuguese women, this low level of women’s participation in sport in comparison both to men and to women from other countries led me to examine this situation. Since the sporting figuration of the present time is best understood when placed in the framework of the deep changes occurring in western societies, it became clear that in order to have a better understanding of women’s sport today it was necessary to analyse “the most immediate historical origins” (Ferrando, 1990, p.55) of Portuguese sport, and especially of women’s sports, and also the broader political, economic and ideological processes that Portugal underwent during the twentieth century. Because the Portuguese lived under a dictatorship for 41 years (from the 1930s to 1974) and also because we do not inherit from past generations just material things but also political ideologies, values and beliefs, I began to ask questions about the impact of this period on the organisation of sport today and on the participation of women in sport in Portugal. Therefore, any attempt to study sociologically women’s interest and involvement in sport, as well as the organisation of women’s sport at the present time, has to take into account the actions of past generations. Because women’s sport has been little studied using a developmental sociological
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perspective, there is a lack of adequate knowledge concerning this subject. Thus, a sociological study of women's sport is not only necessary but important to obtain a more adequate understanding of this subject. Such a study of women's sport should be able to shed some light onto several key aspects of these processes, including: the general development of sport in Portugal and more precisely, the development of women's sport in Portugal; the organisation of women's sport; the impact of broader political, economic and ideological processes on women's sport; and the planned and unplanned outcomes of the Salazar regime's intervention in women's sport.

Portuguese society, during the New State (a period that lasted from 1933 until April 1974), was characterised by a strong state-led conservative and authoritarian ideology. The ideology was felt at all levels: customs, family institutions, church, media, education and sport. Like many other countries which used sport as a political and ideological tool Portugal, too, during the New State, used sport as a support to inculcate into people the fundamental ideological principles of the regime\(^1\). The Portuguese government saw the possibility of using sport, together with other social institutions (family, school, and church), for the transmission and spreading of the regime’s ideology and as a means of social control. The government, through sport activities which were promoted by national institutions and organisations all under state jurisdiction, sought to develop strong, healthy, patriotic, respectful and disciplined individuals with a great sense of co-operation. It also tried to develop individuals with a strong commitment to the nation and to what the government defined as the national interest. That is, individuals who would conform to the New State ideology and who would not contest it. But within this context a question can be raised. Since “the normal result of complex processes involving the interweaving of the more or less goal directed actions of large numbers of people includes outcomes which no one has chosen and no one has designed” (Dopson and Waddington, 1996, p.534), it is necessary to ask if the regime’s policies led exactly to the outcomes that were desired by the government and if there were any unplanned consequences. The regime’s policies might have served the interests of some groups of people but might not have corresponded to the interests of other groups. Due to the different capacity of groups to accept or to resist what is being transmitted, to different balances of power between different groups and to the fact that the power chances of some groups are greater than those of others, some tensions between them emerged.

\(^1\) Portugal has not been the only country using sport as an ideological inculcator. According to Ferrando (1990) and Guttmann (1991), Spain during Franco’s regime and Italy during the period that Mussolini governed, used sport as a means of political propaganda and to inculcate into people the fundamental ideological principles of the regimes. According to Victoria de Grazia (1981, p.173-174) sport during fascist Italy was used to “accustom people to strict discipline” and “to encourage group solidarity and to promote a new sense of national identity”.

3
Gender relations were also greatly influenced by the regime’s official ideology. Clearly differentiated roles, functions and behaviour were defined for men and women. The woman was expected to stay at home taking care of the house and the children. Her fundamental mission was to be a good mother and a good wife. Men, on the other hand, would guarantee the family income by working outside the home. Men represented the authority and must be obeyed, while women were seen as dependent and subordinate (Mónica, 1978). Since childhood, men were socialised according to a typically masculine behaviour pattern and encouraged to develop a masculine identity, with sport playing a major role in the formation of this identity. On the other hand, women were socialised into traditional feminine roles. The “real” woman, besides accepting and undertaking the tasks she was supposed to do, was expected to be pure and modest (Rodrigues, 1995). In other words, a woman was expected to be submissive, dependent, careful with the way she dressed and spoke, could not attend events where she might learn “bad” habits and was expected to keep her virginity until marriage. It can be asked, however, whether these state-sponsored discourses concerning women had the outcomes planned by the regime.

The roles, tasks and behaviours set for women had a strong influence on women’s sport, by limiting women’s access to sport and/or determining the sports activities which were held to be appropriate to their sex. Following the tendency that was observed, for example, in Fascist Italy, women during the New State were encouraged to practise sport only with the intention of becoming stronger and healthier in order to be better able to transmit to their children the ideals of the regime. While sports such as gymnastics, swimming and athletics were tolerated because they were consistent with the feminine ideal, or as Grazia (1981, p.177) notes, they “enhanced feminine grace and poise without the exertion pernicious to maternal functions”, sports such as soccer, rugby, and boxing were strongly discouraged. A powerful array of biological and social arguments were put forward to encourage women’s participation in certain sports and discourage their participation in others. There was also a national organisation, Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth) that, apart from other purposes, defended the practice of physical exercises for women, although within certain limits, as a complement to their education. But once again, it is possible to raise here some questions. Did the discourses concerning women and their involvement in sport have the outcomes planned by the regime? What might have been the unplanned consequences of these discourses? How was women’s involvement in sport understood? If women showed interest in practising all kinds of sports were they allowed to practise them? What kinds of arguments were put forward to discourage women from taking part in certain sports? Did women stop practising sport after marriage? Because of the ideology surrounding women and their
introduction in sport, was women's sport less organised and less supported financially than men’s sport? Did women’s sport receive the same attention by the media as men’s sport? Were women’s sports mainly practiced in urban centers or throughout the country? In which cities was sport mostly practiced? What kind of resources (sport infrastructures, financial resources) were at the disposal of women’s sport? Women are, of course, not a homogeneous group. Did all groups of women experience and react to the ideology in the same way? Did all groups of women accept and follow the ideology concerning female involvement in sport? Or did some groups of women accept and other groups contest the regime’s ideology concerning women’s sport? Which strategies were used to resist the regime’s ideology?

The transition from the Salazar’s regime to the democratic period (from April 1974 to the present) did not emerge automatically, without any relation to previous periods. This transition has to be considered as a stage in the long-term development of the wider society. This transition brought important changes to the family structure, women’s roles (Rodrigues, 1995) and sport. This does not mean that the dominant ideology concerning, for example, women and sport disappeared immediately and without conflicts with the transition to the democratic period. Instead of saying that this ideology disappeared, it is more accurate to say, as Dunning and Sheard (1979, p.4) put it “it merely ceased over time to be the dominant form”. With the transition into the democratic period, a new law regulating the sport system was passed, new institutions were created, the media and major business corporations started to devote more attention to sport, several associations between major companies and sport started to emerge, new sport facilities were constructed while others were modified, legislation that impacted on sport was modified and new legislation passed, more conferences were organised and sport campaigns designed to attract more people to sport were set up. The transition from the New State into the democratic period leads us to raise some more questions: did sport stop being considered a privileged means for the creation and expression of a masculine identity? Did sport lose its nationalist overtones? Did sport stop being seen as a means to strengthen and reinvigorate the population? Did sport become more independent from state influence and consequently less centrally controlled than during the New State but, however, more dependent upon commercial interests? Did sport, and especially women’s sport, become more commercialised than during the New State? While maintaining educational purposes, did sport become more serious and more achievement-orientated? Did women’s sport lose its primary objective of developing women’s physical condition in order to become better prepared to undertake their roles as mothers and wives? Did the constraints surrounding women’s involvement in sport during the New State weaken with the transition into the democratic period? Did women’s sports start to be taken more seriously and become
Introduction

more organised than during the New State? With the transition into the democratic period did women become more autonomous to make their own decisions in relation to sport (whether they want to practise sport or not and what kind of sports they would like to practise)?

These are some of the central questions that will be discussed in this study.

This study has, then, as its goal to study the changing patterns of women's sport under the New State regime and in the period since the 1974 revolution in Portugal. The study also studies the organisation and general structure of sport under Salazar and during the democratic period. The analysis of women's sports activities and their organisation under Salazar and the way they were influenced by political, ideological and economical processes is another object of the present study. The role played by different institutions during the New State regime in relation to sport, and in particular in relation to women and sport, is also studied. To analyse and compare women's sport during the New State regime with women's sport in the democratic period is a further purpose of the study.

Thesis structure

The thesis takes the following structure. In chapter one I set out the theoretical framework employed throughout the study. In chapter two I present an overview of the literature on women and sport. In chapter three I describe how the research was carried out. Here I also mention the difficulties encountered in the course of carrying out the research. These first chapters therefore map out some of the key theoretical and methodological issues.

From a figurational point of view, in order to better understand what people do, we have to locate them in the wider network of social relationships of which they are a part. This network involves relationships with people we know, but also with people we do not know and whom we have never met. It follows that our actions are constrained not only by those we know, but also by those we do not know. In this context, a study of women's sport cannot focus just on what women did or said, on their actions or behaviours, as if women were independent from other people. Therefore, any study of women's sports has to examine the interdependent relations between men and women and the ideologies underpinning these relations. It also has to take into account the broader political, economic, social and ideological processes of the wider social structure, for such processes have had a significant impact upon women's involvement in sport. Following the three theoretical/methodological chapters, the thesis consists of several chapters, each of which analyses a specific aspect of this wider structure, such as the political, economic and ideological structure of both the pre- and post-revolutionary periods, the organisation and structure of sport during both periods, and women's sport under Salazar and in the democratic period.
Introduction

It is recognised that, from a figurational perspective, this approach is not ideal. To separate out these broader social processes in this way, and to deal with them in separate chapters, might seem to imply that they are separate from each other, that they are unrelated to each other, or that they do not have any kind of effect upon each other. It should be made clear that this is emphatically not what is implied by the way in which this thesis is organised. It is clear, for example, that women’s sport under Salazar cannot be understood independently from the structure and organisation of sport or from the broader political, economic and ideological processes of that period. Women’s involvement was, for example, greatly influenced by the ideas held by the dominant groups about women’s position in society and what was considered to be appropriate for women. It was also affected by the political and economic policies followed in that period, as will be seen later in this thesis. It should therefore be emphasised that the way in which the later chapters of this thesis are organised, with each chapter dealing with a specific set of social processes, does not imply that these processes can be seen as separate and unrelated. Rather, and while recognising that this is not ideal in terms of the principles of figurational sociology, which stresses the interdependence of social processes, this way of organising and presenting the material was chosen because it was felt that - perhaps especially for readers who are not familiar with recent Portuguese history - this was perhaps the clearest way to present these several aspects of what was a complex network of relationships. For the same reason – that is, in terms of organising and presenting the data in a coherent way and perhaps especially for the benefit of the readers who are not familiar with the Portuguese situation, it was felt to be best to start with the analysis of the broadest social, political, economic and ideological processes and then move to the examination of lower level processes. For this reason, the thesis sets out the political, economic and ideological structure of Portuguese society (both pre- and post-revolution), then examines how wider political, economic and ideological processes affected the organisation and structure of sport (pre- and post-revolution) and then finally examines how the organisation and structure of sport affected women’s participation in sport prior to and after the revolution of 1974. Chapters four to nine follow this structure.

Following the structure outlined above, in chapter four the political, economical and ideological structures of the New State regime are analysed. An analysis is offered of the broader society, as well as the position and roles of women within that society. In this chapter I also give an account of the role played by state organisations in the transmission of the regime’s ideology. In chapter five I focus on the organisation and structure of sport under Salazar. In this chapter I analyse the strategies employed by the New State regime in relation to physical education and sport. Chapter six is devoted to women’s sports under the New
State regime. In this chapter I examine the arguments employed to encourage women's involvement in specific sporting activities and the social and medical arguments employed to discourage women from taking part in other sports, or to recommend caution. Chapter seven I focus on Portuguese society since the 1974 revolution and throughout the democratic period. The political and economic aspects, as well as the position of women within the family, employment, education and political spheres are discussed. In chapter eight I examine the organisation and structure of sport during the democratic period. Special attention is devoted to the kind of sports policies followed during the democratic period. In chapter nine I focus on women and sport during the democratic period. In this chapter I analyse the participation of women in sport as athletes, in sporting administrative positions and coaching roles. The attention devoted to women's and men's sport by the printed media is also discussed here. The inequality between women and men in the sports sphere is a central aspect throughout this chapter. The conclusion recapitulates the key sociological ideas and themes raised throughout each chapter.

It is important to note that although the involvement of women in sport is the primary focus of this thesis, the position of men and their participation in sport is not ignored. For figurational sociologists, it is not possible to have an adequate understanding of the situation of women without considering the situation of men and vice-versa. Therefore, although the primary focus is on women, parts of the thesis contain a good deal of data about men, especially in relation to those processes where the changing situation of men has impinged directly upon the situation of women. This can be seen, for example, in chapter four where the impact of the colonial war is analysed both in terms of the large number of male deaths and the number of males emigrating in an attempt to avoid being sent to Africa or in order to find better living conditions. Both these process had important consequences for the labour market, especially in relation to women because they resulted in the opening up of more jobs for women. In similar fashion, in chapters six and nine, data relating to men's sport are presented when examining the media coverage of men's sport and women's sport. The greater coverage of men's sport, it is argued, had some impact upon women and their participation in sport, for it helped to perpetuate the traditional idea that women are less suited to take part in sport and that women's sport is less important then men's sport. In chapter nine I similarly include data about the financial rewards of male and female athletes. Finally, interviews with four men were conducted in order to get men's perspective about women's participation in sport.
CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Throughout the twentieth century sport has been acquiring an increasingly social significance such that, even those who are indifferent to it or dislike it, feel its impact. Besides its political and economic importance, sport also helps to bring meaning to the lives of many people. Sport can work as “a surrogate religion” (Coles, 1975 cited in Dunning, 1999, p.6); sport provides a source of meaning in life; sport allows the arousal of emotions analogous to those generated in serious situations of everyday life but without the associated dangers; sport can be a focus of collective identification; sport can be a source of satisfaction and pleasure. For all these reasons it is important to analyse sport sociologically.

There are a diversity of sociological perspectives on sport. The perspective which will inform this study is figurational sociology and, in the following section, I outline the main principles of figurational sociology.

Figurational sociology

Figurational sociology developed from the work of Norbert Elias. The main concept of this perspective is the concept of figuration. For Elias (1978a cited in Murphy et al., 2000, p.92), a figuration is “a structure of mutually oriented and dependent people”. With the concept of figuration, Elias sought to avoid unhelpful dualisms such as individual/society, individual/object or cause/effect as if they could exist independently from each other. He tried to avoid analyses of a homo clausus type. That is, individuals should not be considered as isolated objects, as separate from others. Elias (1980) argued that society cannot be analysed as an abstraction, as being above individuals and having a life independently from the individuals who constitute it. In fact, society is formed by individuals who are members of a species which evolved as social, who are the results of a social sexual act between their parents and who are born into a developing set of social relationships. From a figurational perspective, society and individuals are not separate but, as Elias (1980, p.141) puts it, “they are two different but inseparable levels of the human world”. Instead of making analyses of a homo clausus type, Elias emphasised that people maintain different relationships with others for many reasons and at many levels, thus forming interdependency chains, that is, figurations (Elias, 1980). The concept of figuration thus refers “simultaneously to living individuals and their bonds of interdependence” (Dunning, 1999, p.19).
As Elias noted:

The image of man as a closed personality is ... replaced by the image of man as an "open personality" who possesses a greater or lesser degree of relative (but never absolute and total) autonomy vis-à-vis other people and who is, in fact, fundamentally oriented toward and dependent on other people throughout his life. The network of interdependencies among human beings is what binds them together. Such interdependencies are the nexus of ... the figuration, a structure of mutually oriented and dependent people. Since people are more or less dependent on each other first by nature and then through social learning, through education, socialisation, and socially generated reciprocal needs, they exist, one might venture to say, only as pluralities, only in figurations (Elias, 1989, p.45).

But why are people interdependent and how do they become interdependent? Being interdependent is not an individual act, that is, as something that an isolated individual at some point decides by himself/herself for specific reasons. On the contrary, individuals always exist in relation to others (Elias, 2001). Even before birth, the unborn baby depends on its mothers for survival (it is the mother’s body which feeds the baby). Individuals are also born into networks of interdependencies, into groups of people that were there before them. Individuals grow up but for that they need others, for different reasons (biological, psychological, economic) to help them mature. Individuals also help to create chains of interdependencies with others and eventually they die in those networks (Elias, cited in Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998).

According to figurational sociologists, figurations are "complex networks of social relationships" (Dopson, 1994, p.146). They are not simply face-to-face relationships. Many studies carried out in the sociology of sports reflect a common propensity to conceive relationships just in terms of face-to-face contacts. But individuals have relationships with and are dependent on people they have never met. The influence of people close to us cannot be denied, but people we have never met also affect our lives. While we are more aware of the influence people close to us have upon us, we also feel the impact of others whom we have never met1. People involved in the sports sphere, whether as participants or spectators, have relationships with people they have never met and are affected by such relationships without being aware of them. Women, as well as men, who are involved in sports are influenced by and dependent on people they have never met. For example, in Portugal during the New State regime, women who took part in sports were not only dependent on those they actually knew (family, coaches, teachers, etc) but also on those they never met (for example members of the government). Their involvement in sport was greatly influenced by those in power and the

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1 The events of September 11, 2001 are a good example of this aspect. We all feel the impact of such events. Though not knowing Bin Laden we are all interdependent with him.
Chapter one

ideas they had in relation to women’s role in society and in relation to what they considered to be appropriate for women.

Such interdependencies may involve opponents or allies. Thus relationships between dominant and subordinate groups are particular kinds of interdependencies.

The concept of figuration can be applied to small groups as well as to societies composed of large numbers of interdependent individuals. Thus, teachers and students in a classroom, children in a nursery school, a sports team with its coach and doctor, and families are just some examples of figurations which are relatively easy to observe directly. Villages, cities as well as whole societies are also figurations but these are more difficult to apprehend because the interdependency chains are not only larger but also more differentiated and therefore more complex. When one plans to study the structure and dynamics of a figuration one cannot take into account solely their individual elements and properties. Since a figuration is not the sum of single people but a web of interdependent people, in order to understand any figuration it is crucial to think about the interdependent relationships between individuals, establish the positions they occupy within the figuration as well as the relationships that different figurations maintain with each other (Elias, 1980, 2001). This becomes even more important when referring to complex figurations, that is, figurations that are more differentiated and have larger interdependency chains.

Non-figurational writers frequently write as though the pressures and influences upon individuals come from social structures that exist apart from individuals, that is, as though there were, above individuals, abstract social forces exerted upon them, leading them to adopt some behaviour and attitudes, and to accept certain values and norms. In other words, the *habitus* seems to be moulded by external forces or non-human entities. However, Elias emphasises that such social pressures do not derive from abstract non-human entities. In fact, other individuals, who are also elements of figurations, exert such pressures. This means that the *habitus* is moulded by others within a network of interdependencies (Heinich, 2001).

Power is central to the concept of figuration. Power is, as Elias (1980, p.81) notes, “a characteristic of all human relationships” and a central aspect of the concept of interdependency. People are interdependent but they do not depend on each other to the same

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2 *Habitus* is a concept used to evidence the importance and influence of others, especially of the group of belonging, upon individuals’ behaviours, ways of talking, postures. Due to social pressures, especially from the group of belonging, individuals incorporate the norms, values, beliefs of the group thus developing a kind of “second nature”. According to Graham and Williams (1980) and Bourdieu (1984 cited in Hargreaves, 1994, p.20), *habitus* “is a set of beliefs, dispositions and behaviours patterns, characteristic of the different class and class fractions and which is the product of upbringing and education”. In the Eliasian sense *habitus* means a “second nature”. For example, individuals learn from very early ages to exercise a great control of their emotions. Firstly it is an external control, but then such constraint is internalised by the individual who begins to exercise it almost in an autonomous manner. That is, such constraint turns into a “second nature”. In other words, it becomes part of his/her *habitus*. 
degree. That is, in a relationship some individuals might be more dependent on others than others are on them. The individuals who have more power are the ones that are more able to constrain the actions of others than others are able to constrain their actions. The individuals who are more dependent have less power chances but they are not powerless. Although less powerful than others, their actions have to be taken into account by the others; thus all individuals have some power. As Murphy et al. (2000, p.93) say, “no one is absolutely powerful or absolutely powerless”. Instead of using the term absolute power it is, then, more adequate to speak of power differentials, balances of power or power ratios.

Within sport, and within the wider society, men are generally more powerful than women. However, figurational sociologists point out that men are not all powerful, they do not have absolute power. Even those who might be more powerful have to take into consideration the actions of other groups. Moreover, not all men have more power chances than all women; some women have more power chances than some men. In any figuration there is always a balance of power. This balance of power is not permanent or static, but is of an oscillating type. As Elias (1980, p.143) notes, in any figuration there is “a fluctuating, tensile equilibrium, a balance of power moving to and fro, inclining first to one side and then to the other”.

With the concept of figuration, Elias also tried to move away from the traditional tendency to reduce to static categories everything that is seen as dynamic and interdependent. He was very critical of what he called “process reduction”, that is, the tendency to analyse society in static terms. For Elias figurations, instead of being analysed as isolated and static categories, are better understood as processes.

One aspect of Elias’s emphasis in the analysis of processes is his insistence that a figuration is properly understood only when analysed in terms of how it has developed. According to Elias (1980, p.177), in order to understand a figuration and all the interdependencies at a given time one should refer permanently “to the flow of figurations”. However, this does not mean that an actual figuration is the only possible outcome of a previous figuration. A figuration of the present moment has necessarily to be preceded by a previous one, but that does not imply that the actual figuration is the only possible outcome. On the contrary, the actual figuration is just one of the possible transformations from a previous one. That is, figuration B had to be preceded by figuration A, and figuration C had to be preceded by figuration B. This means that for figuration B, figuration A was a pre-condition for its formation and figuration B was a pre-condition for the formation of

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3 Even the unloved baby or the catatonic schizophrenic has some power. The mother will not readily abandon or ill-treat her baby because it is illegal. If she does ill-treat her unloved baby she will need to try to conceal it from others. This is a source of power even though the baby is unaware of it.
figuration C. However, such a statement does not imply that figurations A or B transform themselves necessarily into figurations B or C respectively. These two figurations are only possible, not necessarily, transformations of previous ones: at the present level of knowledge, these sequences can only be established retrospectively.

Thus, although the structure of a given figuration forms a necessary condition for its later development that does not mean that the figurational flows have necessarily or inevitably to change in a particular direction. That is, from a figurational point of view, social processes can involve changes in different directions, such as towards higher or lower levels of differentiation and integration or towards higher or lower levels of civilisation (Dunning, 1999). Figurational sociology is thus concerned with tracing connections between different stages in the longer-term figurational flow (Dunning, 1993). In relation to sport, in order to have a better understanding of the women’s sport figuration of today it is important to analyse the development of this figuration since the organisation of women’s sport today and women’s involvement in sport are better understood in the context of the activities and actions of past generations. Women involved in sports today have inherited material things but they have also inherited for example language, beliefs and prejudices in relation to their participation in sport.

Elias also uses game models, going from the two-person game to multi level games, in order to explain the processual character of interdependent relationships and the changing balance of power. Even in the simplest games, such as a two-person game, when the balance of power between players becomes less unequal, the capacity of the stronger player to control the actions of the weaker diminishes. Simultaneously, the control of the weaker player over the stronger player increases. When this happens, the course of the game cannot be explained in terms of the intentions and plans of only one of the individuals. In fact, neither of the players is able to determine the course of the game. It becomes unpredictable. But if we consider more complex situations involving large numbers of players, such unpredictability becomes even higher. In complex games, instead of only two sides, there might be several sides involved and also several balances of power to be considered. In complex games the ability of any individual or group of individuals to influence and determine the course of the game becomes increasingly difficult, because none of them is sufficiently powerful. The situation can take then – indeed, almost invariably does take – a course which none of the individuals or group of individuals had planned. Each individual and group of individuals have their own interests and use different strategies in order to achieve their goals. But some of these interests might collide with the interests of other individuals and groups or coincide only partially with other individuals’ or groups’ interests. This might generate tensions and
conflicts between different individuals and groups that were not planned by any of the individuals or groups involved (Dopson and Waddington, 1996). This means that in complex social processes, due to the interweaving of the actions of large numbers of people with different interests, the normal outcome will include also unintended and unplanned consequences (Elias, 1987, 2001). Figurations cannot be explained solely in terms of the actions or interests of one individual or group of individuals. Although individuals' actions, interests, and motives play a part in those processes, they have their own dynamic and lead to unplanned and unintended outcomes.

Another key aspect of Elias's work was his writing on involvement and detachment. Elias held that, in order to develop a more realistic or reality congruent knowledge of social processes, one should be relatively detached, more precisely, one needed an appropriate balance between involvement and detachment.

Elias preferred the concepts of involvement and detachment, rather than objectivity and subjectivity. The latter dichotomy, Elias (1987) suggested, tends to imply that there are two static categories standing on opposite sides, implying that they are independent from each other as if some researchers could be completely objective and others lacking objectivity, that is being wholly subjective. Elias was very critical of this kind of dichotomy. He preferred the concepts of involvement and detachment, understood as positions on a continuum, because they indicate more clearly "that changes in a person's relation with others and psychological changes are distinct but inseparable phenomena" (Elias, 1987, p.38). That is, no one is either wholly detached or wholly involved. A person's relation with others, as well as her/his psychological states, change which might result in changes in terms of the degrees of involvement and detachment. Elias's conceptualisation in terms of involvement/detachment is relational and processual and allows social scientists to make statements about the changing relationships between objects and subjects. In any research, instead of thinking in terms of objectivity and subjectivity, Elias argues we should think in terms of degrees of involvement and detachment and in terms of an appropriate balance between involvement and detachment; ideally we should be involved in a detached way.

Elias argues that, in order to develop a more object-adequate analysis of any social process, we should seek to be relatively detached. That is, we should put aside personal concerns, ideas and beliefs. More precisely, analyses should involve a particular balance between involvement and detachment. It is important to note that Elias does not say that individuals have to be completely detached. In fact, no one can be wholly detached, since individuals are always members of many social groups that influence them, which constrain them. Individuals are not isolated and separate, living independently from others. Others
affect their thinking and actions. In this sense, therefore, individuals cannot be wholly detached. They are always involved, though to a higher or lower level. The concepts of involvement and detachment do not refer, then, to two separate and different categories but to two concepts that are related or interdependent (Elias, 1987).

Involvement should not be considered as something completely bad. According to Elias, certain forms of involvement may actually facilitate the research process and, in terms of the development of sociology, a degree of involvement is desirable. In fact, in order to have a better understanding of how human groups work, a person has to know from the inside how different individuals experience their own group as well as other groups. This means that without an active participation and involvement it becomes more difficult for a person to understand how human groups work. For example, a sociologist in order to better understand the figurations which bind people together, has to know from the inside how individuals experience such figurations. However, he/she has to try to avoid being too highly involved. He/she should try to be relatively detached. Researchers should not be highly emotionally involved since a strong emotional involvement might distort the understanding of the process. One needs to be involved in a scientific sense, that is, one has to try to control one's emotional involvement and seek to attain the highest level of detachment - a detour via detachment as it is called by Elias.

It is possible to say that a person is highly emotional involved when a statement tells us more about the beliefs and concerns of the person making the analysis of a certain process than of the process itself. But a strong involvement can decrease and when that happens the balance between involvement/detachment begins to change towards detachment.

Individuals who are highly involved “can only look at whatever happens to them from their own narrow location within the system” (Elias, 1987, p.10). That is, individuals who are highly emotionally involved in a process tend to see themselves as “the central frame of reference for everything they experience” (Elias, 1987, p.xxxvii). These individuals have great difficulty in standing back and looking at themselves as if they were outside, that is, in a more detached manner. For them it is hard to distance themselves from their own concerns and values. As a consequence of such strong emotional involvement, their understanding of social processes becomes distorted, since their convictions, their cherished beliefs, interfere with their analyses. It should be added that whenever the pressure of tensions to which their groups are exposed increase, their level of involvement gets higher and it becomes more difficult for them to approach such situations in a more detached way.

When doing research, when analysing processes, researchers should not try to be wholly detached, – since it is not possible – but should try to obtain the highest level of
detachment possible. Researchers should try to put aside their personal convictions and concerns in order to be able to study the relevant processes in a more detached manner. Only a relatively detached analysis will result in a more realistic or reality-congruent analysis of the processes we are seeking to understand, since it is likely to be less “subject to the distorting and biasing effects of ideological preoccupations” (Murphy, 1994, p.154). This means, for example, that when a sociologist is analysing social processes he/she has to try to maintain an appropriate balance between involvement and detachment. To quote Jarvie and Maguire (1994, p.156):

Sociologists must ... be both relatively involved and detached in order to grasp the basic experience of social life. It is a question of balance. The sociologist as participant must be able to stand back and become the sociologist as observer and interpreter.

Another important aspect of Elias’s work was his analysis of established-outsider relations4. For Elias it is possible to find established groups and outsider groups in a variety of settings. In an established-outsider figuration, the members of the established group tend to see themselves as better than the outsiders and to see the members of the outsider group as both different from and inferior to themselves. The established attribute to themselves specific and superior virtues and tend to consider the outsiders as people who lack such virtues (Elias and Scotson, 1994). In relationships of this kind, the more powerful group - the established – not only has the power to impose the belief that it is superior, but also has “the ability ... to pin the badge of human inferiority on another human group and make it stick” (Mennell, 1992, p.121).

The established group, through various strategies, is often capable to impose on outsiders “the belief that they are not only inferior in power but inferior by ‘nature’ to the established group” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.159). Members of the established group also try to avoid contact with outsiders. If any member of the established group develops relationships with outsiders which are considered too close then, as Elias and Scotson (1994, p.xxiv) note, the insider would be threatened “with the lowering of [his/her] own status within the established group. He or she might lose its members’ regard – might no longer seem to share the higher human value attributed to themselves by the established”.

According to Elias and Scotson (1994), after some time the outsiders may come to accept the fact that they do belong to a different and inferior group. In this context one might

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4 The theory of established-outsiders relations emerged from a study carried out in a small community near Leicester in the mid-twentieth century. That study resulted in The Established and the Outsiders, first published in 1965 in collaboration with John Scotson.
ask: how does one group enforce on another group the belief that they are inferior? How does one group assert its superiority?

For an established group, outsiders can threaten its superiority, privileged position, power and self-image. Therefore, an established group employs various techniques to repel what is perceived as a threat. These techniques can include gossip, denigration, humiliation, exclusion and stigmatisation of outsiders (Elias and Scotson, 1994). For Elias and Scotson (1994, p.xviii) through such techniques, the established group tries to “maintain their identity, to assert their superiority, keeping others firmly in their place.” The attachment of the label “low human value” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.xxi) to one group leads many people to consider that they are actually of less value and that the differences in terms of power are “inherent in the very nature of mankind” (Mennell, 1992, p.122).

The image that the established group develops in relation to the outsiders tends to be based on the “bad” characteristics of the latter group’s “worst section” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.xix). That is, it is modelled on a “minority of the worst”. On the other hand, the image that the established group has of itself tends to be based on the “minority of the best”. That is, it tends to be based, as Elias and Scotson (1994, p.xix) note, “on its exemplary, most ‘nomic’ or norm-setting section, on the minority of its ‘best’ members”.

The outsiders’ internalisation of the idea that they are inferior and of less value than the established group helps to reinforce the superiority and power of the established group. The outsiders come to accept their own group disgrace and to acknowledge the group charisma of the established group.

An established group is able to use various strategies to assert its superiority because it usually presents greater solidarity and a greater level of cohesion. The solidarity and cohesiveness, which are its main sources of power, allow the group “to reserve social positions with a high power potential of a different type for its members” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.xix) and to exclude from such positions people who belong to the outsiders, who as a group tend to present a relative lack of cohesion among themselves. The lack of cohesion and solidarity among outsiders is the main reason why outsiders do not retaliate and accept their position.

Whenever the power differentials between established and outsiders are very great, it is very difficult for each one of the groups to escape from their position. In this situation, the outsiders tend to develop an image of themselves based on what the established group thinks about them. There are, however, situations in which the tensions between established and outsiders may “result in a shift ... towards a more even power ratio” (Mennell, 1992, p.123). When the differences in terms of power become smaller, the sense of inferiority felt by
outsiders tends to diminish. In this case, inequalities that before were taken for granted may be challenged.

**Figurational sociology, sport and gender**

Just as society and individuals cannot be studied independently from each other, so sport cannot be studied independently from the people involved. Sport involves people in interrelationships with each other, forming interdependency chains (Elias, 1980). Sport is part of a larger figuration, the wider society, which in turn is part of a worldwide figuration (Elias and Dunning, 1992b). Sport is also related to the culture and values of the wider society of which it is a part. Understood as a figuration, those involved in sport not only exercise different types of influences on different social spheres, but are also constrained by other wider figurations. However, within the sport context, sportspersons may enjoy variable degrees of relatively autonomy. From a figurational point of view, sport has to be analysed by taking into consideration the interdependent relationships between the individuals who form the sport figuration, the transformations of those relationships and the interdependent relationships between those within the figuration and those within, for example, the political, economic or educational spheres.

Sport cannot be studied as an isolated and static phenomenon, as something that happens at a given time with no relation to the wider social structure. Sport needs to be contextualised in historical terms; it needs to be understood as a dynamic process. In order to understand modern sport, it is necessary to analyse it in the context of the great transformations within western societies, that is, it is important to study sport in a developmental perspective (Elias and Dunning, 1992b; Dunning et al., 1993). Through such an analysis it is possible to obtain a better understanding of sport, its characteristics and development.

From a figurational standpoint, sport is considered as a site for the generation of pleasurable forms of excitement. According to Elias (1992), in modern industrial societies, people have to exercise a greater control of their emotions, since their social survival depends on such control. In order to communicate with others and to survive, individuals learn how to control their affects, emotions and drives. That is, they learn not to display them too overtly when in public. During the first years of children’s development, it is the family which controls the drives, affects and emotions, in accordance with social demands since it is “the social structure that demands and cultivates a certain pattern of control of the affects” (Elias, 1989, p.235). In later stages of individuals’ development, this external control is internalised by the individuals who start to exercise it by themselves in an almost automatic way. It
becomes part of their *habitus*, in other words, their “second nature”. If people do not act in this way, they face the risk of being censored or, as sometimes might happen, being considered as abnormal\(^5\). People who have difficulties in exercising such control are seen as being problematic and sometimes are submitted to hospitalisation (because they are considered uncontrolled or abnormal) or taken into prison\(^6\). As a result of such social pressure, individuals learn from very early ages to control their emotions, their feelings and their most aggressive impulses. However, such control generates tensions that need to be resolved.

Elias (1992, p.69) also argues that in societies “where fairly highly civilising standards all round are safeguarded and maintained by a highly effective state-internal control of physical violence” such tensions tend to be widespread. There are different kinds of activities through which people can release the tensions generated by such high levels of emotional self-control. In this context, sport appears as one of those activities that allows the generation and then the release of stress tensions, thus constituting a source of pleasure for the individuals. It is important to emphasise that sporting activities, besides having a cathartic effect, also *generate* tensions, but pleasurable ones. Nevertheless, sporting activities are required to “conform to the comparative sensitivity to physical violence which is characteristic of people’s social habitus at the later stages of a civilising process” (Elias, 1992, p.70). That is, these activities cannot exceed certain violence limits. In other words, they have to respect the thresholds of sensibility and repugnance in relation to more violent acts that characterise societies in an advanced stage of a civilising process.

According to Elias and Dunning (1992b, p.136), sport generates “tensions of a certain type, the development of a pleasurable tension-excitement”. That is, through sport, individuals experience a tension-excitement that usually is absent in daily life due to the affective and emotional self-control individuals have to exercise. While in day-to-day life individuals have to exercise great self-control over their emotions, feelings and impulses, in the sports sphere individuals are able to display their feelings and emotions more freely. Sport is considered a more acceptable place for the expression of emotions, feelings and impulses that are usually subject to a high degree of control. Sport leads to the arousal of feelings such as fear, jealousy, hate, happiness, sympathy, affection or regret. That is, through sport

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\(^5\) For example, adults learn not to demonstrate their sadness openly. They also learn not to cry in public or to beat each other in an exaggerated manner. Adults crying, jumping or dancing in the middle of the street demonstrating their happiness or sadness are rarely seen.

\(^6\) In daily life, if individuals manifest in a spontaneous manner their feelings, emotions and most aggressive impulses, that is, if they do not exercise great self-control they can become dangerous to themselves as well as to others. For example, if individuals do not control their aggressive impulses and they begin to beat all those that they hate, they can inflict serious physical damage to the others and as such they can be considered as a threat to those individuals and also to themselves. Individuals that manifest in public and in a spontaneous manner their emotions might be censored, ridiculed or stigmatised.
individuals are able to experience feelings that resemble the ones that are experienced in everyday lives and seriously critical situations, but without involving the risks generally associated with seriously critical situations. In sports, individuals are, then, able to experience and express strong feelings with social approval. That is, within the sports context a controlled de-controlling of emotions is allowed and socially approved. However, it is important to emphasise that such de-controlling of emotions has to be under some control in order to be regarded as civilised. That is, certain sport activities have an enormous propensity to display strong emotions, which might lead to the appearance of situations that can put at risk not only the individual but also the individuals with whom he/she relates. It is, then, fundamental that such de-controlling of emotions is not entirely uncontrolled. Sport, as a result of its capacity to arouse pleasurable forms of excitement, of allowing a de-controlling of emotions, becomes a very pleasurable and exciting activity for individuals.

According to Dunning (1999), from a figurational perspective, problems regarding sport and gender are usefully understood by reference to the theory of the civilising process. This theory attempts to trace different trajectories of development in western societies, especially Britain, Germany and France, from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century. Since most of what has been written about gender and sport has focused on western societies and especially British society, most of what will be presented here refers to English society which is often considered as the birthplace of modern sport.

During the eighteenth century English society underwent a civilising change. In England during the eighteenth century, apart from a growing state monopolisation of violence there was also a process involving the refinement of manners and social standards. People were increasingly compelled to exercise greater, stricter and more continuous control over their feelings, behaviour and violent impulses. Whenever the taboo concerning violence was violated, embarrassment and guilt feelings would emerge. An important aspect of this civilising process, with important implications for gender relations in sporting and non-sporting contexts, was the greater regulation of violence and aggression, that is, a more rigorous control over violence and more aggressive acts. At the same time people’s propensity to take part in more violent acts or to derive pleasure from taking part and/or witnessing violent acts started to decrease. Violence started to be pushed behind the scenes. Such regulation of violence had its effects on the relations between men and women. As a result of an accumulation of controls and taboos on violence, individuals began slowly to be deprived of the right to use violence, especially in the public sphere. The belief that the use of violence was wrong became gradually deeply internalised. The emergence of feelings of guilt and shame became more frequent whenever the taboo regarding violence and aggression was
violated. Men became gradually deprived of using one of their greatest advantages over women, that is, their physical force. Violence was, of course, not removed from social life but reduced. The external controls and self-control on physical violence led, as Dunning (1999, p.228) notes, to “the increasing privatisation of such violence, to the pushing of it increasingly behind the scenes of social life, to its confinement increasingly to domestic social settings”.

As a result of such social and self-control, the power chances of the relatively weaker groups began to increase. Moreover, the length of the interdependency chains increased since the Middle Ages. These processes made the rulers and other powerful groups more dependent on those over whom they were dominant. The situation contributed to an increase of the power chances of those that were relatively weaker. It was in this context that women’s power chances began to increase. Due to the existence of more strict rules regarding the use of physical force in general, men’s power started to weaken while women’s power chances began slowly to increase. The power balance between males and females started to change towards equalisation.

As some groups of women began to fight for their rights and started to have greater opportunities in terms of access to traditional male areas, men not only saw their masculinity being threatened but they also began to fear what Messner (1987 cited in Dunning, 1999) calls the feminisation of society. As a result, some men tried to keep areas such as sport as a privileged male space where traditional male values could be expressed. Since many sports have traditionally been defined in terms of strength, physical force, aggressiveness, that is, features traditionally associated with males, sport came to be seen as “an enclave for the legitimate expression of masculine aggression and for the development and expression of more traditional masculine habituses involving the use and display of physical prowess and power” (Dunning and Maguire, 1996, p.308). Sport came to be seen as a privileged space for the inculcation, expression and perpetuation of male identities.

The increasing participation of women in sport in the twentieth century started to threaten the possibilities of male intimacy. Because women were challenging a male preserve, powerful ideologies questioning their femininity and claiming that physical damages could appear as a result of their involvement in sport, were put forward7 by some women as well as men. Scientific and technological developments later demonstrated that many of those ideas concerning women’s participation in sport were no more than myths.

Women are, nowadays, involved in a great number of sports and are increasingly taking part in sports traditionally regarded as male appropriate sports. Such participation both reflects and constitutes a change in the power relations between men and women (Colwell, 7 Such ideologies are discussed in detail in the chapter devoted to gender and sport.
The growing involvement of women in sport, although embodying a shift in the balance of power between males and females towards a greater equalisation, involves, according to Dunning (1999), two kinds of penalties for sportswomen. Firstly, women athletes face obstacles that are not experienced by male athletes. Secondly, while male athletes do not have to prove their masculinity, women athletes may see their femininity compromised, especially when they take part in combat/contact sports, that is, sports that have traditionally been regarded as less appropriate for females.

Given the fact that this thesis deals with women’s participation in sport, and given the fact that the dominant theoretical approach to issues of this kind has been feminism, it might seem a little odd that I have chosen to approach this issue from a figurational perspective. The use of this perspective might seem even more curious in the light of the fact that figurational sociology has been criticised by feminist sociologists such as Hargreaves (1994) for its “gender blindness”. However, while Dunning (1992a, p.255) has recognised that in the past figurational sociologists have “been too silent on questions of gender”, this does not mean that they have altogether ignored gender issues. Thus not only Elias, but also other figurational sociologists, have addressed issues of gender relations and sport (Dunning, 1992b; Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Waddington et al., 1998; Colwell, 1999; Maguire and Mansfield, 1998).

It is suggested here that figurational sociology does offer a useful analysis of gender relations and the nature of gender/power relations within sport. As mentioned earlier, a distinctive feature of figurational sociology is its concern to avoid dichotomies. This is of particular importance in relation to the analysis of sex and gender relations. There is a tendency amongst feminist theorists to analyse sex and gender differences in dichotomous terms, as if they were isolated and static entities, as if biological and social explanations of such differences could be analysed separately. To do that is to neglect the “changing, processual nature of sex/gender relations” (Colwell, 1999, p.222). So, instead of thinking and talking in terms of sex and gender, it would be more adequate to speak of sex/gender. By doing that we can take into account the balance between “nature and nurture ... between biology, culture and society” (Dunning, 1990 cited in Colwell, 1999, p.223). This is of particular importance since human behaviour is not determined simply by either biology or culture. Humans depend on biology and also on social-cultural learning for their survival. For Elias any “organism requires stimulation in order to function satisfactorily, particularly stimulation through the company of other human beings” (Elias, 1986 cited in Dunning, 1999, p.15). These processes, then, must be analysed in relational terms since both are important in the shaping of human behaviour.
This same concern can be applied to gender and power relations. Since gender relations are power relations they are better understood as relational concepts, that is, as gender/power relations.

There is also a tendency amongst feminists, and indeed sociologists generally, to treat men and women as homogeneous groups. In this regard figurational sociology has more to offer since it urges us to think in relational terms. Any study that intends to analyse the relations between femininity and females has to take into account masculinity and males. Moreover, if one wants to have a better understanding of sex/gender relations, the experiences of different kinds of men and also of different kinds of women have to be taken into account, for example, the different experiences of men and women of different class, age and ethnic groups, or different sexual orientations.

A figurational perspective has been used in this thesis because, I argue, this approach has more to offer than do feminist approaches, even in relation to the study of women and sport. Through a few examples of feminist analyses of women’s sports I will try to point out what I take to be the weaknesses of feminist approaches in comparison to what a figurational approach has to offer.

According to Colwell (1999), the works of feminists such as Scraton do present some strengths. For example, Scraton, in her analysis of the social history and development of physical education in the United Kingdom has used a comparative and historical approach and by doing that she has contributed to a better understanding of how sex/gender relations in physical education have developed. But as Colwell (1999) points out, Scraton’s analysis is often led by ideological underpinnings. For instance, Scraton argues that young women, through their involvement in physical education, should reject and challenge “competitive ‘macho’ values of the male sporting ethos [and should] gain access to the positive aspects of the sporting world” (cited in Colwell, 1999, p.225). Scraton thus offers an ideological analysis in terms of what she considers to be positive and negative features. However, such evaluations in terms of good and bad, positive and negative, add nothing to our understanding of such phenomena. Through such assertions, we come to know more about what Scraton believes to be the positive and negative features of sport, but this adds nothing to our understanding of relationships between those individuals and groups that take part in various sports. Ideological involvement of this kind is unhelpful and adds nothing of scientific value; it simply tells us about the author’s own political and ideological preferences.

Evaluations and analyses led by ideological underpinnings can also be found in the work of other sports feminists. For example, in relation to abuse/exploitation in sporting

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8 For Scraton the positive aspects are collectivity, co-operation and sense of community (cited in Colwell, 1999).
settings most work in this area has been led by a feminist agenda and consequently most of the work that has been carried out has been based on the male perpetrator-female victim paradigm (Hartill, 2005). But this kind of analysis presents major problems. Women and men tend to be presented as homogeneous groups, as if all women are exploited/abused and all men are perpetrators. There is a tendency to ignore the diversity of both female and male experiences. Some female athletes might be abused/exploited and some men might be abusers. However, men may also be exploited/abused and women may also be abusers. In this regard, Hartill (2005), after reviewing literature from social work and therapeutic disciplines, notes that there is growing evidence of abuse not just of girls and women, but also of boys and men, and there is also growing evidence of abuse of males by females.

This feminist ideologically driven analysis, by focusing exclusively on the male perpetrator-female victim paradigm, fails to acknowledge the fact “that some women impose their values on other women, and that women have their own sources of power in relation to one another and to men” (Colwell, 1999, p.222). That is, both males and females may be abusers, or may be abused. 

This exclusive focus on the male perpetrator-female victim paradigm indicates the degree to what such studies are based more on ideological assumptions than on empirical evidence and it is this ideological commitment which has led them to ignore the growing evidence of male abuse and female abusers. Thus again, most of the studies carried out in this area tell us more about the researchers’ ideologies, beliefs and concerns than about what actually happens in sporting contexts. According to Mendel (1995 cited in Hartill, 2005), because of popular ideas about what it is to be a male and ideas about femininity, it is difficult to recognise males as victims and females as perpetrators. Because many sports have traditionally been defined in terms of features traditionally associated with males, sport came to be seen as a privileged space for the construction, expression and perpetuation of male identities. As a consequence, for many of those researching in this area, and also for many males, it is difficult to acknowledge the existence of abuse and exploitation of males by females in sporting settings, since to acknowledge this would be regarded by many as a threat to masculinity.


Once again Hartill (2005) mentions studies in other areas where women appear as perpetrators. For example according to Spiegelsoma (2003 cited in Hartill, 2005, p.298) “across a number of studies females account for substantial percentages of the perpetrator population under investigation ... from 20% to 75%”
Confronting and acknowledging sexual abuse poses a major threat to a male’s sense of masculinity. A male victim may assume that he is ‘less of a man’ due to his inability to protect himself and to his experience in a helpless, victimized role (Mendel, 1995 cited in Hartill, 2005, p.296).

It is also due to beliefs about femininity that female perpetration tends to be under-recognised. For Mendel (1995 cited in Hartill, 2005, p.299) these beliefs include:

The self-fulfilling assumption that female perpetration is rare; denial of female sexuality and aggression; belief that sexual interaction with older females is benign or positive; greater leeway given to females than males in their physical interactions with children; politically based avoidance of acknowledgement of female perpetration.

Most of the studies on abuse and exploitation in sporting contexts thus tell us much more about the researchers’ ideologies and values than about what actually happens. From a figurational perspective, this kind of analyses adds nothing to our understanding of what really happens in sporting contexts in terms of abuse and exploitation.

The above examples can be seen as a perfect illustration of Elias’s ideas about involvement and detachment. If the analysis with which we are presented tells us more about the researchers’ beliefs and values than about the ostensible object of study, then this is a clear indication that the researchers are so highly involved that their analysis is led by their beliefs and concerns. In other words, because they do not control their involvement, their extra-scientific ideas interfere in their analyses. Because of their involvement their theoretical approach tends to be biased. And if their theoretical approach is biased, their analyses will also be biased. And when the analysis is biased, the quality of the policy recommendations will also be adversely affected. This is what frequently happens with feminist sociologists. The tendency to be highly involved and to be led by ideological assumptions can be seen as a central weakness of feminist approaches to sport. In this regard a figurational approach, it is suggested, has more to offer. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, for figurational sociologists researchers should try to put aside their personal beliefs and concerns since these can bias the analysis and thus obscure the understanding of the issue under study. Researchers should seek to control their involvement and seek to offer a relatively detached analysis, that is, one which is relatively free from extra-scientific values and concerns.

The ideological assumptions which underpin much feminist writing is thus rejected by figurationalists. Moreover, the differences between these approaches make it difficult to combine them when studying, for example, sport and sex/gender relations. The work of
Chapter one

Maguire and Mansfield (1998) is a clear example of the problems involved in any attempt to combine these different perspectives.

Although informed by what the authors describe as a "feminist figurational" approach, Maguire and Mansfield’s work reveals the difficulties involved in any attempt to combine these approaches. For example, although they state that in their study they would treat women as a heterogeneous group they fail to do so and there are numerous instances where women are treated as a single, undifferentiated group. For example:

It is the pursuit of the social body that is a negative strategy for women (Maguire and Mansfield, 1998, p.135).

Here they appear to be treating women as a homogeneous group, as if for all women the pursuit of the social body is a negative strategy. For some, of course, it may be a negative strategy but for others it may serve them well in what they perceive to be their best interests.

Elsewhere, Maguire and Mansfield argue:

Women are under pressure from societal images reinforced within the ‘exercise-body beautiful complex’ to stay young, slim and healthy. They do aerobics in response to that pressure (Maguire and Mansfield, 1998, p.125).

Here again the authors treat women as a homogeneous group. Not all women do aerobics in an attempt to respond to the pressure they are submitted. For some this may be the reason but others might do aerobics for the exercise and for the pleasure it gives.

The authors, besides treating women as a homogeneous group, also make value judgements throughout their work. For example, they refer in relation to the women they studied:

These women are ... oppressed in their pursuit of the social body (Maguire and Mansfield, 1998, p.117).

And they also uncritically accept Markula’s judgement that:

Aspiring to tighten, tone, and reduce the thighs, hips, bottom, stomach, and breasts, they adhere to a distorted notion of femininity that is defined by dominant social ideologies (Markula, 1995 cited in Maguire and Mansfield, 1998, p.125).

In both quotations it is possible to identify the following value judgements: women are oppressed and women are adhering to a distorted notion of femininity. These kind of claims, as Colwell (1999, p.234) notes, "blinds us to the fact that these notions of femininity are
unlikely to be perceived as ‘distorted’ by all women”. Some women might indeed perceive these notions as distorted, but others may not agree and may find that adherence to these ideas serves them well. Moreover, it is clear that not all women feel oppressed in their pursuit of the social body. These claims therefore raise the following questions: is it the women in Maguire and Mansfield’s work that perceive these notions of femininity as distorted, or is this the authors’ own value judgement? Is it the women in the study who feel they are oppressed in their pursuit of the social body or is it what the authors think? Again, these kinds of statements tell us more about the authors’ views and beliefs than about the women they studied; in a word, they are ideologies.

Colwell (1999) argues that, in Maguire and Mansfield’s work, it is possible to identify another aspect that shows the difficulty of combining feminist and figurational approaches. In their work, Maguire and Mansfield (1998, p. 124) argue “that women consciously shape their bodies according to the societal norms of femininity”. The main problem here relates to their notion of “societal norms of femininity”. In society there is not just a single set of norms of femininity. In society people “follow different norms in different spheres of their lives ... conduct which may be normal in one sphere may be deviant in another” (Elias and Dunning, 1986b cited in Colwell, 1999, p.234).

The examples presented here show the difficulties that arise whenever it is attempted to combine feminist and figurational approaches. As Colwell (1999) notes, most of the problems tend to centre around the question of values. For many feminists it would seem impossible to offer, and many would find it difficult to accept, any kind of analysis without evaluation. However, from a figurational standpoint, to allow the interference of extra-scientific views and ideologies in any kind of research (something quite common in feminist approaches) is unacceptable. So, as Colwell (1999, p.236) notes, it seems untenable to offer a “feminist-figurationalist” approach because the moral/political evaluation which is central to feminist approaches is strongly rejected by figurationalists. However, it may be possible, as Colwell (1999, p.236) suggests, to be a “feminist informed figurational sociologist”, that is, to be a figurationalist whose work is also informed by feminist perspectives. This whilst, within this thesis, I readily draw upon feminist accounts in order to achieve a “more reality congruent knowledge” (Colwell, 1999, p.236), I have throughout sought to avoid moral and political evaluation and to maintain an appropriate balance between a certain level of involvement and a relatively detached perspective. Thus I draw upon the work of feminists such as Hargreaves, Louveau, Theberge, McCrone, Vertinsky and Birrell because I recognise that they have done useful work in this area and I am not going to ignore or reject their work just because they are feminists. However, although I draw upon and recognise the usefulness
of their work, I do make a clear differentiation between their feminist perspectives and the figurational approach which underpins my own analysis.

The theoretical approach presented in this chapter will inform the analysis of the data collected in relation to sport and women’s participation in sport in Portugal in the rest of this thesis.
Most of the literature on gender and sport has focused on western societies. In particular, much of the literature has focused on England, which is often considered as the birthplace of modern sport. Inevitably this bias is reflected in the following literature review.

As noted earlier, in the eighteenth century England underwent major changes in terms of manners, behaviour standards and sensitivity in relation to violence. Due to this increase of sensitivity in relation to violence the most aggressive impulses, as well as the pleasure derived from participating or witnessing seriously violent acts, began to be submitted to more effective external and internal controls. Gradually the external sanctions led to internal controls, in the form of feelings of guilt and shame whenever the taboo regarding violence and aggression was violated. Such external and self-controls on physical violence led, as Elias (1989, p.165) pointed out, to the pushing of violence “behind the scenes of social life”. The internal and external regulation of violence had a major impact on the relations between men and women. As a result of the increasing regulation of violence, men became gradually deprived of using in the public domain a key source of power over women, that is, their aggressiveness, physical power and corresponding superiority as fighters. As more strict rules regarding the use of physical force began to develop, men’s power started to weaken while women’s power chances began slowly to increase.

In addition to the changes in manners and in relation to the control of violence that had already started in the eighteenth century, England in the nineteenth century also underwent other transformations related to industrialisation, urbanisation and bureaucratisation. These changes also had their repercussions upon women’s lives and their position in society.

While women from the working class had to work in order to help in the family income, bourgeois women were expected to stay at home to organise the household and take care of the children. Because they did not have to work outside the house, and therefore, did not earn money, they were very dependent on the economic position of their husbands or fathers. These women were ideally seen as “perfect ladies”, and gave expression to the Victorian ideal of femininity. According to this ideal the “perfect woman” was passive, gentle, emotional, intuitive, innocent, pure, self-sacrificing, presented a sense of delicacy and was dependent on men.

Throughout the Victorian period in England, bourgeois women were held to be too weak and too fragile to become engaged in any kind of activity outside the house, and were
not allowed to become involved in any sort of activity that could put at risk the production of future generations. It would not be too strong to conclude that women's lives focused almost entirely around the strict confines of marriage, the family and the home. These ideologies of domesticity, family, marriage, motherhood and debility were not applied to working class women since they had of necessity to work to help in the subsistence of their families.

The Victorian ideal of femininity and the associated ideologies surrounding women were accepted as commonsense by a huge number of women who in fact believed that they were inferior and more fragile than men and that due to their biology they were not suited for certain activities. However, around the mid-nineteenth century, an increasing number of women began to reject a life centred almost entirely around domesticity. Underpinning these changes in attitudes were changes in the balances of power between men and women, as women saw their power chances increasing gradually due to the stricter controls on violence that increasingly restricted men from using their physical power, aggressiveness in relation to women. Women began to question their limited and subordinated position in society and began to fight for access to better education, in particular access to higher education, for access to professions and also for the vote\(^1\). Women began also to show a growing interest in sport and they started to participate in different sports.

It has to be noted that it was especially middle class women who began this struggle since it was they who had the money and the time to struggle for what came to be defined as women's rights. While working class women had to work in providing subsistence to their families, middle class women had more free time. Some, perhaps the majority, used this free time in conspicuous consumption, related to the dominant ideology of the “perfect lady”. However, others used it to fight for women’s rights. It was also middle class women who began to participate in sports. They were interested in sports because they learned to value sport during their education in girls schools, in some of which sports were highly promoted. After leaving school women were supposed to give up sports and devote themselves to their main domestic roles in order to preserve their femininity. But some girls and women were not prepared to give up sports after leaving school. Apart from considering sport an enjoyable activity, middle class women also had the financial means which allowed them to pay the fees to join clubs as well as the necessary leisure time.

As women began to enter some areas of social life that before had been closed to them, men began to feel their superiority and masculinity compromised and threatened. As

\(^1\) It is important to note that, not only women but also many men were very interested in women's rights. For example, William Thompson was in the nineteenth century one of the defenders of women affirming that women should be treated in the same manner as men, as well as being governed by the same laws as men. Also John Stuart Mill, in the nineteenth century, argued that women deserved to have rights equal with men.
areas of social life such as education and the professions became increasingly open to women, men started to look for other areas which could help them to preserve their power. Since physical activities had always been characterised on the basis of features generally attributed to males such as power, aggressiveness, strength, ability and violence, sport became increasingly important for men. Sport became, as Messner (1987 cited in Dunning and Maguire, 1996, p.298) puts it, “one of the last bastions of male power and superiority”. It is within this context that sport became increasingly important for the inculcation, preservation and public expression of traditional masculine identities and behaviour (Dunning and Maguire, 1996).

In the late nineteenth century sport played in England and in the United States of America an important part in the reassertion of masculinity; sport “provided the dominant image of masculine identity” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.43). Victorian images of masculinity embodied features such as gentlemanly behaviour, physical prowess, independence, courage, self-control, fairness, virility and honour. The games practised inside boys public schools could help instil in boys:

Virtues which no book can give them; not merely daring and endurance, but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another’s success, and all that “give and take” of life which stand a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world (McIntosh, 1963 cited in Morford and McIntosh, 1993, p.68).

Sports, then, besides helping to instil moral virtues, also helped men to achieve physical manhood (Kimmel, 1990).

Due to the value attributed to sport in the construction and affirmation of masculinity in the nineteenth century England, the sports sphere was, as Hargreaves (1994, p.43) calls it, “the natural domain of men and ... to be good at them was to be essentially masculine”. In this context, women’s growing interest in sport generated major controversies. When English middle class women in the late nineteenth century began to show more interest in sport and to take part more seriously in certain sports2, numerous arguments were put forward to justify women’s exclusion from sporting activities. Many of these arguments were little more than

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2 It is important to note that before the late nineteenth century some women were already involved in different sorts of physical activities. For example, before and during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, women from the nobility hunted and hawked with a certain talent, while women from the lower classes were involved in foot races, pugilism, football and stoolball (a type of game with some features similar to cricket and baseball). It was, nevertheless, during the late nineteenth century that women became involved in sports that hitherto had been closed to them. They started to play field hockey, cricket, lacrosse, lawn tennis, practise gymnastics and ride bicycles (Pinheiro, 1993).
Chapter two

myths created by scientists and doctors which had the effect of helping to preserve male.

hegemony in the sports sphere.

**Medical and scientific arguments**

In late nineteenth century England, when women began to show an increasing interest in sport and to take part more seriously in physical activities, several arguments were put forward to indicate women’s unsuitability for sports. According to McCrone (1988, p.280), arguments focused essentially on two themes: “women were physically and emotionally unfit for sport and sport was unsexing”. In terms of this ideology, women were regarded as mentally, physically and emotionally inferior to men and therefore as not suited for sports. Moreover, it was argued that, due to their reproductive functions women should not take part in sports. If they did, their reproductive organs might be damaged, thus putting at risk future generations. The possibility of pelvic disturbances and threats to menstruation were additional reasons advanced to discourage women from taking part in sports.

Menstruation, for a long time, was seen as the main cause of women’s frailty. In fact, menstruation was considered an illness and, as such, women during their menstrual period were seen as invalids (Allan, n.d. cited in Vertinsky, 1990). This was presumably on account of bleeding being a common characteristic of menstruation and wounds. Since menstruation was seen as a disability or a pathological state, special attention had to be given to the kinds of activities in which women could become involved. Women were led to think and view their menstrual function as a disease and the cause of their weakness and frailty. Women were accordingly led to think that they needed constant medical supervision and that doctors were the ones who had the qualifications to indicate the most appropriate activities for them and to decide whether they were fit or unfit for certain activities. Women were, then, placed in a state of subordination since they were dependent upon the opinions of physicians, most of whom were men. Through the control of an important part of women’s lives, sport was thus protected against what can be described as “a feminine intrusion” which could, in some way, threaten areas that were seen as essential for the formation of masculine identity.

For a long time, menstruation was regarded as the main cause of frailty among women. Therefore special caution was needed in order to prevent women from becoming ill. This concern with menstruation was especially important during adolescence, because it was believed that it was during this period that women would acquire the traits of femininity and

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3 It is important to note that besides negative views in relation to menstruation there were also some positive ones. For example, there was the view that menstruation was a healthy process (Martin, 1989 cited in Shilling, 1993).
that their reproductive system had its maximum development. As a result, during the late nineteenth century in England it was maintained that during adolescence and especially during menstruation, women should avoid any kind of strenuous activity, in order to preserve all their energies. If they did not behave in this way, serious physical and psychological problems could appear. In order to prevent women from becoming ill, physicians recommended rest during puberty, especially around the onset of menstruation, as described by Thomas Emmet in 1879 (cited in Vertinsky, 1990, p.50): “each menstrual period should be passed in the recumbent position until her system becomes accustomed to the new order of life”.

These ideas around menstruation were directly related with another myth that appeared in the nineteenth century England and in the United States of America, known as the principle of conservation of energy. This principle was used for the first time in 1847 by Helmholtz and was later advocated by Herbert Spencer, Henry Maudsley and Edward Clarke, among others, to oppose and limit women’s access to higher education and sporting activities. It was based on the premise that the female body had a limited amount of energy for its development. If women spent this vital energy in areas such as sports, the energy available for the performance of vital physiological functions would diminish and consequently certain organs, especially the reproductive ones, could be affected. If the reproductive organs were damaged the future generations would suffer since women would no longer be capable of giving birth to healthy and strong children. Because of their responsibility as the mothers of the species (McCrone, 1988), women had to be very attentive to the development of their reproductive system, avoiding involvement in sports which might damage the system. For a long time, and as a result of these ideas, it was held that women, while menstruating, would have to rest in order to safeguard the energy needed for the full development of their reproductive system.

During infancy, girls and boys could be involved in the same sorts of physical activities. However, when they reached adolescence, girls should only take part in activities that were considered appropriate for their sex, that is, activities that did not reduce the energy available in the body for the normal development of women’s reproductive organs. Thus, activities such as gymnastics, tennis, dance or swimming were considered, for a long time, as the most appropriate physical activities for women. These activities were regarded as suitable for women because they did not put at risk women’s femininity (sometimes they even helped

4 It is important to mention that those arguments related to the menstrual period were not applied to working class women. Those women while menstruating were not excused from working. In fact, they continued to be involved in work, some of them even in arduous work, without presenting signs of illness. As Garrett Anderson pointed out, working class women went on to work “without intermission, and, as a rule, without ill effects” (cited in Vicinus, 1980, p.43).
to promote certain womanly qualities) and also contributed to the improvement of women’s health, making them stronger and capable of giving birth to healthy and strong offspring. Activities such as soccer, hockey and boxing, among others, where aggressiveness, strength or physical contact were predominant features, were for a long time discouraged or, sometimes, even forbidden to women. These activities were considered harmful to women’s health, because they could provoke serious physical harm limiting or even incapacitating women from performing their main childbearing and rearing function. In other words, these activities could produce physical deformities that could affect women’s future role as mothers. Field hockey, for example, was an activity that, it was believed, could damage women’s capacity to breastfeed (Murray cited in Vertinsky, 1990).  

Soccer and cycling were other activities which were severely criticised. Soccer was regarded as a quintessentially masculine activity and, when played by women, could produce harmful consequences. Above all, it was believed that soccer could damage women’s reproductive organs because of the twisting, turning and hard physical contact it involved. Cycling similarly generated great controversy. On one side were those who saw it as a good antidote for the sedentary life of many middle class women. Apart from giving women the opportunity to take part in active forms of recreation, cycling also gave them the possibility of having a form of personal transport to go out and explore the world on their own as well as to escape from chaperonage and other forms of control over their movements. Simultaneously, cycling was also considered an excellent activity that could contribute to the improvement of women’s health. On the other side were those who saw cycling as an activity that could lead to the appearance of serious diseases and deformities. More specifically, cycling, it was held, could deform the arms, the hands and the legs and develop strong muscles. It could produce exhaustion, headaches, depression and lack of appetite. But more important were the gynaecological problems that, it was held, could appear, thus affecting women’s roles as mothers. It was held, for example, that:

If the pedals were too far from the seat “grave consequences” would ensue from the pelvis being dangerously inclined; that uterine displacement was likely to occur as a result of jarring, jolting or vibrations; that difficult parturition would result from the “pelvic compression and rigidity” caused by a tightening of the pelvic muscles and the decrease in the size of the birth canal (McCrone, 1988, p.180).

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5 As far as field hockey is concerned it is important to note that amongst team games field hockey was the sporting activity most easily accepted and most easily promoted within girls’ schools. While inside schools field hockey was promoted, in the outside world such sporting activity was not well regarded. Women were not expected to play field hockey after leaving school because such activity was not compatible with the ideal of the perfect lady.
In addition there was also a concern with the effects of physical exertion on women's health and strength. While practised with moderation cycling was not regarded as problematic, but when moderation was ignored women's health could suffer. Besides the effects "upon the heart, spinal deformities from unbalanced exercise, sore joints and strained body parts", some physicians claimed "that the vast majority of women were unable to carry weight on their wrists or develop the ability to sustain their weight on the pedals" (Vertinsky, 1990, p.78). There was also another reason for considering cycling as dangerous for women. The fact of providing women with a personal form of transport gave them not only more freedom from male control but it also represented physical liberty and new ambitions for women. Moreover, it was a sign of changes in terms of values, traditional conventions and stereotypes in relation to women.

Apart from the physical problems that allegedly could appear as a result of women's involvement in those activities, such physical activities were also seen as a threat to women's femininity, because they could masculinise them. In the presence of such dangers, these physical activities were severely criticised and whenever possible discouraged.

The ideas of Charles Darwin and some of his followers were also for some time employed to explain differences between the sexes and, particularly, to explain the reasons why women were held to be less prepared for certain sporting activities. According to Darwin, women were physically and mentally inferior to men because they were less evolved than men. Despite this inferiority, through education women's minds could be improved. However, and still according to Darwin, women could never equal men since some of the features such as imitation, intuition and perception which characterised the female sex were, as he put it: "characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of a past and lower state of civilisation" (1980 cited in Sayers, 1982, p.43). As a result of such sex differences, women had to occupy different spheres of life and perform different tasks.

For others such as Bagehot, differences between the sexes were the result of natural selection. According to Bagehot (cited in Sayers, 1982), men and women had to perform different roles as a consequence of their evolutionary biology. He believed that men and women should perform the roles ascribed to them by nature.

Apart from the arguments concerning women's reproductive functions and menstruation, claimed differences in brain size, skull formation and musculature were also advanced to justify sexual inequality. For many years it was held in England as well as in the United States of America and France that women had smaller skulls and more delicate muscles than men. Therefore, they were not only inferior to men but also not suited for certain
types of activities. Women, instead of being interested in activities outside the home, should focus their attention upon their main roles: marriage and motherhood.

It was also asserted that women's brains were smaller than men's and that, consequently, women were less intelligent. These assertions were made by several craniometrists, such as Paul Broca, who stated:

We must not forget that women are, on average, a little less intelligent than men, a difference which we should not exaggerate but which is, nonetheless, real. We are therefore permitted to suppose that the relatively small size of the female brain depends in part upon her physical inferiority and in part upon her intellectual inferiority (cited in Deaux and Kite, 1987, p.93).

This type of belief, although having a major impact during the nineteenth century, was not new since it had already been advocated by Aristotle centuries before. According to Aristotle, women were less intelligent and therefore inferior to men as a result of their smaller brains. They were also not prepared for activities such as education as well as sports. As a result of their smaller brains, women were well prepared only for love and for learning how to be perfect women (Meig, 1848 cited in Vertinsky, 1991).

These myths were widely accepted by both men and women. It should be noted, however, that these ideas about women applied only to genteel, middle class women. Working class women were used to hard manual labour in the factories and were expected to do arduous physical work. There was therefore a class as well as a gender dimension to the arguments employed to discourage women from taking part in different types of activities, including sport.

From the 1880s onwards in England and the United States of America, some of those that supported the limited energy theory and the traditional role of women rephrased their arguments in social Darwinist terms. Women were told by those who were concerned with questions of “national efficiency” (McCrone, 1988, p.204) and “social progress” (Vertinsky, 1994, p.68), that motherhood was one of the most important functions of a woman. However,
in order to produce healthy children and improve the English “race”\(^6\), women needed to be involved in physical exercises. From the 1880s onwards it was claimed that through their participation in sports women’s health would be improved, thus resulting in an improvement in the quality of the “race”. While some advocated physical exercises for women, others warned against over-exertion (Burstall cited in McCrone, 1988). The principle of the conservation of energy was used to reinforce such ideas:

Each one of us has only a certain amount of vital force, and if it is spent on games, it is not there when wanted for work (Burstall cited in Delamont and Duffi, 1978, p.127).

These arguments were taken up by eugenists who believed that special attention had to be paid to women’s roles as mothers in order to protect the English “race” from deterioration. Due to a growing independence of women, eugenists believed that the future of the English “race” was in danger. They believed that women were too much concerned with women’s rights and too much involved in education and sports, instead of being concerned with their main roles. Women were, then, spending all their vital energy thus affecting their reproductive functions. In other words, it was held that middle class women risked becoming infertile or capable of bearing only deficient offspring. If women of the superior classes had their reproductive organs damaged as a consequence of the activities in which they were involved, thus preventing them from reproducing healthy offspring, the important function of reproduction was left to working class women. Such an important mission could not be left in the hands of women considered as inferior (Sayers, 1982).

At a time when the birth rate amongst the middle class was dropping, such ideas made some sense at least for some doctors, educators, politicians and scientists. Some eugenists, including some women (such as Dr. Arabella Kenealy, Dr. Mary Scharlieb) employed the

\(^6\) In sociology the term “race” is placed in inverted commas to indicate that the categorisation of individuals “is not based on any biologically valid distinction” (Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, 1998, p. n.p.). Individuals cannot be categorised in different human groups traditionally called “races” just on the basis of superficial socio-cultural and biological characteristics such as morphology, skin colour, facial characteristics, language, culture, religion or geographic origin. To do so it is to ignore the “socio-dynamics of the relationship between groups bonded to each other” (Elias, 1994 cited in Dunning, 1999, p. 190). For Dunning (1999), the concept of “race” is better understood as a specific form of power relations. Even when differences in physical appearance and other biological aspects exist one cannot just focuses on such aspects. One has to pay attention to the relationships between different groups, to the “differences in power ratio and the exclusion of a power inferior group from positions with a higher power potential” (Dunning, 1999, p.190). When discussing the concept of “race” it is also important to note that the recent research project on the human genome has been questioning the concept of “race” as a valid biological construct. According to Royal and Dunston (2004, p.53), the concept of “race” “cannot accommodate the uniqueness of the individual and universality of humankind that is evident in knew knowledge emerging from human genome sequence variation research”. For more details concerning this project and the knowledge gained from it and that has been leading to discussions concerning “racial” and “ethnic” categorisations see the website of this project: http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/home.shtml
limited energy theory, the masculinising effect of sports or at least of some sports and the possible appearance of injuries in women’s reproductive organs, to warn women in relation to their involvement in sports.

Since eugenists were preoccupied with the perpetuation of the “race”, they advocated women’s participation in sports in order to improve their health. However, they were concerned with the amount of physical exercise that could be considered safe. While advocating involvement in moderate physical exercises, they condemned strenuous activities since they could lead to serious consequences and could produce permanent injuries in women’s reproductive organs, thus affecting future generations.

Some sports were more easily accepted than others. Golf, swimming, gymnastics, rowing, canoeing, tennis, for example, were regarded as more acceptable for women than hockey, cricket, football or cycling. The former, if well performed, not only improved women’s health but also emphasised the aesthetic elements of the body through movements and clothing (Guthrie and Castelnuovo, 1994). On the contrary, the latter were considered as a threat to women’s health and femininity7.

Most of the arguments employed to discourage women from taking part in sport have since been established as nothing more than myths. That is to say, they were grounded in opinion, old wives’ tales and, more importantly, they lacked the backing of what would today be regarded as reliable medical evidence. They were arguments generated in a heavily patriarchal society where social Darwinism and eugenics had been established as pseudo-sciences. Although it would be wrong to argue that they were always deliberately and conspiratorially propounded in order to keep women in their place that was one of their undoubted consequences. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that ideologies of this kind had another unintended consequence as well, namely that, by advocating female participation in moderate exercises, they helped to open up to increasing numbers of women opportunities for obtaining enjoyment in sport. And, as more and more women availed themselves of these opportunities, so more and more of them would have begun to explore the possibilities of participation in supposedly less female appropriate sports, in that way laying down a basis for exposing the mythical character of the nineteenth century arguments because few, if any, of the supposedly deleterious effects of female sports participation materialised.

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Chapter two

**Sport and gender differentiation in childhood**

In nineteenth century England, boys and girls were expected to behave differently and were expected to be involved in different types of activities due to the then dominant notions of masculinity and femininity. External controls exerted by different agents of socialisation and in particular the family, meant that boys and girls learnt, from the moment they were born, the most appropriate behaviours for each sex. In order to conform to the Victorian ideal of the perfect woman, girls learned from infancy to be delicate, dependent, peaceful, understanding, tender, emotional, gracious, submissive and passive (Duquin, 1978; Oglesby, 1982 cited in Ferrando, 1990; Dyer, 1982; Romero, 1992). On the other hand, boys were required to be independent, courageous, ambitious, competitive, adventurous and to play vigorous outdoor games. These different expectations of boys and girls had their repercussions on the way they understood sport and their involvement in sporting activities.

However, with the gradual increase in the number of women taking part in sport in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new images of femininity and masculinity began to emerge. Nowadays, in contemporary western industrial societies such as the United Kingdom, United States of America or even Portugal, it can be said that the model of femininity that was advocated in the Victorian period in England is outdated. For example, nowadays, women involved in different sports are not always submissive and passive in their sporting activities (Colwell, 1999). Moreover, most women are no longer financially dependent on their fathers and husbands as in the Victorian period. Women involved in certain sports develop a strong musculature and thus present a new image of the female body which is different from the image that was advocated in the late nineteenth century (Hargreaves, 1994).

The growing involvement of women in sports, and especially in sports traditionally considered as male appropriate, has helped to transform conventional images of femininity and masculinity. However, and in spite of such changes, women’s participation in sport is lower than men’s participation in almost every country in the world. According to Kay (2003), the socialisation process of boys and girls remains particularly important in this regard. In spite of changes in the notions of femininity and masculinity, the way boys and girls are educated helps to reproduce gender stereotypes which have repercussions in relation to sport.

In modern societies such as the United Kingdom or Portugal, boys and girls still experience a differentiated process of socialisation. This differentiation can be seen in boys and girls clothes and, more precisely, in the colours chosen for them (pink for girls and blue for boys), in the type of decoration of boys’ and girls’ rooms, as well as in the kind of toys that are offered to them. Typically, parents, siblings and friends offer skipping ropes and dolls...
to girls and balls and carriages to boys. That is, while girls are given toys that appeal essentially to expressivity, boys are offered toys that appeal more to instrumentality. This differentiation in terms of toys helps to shape the ideas children develop concerning appropriate activities and their classification as masculine or feminine activities.

Parents contribute centrally to the formation of gender identities and the classification of activities as being more appropriate for males or females. When they are born, girls tend to be more touched, handled and protected than boys. During their infancy, boys are more encouraged than girls to be physically active (Kay, 2003; Hargreaves, 1994). As a result of such differentiation and different expectations, it is possible to observe, from very early ages, different motor characteristics between boys and girls as well as different understandings of sport.

It is important to note that girls and boys are not homogeneous groups and therefore some boys and girls may not conform to traditional stereotypes and definitions of masculinity and femininity. For example, not all girls are submissive, passive, dependent or delicate, and some girls can be competitive, independent and confident in several aspects of their lives. The same is true for boys. One cannot assume that all boys and girls go through exactly the same socialisation process and experience physical activities in exactly the same manner and any analysis of such processes has to acknowledge that different girls and boys might have different experiences.

Nevertheless it is clear that the social constraints on girls/women concerning their involvement in sporting activities are different from those on boys/men. From very early ages, boys are encouraged to take part in sports and this has been ascribed a central place in the formation of masculine identities. Sport is regarded as the ideal context to socialise young males into behaviours understood as appropriate for males (Whitson, 1990). For example, through sport boys learn to develop and demonstrate their physical strength, to be ambitious, competitive, persevering, independent, to develop a great camaraderie and to establish strong ties of friendship between individuals of the same sex/gender (Messner, 1991). Besides contributing to the construction of masculinity, sport also allows males to exhibit their masculinity as well as to exhibit forms of behaviours that are usually condemned in day-to-day life due to their strong association with females (Boutelier and SanGiovanni, 1983). Thus, behaviours such as crying, hugging or holding are forms of behaviour conventionally attributed to women. While women are able to display such behaviours without being criticised, a “real man” is normally expected to avoid these forms of behaviour, though they

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8 Expressivity refers to behaviours more related to appearance, sensitivity, affection and co-operation. Instrumentality refers to behaviours more related to independence, ability, rationality and competitiveness.
are regarded as legitimate within the context of sport. Besides being encouraged to take part in sports, boys are also constrained to develop the type of body that a “true” heterosexual men is expected to have. According to Hargreaves (1994), boys suffer greater anxiety in relation to their sex identity than girls. She argues that, in their younger years, boys have fewer opportunities than girls to express themselves in ways different from the conventional norms of masculinity. Those who have difficulties in following the conventional norms tend to be considered as deviants and may be regarded as effeminate or homosexuals (Dunning and Maguire, 1996).

In spite of the social constraints on boys/men there are, nevertheless, those who do not conform to conventional norms of masculinity. For example, not all boys/men understand sport and physical activities in the manner mentioned above. Not all boys/men avoid crying or hugging. Some boys/men are also involved in physical activities considered as more female appropriate such as ice skating. It can be argued that such boys/men are helping to challenge and thereby to transform conventional images of masculinity.

In this context, the understanding of sport as well as the value that boys and girls attribute to it, tends to be different. While many boys value sport highly as a result of its important role in the formation and expression of masculine identities, girls are likely to feel less predisposed to sports and they may also consider it as an essentially masculine area that can place at risk their femininity.

Sport and gender differentiation in schools

The school is a major institution of socialisation and may also perpetuate differences between boys and girls and expect different behaviours from each sex. In this way, the school tends to reinforce what it is expected of a man and a woman. Such reinforcement is also felt in the kind of sports practised inside the school. Young girls are less likely than boys to be given toys which develop their motor abilities, and this may lead to them being criticised because of their motor insufficiencies. Thus girls may be criticised by their class mates who tell them that they do not know how to play the real boys games. Simultaneously, teachers may also help to perpetuate the notion that sport, or at least certain sporting activities, are more appropriate for males and less suitable for females. By offering different sporting activities and different experiences to girls and boys and by having different gender based attitudes towards different activities, teachers contribute to the maintenance of traditional images of femininity and masculinity within the school physical education curriculum. It is

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9 A study undertaken by Waddington et al. (1998) concerning gender stereotyping and physical education shows quite clearly that the attitudes of physical education teachers towards different activities included in the National Curriculum continue to reflect traditional forms of gender stereotyping.
important to note that in most western countries (though not, at least formally in Britain or Portugal) physical education is the only subject on the school curriculum in which boys and girls follow a different curriculum.

Gender divisions in the media

The media may also reinforce gender divisions in the sports sphere. Several studies have been conducted to study media coverage (television and printed media) of women's and men's sports (Duncan et al., 1991; Crossman et al., 1994; Pederson, 2002; Lever and Wheeler, 1984 and Valgeirsson and Snyder, 1986 cited in Vincent et al., 2002; Eitzen and Sage, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994; Duncan et al., 1994; Pinheiro, 2000). All these studies revealed that women athletes are under-represented in the media, that is, they receive less coverage than male athletes\(^\text{10}\). For example Shifflett and Revell (1984 cited in Whannel, 2000) analysed the NCAA news and found that 73% of space was dedicated to male athletes and only 27% to females. Far fewer photographs were also devoted to women's sports compared with men's sports. Similar results were found by Seton (1989 cited in Hargreaves, 1994) when analysing the British press during the Seoul Olympics. For example, the Times and the Independent devoted 64.2% and 74.6%, respectively, of the photographs to men's competitors while only 35.8% and 25.4% were devoted to women athletes (Hargreaves, 1994). The study conducted by Pederson (2002) in the United States of America followed the same trend. Moreover, in the same study photographs of men were positioned more prominently than photographs of women. In summary, the coverage of women's sports in the press and on television is much less than the coverage of men's sports (Sports Council, 1992 and Messner et al., 1993 cited in Hargreaves, 1994). This lesser representation of women's sports perpetuates the idea that women's sports are of minor importance in the sports figuration. Furthermore, the under-representation of women's sports also deprives females of sporting role models (Kay, 2003).

Apart from this under-representation, the media do not describe female athletes in the same way as they describe male athletes. According to several studies, the media in addition to reporting and commenting on women's performances and their physical abilities, also refer to their physical appearance, attractiveness and their roles as wives, mothers or girlfriends; in this way, they reassure everybody that these women, despite their involvement in sport,

\(^{10}\) Although receiving less coverage, some studies showed that such coverage has been increasing. According to the study conducted by Lever and Wheeler (1984 cited in Crossman et al., 1994) the Chicago Tribune from 1900 until 1975 increased the attention devoted to women athletes. Kane (1988 cited in Crossman et al., 1994) through an analysis of the magazine Sports Illustrated also showed that this magazine between 1964-1987 and especially after 1972 increased the proportion of coverage given to women athletes mainly when they were taking part in the so called female appropriate sports.
remain “real” women (Kaplan, 1979a cited in Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Crossman et al., 1994; Duncan, 1990 cited in Eitzen and Sage, 1993; Dyer, 1982; Hargreaves, 1994). That is, instead of focusing solely on women’s sporting performances, an emphasis is also placed upon the woman and her non-sporting attributes. By contrast male athletes tend to be described purely in terms of their sporting abilities, strength, success, courage and achievements. According to Duncan (1990 cited in Harris and Clayton, 2002, p.407) what the media does is to accentuate “the otherness of the female athlete”.

It has also been argued that commentators and reporters tend to “undermine, trivialize and minimize women’s performances through biased commentaries” (Halbert and Latimer, 1994 cited in Whannel, 2000, p.298). That is, the type of language used by commentators and reporters tend to present women athletes as inferior athletes\(^\text{11}\), thus diminishing their value as athletes. In addition, since they are involved in a traditionally male domain and because they defy traditional notions of femininity, women athletes may be the target of jokes and criticism and they may even acquire a pejorative sexual image (Hargraves, 1994; Duncan et al., 1994).

Of course men as well as women are subject to social constraints. Although, along the centuries, women have been placed in a situation of subordination, it cannot be said that men have always been or are free from constraints. Men, like women, are constrained to conform to a specific type of gender stereotyping that is culturally and socially defined, in order to be considered “true” men. Those who have difficulties or are incapable of conforming to conventional images of masculinity face the risk of being criticised and humiliated.

It is also important to note that the social constraints placed – by men and women – upon women are not equally felt by all groups of women. That is, women cannot be seen as a homogeneous group where all members feel the constraints in a similar way. As mentioned previously, many of the beliefs that conditioned the access of women to sports as well as to other social spaces in the nineteenth century were essentially applied only to middle class women. Those beliefs had almost no impact upon working class women. Also the different pressures exerted upon women were, along the centuries, exercised by men and women. This means that it is not only men who can be found in a position of domination in relation to women. The domination/subordination relation can also be seen in the relationships between different groups of women such as women from different classes, women from different ethnic groups or women with different sexual orientations. In fact, it is clear that some groups of women experience domination and control over other groups of women. In this respect

\(^{11}\) According to some studies (Duncan et al., 1994; Eitzen and Zinn, 1989 cited in Birrell and Theberge, 1994; Messner et al., 1990 cited in Bernstein, 2002), the type of language used includes treating women athletes by their first name while male athletes are treated by their surnames. Sometimes women athletes are referred to as girls or young girls while male athletes are referred to as men. That is women athletes tend to be infantilized.
Chapter two

Sawicki (cited in Colwell, 1999, p.228) notes that "women are themselves implicated in many forms of domination and oppression along class, occupational and ethnic lines". It can be said that there is at the present time a growing awareness of abuse/sexual exploitation of young girls by women, as well as by men. Such abuse may take place in the sporting situation. The adult coach/child athlete relationship is an example of a situation where this type of abuse might occur\(^\text{12}\). It is important to note that not only female athletes are abused and exploited and not only men are the perpetrators of such abuse. Most of the research that has been conducted has been focusing essentially on abused female athletes and on the male perpetrator-female victim paradigm. The experience of abused/exploited male athletes has been ignored and the issue of the female perpetration has been denied or minimised. According to Hartill (2005), there is growing evidence that males are exploited and abused just as frequently as females and that females are also abusers\(^\text{13}\).

**Women’s participation in the Olympic Games**

Although as we shall see in our Portuguese data, the impact of traditional notions of femininity is still felt today, it is possible to observe that the number of women involved in sport has been increasing during the last century. Women’s growing representation in the Summer Olympic Games, as well as their growing involvement in sporting activities


\(^{13}\) For a detailed discussion of this issue see: Hartill, M. (2005). Sport and the sexually abused male child. *Sport, education and society*, 10 (3), pp. 287-304. In this article, Hartill notes that the issue of sexual abuse in sport has been focusing essentially on female athletes and that the experiences of abused/exploited male athletes has been ignored. Through a revision of the literature from social work and therapeutic disciplines, Hartill notes that there is growing evidence that males are exploited and abused as frequently as females and that the offenders are also females.
traditionally considered as male appropriate, is an evident sign of the development of
women's sports\textsuperscript{14}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of female athletes</th>
<th>% of Portuguese female athletes in the Portuguese delegation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>9.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>8.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>10.51</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>11.41</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>13.29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>14.12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>17.59</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>20.58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>20.43</td>
<td>9.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>22.89</td>
<td>23.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>25.84</td>
<td>16.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>28.91</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>34.29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>38.20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{14} It is important to mention that although the number of women participating in the Olympic Games has been increasing their participation was not always a pacific one. In fact their participation has always been surrounded by conflicts, which were felt more strongly whenever women were participating in sporting activities traditionally considered less suitable for women. Pierre de Coubertin, as well as Avery Brundage, are two examples of individuals who consistently demonstrated their disagreement with women competing in activities for which, according to them, they were not prepared. For these two Presidents of the International Olympic Committee, the Olympic Games should be open only to men – a position strongly defended by Coubertin. As a result of some injuries exhibited by some female athletes, some sports closed their doors to women's participation for a long period of time. For more details concerning this subject see: Hargreaves, J. (1994). Sporting females. London: Routledge. pp. 207-220; Welch and Costa (1994). A century of Olympic competition. In: D. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (eds.) Women and sport – Interdisciplinary perspectives. Champaign: Human Kinetics, pp. 123-136.
Table 2 - Year in which male and female events were introduced in the Summer Olympic Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handball</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equestrian sports</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field hockey</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judo (jujitsu)</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentathlon</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water-polo</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table tennis</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archery</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beach volleyball</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983, p.223-225); Hargreaves (1994)

Tables 1 and 2 above indicate the increase in women’s participation in sports, as well as their participation in sporting activities that for decades were forbidden to them. According to Dunning (1999, p.231), this increase in women’s participation in sports is the result of several changes including “the introduction of modern forms of birth control, the related lowering of family size, inventions such as the tampon and modern forms of household technology”. Such changes, besides helping women to become more interested in sports and more active participants in a greater variety of sports, are also a sign of the changing balance of power between the sexes.

While women were more easily accepted in sporting activities that were not seen as a threat to traditional notions of femininity, other sports traditionally considered as male appropriate (for example, football, cycling, weightlifting or basketball) kept, at the Olympic level, their doors closed to women’s participation for several decades, as indicated in table 2. The non-participation of women in some sports at the Olympic level expressed both a strong opposition on the part of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) to women’s involvement in sports traditionally regarded as male appropriate, and also, perhaps, a lack of interest on the part of many girls/women in these sports due to the internalisation of traditional notions of femininity. At the Olympic level the resistance to women’s participation
in certain sports, and the late inclusion of women in certain sporting events, indicate the existence of residues of old and popular beliefs. References to women’s biology and, more precisely, to women’s reproductive organs and the possibility of being injured, and the stereotypes in relation to women, were for a long time employed by IOC members to resist women’s participation in certain sports (Hargreaves, 1994).

It should be noted that sports such as basketball, football or field hockey, though not being included in the Olympic programme as women’s events until the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, were already practised by some women at the beginning of the twentieth century in Portugal as well as in England. For example, in Portugal in the 1930s and 1940s some women played field hockey, basketball and cycled. In England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, field hockey was a sporting activity traditionally played by girls in schools. Amongst team games, field hockey was in fact regarded as a suitable game for girls. Because field hockey was regarded as effeminate, when girls took it up “they were not perceived necessarily as trespassing on a sacred male preserve” (McCrone, 1988, p.128).

The lateness of the inclusion of some sports as women’s events in the Summer Olympic Games can be understood as a form of resistance against what may be called a sports feminisation. It can also be seen as a form of protection of an area that has traditionally been considered as one of the last bastions of the affirmation and expression of masculinity. However, it should also be noted that while some men attempted to preserve sport as a masculine domain, others were sympathetic to women’s claims.

**Body appearance and sporting activities**

The increasing participation of women in sport has been associated with a gradual change of everyday thought concerning women’s biology and their performance in the sporting sphere. However, and despite this increase in women’s participation in sport, many women involved in sports are not just interested in the physical benefits they can get from sports, or in the pleasure that those physical activities can provide. For many women, sports are the best way to achieve the type of body that many women, as well as men, consider to be the “ideal” or perfect one. Today, people are frequently judged by their appearance and thus, the appearance of the body is one of the main concerns of many women and men (Frank, 1990, Hall, 1997, Maguire, 1993, Turner, 1991, 1996 cited in Maguire and Mansfield, 1998). Indeed, for some women, to have a lean and healthy body may be almost an obsession. This is the result of the strong association that is frequently made between leanness, success, health, longevity, self-discipline (Maguire and Mansfield, 1998), belonging to the middle/upper classes and the capacity to attract the opposite sex. As such, for some women to have a
healthy and beautiful body is seen as a means of achieving success, of getting inside male
domains, and the best way of becoming more attractive to the opposite sex (Lutter et al.,
1990). It is important to note that these ideas also apply to men. Moreover, such associations
propagate the idea that those who present a lean and fit body are capable of exercising great
self-control, an attribute often considered essential for social success. As a result of such
associations, strongly promoted by the media and the fitness industry, many women attempt,
through their involvement in sport, to attain a healthy, beautiful, slim, toned, sexual and
attractive body. Some women (as well as men) see their bodies “as a mark of distinction and
routinely compare their bodies to others” (Mansfield, 1996, p.8). For some women as well as
men, the pursuit of this type of body is of particular importance. That is, the “pursuit of the
social body” serves them well (Colwell, 1999, p.233). But since women, as well as men, are
not homogeneous groups, for other women and men the achievement of a “body beautiful”
might not be as important; some might be involved in physical exercises just for the intrinsic
pleasure it gives and/or the health benefits they can obtain from it.

According to Maguire and Mansfield (1998), those women that try, through physical
activity, to achieve a certain type of body are shaping their bodies in accordance with social
norms of femininity. In this regard, it has to be noted that in society it is not possible to
identify just a single set of norms. As Colwell (1999, p.234-235) notes, in society “various
social norms are established, challenged, perpetuated and changed ... by people, in various
social contexts including diverse sporting contexts”. It can be argued, then, that while some
women may aspire to particular images of femininity and may engage in physical activities
that might help them to attain this goal, other women may ignore or even resist such images
of femininity.

The idea of acquiring a slim, toned and beautiful body has been identified as one of
the reasons for the involvement of women in sporting activities15. According to Kim Chernin

15 Although nowadays an enormous emphasis is placed upon beauty and leanness due to the strong association
between leanness and success, it is important to mention that the standards of feminine beauty as well as the
image of an ideal woman underwent several changes. During the Middle Ages, according to Grieco (cited in
Duby and Perrot, 1991), the ideal or beautiful woman, was a woman with narrow hips, small breasts and a
rounded womb. At the end of the sixteenth century and during the nineteenth century, this image started to
change. Still in accordance with the same author, and Lutter et al., (1990), at this time the ideal woman, that is,
the pretty and interesting woman, would be the one that presented a more rounded silhouette. Wide hips, big
breasts and womb were the beauty standards of that time. It can be said that in that period, fat was beautiful,
since fat was associated with health and meant wealth. On the contrary, leanness meant poverty and lack of
health. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the use of the corset became a common practice. The
corset was used with the intention of making the waist thinner and give more emphasis to the chest and hips thus
referring to the reproductive function (Knibiehler cited in Duby and Perrot, 1991). This image of an ideal woman
is described by Bennet and Gurin (1982 cited in Duby and Perrot, 1991) as a maternal figure. In the twentieth
century beauty standards once again underwent some changes. Currently there is a generalised trend to be leaner
and leaner. This propensity for leanness is strongly influenced by the media, especially reviews whose main
targets are women, which present very often in their first page women so lean that it seems they are being
submitted to diets of 800 kilocalories per day (Lutter et al., 1990).
(1981 cited in Maguire and Mansfield, 1998, p.114) this constant and intense search for the ideal body is no more than “the tyranny of slenderness” that removes from physical activity the pleasure that it could provide. Hargreaves (1994, p.161) also argues that the idea of “keeping in shape in order to be attractive to the opposite sex is a way of controlling women’s bodies”. However, the views of Chernin and Hargreaves may be criticised. Chernin, for example, argues that individuals exercise in order to develop a slim body due to the existence of a “tyranny of slenderness”. There are, of course, people who exercise in order to keep slim and in this regard it can be asked: what is wrong with that? Both men and women might exercise in order to keep slim and they might experience pleasure doing that, without feeling they are being forced to do it. Moreover, if individuals are criticised for trying to keep slim, what kind of body then should they try to develop? In relation to Chernin’s assertion it can be argued that this is premised on a value judgement. Chernin’s assertion tells us more about her own ideas and beliefs than about women’s involvement in sport and the reasons for such involvement.

Hargreaves argues that the idea of “keeping in shape” is a way of controlling women’s bodies. Again it might be argued that this express her own values and beliefs. Some women do try to keep in shape, but without feeling that their bodies are being controlled.

As mentioned earlier, while some women try through physical activities to achieve a slim, toned, healthy, beautiful body, others see sport as an enjoyable and pleasurable activity in itself. Some women become intensively involved in sport activities and as a consequence of such involvement they might develop muscular bodies. While in the past muscularity was held to be something to be avoided because it could jeopardise women’s femininity, nowadays to present an athletic and strong body is becoming gradually more desirable and valued, even for women. To acquire a muscular body, through physical exercise, is a symbol of desire and control (Hargreaves, 1994) for both men and women. In the same way that muscularity has always symbolized power to men, muscularity can also represent power to women. Simultaneously, it can be seen as an escape from traditional stereotyped images of femininity and domesticity (Hargreaves, 1994). This is clearly representative of a shift away from traditional concepts of femininity. However, some of the women who exhibit a muscular body try to enhance their femininity. Through clothes, make-up and gestures they try to spread the idea that despite their appearance they have not lost their femininity. That is, they have to reassure people that, despite their involvement in sport, they remain “real” women. Since traditional notions of femininity do not “incorporate images of physical power and muscularity” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.171), women have to demonstrate that although having muscular bodies they are not defeminised. This necessity is strongly felt, especially by
women who are involved in traditional male appropriate sports such as football, rugby and bodybuilding. Although presenting strong bodies (a traditional symbol of masculine power) many women make use of make-up and jewellery, colour their hair or sometimes even seek surgical interventions to magnify their breasts (Obel and Gavey cited in Maguire and Mansfield, 1998) in order to affirm their femininity.

Some women may develop feelings of embarrassment and shame towards their bodies, as a result of the development of characteristics generally attributed to males, the fear of being criticised for not being real women, the fear of being labelled pseudo-men, masculine, unfeminine or lesbians. In response women may use several strategies to show that they have not lost their femininity:

Regardless of sexual preference, women who reject the traditional feminine role in their careers as athletes, coaches, or sport administrators, as in any other non-traditional pursuit, pose a threat to existing power relations between the sexes. For this reason, these women are the frequent targets of labels intended to devalue or dismiss their success by calling their sexuality into question (Lensky, 1986 cited in Theberge and Birrell, 1994, p.337-338).

Some of the criticisms of women athletes can be understood as a new form of presenting old myths as well as a strategy, on the part of dominant groups, to preserve a structure that had always conferred more privileges to men than to women. The calling into question of women athletes’ sexuality and the spreading of the idea that female athletes are lesbians has constrained some female athletes to reaffirm their femininity whenever possible.

Bennett has suggested (1982 cited in Birrell and Theberge, 1994) that to call women’s sexuality into question, by calling them lesbians, is a way of seeking to control women in order to maintain power differentials between men and women. By transmitting the idea that sport can be an arena of risk for women, it becomes possible to control the number of women who enter sports, thus contributing to the maintenance of sport as an essentially masculine domain.

Although many women athletes challenge dominant ideas regarding femininity, it can be argued that when they make use of different strategies to reaffirm their femininity they are accommodating themselves to dominant values which, in general, emphasize gender

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16 It is important to note that male bodybuilders seek to develop what most people would consider to be a body that reflects very traditional concepts of masculinity. Therefore, women’s involvement in this kind of activity is not generally well regarded.

17 Florence Griffith Joyner constitutes a good example of an elite athlete that made use of make-up in order to show her femininity. The media besides mentioning her excellent performances used to give attention to her appearance and for example, the form she used to paint her fingernails. It can be argued that the way she used to paint her long nails, was no more than a strategy she employed to demonstrate that although being an excellent athlete she continued to be as feminine as any other woman. That is, that she had not lost her femininity.
differences. In this way, the balance of power between the sexes is maintained and, as a consequence, male hegemony is more easily preserved. However, this aspect can be analysed from another point of view. For many of these athletes, the reaffirmation of their femininity can be understood as the best way they have found to remain involved in sports, to continue having success, to be taken seriously and to get material and institutional support. Instead of contesting or even rejecting definitively dominant ideologies, women accommodate to dominant ideas concerning femininity. In this way, they will more easily get the consent and even support of dominant groups to remain involved in sporting activities traditionally considered as being not suitable for women. Simultaneously, they gradually introduce, without major controversies, new images of women. Women’s involvement in sport, and especially in traditionally male sports can, then, be seen as a result not only of struggles but also of negotiation.

Although sport is helping to introduce new images of women, many women still accept stereotyped notions of femininity. That is, they continue to accept dominant ideas, thus contributing to the maintenance of those ideas. While some groups of women reject traditional conceptions concerning women’s sports, and gradually introduce new interests, new directions, project new images of women and attempt to change the balance of power between the sexes, other groups continue to contribute to the maintenance of traditional notions of femininity and masculinity. It is also important to note that, despite women’s increasing participation in a wide range of sports, their presence in certain sports areas such as coaching and administration is still much less than that of men (Hargreaves, 1994; Coakley, 1998; Knoppers, 1994). According to Hargreaves (1994) and Coakley (1998), few women hold prestigious positions in administration and in coaching women are also less represented than men. Even in traditional female sports such as gymnastics, there are fewer female coaches than male coaches. Hargreaves (1994) also points out that women coaches are more frequently responsible for women’s sports and seldom for men’s sports.

To sum up, it is possible to assert that a movement towards much greater sexual equality in sport participation has been set in motion. Over a long period, more women have taken part in more sports, and traditionally male sports have increasingly been opened to women. However, inequality between men and women continues to exist, not only in terms of participation as athletes but, more noticeably, in terms of participation in senior administration and coaching roles.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The object of this chapter is to describe each stage of the research process. The problems encountered throughout the project are also highlighted.

The first task was to decide on the theoretical framework that would inform the thesis and also to review the sociological literature on women and sport. A great part of this sociological literature was obtained at the library of the University of Leicester during my visits to the University. After having decided on the theoretical perspective and after having reviewed the sociological literature on women and sport I began the data collection process.

The chief documents examined for this thesis were:

- official reports (for example, reports from the Portuguese Olympic Committee concerning Portuguese participation in the Summer Olympics; report on Sport in Portugal, its Institutional Structure, its Finance and Legal Dispositions in Force, in a Compendium of National Reports on Laws Affecting Sport in Countries having Accepted the European Cultural Convention. Strasbourg, Council of Europe; report concerning the II sporting plan);

- official documents from official institutions (for example, decree-laws, written documents from the Ministry of National Education, written documents from the General Directorate of Physical Education, Sports and School Health, written documents from the General Directorate of Sport);

- official statistics (for example, statistics on education, employment, sports facilities, health);

- books and articles written by: members of the governments during the democratic period (for example, Melo de Carvalho); people with responsibilities within Mocidade Portuguesa – MP (Portuguese Youth) and Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina – MPF (Feminine Portuguese Youth) during the New State period such as Celestino Marques Pereira, the national commissioner of MP, Ingrid Ryberg – physical education teacher and inspector within MPF; people with responsibilities within Direcção Geral de Educação Física, Desportos e Saúde Escolar - DGEFDSE (General Directorate of Physical Education, Sports and School Health) during the New State regime such as Armando Rocha – director of this organisation.
between 1963 and 1973; sports inspectors during the New State regime such as José de Ayala Botto and Salazar Carreira;

articles published in various magazines (for example, *Stadium, Femina, Yoga, Sport Ilustrado, MP* and *MPF* bulletins) and newspapers (for example, *República, Novidades, Mundo Desportivo, Jornal de Noticias, Público, A Bola, Os Sports, O Norte Desportivo, A Baliza*), written by athletes (for example, Celeste Mendonça, Ana Herédia, Idalina Vasques, Alfredo Moura, Maria do Carmo), doctors (for example, Maria Luiza da Palma Carlos, Tibério Antunes, Fred Washmann, Nuno Vaz, Maria Emilia Leite), sports specialists (for example, Charles Debonnaire, Salazar Carreira, Celestino Marques Pereira), intellectuals (for example, Fernanda de Castro, Anita Patricio, Silvio Lima);

books and articles written by historians and sociologists.

Most of the documents examined and used in this thesis were found in the library of the University of Coimbra, in the Public Library of Porto and in the *Jornal de Noticias* archive. However, since some documents could only be found in Lisbon I had to travel to Lisbon and more precisely to the library of Centro de Estudos e Formação Desportiva - CEFD (Centre for Sports Studies and Sporting Development). These documents related to the Portuguese Olympic Committee and the Portuguese presence in the Summer Olympics. Some information for this thesis was also obtained through the internet.

Some of the problems I faced while collecting the data for this study related to the bad condition of some documents, especially newspapers and magazines which delayed the analysis. In order to have access to some old documents that were not available to the public due to their poor condition, a special authorisation from the librarian was required. In addition, from some newspapers I was not allowed to make photocopies. In order to obtain the information I wanted I had to ask the library to make a microfilm of the articles I needed. After that I had to find a specialist facility (because the library did not provide such a service) where I could transfer the information of the microfilm onto a disk or CD so I could read the data. All this delayed the data analysis.

There were other problems related to data collection. For some the aspects that I wished to study, such as sporting facilities during the New State regime, I was not able to find data prior to 1960 because it simply did not exist. The same problem was found in relation to data concerning the levels of sports participation of the Portuguese population, since the first study of participation was not carried out until the late 1980s.
In addition to data from official documents, newspapers and magazines that were more or less closely associated with the New State regime, information was also obtained from newspapers and magazines which were generally seen as being part of the opposition to the regime and which frequently tried, during the New State period, to evade government censorship; particularly significant in this regard were Republica, Alma Feminina, Modas e Bordados. The clear identification of many sources of data either with the government or with the opposition and, associated with this, the existence of strong government censorship, meant that all these sources of data had to be handled with care, since many of them are best seen not as relatively detached statements but, rather, as overtly ideological statements arguing for or against particular political/ideological positions. This meant, of course, that the data had to be regarded as problematic and this raised an important question: How reliable were the published data? And was it possible to rely just on the data available from various written sources?

One way of overcoming this problem is to search for other sources of data, in order to cross-check the reliability of data from one source with data from other sources; in other words it was necessary to triangulate the data. The key issue in triangulation is that, while each of the sources of information may raise methodological difficulties of one kind or another, the fact that we are not dependent on a single source but that we have several different sources of information gives us a triangulation of sources which helps to increase the validity of our conclusions. This point has been discussed by Goode (1997) who has noted that:

As a general rule, the greater the number of independent sources of information that reach the same conclusion, the more confidence we can have in that conclusion. That is what we mean by triangulation: getting a factual fix on reality by using several separate and disparate sources of information. To the extent that several independent data sources say the same thing, we can say that their conclusions are more likely to be true or valid (Goode, 1997, p.14; emphasis in original).

It was within this context that the decision was taken to supplement published sources of information with information obtained by interviews with people who were, or who had been, actively involved in sport.

**Interviews**

As note above, the use of interviews was a way of cross-checking the reliability of the information obtained from other sources. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with four
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men and four women who were currently involved, or who had been involved in the past, in sport.

Interviews were conducted using semi-structured interviews, since interviews of this type “provide a particularly suitable means of eliciting data on the figurations in which people are involved” (Roderick, 2003, p.22).

The interviews consisted of relatively open questions asked of all interviewees. All interviewees were allowed freedom to express themselves using their own words (Quivy and Campenhoudt, 1998), thus allowing them to elaborate their points of view. The questions employed in the interview focused on interviewees’ experiences in sport under the New State regime and during the democratic period, how they perceived their involvement and the involvement of others in sport, their view on state intervention in sport, their perceptions of women’s involvement in sport and how such involvement was influenced by other social variables such as their life cycle, their families and also by broader socio-cultural norms and values about women.

The guiding questions served to orientate the interview, so that interviewer and interviewee did not deviate from the objectives set for this study, thus ensuring that the necessary information was obtained.

Although using a set of pre-defined questions, during the interview, it was possible to change the order of questions, to adapt questions in order to meet the personal experiences of the interviewees and to insert other questions in order to obtain more information in relation to issues that might emerge. As Green (1999/2000, p.227-228) notes, semi-structured interviews:

Allow for adaptation of questions ... to meet the particular circumstances, re-ordering of questions to coincide with the data revealed and/or the insertion of additional questions to tease out or probe issues or revelations.

This means that one interview could be different from the others in terms of the order of questions.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed and all quotations used in the thesis are taken from the transcriptions.

Who was interviewed?

The interviews were conducted with eight individuals (four men and four women) involved, at the present time and/or in the past, in sport. The ages of the eight interviewees ranged from 40 to 84 years. Six of the interviewees were over 60 years. These individuals
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were selected on the basis of the positions they still retain (democratic period) or formerly held (New State) in the sport context, the activities they performed (New State) or perform (democratic period) in the sport sphere and their knowledge regarding sport during the New State and the democratic period. The decision to interview these “privileged” informers was based on the fact that, as a result of the positions they currently or formerly held in the sport context, they were able to provide valuable information that is not easily accessible, particularly data relative to the New State period. Through the testimonies of these individuals I tried to obtain information about several aspects of women’s sports in the New State or in the democratic period: about the objectives of those who organised sport in both periods; about state intervention in sport; about how the involvement of women in sport was understood; about how women’s involvement in sport was influenced by other variables such as their life cycle, their families and also by broader socio-cultural norms and values about women. The interviews thus complemented the information that was gathered from the document analysis.

One of the interviewees had been involved in sport as an athlete, during the New State regime but at the time of the interview was no longer involved in sport. Two of the interviewees had been athletes during the New State regime, became physical education teachers, and had different roles in sports administration; more precisely, one of them worked for the Mocidade Portuguesa – MP (Portuguese Youth) as a physical education inspector, and the other became a coach and also worked, in the years that followed the Revolution of 1974, for the Direcção Geral dos Desportos – DGD (General Directorate of Sports). Four of the interviewees were athletes during the New State regime and subsequently became coaches. Of these four interviewees, two represented Portugal in the Summer Olympic Games during the New State regime. One of these interviewees, a former gymnast, was one of the first Portuguese female athletes to take part in the Olympic Games in 1952. At the time of the interviews, three of them had retired from coaching, but one continued to be involved in sport as a coach of some of the leading Portuguese track and field athletes. Finally the other interviewee had been an athlete during the democratic period and, at the time of the interview, was a physical education teacher and a coach.

The interviews did not generate any problems. All of them were arranged in a relatively unproblematic manner for both the researcher and the respondent. The interviews were conducted at times and in places according to the availability and convenience of the interviewees. Since some of the interviewees lived in cities other than Porto it meant that I had to travel in order to meet the interviewees. The main problem I faced when interviewing some of the interviewees related to the fact that some of them tended to deviate from the
questions I was asking, frequently trying to tell me stories about their own sport. Though not ignoring any information they could give me and that could be valuable for my work, I was always trying to keep the interview on track.

After each interview I asked the interviewees if they knew other people from their time that I could interview. Although some mentioned the names of other former athletes, when I asked about how I could get in touch with them most of the interviewees could not give contact details. In spite of that I managed to get contact details of some other people and I did contact them to see if they were willing to talk to me. Some of them refused to talk to me, indicating that they did not want to remember again that period of their lives. One of the persons (a former female physical education teacher that worked for MPF) told me that she had already talked about that time to other researchers and did not want to do so again. After telling me the name of the researcher with whom she had talked, she gave me permission to contact that researcher and to use some of the information she had given to that person. Immediately I got in contact with the researcher and explained the situation, pointing out that the former physical education teacher had given me permission to use the data she had given to the researcher. The researcher then gave me access to some of the material obtained from the interviews she had conducted.

How were the data analysed?

All the documents as well as the interviews were content analysed. For the kind of work developed in this thesis content analysis provided to be very useful. As Newmann (2003, p.311-312) has noted, content analysis is helpful:

For problems involving a large volume of text ... when a topic must be studied at a distance. For example, content analysis can be used to study historical documents, the writings of someone who has died ... and can reveal messages in a text that are difficult to see with casual observation. The creator of the text or those who read it may not be aware of all its themes, biases, or characteristics.

The content analysis was mainly qualitative, although, at some points I also employed a quantitative analysis. During the process of data collection and interviews I was always trying to see if I could identify what Green (2000 cited in Roderick, 2003, p.71) calls "categories of meaning" based on themes. Various themes emerged, and the data were organised into categories on the basis of themes such as:

- The New State ideology and its influence upon gender relations and women's involvement in sport;
- Structure of sport under Salazar;
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- Structure of sport during the democratic period;
- Politics and economy during the New State regime and their impact upon women;
- Politics and economy during the democratic period and their impact upon women;
- Arguments employed to encourage women to take part in sport and the arguments used to discourage women from participation in sport or in certain types of sports;
- Financial support for sport;
- Media coverage of men and women's sports.

A better analysis of the initial themes led me to think if I could divide some of these categories into subcategories. I found that, for example, in relation to the arguments employed to encourage women's participation in sport as well as the reasons employed to discourage their involvement in sport, I could create subcategories such as: health concerns, women's biology, aesthetic concerns and moral and social concerns.

Besides the qualitative analysis, I also employed at some points a quantitative analysis. When examining the coverage of men's and women's sports in general daily and sports newspapers (*A Bola, Jornal de Noticias*), a quantitative analysis was also used. In order to examine the coverage of men's and women's sports, I counted the number of photographs and the number of written references that concerned women's and men's sports or both. The categories of analysis were photographs of male and female athletes, or of both, and written references to male and female athletes. If the written reference or the photograph focused on men or women it was classified as masculine or feminine, respectively. If focusing primarily on males and mentioning in passing females it was classified as both. The written references and the photographs, after being classified as masculine, feminine or both, were then counted.

The photographic content was also analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. The photographs of male and female athletes were analysed on the basis of four categories: "competing", "non-competing", "active" and "posed". When the athlete was captured actively taking part in his/her sport, the photograph was included in the "competitive" category. When athletes were not depicted actively taking part in his/her sport, but through the setting or the athletes' clothing was possible to identify his/her sport, the photograph was included in the category "non-competitive". The category "active" related to those athletes that were physically doing some other sport (other than his/her own). The category "posed" was used for athletes depicted in non-sporting settings or in head/shoulders portraits. The photographs
after being classified as “competing”, “non-competing”, “active” and “posed” were then counted.

In the analysis of all the written documents, both primary sources (for example, MP and MPF bulletins, articles published in magazines and newspapers during the New State period and also after April 1974, DGEFDSE bulletin, books written by members of the New State regime) and secondary sources (for example, books and articles written by historians, politicians, sociologists about the past, in this case about the New State period and also about the early years of the democratic period) were used. In the analysis of daily newspapers and sports newspapers it was not possible to analyse all the years because it was too time consuming. In addition to sports newspapers such as Os Sports I decided to analyse the 1930’s since it was in this decade that the New State regime was established and it was also the period during which the youth organisations (MP and MPF) were established. In relation to other daily newspapers (such as Jornal de Noticias) and sports newspapers (such as A Bola) I analysed every fourth year; more precisely, I analysed the Summer Olympic years starting in 1952 when Portuguese women first took part in the Olympic Games. In relation to other daily newspapers such as República and Novidades that were published during the New State period I analysed in detail the months of June, July, August, September, October and November of 1937 since I found out through other sources that during those months several articles were published in these newspapers concerning women’s involvement in sport and the establishment of a women’s sports club in Lisbon. That is why I examined those months in some detail. I needed to understand what were the arguments in favour of women’s involvement in sport and the arguments opposing women’s participation in sport and against the creation of a female sports club in the capital.

There was, however, a sports magazine – Stadium – that was analysed throughout its period of publication (1932-1952). Though there were other publications during this period, Stadium was a magazine that focused on all sports and that covered women’s sports in more detail than other publications or newspapers. In almost every number of the magazine, references to women athletes and to women’s sporting events could be found. This magazine was published every week and, besides reporting the sporting events, it frequently included interviews with female athletes (as well as to male athletes) and articles of opinion (written by collaborators, doctors and other specialists) concerning sport in general, the benefits of sports practice and women’s involvement in sport.

In the analysis of the data obtained through document analysis and interviews I always tried, as Elias (1956 cited in Green, 1999/2000, p.231-232) puts it to “make use of the two-way traffic between theory and empirical evidence”. While collecting and analysing the data
Chapter three

gathered through document analysis and interviews, I was always reflecting upon what I was finding and if I needed to change my focus of attention or if I had to add more questions and look for other aspects. I was constantly considering the information I was obtaining in relation to important aspects such as men and women as heterogeneous groups, planned and unplanned outcomes, chains of interdependency, power, gender relations and control. During the analysis of all the data collected I asked myself and I tried to understand if the attempt of the New State regime to control all aspects of social life including sport had been successful or if such control had limited success. I questioned myself about the strategies employed during the New State regime to resist the regime’s ideology. I also asked myself what were the consequences - planned and unplanned - of the ideology, the political, social and economic policies followed by the New State regime as well as those policies followed by the governments in the democratic period in relation to sport and, especially, in relation to women’s sport, to the social position of women and gender relations. I tried to identify which people had more power chances and those who had fewer power chances and I questioned myself if there were any changes in the balance of power during the periods analysed in this thesis.

During the analysis of the written documents and the interviews I was always concerned with my level of involvement since it could influence the interpretation of the data. However, it is important to note that as a researcher I decided to study something with which I was more-or-less involved. That is, as a woman once involved in sport as an athlete and coach and now as physical education teacher, I had now decided to study women’s involvement in sport in Portugal and the changing patterns of their involvement. My perceptions and the “insider knowledge” of sport and, more precisely, of women’s sport, would inevitably influence the questions I was raising before the data collection and the interviews and what I was looking for such as: the arguments encouraging and discouraging women from taking part in sport; the way sport was organised under Salazar and after April 1974; the financial support for sport; how women’s involvement in sport was understood during the New State period and in the democratic period; the media coverage of women’s sports.

When collecting the data and conducting the interviews, and their subsequent analysis, I always tried to put aside personal ideas and beliefs. Though being aware of my involvement I attempted to control my emotional involvement and analyse the relevant aspects “in as detached a manner as possible” (Waddington, 1994, p.178).

The questions of involvement and detachment and the appropriate balance between them that is required when studying social processes have already been analysed in some detail in the theory chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF PORTUGAL UNDER SALAZAR

As we have already noted, in order to understand the situation of women in sport it is necessary to examine the broader political, economic, social and ideological processes within the wider social structure, for such processes have an impact upon women’s involvement in sport. This chapter focuses on the socio-economic-political and ideological patterns of the New State regime and analyses the position and roles of women within that society. This chapter thus provides the broader context for the analysis of gender and sport.

Any figuration necessarily grows out of previous figurations and, as a consequence, in order to better understand any given figuration, one has to refer “to the flow of figurations” (Elias, 1980, p.177). Taking this into account, and in order better to understand the New State period, it is important to examine briefly the pre-conditions for the formation of the New State. It is important, then, to examine the 1930s political and economic processes.

On October 5th 1910 Portugal was declared a republic. During the short period of its existence (15 years and 8 months), the republic was marked by great political instability as evidenced in the many elections that were held (7 elections for the congress, 8 elections for the presidency) and in the 45 governments that were nominated (Solsten, 1993c). This political instability was aggravated by Portuguese participation in the First World War, which led to a great number of deaths, to strikes, to price inflation and to severe food shortages leading to assaults on shops. Moreover, already existing lines of political and ideological fractures became deeper (Baioa, Fernandes, Ribeiro de Meneses, 2003). This political instability lasted until 1926 when a coup d’etat ended the republic and established a military dictatorship that lasted until 1933.

The period of the republic was also marked by economic instability. According to Lains (2006), in the mid-nineteenth century Portugal had the most backward economy in Western Europe, but from 1850 to 1913 this backwardness was partially overcome with the industrial sector expanding faster than agriculture. In the first years of the republic more than 50% of the Portuguese people lived in the countryside and worked in agriculture. However, the population living in urban centres was increasing mainly due to the development of the industrial sector¹ (Telo, 1996). In the period of the republic there were changes in the

¹ 66,2% of the Portuguese population lived in the countryside. 55,7% of the active population worked in agriculture and 21% in the industrial sector (Telo, 1996).
agriculture and industrial sectors. In agriculture there was an increase in the amount of cultivated land and a decline in the uncultivated area. However, “land productivity levels did not change in significant ways as the introduction of new processes and techniques in agriculture was relatively slow” (Lains, 2006, p.4). In the industrial sector there were some productivity gains and structural changes associated with higher levels of protection. At the beginning of the First World War many Portuguese workers were involved in the textile sector, with women being the majority of this labour force (Guinote, 1996). In spite of some changes and some gains, by 1917 almost all Portuguese industry was still in the small-shop phase of organisation. Of the total number of establishments 66,5% employed 10 workers or less and 15,3% employed between 11 and 100 workers (Payne, 1973).

Before the establishment of the republic, Portugal was a major exporter. Under the republic, exports continued to expand but at a slower pace, because Portugal was not able to keep its “quotas in the markets for agricultural products, such as wine and live animals, due to competition from Mediterranean and South American exporters” (Lains, 2006, p.4). The Portuguese economy suffered even more with the participation in the First World War. Public expenditure and the government deficit increased (Telo, 1996; Lains, 2006) leading to an increase in money supply and inflation. With the war, Portuguese exports declined. Imports not only increased but also changed their structure. There was a decline in the imports of foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco and a slight increase of other consumption goods. Transport equipment, machinery and energy also increased slightly (Lains, 2006). Simultaneously, emigration decreased and with it emigrant remittances declined, thus affecting the financing of the country’s balance of payments. A loan granted by the British government helped the Portuguese government temporarily but it did not solve the financial imbalance.

After the war several measures were taken in order to improve the Portuguese economy. Some of those measures “aimed to restore import tariff levels and income taxes which had been eroded by high inflation” (Lains, 2006, p.6). A foreign reserve fund was created. This fund retained 50% of the earnings in gold and foreign currencies from exporters. With the end of the First World War, emigration increased and with it emigrant remittances increased as well, thus helping to balance the country’s balance of payments.

The republic was also a period marked by great inflation. In that period, according to Lains (2006), Portugal had the highest inflation in Europe. The cost of living around 1926 was about 30 times of what it had been in 1914. This inflation was not accompanied by a commensurate increase in salaries, thus worsening the living conditions of great numbers of the Portuguese population. In an attempt to find better living standards, many Portuguese
people, mainly males, left the country emigrating especially to Brazil and the United States of America. With the First World War, emigration declined but rose again after the world conflict (Guinote, 1996).

The period of the republic was also marked by tensions and conflicts between the Catholic Church and the state. Until the beginning of the First World War, the republic fought against the Catholic Church due to its strong bonds with the monarchy. In 1911 a law was published proclaiming the separation of the Catholic Church from the state. All religious orders were abolished, the Church was prohibited from acquiring property through wills or donations, the number of seminaries was reduced and all religious instruction in Portuguese schools was abolished (Payne, 1973). With the election of a new president in 1914 the tensions between the Catholic Church and the state diminished but did not disappear. Nevertheless, the Church began gradually to re-acquire some of the positions that it had previously held. By the 1920s, religious orders that had been expelled had returned, relations between the Portuguese Catholic Church and the Vatican had already been re-established and religious instruction was once again accepted in schools.

With the republic some changes occurred in the situation of women. During this period, divorce became possible and the legal reasons for divorce became the same for husband and wife. New laws of marriage were established determining that women had no longer to obey their husbands. Until the establishment of the republic, women's education tended to occur at home or in private female schools and usually involved just primary education. With the republic women began to enter secondary schools and a few made their entry into universities (Alão, 1996a; Barreira, 1992).

Educational provision generally also improved slightly during the republic. Two state universities were opened (one in Lisbon and another one in Porto). Primary education became compulsory for all children. Adult illiteracy, although not disappearing, decreased from 70% in 1910 to approximately 61% in 1930 (Payne, 1973).

The political instability, the great inflation, the wave of violence that was sweeping the country, the living standards of many Portuguese people, the tensions between the Catholic Church and the state and the official anticlericalism, made it impossible for many to accept the republic and led those dissatisfied with the republic to start looking to the authoritarian governments established in Italy and in Spain as attractive alternatives. In the last months of the republic there were several attempts to overthrow the regime. The last one, in 1926, was successful. From 1926 to 1933 Portugal was ruled by a military dictatorship. In this period there were intense struggles for power amongst those in the army and between the army and its opponents. This period was also marked by the ascendancy of Salazar. Salazar's
ascendancy was welcomed by intellectuals and military officers who identified themselves with Salazar’s authoritarian, anti-liberal and anti-communist view of the world; by the Catholic Church that saw him as a saviour from the anticlericalism so typical of the republic period; and also by the upper classes of landowners, businessmen and bankers “who were grateful for his success in stabilising the economy after the financial crisis of the first republic” (Solsten, 1993b, para.3). In 1932 Salazar was asked to form a government and in 1933 the period known as the New State was established.

Supporters of the new regime held that the instability that had previously characterised Portugal had been caused by previous democratic and liberal governments. They held that, in order to create order and stability it was necessary for the government to assume an authoritarian character. With the intention of protecting the nation, guaranteeing social order and social reconstruction, force could be employed whenever necessary (Salazar cited in Georgel, 1985). While appealing to control, to authority and its importance to the reconstruction of the country, the leaders of the new regime also pointed to the necessity of giving everything for the good and the honour of the nation. In this context, national interests were raised above individual interests (Georgel, 1985).

According to numerous scholars (sociologists, historians, politicians) who have studied this period of Portuguese history, the New State regime can be characterised as an anti-democratic, anti-liberal, totalitarian, anti-parliamentary, one-party state. It was not a regime of the masses, but a government dictatorship (Campinos, 1975; Cruz, 1988; Georgel, 1985; Loff, 1996; Lucena, 1996; Mónica, 1978). However, not all authors agree that the new regime was totalitarian and fascist. A more detailed discussion of these issues will not be made here since firstly, it does not constitute a purpose of the present study and, secondly, these issues have already been examined by other authors who have focused on the political characterisation of the New State regime.

Whether a fascist regime or not, whether totalitarian or not, the New State regime was proclaimed in the Constitution of 1933 as a corporative state. Included in the corporative organisation of the state were the clubs, national trades unions (one for each sector of activity), people’s houses, fishermen’s houses, corporations (commerce, industry and agriculture), professional associations (bar association, doctors association) and organisations of economic coordination (Lopes, 1996). Although the New State advocated the autonomy of

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2 For example, while for some authors such as Cruz (1988) the New State was an anti-totalitarian regime, for Arendt (cited in Pimentel, 2000) it was a totalitarian regime. While for Cruz (1988) the New State was not a fascist regime, for Raby (1990 cited in Loff, 1996) it was a fascist regime.

3 People’s houses and fishermen houses were organisations of social cooperation. Rural workers gathered in people’s houses and those involved in fishing activities gathered in fishermen houses. These organisations had as main purposes: to provide assistance, education and local progress. These organisations helped to frame rural workers and fishermen within the political-ideological structure of the regime (Cruz, 1994).
these organisations, this autonomy was merely apparent since the state exercised direct control over them. The state had to approve the statutes and the budgets of each organisation and was responsible for the supervision of elections for the governing bodies as well as for defining the powers of each organisation. Moreover, the state could dissolve any of the organisations or dismiss some of their members if it was felt that any of the organisations or their members were deviating from the state-sponsored ideology. These organisations had, then, very little autonomy since their life, activities and structure were almost entirely under state control. Those organisations that did not follow the state-sponsored ideology were considered secret associations. During the New State period the regime always feared these secret associations since they could become a source of opposition and thus represent a threat to its dominant position. In addition, all individuals applying to public services, as well as directors of sporting associations, were obliged to sign a statement indicating that they were not and had never been members of a secret association (Boaventura, 1986).

The control of such organisations was part of the regime’s attempt to control all aspects of society. In this attempt, the regime frequently used psychological and physical violence. The New State regime made use of a very strong repressive apparatus in which the political police was its main instrument. This police force that, according to Georgel (1985), was above the law was an organisation whose members were authorised by the regime to use physical violence if it was thought necessary. The political police followed closely, arrested, tortured and even killed those who were suspected of being opposed to the regime and those who were considered communists. Members of the Communist Party (which was illegal) were, in fact, the main targets of the regime’s repressive apparatus.

The New State is a period in Portuguese history marked by a clear and powerful ideology. According to this ideology all individuals were expected to cooperate and to work for the same purpose: the nation’s welfare as defined by the regime. It was held that, in order to have a steady, harmonious and organised society, national interests had to take priority over individual interests. Moreover, all individuals were expected to learn and develop the civic and moral virtues considered essential by the regime: obedience, discipline and respect. In this regard the Catholic Church played an important role since it worked at the level of

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4 The political police that was established with the New State regime had as its main goal to keep an eye on all those who had ideas different from those of the New State regime. Through the political police the New State regime intended to control opposition. For that purpose it had “agents” (individuals infiltrated in all sectors of the population, various individuals collaborated with this police by giving information) everywhere who exercised a close surveillance of everybody. But the political police did not rely only on surveillance. Frequently, those considered suspicious were arrested, tortured and even killed. The political police had its own prisons. This political police was supported by the New State regime and it can be said that it was above the law. For a more detailed description of how this political police acted see: Georgel, J. (1985). O Salazarismo. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, pp. 227-260.
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conscience. Some authors, such as Cruz (1980), claim that the New State regime was marked by a Catholic nationalism. The strong Catholic education of Salazar led him to use Catholicism as a key support for his policies. From this perspective, the main problem of Portugal was a moral one. Since the great moral force was Catholicism, Portugal needed strong collaboration between the Church and the state. However, the Catholic Church, it was held, should not interfere in politics and should focus on its moral mission which was, according to Salazar “to keep the spiritual armour of the nation, to inspire youth education, to watch over the constitution of families” (Georgel, 1985, p.196).

This does not mean, however, that the relations between the New State regime and the Catholic Church were always good. There were periods, especially during the 1930s, marked by some tensions. In the late 1930s, while the regime was trying to organise and incorporate all girls and boys in state organisations and to keep the Church separate from the state and from politics, the Catholic Church was desperately trying to keep its influence upon Portuguese youth and their education. The possibility – indeed the near certainty - of losing its influence led the Church to express its opposition to government policy. Through articles published in the Catholic press, the Church warned against the dangers of state totalitarianism. For the Church, the family and the Church could not be excluded or demoted to a secondary position in the educative process, and the State could not have sole responsibility for this process. To diminish the important educative influence exerted by the family and the Church would “disorganise the family ... distort reality and youth souls would lose vitality” (Durão cited in Pimentel, 2000, p.206). In order to avoid this “scenario”, the Catholic Church argued for a strict collaboration between the state, the family and the Church.

In 1938 the regime’s intention of closing the Catholic scouts’ movement aggravated the tensions between the state and the Church. On this issue the government lost. The Catholic Church refused to dissolve the movement by pointing out that the scouts’ movement was more important to the state than to the Church, since it showed that the Portuguese State recognised individual freedom (Pimentel, 2000). In the presence of Church opposition, the Minister of National Education decided that the movement could maintain its activities, although, under strong surveillance (Pimentel, 1998b).

In spite of the existence of various tensions, at certain times and for specific reasons, Church and state co-operated to fight against aspects that concerned both (as will be shown in chapter six, when discussing the campaign for women’s sports that took place in the 1930s).
When the New State was established Portugal was essentially a rural country and Salazar wished to keep it like that. During the first decades of the New State, rural life was glorified, while life in the cities was described as the "peoples' opium" (Mónica, 1978 cited in Machado, 1991, p.83). Salazar praised the "rural ideal of life, the frugality and appealed to mediocrity and sacrifice, as the moral rules of life" (Oliveira, 1996, p.548). Such ideas had their repercussions on the economic development of the country. For example, the tourist possibilities of the country were not developed until the 1960s. The promotion of tourism was seen as dangerous since it would bring more foreigners with different ideas and customs that could influence the Portuguese people who, by comparing with other countries, could start questioning their situation.

**Economy**

In economic terms the New State period was marked, at least until the 1960s, by strong protectionism of the Portuguese economy, control of prices, an industrial conditioning and low wages (Georgel, 1985; Lopes, 1996). Salazar did not seek to open Portugal to outside influences, in order to avoid creating opposition and possible crises. However, during the 1960s some changes began to take place.

In the 1960s Portugal was involved in the colonial war in Africa. As a result, economic resources were diverted towards military purposes, thus putting other important areas of Portuguese society in jeopardy due to a lack of financial resources (Lima and Ferreira, 1975 cited in Tavares, 2000).

The Portuguese government began to realise that it would no longer be able on its own to meet all national expenditures and, in particular, all the investments in the Portuguese colonies. In order to be able to deal with these problems, and also in order to accelerate the country's rate of economic growth, the government sought foreign capital. Portuguese industry also began to look for foreign investment. When older industries began to modernise and new industries began to develop, they appealed to the state for financial support and also to other sources such as the commercial banks. This led to the formation of powerful financial-industrial groups (which already had links with foreign capital) that began to control parts of the Portuguese economy that before had been in the hands of the agrarian bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, the admission of Portugal to the European Free Trade Association

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5 Even in the 1950s the majority of the Portuguese population (77%) lived in the countryside and worked in agriculture.
6 Industrial conditioning was a system of industrial licensing. Anyone who wished to set up or move to a different place an industrial plan needed prior authorisation from the state. Even any investment in machinery and equipment with the purpose of increasing the capacity of an existing firm needed to be approved by the government. This system was abolished in 1970.
Chapter four

(EFTA) in 1959, to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1960, to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and to the World Bank, not only had major repercussions on the external commercial policy, but also impacted on the "industrial conditioning" that existed in Portugal. In order to conform to EFTA and GATT agreements, trade barriers were reduced and some liberalisation on the industrial licensing system was allowed (Lopes, 1996).

The liberalisation of the system of industrial licensing as a result of the appeal to foreign capital led to the expansion of foreign investment in Portugal. This foreign investment began to expand, especially in certain industrial sectors, and foreign investors began to acquire important positions of power either by establishing or associating with Portuguese companies in the creation of new companies or by acquiring old factories or even by selling their "know-how". The fact of becoming a member of EFTA and the growing foreign investment contributed to Portugal's industrial modernisation and to an increase in Portuguese exports and diversification of export products. During the 1960s the importance of the colonies for Portuguese trade decreased, while commercial relations with members of EFTA increased (Santos, 1996). With the opening of Portugal to the outside world, the networks of interdependencies became wider. This lengthening of the chains of interdependencies brought with it tensions and conflicts between different social groups with different power ratios. Different groups began to realise that they were becoming more dependent on other groups (including groups of people from other countries) than had previously been the case.

It is important to note that the opening of the Portuguese economy and the greater foreign investment in Portugal did not benefit equally all Portuguese. The financial-industrial groups were the ones that benefited most. These groups began to acquire greater control of the Portuguese economy and this was linked to an alteration in the balance of power. According to the sociologist Santos (1990), until the formation of these groups the economic and ideological hegemony belonged to the agrarian bourgeoisie. However, this does not mean that other groups were entirely powerless. Though not having the same possibilities to guide and control economic and social life, they had some power over the dominant group since the latter depended in different ways on other social groups. Thus, these groups had some power over the dominant group since the dominant group had to react to their actions and to develop some initiatives in order to maintain its dominant position. With the appearance of the financial-industrial groups allied to foreign capital, power differentials between this group and the agrarian bourgeoisie began to diminish and consequently the economic hegemony of the

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7 For example, from 1960 to 1970 the percentage of Portuguese exportations to the Portuguese colonies decreased from 43% to 25%. In 1973 only 10% of the commercial exchanges (importing and exporting) occurred between Portugal and its colonies while 45% of such exchanges were done with EEC – European Economic Community (Stoer, 1986).
agrarian bourgeoisie started to be threatened. Certain industrial sectors, in order to survive in a market that was becoming more demanding and competitive, appealed to the great financial-industrial groups for financial aid. This led these great financial-industrial groups to assume control of those industrial sectors which in turn became more subordinate and dependent. This situation generated conflicts. On one side were the ascendant financial-industrial groups which began to contest the power of the formerly dominant group. On the other side was the agrarian bourgeoisie, trying to maintain the existing relations of power and its own supremacy. The financial-industrial groups, though acquiring an economic hegemony, were not able to claim the ideological hegemony of the agrarian bourgeoisie. With the establishment of these financial-industrial groups allied to foreign capital, the regime that had always supported and favoured the interests of the agrarian bourgeoisie was no longer able to continue doing exactly what it wanted and what it had been doing for decades. The appearance of these groups meant “the emergence of longer, more differentiated and denser chains of interdependence” (Elias, 1994 cited in Dunning, 1999, p.192), and also more unstable balances of power. The regime was no longer able to control, on its own, the economic situation of the country. There were now a greater number of interdependent individuals involved, all of them pursuing what they perceived to be their main interests. This led, as Elias (1978 cited in Dunning, 1999, p.192) puts it, to “more even forms of reciprocal dependency and, hence, to patterns of multi-polar influence and control within and among groups”. At the beginning of the 1970s these financial industrial groups, though certainly not all powerful, were able to exert increasing influence and control of important sectors of the Portuguese economy.

Women

The New State ideology emphasised a strong male-female differentiation. While males, from a young age, had to learn behaviour patterns considered to be typically masculine (learn to obey, to be disciplined, hard workers, to be honest, to be well mannered, full of initiative), females were guided towards the type of femininity defined by the New State regime. From a young age, women had to learn to be generous and pure (Rodrigues, 1995). Moreover, women were expected to be dependent, submissive, emotional, sincere, discrete, loyal, to pay special attention to the way they dressed and talked and not to attend certain social spaces where they could learn habits not appropriate for women and that could put in danger their femininity. Women were expected to develop “qualities of patience, perseverance

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8 These groups controlled almost entirely the most important industrial sectors, the bank sector, the company insurances sector, the basic industrial sectors and most of the water transportations (Santos, 1996).
and feminine delicacy ... love for others, interest for the welfare of others” (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1964, p.40). According to one of our elderly interviewees, women at this time “were educated to get married, to have children and to be good housewives” (P. Seara Cardoso, interviewee). Boys and girls were expected to develop different behaviour patterns and “qualities”. These aspects would later be internalised and become a “second nature”, that is, part of their habitus.

The central idea of the New State ideology, that everything had to be done for the good of the nation, had its impact upon women. In order to contribute to the glory and the good of the nation, women had to place the interests of the nation above their own interests. More precisely, in the spirit of sacrifice for the native land, women were expected to place marriage and their future husbands and children above all else, including their own personal interests. It has to be noted that since women are not a homogeneous group the state ideology concerning women and their main roles in society did not serve the interests and needs of all women. While for some women placing marriage, family and motherhood above other interests, and especially personal interests, served them well since they considered such aspects as their most important missions in life, for other women this was not the case. This strong nationalist idea also had an influence on women’s most important mission—motherhood. To be a good mother was fundamental not only for the family, but also for the good of the native land.

**Family**

The ideology of the New State regime was profoundly felt at the family level. The family was “considered the primary and fundamental reality of all national structure in which lay the foundation of the nation’s political and social order” (Pimentel, 2000, p.25). The ideal family was a rigid and authoritarian one, where all members had their roles and behaviours clearly defined. The family figuration presented a similar type of hierarchy and organisation as the wider society. In both, the authority belonged to a person who had to be respected and loved and whom everybody had to obey. In the nation the government symbolised that figure. Within the family that person was the father. Below him was the mother and finally the children. Since the father was the breadwinner it was he who had to establish the rules and take the most important decisions. All the remaining members of the family, besides having to obey him, could not do anything without his approval. As Mónica (1978, p.274) notes:

The father appeared as the all powerful dictator, before whom the woman and children could only reveal an unalterable deference. Supplier of the home, the remaining members of the family had to obey him in all circumstances.
In the family hierarchy, those occupying the lower levels of the hierarchy had to obey and respect the father’s authority, demonstrating in practice the idea of corporatism supported by the New State regime (Rodrigues, 1995).

The family was also regarded by the regime leaders as an important vehicle for the transmission of state ideology. Given its role as the first socialising agent, children’s education in conformity to the New State ideology had to start within the family. Values such as discipline, obedience and respect would have to be transmitted to the young through their relationships with family members (Gonçalves, 1937).

The New State ideology praised the importance of women within the family. While men’s domain was outside the house, women’s territory was the home. Within the family and the home, women were responsible for specific tasks which were considered by the regime as important as the ones performed by men. Within the family, the woman was responsible for the administration of domestic life, for managing the money provided by the husband for domestic expenditures and for the guidance of all activities related to home management (Rodrigues, 1985). While the man was the breadwinner, the woman was seen as the “household manager” (Brasão, 1999, p.43). Despite occupying a secondary position in relation to the man, the wife had the main responsibility in relation to children’s education. Because she usually spent more time at home, and as such was in contact with the children, besides watching and superintending their behaviours she also guided more directly their activities. According to the New State ideology, women, within the family, had an important educator role. The woman socialised her daughters into their roles as mothers and wives and also had the important mission of teaching her sons about their future roles. Besides teaching them the qualities and abilities needed to survive socially in the public domain, the woman had also to install in them other ideas such as love for the home and the duties of a future head of the family (Costa, 1945). But despite these responsibilities, overall power was in the hands of the father. It was he who had the responsibility for taking major decisions and for giving the necessary permissions.

The relations between the couple were regulated according to the civil code known as the Seabra Code that discriminated against women on the basis of sex and family. This code lasted until 1967 when a new civil code was introduced. According to the Seabra Code, women had to adopt their husband’s residence after marriage. The woman had to obey her husband and had to accompany him everywhere except abroad. Married women could not acquire or pledge property without their husbands’ permission. Men could read their wives’ mail. The husband could dissolve the marriage if he discovered that his wife was not a virgin at the time of the wedding and he did not know that at the time of marriage. Divorce was not
legal. Civil courts could not dissolve Catholic marriages. Furthermore, during the New State period, women were also discriminated against in other aspects such as the right to vote. In 1932 while every man had the right to vote, only women having a bachelor degree or having completed secondary education were allowed to vote. In 1933 single women who were considered as the head of the family were allowed to vote but only after proving their moral competence (for men such a condition did not operate). In 1934 the first three women were elected to the National Parliament. In 1968 both men and women were granted political rights regardless of their marital condition.

The division of tasks held to be appropriate for men and women within the family was a reflection of what happened in society at large. That is, at the societal level men were responsible for key decisions and the establishment of rules. It was men who had access to public spaces and could participate actively in the political life of the country. Women, on the contrary, had serious difficulties in getting access to certain areas and in assuming some positions. As in the wider society, within the family men were the dominant group who had more power chances than women. Women occupied an inferior and dependent position. However, they were not powerless. Within the family women, though less powerful than men, had some power over men since men depended on women for various reasons (sex and procreation, children’s education, taking care of the house).

Due to its importance for the transmission of the New State ideology, and as it was considered as the “social cell par excellence” (Salazar, 1937 cited in Georgel, 1985, p.75), the family structure could not be threatened. If something threatened its structure not only the family but also, it was held, society would suffer (Gonçalves, 1937; Mónica, 1978). Therefore, the family needed to be protected from anything that could create instability. According to Salazar’s ideas the main threat to families’ stability was women’s interest in working outside the house9 (Salazar cited in Pimentel, 2000; Belo et al., 1986). If women were involved in professional occupations outside the house they would not be able to take care of the house adequately and would not be able to give children the education considered appropriate by the New State. That is, women would not be capable of adequately fulfilling the tasks they were expected to perform. In an attempt to protect the family from this threat, Salazar emphasised that the tasks performed by women inside the house and for the family were as important as the ones performed by men in the public domain. Furthermore, these tasks were also important for the good of the nation. Through education and motherhood they were contributing to the greatness of the Portuguese nation.

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With the idea of protecting the family, women and motherhood, the New State discouraged and even forbade women from becoming involved in certain professional activities that were regarded as not compatible with “the nature, morals and women’s physical debility” (Pimentel, 2000, p.40). In this, the regime was supported by the Catholic Church and also by some scholars such as the doctor Riba Leça and the deputy Correia Pinto. Women were forbidden from working in the toxic industry, in mines and in ceramics factories. However, they constituted the majority of workers in textiles factories. Women were also barred from diplomatic careers and the magistrature. Married women were forbidden from working in commerce and industry. Those who wished to work in such areas had to obtain their husbands’ permission. The New State also imposed on women involved in certain professional activities various restrictions. For example, while primary school teachers had to ask the Minister of National Education permission to get married, nurses, hostesses and telephone operators were prevented from getting married\(^\text{10}\). Despite these ideas concerning the involvement of women in the labour market, many women were compelled to work in order to boost their families’ income. The minimum wages paid to many men were quite small for a family that was expected to live solely on the basis of men’s wages. This pushed many women into the labour market. It is clear that the New State ideas concerning women’s involvement in the labour market could not be applied to all women. More specifically, these ideas applied to middle and upper class women but could not apply to most lower class women, who were forced to find jobs in order to help their families.

Ideas concerning women’s involvement in professional activities, as well as the ideas surrounding women and their mission in society, had their impact on the female working population. Until 1960 the female working population represented a small percentage of the total working population. But from the 1960s onwards, and especially from the middle 1960s, the percentage of females in the working population began to increase (Pimentel, 2000; Ferrão, 1996). In the 1960s, women began to see their situation in terms of employment changing. This change was related to emigration, the colonial war and the opening of Portugal to the external market. Thousands of Portuguese were emigrating in an attempt to find better jobs and better living standards. Most of these emigrants were men, who left behind their families. In this situation, women were compelled to work in order to maintain their families. Due to Portugal’s determination to keep its colonies, in spite of resistance from national liberation movements, huge numbers of Portuguese males were also being sent to Africa, leaving behind women who had to work to maintain their families. As a consequence, women

\(^{10}\) Pimentel (2000) notes that according to a survey carried out in 1955 amongst nurses, this prohibition was not respected.
began to enter the labour market in greater numbers than ever before. As mentioned earlier, in the 1960s Portugal began to open its doors to foreign investments. Several foreign companies were located in areas where women constituted the majority of the labour force – textiles, clothing, electronics and footwear, thus contributing to an increase in women’s employment.

The social, economic and political policies followed by the New State had, in relation to women, a major unplanned outcome. In spite of advocating the return of women to the home, of proclaiming the social and educational mission of women and of limiting women’s access to professional occupations, the policies followed by the New State constrained women to enter the labour market and the public domain in greater numbers than ever before. That is, it had a consequence that was the very opposite of that desired by the New State leaders. In this context it can be said that in this period due to the interweaving of the actions of large numbers of individuals with different interests there emerged an outcome that was not planned by the regime.

With a more active participation in the public domain, the power chances of women began to increase. This helped to reduce power differentials between women and men. Nevertheless discrimination on the basis of sex did not disappear. Despite an increase in the percentage of the female working population, women continued to be much more represented in certain professional occupations such as commerce, industry and agriculture than in professional occupations that required higher qualifications. Moreover, their salaries continued to be inferior to men’s salaries even in factories where they constituted the majority of workers. In positions of power, boards of directors, women continued to be less well represented than men. For example, in 1960 only 6.6% of women were managers and directors (Viegas and Faria, 2001).

Education

In educational terms, the New State period was marked by a high illiteracy rate (M. Carreira, 1996). For some of the leaders of the regime, having a high percentage of illiterates was not regarded as a problem. Salazar, for example, claimed to have complete trust in the illiterate population who, he said, understood the “national revolution better than any other social group” (Mónica, 1978, p.123). An illiterate population, since it did not have access to information and ideas other than those transmitted by the New State, was held to be easier to control. The values and ideals of the dominant group would be more easily taken for granted as self-evidently correct. If people learned how to read and write they could gain access to pamphlets containing subversive ideas (Pimenta cited in Carvalho, 1985). As a consequence it was held to be preferable to keep people ignorant since it was easier to control them.
But the alternative view was also held by some. For some other leaders of the regime, illiteracy was a matter of concern since an illiterate population was, it was sometimes held, more easily recruited by causes and movements critical of the regime. Therefore, in order to minimise such risks it was necessary to educate the population. What was taught was, however, only what the regime understood as being necessary. That is, the Portuguese people did not need to be highly educated. They just needed to learn how to read and write in order to be “receptors of the Salazarist ideology and know the New State principles” (Pimentel, 2000, p.76). If, through education, people learned more than the regime regarded as necessary, they could become ambitious and would have easier access to brochures and books considered by the regime as subversive (Mónica, 1978). Thus only a minimal level of education was required.

This shows clearly that the regime was not a homogeneous group, but one which was divided in terms of policy. While all members of the regime were concerned with social control issues, there were divisions, for example in relation to education, about the ways of maintaining social control.

In an attempt to prevent challenges to the regime, different strategies were adopted. The New State leaders argued that rather than just transmitting knowledge, the educational system had the crucial task of forming consciences. In this context, religion was seen as the most necessary part of education. It was in this context that the Catholic Church assumed a predominant position in the educational system during the New State period. The New State leaders believed that, through religion, people would be educated in accordance with the basic principles of the regime’s ideology. That is, it would be through religion that people would learn the principles of obedience, respect, submission and charity. Consequently, in 1932 it was declared that all reading books used in primary schools had to include moral and religious elements in order to stimulate, in Portuguese children, a sense of pride and a desire to serve the native land (Carvalho, 1985). In a simplification of the curriculum, it was decided to use a single book for each year or class, and it became compulsory to include singing lessons destined to “praise Portuguese glories, work dignity and love of the fatherland” (M. Carreira, 1996, p.15).

This system changed only slowly. But by the 1960s, due to gradual economic growth, a gradual development of industrialisation and a slow development of tourism, there was a growing demand for better qualified people. As a result, the school, in addition to being seen as a vehicle of propaganda and ideological indoctrination, began to be regarded as an important instrument for the education and training of better qualified people (Rosas and Brito, 1996). Therefore, a greater investment in education began to take place.
As far as women were concerned, one consequence of these changes was that the percentage of illiterate women decreased steadily from the 1930s.

Table 3 - Illiteracy rates (population above 7 years of age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Female illiteracy</th>
<th>Male illiteracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>47.7%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pimentel (2000, p.81)

In addition, during the New State period the percentage of women attending different levels of education increased, as did the percentage of women teachers, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 4 - Percentage of women students and teachers at different levels of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary students</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary students</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical students</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary teachers</td>
<td>68.8%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary teachers</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical-professional teachers</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pimentel (2000); Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1960-61)

The increasing feminisation of education became, however, a matter of concern for the regime. According to Pires de Lima (Minister of Education between 1947-1955), secondary schools were educating girls as if all of them were to become doctors instead of preparing them for their main roles as housewives and mothers. In an attempt to encourage a more traditional feminine appropriate education, girls were advised, and in fact encouraged, to attend technical schools (commercial schools and schools providing an education in professional occupations held to be female-appropriate) and schools of elementary education. In addition, in 1949 co-education was forbidden. This attempt to control the feminisation of education and the kind of education that was given to girls did not prevent the steady growth in the number of girls attending different levels of education and completing their secondary education. Girls' studies tended, however, to finish at the end of secondary education. In 1950 women represented 24.9% of university students increasing to 32.9% in 1963 (Pimentel, 2000).

It can be said that the educative system did not have as its main goal to endow individuals with the necessary abilities for the performance of their future professional
activities. On the contrary, the regime aimed to form consciences, to educate people in accordance with the values it considered fundamental. In primary and secondary schools the regime tried to develop in all pupils a nationalist and Christian conscience, by praising the importance of the family, the Nation, authority and religion. It is in this context that Mónica (1978) and M. Carreira (1996) consider that education, during the New State regime, worked as an excellent mechanism of political, religious and patriotic indoctrination.

According to some members of the New State regime, as well as supporters of the regime, the school and the family were not totally capable, on their own, of providing appropriate moral education. For the Minister of National Education, Carneiro Pacheco (cited in Arriaga, 1976), the family did not have the best economic and social conditions to exercise efficiently its educational mission in harmony with the regime’s ideals. It was held that, due to a lack of parental interest in education, many adolescents were growing up on their own, in an environment of excessive freedom without rules and effective controls. As a result, there was the risk of physical, moral and intellectual degradation. It was, then, very hard for young people to become “good” Portuguese citizens with a commitment to serve the native land. As such, it was held that the nation’s welfare could be seriously threatened.

The school on its own was also not capable of exercising efficiently its educative mission. For the Minister, Carneiro Pacheco, (cited in Arriaga, 1976) the school, due to several problems (for example, lack of infrastructures, deficiencies in terms of specialised staff or simply the fact that not all Portuguese youth attended school) was not capable of effectively spreading the regime’s ideology. Due to these problems many young people, it was held, were not assimilating the New State ideology.

In an attempt to correct the educative deficiencies presented by the school and the family, the New State government decided to create in 1936 the Mocidade Portuguesa – MP (Portuguese Youth) and, one year later, the Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina – MPF (Feminine Portuguese Youth). These national organisations were intended to include all individuals, students or not, from 7 years of age until 14, but were not regarded as a substitute for the family or the school. On the contrary, these organisations were expected to collaborate with and to complete the educational role of these two institutions. The object was “to educate Portuguese youth in the love of God, of the native land and the family” (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1964, p.6).

This initiative was a clear illustration of the government strategy to ensure the training of individuals according to Salazar’s ideology. By living intensively the regime’s ideas and by assimilating them, youth would hardly contest them. That is, without a different version of
reality, the values and beliefs of the dominant group would be taken for granted as self-evidently correct and would be internalised.

*Mocidade Portuguesa and Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*

The *Mocidade Portuguesa* had as its main goal:

To stimulate the integral development of its [youth's] physical capacity, the formation of character and the devotion to the native land, to the feeling of order, the taste for discipline, the cult of moral, civic and military duties (*Mocidade Portuguesa*, 1941, p.8).

The *Mocidade Portuguesa*, in addition to contributing to the moral and civic education of youth, was concerned especially with the physical and military training of young boys.

Since girls were not included in this organisation and because they had an important role in society as mothers and educators of future generations, it was felt necessary to create a separate organisation aiming at the development of feminine youth. If boys had the right to appropriate education, girls should have the same right. As Ryberg (1942, p. n.p.) put it:

If it is needed to be strong and healthy to defend and to serve the native land, women cannot do without the same qualities and many others that value the human beings who will be future mothers.

As a result *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* (MPF) was established in 1937 and intended to stimulate in girls:

The development of character, of physical capacity, the culture of spirit and devotion to social service, love of God, the nation and the family (*Arriaga*, 1976, p.141).

MPF was directed by OMEN (*Organização das Mães pela Educação Nacional* – Organisation of Mothers for National Education)\(^{11}\). It is important to note that the OMEN delegates were nominated by the government and more precisely by Salazar under a proposal of the Ministry of National Education. The organisation of MP was identical to that of MPF. In MP the national commissioner was a representative of the Ministry of National Education.

Both organisations were state organisations and were controlled by it. In the case of MP this control was exerted much more directly than in MPF. MPF had a little more

\(^{11}\) The first national commissioner and assistant commissioners of MPF came from the direction board of OMEN. Maria Guardiola, Fernanda D'Orey, Maria Luiza Vanzeller were vice-presidents of OMEN and when MPF was established Maria Guardiola came to be the national commissioner and the others assistant commissioners.
autonomy, but since the President of OMEN appointed the national commissioner of MPF it can be said that, though more indirectly, the government through the Ministry of National Education still exercised control over MPF.

In terms of financial support, both organisations were state funded. They also received registration fees and subsidies from private and public entities authorised by the Ministry of National Education, but most of their financial support came from the Ministry of National Education.

The main objective of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* and *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, was to develop youth according to the New State ideology. Through the activities they offered which were imbued with state ideology, these organisations aimed to contribute to the development of a disciplined, respectful, obedient and honest youth, conscious of the importance of authority, of its duties to others, to God, to the family and to the native land, capable of placing national interests above individual self-interests and of loving the native land and being ready to serve it. As Caetano¹² (1966, p.40) notes, these organisations attempted to develop Portuguese youth “capable of contributing to the moral progress of its native land, good Christians who, for the love of God and others, would advance humanity”.

According to the regulations of both national organisations, all youngsters, boys and girls, students or not, between 7 and 14 years of age, as well as those who attended the first cycle of secondary education, were compulsory members of these organisations¹³. For those youngsters who did not attend any educational establishment, as well as those of 14 years of age or older, registration in these organisations was voluntary. Those youngsters who desired to remain members of these organisations after the age of 14 were able to do so. Male students could remain members of MP until the end of their degree but not beyond 26 years of age. Female students could remain members of MPF until the conclusion of their degree but not beyond 25 years of age.

Although participation in both organisations was formally voluntary, at least from the 14 years of age onwards, the reality was different. At the time of school registration, every girl and boy had to pay a fee to the MP or MPF school centre. Even in those schools where such centres did not exist, but which were located in geographical areas where the MP and MPF were organised, boys and girls had to pay a registration fee to the MP or MPF. Throughout the New State period the number of girls who became members of MPF

¹² Marcelo Caetano succeeded Salazar and became the Prime Minister in 1968.
¹³ From 1947/48 onwards, even within the regime some individuals began to manifest their disagreement in relation to the compulsory nature of MPF. In 1957/58 it was determined that only girls attending primary, preparatory school and the first year of the third cycle of schooling were obliged to register with MPF and attend its activities. It was only in 1971 that compulsoriness was abolished.

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increased\textsuperscript{14}. Despite this increase, and despite claiming to embrace all young females, there were girls who were not members of MPF and who did not attend any educational establishment. In addition, not all schools in the country had MPF centres and the MPF influence upon girls from rural areas was less strong due to the small number of MPF centres in some areas of the country. MPF was more active amongst girls from urban areas and middle and upper class girls.

In order to fulfil the role that was determined for these organisations there were established:

- School centres (private and official schools): within primary, secondary and technical schools and also universities;
- Extra-school centres: for those not attending school.

In addition to these centres there were also other types of special centres, some of them directed towards both girls and boys, others oriented towards either young males education or to girls education (centres for the instruction of militia – MP; centres of special instruction – MP; centres of adaptation to work – MP; medical-social centres – MP and MPF; centres of regional industry – MPF; youth houses – MP and MPF; university centres – MP and MPF).

The training given in the different centres aimed essentially to perfect the moral, culture and physical training of the members (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1944). While MPF gave particular attention to females education, trying to endow girls with the basic qualities for their future roles as mothers and housewives, MP aimed at providing the moral, social, cultural, pre-military and physical training of young males.

Since the present study focuses on women and their involvement in sport, it is important to provide a general overview of the training given within MPF centres since it will help to provide a clearer view of the role of women during the New State period and how the New State ideology was inculcated into young girls.

The training given within MPF centres

The education that \textit{Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina} aimed to provide was essentially “the cult of specifically feminine virtues – purity of life, dignity, correct behaviour, spirit of sacrifice” (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1964, p.39). That is, through MPF and the activities it provided, it was intended to help each girl to learn how “to be a good wife, good

\textsuperscript{14} In 1940 amongst the girls that attended all school levels 13.7\% were members of MPF. In 1950 this percentage rose to 58.3\% and in 1960 it rose to more than 60\% (Pimentel, 2000).
mother, capable of bearing and educating her children and maintaining the level of the Portuguese family” (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1944, p.5).

Until 1947 the activities provided in order to reach these goals were not part of the school curriculum. One day per week was devoted to activities promoted by MPF centres. From 1947 onwards, MPF activities were included in the school curriculum of primary and secondary education. These activities, which were compulsory, were: moral and nationalist training, physical education, domestic economy, nursing, cooking, and child-welfare. All these activities aimed essentially to endow girls with the abilities that, later in life, help them to deal more efficiently with day-to-day life, the family, the household and particularly with their main roles of childbearing and motherhood.

In 1956, after the Second MPF conference, some of these activities lost their compulsory character but others, such as moral and nationalist education (later known as moral and social education) and physical education, continued to be compulsory.

**Moral and nationalist education**

Through its activities, the MPF aimed to stimulate in young girls love for the native land and the desire to serve the Nation. The nationalist education advocated by MPF was given to MPF members through their participation in great festive events (the 10th of June – Portuguese National Day), in public acts having a significant national meaning (for example when a King or Queen or President of Republic from another country visited Portugal members of MPF were present to welcome them) and through the remembrance of great moments of history. MPF also turned to examples of feminine figures within Portuguese history. The political attitudes of princesses and queens who had placed the interests of the nation above their personal interests were presented as examples to follow. Through these strategies, the organisation tried to develop in girls a sense of pride in the native land and the desire to serve it. MPF attempted to transmit the idea that serving the nation was also a contribution to the welfare of everybody in the native land (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1944).

In order to contribute to girls’ social and cultural education, MPF also offered other types of activities such as the week of the mother, babies’ cots exhibitions and halls of aesthetics education. Young girls also acted as ambassadors for MPF, visiting hospitals, asylums, day care centres and sanatoriums.

MPF was interested in cultivating in its members the taste for beauty. However, it was the MPF which defined what was beautiful. For the organisation everything that could serve its interests, and therefore the interests of the New State, was considered beautiful. The regard
for beauty was demonstrated through the embroidery, tapestry and pottery works, drawings and paintings done by MPF members. These works were exhibited in the halls of aesthetic education.

**Physical education**

With the intention of contributing to the physical development of its members, but always as part of a more general ideology, MPF promoted a range of physical activities. For MPF, in addition to girls’ moral education, it was also important to look after girls physical development, so they could efficiently perform, in the future, what was expected of women. Only a woman who was well prepared morally and physically, and with good health, could transmit to the following generations the regime’s ideology.

In an attempt to contribute to the physical development of girls, MPF proposed for primary and secondary education the following physical activities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Secondary School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>Regional dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>Camping initiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythmic dances</td>
<td>Sports: volleyball, basketball, tennis, swimming, skating, sailing, rowing, horse-riding and skiing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pimentel (2000)

The sports adopted by MPF had, however, to be practised with moderation, without exhibitionism and had to conform to “prudence and healthy morality rules” (Pimentel, 2000, p.307). These sports, when practised with moderation, would, it was held, contribute to a harmonious development of girls’ bodies and would help to instil in them the qualities considered by the regime as essential for females. It was held that, when practised more intensively they could lead to malformations, disabilities and to an excessive development of the muscular structure which, besides not being feminine, could cause problems to women’s reproductive functions.¹⁵

Until the 1950s, MPF defended a division by sex for the practice of physical activities within schools and also condemned exhibitions and sporting competitions. In spite of that, in 1947, some girls began to take part in international events through participation in the international contest of Ling’s gymnastics. From the 1950s onwards, MPF girls began to take part in gymnastics exhibitions (together with MP). Simultaneously, MPF began to organise the first sporting championships.

¹⁵ A detailed analysis of the arguments employed to discourage a more intensive practise will be done in chapter six – women’s sports under Salazar.
In addition to the activities they promoted, MPF publications were also important vehicles for the transmission of values and behaviours. Those publications were: *Boletim da Mocidade Portuguesa* (from 1939-1947); *Menina e Moça* (which replaced *Boletim Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* from 1947 onwards); *De Mãos Dadas* (1961 onwards); *Fagulha* (from 1957 to 1974); *Agenda da MPF* (1960 onwards); *Boletim para Dirigentes* (1946 onwards)\(^\text{16}\).

**MPF and foreign organisations**

When MPF was established the Minister of National Education noted that this Portuguese organisation, though being completely Portuguese had some similarities with foreign organisations which had purposes similar to those of MPF, that is, to educate youth in national values and to prepare “the woman on whom depends the security and happiness of the family, and as such the welfare of the nation (cited in Pimentel, 2000, p.367-368).

MPF was inspired by similar Italian, German and Spanish youth organisations. From its establishment, MPF maintained contacts, though not very frequent, with the Italian, German and Spanish female sections of youth organisations (Italy: ONB – *Opera Nazionale Balilla*; Germany: BDM – *Bund Deutscher Mädel*; Spain: SF – *Sección Femenina de la Falange Española Tradicionalista*). MPF members visited those countries and their youth organisations and members of those organisations visited Portugal. It was, however, with the female section of the Spanish youth organisation that MPF had the strongest relationship. Due to the similarity in terms of ideological principles\(^\text{17}\), the relationship between these two organisations was strong and from 1947, there were annual interchange visits between members of both organisations (Pimentel, 2000).

**Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho – FNAT (National Foundation for Joy in Work)**

Besides the state organisations directed towards youngsters, there were sectors of the population, most notably the working class, that were not covered by any state organisation. To remedy what was perceived as a potential problem of social order, the New State regime decided to intervene at the working class level and, more precisely, at the level of their free time with the purpose of “guaranteeing adequate occupation of free time, far removed from ideas and practices more prone to agitation and turbulence” (Hasse, 1999, p.165). During

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\(^{16}\) For a detailed analysis of the information transmitted through these publications and especially through *Boletim Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* and *Menina e Moça* see: Pimentel, I. (2000). *História das organizações femininas no Estado Novo*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, pp. 338-357.

\(^{17}\) Both organisations followed the same moral and nationalist ideal. Both organisations were interested in educating a new type of woman that would place national interests above personal interests thus contributing to the rise of the nation (Pimentel, 2000).
working hours, workers were more easily controlled but in their free time such control was very limited. In their free time, workers could join together in private trade unions (which were illegal) or private associations which might challenge the regime. In other words, they could become a source of opposition. In order to control the workers’ free time, as part of the regime’s effort to control all aspects of social life, and in an attempt to make difficult “that degree of communication which is one of the figurational preconditions for effective group resistance” (Dunning, 2004, p.85), the regime established FNAT which was superintended by the state. Financially this organisation was supported by state donations, private donations and registration fees. It did not receive a fixed state subsidy as was the case in Italy with the OND, but received variable state donations (Cruz, 1994).

This organisation had as its main purpose to occupy workers’ free time and contribute to their moral, physical and intellectual development as defined by the state. The means adopted included a great variety of activities: conferences, radio sessions of theatre and cinema, lectures, study visits to museums, monuments and other places of historical relevance, constitution of musical groups, courses of education for adults, creation of libraries, educative games (draughts, chess), excursions and trips. At the level of physical activities, FNAT also promoted several activities. For this organisation the practice of physical activities was particularly important since, besides occupying in a useful form workers’ free time, it also contributed to their physical and health improvement.

Although encouraging the practice of physical activities, FNAT condemned competition and intensive practice, since competition, it was held, could create disorder and excessive rivalry which was against the solidarity principles that the regime tried to promote. Everybody was expected to collaborate with each other for the good of the nation.

FNAT was also concerned with women’s physical activities. Like MPF, it warned against the dangers of violent efforts and the risks of excessively competitive practices. For this organisation, women should practise only moderate exercises in order to contribute to the development of their health. This kind of practice would be beneficial not only to women but also to the future of the Nation, since women had a great responsibility in the improvement of the “race”.

Through all the activities it promoted, FNAT tried to demonstrate that it was a social welfare organisation that was concerned with workers’ welfare and health, and also helped

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18 Purposes identical to the ones presented by FNAT can be found in the Italian organisation – Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro – OND that appeared 10 years before FNAT was established. According to Grazia (1981), OND apart from having the same kind of goals as FNAT, tried to mobilise all workers and to fit them in the logic of the Italian fascist regime. Through this organisation the Italian regime spread its ideology and tried to enlist more individuals. Such goals allow us to think that OND served as a model to FNAT. For more details concerning OND see Grazia, V. de (1981). The culture of consent. London: Cambridge University Press.
them in various other matters. By demonstrating its interest in supporting and assisting workers, this organisation attempted to encourage workers to belong to FNAT. This strategy can be seen as a form employed by the regime (through FNAT) to maintain its dominant position. Through FNAT, the regime sought to control sectors of the population that, due to the precariousness of their economic situation, could organise and constitute a threat to the regime. It is important to note that FNAT by providing some of the welfare functions trade unions would provide, tried to attain social stability amongst workers. FNAT while attempting “to soften the impact of the policy of wage contention” it simultaneously “generated gratitude, legitimacy and agreement” and attempted to “weaken the resistance of the working class” (Cruz, 1994, p.158). FNAT acted as a “functional alternative” to private trade unions which were regarded by the regime as dangerous organisations.

Censorship

During the New State period the media were also an important vehicle for the transmission of the regime’s ideology. The media were strongly censored until the revolution in 1974. The New State regime used the media to transmit its ideology and, through the employment of censorship, it controlled what was passed on.

The media are an important vehicle for the transmission of ideas. Ideas different from those favoured by the regime, that is, the possible transmission of what were regarded as “subversive” ideas, were considered a threat to the New State regime. It was in this context that censorship became “institutionalised”, and what the media reported was censored in order to avoid the transmission of ideas that the regime considered threatening or dangerous (Georgel, 1985).

The printed press was heavily censored, radio and television were government controlled and writers who violated the regime’s guidelines were subject to sanctions19.

Through the use of censorship the regime tried to guarantee the transmission of what it considered as fundamental and necessary for the Portuguese people. Simultaneously, it tried to avoid the diffusion of ideas that could challenge the existing social order and lead the Portuguese people to start questioning their situation and the conditions in which they lived. The control of the media, through censorship, was a central part of the regime’s attempt to control all aspects of society.

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19 Newspapers and other publications could be closed down. Directors of newspapers could be suspended from their professional activity. Writers, editors, directors of newspapers could be fined. Movies, theatre plays and books that were not consistent with the regime’s ideology were forbidden.
Chapter four

The limits of State control

The New State regime tried to control almost all aspects of society. However, although this was largely successful, it was never complete. Although the regime was relatively more powerful than other groups, it was not all powerful and was thus unable to control all aspects of society. The regime was, in many ways, tied to and dependent on other less powerful groups of people, just as these groups were dependent on the regime. There were large numbers of interdependent individuals and groups involved and numerous balances of power to be taken into account. There were many groups having interests and goals different from those of the regime and the regime was not able to ignore these groups since their actions had some impact upon the regime’s attempts to achieve its own goals. There were, then, groups of people that challenged the regime. There was, then, even during the New State period, space for opposition. Throughout the New State period there were, in fact, various sources of opposition which included university students, newspapers, political parties working clandestinely, workers and some women.

During the New State period political parties were not allowed, with the exception of União Nacional (National Union) which was a party that served the interests of the regime. Though illegal, the Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português – PCP) was active. Though working clandestinely, the Communist Party always contested and opposed the regime. In spite of being repressed and having some of its members imprisoned, the PCP not only managed to survive but also undertook various anti-regime actions such as:

- the publication of their own journal called Avante;
- the distribution of leaflets to households;
- the organisation of public demonstrations;
- encouragement and support of workers strikes;
- the organisation of what were presented as cultural acts but that which had the real function of recruiting members and supporters of the party:
- recruiting supporters amongst workers through the organisation of conferences.

Not all women during the New State conformed to the model of women advocated by the regime. Intellectual women and some middle-class women, in particular, did not adhere to this model and created their own organisations through which they fought for wider opportunities for women. Two main organisations, Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas – CNMP (National Council of Portuguese Women) and Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz – AFPP (Portuguese Female Association for Peace), fought for changes in the traditional situation of women, for equality of duties and rights between the
sexes, for the active participation of women in public life and against the regime’s propaganda concerning the return of women to the household.

Also two women magazines (Alma Feminina and Modas e Bordados), as well as the newspaper República\textsuperscript{20}, tried frequently to evade censorship through the publication of articles concerning issues that were apparently non-political, such as the fight for women’s sports, in the late 1930s (this will be analysed in greater detail in a later chapter). Moreover, some newspapers such as República used certain strategies to show how strong censorship was and that certain issues had been submitted to strong censorship. For example, the director of the newspaper República used to sign his articles with a circle. When this circle was bigger than usual it meant that the article had been highly censored and, as such this provided an indication to readers that the article focused on something that did not please the regime (Georgel, 1985).

University students were another source of opposition. Through various actions (strikes against exams and classes, hunger strikes, the “invasion” of the National Parliament when the regime was preparing to vote on a law prohibiting associations elected by students), students fought for an education independent of the regime’s ideology, for the autonomy of the university and against the regime’s attempt to control the university students associations, and also against the colonial war (Vieira, 1999-2001; Mónica, 1996).

These opposition groups, though not strong enough to change the existing balance of power, were not powerless. This was a complex figuration involving several groups – the regime itself and its supporters such as the Catholic Church, and various opposition groups such as university students, the communist party, some women’s groups, etc. The various sources of opposition, though less powerful than the regime, had some power over the regime since their actions could not be disregarded by the ruling group who had to respond to their actions. For example, the actions carried out by university students called for strong repression. Within universities, students were followed closely, students were arrested, others were expelled from university from periods from 5 days to 8 years and others were sent to Africa to fight in the colonial war.

The Communist Party was much less powerful than the regime, though once again their actions could not be ignored by the regime. The regime came to view the Communist Party as a dangerous enemy which threatened the stability of the state.

\textsuperscript{20} The newspaper República was an example of a newspaper that never stood out to threats and sanctions and in fact came to be recognised as a symbol of opposition. A more detailed analysis of the type of opposition and some of the actions that were carried out see: Georgel, J. (1985). O Salazarismo. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, pp. 395-424.
The regime at first tolerated those women's organisations that did not follow the model of women praised by the regime. This tolerance was associated with the fact that these organisations were not explicitly hostile to the regime. Nevertheless, while tolerating them, the regime tried to attract members of those organisations to its own state-sponsored organisations. As the regime became increasingly conscious that women's actions had political significance and could threaten its power, it decided that only state organisations should be permitted. As a consequence, in 1947 the National Council of Portuguese Women, which included approximately 2000 women, was closed by the New State police because it was allegedly not nationalised and was not under government supervision (Pimentel, 2000).

But although these women had fewer power chances they were not powerless. Other groups of women also had some power, since the government depended on them in a variety of ways. For example, the regime depended on women (especially middle and upper class women) in the sense that they were regarded as very important educators, especially within the family, where they were responsible for educating their children in harmony with the regime's ideology. Moreover, the regime depended on women in the sense that they were regarded as having the main responsibility for the production of future generations.

It is important, however, to note that the actions carried out by the opposition were, most of the time, of limited effectiveness due to the strong repressive state apparatus that existed. The political police, and political repression and censorship were, for a long while, relatively effective means of social control. However, as we shall see later, the position of the regime was not impregnable and it was eventually to be undermined by broader socio-political processes which shifted the balance of power decisively away from the old regime.

It is important to note that the New State regime was not at that time the only dictatorship in Europe. Portugal under Salazar shared with other southern European countries such as Italy and Spain (countries with similar political regimes) some common features. It can even be said that in certain aspects such as the creation of FNAT and MPF, Portugal was inspired in Italian and Spanish models.

Portugal shared with Italy under Mussolini and Spain under Franco features such as nationalism, authoritarianism, corporatism and the similar ideas in relation to women and their position and roles in society.

The attempt to control all aspects of social life was also a characteristic of Italy under Mussolini and Spain under Franco. The existence of a secret police (the political police) was

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21 Though not very successful in such attempt some women came in fact to collaborate with the regime. For instances MPF. Maria Teresa Leitão de Barros was one of those women.

22 After the Second World War CNMP began to make the connection between its claims and the fight for democracy. This was a threat to the existent regime (Pimentel, 2000).
not specific to the Portuguese dictatorship. Spain and Italy also had secret police and, according to Georgel (1985), the Portuguese secret police was actually trained by the Italian political police. Strong repression and censorship were other features shared by these three countries. In all three countries, however, and in spite of these means of social control, there was space for opposition. It was not only in Portugal that workers, university students, intellectuals, newspapers and political parties manifested, through various strategies, their opposition to the regime. The same was happening in Spain and fascist Italy. Another aspect shared by these three countries was the limited placed for the freedom of expression and association.

Portugal also shared with Spain and Italy the existence of national unions (for workers and employers) that replaced autonomous trade unions. In both Portugal and Spain, the level of economic development in the 1930s was quite low due to policies that aimed at self-sufficiency. But while in Spain from the early 1950s, economic liberalization and greater investment in industry led to economic progress (Solsten and Meditz, 1988), in Portugal economic development remained very limited until the end of the 1950s. Only at that time, and more precisely in the 1960s, was it possible to observe economic growth due to an opening of the exterior market, to greater foreign investment and to greater investment in the industrial sector. While Spain from the early 1950s onwards and Italy under Mussolini adopted economic measures intended to improve the economy (although this was not always achieved), Portugal remained a closed country, because Salazar wished to protect the country from outside influences which, it was feared, could bring instability. This situation was maintained until the financial problems Portugal was facing proved to be impossible to resolve without appealing to foreign investment. Portugal was, then, almost forced to open up its economy to the outside world. The attempt to maintain Portugal as a closed country and the relatively long period during which this policy was maintained can be seen as rather unusual features of the Portuguese dictatorship.

Portugal also shared with other authoritarian regimes a strong Catholicism. The position and the importance that the Catholic Church held in the Portuguese regime, for example in relation to education (as noted earlier), was not a unique situation in the European context. Other southern European countries with similar political regimes, such as Fascist Italy and Spain under Franco, also established policies that were highly favourable to the Catholic Church (Solsten and Meditz, 1988; Manhattan, 1949).

The existence of youth organisations were another feature shared by Portugal, fascist Italy and Spain under Franco. These three countries established youth organisations that aimed to incorporate all youth in order to train them according to each regime’s ideals. In
spite of aiming to incorporate all youth, the Portuguese organisation for females reached mainly middle and upper class women while, for example, in Spain the similar organisation for females was mainly directed towards working and rural women (Pimentel, 2000).

Although sharing with other southern European countries some common features, Portugal also presented some particular aspects. Unlike what had happened in Italy under Mussolini where it was a political party – the National Fascist Party – that achieved power and gave its name to the regime, in Portugal it was the government which, after coming to power, created the only official political party – the National Union. While in Italy the party’s leader became the chief of the government, in Portugal the chief of the government, after the creation of the National Union, became the party’s leader. In Italy the most important positions were occupied by members of the political party. The members of the political party were present in every sector of social life. In other words, the party monopolised all important positions. In Portugal the National Union “was not given any predominant role over either the government or the administration. Its position was simply one of political control; as a tool for the selection of members for the Chamber of Deputies and the local administration” (Pinto, 2006, p.206). Only a minority of the members of the National Union occupied important positions. Belonging to the National Union, although an advantage, was not a necessary condition for nomination to certain positions. While in other countries with similar political regimes such as fascist Italy, the government, the administration, and the decision making mechanisms were subjected to the interference of a political party that had become an influential organisation, in Portugal the power and decision making processes were in the hands of Salazar and his government.

Another particular feature of the Portuguese regime concerns the fact that, unlike what happened in other countries with similar political regimes, the “New State did not codify the ‘cult of the leader’ in any way comparable to what existed in Mussolini’s Italy” (Pinto, 2006, p.213). While in Italy Mussolini incessantly employed propaganda using all possible means to create “a myth of himself by adapting the image of the Nietzschean superman to Italian mentality” (Gori, 2000, p.30), in Portugal Salazar did not use propaganda and did not employ the powerful political socialisation apparatus employed by Mussolini to build his own myth. In Portugal it was mainly “the conservatives and the catholics that constructed the paternalistic image of the dictator as ‘saviour’” (Pinto, 2006, p.212). While in Italy Mussolini was presented “as a modern and efficient head of state, able to achieve peace, order and progress in Italy” (Gori, 2000, p.34), in Portugal Salazar was presented as a “respectful,
obedient and God-fearing [man that]....was happy with his place in society and in the nation; proud of his country’s past ...and [that] took care of his wife and children” (Pinto, 2006, p.212).

This brief analysis helps to show that the New State regime was not an isolated case of authoritarianism in the European context. Although presenting some particular features, the Portuguese regime shared with other southern European countries several important characteristics.

In the next chapter we shall examine the organisation and structure of sport under Salazar and all the strategies employed by the New State regime in relation to physical education and sport.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE OF SPORT UNDER SALAZAR

When the New State was established there was a strong concern with the physical condition of the population. According to leaders and supporters of the regime, the Portuguese population was a physically weakened population\(^1\). This was held to be particularly evident amongst youth. This perceived poor physical condition of the population was held to be adversely affecting the "economy and safety of the nation" (Pacheco cited in Brito, 1982, p.8). An unhealthy and fragile population was, it was held, not able to contribute to the splendour of the nation. The population, and in particular youth, had to be strong and healthy in order to cope with the future challenges of life. The Portuguese nation needed a population which was well developed morally, intellectually and also physically\(^2\) in order to be capable of serving and defending the nation. It was in this context that, in 1932, Dr. Alfredo de Magalhães (cited in Os Sports, 18 March 1932) and Reis (1933) called for a so-called "Race Policy". According to Dr. Magalhães, only a policy of this kind could renew the "race" and, as Carreira (1932, p.1) puts it, "make of it a repository of strong, healthy, energetic men who know what they want". For Reis (1937), such a policy should be based on the following aspects: the fight against tuberculosis, syphilis and alcoholism; the protection of women in labour; work surveillance in the factories and warehouses; school physical education; development of a sportive spirit from a physical and moral point of view; rigorous control of food stuffs.

This kind of discourse manifested some eugenic ideas which, according to Pimentel (1998b), were of some importance in the regime’s ideology and had repercussions in the physical education and sports sphere\(^3\). According to Pimentel, it is possible to find during this period three positions in relation to physical education and sport:
- those who regarded sport as immoral and exhibitionist;
- those who used eugenic ideas to promote sport. Sport would help to develop strong and healthy people, thus helping to improve the "race". In order to encourage sports practice examples from other countries with similar political regimes were used;

\(^1\) Several causes were identified for what was seen as a process of physical decay: syphilis, poor living standards, alcohol, tuberculosis and an abuse of sports practice (Reis, 1933; Decree-law No. 21110, 4 April 1932).

\(^2\) Concerns similar to those are found in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Britain.

\(^3\) For a more detailed discussion concerning the eugenic debate that emerged in Portugal after the establishment of the New State regime and some of the eugenic measures that were taken see: Pimentel, I. (1998a). O aperfeiçoamento da raça, História, (3), pp. 18-27.
the practice of some sports and the state control of physical education.

With the purpose of strengthening the bodies of young people, physical education and sport came to be regarded by the regime as instruments of some importance (Costa, 1941a, 1941b). Due to the traditional association between physical education, sport and the promotion of discipline, respect for others, respect and obedience to rules, the leaders of the regime saw physical education and sport as instruments that could serve its ideological principles. That is, through physical education and sport, the qualities considered essential (respect, obedience, solidarity, confidence) could be more easily transmitted and inculcated.

But to attain such “higher” nationalist purposes, something had to be done in relation to physical education and sport both of which were not well developed.

When the New State was established physical education was a subject with very few resources and facilities, lacking teachers with proper qualifications. Physical education was regarded as a subject of minor importance within the school curriculum. In sport the situation was similar. There was a lack of adequate sporting facilities and a lack of coaches with adequate qualifications (Coelho, 1996; *Os Sports*, 27 April 1933). This situation was exposed in 1932 in the newspaper *Os Sports*:

In a country that wants to take part in the Olympic Games and that believes in having the right to take part in international competitions, there are not sufficient stadiums and swimming pools (*Os Sports*, 1 February 1932).

There were also severe financial problems and, according to several articles published in *Os Sports*, most of what was being done in terms of sport was confined to the initiative of a few sports clubs and sports federations.

In this situation, those interested in sport and wishing for a greater investment in sport, lobbied for state intervention in sports provision (Freitas, 1931; Carreira, 1932; Serra, 1939). The state, in the same way it “regulate[d] the existence of everything and intervene[d] with the general interest” had the “right and the obligation to set up physical education in schools, as indispensable as literary instruction, and to develop and protect sport in its educative aspect” (*Os Sports*, 4 March 1932). The new regime was urged to follow the Italian and German examples in terms of physical education and sport organisation and state intervention.

But the regime saw also the possibility of using physical activities and sport to bolster its own position. That is, the regime leaders saw the possibility of using physical education
and sport as a means of disseminating key aspects of its ideology, and physical education and sport thus came to be seen as instruments of social control. However, despite its attempt to use sport as an instrument of social control, the regime never spent great amounts of money on sport, as will be seen later, and most of the financial investments made in sport by the regime focused on the dissemination of the regime’s ideology (Rosário, 1996).

The regime’s strategies in relation to physical education and sport

In 1932 the Regulation for physical education in secondary schools was approved, which required the inclusion of physical education in the school curriculum. In 1934 the conference of the only legal political party, União Nacional (National Union), was used by the regime to show its interest in physical education and sport and as a means of embracing all Portuguese youth within the New State ideology (Crespo, 1978).

Physical education and sports did not escape the regime’s effort to control all aspects of social life. After the establishment of MP, MPF and FNAT the regime placed physical education and sport under the tutorage of MP, MPF and FNAT as well as other organisations such as Junta Nacional de Educação Física (National Education Board) and Direcção Geral de Educação Física, Desportos e Saúde Escolar – DGEFDSE (General Directorate of Physical Education, Sports and School Health).

Physical education and sport under State organisations

Within MP, MPF and FNAT all the physical and sporting activities that were promoted followed guidelines that were consistent with the regime’s ideology. The activities and the kind of practice that were promoted had to contribute to the development of strong and healthy people, imbued with the appropriate civic and moral qualities.

These organisations placed at the disposal of their members a wide range of physical activities: gymnastics, swimming, football, basketball, athletics, handball, tennis, horse riding, rowing and sailing. Gymnastics, seen as the basis of all physical education, was highly promoted within the state organisations. These organisations promoted the Swedish method since it was regarded as “fundamental to the learning and development of a new way of standing, of moving, of new rhythms and forms of breathing” (Hasse, 2002a, p.55). In addition, the features of this method were consistent with the New State ideology. By working all the muscular groups it sought to strengthen the bodies of young people and encouraged them to learn and develop habits of discipline, order and obedience.

Sea sports were also sports to which MP and MPF devoted some attention since they could help to keep alive the great Portuguese maritime achievements such as the discoveries.
Chapter five

Through this strategy it was intended to stimulate and increase national pride. Through the emphasis placed on the past, this organisation and the ruling group tried to "construct identities by producing meanings about the nation" (Maguire, 1999, p.177) with which the individuals belonging to these organisations could identify. The practice of such sports, besides contributing to the physical development of youth, also contributed to their nationalist education.

These organisations, though promoting different types of physical and sporting activities, also expressed concern in relation to the intensity of sports practice. Sporting activities practised with moderation, respecting the individual characteristics of each athlete, were regarded as beneficial. But if practised more intensively they could be dangerous to people's character. More precisely, it was held that they could be "disadvantageous to the integrity and the individual’s moral function" (Pereira, 1946, p.154). If these activities were practised with the primary emphasis on victory they would promote rivalry, instead of promoting the development of a collective spirit. In other words, they would encourage individualism, rather than collectivist attitudes; that is, they would promote the development of aspects that were not consistent with the regime's ideology. Individuals were expected to collaborate with each other, to work for the same purpose - the good of the nation - and to develop feelings of loyalty not just in relation to others but more particularly in relation to the nation. Individuals were expected to place collective interests above individual self-interests. If sports competitions, and especially team competitions, were carried out without victory being considered the ultimate goal, and if the emphasis was placed on team work, sports competitions could have a great educative purpose since:

There [was] a constant appeal to solidarity qualities, mutual help, loyalty, always with the purpose of the collective wellbeing surpassing the individual wellbeing and the instinctive desire for personal distinction (Pereira, 1946, p.156).

In relation to girls and women's involvement in physical and sporting activities, MPF and FNAT again reflected the regime's ideology. The encouragement and promotion of physical and sporting activities for girls and women had as their main purpose to help them to become strong and healthy in order to give birth to healthy and strong children for the good of the native land. Moreover, only girls and women who were morally and physically well prepared and healthy would be able efficiently to transmit to the following generations the regime's ideals.

In contrast to what happened in other countries with similar regimes, such as Italy and Germany, where girls practised all kinds of sports, in Portugal emphasis was placed on a more traditional and less sportive education for girls and women. MPF warned against vigorous exercises, exhibitions and competitions. Sports considered as “strong in terms of emotions and violence” (Campos, 1958, p. n.p.) were excluded. Football, boxing, cycling races, some athletic disciplines such as jumping and shot put\(^5\) were among the sports that girls had to avoid because, as Campos\(^6\) (1958, p. n.p.) noted, a woman could “compromise, sometimes severely, her womanly essential quality and her primordial function of maternity”. If girls’ main function was placed at risk the nation would suffer the consequences, therefore, anything that threatened the nation — in this case sports considered dangerous - had to be avoided.

Girls and women therefore had to avoid the practice of the same kind of physical education and sports as boys and men, since some of those activities were held to be not appropriate for women. Moderate exercises such as gymnastics, tennis, table tennis, basketball, skating, volleyball, swimming, sailing, rowing, horse riding and skiing were activities in which girls and women could be involved as long as moral norms were respected.

The physical and sporting activities promoted by MP, MPF and FNAT respected the views of the Catholic Church. According to the Priest Campos, sport would be beneficial as long as Christian principles and norms were applied to sport. Portuguese youth would benefit from being involved in sporting activities as long as they were practised as a means to attain a healthy soul in a healthy body and not as an end in itself. In this context, moderation was the key word. In order to reinforce his ideas, Campos used the words of Pope Pio XII, who also recommended moderation in sport. Taking care of the body by means of physical education and sport was accepted by the Church, but making the body an end in itself was condemned since it would be harmful to the “intellectual and moral development of the soul” (cited in Rosário, 1996, p.212).

All the physical activities were imbued with the regime’s ideology regarding co-education and public exhibitions. Sexual segregation was held to be appropriate in physical education and sports. Girls and women could not practise physical activities in conjunction

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\(^5\) According to Campos (national assistant of MP) long distance races, middle distance races and races of a distance greater than 60m were officially forbidden to women. Long jump, pole vault, triple jump and throws (shot put and hammer) were also forbidden.

\(^6\) The Priest Campos was one of the individuals who talked and reflected about the relations between sport and religion, the importance of sport in society and the importance of doctrine in sport.
with boys, and simultaneously girls were not supposed to take part in public exhibitions since it could damage their reputation and put at risk “Christian modesty” (Campos, 1958, p. n.p.)⁷.

Most of the activities promoted by MP and MPF were directed mainly at members of the middle and upper classes. However, their organised activities also allowed some boys and girls from the lower classes to experience physical activities that otherwise they would not have been able to try. For example, it was through MPF that girls had the opportunity to practise sports such as volleyball, basketball, handball and athletics (Rosário, 1996; Pimentel, 2000). It was also through MPF that some girls had access to sports considered to be more elitist, such as tennis and horse riding, which due to their costs were not easily accessible to all girls (Pimentel, 2000; Boletim Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1940, 1945).

In order to teach the physical and sporting activities considered appropriate for girls, MPF recruited (initially voluntarily and later compulsorily) some of the women who, before the establishment of MPF, had been involved in the campaign for women’s sports, or who were gymnastics teachers, or who had some knowledge of physical education. It was in this context that women such as Maria Judite Furtado Coelho, who in 1936 in the magazine Modas e Bordados wrote some articles on women’s sports, was recruited and in 1938 was directing approximately 500 girls in an MPF physical education class.

The control of physical education

In addition to controlling the physical education and sporting activities practised within its organisations, the regime also attempted to control the physical activities that were practised within schools. It was necessary to ensure that such activities followed the regime’s ideology, thus not leaving space for the development of ideas and practices which might challenge the regime. In 1947, MP became responsible for the orientation and inspection of physical education in schools (Boletim da Mocidade Portuguesa, 1947/48) and all teachers were obliged to perform functions determined by the organisation and take part in all its activities (Rosário, 1996; Arriaga, 1976). Teachers could not refuse to collaborate with the organisation. The good services rendered to MP would create a preferred treatment in the placement of teachers (point 4 of Art. 47° and point 3 of Art. 52° of the Decree-law No. 47311, 12 November 1966).

Control also operated over the appointment of teachers for schools. The organisation had to give its approval for teachers’ appointments. Without this approval, teachers could not

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⁷ The first regulations of MPF excluded “competitions or exhibitions of an athletic character, sports harmful to the natural mission of a woman and everything that offend[ed] the delicacy of the female modesty” (Arriaga, 1976, p.142).
be appointed (Rosário, 1996). This control led to the development of a more effective inspection service, which observed the way teachers carried out their responsibilities and informed the Minister of National Education about the efficiency and competence of physical education teachers. Despite this attempt to control teaching, this control was, in practice, limited since there was some opposition on the part of schools. For example, some school directors did not inform (or delayed informing) MP and MPF about the number of available teaching posts in their schools. Some school directors also preferred teachers with a degree obtained at Instituto Nacional de Educação Física – INEF (National Institute of Physical Education), instead of those who had been trained in MPF courses (Pimentel, 2000).

But the promotion of physical and sporting activities in MP and MPF centres and in physical education classes in schools was not seen as sufficient to ensure the effective transmission of the ideals of the new political and ideological order. The teachers responsible for such activities had also to be trained in accordance with the New State ideology.

The training of physical education teachers

In a period in which there was great concern about the moral, social, patriotic, intellectual and physical education of individuals, the schools of physical education were held not to be adequately preparing teachers in accordance with the new ideological principles. There was held to be a lack of qualified teachers able to disseminate the ideas of the regime. The existing group of teachers were held not to be capable of transmitting adequately to new generations the new cultural and ideological values of the New State regime. In this context it became necessary to control the training of physical education teachers.

One year after the establishment of MPF, a school of physical education for girls was created. For this school the National Commissariat hired a Swedish teacher, Ingrid Ryberg, 

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8 Before the establishment of the New State there were several attempts to create courses for physical education teachers. For example in 1921 the Curso Normal de Educação Física (Normal Course of Physical Education) was established. Later in 1923 this course was integrated in the Escola Normal Superior (Superior Normal School). This school became extinct in 1930. The Superior School of physical education created in 1930 by the Geography Society of Lisbon had a strong association with the medicine faculties and as such it tended much more to a specialization in the fields taught at those faculties than on physical education subjects. The Army School of Physical Education created in 1933, provided an education totally guided by interests of national defence instead of contributing to the moral and physical development of all the nation (Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, 1990). For a more detailed description concerning these courses see: Crespo, J. (1977). História da educação física em Portugal – Os antecedentes da criação do INEF. Ludens, 2 (1), pp. 45-52.

9 Italy during Mussolini's regime went through a similar process. In the 1920s it was also felt necessary to train physical education teachers according to the cultural and ideological values of the regime (Gori, 2000). As a result in 1928 there was created in Rome the male Royal Fascist Academy for Physical and Juvenile Education and in 1932 the female Royal Academy for Physical and Juvenile Education in Orvieto.
who became responsible for the School of Physical Education Instructors of MPF. The course that was administered in that school was free of charge and lasted two years. With this course, the MPF sought to prepare physical education instructors by giving them a proper moral and technical training that would allow them to serve adequately the spiritual purposes of MPF. This course included moral and religious education, nationalist education, practical gymnastics, theory of gymnastics, command (or teaching practice), practice and teaching of games, anatomy and hygiene (Boletim Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1940). At the end of those two years, the girls had a period of teacher training at the MPF centres (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1964). In the first course that finished in 1940, 34 girls graduated. This course lasted until 1954, but did not graduate many girls – during those years only 143 girls attended the course and 103 graduated. Through the establishment of this course the MPF had specific purposes: to train women teachers in an area where there was a lack of them and to educate them according to the ideology of the organisation and therefore guarantee that the ideology would be properly transmitted to girls in different schools (Rosário, 1996). Apart from this course, MPF between 1938 and 1963 also promoted two physical education courses for primary teachers and seven intensive courses for the improvement of instructors and physical education teachers in secondary schools and technical schools (Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1964).

In 1940 the Instituto Nacional de Educação Física - INEF was established and was expected to work in close collaboration with MP and MPF. This institute was established to train teachers in the physical education area conforming to the ideological principles of the regime. According to D'Oliveira (1944), the physical education teacher and the physical education instructor, since they were in direct contact with youth, had to be trained according

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10 Ingrid Ryberg graduated in physical education in Sweden and came to Portugal in 1938. Apart from being a teacher at the school of physical education instructors of MPF, she was also an MPF inspector between 1941 and 1944. From 1942 to 1974 she was the director of the physical education services within MPF. In 1945 she became a teacher at INEF. Among many of the activities in which she was involved, between 1957 and 1971 she was responsible for the sporting exhibitions organised on the 10th of June. From 1957 onwards she was responsible for the organisation of the national sporting games. In 1965 she organised the first national gymnastics championship. But for a more complete biography of Ingrid Ryberg see: Hasse, M. (2002b) Uma vida pelo desenvolvimento da educação física feminina em Portugal: Ingrid Ryberg de Figueiredo (Froken) – 1938-1983. Universidade Técnica de Lisboa: Faculdade de Motricidade Humana.

11 According to Pimentel (2000), at the end of the first course there was some rivalry between this organisation and INEF. INEF when it was established tried to force instructors graduated at MPF to undertake a technical training course. However, this national organisation refused by claiming that INEF was not concerned with the moral development of girls. Nevertheless they came to reach an agreement. The moral education of girls under the supervision of MPF was included in the curriculum of the female section of INEF. In 1941, the National Commissariat decided that girls that had passed successfully the first year of studies at INEF could be admitted in the second year of the MPF course of physical education instructors.

12 The number of registrations for this course were few and many were rejected because the organisation believed that some of the girls registering for the course were not adequately imbued with the regime's ideals (Pimentel, 2000).
Chapter five

to the regime's ideology so that "they could act favourably in relation to the ideas and customs of the Portuguese population" (D'Oliveira, 1944, p.19).

In spite of the establishment of INEF, by the middle of the 1960s there was still a shortage of properly qualified physical education teachers. Although the establishment of INEF in 1940 had led, over the next 20 years, to an increase in the number of qualified physical education teachers, the number of qualified teachers was in the 1960s still insufficient to teach the increasing number of students in schools and to meet all the demands in the physical education and sports spheres.\(^{13}\)

In order to meet the growing demands for physical education teachers, the government created in 1969 in Lisbon and Porto schools of physical education instructors. These instructors were able to teach physical education, but only under the supervision of teachers with a degree obtained at INEF. In spite of the efforts to increase the numbers of physical education teachers, the number did not increase sufficiently to meet the increasing school population (Rosário, 1996). As noted in chapter four, during the 1960s there was an increase in the number of students. However, this increase was not accompanied by a proportional increase in the number of physical education teachers. Though there was an increase in the number of individuals registered in INEF, in 1963/64 only 16.9% of the registered students completed their degree (Rosário, 1996). The small percentage of graduates was related to the low status attributed to physical education when compared to other subjects (for example, physical education teachers were not given the same financial rewards that were given to teachers in other curriculum areas). People without proper qualifications continued to teach physical education and that did not contribute to raising the status of physical education.

**Sport outside state organisations**

By the beginning of the 1940s, physical and sporting activities within MP, MPF and FNAT conveyed the dominant ideology and physical education classes were, through MP and MPF, subject to the regime's control. However sporting activities outside these organisations were not generally framed within the regime's ideology. In this sense, the regime's control of physical education and sport was always limited. Whilst physical and sporting activities within schools were under state control, sporting activities practised outside state organisations were mainly promoted by private sports organisations (sports clubs and

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\(^{13}\) According to a report elaborated in the 1960s to be presented to the interministerial commission of economic planning and integration targeted to the elaboration of the intercalary planning of development (1965-1967) it was asserted that physical education teachers were gradually becoming more and more involved in other activities outside schools (teaching working classes, teaching in pre-school, working with handicapped people, working in clubs). Simultaneously, the number of students was increasing. As a result the number of physical education teachers properly qualified was insufficient to face all the demands (Rosário, 1996).
associations) that were not under state control. For the regime's leaders and its supporters, this lack of state control meant that existed forms of sports practice that were not consistent with the regime's ideals, which had deficient medical supervision and too great an emphasis on the importance of winning. At a time when cooperation, order, discipline and the physical development of individuals were stressed this situation was not acceptable to the regime. Moreover, the lack of state control also meant that such sports organisations could become possible sources of opposition. As a result, it was decided that the sports sphere had to be under state control in order to be consistent with the regime's ideology and, especially, in order to avoid the emergence of opposition. It was argued that all sporting activities practised outside state organisations, as well as all sports organisations (their financial administration and technical parts), had to be under state control and "respect the superior interests of the nation" (Serra, 1939, p.99).

According to Reis (1933), due to the important role sporting institutions performed in society, the state had the duty to intervene and support them. Such intervention would almost guarantee that sport and sporting organisations would serve what the regime defined as the broader interests of the nation.

The sports sphere was, then, shaped into a corporative model, which included sports federations, associations and clubs and placed, in 1942, under the tutorage of Direção Geral de Educação Física, Desportos e Saúde Escolar – DGEFDSE (General Directorate of Physical Education, Sports and School Health). This institution had the responsibility for promoting outside MP, MPF and FNAT, the physical education of Portuguese people (Decree-law No. 32241, 5 September 1942). The Decree-law that established DGEFDSE determined that this directorate should cooperate with city councils in the promotion of physical activities; superintend all physical activities that were not under the supervision of MP and MPF; be familiar with all sports rules regarding discipline and take care of the physical education of athletes through the surveillance of what was being administered to them inside sporting organisations. In order to perform these functions, DGEFDSE had sports inspectors, doctors, physical education and sports technical boards, local and regional delegates (Decree-law No. 32946, 3 August 1943 cited in Boletim DGEFDSE, 1968).

According to DGEFDSE regulations, all the institutions that had as their main purpose the physical education of the Portuguese people were placed under the control of this directorate. Although claiming that it would not intervene in the organisations under its control, this general directorate did intervene. Whenever it was felt that any sport organisation was placing its own particular interests above the general interests of the nation, this directorate could intervene. Such intervention could be done through the inspectors, doctors,
technical boards and delegates. The intervention of DGEFDSE was authorised through Art 26° point 4 of the Decree-law No. 32946 (cited in Boletim DGEFDSE, 1968) that decreed that the Minister of National Education could replace the board of directors of sporting organisations by administrative commissions chosen by him, and required the submission of the regulations and statutes of all organisations to the approval of the Minister of National Education (Art 20°, point 3 of Decree-law No. 32946, 3 August 1943 cited in Boletim DGEFDSE, 1968). Through Art. 28° of the same regulations it is possible to observe the strong influence of the regime upon sports organisations:

The general directorate can be represented in all general assembly meetings or manager staff meetings of sports organisations and prevent them from deciding or executing the agreed decisions.

According to Rosário (1996), the regime, through DGEFDSE, actively intervened at the sports level by preventing, for example, individuals who did not support the regime from becoming members of the board of directors of sporting organisations.

The intervention of this directorate can also be seen through what was determined in relation to the Comité Olímpico Português – COP (Portuguese Olympic Committee). COP, in order to maintain its official recognition, had to submit its list of members to the approval of the Minister of National Education (Art. 9° of Decree-law No. 32241, 5 September 1942). Moreover, it was stipulated that the subsidy granted to COP was from that date onwards administered by DGEFDSE. It should be noted that this strong intervention of the political power in COP contravened the constitution of the IOC, which required that national Olympic Committees should be independent of government.

While sports competitions within the school context were under the supervision of MP and MPF, sporting competitions organised outside these state organisations needed to get an authorisation from the respective federation and had to follow the guidelines stipulated by DGEFDSE. According to Boaventura (1986), sports competitions could only be held during the period determined by DGEFDSE and the nomination of Portuguese athletes to represent the country in international events had to be confirmed by DGEFDSE.

Whilst through MP and MPF the regime sought to transmit its ideology to the Portuguese people, and especially to young people, through DGEFDSE and its intervention in all sports organisations, the regime tried to guarantee that these other organisations would also respect the interests of the nation, as defined by the regime.

In 1971 this directorate was replaced by Direcção Geral de Educação Física e Desportos – DGEFD (General Directorate of Physical Education and Sports). This new
The directorate became responsible for physical education and school sport that until then had been under the supervision of MP\textsuperscript{14}.

But despite this involvement in sport, the interest of the regime in physical and sporting activities was, in many respects, quite limited. Its interest relied mainly on the kind of use it could make of such activities in order to serve its own purposes. The regime saw, and in fact used, physical education and sport as a means of propaganda and also as instruments "oriented towards ... social control", similar to the situation in Italy under Mussolini (Ferrari et al., 2003, p.268). Beyond the use the regime could make of such activities, the regime's interest in sport was, however, limited. While other dictatorships in Europe, such as Germany under Hitler, used sport and especially elite sports and the Olympic Games to "establish and strengthen its international reputation" (Engelhardt and Heinemann, 2003, p.170), the Portuguese regime, which was a very closed one, was more interested in preserving what it had, as indicated in the previous chapter. The regime was not interested in opening Portugal to the exterior and promoting the country abroad, since contact with other cultures, with different customs, could introduce "subversive" ideas that could create indiscipline and disorder. The regime therefore wished to avoid the influence of the exterior in order to prevent the possible development of opposition. The central objective was to maintain Portugal as it was, without an internal opposition. In this context, physical education and sports could be used to help in the training of people to accept the existing socio-political order.

The New State regime, through the use of physical and sporting activities, as well as other strategies, (for example, education, media) tried to control the actions of other social groups to maintain the existing power structure. Of course, the regime had more power than other social groups, since it was more able to constrain the actions of other social groups than others were able to constrain the regime's actions. This does not mean, however, that all Portuguese people accepted this "official" view of the role of physical education and sport. Some people tried through physical education and sport to criticise the regime and to express ideas that did not coincide with the regime's ideology. That is, they tried to express some resistance to the regime. For example Celestino Marques Pereira\textsuperscript{15} in his book *Por Bem*, though acknowledging the importance of sport in the valorisation of the people, noted that

\textsuperscript{14} In 1971 MP and MPF underwent some changes and with it they lost their power of compulsory registration of school pupils. The state organisations that had before served the interests of the regime, and were in fact the basis for transmitting the regime's ideology began to be a matter of embarrassment for the new government. Besides losing their compulsory power they lost control of physical education and schooling sports. However, they did not disappear. They were abolished only in 1974 with the revolution of 25\textsuperscript{th} of April.

\textsuperscript{15} Celestino Marques Pereira was one of the MP directors when this organisation was created. In 1946 he was the service director of physical education within MP. Later he became one of the professors of the first teaching staff of INEF. Apart from his activities he was also the author of several books and manuals in physical education.
such an important activity could not be promoted while certain aspects of social life were not improved. More precisely, he argued that, before promoting sport it was necessary to solve problems such as hunger and poor living conditions. In this way, Pereira was effectively criticising the regime and its social policies.

There were also other sources of resistance. As noted earlier, the fact that some school directors delayed informing (or did not inform) MP and MPF about the number of teaching posts available in their school, or preferred to appoint teachers graduated at INEF instead of those trained in MPF centres (Pimentel, 2000), was a form of resistance to the regime’s policies concerning physical education.

The campaign for women’s sport that developed during the 1930s (to be discussed in detail in chapter six) was another source of resistance and opposition. Those involved in this campaign (both men and women) attempted through sport (both the practice of sport and writing articles about sport) to express ideas in relation to women and their position in society which were different from those transmitted by the regime.

Another example of the use of sport to express resistance to the regime were the youth games of Barreiro organised in 1964. According to Valegas (n.d.), the main promoter of the Barreiro games, these games had as their main goals to occupy younger people’s free time during Summer holidays, that is, time free from school, and to give young people from 10 to 16 years of age the possibility of practising sport in a period in which the opportunities to practise sport were limited due to a lack of sporting facilities and a lack of official sporting events. These games competed directly with the activities organised by MPF and MP. These games were opened to students and non-students from 10 to 16 years of age, that is, approximately the same age group catered for MP and MPF, and they also included sporting events that were also promoted by MP and MPF (for example, table tennis, swimming, gymnastics, volleyball, etc.). These games did not depend financially on government funding. Private entities were the main supporters. It was only from 1967 that the city council of Barreiro gave some financial support to the games, mainly because they were included in the popular festivities of Barreiro. The considerable number of participants (who increased throughout the years: 1964 – 500 athletes; 1968 – 1600 athletes) compelled the regime to acknowledge their significance and to put aside any idea of prohibition (Rosário, 1996). The regime’s effort to control all aspects of society including sport was, then, limited. The regime though more powerful than other groups, was not sufficiently powerful to ban the games or to place them under the effective control of MP, that is, under effective state control. This was a complex situation. On one side was the regime attempting to control the kind of sport that was promoted and practised, the sports organisations and sports events. On the other side were
those who tried, through sport, to express – albeit in limited ways - their resistance to the regime’s policies in relation to sport and to pursue their own interests (in this case the development of sport for its own sake).

**Financial support of sport**

In 1946 the government established a new organisation with the objective of helping sports that had financial difficulties, and developing the representation of Portugal in sporting conferences and international competitions (Art. 1° of Decree-law No. 35992, 23 November 1946). This organisation, *Fundo de Auxílio a Organismos Desportivos* (Support Fund of Sporting Organisations), was under the control of DGEFDSE. The revenues of this fund came from subsidies granted by the government or other bodies, fines applied to athletes or sporting organisations and international football competitions (5% of the revenues from those competitions was given to this fund). Football was, in fact, the major contributor to this fund. For example, in 1950 and 1952 the state contribution to this fund was just 25% of the football contribution (*Mundo Desportivo*, 9 February 1951; *Jornal de Noticias*, 19 February 1952). The subsidies granted by this fund were given to sporting organisations on the instructions of the general directorate. This fund was discontinued in 1977, after the revolution, when it was replaced by another institution with similar functions.

At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, some members of the government, including Armando Rocha and also the COP, claimed that although the government had spent and was spending considerable amounts of money in the construction of sports facilities, (the construction of the National Stadium, inaugurated in 1944, being a good example), the sums available to sport were not enough to promote sport adequately and to construct appropriate sports facilities to meet the growing interest in sport. In this respect, the COP argued in 1958 that sport in federations in Portugal did not receive any great assistance from the state, and most funding was largely the result of private investment. The COP argued that it was necessary to create an organisation, directed by the state and people from the sports sphere, to give some financial assistance to sport (Comité Olimpico Português, 1958). It was in this context that in 1961 the government created a system which allowed people to bet on football results. The revenues of this betting system were divided as follows: 55% to the DGEFDSE, 25% to the federations and 20% to FNAT. The amount of

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16 Armando Rocha was in the early 1960s a National Inspector for University Sport. From 1963 until 4th of October 1973 he was the general director of DGEFDSE.

17 The construction and inauguration of the National Stadium was in fact used by the regime to demonstrate that the government was interested in sport and willing to invest in this area. It served to publicise the regime’s ideas: “the stadium is an expression of an enhancement policy of the youth of the race, and at the same time, the affirmation of our capacity to construct and perform” (cited in Botto, 1955, p.21).

18 This was a kind of sports betting system. An individual could bet on the result of various football games.
money going to sport was to be administered by a new organisation – *Fundo de Fomento do Desporto* – FFD (Fund for the Development of Sport). This new organisation was established in 1965 and was under the direct control of the Minister of National Education. This fund had as its main goal “to promote the development of sporting activities” (Art. 1° of Decree-law No. 46449, 23 July 1965). The Decree-law that established FFD defined this fund as administratively autonomous, but in real terms this autonomy was merely apparent, since the Minister of National Education could exercise control by giving instructions and by taking part in the board of directors meetings and assuming the presidency (Art. 6°, point 4). This is another illustration of the regime’s effort to control all major areas of social life.

From 1973 onwards the revenues of this fund were used only for sporting facilities and sports equipment in federations and schools (Decree-law No. 193/73, 30 April 1973). Until this time the fund had been strongly related to DGEFDSE, since the FFD president was also the director of DGEFDSE. However, with the reorganisation in 1973, this changed. The president of FFD was chosen by the five members that constituted the administrative board. However, since these members were appointed by the Minister of National Education, the government retained a high degree of centralised control.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the New State regime showed limited interest in promoting the economic development of the country. The people had to economise and live within their own means. This same principle applied to sporting organisations. Due to a lack of finance, according to Fonseca (1966), it was difficult for the Minister of National Education to fund an adequate sporting structure for Portugal. However, with the development of the football betting system, new sources of finance became available. The financial means placed at the disposal of the Ministry of National Education increased, and decisions had to be taken regarding the distribution of those funds. In this context, a sporting plan was developed. The first sporting plan covered the period 1966-1970 (Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1965). Most of the decisions that were taken revealed the political concerns of the time such as, for example, the colonial war. In the attempt to keep the African colonies, some financial support was given to sport in the colonies. Some money was allocated to the activities that were promoted within the context of sporting exchanges between Portugal and the colonies. Some money was also targeted to international competitions in which athletes from the colonies took part. In this sporting plan, besides sporting facilities, sport within federations, school sport, and teaching (the training of future physical education teachers) monitors and coaches were also funded (Rosário, 1996). This plan also funded sports medicine allocating to this area 9% of the total amount (Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1965).
The amounts were distributed as below:\footnote{Before 1966, the total amount of money was distributed in a different proportion from the one presented in this first plan. 65.58% of the total amount was allocated to organisations that had nothing to do with the DGEFDSE and FFD; 56.1% were given to federations and 28.5% to school sport (Rocha, 1967).}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6 – Distribution of amounts in the first sporting plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sporting facilities and equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse activities:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports federations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration, studies and promotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International competitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source: Ministério da Educação Nacional (1965)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the period 1971-1973 there was a second sporting plan which continued to support sport in federations, school and university sport. Military and “corporative sport”\footnote{“Corporative sport” was sport targeted to workers and families. It was the sport practised under the aegis of FNAT.} as well as football were not included in this plan.

While in the first plan the amounts were distributed according to pre-determined percentage criteria, in this second plan the amounts were distributed in accordance with the strategic actions that were planned to be carried out (Ataide, 1971).

Whilst the first plan provided some support to sport and athletes from the Portuguese colonies, in this second plan this was not included due to the creation in the colonies (Angola and Mozambique) of a betting system and organisations similar to FFD. This second plan placed particular emphasis on the improvement and construction of sports facilities. Of the total amount 39.2% was allocated to sporting facilities (Ataide, 1971) in order to give continuity to the agreements established in the first plan and to construct new facilities.

**Sports facilities**

The distribution of sports facilities exhibited in 1969 showed major geographical asymmetries. Major urban centres and coastal areas (Porto, Lisbon, Coimbra, Braga, Setubal, Santarém, Aveiro) were the areas with more sporting facilities. In many interior and more rural areas, there was a lack of facilities. Some districts did not have track and field facilities, others did not have multi-use covered spaces and in others there was a few handball fields (see table 7). The unequal distribution of sporting facilities reflected the more general patterns of inequality within the wider society. That is, they mirrored the development of urban and coastal areas taking place in the wider society. During the 1960s great numbers of people
were leaving the interior rural areas and settling down in major urban centres and coastal areas in an attempt to find better jobs and better living conditions.

Table 7 – Number of sporting facilities by district in 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multi-use covered spaces</th>
<th>Multi-use open spaces</th>
<th>Track and field</th>
<th>Cycling tracks</th>
<th>Football fields</th>
<th>Handball fields</th>
<th>Basketball fields</th>
<th>Volleyball fields</th>
<th>Camping</th>
<th>Tennis courts</th>
<th>Swimming pools</th>
<th>Shooting</th>
<th>Hippodrome</th>
<th>Golf fields</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aveiro</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragança</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Branco</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évora</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faro</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Guarda</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lisboa</td>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>103</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministério da Educação Nacional (1971)

Sports participation

The number of people taking part in physical activity increased throughout the years of the New State regime.

Table 8 - Number and percentage of individuals involved in physical and sporting activities within MP, MPF, FNAT and sports federations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sports federations</th>
<th>MP and MPF *</th>
<th>FNAT b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>26933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>46039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>83402</td>
<td>33,5% (n=265358)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>95467</td>
<td>57,8% (n=320715)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* At this time it was no longer compulsory for secondary students to register with MP and MPF and to register in their activities

* Percentage of individuals involved in physical activities in relation to the total number of registered secondary students

* Percentage of individuals involved in physical activities in relation to the total number of individuals registered in FNAT centres having a sporting group

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In terms of the whole Portuguese population, only 1,3% in 1962/63 and 3,5% in 1968/69 of the population played sport within the context of FNAT, MP, MPF and sports federations (table 9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962/63</td>
<td>9050700</td>
<td>1,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>9259500</td>
<td>3,5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Despite an increase in participation from 1962/63 to 1968/69, the percentage of the Portuguese population involved in any kind of physical activity was relatively low, especially if compared with more recent studies (in the 1990s) which indicate that 23% of Portuguese people now take part in physical activity (Marivoet, 2001a). These data reveal that, in the 1960s, the Portuguese population had low levels of participation in sporting activities. People were generally more concerned with other aspects of their daily lives such as living conditions, employment, the colonial war. These data also tell us something about the regime’s interest in sport and, more precisely, its ambiguity towards sport. Although considering sport a useful vehicle for the transmission of the regime’s ideals and an instrument of social control, the regime had little interest in sport per se, and did not spend great amounts of money on its promotion or in the construction of sporting facilities. The New State regime was not centrally concerned in promoting sport as a valued social activity, or in using it “to express national superiority” (Cashmore, 1996, p.238) like Germany under Hitler did. The regime’s interest in sport was largely directed to the use it could make of it for its own, domestic, purposes, that is, as a means of disseminating the regime’s ideology and as a means of social control.

Portuguese participation in international sporting events

Besides participating in the Olympic Games since 1912 (but only with male athletes), Portugal also took part in some international meetings (basketball, handball, swimming, field hockey, lawn tennis, sailing, gymnastics) within the MP and MPF context, and also outside these state organisations (Botto, 1956)²¹. Portugal was also represented in major international sporting events such as European and World Championships in roller hockey, basketball, swimming, track and field, skating and volleyball. Some of these international events were

²¹ For a more detailed account of the Portuguese participation in international competitions in different sports see: Botto (1956) Desportistas portugueses no estrangeiro. José de Ayala Botto was, at the time of the publication of this book, a sports inspector and member of the technical board of physical education
exclusively for male athletes. For example, Portugal was represented in the first roller hockey World Championship only with male athletes since this was just a male event\(^{22}\). Similarly, the first Portuguese participation in the European Volleyball Championship in 1948 was still a male only event\(^{23}\). However, in some other international events that were already open to women’s participation, Portugal was still represented just by male teams. For example, Portugal was represented just by males in 1947 in a European Swimming Championship; Portugal also took part for the first time in the European Athletics Championship in 1954 just with male athletes; Portugal was also represented just with a male team in the European Basketball Championship in 1951\(^{24}\). This does not mean, however, that Portugal never sent female athletes to international events during the New State regime. In addition to being represented in some international meetings of lawn tennis in the 1930s, Portugal also sent a delegation of gymnasts to take part in an international meeting in 1943. In this delegation there were 6 male athletes and 12 women athletes who took part in an exhibition of rhythmic and educative gymnastics. This female team was composed of: Maria Eduarda Reimão, Blandina Cruz, Laura de Oliveira, Conchita Stichanner, Maria Luiza Moniz Pereira, Maria José Moniz Pereira, Suzana Lima, Maria Adelina Reis, Ana Duarte, Maria Adélia de Jesus and Maria Margarida de Jesus. And, in 1955 the female skater Maria Antónia Falcão de Vasconcelos, took part in the Fifth World Skating Championship. In 1951 Portugal was also represented in another gymnastics international event with a female team. Notwithstanding the participation of these women, the participation of Portuguese women in international sport remained relatively low throughout the New State period.

This chapter has examined the broad socio-economic-political policies of the Salazar regime and their impact on the organisation, structure and financing of sport. But now one might ask how did these policies impact upon the participation of Portuguese women in sport? This is the main purpose of the next chapter. Chapter six will provide a detailed analysis of women’s participation in sport during the New State period.

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\(^{22}\) The first women’s World Championship occurred in 1992.

\(^{23}\) The first women’s European Championship of volleyball occurred only in 1949.

\(^{24}\) All these events were already opened to women’s participation. Women’s European Championships of basketball were organised since 1938; women’s European Championships of athletics as well as swimming were organised since the late 1930s.
WOMEN’S SPORTS UNDER SALAZAR

This chapter provides an analysis of women’s sport during the New State period. Special attention is given to the aesthetic, moral and social arguments, and also to arguments about women’s biology and health which were employed both to encourage women to take part in sport and also to warn against the practice of some sports and to advocate moderation in sports practice.

When the New State regime was established people such as Charneca Fernandes, Aníbal Nazaré, and Mário Afonso (collaborators in *Stadium*), Cândido Frazão (director of *Sport Ilustrado*), Maria Luiza Herédia (doctor), Maria Ester (athlete), Pancada da Silveira (President of the Lisbon Athletics Association), Mário de Oliveira (President of the Portuguese Swimming Federation), May Norton (athlete), who were interested in sport and in promoting its development, regretted the low level of participation of Portuguese women in sporting activities, especially when compared to other European countries (Fernandes cited in *Stadium*, No. 211 February 1936; Nazaré cited in *Stadium*, No. 242 September 1936; Oliveira cited in *Stadium*, 30 November 1932; Ester cited in *Os Sports*, 16 August 1937; Silveira cited in *República*, 4 August 1937; Frazão, 1931; Vilma, 1933; Herédia cited in *Stadium*, No 48 January 1933; Norton cited in *Stadium*, 23 January 1935). One of the reasons identified for this low level of involvement felt to be appropriate for girls was education. Many parents felt it was more important to see their daughters learning languages, how to play the piano or how to sing, rather than becoming involved in physical and sporting activities. The women’s magazine *Femina* (13 July 1934), argued that even when girls showed an interest in jumping, running or in any other type of physical activity, some parents did not encourage it because, for them, girl’s bodies were not prepared for and did not benefit from such activities.

Some of those interested in the development of sport also identified attitudes towards married women as a reason for the low level of involvement of women in sporting activities. For women athletes marriage was, in fact, a major cause of their leaving sport. For example, one former volleyball player who was interviewed, said that, although she enjoyed sport and wanted to continue playing she abandoned it after marriage because as she said:

I would have liked to continue its practice, but my husband, though he was a physical education teacher, did not want me to continue practising.
While some athletes such as the gymnast Helena Costa, the athlete Maria Ester Moura Cabral and the athletes Maria Julia Silva and Margarida Salazar Carreira gave up sport when they got married, others such as the gymnast Helena Vilalva, Dália Summer and the athlete Georgete Duarte\(^1\) continued to compete after marriage. But for those athletes who gave up sport after marriage, these two activities were seen as incompatible. After marriage, many women no longer had the time to devote themselves to sport as before. If they had devoted the same amount of time as before they would not have been seen as properly fulfilling their main domestic duties.

In order to encourage greater female involvement in sport various arguments (aesthetic, moral, social and health) were presented. Some of these arguments had nationalist overtones. In addition to those who were interested in the development of sport for its own sake, some members of the New State regime, as noted in the previous chapter, also had some interest in sport though this had essentially to do with the possibility of using sport for political purposes.

When the New State regime was established there was a great concern with the physical condition of the population. It was held that both men and women were growing up fragile, without strength and with respiratory and other health problems. For the regime this was a matter of concern. If women were not strong and healthy how could they give birth to healthy and strong children? How could they be the mothers of the new Portuguese moulded by the regime? Fragile and unhealthy women, it was held, would give birth to rickety and weak children (Pina, 1937; Vaz cited in República 28 July 1937). These were not the kind of people the nation needed. Similar concerns were also found in Fascist Italy. During the 1930s in Italy, some physicians argued that only strong and healthy women were properly prepared for their mission. In this context, physical education and sporting activities were seen as means of helping women to strengthen their bodies and thus contribute to the rejuvenation of the “race”. Portugal was, then, following the trend observed in Italy\(^2\). For the leaders of the New State regime, girls and women had to be stronger and healthier for the good of the nation. They had to be encouraged to take up physical and sporting activities, not with the purpose of becoming athletes, but in order that they could become stronger and healthier (Ferreira, 1935).

Members of the regime and their supporters began to offer arguments strongly imbued by nationalist ideas, not only to encourage girls’ involvement in sporting activities but, more

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\(^1\) In an interview given to the magazine Stadium in 1951, Georgete Duarte indicated that though she was married and had a child she continued practising gymnastics and athletics.

specifically to control the type of sporting activities in which women could take part and the intensity of that activity.

Many of the arguments employed by supporters of sport (that is, the sports lobby) and the regime leaders and their supporters appeared in sporting magazines, newspapers and also in reviews targeted at women such as *Femina* and *Voga*. All these publications were carefully controlled by censorship. This implies that all the ideas and opinions of those belonging to what can be called the sports lobby were carefully examined. Thus while seeking to encourage women's participation in sports, people in the sports lobby did not oppose explicitly the regime's ideas.

**Aesthetics and the feminine image**

Most of the aesthetic arguments employed to encourage women's involvement in sport were presented by those (both men and women) who were interested in sport and its development and appeared in sporting magazines and newspapers such as *O Norte Desportivo*, *Os Sports*, *O Atleta*, *Stadium*, *O Sport Ilustrado*. In these publications, photographs of female foreign athletes (mainly Germans, Spanish and Scandinavian) were frequently published. Sometimes these photographs attracted comments highlighting the enthusiasm and joy of these athletes and their femininity.

The focus on their femininity was an attempt to demonstrate that, in spite of their involvement in sports, these women had not lost their feminine grace. In articles on the involvement of foreign women (mainly Germans and Spanish) in sporting activities, these athletes were presented as modern women who loved being outdoors in contact with the sun and nature. For such women, sporting activities were held to be of great importance since they contributed to the development of attractive and healthy bodies. Through such photographs and articles, the idea was transmitted that sport helped women to develop a "nice" figure without losing their femininity. Sport helped girls and women to achieve slender, disciplined and pleasing bodies. These publications urged Portuguese women to follow the examples of German, Spanish and Scandinavian women, and not to be afraid of losing their feminine grace. Portuguese women needed to become more involved in physical and sporting activities since, it was held, they would help the woman:

To obtain a better physical harmony (a synonym of moral harmony) that allows her to occupy, with greater expressive and higher competence, the beautiful places of wife and mother (*Voga*, 16 October 1927).
An example of this kind of encouragement can be found in the newspaper *Os Sports* in 1939 where the journalist refers to the benefits of physical and sporting activities for women:

The practice of sport strengthens them for life, gives them habits of discipline and solidarity, notions of duty. It does not do any harm – because the girls who know how to practise sport only benefit from this activity, without losing the grace so proper to their sex. See their beauty being reaffirmed, obtain liveliness, agility, personality, they become girls of the epoch – girls of the XX century (Mota, 1939, p. n.p.).

Another example of this kind of encouragement can be found in the magazine *Stadium* in comments accompanying photographs of foreign athletes involved in rhythmic gymnastics:

Those 12 girls you have in front of you represent the pure exaltation of feminine sport. Slender bodies, smiling eyes – they are the most sincere preachers of the feminine cause. ... Go bathe in the sun, beautiful girls of our land and let sport shape your bodies. The sporting woman is undeniably more graceful, more attractive and – especially – healthier (*Stadium*, 30 November 1938).

Besides the photographs and references to foreign female athletes, these publications also made use of the sporting success of Portuguese female athletes. An example of this can be found in the magazine *Stadium* on the 31 July 1935. After interviewing the skater Saudade Monteiro the journalist makes the following comment:

Today's example is flagrant and expressive. S.S. Monteiro – daughter of a good family and a talented girl – loves sport and cultivates it with success. Why do the possible readers of these pages not follow this example? ... Girls from Portugal, follow her example.

Photographs of Portuguese athletes were employed with the same purpose. The magazine *Stadium* made great use of this strategy. It is possible to find during its years of publication (from 1932 to 1952), many pages, including front pages, totally devoted to photographs of Portuguese female athletes (see Figures 1-3). These photographs were often accompanied by words of encouragement to Portuguese girls and women, and often made reference to the grace and beauty of the athletes.
In addition to the photographs and comments, there were also many published interviews with Portuguese female athletes which were designed to show that women’s participation in sport was not incompatible with women’s femininity. These interviews were an important strategy to promote sport, though it should be remembered that the exercise of censorship meant that only those ideas that which were acceptable to the regime were to be published.

Aesthetic arguments served not only to encourage women’s participation in sport but also to indicate the sporting activities more suitable for women. Aesthetic arguments such as enhancing women’s beauty, gracefulness, femininity, the acquisition of attractive and slender bodies were used to indicate that sports such as swimming, gymnastics, horse riding and tennis were appropriate sports for women (Debonnaire cited in Stadium, 30 December 1932; Falkok, 1934 cited in Femina, 8 June 1934; Reis, 1948; Magalhães, 1933; Pereira, 1968; Teixeira cited in Stadium, 25 October 1944; Pampulha, 1948).

Swimming, for example, was considered by the author of an article in the newspaper A Baliza, in 1946, as better than any beauty treatment:

Swimming is the best beauty treatment, the tanned skin, the healthy look, the shining that the eyes acquire through the contact with the sea, the sun and the body with perfect lines, with coordinated and gracious movements, are in fact results that by no other beauty treatment can be acquired but that can be obtained by swimming (M.S.C., 1946, p.3).

Advocates of women’s sports also argued that gymnastics was an appropriate sport for women, though they were thinking about moderate, educative or respiratory gymnastics, that is, group gymnastics. They were not referring to what some called applied or Olympic
gymnastics, which is known nowadays as artistic gymnastics. In fact, this type of gymnastics was often claimed to be too demanding and violent, thus threatening women's health and femininity (Affonseca cited in Pereira, 1968; Herédia cited in Stadium, 30 December 1932; Pereira, 1968). But moderate and especially respiratory gymnastics were strongly recommended, as long as correctly guided and adjusted to the age of each woman. The aesthetic reasons put forward to justify this kind of gymnastics relied on the fact that this type of gymnastics involved movements that were held to be consistent with women's feminine traits. This kind of gymnastics did not develop women's musculature but increased their gracefulness and beauty (Reis, 1948; Magalhães, 1933; Pereira, 1968). Women were, then, encouraged to practise gymnastics since this was not regarded as a threat to their femininity, but on the contrary, would enhance their grace.

Gymnastic dances were another type of gymnastics considered by Vanzeller as appropriate for women. She believed that if such dances were performed correctly they were educative and beneficial. Again aesthetic reasons were presented to justify such activities. These dances would "develop agility, elegance and the beauty of gestures ... [and] simultaneously the aesthetic sense" (Vanzeller, 1944, p.42).

Aesthetic reasons were also employed by those who supported women's participation in more controversial sports such as basketball and athletics. For example, in relation to basketball there were those who condemned it as an activity for women and those who supported it. The latter argued for the moral and health benefits of basketball but also presented the aesthetic advantages. For example, Alfredo das Neves noted that basketball "contributes to the development of [the woman] lines, improving her appreciated feminism" (cited in Atleta, 26 April 1939).

In athletics, aesthetic arguments were employed to promote certain disciplines and to warn against others. A writer who signed him/herself as A.F. in an article in the newspaper Os Sports (18 March 1932), argued that the high jump and javelin did not make women less elegant, but he/she was not particularly happy with women's involvement in other aspects of athletics. This author was completely against races and especially cross country races. Races were held to be too demanding and women were not prepared for such strenuous activity. Moreover, they would also lose their grace and beauty. Women who ran such races usually finished in a pitiful state, completely exhausted and looking ugly. According to the author,

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3 Vanzeller was a doctor and when MPF was established she became an assistant commissioner until 1945. Until 1937 she was director of LACF (Liga da Acção Católica Feminina – League of the Female Catholic Action), LUCF (Liga Universitária Católica Feminina – Female University Catholic League), JCF (Juventude Católica Feminina – Female Catholic Youth), JUCF (Juventude Universitária Católica Feminina – Female University Catholic Youth).
Chapter six

this was not good for women or for the promotion of athletics. No one wanted to see women finishing races in such a lamentable state.

Aesthetic reasons – not just losing femininity but also becoming more masculine - were also put forward to warn women against participation in sports such as football and handball. It was held that women’s participation in such sports, according to one of our interviewees, “would deform women’s bodies”. Women’s participation in sporting activities where strength, resistance, aggression and physicality were predominant features, had to be discouraged or even forbidden because they lead to the masculinisation of women (Reis, 1951; Barradas, 1951a; Paulo, 1950). These aspects were mentioned by one of our interviewees. He noted that football had been taboo for women because it was considered a “masculine activity, [that] could masculinise, women could lose their femininity”.

Throughout the New State period, intensive sports practice for women, exhibitions and competitions were continuing concerns (Pina, 1937; Vanzeller, 1944; Mira, 1933; Tamegão, 1933; Rocha, n.d.; Leite, 1942). Some of these concerns revealed aesthetic preoccupations.

Sport practised in moderation was regarded as beneficial for both men and women. However, when practised in a more intensive manner it was considered harmful to women’s health and femininity. According to Tamegão (1933) and Carreira (1941), the woman who dedicated herself to sport in a more intensive manner faced the risk of losing her feminine qualities.

Intensive efforts should be avoided, because the woman is not made to fight. If strength is one of the man’s qualities, the beauty, the forms of harmony and gracefulness, constitute one of the most enchanting advantages of a woman (Tamegão, 1933, p.2).

Moderation was, then, the key word.

The criticism in relation to women’s participation in competitions can also be found in the comments of Correia (1961a, 1961b) in relation to the participation and performances of women at the Olympic Games. Although recognising the importance of women’s sporting interchange, he condemned what he saw as the consequences of women’s participation in these events. Several victorious women athletes had no breasts and presented excessive muscular development. In a word, they were too masculine.

Two of our interviewees also noted that at this time there was the idea that women who were involved in certain sports or in more intensive sports were tomboys.
There was the idea that girls/women [involved in sport] were tomboys and that idea probably led girls to not take part in sport because if they did [they thought they] could be judged as having some kind of sexual imbalance.

**Moral and social arguments**

Moral and social arguments were also employed by those in the sports lobby, as well as by some members of the regime and their supporters who sought to encourage women’s participation in sport. Moral and social arguments were also at the heart of the regime’s policy of controlling the type of women’s involvement in sport.

For the regime and its supporters, the moral virtues that could be acquired through sport were of particular importance. It was held that, through physical and sporting activities, virtues such as discipline, confidence, loyalty and respect were transmitted. Sport, besides contributing to the physical strengthening of women, also developed “the discipline of will, confidence in self-effort, loyalty, health, joy” (Vanzeller, 1944, p.47).

But not only these people connected directly to the regime employed moral and social arguments. Doctors, athletes and others interested in sport also made use of such ideas. For example, Esmeralda Talaia (cited in *República*, 13 October 1937) pointed to the moral benefits of physical and sporting activities. According to her, through these activities people (in this case women) would be able to see the beauty of feelings such as solidarity and companionship. Female athletes highlighted, as well, the moral benefits of sport.

Sport is a school of open and loyal companionship, where people always feel good; it gives joy of living, good disposition to study and for everyday work (Idalina Vasques cited in *Stadium*, 8 September 1937).

Doctors such as Maria Luiza Herédia also employed social and moral arguments to justify women’s involvement in sport:

Sport contributes to the formation of our personality, developing the notion of independence, educates our will and perseverance, teaches us to dominate our impulses, face defeats with courage and resignation, accept victories with sound and peaceful joy. Sport is like an easy and pleasant training that prepares us to walk through life, strengthening us to bear its difficulties and helping us to appreciate its beauty (cited in Stadium, 30 December 1932).

Arguments of this kind were employed by those seeking to promote women’s involvement in sports such as horse riding, tennis, gymnastics and volleyball.

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4 Idalina Vasques was a skater.
5 Maria Luiza Herédia was a doctor and one of the first women to belong to the Portuguese Olympic Committee.
The moral and social benefits of horse riding were highlighted mainly by MPF, which recommended this sport as a suitable activity for women. Riding, it was held, helped to develop certain qualities: concentration (to avoid obstacles), fast decision making (essential to riding), strong will (to make the horse obey orders), calmness and serenity, intuition and kindness (to gain the horse’s trust) (Boletim Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 1940).

The moral and social benefits of volleyball (discipline, companionship and strengthening of friendship) were also highlighted in order to indicate this sport, as the most appropriate team sport for women (Maria Alcina Dias cited in Via Latina, 1 February 1961).

In relation to tennis, in 1945 the newspaper Mundo Desportivo published an article highlighting the social and moral benefits:

It is a sporting activity that can be possibly considered as the one with characteristics in greatest harmony with the physical conditions of a woman. The milieu in which it is usually practised and the set of norms and moral and social principles that have been preserved ... reinforce this point of view. Therefore, the development and improvement of female tennis should occupy a distinctive place and deserve from official ... leaders special attention (Serra, cited in Mundo Desportivo, 4 July 1945).

The physical and moral benefits of the Swedish system of gymnastics were also recommended. Swedish gymnastics, in addition to being recommended for all women (Herédia cited in Stadium, 30 December 1932; Pereira, 1968), were also highly recommended for men. One reason for this was that this method was held to be based on the scientific knowledge of anatomy and physiology and on the knowledge of the effects produced by different exercises. But this method was also advocated for other reasons. This method was also seen as serving the interests of the New State regime. The Swedish method, when developed in Sweden, was regarded as a means of restoring health, national pride and self-respect. Through the use of exercises on apparatus, free standing exercises, stretching and breathing exercises, this method had been held to contribute to the rejuvenation of the Swedish people, especially after military defeats during the Napoleonic wars in the nineteenth century. The exercises were carefully co-ordinated to follow to the principle of progression. Moreover, this method also implied discipline and order, which was very dear to the Portuguese regime and, as noted earlier, the idea of physical and moral rejuvenation of the Portuguese population was a great concern for the regime. The idea of physical and moral improvement, usually associated with the Swedish system, led ideologists to strongly recommend and support the adoption of this method in Portugal.

However, rhythmic gymnastics were criticised by some writers. For example, Vanzeller held that:
It is ... totally condemnable ... the moral principles ... condemn it, ... by its entirely aesthetic conception ... that induces [the woman] to luxurious movements that soften the will and thus, demean the human personality, not to speak about the clothes usually adopted for its choreographic presentation (Vanzeller, 1944, p.41).

On the other hand, rhythmic gymnastics were regarded by Maria Luiza Herédia, Margarida Tamegão, Celestino Marques Pereira and Dr. Maria Luisa da Palma Carlos as suitable for women. It was argued that, besides being an excellent means to learn rhythm, to improve musical sensibility, to develop movement coordination, it was also excellent for flexibility, agility and the nervous system.

As noted earlier, during the New State period concern was expressed about women’s participation in competitions, exhibitions and intensive sports practice. Vanzeller (1944), Quintino da Costa (cited in Pires, 1956) and Gamboa (1937) based their objections largely in moral concerns:

Female public festivals as well as gymnastics sporting exhibitions and athletic public competitions are condemned by Christian morality and cannot be accepted in a country, like ours, in which the New State policy sets out its principles and praises the return of the woman to the household, believing that only in that sanctuary ... can the woman improve herself and contribute to the prosperity of her own family and to society’s wellbeing (Vanzeller, 1944, p.42).

Gamboa, to support this argument, referred to the words of Pope Pio XI, for whom female exhibitions were an outrage to Christian morality.

According to one of the interviewees, women who were involved in certain sports were regarded with suspicion:

They were regarded with suspicion in relation to their posture, they were seen as libertine ... they were spoken about (M. G. Castelo Branco, interviewee).

Women’s biology

During the New State period it was widely believed that, due to their anatomic and physiological structure, women were well suited to certain sports but not well suited for others (Barradas, 1951b). It was held that, due to their morphologic constitution and functional capacity (less weight, more body fat, greater delicacy, manual skill) women were better prepared for activities where, for example, speed and skill were important factors (Antunes, 1960).

These were the kind of arguments employed to promote swimming amongst women. According to Lima (1937, p.52), “Mother-Nature made – as if intentionally – woman’s body
for the arts and the swimming science". Dr. Antunes (1960) was of the same opinion, arguing that due to their lighter weight and more body fat, women were better suited for swimming.

But the assumed anatomic, psychic and physiological features of women were also used to justify women’s lack of aptness for certain other sports, to take part in competitions or to be involved in intensive sports activities. Some of the arguments against women’s involvement in activities such as basketball, handball and football reflected some of those concerns about women’s physical constitution (Correia, 1961b; Fernanda de Castro cited in Stadium, 16 August 1944; J.D. cited in Stadium, 27 November 1946; Stadium, 11 October 1950; Maria Archer cited in Anabela, 1945; Paulo, 1950). For example, Paulo (1950) argued that women due to their physical constitution, were more vulnerable than men to the possible trauma that could arise from the physical contacts that were frequent in games such as basketball, handball and football.

Women were advised to leave football to men, since only they were naturally suited for such an activity:

Football is a sport for men ... Women’s football, would be, above all, ridiculous. Football is a violent, aggressive sport, and only men, by their natural conditions, can play it. The woman does not have the same vigorous impetus and her game would result in a funny and humiliating foolishness (Maria Archer cited in Anabela, 1945, p.6).

The anatomic and physiological features of women were also used to justify the arguments that women were less suitable to take part in competitions. Even some of those who argued for women’s involvement in sport warned against competitions and intensive sports practice (Carreira, 1941; Pina, 1937; Carlos, 1950; Correia, 1961a, 1961b). Again those arguments were frequently based on claims about women’s physical constitution. Carreira (1941) and Pina (1937) argued that women were not anatomically and physiologically well prepared to take part in competitions that demanded and developed qualities that women did not have. Dr. Luisa da Palma Carlos (1950) also added that excess in sport had to be avoided because women were not physiologically and anatomically prepared for such efforts. Moreover, their “periodical influences”, although not limiting their involvement in moderate physical activities, could adversely affect them if they became involved in more athletic and violent physical activities.

These aspects were also pointed out by one of our interviewees, who recalled that in this period, it was held that “women’s physical qualities would be damaged” as the result of intensive sporting activity.
Chapter six

Health arguments

Throughout the New State period the health benefits of involvement in sports were consistently highlighted by representatives of the regime and also by those who were interested in encouraging greater participation of women in sport.

Physical and sporting activities would, it was held, not only benefit in terms of grace, beauty and posture, but would also benefit their health. By contributing, for example, to the correction of certain disabilities caused by incorrect physical attitudes in day-to-day lives, by working as a therapy for certain malfunctions of the reproductive organs (Vanzeller, 1944), by "increasing the muscular tonus of [their] organs" (Costa, 1942, p.6) and by helping to develop the bone structure, physical and sporting activities would help women to improve their health. Improving women's health was regarded as an important issue, especially for the regime, since healthy women would give birth to healthy and strong offspring capable of efficiently serving the nation (Pina, 1937; Mário de Oliveira cited in Stadium, 30 November 1932). Because of this responsibility, Pina (1937) held that women had the obligation, unless there were contra indications, of taking care of their bodies, and for that purpose they should make use of physical and sporting activities:

Therefore a woman, when medical opinions do not oppose ... and if her domestic occupations allow her, has the noble obligation of taking care of her body, strengthening it, improving it by means of physical education. A trained and therefore improved female body will better resist the fatigue of domestic life, sickness and, one day, maternity in its painful but sanctified trances (Pina, 1937, p.9).

Since women were responsible for the perpetuation of the species, all physical activities, according to Dr. Washmann (1948), should aim at the development of a strong musculature, especially around the iliac region.

In the 1960s, using a more detailed medical analysis of women's reproductive organs, Dr. Antunes (1960) pointed out that it was in the preparation for giving birth that women most benefitted from being involved in physical activities. Physical exercises, correctly guided, improved respiratory and circulation functions of both mother and future child and helped women to control pain during birth.

Physical exercise serves ... to co-ordinate the activity of the pregnant woman, to lessen the effects of muscular contracture, and to prevent the nervous fatigue that will intensify the psychological factors of pain (Antunes, 1960, p.61).
According to Dr. Antunes, in the period after delivery, physical exercises could also perform an important role. By strengthening the muscles involved in childbirth, women’s reproductive organs would return faster to their normal condition.

Health arguments were also at the basis of concerns that surrounded the relations between menstruation and physical activities. Dr. Antunes (1960) pointed out that women’s performances increased during menstruation. However, in the pre-menstrual period, women’s performances could decrease. According to him, in this period women were less suited for sporting activities, and especially competitions, mainly because they suffered from “a psychic and neurotic symptomatology: tiredness, asthenia, irritability, diffuse pains, dyspeptic and urinary disturbances” (Antunes, 1960, p.65).

Dr. Deolinda Martins (cited in D’Oliveira, 1954) held that all girls could and should undertake physical exercises without any risks, as long as their menstruation was normal in terms of time and quantity. In case of some abnormality, such as incorrect positions of the uterus, physical exercises could also bring benefits. Dr. Maria Luisa da Palma Carlos shared the same opinion. For her, in certain dysmenorrhoea, physical exercises could be of great importance by exercising a positive influence (Carlos, 1950). Dr. Deolinda Martins (cited in D’Oliveira, 1954), however, argued that in the presence of tumours, cysts or any intensive ardour, physical exercises should not be permitted.

Besides the alleged benefits to women’s reproductive organs, women’s respiratory and blood circulation functions would also benefit from physical and sporting activities, or at least from certain activities (Mendonça, 1937; Dr. Nuno Vaz cited in República, 28 July 1937; Falkof, 1934 cited in Femina, 8 June 1934; Herédia cited in Stadium, 30 December 1932).

These arguments were used not only to encourage a greater participation of women in sport in general, but were also employed to justify the appropriateness of particular sports. For example, swimming was considered one of the most suitable activities for women not only for the aesthetic reasons mentioned earlier, but also because it would increase women’s respiratory capacity and heart resistance. In a word, it contributed to women’s health.

Health reasons were also the basis of most of the arguments put forward to encourage women’s participation in gymnastics. Gymnastics, besides helping to strengthen all muscles and thus help women to better perform their most important mission, also taught women how to breathe by coordinating their respiratory movements. According to Mendonça (1937, p.7), proper gymnastics respiratory movements helped to increase the quantity of air going into the lungs, thus allowing a more adequate and complete “airing of the circulating blood”. Through correct gymnastics, this renovated blood would be distributed to all body organs, thus giving women more vitality and energy.
But the health arguments employed throughout the New State period did not serve just to encourage women’s participation in sport or to indicate certain sports as the most suitable ones for women. These same arguments were also used to warn women against participation in competitions and intensive sports activity. The appearance of malformations, disabilities, the appearance of problems in the reproductive organs, the development of all the muscular structure or of certain muscles that could bring problems, were some of the reasons put forward to indicate the benefits of moderate sporting practice and the damage that more intensive practice could bring (Mira, 1933; Pina, 1937; Vanzeller, 1944). One of our interviewees recalled that it was held that intensive sports practice, or the practice of certain sports, “was harmful to the ovaries”.

The concerns that existed in relation to competitions were also partly based on health preoccupations. For example, Dr. Maria Emilia Leite generally supported women’s sport, but on health grounds was against competition. In her opinion, competition had to be avoided since it involved too strenuous exercises, it was too demanding and could give rise to health problems.

Avoid competitive sport – which … demands disorderly efforts, wastes energies and generates tuberculosis (Leite, 1942, p.4).

This kind of argument was also used to warn women against involvement in sports such as basketball, certain disciplines of athletics and cycling if practised more intensively. For example, Tamegão (1933) condemned high jump and long jump for women, due to the impact on landing. These disciplines, it was argued, could be a threat to women’s organs since they could lead to severe dislocations.

It can be said that underlying all the ideas favouring a greater involvement of women in sport, the ideas recommending caution, advocating moderate sports practice and the practice of certain sports, were concerns relating to women’s reproductive functions, health and femininity. Most of the arguments were underpinned by social Darwinist beliefs and eugenic ideas, that is, ideas about maternity as the key function of womanhood, the importance of women’s health for the national good, the prevention of “racial deterioration” and the improvement of future generations.

In all these arguments, it is possible to observe a concern for a controlled involvement of women in sporting activities. Women needed to be encouraged to take part in sports, and could become involved in various sports, but only under specified conditions and they should never put their health and femininity in danger. Although they could be involved in physical and sporting activities, women should never forget their most important roles: motherhood
and the family. Instead of trying to win sports meetings and championships, to break records, to become athletes, girls were expected to regard physical and sporting activities as a means that would help them to become stronger and healthier, but without losing their femininity. The regime encouraged women to be involved in sporting activities, but also tried to control women's involvement in sport.

It was in this context that, throughout the New State period, caution was recommended in relation to women's participation in competitions, exhibitions, in certain sports and also in relation to intensive sports practice. While encouraging women to take part in sports, some people (both those connected to the regime and other supporters of women's involvement in sport) manifested some hesitancy in relation to activities that were more formal in terms of organisation, more regulated, and that demanded more intensive participation or involved competition.

It should be noted that not only members of the regime and those having strong links with the regime recommended caution and warned against competitions, exhibitions and intensive sports practice. Supporters of women's involvement in sport more generally presented the same concerns. Such advocates of women's sport, while encouraging a greater involvement of women in sport, were constrained not to challenge overtly the ideas of the regime in relation to competitions and intensive activity. As noted in chapter four, the regime made use of a strong repressive apparatus, and those who were seen to oppose the regime became targets of that repression. Thus, even if these people did have different ideas regarding sports, they would rarely express them openly since this could lead to their actions, their entire life and even their friends being subject to strong surveillance by the political police, or even the possibility of being arrested (once in prison no one knew what could happen). The "acceptance" of such official ideas can therefore be considered as a matter of social and even physical survival.

The arguments put forward to discourage women from taking part in competitions and in some sports did not prevent women from being involved in many sports, including some of those regarded as less suitable for women. In spite of all the arguments surrounding for example, athletics, basketball, cycling or handball, some women did take part in these sports (though in some of them, such as handball, that occurred mainly within MPF)\(^6\). And despite all the arguments in relation to competitions, women did compete in many sports including those considered less appropriate for women. There were women competing in the annual athletics and swimming championships at regional and national levels, as well as in other

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\(^6\) According to the data available from the DGEFDSE in 1965/66 and 1968/69 while within MPF there were 320 and 2117 women, respectively, playing handball, at the level of federations there were none.
meetings of these same sports. Women also took part in several basketball, rowing, skating and horse riding tournaments, volleyball, gymnastics and field hockey meetings, tennis and cycling competitions.

Some Portuguese female athletes were involved in, and sometimes competed in, more than one sport. This was mentioned by one of our interviewees, who noted:

Those [women] from athletics were the same ones involved in volleyball, those from volleyball were the same ones practising table tennis.

There are many of such examples: Ester Moura Cabral competed in swimming, basketball and athletics; Margarida Salazar Carreira was involved in athletics (she was one of the most high status athletes) and swimming; Dália Cunha (one of the first Portuguese female athletes competing at the Olympic Games in 1952 in gymnastics) competed in gymnastics and athletics and also cycled; Maria Teresa Montoya played table tennis, swimming and gymnastics; Maria Julia Silva competed in field hockey, basketball and athletics.

The arguments put forward to warn against participation in certain sports, competitions and intensive sports practice were not equally accepted by all women. In other words, the attempt to control women’s involvement in sport met most limited success. Since women are not a homogeneous group, the New State’s ideology of femininity and the associated arguments were readily accepted by some women (those who considered marriage and motherhood as their most important missions in life) but they were much less accepted by other women who wished to experience the pleasure and satisfaction that could be obtained through sport. Those women who persisted in their sporting practice (competing and being involved even in sports considered less appropriate for women) helped to reveal that many of the ideas surrounding women’s sports were based on pseudo-science and were, in reality, nothing more than prejudices. In other words, most of these ideas lacked reliable medical and scientific evidence and were in fact ideological assumptions based on conservative social values bolstered by religion and on value judgements masquerading as medical judgements about women’s mental and physical capacities. Those women who persisted on their sporting practice helped to show that sport did not generate tuberculosis, did not masculinise them, did not damage their health and reproductive organs. Through their continuous involvement in sport they showed the ridiculous nature of many of the so-called medical arguments and above all they helped to show that most of those arguments were culturally determined and not based on reliable medical evidence. These women who continued to play sport

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7 Women though taking part in some cycling competitions they were much more involved in cycle tourism.
contributed, simultaneously, to gradual changes in the stereotyped ideas about women, women's health and women's involvement in sporting activities.

Women as participants in sports

During the New State period, in spite of all the arguments recommending caution and moderation in relation to their participation in sports and competitions, some women continued to be involved in sport. Indeed, women's participation increased, though only very slowly throughout the New State period, and only in certain areas of the country. For example, data on females aged between 10 and 29 years of age show a small increase in female participation between 1965/66 and 1968/69 (table 10):

Table 10 - Percentage of females registered in sports practised under the aegis of sports associations and federations by district (age group 10-29 years of age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of female inhabitants (10-29 years of age)</th>
<th>% of females registered in sports practised under the aegis of sports associations and federations in relation to the number of female inhabitants</th>
<th>No. of female inhabitants (10-29 years of age)</th>
<th>% of females registered in sports practised under the aegis of sports associations and federations in relation to the number of female inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1521600</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>1488800</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aveiro</td>
<td>94900</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>96200</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>44400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40300</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braga</td>
<td>108100</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>113600</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragança</td>
<td>39000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Branco</td>
<td>53400</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>50300</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbra</td>
<td>71000</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>67900</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évora</td>
<td>37100</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>33400</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faro</td>
<td>48000</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>44000</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarda</td>
<td>44800</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42800</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiria</td>
<td>69600</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>66000</td>
<td>0,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisboa</td>
<td>233700</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>217300</td>
<td>2,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portalegre</td>
<td>29400</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>26100</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porto</td>
<td>219300</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>226500</td>
<td>0,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santarém</td>
<td>74600</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>71300</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setubal</td>
<td>67400</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>66600</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Castelo</td>
<td>48900</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>48800</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vila Real</td>
<td>54800</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56700</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viseu</td>
<td>79900</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>79600</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>103300</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>102300</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Women from the main cities such as Porto and Lisbon tended to be more involved in sports than women from other areas. Sport was more accessible to women in larger cities due to the existence of female sports clubs, female sports sections inside big clubs and the existence of more sporting facilities, especially when compared to other areas of the country (as shown in table 7 in chapter five). In Braga, the third city in terms of female inhabitants in this age group, women were much less involved in sports. The low level of involvement of
women from Braga, as well as from other areas of the country, more especially from the north of Portugal and from the interior (rural areas) might have been due to other and more pressing demands in their time. During the 1960s, as mentioned in chapter four, due to the colonial war and emigration, thousands of men left the country, leaving behind families without a male head. In order to secure an income for their families, women had to work in agriculture and industry. Because of this, many women, especially from the working class and the lower levels of the middle class, had little time, and perhaps also little inclination to become involved in sports.

There was also a lack of sporting facilities in certain areas of the country, while some of the sporting facilities were not particularly appealing to women. Many of the sporting facilities were directed to sports conventionally regarded as male sports for, in spite of the provision of swimming pools, gymnasiaums and covered spaces, the majority of the sporting facilities consisted of football fields (Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1969, 1971), which helped to promote a sport traditionally associated with men and considered taboo to women.

Although there was a major concentration of sporting facilities and of women athletes in the two major cities of Portugal, it is possible to find, that there were, as previously noted, some tournaments and exhibitions of some sporting activities organised outside Porto and Lisbon. But these events received little attention from the media. The few references to women’s sports outside Lisbon and Porto might be seen as evidence of the marginal status of women’s sports.

Although it increased slightly during the New State period, women’s participation was always much lower than that of men, as can be seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>MP and MPF</th>
<th>FNAT</th>
<th>Sport practised under the aegis of sports associations and federations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>99,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>0,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>98,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>94,7%</td>
<td>97,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>5,3%</td>
<td>2,3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>74,2%</td>
<td>97,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>25,8%</td>
<td>2,6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* In the statistics corresponding to the years 1944 and 1951 the numbers available are not discriminated by sex.

It must be noted that, although women were less involved in sport in the context of federations, they were, outside MPF and FNAT, able to take part in a wider range of sporting activities. Within FNAT and MPF, women were able to practise only those sports considered...
by these state organisations as the most appropriate for women. Outside these organisations, women took part in many other sports including car-racing, fencing, pre-sportive and sportive gymnastics, golf, mountaineering, sailing, aeronautics, model-aircraft building and flying, powerboat racing and underwater activities.

**Women as organisers: female sports clubs**

In 1936 and 1937 two female sports clubs, called respectively *Femina* and *Feminino Atlético Club*, were established in Porto. These clubs were managed entirely by women.

Due to a shortage of properly qualified women coaches, the *Feminino Atlético Club* accepted male coaches, as indicated in an article in *Stadium* in 1937:

> Only representatives from the weaker sex can enter. Men are admitted as coaches because, so far, there are no ladies properly qualified to replace them. They will come ... Besides, everything there is feminine, everything is taken care of by the delicate hand of women (*Stadium*, 23 June 1937)

In 1941 the management was still undertaken exclusively by women under the president, Maria Estrela Abeillard Correia. This club offered field hockey, basketball, athletics, swimming, table tennis, tennis, gymnastics, volleyball, skating, cycling and motoring. The female athletes also took part in friendly sporting meetings and championships. They were also involved in demonstrations of some sports (athletics, field hockey and basketball), while the club also organised sporting festivals, competitions and games between its members.

Another female club *Ginsário Feminino de Portugal* – GFP, was established in 1937 in Lisbon. This club was launched by a group of supporters of women’s sports composed of athletes, journalists, writers, doctors and members of female sections of other sporting clubs. The ideology of this group of women contained strong traditional elements. The idea was to establish in the capital an exclusively female club where girls and women could strengthen their bodies in order to better perform what was seen as their most important mission: childbearing and rearing. Through this club and its activities it was intended to give girls and women the possibility of practising the physical and sporting activities they enjoyed and, at the same time, to help them become strong and healthy. This group thus utilised “similar ideas” to those employed by the regime to justify their struggle for women’s sport and for the creation of a female sports club. The ideas of this group of women were strongly supported by the newspaper *República* (which published several articles concerning women’s involvement in sport) and by the radio *Graça* (which broadcasted several lectures on this subject).
In 1937 *República* (13 June 1937) published an article by Celeste Mendonça, where she discussed the importance of gymnastics for women’s health, women’s nervous systems and the household budget (by reducing the amount of money spent at the pharmacy). Aires (cited in *República*, 16 June 1937) claimed that the modern woman attempted to improve herself morally, intellectually and physically. A similar idea was expressed by Carmo (1937) in an article published on the 24th of June in the same newspaper. Aires, in another article in *República* (22 June 1937) claimed that in some clubs women’s sections were inadequate, and in other clubs they simply did not exist. She claimed most clubs were interested only in men’s sports and almost ignored the few women interested in practising some sort of physical and sporting activity. It was within this context, that the all women’s club, GFP, was established in Lisbon. The idea was to establish a club for girls and women where not only the members, but also the coaches and directors, would all be women, thus allowing girls and women to feel more comfortable.

Maggioly in an article in *República* (16 August 1937) claimed that men had an important role in encouraging women to become involved in sports. She, too, accepted the dominant ideological discourse of the time by saying that every woman, future wife and mother, needed to be strong in order to improve the Fatherland.

In the lectures given on radio Graça, women and men from different areas (sports, journalism, literature) were asked about their opinion of women’s sports. Carmo (1937) talked about “Women and sport”. Julia Gil Moreira (cited in *República*, 12 August 1937) talked about the importance of sport for both men and women, the benefits of sporting activities for women and the diseases that could be avoided through physical exercise. Esmeralda Talaia (cited in *República*, 13 October 1937) talked about the influence of physical education on girls’ moral development. Dinora Tristão (cited in *República*, 17 November 1937) talked about the “girls of today, mothers of tomorrow”. Ilda Jordão lectured on the false morals allegedly diffused by the critics of sport (Pimentel, 1998b).

The role of men in encouraging women to take part in sports was a theme discussed by Alfredo Moura (an athlete and sports director) in a lecture on “the influence of men upon female sports” (cited in *República*, 22 September 1937). In her talk Judite Maggioly (cited in *República*, 21 July 1937), apart from indicating the importance of men for women’s involvement in sports, also identified the sports she considered more appropriate for women. The health benefits, and more precisely the benefits for women’s lungs and abdominal region, was a subject discussed by Dr. Nuno Vaz (cited in *República*, 28 July 1937).

The importance of sport in the physical strengthening of future mothers and in the improvement of the “race” was addressed by the athlete Ana Herédia in her talk on “Women
and the atrophy of the race" (cited in República, 14 July 1937), by the writer Anita Patrício, who addressed the subject of “the influence of sport upon the development of the race” (cited in República, 10 November 1937) and by Leite (1937) who talked about the necessity of promoting the physical development of women so they could perform better their future roles and thus contribute to the desired “racial improvement”.

The highest point of this campaign for women’s sports and for the creation of women’s sports club was the organisation of a women’s festival on the 5th of October 1937. This festival involved basketball, field hockey, track and field events, gymnastics exhibitions, cycling, car racing and motorcycle racing. The clubs that took part were Feminino Atlético Club, Sport Algés e Dafundo, Sport Lisboa e Benfica, Clube Futebol os Belenenses, Carcavelinhos, Ateneu Casapiano, Ateneu Ferroviário and Recreativo de Olivais. The magazine Stadium devoted two entire pages of photographs to this festival and one page of text reporting the event.

After this festival, Margarida Carvalho Araujo8, in an attempt to answer to some of the possible criticisms, argued that the campaign for a women’s club was completely consistent with the dominant ideology of the time. Through the establishment of a women’s club, no one intended to “build a practising school of amazons or to set up a diabolic factory of androgynous musculatures threatening the physical prestige of men” (cited in Pimentel, 1998b, p.34). Moreover, nobody sought to attract women away from the household, the family or their other duties. On the contrary, through this campaign it was intended to “give to the future Portuguese, healthy wives and vigorous mothers of an enlightened intelligence” who would “hold firmly the glorious republic flag and take further the golden name of Portugal” (cited in Pimentel, 1998b, p.34). This kind of discourse suggests that besides a great concern with traditional images of femininity there was also a concern with traditional images of masculinity and masculine dominance. It also indicates the way that those who argued for women’s participation in sport were often constrained to couch their arguments in terms of traditional concerns consistent with the dominant ideology.

Since many sports have traditionally been defined in terms of aggression, strength and physical force, that is, features traditionally associated with men, sport has traditionally been considered as a privileged space for the construction, expression and transmission of male identities. That is, sport has traditionally been regarded as an area in which men can develop their physical strength, can learn and express behaviours understood as appropriate for males and where they can also exhibit forms of behaviours that are usually condemned in day-to-day life due to their strong association with females.

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8 Margarida Carvalho Araújo was an advocate of women’s sport and supported the creation of GFP in Lisbon.
Chapter six

The group of women involved in the campaign for women’s sports and for the creation of a women’s sports club, through the kind of discourse outlined above, were constrained to demonstrate their concern with traditional images of femininity, and also to ensure that the women’s sports club would not constitute a threat to male identities and values and to the space where such traditional male values could be expressed. The argument for a new structure – the all female sports club – was thus couched in terms of traditional ideology.

The campaign for women’s sports emerged in a period marked by some tensions between the Catholic Church and the New State regime. Briefly, and as described in chapter four, in the late 1930s when the regime was trying to incorporate all girls and boys in state organisations such as MP and MPF, the Church was fearful that this would lead to the loss of its influence over the education of Portuguese youth. This led the Church to express its opposition to some of the regime’s policies. But in spite of such tensions, on particular issues the Catholic Church and the New State regime combined to fight against aspects that worried them both. The campaign for women’s sports was one such issue. The development of this campaign led the Catholic Church and the regime to combine to fight against the feminist ideas they believed were represented in the campaign for women’s sports. Despite the conservative ideology in which they were couched, the ideas presented in the campaign for women’s sports were judged by the regime and the Church as feminist and, above all, as communist ideas that would “intoxicate the natural course of the family and society” (Pimentel, 1998b, p.36). In the presence of such a threat, the campaign for women’s sports had to be stopped. From the beginning of the campaign for women’s clubs, supported by República, another newspaper, Novidades, condemned this initiative and accused República of diffusing “a nimble and perversive feminism” (Pimentel, 1998b, p.34). From October onwards, Novidades publicised the activities promoted by the women’s associations of the Acção Católica Portuguesa – ACP (Portuguese Catholic Action), and also published several editorials and articles condemning the campaign for women’s sports. Gamboa, in the article “the practise of sport and feminism” (1937, p.1), cited the encyclical Casti Connubi of Pope Pio XI to condemn the “praise of athletics” as a product of the “pagan classical period”. On the same day, an editorial condemned the “egalitarianism and the pro-communist feminism”. On the following day, Novidades published another article where the “masculinised woman” and the “emasculated man” were regarded as responsible:

For the moral disintegration of society, because they were violating the idea of differentiation and improvement of both sexes that had as their basis the biological facts and the traditional teachings of the Church (Novidades, 21 October 1937 cited in Pimentel, 1998b, p.25).
Once again the issues that were discussed suggest a strong concern not only with a perceived threat to traditional images of femininity, but also to traditional images of masculinity.

While Novidades was publishing articles and editorials condemning the campaign supported by República, on the 10th November 1937, the Acção Social e Política da Legião Portuguesa – ASPLP (Social and Political Action of the Portuguese Legion) demanded the prohibition of this campaign, sending to every newspaper a criticism of the movement as "markedly feminist", and accusing the campaign of:

Serving communism and the communist theory of sex equality [and of] distorting the true function of a woman [and of] pulling her away from her natural duties as a constitutive element of a balanced society, within the norms under which the spiritual organisation of the family is governed (ASPLP cited in República, 11 November 1937).

On this same day, República, through its editor Ribeiro de Carvalho, replied by saying that what the newspaper was doing was an "essential nationalist work". However, he said that the newspaper would stop its support for the campaign if the legal authorities understood it to be harmful. He claimed that the newspaper did not have any kind of political interest in this campaign.

Those campaigning for women’s sports had in the meantime sent to the Government representative in Lisbon a letter denying the accusation that they were anti-government, or that they followed ideas different from those of the regime. The group said that their goal was only the physical and sporting education of women. They wanted to encourage women to take part in sporting activities so they could prepare their bodies “for the sacrosanct mission of tomorrow being mothers of healthy and strong Portuguese” (A Voz, 13 November 1937). In this letter the group also mentioned that while in the north of Portugal, in Porto, there were two women’s clubs, in the capital there was none. This letter produced another reaction from the ASPLP. The lectures given on radio Graça were, it said, promoting the rebirth of a strong and beautiful woman without any sense of spirituality (Novidades, 13 November 1937). This campaign had to be repressed since it attempted “as a legal organisation inspired in an authentic code of red precedence” to intervene “on the Nation’s potential”, to intoxicate the “natural course of family and society” and turn the woman “into a simple agent of functional nature” (A Voz, 13 November 1937). The note condemning the campaign for women’s sports was published three days after the Minister, Carneiro Pacheco, announced the creation of MPF. In spite of all the controversy the Ginásio Feminino de Portugal was established on the 13th December 1937.
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The campaign for an all female sports club and for women’s sport in general faced strong opposition, albeit the use of arguments consistent with the dominant ideology. At a time when moderate practice of some sports by women was being praised, the regime along with the Catholic Church, regarded the creation of the GFP a threat to its ideology since it foresaw great difficulties in controlling the type of sports in which women could be involved within the club as well as the kind of involvement. In addition, the campaign for an all female sports club was supported by people regarded as opponents and a threat to the regime.

The people involved in the campaign for an all female sports club argued that in the same way reproduction demanded a collaboration of both sexes so the nation, for its own good, should require both sexes to be strong and healthy. The regime interpreted this argument justifying the creation of the GFP and women’s participation in sport as an appeal to the equality between the sexes. The regime saw this as unacceptable because, besides being against the most traditional teachings of the Church that attributed specific missions to each sex it could also threaten the family structure where both sexes had clearly defined roles and tasks (Pimentel, 1998b).

The campaign for women’s sports and the creation of GFP had some impact upon MPF. MPF was established in a period of conflict between those advocating women’s sports and those against them. MPF could not simply oppose those who supported and advocated women’s sports, but neither could it ignore those who were against women’s involvement in sporting activities. Through the promotion of physical and sporting activities in its centres, MPF to some extent met the demands of those in favour of women’s sports. But through its control of these activities, that is, by controlling the kind of activities in which girls were able to take part, and by promoting activities considered suitable to girls and discouraging or recommending caution in relation to others, the MPF also took into account those sectors of the population opposed to women’s sports. In this way, MPF sought to meet some of the demands of both groups, thereby attempting to secure its dominant position. From a figurational point of view, it can be said that although MPF was powerful it was not absolutely powerful, since it could not determine and control completely what was done in terms of women’s sport, and had to take into account the actions and interests of both groups. This was a complex figuration involving several groups (the regime itself, the Catholic Church, and those that resisted to the control attempted by the regime, that is, the opposition to the regime), none of which was completely powerful and each of which was sufficiently powerful that its demands had to be taken into account by other groups in the figuration. As a result, those arguing for the new structure of all women sports club were constrained to argue their cause in terms of traditional conservative values, while the conservative state-sponsored
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MPF was constrained to meet at least some of the demands for women's sport, while simultaneously trying to contain and manage that demand.

As in the cases of Femina and Feminino Atlético Clube, the management of this new Lisbon based club was also composed exclusively of women. Through the activities offered to its members it sought to improve girls and women's health and thus contribute to the rejuvenation of the Portuguese population. The sporting activities it provided were intended to help girls and women:

To prepare and strengthen their organisms so they can give us descendents worthy of our courageous race (República, 22 September 1937).

Within the club all the physical and sporting activities which were held to be compatible with women's physical constitution were encouraged. But activities and sports held to be harmful to female anatomy and function were avoided. Once again this reflects the constraining effects of traditional thinking even in this new development. Club members were involved in gymnastics, swimming, volleyball, tennis, basketball, table tennis, skating, etc. And the club also took part in demonstrations, festivals and friendly sporting meetings in order to publicise women's sport.

As was the case at Feminino Atlético Clube, the members of GFP were medically examined before and during their involvement in physical and sporting activities. According to the club president, Maria Aires, in an interview in the newspaper Os Sports in 1939, the club offered:

Gymnastics appropriate to the physical constitution and spirit of a woman, based on a rigorous and constant medical supervision, and only the sports that [were] compatible with a woman's abilities, without destroying her femininity, having always as a basis gymnastics and as guidance the permanent medical assistance, and never practised with the spirit of competition (cited in A.N., 1939, p. n.p.)

Feminino Atlético Clube and Ginásio Feminino de Portugal both played an important role in the promotion of women's sport. However, they depended on the support of men who were sympathetic to their cause and on men as teachers and for the management boards, while they did not have their own qualified staff. These clubs, though contributing to the progress of women's sport, never contested explicitly the dominant ideology as far as women's role in society was concerned. While promoting women's sport the arguments were framed in the regime's ideological discourse. This reflects that the constraints of traditional thinking were quite strong. While campaigning for women's sport, those involved in the campaign felt
constrained to frame their arguments in terms of traditional conservative values consistent with the dominant ideology.

Thus these clubs, in spite of encouraging girls and women to take part in sport, could never forget that they were preparing girls for their future roles and not preparing athletes. For that purpose these clubs should:

Maintain a high morality, a Christian morality, within the established patterns because that morality is absolutely needed to make the girl of today, the good mother, the good educator, to keep the virtues that still today are the attributes and honour of our women (Afonso, 1937, p. n.p.).

In addition to these all female clubs, there were female sporting sections inside other clubs, including: Clube Internacional de Football, Sporting Clube de Portugal, Futebol Clube do Porto, Sport Clube do Porto, Sport Lisboa e Benfica, Sport Algés e Dafundo, Paços de Brandão, Clube Naval de Lisboa, Clube de Ténis de Espinho, Lisboa Ginásio Clube, Ginásio Clube Português, União Desportiva de Oliveira de Azeméis, Clube Atlético de Campo de Ourique, Unidos do Barreiro, Estrela e Vigorosa Sport, Leiria Ginásio Clube, Sporting Clube de Tomar, Clube Sportivo de Pedrouços, Académico Futebol Clube, Ateneu Ferroviário de Lisboa, Clube de Futebol os Belenenses, Lusitano Atlético Algarvio, Feirense, Fenianos, Ginásio Figuerenense, Ateneu Comercial de Lisboa, Sporting Clube de Cascais, Fluvial, Laranjeiras, Clube Nacional de Natação, Clube Estefânia, Clube dos Galitos, Alhandra Sporting Clube.

The printed media and women’s sports

Throughout the New State period, there were reports in daily newspapers, sports newspapers, and sports magazines concerning women’s sports. Through articles and photographs, the results and performances of Portuguese women athletes, as well as foreign women athletes, were reported, and the benefits of moderate sports practice were highlighted. However, after 1937 the reporting of some sports stopped almost entirely. For example, from 1937 onwards, references in the sports magazine Stadium regarding field hockey and rowing decreased considerably. Until 1937 field hockey was frequently reported but after 1938 only 2 references were found: one in 1939 and one in 1945. In relation to rowing, prior to 1937 there were 22 references but after 1937 there was just one reference in 1947 and one in 1950. While some sports began to be under-reported, others – notably gymnastics, swimming and tennis - continued to be reported as before. This raises the question: why were some sports reported and others under-reported? Central to this is the question of which sports were acceptable to the New State regime and its organisations, especially MPF. After the establishment of MPF,
sports not supported by MPF were less reported, while sports that were recommended by this state organisation, such as basketball and horse riding, were given more publicity by Stadium.

The printed media, although publicising women’s sport, did not devote to female athletes and their achievements the same attention given to male athletes. An analysis of the sports section of a daily newspaper (*Jornal de Noticias*) and a sports newspaper (*A Bola*), between the Olympic Years of 1952 (the year of Portuguese women’s first participation in the Olympic Games) and 1972, focusing on the attention devoted to female and male athletes of basketball, swimming, gymnastics and athletics, indicates that these newspapers concentrated much more attention on male athletes, as shown in table 12:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Bola</th>
<th><em>Jornal de Noticias</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men’s written references (^a)</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s written references (^a)</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s photographs (^b)</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s photographs (^b)</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Percentage of the total number of written references
\(^b\) Percentage of the total number of photographs
* 26.5% and 0.5% of the written references and photographs respectively concerned both men and women’s sport; 25.8% of the written references were unclear in relation to gender classification
** 19.7% and 1.8% of the written references and photographs respectively concerned both men and women’s sport; 27.6% of the written references were unclear in relation to gender classification

The less attention women’s sport received both reflected and sustained the idea that women’s sport was of less importance than men’s sport, that men were more suited to these kind of activities and that women had other and more important roles in life.

The printed media and the female image

Throughout the New State period it is possible to observe in different publications (daily newspapers, sports newspapers, sports magazines, women’s magazines) that women athletes were treated in an ambivalent way. That is, female athletes were praised for their efforts and results, especially when they were involved in what were considered feminine appropriate sports but, at the same time, there was a perceived necessity to reassure everybody (men and women) that in spite of their involvement in sport they were still “real”

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\(^9\) These sports were chosen for the following reasons: gymnastics – for being considered traditionally as a female sport; swimming – for being, during the New State period, considered as a sport encouraged for both men and women; athletics (track and field) – for being the centre of some controversy during the New State. Some saw this sport as more or less appropriate for women, others saw it as totally unacceptable and others saw some of its disciplines appropriate for females but other disciplines as completely inappropriate for females; basketball – for creating some controversy. It was a sport encouraged and practised inside MPF, but outside this state organisation it was played much less.
women, that they had not lost their feminine qualities. In other words, that girls and women in sport were still conforming to the traditional stereotyped ideas of femininity.

Supporters of women’s sports, in an attempt to encourage more girls and women to take part in sport, tried to demonstrate through articles, interviews and comments accompanying photographs, that women who were involved in sports did not lose their feminine grace. That is, while they were arguing for a greater involvement of women in sport they felt constrained to couch their arguments in traditional conservative terms which did not offend the Catholic Church and the regime. In articles and interviews, the journalists in their references to women athletes and their performances frequently employed words such as “gentle mermaid”, “beautiful athlete”, elegant and gracious athlete”, “gentle athlete”, “elegant and flexible woman”, “slender and harmonious bodies”, etc. In interviews it is also possible to find this tendency. For example, in an interview with the athlete Georgete, the reporter says:

The athlete did not absorb the woman. The lips were brightened up with lipstick, the well cared for fingernails did not waste the lustre of a pink polish and in her hair a ribbon carefully arranged tied up her hair and gave more distinction to her bright eyes (Stadium, 25 July 1951).

In the comments accompanying photographs the same tendency can be seen. In all cases journalists devoted more attention to women’s qualities and physical attributes (eyes, smiles, hair) than to their performances. In this way, women’s athletic performances were consigned to a less important position because there was the necessity of reassuring everybody that female athletes were still “real” women.

Examples of comments accompanying photographs give a clearer picture of this objectification of women’s bodies and image.

Comment:
The gentle [athletes] gave to the ones who had the pleasure of observing the game, a magnificent show, where sporting perfection predominated without betraying the feminine perfection (Source: Stadium, 18 January 1939).

Figure 4 – Portuguese female athletes playing basketball.
The way female athletes were presented and the type of comments employed offered reassurance that they were still “real” women, and served to sustain conventional ideas about femininity and sport. In this way the comments helped to convey “ideologically encoded messages” (Hargreaves, 1982, p.127) about women, their roles in society and also about their femininity.

This chapter has tried to show that women’s involvement in sport throughout the New State period embodied tensions between those in favour of women’s sports and those against
a more intensive involvement in sports or involvement in particular sports. The moral and medical arguments employed had a dual function: to encourage women to take part in sports, but to control the type of sports practice, that is, the intensity of sports practice and the type of sport in which women could partake.

Relationships between men and women during the New State period can be conceptualised as established-outsider relations of a particular type. During this period, as noted in chapter four, relationships between men and women were strikingly unequal. Single women were highly dependent on their parents and married women were highly dependent on their husbands. After marriage, husbands had authority over their wives and were responsible for all major decisions. The wife had as her main sphere of activity the home and she occupied an inferior and very dependent position. Many women - though not all - accepted and internalised this image of themselves as dependent and subordinate. In this respect some groups of women “were no different from many other outsider groups in an inferior power position” (Mennell, 1992, p.134).

The concept of established-outsiders relations can also be applied to men’s and women’s participation in sport and especially in relation to women’s participation in sports traditionally considered as male appropriate sports.

Sport, and especially traditionally male sports, have always been regarded as privileged spaces for the inculcation, expression and validation of masculinity. As such, anything that might be seen to challenge such “sacred” spaces was regarded by many males as a threat. As a means of maintaining their superiority and their privileged position in such an important area, many males - with the support of some women - drew upon a variety of ideologies concerning women’s position, health and image. Women were told that they were inferior, that they lacked the ability to take part in sport and that their involvement in sport, and especially in those traditionally considered as male sports, would threaten their femininity. Many women, educated within this ideology, came to accept such views. In this respect, many women were no different from other outsider groups. As a group they could be considered as outsiders as far as their limited participation in sport, and especially traditionally male sports, was concerned. On the other hand, men (with the support of some women) could be described as the established group. Through a variety of forms of control, these dominant men were able to impose on many women the belief that they lacked the ability to take part in sport, or that through their involvement in certain sports they could put at risk their femininity. And, as is often the case with outsider groups, many women came to internalise this view of themselves and came to believe that their inferiority and lack of ability was inherent in women’s nature.
Many women did not challenge this situation because they lacked the level of cohesion and solidarity which are the main sources of power of an established group. While some women accepted this view of themselves, there were other women who actively collaborated with men but also other women who tried to challenge these ideas. Because women presented different degrees of solidarity and presented a low level of cohesion they were not able to “close their ranks and fight back” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.xxii). This lack of solidarity and cohesion made it very difficult for those women who resisted such ideas to organise to fight back against this powerful ideology that conditioned their involvement in sport.

Ideas about the role of women in society, about their bodies, about femininity and about their involvement in sport were not only imposed on them, but also created by them. Traditional ideas about gender were accepted and internalised as a “part of commonsense reality” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.111) by many women and this had important repercussions upon women’s involvement in sport by limiting their involvement in sports, particularly in sports ideologically considered as not suitable for women. But women are not a homogeneous group and, while some accepted the dominant ideology, other groups through their involvement in sport contributed to gradual changes in the stereotypical ideas about women, their roles in society and their physical image. Even those groups, however, as we have seen, were often constrained to express their demands for female participation in ways which continued to reflect many traditional ideological concerns. Radical breaks with traditional ideologies or the open rejection of the values of Church or state were rare.

However, it might be argued that the regime’s ideology in relation to women, to their roles in society and to their involvement in sport had an unintended consequence. By advocating a moderate sports practice, it actually gave to increasing numbers of girls and women opportunities to try various sports and to obtain enjoyment from sport. In fact, it can be said that it was within the MPF context that some girls (especially those belonging to families with low incomes) had the opportunity to try sports and to obtain pleasure from sport, perhaps for the first time. As more girls took advantage of these opportunities, so more of them began to explore the possibilities of sport outside the MPF context and also the possibilities of taking part in supposedly less female appropriate sports. This illustrates the double-edged nature of social relationships. At the same time women were constrained by traditional thinking and to couch their arguments in terms of traditional values which did not offend the Catholic Church and the regime, new opportunities also opened up for them.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF PORTUGAL AFTER THE REVOLUTION

In order to better understand the “Carnation Revolution” that took place on the 25th of April 1974 one has to understand the “flow of figurations” (Elias, 1980, p.177) preceding that revolution. That is, one has to move backwards and more precisely to the 1960s, and examine briefly some of the changes and conflicts that occurred during that period prior to the revolution.

The 1960s and early 1970s

As mentioned in chapter four, the 1960s were marked by two key processes – emigration and the colonial war in Africa. Due to the Portuguese government’s determination to remain in Africa, Portugal was sending thousands of Portuguese males to Africa, and was also spending huge amounts of public money on the war. Simultaneously, many other Portuguese men were emigrating, either in an attempt to find a better life or in an attempt to escape from being sent to Africa. Most of these men came from rural areas which meant that these areas became dependent on the work of women and of a quite elderly population, which was not capable of working the land efficiently.

It was also during the 1960s that Portugal began to open its economy to the outside world. In order to meet all national expenditures and to finance the colonial war, the government sought to open Portugal to the external market and appeal to foreign investment. This led to the emergence of conflicts between the traditionally dominant social groups and the rising financial industrial groups, as noted in chapter four. The opening of the Portuguese economy to the exterior was accompanied by an increase of tourism which became, during the 1960s, one of the most productive and lucrative sectors of activity. In addition to being a source of jobs, tourist revenues also contributed to the national income. But the development of tourism also had other implications. Tourists with different customs began to influence the Portuguese people, who began to compare the Portuguese customs with those from abroad. Especially the young people (men and women) started to challenge the regime and the associated repression. Young men and women, particularly university students, began at the beginning of the 1960s to challenge official views of the regime, in relation to the position of women and gender relationships. In 1961 the newspaper *Via Latina* published a “letter to the Portuguese young female”, in which women’s emancipation was the main issue (Mónica, 1996). This letter demanded an end to the repression that was increasingly being felt in
relation to women and for a greater and different participation of women in society. This letter became the focus for some conflicts. While some young people demanded changes, other groups of young women belonging to the Catholic university groups defended the traditional women’s role in society. These groups accepted without question the ideas and vision of the dominant group in relation to the position of women in society. But it was after 1968 that the challenge from young people acquired a greater visibility. Influenced by what had happened in France, Portuguese university students began to challenge the existing education system, the police surveillance of universities (this led to the closing of some students associations), the imposition of the dominant morality, the limited freedom and censorship, and the determination of the Portuguese government to continue the colonial war (Vieira, 1999-2001; Mónica, 1996). The strategies they employed included strikes against classes and exams, student meetings and demonstrations. In an attempt to control the situation, the government responded by increasing the repression upon students. Some students were arrested, others were sent to Africa and others were exiled. But the Portuguese youth, influenced by increasingly powerful external influences, especially the tourists that visited Portugal and the foreign movies that Portuguese television was importing and broadcasting¹, began also to challenge parental authority. Girls not only began to wear mini skirts, but also went out more often and returned home at later hours (Mónica, 1996). This represented a real challenge to traditional ideas concerning women’s role and position in society.

The development of tourism, as well as the foreign investment in Portugal and the development of new industrial sectors, had other implications. All these processes created demands for a better educated workforce. Not surprisingly, it was particularly families of the rising financial-industrial groups which sought a better education for their children, and they began to pressure the government to improve the educational system. In 1973, a reform of the educational system, known as Reforma Veiga Simão², was approved. This reform was intended to give all Portuguese citizens a better education. With the changes in the education system, the number of students registered in all levels of education increased. Women’s involvement in education was no exception. Table 13 shows the percentage of women registered in university, completing their university degrees and the number of teachers at the university.

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¹ Since its appearance in 1957, Portuguese television (RTP) served the interests of the New State regime. Through what it broadcasted it transmitted the values considered by the government as the most important ones. In the early 1970s RTP began to broadcast to all areas of Portugal and began to import more programs including movies series.

² Some of the innovations that were introduced were: institutionalisation of pre-school education, compulsory education was extended to a period of 8 years, expansion and diversification of higher education, establishment of post-graduation courses, the right to education (Carvalho, 1985).
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Table 13 – Percentage of women students and teachers at the university level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960/61</th>
<th>1970/71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of university students who were women&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>29,1%</td>
<td>44,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of university teachers who were women&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>10,6%</td>
<td>18,8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Viegas and Faria (2001, p.20)

<sup>a</sup> Percentage of the total number of registered university students

<sup>b</sup> Percentage of the total number of university teachers

The changes in the education system were accompanied by transformations in the health sector. Investment in the health sector and the improvements in the education system led to an increase in the number of doctors, dentists and nurses and a reduction in the number of inhabitants per doctor<sup>3</sup>. The investment in the health sector was also associated with a decrease of the mortality rate and especially of the infant mortality rate. In 1960 infant mortality rate was 77.5 per 1000 and in 1970 it was 58 per 1000. This decrease in the infant mortality rate was accompanied by a decrease in the birth rate. From 1960 to 1974 the average number of children per woman also decreased. For those women in the childbearing age group, in 1960 the average number of children was 3,1 and in 1974 it was 2,66 (Conim, 1996). This can be considered as particularly important for women, for a decrease in the number of children not only liberated women from childbearing and childrearing, but also gave them the possibility to fight for other things such as greater entry in the labour market.

The colonial war and emigration also had important implications upon the unemployment rate and upon women’s employment. During the 1960s unemployment decreased<sup>4</sup> (Santos, 1996). Those who stayed in Portugal were able to find jobs more easily. The lack of males also led to more women entering the labour market.<sup>5</sup>

As noted in chapter four, this entry of women into the labour market was an unplanned outcome of other developments. The political and economic policies followed by the New State regime pushed various groups of women into the labour market. Despite official demands for a return of women to the household, and official praise for the important roles of women as wives, mothers and educators, many women were compelled to work in order to guarantee the subsistence of their families. This was not something that the government had planned; rather, from the interweaving of the actions of large numbers of people there emerged an outcome that had not been planned by the New State regime.

Despite the lower unemployment rate and the greater involvement of women in the work sphere, working men and women continued to be dissatisfied with working conditions,

<sup>3</sup> According to Barreto and Preto (1996), in 1960 there were 7075 doctors. This number rose to 8156 in 1970. In 1960 there were 1256 inhabitants per doctor. By 1970 this number decreased to 1056.

<sup>4</sup> Unemployment rate was of 2.4% in 1960 and 1.7% in 1970 (Santos, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> In 1960 women represented 13% of the economically active population. In 1970 this percentage rose to 19% (Viegas and Faria, 2001).
salaries, health and living conditions. This resulted in workers strikes. Central to workers demands were further improvements in the health services and better working conditions, including a reduction in the number of working hours per week, 30 days of paid holidays, provision of refectories within factories, minimum wages and nurseries. Women workers were also involved in these strikes. Tavares (2000) in her book *Movimentos Sociais de Mulheres em Portugal – Décadas de 70 e 80*, analysis with some detail the reasons that were behind the strikes carried out by various groups of working women from different areas of Portugal.

The increasing number of women entering university and the labour market brought into the public sphere a sector of the population that before had been largely confined to the private sphere. This brought further changes in gender relations. It increased the social contacts between males and females and led to a greater intimacy between them, something that previously had been criticised (A12o, 1996b). However, although there was a lessening of the restrictions concerning male and female intimacy and sexuality, not all the restrictions disappeared. Girls' behaviour and feelings continued to be highly regulated by the family, Church, state and peer groups. However, girls, women and also males increasingly began to contest the way marriage and family were regarded by the New State. These challenges emerged mainly amongst certain sectors of the upper and upper middle classes. These groups began to argue that in order to have a different society something had to be done in relation to people’s consciousness because without changing consciousness, they argued, it did not make sense to campaign for a different society (Gameiro, 1996).

In spite of being more involved in education and in the work sphere, women continued to be discriminated against in terms of salaries and positions of power. Within the family, gender relations continued to be regulated by traditional premises. The man continued to be the head of the family and the one responsible for all the decisions concerning children and family matters.

During the 1960s, Portuguese society underwent some important changes. These changes created several points of tension and conflict. There were economic, financial and social conflicts. At the end of the 1960s and early 1970s Portugal was in a period of crisis (economical, financial, social). All aspects of the New State regime, including gender relations, began to be challenged. In addition there was the key problem of the colonial war.

The general population, as well as the financial-industrial groups, were discontented with the war and favoured a political solution. The armed forces had the same concerns.

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6 Salaries were quite small and did not go along with the increasing inflation rate. A great number of families had incomes that were not enough to satisfy basic needs and to live with some comfort.
Chapter seven

Every year thousands of males were being sent to Africa to fight and die in a war that most of them did not understand. Moreover, in order to deal with a shortage of duly qualified males, in 1973 some changes were introduced in the army’s promotion procedures\(^7\) which infuriated junior career officials (Ferreira, 1994). This situation, as well as the general sentiment of war weariness, led some captains and generals of the armed forces to press the government to find a political solution to the colonial war. However, nothing was done. In response, some captains of the armed forces began, mainly in the summer of 1973, to hold meetings to discuss the situation of the colonial war and the status of military careers. In October 1973 the decree-laws that had generated some anger were suspended but the armed forces continued to be dissatisfied. In the absence of a solution to the situation in Africa, the armed forces continued to hold meetings and began to discuss the possibility of a military intervention in order to put an end to the conflict. This prospect of military action increased with the publication of General Spínola’s book – *Portugal and the Future* – in February 1974. In this book besides criticizing the government for the way it was conducting the war, he called for democratisation and a political solution to the colonial war. The fact that this came from a General was critical for the government since it meant that “the regime could no longer rely on the unquestioning loyalty of the army” (Lloyd-Jones, 2001, p.2). With the publication of this book, the prospect of military action against the regime acquired even more supporters. From the armed forces meetings emerged the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* – MFA (Armed Forces Movement), which in 1974 led the military intervention that brought down the regime. The military that had helped to establish the dictatorship was at least until the 1960s a supporter of the regime. After the adherence of Portugal to NATO in 1949, the military became a well developed sector. Membership in NATO enabled the military to acquire sophisticated weaponry and modern equipment. However, the colonial war and the changes introduced in the army’s procedures led the military to start questioning the regime and its policies and to stop supporting it. When the military withdraw its support the regime fell. At the beginning of its creation, the MFA was mainly concerned with the colonial war and with military careers. But soon it began to argue that the existing political regime and its institutions had to be overthrown not only for military reasons, but also in order to resolve other problems that the regime was unable to resolve.

\(^7\) The Minister of Defence in an attempt to deal with labour shortages in the armed forces published two decree-laws where some changes were introduced in the officials’ careers. Militiaman officers could enter the permanent board after having completed successfully, in the military academy, an accelerated course for officers with the duration of two semesters while cadets needed four years to be promoted to second lieutenant. In antiquity terms this situation favoured the militiaman officers since antiquity would start to be counted from the moment of their promotion to militiaman lieutenant. Such meant surpassing in about two years the cadets formed in the academy and that already belonged to the permanent board since the beginning of the 1960s (Ferreira, 1994).
By the beginning of the 1970s, the ruling groups were no longer able to maintain their supremacy without resistance. There were many points of tension and conflict. Not only the armed forces, but also other sectors of the population, were challenging the regime and its policies. Many groups of the Portuguese population were passing from a state of relative passivity to greater activity. The ruling groups were losing their credibility and their hegemony was being seriously threatened.

On the 25th of April 1974 a group of officers from MFA overthrew the regime, thus putting an end to a dictatorship that had lasted 41 years. It can be argued that all the political and economic policies that had been followed by the regime in an attempt to maintain its power and to maintain the Portuguese colonies actually created the conditions for its own overthrow. During the 1960s and, especially in the early 1970s, there was a very complex situation in Portugal which led to the emergence of tensions and conflicts. These tensions and conflicts were something that the New State regime had not planned but they were a consequence largely of government policy. What the regime wanted was to keep its colonies and secure its position of power. However, the political actions which it followed not only generated tensions and conflicts, but they also led to an unplanned outcome, which was the overthrow of the New State regime itself and the closing of all the organisations related to the regime.

The military action that put an end to the New State period lasted less than 24 hours and involved almost no bloodshed. Soon the military coup, with the support of the population, became a revolution. With the military action, the Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano and high ranking officials of the old regime were arrested and exiled, political prisoners were released and some of the politicians who were in exile came home (Solsten, 1993d, 1993e).

After the 25th of April 1974

From this date until the establishment of the first constitutional government in 1976, Portugal went through a period of great political and social instability. The political instability is evident in the fact that, in a period of two years, Portugal had 6 provisional governments. All the political changes that occurred during this period were associated with power struggles amongst civil politicians and the armed forces, and also within the armed forces movement itself. The MFA did not want to be left out of the de-colonisation process and wanted to lead the revolutionary process. Even within the MFA there were disagreements and
conflicts between its three factions. Left wing parties sought greater intervention in the political sphere.

The various provisional governments, all of which had a very strong presence of left wing parties, including the Communist Party, attempted to secure their political position and to deal with the economic and social problems facing the country. However, they had to take into account the actions of other groups that also sought to control the political and economic activity of the country. There was thus a complex situation, in which the different groups involved were all interdependent and constrained each others' actions. The interests of one group often collided with those of other groups, leading to the emergence of several tensions amongst the different groups involved in the struggle for power. But none of the groups involved in this struggle for power was sufficiently powerful to be able to control the unstable economic and social situation in Portugal. While the MFA and left wing parties were fighting amongst themselves, other emergent political parties such as PPD – *Partido Popular Democrático* (Popular Democratic Party), CDS – *Centro Democrático Social* (Social Democratic Centre), UDP – *União Democrática Popular* (Popular Democratic Union), MES – *Movimento de Esquerda Socialista* (Socialist Left Wing Movement), PPM – Partido Popular Monárquico (Popular Monarchic Party) and MDP – *Movimento Democrático Português* (Portuguese Democratic Movement) were setting down their roots within civil society (Lloyd-Jones, 2001). Though they were less powerful, they organised demonstrations and congresses where they attempted to present themselves as alternatives to the existing political power. Though not having the same possibilities to guide and control the political and economic activity of the country, they were not without power since the ruling group continually had to respond to their actions and develop strategies in order to retain its own power.

Besides the political instability, this period was also marked by great social instability. There were strikes involving different sectors of the population, houses were occupied, factories and land began to be put under popular control, some companies were taken over by workers and others were abandoned by their owners. This period was also marked by a number of nationalisations and land expropriations. Banks were nationalised as well as other sectors: petrochemical, cement, fertilizer, tobacco, iron and steel companies, the major

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8 Within MFA there were 3 factions that fought against each other for the leadership in the revolutionary process and had different views in relation to the de-colonisation process. One of these factions, considered as the moderates, called for a stop to all the revolutionary activity, defended a socialist independent way for the de-colonisation process and called for the establishment of a democratic system. One of the other factions, called "New Left" was more connected to the extreme left wing and was controlled by the COPCON - *Comando Operacional do Continente* (National Operational Centre). This faction called for a “military-led, third world democracy” (Lloyd-Jones, 2001, p.6). Finally the other faction, more connected to the Communist Party was not happy with the course of the revolution and wanted to obtain control of the popular organisations.

9 Later this party came to be known as PSD – Social Democratic Party.
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breweries, the large shipping lines, most public transport, two of the three principal shipyards, the radio and television networks, important companies in the glass, mining, fishing and agricultural sectors. When the process of expropriation of certain rural estates was regulated, several farms were delivered to rural workers who formed themselves into cooperatives of agricultural production or another form of collective company, called collective unity of production (Vieira, 1999-2001).

The Democratic period

Brief political and economic overview

On April 2, 1976, the Portuguese Constitution was approved and on the 25th of April the first elections for the Portuguese National Parliament were held. With these elections a democratic and parliamentary regime was founded. For the first time "a political system was ... based on fundamental civic and parliamentary rights including universal suffrage and freedom of political activity" (Barreto, 2002, p.5). With these elections Portugal was entering a period in which political exile, prisoners of conscience or the concept of political crime ceased to exist.

The period between 1976 and the mid-1980s, was marked by some government instability. Most of the governments in this period "were mainly of a coalition type and never ended their terms" (Freire, 2003, p. n.p.). From the second half of the 1980s onwards there was greater government stability. From 1985 to 1995 the governments were social democrats and from 1995 to 2000 there was a socialist government. In spite of the political orientation of the governments during this period, they all shared a common concern with the political stability of the country, the resolution of the economic problems and the development of the Portuguese economy. This period was marked by an increase in inflation, which was not accompanied by an increase in terms of salaries, by a decrease in terms of private consumption and investment and by an increase of unemployment (Vieira, 1999-2001). In order to deal with these economic problems, the government twice requested the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). However, the IMF imposed several conditions that implied severe austerity measures10. These measures were unpopular with certain sectors of the Portuguese population, especially the working classes who were already at or near poverty level. Women also suffered, for they were hit hardest by the increase in unemployment. Women's unemployment was (and has always been) higher than that of men. As low wages failed to keep pace with inflation, this also had an impact upon employed women who had

10 Some of the measures that were taken were: containment of public expenditures, reduction of investments, liberalisation and increase of prices, increase of some taxes, reduction of the real wages in the public sector (Leão, 1996).
wages lower to those of employed men. This situation pushed women to a position of greater financial dependency on men within the family, whether fathers or husbands.

In 1986, Portugal became a full member of the EEC. From 1987 onwards the European Funds that were transferred to Portugal were used to develop various infrastructures, to improve the means of transportation and to modernize Portuguese industry.

Social changes
The political and economic changes that occurred in Portugal after the revolution of April 1974 had important social and cultural impacts. Let us examine some of the major changes related directly to women, and those others that had important indirect effects upon women.

Women
The legal and social position of women has changed considerably since the revolution. The publication of new legislation concerning women (employment, maternity, civil rights) and the revision and approval of a new Civil Code in 1978 brought important changes to women’s lives and their social status. Some of the major changes are summarised in the following tables.
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#### Table 14 - Main changes concerning different areas of women’s lives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before 1974</th>
<th>After April 1974</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work</strong></td>
<td>Maried women are able to work outside the private sphere without needing special permission from their husbands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Married men could object to their wives involvement in any kind of work outside the house.</td>
<td>- Women no longer need such authorisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Husbands had to give permission to their wives when they (wives) wanted to become involved in commerce, business or industry.</td>
<td>- Women allowed to enter any professional occupation. Discrimination on the basis of sex in terms of access to different positions or professional categories was abolished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Certain professional occupations were closed to women (magistrature, diplomatic careers). In other professional occupations there were some restrictions.</td>
<td>- After childbirth women can stay at home 14 weeks without losing length of service and remuneration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- After childbirth women could stay at home for 60 days with full salary.</td>
<td>- During pregnancy women are able to attend medical appointments without losing benefits, length of service or remuneration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Married women are able to work outside the private sphere without needing special permission from their husbands.</td>
<td>- Pregnant women cannot be fired without a credible cause fairly justified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Women no longer need such authorisation.</td>
<td>- Approved maternity leave of 90 days (in 1976) extended to 98 days in 1995.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family</strong></td>
<td>Husband and wife have equal rights and duties. Women are able to use their own financial resources as they please.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Husbands were the administrators of the family goods.</td>
<td>- The place where they live after marriage is chosen by both spouses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Married women had to adopt their husband’s residency after marriage. Women had the legal obligation to perform domestic work.</td>
<td>Such legal disposition was cancelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Within the family the man was the head of the family.</td>
<td>- The figure of the head of the family disappeared.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marriage</strong></td>
<td>Family structure and size changed¹¹.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Boys could get married at the age of 16 and girls at the age of 14.</td>
<td>- For both the minimum age to get married is 16 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The husband could dissolve the marriage if his wife was not a virgin and he did not know at the time of the wedding.</td>
<td>- This legal disposition was revoked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Men could read their wives mail.</td>
<td>- Men stopped being able to read their wives mail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Catholic marriages could not be dissolved.</td>
<td>- Divorce became legal due to changes in the XXIV article of the Concordat¹².</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td>Duties and rights become exactly the same for mother and father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The parental power was solely in the hands of the father. It was he who took the decisions and gave the necessary permissions. The mother was responsible for taking care of the children.</td>
<td>- Mothers, married or not, have the same legal rights. They just need to declare on the birth certificate of their children the father’s name. Usually the parental power is granted to the mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In the case of illegitimate children, if the child was registered the father got all the rights. The law presumed that all the children were of the mother’s husband.</td>
<td>- Abolished such designation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Children born outside marriage were considered illegitimate children.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹ Since the revolution the traditional model of the family has been changing. Family size began to reduce and to show an inverted triangle structure with the parents in the majority (Rosa, 1996). Single parent families have been increasing.

¹² Partly due to this change the divorce rate has been increasing. For example, in 1971 there were registered 542 divorces. In 1985 this number rose to 8988 and in 2000 to 19302.
An important change that occurred with the revolution of April 1974, and that had important effects upon all sectors of the population including women, relates to the end of censorship and the disappearance of the political police. The disappearance of these two important instruments of repression allowed a freedom of expression practically unknown until then. Newspapers and writers that had had their articles and books censored during the New State were now publishing without any restrictions. Individuals from different sectors of the population who before had been followed closely and sometimes arrested by the political police for expressing opposition to the regime were now free to organise opposition social groups without fearing the intervention of the political police. It was in this context that women were able to take part in unions, working committees, public demonstrations, and other organisations to campaign for greater rights. For the first time, women not only showed, in public, their discontentment but also demanded changes in their situation, particularly in terms of their civic rights, employment and health.

With the revolution, the existing women’s groups (such as GRAAL and MDM) continued to campaign but new groups also emerged ¹³(Tavares, 2000).

Table 15 - Women’s groups and their main focus of attention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus of attention</th>
<th>Women’s groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women in rural areas: trying to make them aware of their situation and their rights. Development of projects of social intervention.</td>
<td>GRAAL – Movimento Internacional de Mulheres Cristãs Rede de Mulheres MAPA – Mulheres a Preparar o Amanhã Grupo de Mulheres de Lourosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End discrimination, fight for equality, improvement of women’s employment, health, sexual division of work inside the house, changes in the civil code.</td>
<td>MDM – Movimento Democrático de Mulheres MLM – Movimento de Libertação de Mulheres IDM – Informação, Documentação/Mulheres GMP – Grupo de Mulheres do Porto GAMP – Grupo Atómico de Mulheres do Porto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion and personal improvement of specific sectors of the population.</td>
<td>Associação das Mulheres dos Diplomatas Portugueses Associação de Mulheres Juristas AMAP – Associação de Mulheres Agricultoras Portuguesas APME – Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Empresárias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political intervention.</td>
<td>AMS – Associação de Mulheres Socialistas IF – Intervenção Feminina LDM – Liga dos Direitos das Mulheres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹³ Some of these women’s groups were informed by a radical feminist perspective (MLM, IDM, GMP, GAMP, etc.), others by a Marxist/socialist perspective and others followed a more liberal feminist perspective (APME, IF, AMAP). For a more detailed discussion of the different perspectives informing the women’s groups see: Tavares, (2000). Movimentos de mulheres em Portugal: décadas de 70 e 80. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte; and Magalhães, M.J. (1998). Movimento feminista e educação – Portugal décadas de 70 e 80. Oeiras: Celta Editora.
The campaigns of these groups involved press conferences, public demonstrations, publication of articles in magazines, publication of books, publication of their own magazines, publication of pamphlets, public debates, national meetings, petitions, and demonstrations in front of the National Parliament. Their claims related not only to their own groups, but also to the wider society in order to change the “social structure including the political, culture, thought, economics and ethics patterns” (Magaías, 1998, p.23).

The freedom of expression allowed after April 1974 permitted a more open and free discussion of issues once considered as taboo, such as abortion, sexuality and contraception. Most of this discussion was carried out through the women’s groups that were formed after the revolution. During the New State period sexuality was a forbidden issue of debate. Due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church, any discussion about sexuality was seen as bringing to the public sphere something that properly belonged to the private sphere and that should be kept there, especially when referring to women. For the Catholic Church there was no need for people, and especially women, to know much about sexuality since the less they knew on this subject the fewer, it was held, would be the temptations to sin (César Araujo cited in Brasão, 1999). The regime and the Church held simply that every woman had to preserve her virginity and her body for the highest and sacred mission of maternity.

After April 1974, it became possible to discuss more freely issues concerning women’s sexuality. Women’s groups began to bring to the public arena the discussion of issues such as contraception, family planning and abortion. Women’s groups, through the debate of such issues, were giving voice to women’s interests and concerns particularly in relation to unwanted pregnancies and clandestine abortion.

Contraception and abortion

Contraception and the legalisation of abortion were issues that were raised after 1974 by some women’s groups. According to some of the women interviewed by Tavares (2000) in her study, and who were members of women’s groups at the time, contraception and abortion were issues that concerned all women and that were a central concern after the revolution. However, it was only from 1979 onwards that the discussion of such issues gained more visibility. According to some women from the women’s groups, these issues began to be discussed only when political parties became aware of the importance of such issues in the wider society. However, due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church, questions related to sexuality were regarded by many people as taboo, and some of those who had been educated under the New State regime and had developed certain ways of thinking (in relation to women, to their roles and position within society) were apprehensive about opposing the
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Church. According to Helena Neves\(^{14}\) (cited in Tavares, 2000, p.54) many people still felt that "problems seen as private could not be brought to the public sphere since it would be a lack of purity".

Though without great visibility from 1974 to 1979, different initiatives were carried out by women’s groups, sometimes involving members of political parties. But it was only after 1979 that the campaign for women’s reproductive rights really took off. In 1979 the Campanha Nacional pelo Aborto e Contracepção – CNAC (National Campaign for Abortion and Contraception) was launched. Simultaneously, some political parties began to express interest in this issue and announced the preparation of bills to legalise abortion (Tavares, 2000). In 1984, a bill presented by the socialist party was passed to allow abortions “in cases of malformation, rape and danger to the life of the mother, including mental health” (Ferreira, n.d., p.9). Later, other bills were presented but not approved, and in 1998 there was a national referendum on abortion. Since women were and still are imprisoned for abortion\(^{15}\), in this referendum the population was asked if an abortion carried out at a woman’s request up to 10 weeks should be legalised. Abstention was high (68%) and amongst those who voted 49% were in favour of abortion without any kind of punishment and 51% voted against abortion.

Arguments in favour of contraception and abortion were highly criticised by the Catholic Church. For the Church, abortion was a crime and could not be tolerated. The Church attempted to mobilize all Catholics and urged them to express their opposition to abortion and even encouraged them to civil disobedience (Ferreira, 1994).

Population

Since April 1974 the Portuguese population has been increasing. In some periods this increase has been more notable and in others, more gradual. For example in the first two years after the revolution, due to a decrease in emigration and the de-colonisation process, the Portuguese population increased considerably\(^{16}\). From then onwards the Portuguese population continued to increase, though more gradually.

Besides these changes, one of the major changes after 1974 has been the ageing of the population, with an increase in the percentage of the population over the age of 65. Some of

\(^{14}\) Helena Neves — interviewed by Tavares. She is a university teacher, journalist and director of the magazine Mulheres, member of the directors' board of MDM in 1960, 1970 and 1980.

\(^{15}\) The Portuguese government punishes doctors, nurses and women having abortion. Doctors and nurses performing abortion with the consent of the woman as well as the woman having the abortion can get a 3 year jail sentence.

\(^{16}\) In 1974, 70,273 Portuguese emigrated. In 1975 this number decreased to 44,918 and in 1976 it decreased again to 33,246 (Conim, 1996) Also hundreds of former residents in the African colonies returned to Portugal. According to Barreto (2002), around 650,000 individuals that were in the Portuguese colonies returned to Portugal.
the processes associated with this ageing of the population are: an increase of life expectancy, decrease in the birth rate, decrease of the fecundity index, a stability of general mortality.

Table 16 – Demographic statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth rate a</td>
<td>20.86</td>
<td>16.13</td>
<td>11.79</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy (men)</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy (women)</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortality rate b</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality rate c</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fecundity index</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% people over 65</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


a per 1000
b per 1000 inhabitants
c per 1000 children under the age of one year
* in relation to the year 1999

The fall in the birth rate has to be analysed in relation to the infant mortality rate. Since the 1970s the infant mortality rate has decreased considerably. Such a decrease usually leads to fewer pregnancies (since more children survive), and thus a lowering in the birth rate. Fewer pregnancies meant for women more opportunities to enter the labour market in greater numbers and to fight for other issues. It freed women, or at least some women, from childbearing. With the revolution in April 1974, women like other groups within the population, began to engage in social movements and fight for issues concerning their rights. They began to take a more active participation in the public sphere. They also wanted a better education (since it could mean better jobs, better salaries and the possibility of attaining positions of greater prestige) and began to pursue more actively professional careers. For some women, only after achieving such goals would they think about motherhood. Some women began to delay their pregnancies to later ages. Since women’s fertility period is limited, the fact of postponing pregnancies to later ages meant a decrease in the fecundity index (Cónim, 1996; Rosas, 1996; Rosa, 1996; Ferrão, 1996). In the analysis of the lower birth rate one has also to take into account the socio-economic conditions of women and families. For some families, having just one child might be an option, but for other families with economic difficulties having more than one child might represent a problem.

The ageing of the Portuguese population has been regarded as a problem for the government. The existence of an aged population means increasing numbers of people eligible for pensions and also increasing demands for health and social services. For a country that since the 1960s has been expanding state involvement in the provision of welfare, this
constitutes a concern\textsuperscript{17}. This means that the increasing costs of an increasing aged population no longer involved in the labour market have to be met by the incomes generated by an economic sector that is becoming gradually smaller (Dopson and Waddington, 2003).

\textbf{Health}

The increase of life expectancy and decrease of mortality and infant mortality rates that have been observed since the 1960s, and that continued throughout the democratic period, have to be framed within the changes that also occurred in the health sector.

After the revolution the investment in the health sector that had started in the previous decade increased considerably. For the governments that were formed after the revolution of 1974 it was important to guarantee to all Portuguese citizens access to medical care. In order to achieve this goal there was established in 1976 a National Health Service that was free and universal. With the investment in the health sector the number of doctors, nurses, hospitals (central and regional ones) and beds per hospital increased, thus contributing to better medical care.

The decrease observed in the infant mortality rate has been related to improvements in care in childbirth. While in 1970, only 37.4\% of births took place in health establishments, by 1980 this percentage had risen to 73.8\% and in 1990 to 95.5\% (H. M. Carreira, 1996).

In spite of these changes and improvements, in the early 1990s most medical personnel were concentrated in urban centres, to the detriment of those in the rural areas (Solsten, 1993a, para. 2). Moreover, despite such improvements, waiting lists for medical appointments or surgeries continue to remain common, with people waiting months for medical treatment (Barreto, 2002).

\textbf{Education}

The provision of education, which had been growing since the beginning of the 1970s, continued to grow after 1974. In general terms education was regarded as an important factor for the economic development of the country. For women, education was regarded as an important instrument for greater access to the public sphere and, more precisely, to the labour market and to positions of greater prestige and power.

After 1974, major changes took place in the education system: secondary education and technical education were unified leading to the disappearance of technical teaching; new curricula, freed from the ideological weight of the New State period, were introduced;

\textsuperscript{17} Since the 1960s the state has been increasing its support to the aged and retired, the sick, the disabled, the short term unemployed.
teachers' status was modified; teachers wages improved; in order to control the flow of
students applying to higher education a propedeutic year was established which in 1980 was
replaced by the 12th year of schooling; the numbers of students admitted to university was
formally regulated, and in 1986 the Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo (Law of Bases of the
Educative System) was passed, establishing a new structure for the education system (M.
Carreira, 1996).

One important change that occurred after 1974 and that impacted upon women was the
establishment of co-education, which made possible a more democratic education for both
boys and girls together (Magalhães, 1998). In other countries such as England, United States
of America and Ireland there was some debate concerning the advantages and disadvantages
of co-education. For example in England many feminists argued for separate education for
girls, since it was held that they did better academically in a single-sex setting. In Portugal
there was a great consensus in relation to this issue. For some of the Portuguese feminists of
the democratic period, co-education was seen as a means to promote equality between boys
and girls. It was argued that, if males and females were used to living together in other social
spaces, the school should not be different. Boys and girls had to learn how to live together and
women would learn how to be independent.

These changes in the education system were accompanied by a process of feminisation
at all levels of education and amongst teachers (table 17)

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18 The propedeutic year was a year between secondary education and university. In this year the subjects studied
in secondary education were revised and new subjects, considered essential to all university degrees, were
introduced. All students that had completed their secondary education could register and attend this propedeutic
year which was under the direction of Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior (General Directorate of Higher
Education).

19 This new structure included pre-school education, school education and extra-school education. School
education included basic, secondary and higher education. Basic education is compulsory and free and includes
the first cycle (4 years), second cycle (2 years) and third cycle (3 years). Secondary education lasts 3 years.
Higher education can be university education and polytechnic (M. Carreira, 1996).

20 According to Magalhães (1998) the establishment of co-education did not prevent, however, the existence of a
male social order that continues to persist in schools. The ways curriculum's are structured, the activities carried
out within schools and the relationships within schools reinforce a male social order. For a more detailed
Movimento feminista e educação – Portugal décadas de 70 e 80. Oeiras: Celta Editora.

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Table 17 - Women in all levels of education and among teachers

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage of students who were women</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic education</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage of teachers who were women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic education</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69***</td>
<td>93****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>69*****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>*******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*a* Percentage of the total number of registered students in each level of education

*b* Percentage of the total number of teachers in each level of education

* Does not include 3rd cycle of basic education

** Includes 3rd cycle of basic education

*** Without primary education (1st cycle of basic education)

**** Include only first cycle of basic education

***** Includes also second and third cycle of basic education

****** The numbers available are not discriminated by sex

In spite of an increase in the number of students and teachers, illiteracy remains a problem. The illiteracy rate, though having decreased, remained in 2000 at 11% of the population older than 10 years of age. Furthermore, the percentage of students abandoning school or repeating a year 1, 2 or 3 times, though having decreased since 1974, remained quite high\(^{21}\). Although the general level of education of the Portuguese has improved, in the mid-1990s it was still lower than that in other European countries\(^{22}\).

Women continued to have a higher illiteracy rate than men. For example, according to data from Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos da Mulher – CIDM (Commission for Equality and Women's Rights), in 1990 8.7% of men were illiterate and 17% of women were illiterate (cited in Magalhães, 1998). Women, though constituting the majority of university students, were less well represented than men in certain technical courses. For example, in the 1993/94 academic year, women constituted the majority of university students in almost all courses with the exception of computer sciences, engineering, sport and architecture and urban development (Ferreira, n.d.). That is, in areas generally considered as more technical, women tend to be less well represented. But in other areas such as, for example, languages, social services, education and teaching, women are represented in greater numbers.

There has also been an increase in the number of women teachers at all levels of education. Women teachers constitute the majority of teachers in basic and secondary

\(^{21}\) Just as an example, in 1980 15% of the students attending the 9th grade abandoned school. This percentage decreased to 14% and 12% in 1985 and 1991 respectively (M. Carreira, 1996). Still in accordance to M. Carreira (1996), in 1987/88 the school success was approximately 66.5%. In 1991/92 this percentage rose to 77% and in 1994 it reached approximately 80%.

\(^{22}\) According to a study carried out by OCDE in 1993 in Germany 60% of the population had completed the second cycle of secondary education. In the UK 49% of the population had completed the same cycle. In Portugal the percentage of the population that had completed such cycle was only 3%. In higher education, Portugal was in an even worse position. Only 4% of the population had a degree. In Germany and UK the percentages were 22% and 16% respectively (M. Carreira, 1996).
education but in higher education they are less represented. For example, according to the Public Administration Census of 1997, while in basic and secondary education women constituted 75.4% and 99.1% respectively of the total number of teachers, in higher education women represented just 36.1% of university teachers (Viegas and Faria, 2001).

**Economically active population and employment**

With the revolution, the economically active population as well as the employment patterns changed. More precisely, in the years after the revolution, the primary sector ceased to be the main employer. This process had started in the 1960s, and after the revolution the number of people involved in agriculture continued to diminish. Due to greater national and foreign investment, and greater state intervention, the secondary and tertiary sectors became the main employers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18 - Economically active population and employment rates</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1974</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rate of economically active population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in primary sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in secondary sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in tertiary sector</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Barreto and Preto (1999e, 1999f, 1999d.)

The demobilisation of the military involved in the colonial war, and the return to Portugal of those Portuguese citizens who had lived in Africa, contributed to the increase of the economically active population. But this expansion of the economically active population also reflected the inclusion of women. Since 1974, the economically active female population has been increasing. In certain professional areas, such as public administration, women now represent the majority of workers (Barreto, 2002; Ferreira, n.d.). The colonial war, the heavy emigration (during the 1960s and early 1970s), the industrialisation and tertiarisation all played a part in the increased participation of women in the labour market. According to Ferreira (n.d., p.3) the increase in female employment was also related to a “state intervention characterised by support initiatives to maintain jobs, the economic viability of companies and alteration of salaries”.

In spite of an increase in the economically active female population and despite legislation (Act 392/79 September 20 cited in Ferreira, 1998) designed to create equality of opportunities between women and men in the labour market and in employment, women’s unemployment has remained significantly higher than that of men and women’s employment rate has been lower than that of men.
Moreover, women earn less than men, attain fewer positions of power than men and continue to be less well represented in most professional occupations.

In relation to salaries, women’s wages have improved since 1974, but continue to be lower than the national average and lower than men’s wages. For example, in 1986, in all sectors of activity, women’s wages represented 80% of the national average and in 1996 this percentage was 82% (Barreto, 2002). In 1974, women’s wages represented 64,3% of men’s wages (Romão 1977 cited in Rodrigues, 1995). In more recent years the average monthly wage of men has been 488 euros, and for women 372 euros (Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market, 1996 cited in Ferreira, n.d.), so the gap has narrowed slightly.

After the revolution of 1974, women were able to be appointed for the first time to positions in areas once regarded as male preserves, such as diplomatic careers and the magistrature. However, they have been continuously under-represented in these areas. For instance, in 1992, of the total number of people involved in the diplomatic service (405) 19,1% were women. As far as the magistrature is concerned, for this same year, of the total number of judicial magistrates (906) 29% were women. Though there was an increase in the number of women lawyers between 1976 and 1991, women continued to be under-represented in this area (1976: of the total number of lawyers (2969) 7,8% were women; 1991: of the total number of lawyers (9980) 23,6% were women) (Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direiros da Mulher, 1992).

In relation to the under-representation of women in many professional occupations it is important to take into account the ideas that men and women hold about various professional occupations. According to the study carried out by Costa (1992), some men and women continue to think in terms of some professional occupations being more appropriate to women and others as being more appropriate to men. That is, gender stereotyping continues to play its part.

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23 According to Costa’s (1992) study, medical surgeon, deputy, electrician are regarded as professional occupations better performed by men than by women.
In relation to positions of power, women have always been less well represented. For example, according to the Public Administration Census of 1997 women, although constituting approximately 60% of those employed in central administration, constituted only 35.8% of those in management positions (Viegas and Faria, 2001).

The greater involvement of women in the labour market had an impact on the recruiting logic of employers. Some employers, when hiring people, place great emphasis on flexibility, by which is meant “longer hours, sometimes with extra unpaid work, total availability on the part of the workers to the demands of production” (Ferreira, n.d., p.6). While for many men this does not constitute a major problem, for many women, and especially those with families including children, this might be problematic24. This situation leads some employers to prefer hiring men or, when hiring women, to require them not to become pregnant during the work contract period (Ferreira, n.d.).

In spite of some segregation in the work sphere, women’s involvement in the labour market is nowadays a reality. It is also clear that currently women work not only for economic independence. While for some women this might be the main reason for their involvement in the labour market, for others work is a matter of self-fulfilment. They work because they want to, and for the satisfaction it provides. They wish to be recognised for what they do, for their talent, for their efforts, for their professional value and not just for what they are by nature – that is women.

With the greater involvement of women in the labour market, men have been “losing their longstanding positions as main family breadwinners” (Bradley, 1998, p.282). Women have also been contributing to the household budget and to their families’ subsistence. The participation of both partners in the labour market led some couples to rethink the customary household division of labour. In some families men began to share some domestic responsibilities, though, according to Costa (1992), this was in the early 1990s still quite unusual. In most families the division of labour remained largely unaltered. Women who worked outside the house continued to be much more involved in household tasks than their male counterparts. This was quite evident in the studies carried out by Rodrigues (1985) and Costa (1992). When men help in domestic routines, this help tends to occur much more in activities that take place outside the house: taking care of insurance and family finances, driving the family on a journey, taking care of domestic pets, washing and servicing the car, mending domestic equipment, etc. Those activities that have to be carried out inside the house

24 According to Costa’s (1992) study, men present great availability than women to work extra hours, to work at the weekends and to work at night.
continued to be performed mainly by women: dusting, vacuuming, tiding, cooking, cleaning, etc (Ferreira, n.d.; Costa, 1992; Magalhães and Pinto, 2004). Men, though more involved in domestic tasks than in earlier years, continue to be less involved than women. Domestic activities continue to be seen largely as an essentially female activity.

**Childcare**

The greater involvement of women in the labour market has raised the problem of childcare. Who would take care of the children while parents, and more precisely women, were at work? This is a problem that goes beyond the limits of the private sphere and demands greater state intervention. Although the Portuguese Constitution in its Art. 67 refers to the “creation of a national network for mother and child assistance, a system of crèches and family-support infrastructure” (Constituição da República Portuguesa, 2 April 1976), the services supporting childcare in Portugal have been and continue to be underdeveloped (Portugal, 1998). After the revolution, more precisely in 1978/79, a public pre-school education system for children from 3 to 6 years of age was established. But the establishment of this system did not meet the needs of families in terms of “taking care” of children under 3 years old. Moreover, according to Rodrigues (1995), some of the facilities that existed in the years immediately after the revolution were private facilities that were not economically feasible for some families, especially working class ones. For many employed women, parents or other women relatives as well as other women, such as nannies or servants, were the main helpers in the supervision of their children. That is, due to insufficient and adequate public structures, many women relied on their parents and other relatives to take care of their children. In the 1980s more mini-crèches, nannies and family crèches developed. Nannies and family crèches have been the services that have been expanded more.

The state has had only limited involvement in the supervision of children. According to Portugal (1998, p.348) the “state services provide only 9.5% of [pre-school] children with a formal model of supervision”. This leaves a lot of provision to the Private Institutions for Social Solidarity. In fact, in Portugal these Private Institutions are the ones with greater responsibility for childcare. The limited state intervention in childcare means there are problems especially for families with low incomes that have difficulties in accessing private

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25 According to Portugal (1998), some of the reports that emphasise the inadequacy of equipment and services in Portugal are: Conselho Nacional de Educação (1994); Bairrão et al. (1990); Comission des Communautés Européennes (1989); Ramírez et al. (1988).

26 In 1973 there already existed pre-school education that tried to assure a balanced development of every child independently of family status (M. Carreira, 1996). In spite of such pre-school education, in 1977 the government decided to legislate again on this matter and so the public pre-school education system was established.

childcare where prices are usually quite high (Portugal, 1998). This means that such families have to find other options – family supervision, nannies, or the mother staying at home.

Living standards

Since the revolution of 1974 the living conditions of the Portuguese people have improved considerably.

| Table 20 - Houses with main domestic infra-structures |
|---------------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Shower and bath                             | 29%    | 82%    |
| Domestic water supply                       | 47%    | 87%    |
| Sanitary installations                      | 58%    | 89%    |
| Sewer system                                | 58%    | 91%    |
| Electricity                                 | 64%    | 98%    |

Until the middle of the 1980s, special attention was given to the installation of basic infra-structures (water, electricity, sewer system). The late 1980s and the 1990s was a period marked by a level of prosperity to which the Portuguese were not used. It was a period marked by an expansion of private consumption. Many families were able to buy much more than in previous periods. They began to buy in greater numbers cars, houses, personal computers, telephones, cameras, radios and domestic appliances (washing machines, microwaves, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, cookers). The acquisition of domestic appliances had some impact upon women’s lives, since it made domestic tasks easier and helped to reduce the time spent on these activities. This implied more free time to engage in other activities, whether social movements, political activity, professional occupation or physical or sporting activities.

Women and political life

Following the same trend observed in other areas such as employment and education, where women’s involvement increased considerably, women’s involvement in the political life of the country has also increased since 1974. But in spite of greater participation, women’s participation in the political life has always been quite limited, as illustrated in the following table:
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Table 21 – Percentage of women at the National Parliament and Constitutional Governments

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Parliament</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government (includes, ministers, secretaries of State, sub-secretaries)</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Viegas and Faria (2001); Romão (n.d.)

It is worth noting that in 1999, in spite of only 20% of the total numbers of deputies in the National Parliament were women, this percentage was higher than the percentage of British deputies who were women. In Portugal of the total number of deputies 20% were women, in the UK of the total number of deputies only 12.8% were women (European Database: women in decision making, n.d.).

In 1997, the most recent revision of the Portuguese Constitution stipulated that both men and women should take part actively in the political life of the country. However, women’s representation in the National Parliament has always been less than that of men, though it has increased markedly in recent years. As far as governments are concerned, some women have been nominated as ministers and given other governmental positions, though always in smaller numbers than men. Despite their lower representation, the entry of some women in an area considered a male preserve and from which they have been traditionally excluded, indicates a significant change in the balance of power between males and females.

Since women continued to be under-represented in the government and National Parliament, that is, in important positions of decision-making, in 1999 the government in an attempt to promote equality between men and women in political participation created, for the first time, the position of Minister for Equality.

Structures responsible for equal opportunities

Ten months after the creation of the Ministry for Equality, in the process of reorganisation of the government, this Ministry was extinct without being given any visible explanation (González, 2000). The establishment of this Minister can be regarded as the outcome of a process that had started in 1970 with the establishment of the Grupo de Trabalho sobre a Participação das Mulheres na Vida Económica e Social (Working Group on the Participation of Women in Economic and Social Life). This group was later replaced by the Comissão para a Política Social relativamente às Mulheres (Commission on Social Policy for Women). In 1975 this Commission changed its name to Comissão da Condição Feminina (Commission on the Status of Women). This Commission acquired more importance and gained more credibility when in 1977 it was attached to the Prime Minister’s
Chapter seven

Office. This was the first governmental body totally devoted to women's issues. In 1979, with the publication of a Decree-law specifying equality between men and women in the work sphere, the Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego (Commission for Equality in Work and Employment) was created. In 1991, the Commission on the Status of Women was replaced by the Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres – CIDM (Commission for Equality and Women's Rights) (Datas e Factos na Evolução da Condição da Mulher em Portugal, 2001; Romão, n.d.).

Since it was established, CIDM has promoted conferences and seminars on women's rights. It has also published documents, reviews, books, collections regarding women's lives, women's issues and their situation in Portugal.

After the revolution, despite important legal changes, women continued to occupy inferior positions and to be discriminated against in several areas, as we have seen. Despite the appearance of various women's groups fighting for improvements in the situation of Portuguese women, the Portuguese State did almost nothing to change the sexual inequalities so evident in many areas of life. Only when Portugal became a full member of EEC, and because it had to follow European directives and more precisely the development of the Second Action Program of 1986-1990 (Ferreira, 1998), did the Portuguese State begin to take action in relation to the promotion of equal opportunities. However, these actions were quite limited. According to Ferreira (1998) apart from an Act published in November 1988 concerning the equal treatment of men and women in the workplace, the Portuguese state initiated few other developments and did not carry out other initiatives, did not establish any other goals or any measures to promote sexual equality. The studies carried out by women's groups and by CIDM continued to show sexual inequalities in many areas. In 1997, Portugal signed the Platform of Action of the IV United Nations World Conference on Women. With this signing, Portugal assumed commitments with all the other signatory countries to promote equality of opportunities between men and women. It was in this context that the First Global Plan for Equality of Opportunities was approved. This had as its main goal: "To integrate the principle of equality of opportunities between men and women in all the economic, social and cultural politics" (Resolução do Conselho de Ministros, 1997, p.1324).

The integration of Portugal in the EEC had a significant influence in reducing sexual inequalities. It not only constrained the Portuguese state to initiate policies to promote equality but at the same time, it gave legitimacy to the claims of many women's groups.

28 For a more detailed description of the events that have been promoted by CIDM and a more specific idea of the kind of publications edited by CIDM see the website of this Commission: http://www.cidm.pt
Integration into the EEC led to a widening of the interdependency chains so that Portugal became more dependent on others, in this case on other countries, on other people and other organisations. The Portuguese state had to follow the resolutions and recommendations of the EEC and of other international organisations in relation to issues such as equality of opportunities between women and men.

In summary, the revolution brought many changes to women’s lives. After the revolution, the new Portuguese Constitution proclaimed legal equality between women and men. Since then, other initiatives have been carried out in order to promote equality between women and men in all fields of life, though sometimes only with limited success. According to some women who lived through that period and who were active in women’s groups, what the revolution and the legal changes brought to women was an acknowledgment of women’s rights (Tavares, 2000). But the revolution brought change not just to women but to gender relations. Improved education, the possibility of divorce, and a greater participation in the labour market gave women more independence and power. The greater participation of women in the public sphere, the changes in the family size and structure, and the legislative changes with effects upon women, as well as wider changes in society at large, brought about a gradual change in the balance of power between men and women towards a greater equalization.

The greater participation of women in the public sphere, and the access of women to professional careers that once had been closed to them, represented a challenge to traditional ideas about femininity and practices that conventionally tended to institutionalise men’s dominance over women. Those women who began to enter professional occupations once considered less feminine appropriate, who began to enter university degrees traditionally seen as more masculine, and who began to be involved in the political life of the country, not only challenged traditional and stereotyped ideas about women, but also began to present different images and ideas of femininity. They began to show that women could be as assertive, self-confident, strong, persistent and courageous as men. Moreover, they began to present a different image of women – that of women not just as mothers and housewives, but also as workers. That is, women began to deconstruct traditional stereotypes. Nevertheless, many men and women continue to think and represent each sex/gender in terms of conventional gender stereotypes. There are, however, some signs of change, especially amongst young people who tend to place less value on traditional female attributes and to value aspects traditionally more associated with males such as strength, success and intelligence. They began to represent women in a less stereotyped manner (Costa, 1992).
To sum up it can be said that since April 1974, Portuguese society has undergone a rapid and profound modernisation process. This process enabled Portugal to become closer to the models of development and social organisation that exist in the most advanced technological and economic societies.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE OF SPORT AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Since the revolution, the Portuguese state has addressed sport through different policies. Some governments followed policies that emphasized the importance of making sport accessible to everybody, while other governments directed their attention much more towards competitive sport and especially high performance sport. These policies were implemented through patterns of financial support from the national government.

Democratisation policy

During the two years after the revolution most members of various provisional governments were members of, or sympathizers of, left wing parties. This had its impact upon the policies followed in various areas of social life. Most members of these governments wanted to reduce social inequalities and to improve the living standards and working conditions of the Portuguese population. They wished to establish a more democratic and socialist society. This had its impact upon the sports sphere.

Those who were responsible for sports policy and who were members or sympathizers of left wing parties wanted a policy different from the one promoted during the New State period. They wanted a “new sport”, more in accordance with the new political ideas. That is, a sport more easily accessible to everyone and able to meet what were perceived as the cultural, biological and psychological needs of all individuals (Carvalho, 1975 cited in Rosário, 1996). They wanted sport that people could use as a cultural and formative process (Direcção Geral dos Desportos, 1975b). But for those people, including the general director of sports, Melo de Carvalho, all of whom were committed socialists or communists, this kind of sporting renewal was easier and perhaps only possible, in a socialist society. In order to support their claims they used the examples of Eastern European countries and their ideas and policies in relation to sport:

The example of the Soviet Union is fundamental as far as sport is concerned: the history of these 60 years of revolution demonstrates that only a socialist society is capable of giving to sport a truly humanizing dimension, as an individual and social necessity. The realization must be understood by acknowledging the extraordinary contribution given by the Soviet Union to world sport (Carvalho, 1975 cited in Rosário, 1996, p.293).
These examples were presented to the Portuguese population through articles in newspapers and magazines, through bulletins and through the collection *Cultura e Desporto* that started being published in this period. Some of the topics discussed in this collection reflected clearly the sympathy of those in power for the ideas in countries such as the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba and gave, also, clear indications of the direction that sport should follow: a socialist direction. Consistent with this policy, they also tried to implement in Portugal models of sports practice and organisation imported from Eastern European countries (Rosário, 1996).

The use of Eastern European examples, and the adoption of sports models from such countries, had clear political implications. For those who were committed to the creation of a socialist society, these examples and sports models were used to try to convince the Portuguese population of the necessity of establishing a socialist society, because only in such a society, it was argued, would sport acquire a true humanizing dimension. Most of those who were nominated for the provisional governments, and who had responsibilities in the sports sphere - that is the new ruling group - saw the possibility of using sport to spread the new political ideology.

The political use of sport in this period can also be seen through the ideas of Carvalho, presented in his book *Desporto Educativo Escolar*, and in the main goals sought by the provisional governments in relation to sport.

The basic direction of the sporting renewal is ... the political fight that translates itself for the emancipation of the proletariat against the dominant capitalism. But in this struggle process two equally important tasks must be distinguished:

- to destroy the inheritance of the fascist regime, so sport functions as a basic process in the education of the working masses, in order to surpass old habits that still permeate the life of all of us;
- to construct a new form of sport, capable of answering directly to the cultural, biological and psychological needs of all the population (Carvalho, 1975 cited in Rosário, 1996, p.291).

The type of language used in this discourse suggests that Carvalho wished to create not just a democratic form of sports participation, but more particularly a socialist one.

Most of those involved in the provisional governments, though acknowledging the importance of making sport accessible to everyone, (the popular masses, as they called them), were firstly concerned with the improvement of the living and working conditions of the population. Only after such improvements would it be possible to fight for changes in the

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1 Some of the topics discussed were: the sporting phenomenon and the relations of production; a reporter in GDR (German Democratic Republic); sport in Soviet Union; Popular sport in GDR; Cuba – an exemplar case.
sports sphere (Carvalho, 1975). This suggests that sport, though being important for the provisional governments for political reasons, was not given the highest priority. Sport was of importance largely because of the political use they could make of it, and this discourse is indicative of the socialist perspective that predominated during the two years following the revolution.

In the pursuit of this new model of sport, some of the organisations established during the New State period, such as MP and MPF, were abolished and others such as FNAT were transformed.

The idea of a new sport more in accordance with the new political ideology was, during these two years, widely dispersed through written papers, seminars and conferences. A particularly important meeting took place in March 1975 and became known as ENDO (Encontro Nacional do Desporto – Sport National Meeting). The major themes of this meeting were “Sport is Culture” and “Rethinking Sport”. This initiative clearly revealed the ideas that the provisional government of that time had in relation to sport, its organisation, and the type of state intervention and the initiatives to be carried out in order to promote the new type of sport. Briefly the purposes of ENDO were to discuss ideas about the “new sport” that the government was trying to implement; to put an end to the type of sport characteristic of the New State period which was accessible only to a minority of the Portuguese population; to promote the idea that all individuals had the right to practise sport and to renew the existing sporting structure (Guimarães cited in Desportos 1, March 1975). A central idea was to make people conscious of the fact that sport was an activity available to all and not just to a few, and that it was necessary to fight for that objective.

One of the main ideas of the “new sport” was to make sport accessible to everyone. For some, participation in physical and sporting activities was not easy due to economic difficulties or lack of time. In order to make access to sport easier, Carvalho (1975) defended the principle of free sporting facilities, the establishment of a scholarship system that could help those with economic difficulties and, for young workers, the inclusion of a certain number of hours in their working day for the practice of physical activities.

In addition, in order to ensure that sport would be accessible to everybody, it was also necessary to promote it in all the regions of Portugal. According to the new political ideology, this would not be achieved just by the state. Rather, the state, through its sports

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2 MP and MPF were abolished by the Decree-law No. 171/74 of 25th of April (Barreto and Mónica, n.d.).
3 In 1975 by the Decree-law No. 184/75 (3 April 1975) FNAT changed its name to INATEL – Instituto Nacional para o Aproveitamento dos Tempos Livres dos Trabalhadores (National Institute for the Good Use of the Workers Spare-time). In spite of changing its designation, this organisation continued to have the same responsibilities as the former FNAT. In 1979 new regulations were published by the Decree-law No. 519-J2/79 (29 December 1979). The new regulations determined that INATEL besides, being responsible for workers spare-time, including sport, was also responsible for older people spare-time.
organisation – DGD - *Direcção Geral dos Desportos* (General Directorate of Sports) and its regional delegations, should be assisted by local entities such as trades unions, city councils, local recreational associations, youth movements and local sporting clubs. The involvement of city councils and local organisations, which means the involvement of the population from each area, in the process of sports promotion was regarded as beneficial since the needs and interests of different groups of the population from different areas of the country could be more easily identified. It was believed that the intervention of the “masses” in the process of sports promotion, as well as in other areas, would help to put an end to the then existing sporting organisation that tended to serve the interests of a minority, and would help to establish a new sporting organisation which was to be more educative and democratic (Carvalho, 1975 cited in Rosário, 1996).

*ENDO* also discussed other issues such as the need to promote the education of those wishing to become more involved in the sports sphere, the need to create an efficient structure of permanent education and the importance of improving the qualifications of the existing sports trainers and teachers. These people, besides having a scientific and technical training, were expected to be supporters of the new ideas that guided the implementation of the “new model of sport” (*Direcção Geral dos Desportos*, 1975c).

After the *ENDO* meeting, and following the proposals presented, some new policies were developed. The sporting voluntary movement was created, as well as a fund for the support of small clubs and the movement *JUVENDO*. This movement had its roots in the *ENDO* meeting, and had as its main purpose to encourage all children and youngsters, independently of their social background, to take part in sport based on sound educational principles (*Direcção Geral dos Desportos*, 1975b). It sought to help disadvantaged sectors of the population to become involved in sporting activities, to understand the benefits of this involvement and therefore contribute to the acquisition of sporting habits (*Direcção Geral dos Desportos*, 1975c).

In terms of financial support this movement was supported mainly by the DGD. However, other groups such as schools, national sporting federations, sporting associations, sports clubs, political parties, youth movements, etc., could collaborate as long as they were interested in helping to construct the “new sport”. In fact, during this period, priority was given to small clubs, local associations and local groups, rather than to larger regional sporting associations, big sports clubs and sports federations. For the provisional governments, big clubs, sports associations and federations continued to promote sport much more to an elite, rather than making it accessible to everyone.
Some state organisations with responsibilities in the sports sphere, such as DGD also underwent some changes. The Direcção Geral da Educação Física e Desporto - DGEFD (General Directorate of Physical Education and Sports) that had been responsible for physical education and school sport in 1974 (through the Decree-law No. 694/74, 5 December 1974), lost control of physical education and changed its name to Direcção Geral dos Desportos - DGD (General Directorate of Sports). The DGD was responsible for providing financial help to any kind of sporting event organised by any public or private organisation that had as its major purpose the promotion of sport (Art. 7 of Decree-law No. 694/74, 5 December 1974). The changes in the DGD were in accordance with the new ideas concerning the democratisation of sport. Through its regional delegations, through the financial support to small clubs, local authorities, sporting associations and sporting federations, and through various campaigns, the DGD attempted to contribute to the process of sporting renewal. During these two years the public sector (central government and local authorities) was regarded as having the major responsibility for the promotion of sport throughout the country.

Two years after the revolution, the advocated democratisation of sport had not been fully attained. The inequalities between different regions of the country that continued to persist meant that sport had not reached equally all areas of the country and therefore was not equally accessible to everybody.

### Table 22 – Number of sporting groups per district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sporting groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aveiro</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braga</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragança</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragança Branco</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coimbra</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évora</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faro</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarda</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiria</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisboa</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portalegre</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porto</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santarém</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setúbal</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viana do Castelo</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vila Real</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viseu</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1976)

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4 The physical education area became under the responsibility of the Direcções Gerais de Ensino (General Directorates of Teaching). This change gave to physical education a new statute, something that the professionals of this area had been fighting for a long time (Rosário, 1996). The DGD although loosing its influence over physical education continued to be responsible for school sport.
Most of the sporting groups were in major urban centres (Lisbon and Porto) and in the coastal areas of Portugal (Faro, Setubal, Aveiro). The small number of sporting groups in the interior areas of the country (Vila Real, Bragança, Viseu) reveals that in such places sport was not well organised and supported. The small numbers of sporting groups in some areas was related to insufficient sporting facilities in those areas.

The continuation of these inequalities raised the question: what went wrong with the process of democratisation of sport?

Melo de Carvalho, one of the main supporters of democratisation, was very critical in relation to the situation. He argued that the regional delegations of DGD that were expected to play an important role in the promotion of sport all over the country faced several problems. Some did not have adequate spaces to organise sport and others had insufficient financial and technical means. In some parts of the country, the local groups of workers and residents that were expected to collaborate with the DGD delegations were not well organised, thus not contributing to a successful transmission of the “new type of sport” in all areas of Portugal. Moreover, due to a lack of qualified staff the DGD was not able to meet properly all the needs for sport, to evaluate adequately all the projects and to implement policies targeted at all children and adolescents. Furthermore, some regional delegates were more interested in their political careers than in promoting sport (Carvalho, 1976). In addition there were problems in relation to the recruitment of sports coaches and teachers which meant that there were many people working in the sports sphere without proper qualifications.

Certainly, during this period of two years, sport was discussed and promoted much more than during the New State period. Sporting facilities such as outdoor fields for the practice of some sports were constructed and basketball courts were built (Rosário, 1996). However, some of the policies designed to promote sport did not achieve the democratisation of sport that those in the provisional governments were expecting.

Certainly it is the case that this process of implementation of a “new sport” did not work exactly in the way those responsible for the sports sphere were hoping. The process of sporting renewal involved large numbers of interdependent people with different power chances and their own interests and goals. Those in government, although having relatively more power than other groups, could not control all aspects of this complex process. In the process of sporting renewal the provisional governments had to take into account the actions, initiatives and interests of other groups such as sports clubs, federations and local authorities. Some members of sports clubs, regional associations and sports federations did not clearly

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5 If we take into account for example the distribution of sporting facilities in 1969, the areas where the number of sporting groups is lower relates to the areas where the number of sporting facilities was also lower.
accept or understand the necessity of fighting for a “new sport”. For some members of such organisations the mere fact of being elected to the organisations (something that was not common during the New State period) proved that the sporting structure was more democratic than some of the other structures inherited from the previous regime. So they did not see the necessity of continuing to fight for a more democratic sports organisation. In this process of sporting renewal, there were those who were committed to this renewal, to a change in the kind of sports practice and sports organisation, and there were those that did not accept or understand why they had to fight for this change and therefore were not committed to this struggle.

The gradual change from “sport for all” to elite sport

From 1976, that is with the nomination of the first constitutional government and the publication of the Portuguese Constitution, the direction of sporting policies began slowly to change. With the promulgation of the Portuguese Constitution, the Portuguese state recognised, for the first time, the importance of sport and the right of all citizens to have access to it (Constituição da República Portuguesa, 2 April 1976). Until the early 1980s, the constitutional governments continued to be concerned with the democratisation of sport. In order to promote sport all over the country they began to pay attention to the kind of support the sport association movement needed in order to promote sports more effectively. They also began, however, to devote attention to the kind of sport practised at the level of sports federations, and this became increasingly important from the mid-1980s. Although acknowledging the importance of promoting sport, the government also believed that sporting policies had to be based essentially on sport at the federations level. From the 1980s, the sports organisations underwent some changes and there was also a great amount of legislation which mainly concerned sport practised at the level of the federations, the athletes, high performance sport, the coordination between school and sport, especially in high performance
sport, athletes' insurance and financial support. Thus, from the 1980s there was a change in sporting policies. The democratisation of sport, the main concern of governments during the first years after April 1974, occupied from the mid-1980s a secondary position, as the governments began to give more attention to sport practised under the aegis of sports federations. The integration of Portugal in the European Community was also important in this regard. Portugal not only had to follow European directives, but it also wanted to keep up with its European counterparts in terms of sports policies. After decades of isolationism, the Portuguese government wanted to obtain credibility and prestige in the international arena. Since sport success can help to increase national prestige and to win recognition at the international level, increasing attention began to be given to the elite sport practised at the level of the federations. This interest is clearly visible, for example, in the programme of the XIII constitutional government (1995-2000):

The government recognises that the high performance athletes and the national [teams and individual athletes] representations represent models of quality, are motivating agents of a greater generalisation of sports practice, and their success works as one of the factors of affirmation of national identity (cited in Carvalho, 2001, p.71).

The government’s interest in competitive sport, and especially high performance sport, can be seen through the legislation that was published during the 1980s and 1990s and the changes that occurred at the level of sports organisations.

**Legislation**

During the 1980s, the government’s interest in competitive sport, and especially high performance sport, was expressed in legislation relating to athletes’ insurance, financial support to high performance athletes, medical assistance, and relations between school activities and sport for athletes considered as high performance athletes or in the course of developing high performance sport.

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6 The adjustment between school activities and sporting activity had always been a matter of concern for all of those involved in the sports sphere. However, it was only in 1987 that it was acknowledged by those in the government responsible for the sports sphere that the sporting career of promising young athletes, the fully development of their physical abilities in order to obtain their best sporting results was surrounded by some difficulties namely the compatibility between school and the demands of a sporting activity. It was recognised the necessity of creating conditions to allow athletes to fully participate in his/her sporting activity but without disadvantages to his/her academic career. It was in this context that some measures were taken. For a detailed analysis of such measures see Law No. 406/87 (14 May 1987).

7 In 1983 it was published a law determining that the Ministry of Quality of Life was allowed to establish agreements with the Portuguese Institute of Insurances in order to set up athletes insurance (Decree-law No. 205/83, 21 May 1983). In 1993 sports insurance became better regulated. The new law (Decree-law No. 146/93, 26 April 1993) published determined that sports insurance was compulsory to all individuals (professional and non-professional athletes, coaches, referees, sporting managers). This new law also "imposed the creation of compulsory insurance for sports competitions to be endorsed by the entities responsible for the organisation of competitions open to the public" (Council of Europe, 1999, p.256).
In the 1990s, the *Lei de Bases do Sistema Desportivo* – LBSD (Basic Law on Sports system) set out the general framework for the sports system. This law had as its main purpose to promote and establish guidelines for sports activity (Council of Europe, 1999). Besides making general references to the promotion of sport for all and to the training of sports agents, the law placed great emphasis on competitive sport and high level competition. With this law the existing relations between the state and the sport association movement became more highly regulated. During the 1980s, the state already defined, for example, the type of support to be granted to high performance sport, and determined who could have the status of a high performance athlete. After the establishment of the LBSD this regulation became broader and also more clearly defined. For instance, before the publication of the LBSD, only athletes who had obtained good results at international sporting events, or who showed exceptional qualities predicting good results in the future, were the targets of the support given to high performance sport. With the publication of the LBSD, the criteria for the award of such support were: the results obtained in international competitions and the position occupied by each athlete in the lists published by the respective international sporting federation. Young athletes who exhibited exceptional qualities indicating that, through continuous and specialised training, they could obtain good results in the future were also classified as high performance athletes and, were eligible for support. Moreover, it was decided that sports federations, sports associations and sports clubs, that is the voluntary sector, could be financially supported by the state through the establishment of programme-contracts aimed at sports development. But in order to get this support, these organisations had to obtain the status of a sports institution of “public interest”, which was granted by the state if the organisations met certain criteria. With this law professional sport was also regulated. Sports clubs with professional athletes were able to constitute themselves as sporting societies having sporting purposes. This law also permitted the constitution of professional leagues of clubs inside those sports federations where professional competitions were organised. These leagues became responsible for professional sport. Furthermore, all national teams representing Portugal were considered “missions of public interest” and, as such, eligible for financial support and preferential treatment by the state (Malveiro and Marivoet, 2002, p.144). This law also allowed the possibility of non-competitive sports

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8 Programme-contracts are established between sporting organisations (clubs, regional associations, federations and COP) and any other organisation (central government, local authorities or any other private organisation). These programme-contracts establish the level of financial support to the sport association movement, as it is determined in the article 33° of the LBSD. The establishment of such contracts obey certain rules. The rules in this decree-law are still in force. For a more detailed description of these type of programme-contracts see Decree-law No. 432/91 (6 November 1991).
organisations being financially supported by the state, but only after being designated institutions of public interest.

Although acknowledging the importance of non-competitive sport, it is clear that from the 1980s onwards, and especially during the 1990s, the various governments prioritised competitive sport practised under the aegis of sports federations.

The increasing attention given to elite sport from the mid-1980s can also be illustrated by a brief analysis of the changes that occurred at the level of sports organisations. Some organisations ceased to exist and were replaced by others, and other organisations directed towards elite level sport began to emerge.

**Sports organisations**

The DGD that was responsible for the promotion of all kinds of sport and for the creation of all the necessary technical and material conditions for sport was abolished in 1993 and replaced by the Instituto do Desporto – INDESP (Sport Institute) (Decree-law No. 143/93, 26 April 1993). This new organisation, besides being responsible for the promotion of sport and for the technical and financial support of sport (responsibilities inherited from the previous organisation), was also given responsibility for the development of sports technicians, for the support of school sport, for the elaboration of the Sports National Chart (where all the indicators concerning the sporting national situation were included) and for carrying out studies concerning sporting activities in order to promote their development. The financial support given by this organisation was based on programme-contracts. In 1997 (two years after the election of a socialist government) INDESP underwent some other changes. According to those responsible for the sports sphere in the newly elected government, INDESP was too bureaucratic and incorporated too many services for it to administer effectively. Moreover, it involved a huge budget which was also difficult to manage effectively. The new government believed that due to the importance of sport it was necessary to change the existing structure, making it more dynamic and efficient. It was in this context that INDESP not only changed its name, but was also divided into three organisations: IND-Instituto Nacional do Desporto (National Institute of Sport); CAAD — Complexo de Apoio às Actividades Desportivas (Complex of Support for Sports Activities); CEFD — Centro de Estudos e Formação Desportiva (Centre for Sports Studies and Sporting Development). CAAD included all national sporting infra-structures and had as its main purpose to carry out the management of the sporting facilities for which it was responsible (Decree-law No. 64/97 cited in Meirim, 1997). CEFD became responsible for the training of sporting agents and for studies, research and planning. IND included support services to the sport association.
movement, services concerning sporting facilities and all the national sporting medical structure including the *Laboratório de Análises da Dopagem e Bioquímica* (Laboratory for Drug Analyses and Biochemistry). This organisation became responsible for the promotion of and technical and financial support of sport at all levels; for the development of measures to regulate the prevention and fight against doping, violence and corruption in sport; for drawing up safety regulations which every sporting facility had to obey.

These changes at the level of the sports administration were also accompanied by the development of other organisations more orientated towards competitive sport and high performance sport. In 1993 the *Conselho Superior do Desporto* (Superior Sports' Council) was established. This organisation was a consulting body that had as its main purpose “to monitor the progress of sporting development and study and give an opinion on the guidelines set out by the public administration in the area of sports policy” (Decree-Law No. 145/93, 26 April 1993, para. 1). Although being responsible for monitoring the progress of sporting development, some of its competences were essentially related to competitive sport and especially high level competitive sport. For example, this organisation was responsible, in 1993 and also in 1997 (when it underwent minor changes) for advising on the principles of the policy to be followed for high level competitive sport; for advising on sporting cooperation and interchange at the international level, especially in relation to Portuguese speaking countries; for giving advice on the strategies to be followed in order to respect ethical principles; to advise on the concession of, and the cancellation of, the statute of a sports institution of public interest; and for recognising the professional nature of sporting competitions (Decree-law No. 145/93, 26 April 1993, Decree-law No. 52/97, 4 March 1997).

In 1997 another organisation called *Fundação do Desporto* (Sporting Foundation) was established with the main goal of supporting the development of sport and especially high performance sport. Again the prioritization of high level competitive sport is clear.

The focus on high level competitive sport can also be seen in the structures that emerged in the 1980s, which were totally devoted to the support of high performance sport. In 1980 the Commission of Support to High Level Competition was created. This Commission was responsible for the analysis of all the information furnished by the sports federations and for proposing the athletes to be included in the financial support granted to high performance athletes. In 1985 the *Conselho Nacional do Desporto de Alta Competição* (National Board of High Performance Sport) and the *Gabinete para a Alta Competição* (Cabinet for High Level Competition), whose focus on high performance sport is obvious, were also established.

However, the governments during the 1980s and 1990s did not entirely neglect the promotion of sport as a leisure activity. In 1997, the socialist government recognised that,
until that time, much of the focus of what had been done in relation to sport was directed towards competitive sport. They believed it was also necessary to promote and support sport as a leisure and non-competitive activity in order to allow all citizens the possibility of access to sport. It was in this context that the *Clubes de Participantes* (clubs of participants) were created (Decree-law No. 272/97, 8 October 1997). These clubs were designed to have a simple structure and had as their main purposes "the promotion and organisation of physical and sporting activities with playful, formative or social purposes" (Council of Europe, 1999, p.229).

**Financial support for sport**

During the first years after the revolution the state and the *totobola* (betting on the results of football games) were the main sources of financial support for sport. However, in the early 1980s, it was recognised by DGD that the amount of money granted by the state to sport was not enough since there were still visible inequalities in terms of geographical distribution of sporting facilities (as we saw previously, the highest numbers of sporting facilities were found in the coastal areas of Portugal and the lowest numbers were found in the interior and rural areas of the country), and a relatively low level of female participation in sport practised under the aegis of sports federations (in 1977/78 of a total of 136,744 individuals registered in sports, only 11.8% were females).

It was in this context that in 1985 a new form of financial support for sport – the *totoloto* (lottery) was established. The money obtained through *totobola* and *totoloto* was then distributed amongst different beneficiaries, sporting and non-sporting. The percentage to each beneficiary was the following one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa</em></td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other institutions of social solidarity</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Instituto de Gestão Financeira da Segurança Social</em></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fundo de Socorro Social</em> (Fund of Social Aid)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fund for the development of sport - FFD</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Federation of football</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INATEL</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football Clubs (1st division)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football Clubs (2nd division)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy to football teams (teams taking part in 1st and 2nd division championships)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travelling by plain between the continent and the islands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fundo de Fomento da Cultura</em> (Fund for the promotion of culture)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support to Journalistic companies</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support to Association of voluntary firemen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This distribution did not please the sporting bodies since the money was distributed amongst a great number of organisations, many of which had nothing to do with sport. On the 17th November 1986 the Decree-law No. 387/86 was published, establishing a new form of distributing the *totobola* and *totoloto* money. Under the previous system, the money from *totobola* and *totoloto* was combined into a single financial pool to be distributed among all the organisations; under the new system the money obtained through *totobola* would go to some organisations and the money obtained via *totoloto* would be distributed amongst other organisations. Since the revenues of *totoloto* were higher than those of *totobola* this separation led to a small increase in the percentage distributed to the organisation that managed the allocation of money to sport – the FFD.

| Table 24 - Percentage of money distributed amongst different beneficiaries |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             | Totobola | Totoloto |
| Portuguese federation of football and 1st, 2nd and 3rd division clubs | 50%      |          |
| *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* | 21,5%    | 21,5%    |
| Institutions developing actions in the promotion and rehabilitation of handicapped individuals | 7%       | 12,5%    |
| *Instituto de Gestão Financeira da Segurança Social* | 9,5%     | 30%      |
| Private institutions of social solidarity | 8%       | 8%       |
| Support to Association of Voluntary Firemen | 2%       | 2%       |
| Prevention and repairing of calamity public situations | 2%       | 1,5%     |
| FFD |           | 16%      |
| Fund for the promotion of culture | 4,5%     |          |
| INATEL |           | 2,5%     |
| Policing of sporting events |           | 1,5%     |

Since *totobola* and *totoloto* were established by governmental decisions, the revenues obtained through these betting systems have been traditionally considered as being part of government funding to sport. However, as Gratton and Taylor (2000 cited in Dopson and Waddington, 2003) note this is not quite exact. Nobody is obliged to make such bets. People choose whether they want to bet or not. In this sense *totoloto* and *totobola* resemble much more charity donations than tax payments. Therefore, these bets actually represent much more an “influx not of public, but of private, funding into sport” (Dopson and Waddington, 2003, p.111).

In 1982 another source of income for sports clubs and also other sports entities was established – Bingo. Part of the money obtained from the sale of cards was given to the clubs which allowed the use of rooms for bingo gambling, while part of the money was also distributed amongst INDESP, *Inspecção Geral de Jogos* (General Inspection of Games) and *Modernização de Estadios* (Modernization of Stadiums) (Resolução do Conselho de Ministros No. 17/96, 1996).
Since the publication of the LBSD, public financial support to the sports association movement has been granted exclusively through the programme-contracts outlined earlier. The sporting organisations that could benefit from such financial aid were (and still are) the Comité Olimpico Português – COP (Portuguese Olympic Committee), sports federations having the status of an institution of public interest, and sports associations and sports clubs affiliated in the respective federations.

In terms of financial support to sport, the state has been investing in this area and there has been a gradual increase since 1984. From 1984 until 2000 the total state budget increased and this was accompanied by an increase in the sport budget. Although increasing in absolute amounts, the percentage given to sport remained almost the same throughout those years. In the decade 1980-89 the amounts allocated to sport amounted to 0.21% of the state budget, and in the decade 1990-2001 this percentage was 0.22% (Confederação do Desporto de Portugal, n.d). In 2000, the Plano de Investimento de Despesas e Desenvolvimento da Administração Central – PIDDAC (Plan of Investment of Expenditures and Development of the Central Administration) increased approximately 162% in comparison to the previous year (O Jogo, 3 February 2000). In 2000 the greatest investment was in the construction of sporting facilities (65.7% of the PIDDAC amounts went to the construction of sporting facilities, 10.5% to facilities that started being built for the European Cup which Portugal hosted in 2004 and the remaining was distributed amongst sports federations and other services) (O Jogo, 3 February 2000).

In spite of an increase in investment in sport, public investment in sport in Portugal when compared to other European countries has been quite low. For example, according to data from the University of Limoges and the World Bank (1996 cited in Ferrari et al., 2003), in 1996 the financial support for sport in Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Spain was of 3463.4, 1540.5, 1463.4 and 766.0 millions of dollars respectively, while in Portugal this support was 244.3 millions of dollars.

Financial support for sports federations and high performance sport

The public financial support of national sporting federations and high performance sport increased significantly between 1982 and 1999 (Portugal Desporto, No. 1 June 1985; Correia, 2000a, 2000b; M. J. Carvalho, 2001), as can be seen in the following figure:

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9 In the LBSD professional sport could not be financially supported through these programme-contracts. The exception was the organisation of sporting competitions considered of public interest or the elaboration of projects of construction or improvement of sporting facilities.
This shows the growing commitment by the various governments in the 1980s and 1990s to competitive sport, and especially to high performance sport. This can also be seen through the financial support given to high performance sport during the Olympic cycles. During the Atlanta Olympic cycle, approximately 30% of the public money in sport went to high level competition (Correia, 2000a). This percentage rose to 40% during the Sydney Olympic cycle\textsuperscript{10} (Correia, 2000b). Such investment can be interpreted as having specific interests. Through this financial support, the government sought to demonstrate its interest in such an important and worldwide phenomenon, but at the same time it also expected good Olympic results. Because athletes are not only seen as individual athletes but as representatives of countries, good results, and especially victories, can bring recognition and prestige to the country.

Most of the financial support given to sport federations comes from the central government. But the federations are also dependent upon other sources such as local councils, national corporations, national and international competitions, the Sport Foundation, the Portuguese Olympic Committee and the mass media\textsuperscript{11}. During the Olympic cycle of Atlanta, the federations were financed on average 80% by the central government, 7% by diverse public and private entities (companies, local authorities, COP, international federations and TV channels), 6% by national and international competitions, 4% by regular activities (insurance, fines, enrolments) and 3% by other sources.

\textsuperscript{10} For example in the Olympic years 1984 and 1988 the financial support given to high performance sport increased when compared to the previous years (Diário da República, 7 August 1990).

\textsuperscript{11} According to Pataco (1998), approximately 80% of the federations funding comes from a governmental body – the Sport Institute.
Table 25 - Structure of financial support to federations – percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDESP</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>87.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and private entities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular activities</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and international competitions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profits and financial gains</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other profits</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Correia (2000a, p.79)
(Note: without considering football)

In the Olympic cycle 1997-2000 the government financial support given to the national federations was on average 70% of their total income. The other 30% came from other sources (Correia, 2000b). Of this 30%, approximately 25% came from sponsors and 75% from other sources. This indicates that the private/commercial sector is becoming gradually more involved in funding sports. Companies such as Portugal Telecom, TMN – Telecomunicações Móveis Nacionais (National Mobile Telecommunications), Vodafone, RTP, Montepio Geral, Império are some of the companies that have been sponsoring sport. The interest of these companies in sport reflects the fact that through the sponsoring of athletes or teams, such companies are able to get excellent publicity for their products. It has to be noted, however, that sponsoring benefits certain sports and athletes more than others, for it tends to concentrate much more on those athletes and sports that are more successful rather than on the development of new talent (Dopson and Waddington, 2003) with the result that most revenues tend to go to those athletes and those sports which are already most well provided.

Sporting federations, though benefiting from revenues coming from other sources, remain highly dependent on the state’s financial support. This same centrality of government funding can be observed at the level of school sport. The government provides approximately 90% of the financial support to school. The remainder comes from other sources: local authorities – providing material and transportation; parent’s associations and private sponsorship with a contribution of about 5% (Gonçalves, 1996).

As far as sports clubs are concerned, despite receiving some financial support from the state, their major sources of revenues have always been registration fees, sponsorship, fundraising activities, and local authorities.

During the first years after the revolution the central government, the local authorities assisted by youth groups, trades unions, and small clubs were the main providers of sport. Due to the government policy of democratisation of sport, most of the support was given to structures that could help to make sport accessible to everybody. In those years the promotion
of sport was essentially in the hands of the public sector. In the 1980s and 1990s there was a shift of emphasis towards competitive sport and elite level sport, that is, the kind of sport mainly provided by sports organisations in the voluntary sector.

**Participation in sport**

Since the revolution there has been an increase in the number of Portuguese athletes taking part in the Olympic Games (19 athletes in 1976, 66 in 1988, 99 in 1992, 100 in 1996), but the sports participation rates of the Portuguese population in general have not increased. The two studies carried out in 1988 and 1998 to analyse the sporting habits of the Portuguese population reveal that the rates of sport participation actually decreased. It is important to note that due to the integration of the 1998 study in the European Programme COMPASS, the population under study included people ranging from 15 years of age to 74 years of age. This led to a decrease of the total sports participation since the population between 60 and 74 years old are much less involved in sport (Marivoet, 2001a). In 1988 27% of the Portuguese population was involved in a sports practice but by 1998 that percentage had decreased to 23%. The percentage of people abandoning sport increased from 1988 to 1998¹² (Marivoet, 1993, 2001a). From 1988 to 1998 the practice of sport under the aegis of sports federations increased slightly (3% in 1988 to 4% in 1998) and the practice of sport as a leisure activity decreased (24% in 1988 to 19% in 1998). In both studies it is clear that women are less involved in sport than men (1988: 18% of women took part in sport and 37% of men took part in sport; 1998: 14% of women took part in sport and 34% of men took part in sport), that people between 15 and 19 years old are much more involved in sport than other age groups (1988: 15-19 years old – 55%, 20-34 years old – 32%, 35-49 years old – 20%, 50-59 years old – 7%; 1998: 15-19 years old – 51%, 20-24 years old – 41%, 25-34 years old – 29%, 35-44 years old – 20%, 45-54 years old – 13%, 55-64 years old – 9%, 65-74 years old – 3%), that those involved in professional occupations requiring better academic qualifications participate more in sport than manual workers (1988: entrepreneurs – 34%, executives, managers – 47%, agriculture – 10%; 1998: entrepreneurs – 34%, executives, managers – 46%, agriculture – 9%) (Marivoet, 1993, 1998b, 2001a).

These studies, indicate that there are marked gender differences, as well as social class divisions, in terms of sports participation. People from these groups experience in relation to sport the same kind of limited access they experience in other areas such as income or employment.

¹² This increase is also visible even without considering the population between 60 and 74 years old. In 1998 57% of the population between 15 and 60 years old had abandoned sport while in 1988 55% had done the same (Marivoet, 2001a).
Chapter eight

The relatively low participation of the Portuguese population in sporting activities becomes even more evident when compared to the sports participation rates of other European countries (table 27):

Table 26 - Sports participation by country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sports participation 13%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portugal (1998)</td>
<td>15-74</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain (2000)</td>
<td>16-65</td>
<td>36,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy (2000)</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>29,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom (1996)</td>
<td>16+</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden (1998)</td>
<td>7-70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland (1999)</td>
<td>14-74</td>
<td>73,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compass (n.d.)

When examining the levels of sports participation, and in particular women’s participation in sport, aspects such as time have to be taken into account.

As noted by Engelhardt and Heinemann (2003), the shortening of working hours and thus the existence of more time free from work is one of the features of modern societies. In spite of an increase in free time there are always a great variety of options on how to spend such free time, thus leading to a perceived shortage of time, and this is another characteristic of modern societies (Engelhardt and Heinemann, 2003). In this free time people can engage, by choice or compulsion in housework routines, religious activities, educational activities for their personal improvement, charity activities, hobbies, can go to the theatre, to the cinema and can take part in physical and sporting activities, amongst many other activities (Elias and Dunning, 1992a). There are, then, as Engelhardt and Heinemann (2003) note, many activities that can be performed during time free from work. When people have to chose among such options, they become aware of the lack of time they have to perform others. Physical and sporting activities have, then, to compete in terms of time with other activities from which people can (by choice) or which they have to perform, in their free time from work.

For women, one of the groups in which there has been a decrease in sports participation, the shortage of time is even more evident. Although having acquired legal equality with men, and although being increasingly involved in the labour market, they continue to be much more involved in housework routines than men, continue to be much more involved in childcare and whenever people within the family need assistance women are much more involved than men (Rodrigues, 1995; Marivoet, 2001b; Costa, 1992; Ferreira, n.d.). This leaves them with less time than men to engage in physical activities. In addition to

13 In order to determine sports participation, respondents from these countries were asked about their participation in sport and physical activities over the last 12 months (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Switzerland), over the last month (Sweden) and over the last four weeks and over the last 12 months (United Kingdom) (Compass, n.d.).
the lack of time, there is also another aspect to be taken into account. As noted by Engelhardt and Heinemann (2003), sometimes the time patterns offered by sports facilities are not compatible with the time patterns of those who wish to engage in physical activities. This might be another possible reason for not engaging in sport.

**Sports facilities**

It is frequently claimed by those within the sports lobby that the construction of adequate sports facilities helps to promote sport and to increase the levels of sports participation. However, the Portuguese data indicates that, in spite of an increase in the number of sports facilities\(^{14}\), the sports participation rate, especially at the level of sport as a leisure activity, has not increased. This is quite evident from the 1998 study concerning the sporting habits of the Portuguese population. Despite an increase in the number of sporting facilities, 43% of the population considered that the then existing sports facilities were not enough. The area of the country where people were much satisfied with the existing sports facilities was the central area of Portugal. However, though people in this area were more satisfied than people from other regions of the country, the level of sports participation in this area was the lowest level recorded (Marivoet, 2001a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions of the country</th>
<th>Sufficient (%)</th>
<th>Insufficient (%)</th>
<th>Sports participation (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon and Tejo Valley</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alentejo</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algarve</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests that there is no clear evidence that the provision of sports facilities do increase the levels of sports participation.

In addition to this, the data also show that, despite an increase in the number of sports facilities, in 2000 there were still major inequalities in the types of sporting facilities and also in terms of geographical distribution.

\(^{14}\) In 1978 there were 3934 sports facilities. By 1984 this number has increased to 8550 and by 1998 to 1242 (Rosário, 1996; Centro de Estudos e Formação Desportiva, 1998; Alves et al., 1980).
Table 28 - Geographical distribution of different types of sporting facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Big fields</th>
<th>Small fields</th>
<th>Running tracks</th>
<th>Tennis courts</th>
<th>Open air swimming pools</th>
<th>Sporting rooms</th>
<th>Pavilions</th>
<th>Heated indoor swimming pools</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alentejo</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algarve</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon and Tejo Valley</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>2831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>1066</td>
<td>1081</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>3272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2716</td>
<td>3510</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>10167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Centro de Estudos e Formação Desportiva (2000). *Carta das Instalações Desportivas Artificiais - 2000*

There is an abundance of what can be called “light” facilities (big and small fields, open air swimming pools, running tracks, tennis courts) and far fewer “heavy” facilities (sporting rooms, pavilions, heated indoor swimming pools) which as Puig et al. (2003, p.333) note, “are those that offer greater guarantees of use all year round, despite changes in climatic conditions”. In addition, sports facilities continue to be unequally distributed geographically. The provision of sports facilities continues to be lower in rural areas (Alentejo) than in those areas (Lisbon and Tejo Valley, North and Centre) where the major urban centres (Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Braga) are located.

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To sum up, during the first two years after the revolution the provisional governments sought to encourage the democratisation of sport. The sports policies had as their main objective to make sport accessible to all. After the nomination of the first constitutional...
government, and with the publication of the Portuguese Constitution, sports policies began to change. Though not ignoring sport for all, from the mid-1980s onwards there were signs of a shift away from sport for all to an emphasis on competitive sport, high performance sport and the development of sporting facilities. With few exceptions, high performance sport focuses around young people. The sports policies have, then, been targeted mainly at young people and have been marginalising for example the elderly. That is, a group that has been increasing and that would benefit greatly in terms of health from regular and moderate exercise.

A sport policy focusing on elite sport and on young people is a sport policy that is prioritising a kind of sports practice where the health and economic costs are quite high. In high performance sport injuries are very common and can have long term effects on health. Also the economic costs involved in the treatment of exercise related injuries are quite high. If the goals of sport policy, as it is often claimed, are to improve people’s health, it would make far more sense to focus on regular and moderate exercise since it is this kind of physical activity that it is associated with health benefits (Health Education Authority cited in Dopson and Waddington, 2003). Instead of focusing essentially on young people, it would also make more sense to target those groups that would benefit most from involvement in regular and moderate exercise, that is, the more sedentary groups; middle aged and elderly people and obese people and especially obese children and also women. These groups would benefit from involvement in moderate and regular exercise since this kind of activity can help to improve their health and consequently their quality of life. Besides the health benefits there are also economic benefits involved since better health can also mean potential savings in the health care system.

It is, however, important to note that the construction of more sports facilities, greater financial support for sport, and the implementation of sports programmes targeted at specific groups with the purpose of promoting sport for all and increasing the level of sports participation, is not an easy and simple process. The implementation of sport policies, like the implementation of any other social policy, is a complex process that involves large numbers of interdependent people with their own goals and pursuing their own perceived interests. The interweaving of the actions of these large numbers of people includes planned and unplanned outcomes. In the process of implementing a sport policy intending, for example, to promote sport as a leisure activity and to increase the levels of sports participation, those involved in the formulation of sport policy at the national government are not the only “players” in this process. In this process there are a great number of other “players” (for example, sports clubs, sports associations, sports federations, local recreational clubs) involved and several balances of power to be taken into account. Within this context any “process of change is likely to
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Involving a challenge to the self-perceived interests of one group or another" (Dopson and Waddington, 1996, p.542-543). While some groups of "players" accept the new policy, other groups may consider the new policy a threat to their interests and resist it. In this complex context no player or group of players is all powerful or powerless.

Although elite sport and younger adults have been the main targets of sport policy, from the 1990s some sport schemes designed to promote physical activity among adults, elderly people, obese people and especially obese children have been developed, mainly by local councils and other institutions such as faculties of sports sciences and physical education. Examples of such schemes include the one developed by the city council of Lisbon (Proyecto Especial, Desporto e Prevenção em Lisboa - Special Project, Sport and Prevention in Lisbon) in 1993 with the purpose of making physical activity accessible to the elderly and the scheme developed by the city council of Porto (No Porto, A Vida é Longa - In Porto Life is Long) in 1997 with the purpose of improving the quality of life and health of the elderly through physical activities. The Faculty of Sport of the University of Porto developed a scheme in collaboration with the Faculty of Medicine called Projecto Acorda (Wake Up Project) with the purpose of increasing the levels of physical activity among obese children. The same faculty launched another sport scheme targeted at elderly people with the purpose of improving their health through physical activity. In 2005 a national scheme called Mexa-se (Move Yourself) has been launched by the Instituto do Desporto de Portugal - IDP (Sport Institute of Portugal) with the purpose of encouraging sedentary people to include physical activities in their daily lives by pointing out the social, economic and health benefits of moderate physical activity.

It is, however, important to note that in order to determine if such sport schemes are really effective a systematic monitoring of outcomes is needed. The information available concerning the sport schemes mentioned above, do not give a clear indication on monitoring and evaluation of their effectiveness and outcomes. Therefore, it becomes difficult to determine the efficacy of such schemes. An adequate and systematic monitoring of sports programmes, as well as of sport policies, is needed in order to determine if such programmes are effective. In other words, to determine if the goals of those programmes are being achieved, and to see what the unintended consequences of these programmes are (Smith and Waddington, 2003).

In terms of sports administration and sport funding most funds during the period from 1974 to 2000, have been state-sponsored. Although the commercial sector has increased their funding for sport, the state has always been, and remains, the dominant provider.
CHAPTER NINE

WOMEN AND SPORT AFTER THE REVOLUTION

As we noted in chapter four, the 1974 revolution brought important changes to women’s lives. Women began to enter university courses traditionally considered as masculine ones, entered the labour market in greater numbers, entered professional careers that once had been closed to them, became more involved in women’s groups fighting for changes in their situation, and began to be involved in the political life of the country. All these changes were aspects of the changing pattern of gender relations in Portuguese society.

Since sport is not separated from other aspects of social life, all the changes concerning women and gender relations since the revolution had consequences for women’s involvement in physical and sporting activities.

After the revolution, having a “nice” figure, and looking attractive and healthy became associated with success and prosperity. To look good and to have an attractive body became important aspects of self-presentation to which almost no one was indifferent; even politicians sought to be photographed when engaging in some sort of physical activity. Women also were not indifferent to these new ideas. Women not only started to show more interest in taking care of their bodies but they also began to exhibit their bodies more freely without the fear of being immediately criticised for doing something that, during the New State period and due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church, had been regarded as not suitable for women. Moreover, they were now more free to do what they wanted, without needing special permission from husbands or fathers. It was after the revolution of April 1974 that women started to take part in sports (marathons, half-marathons, body-building contests) that had been closed to them during the previous regime.

Women’s participation in sporting activities

As we noted in the previous chapter, after the revolution until more or less the mid-1980s, the sports policies followed by the government were directed primarily towards the democratisation of sport. In the attempt to make sport accessible to everyone, everybody was encouraged to take part in physical and sporting activities. Women were no exception. Some

1 The Catholic Church argued that women should preserve their virginity, should not be concerned with their physical appearance, and should direct their attention to the household and all the domestic tasks and motherhood. Taking care of the body was accepted only as part of domestic tasks (Brasão, 1999).
women's magazines, such as the monthly magazine *Mulheres*, began to devote a page specifically to women's sports. This magazine presented, through articles and photographs, the achievements and the tenacity of Portuguese and foreign women athletes. The use of such examples attempted to show that many women, in spite of practical difficulties (lack of financial means, lack of support from the family and other relatives, not having a lot of free time due to their professional careers or domestic responsibilities, being married and having children) considered sport as an important part of their lives.

Still in the context of persuading women to take part in sport, in 1978 an article was published in a sports medicine handbook in which it was noted that old prejudices regarding women's involvement in sport did not make any scientific sense. Sport did not masculinise women as had been believed. On the contrary, as long as it was correctly guided, sport could enhance femininity. It was also pointed out that, in the period that followed menstruation, women could attain very good results since it was in that "stage that they reach[ed] the maximum energy, skill and psychic balance" (Barroco, 1978, p.22). In order to encourage more women to take part in physical and sporting activities, in addition to the health benefits of such practice, the social and moral benefits were also highlighted.

The time devoted to physical activities is not lost time, since with them is attained a true intellectual rest, a physical and psychic regularization ... which is always useful, always creative" (Barroco, 1978, p.30).

However, caution was still recommended. Though involved in sporting activity, women should not forget their femininity; women had always to bear in mind their beauty, their grace and their responsibility for childbearing:

The concern for keeping their health condition, their strong youth and attractiveness, their natural graciousness and beauty, at last their femininity. ... The woman when dedicating herself to sport cannot forget that all her corporeal activity must be harmonious, adjusted, exact and appropriate to her condition of male companion and essential bearer of the important mission of the perpetuation of the human species (Barroco, 1978, p.30-31).

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2 The magazine *Mulheres* began publication in May 1978 and from July onwards it began dedicating an entire page to women's sports. In those pages were presented the results of women's competitions, the achievements of some Portuguese and foreign athletes were also presented and given as examples to be followed. The examples from abroad focused mainly on athletes from Cuba and East Germany thus showing the tendency, already mentioned in the previous chapter, to follow the programmes and type of sport practised in other countries and the sympathy that those in the sports sphere during the first years after the revolution had for countries such as Cuba, East Germany or even former Soviet Union.

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The kind of concern expressed here shows that the traditional ideology concerning
women and their role and position in society remained strong. Images of women continued to
be based on traditional stereotypes. Women continued to be regarded as the male’s
companion and as having the main responsibility for the perpetuation of the species. As had
been advocated during the dictatorship, it was still held that women could take part in sport
but should not put at risk their childbearing responsibilities. Women had to be careful in
relation to the kind of sports in which they were involved in order to preserve their feminine
qualities and to protect their reproductive organs. The focus continued, for many people, to be
women’s biology.

In spite of such considerations, after the 1974 revolution and in comparison to the
1960s, women’s participation in physical and sporting activities at the level of INATEL,
sports federations and Olympic Games has increased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>2788</td>
<td>41196</td>
<td>8097</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>30162</td>
<td>45742</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1988); Ministério da Educação Nacional (1969, 1971); Direcção Geral
dos Desportos (1975a, 1979); Estatísticas do Desporto Federado (1999 cited in Almeida, 1999)

But women’s participation in sport has always been and remains, quite low. According
to the two national studies carried out in Portugal, in 1988 and 1998, only 18% and 14% of
Portuguese women respectively took part in some sort of physical and sporting activities. The
low level of participation of Portuguese women becomes even more evident when compared
to women’s participation in sporting activities in other European countries, as can be seen in
the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Women’s participation in sport *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Marivoet (2001b)
* Percentage of the total number of women in each country.

In order to understand the lower involvement of Portuguese women in sport, one has
to take into account the ideals of femininity and sporting masculinity that prevailed within

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3 In order to determine sports participation, respondents from these countries were asked about their participation
in sport and physical activities over the last 12 months (Portugal, Spain, Italy), and over the last four weeks and
over the last 12 months (United Kingdom).
Portuguese society for decades. Traces of such ideals are still found in Portuguese society today. Women have, for generations, been discouraged from taking part in sport or at least in some sports, due to the strong association traditionally made between some sports and masculinity. Although these constraints can also be found in the history of other west European societies, it can be argued in relation to Portuguese society that, due to the influence of the Catholic Church and the politics followed during the dictatorship, these traditional constraints were, and remain, much stronger in Portugal than in other European countries. The Catholic Church and the political ideology followed during the New State period praised motherhood, the importance of the family, a traditional ideal of femininity and gave little importance to women’s involvement in sporting activities. According to the New State ideology, strongly supported by the Catholic Church, women could practise sport but only certain sports, in moderation and with respect to moral and Christian principles. While men were encouraged to take part in sport in order to become physically strong, healthy and energetic so they could serve and defend the nation, women were advised to practise sport only with moderation and not to be involved in certain sports that could threaten women’s femininity. At the end of the twentieth century most mothers and grandmothers, as well as fathers and grandfathers, had been educated in this context. As a result of their own socialisation into this strong tradition, many parents, even if they acknowledged the importance of undermining gender values, were unable, as Hargreaves (1994, p.148) puts it, “to prevent their own subliminal responses”. In the education of their children many parents still transmit gender values that reproduce traditional gender stereotypes (Greendorfer, 1983 cited in Kay, 2003). That is, while some parents may wish for their girls a life different from the one they had, and many encourage them to have a better education, to have a professional career and to be more physically active, other parents have continued to transmit the values and the behaviour patterns that were dominant during their own youth. The socialisation of boys and girls, as Rodrigues (1995) points out on the basis of interviewing 55 women born and educated during the New State period, did not change radically with the revolution. The women interviewed, though wishing for their girls a better life, continued to inculcate in their daughters traditional ideas of domesticity and motherhood. Their daughters, though having access to a better education and to different jobs, were reminded that their main purposes in life were related to family, motherhood, being a good wife and looking after the house. Their girls could have a good education and a good job, as long as this did not collide with the ideals of family and femininity. Such ideas have repercussions upon girls’ involvements in sport. Girls tend to learn from very early ages to consider domesticity and motherhood as very important, if not the most important, tasks of any woman. While some girls appear to accept
this situation, for others marriage, motherhood and domesticity might not be considered the most important things in life. Many sports are regarded as a privileged space for the inculcation, expression and perpetuation of male identities, and girls may be educated to see sport, or at least some sports, as masculine activities.

It is important to note that the study carried out in 1998 revealed that not all women were equally involved in sport (Marivoet, 2001a, 2001b). Women with higher levels of economic and cultural capital practised more sport than women from other social groups. Women from those social groups have the financial resources that allow them to pay the fees needed to register in sports clubs or gymnasiums, etc. Their financial resources also allow them to pay for child care (either nursing centres or nannies) and to employ other women as cleaners and home helps to relieve them of domestic work. This leaves them with more time to do other things, including physical and sporting activities. Housewives, unemployed women, married women with children and women living in rural areas, were less involved in sporting activities. Though the law defined an equal sexual division of labour in the private sphere, taking care of the children and housework routines have always been and continued to be regarded (in many cases by women themselves) as women’s main responsibilities (Costa, 1992; Rodrigues, 1985). Women belonging to families with lower incomes are even less involved in sports practice. Because they do not have the financial resources to pay for child care, and to employ others to help them in domestic work, these women are usually highly involved in childrearing and domestic tasks. These women, besides having fewer financial resources than middle and upper class women, have also less time to engage in sport. In addition there are cultural considerations that have to be taken into account when analysing the lower involvement of women from lower socio-economic groups. Among lower socio-economic groups, there tends to be a clear sexual division of labour, in these groups women are expected to support the breadwinner, to raise the children and to do most of the domestic work without significant help from their male partners (Wall, 2004 cited in Crompton and Lyonette, 2005). In other words, there are clear definitions of “what is men’s work and what is women’s” (Connell, 1995, p.3) and of what are appropriate feminine and masculine behaviours (Scraton, 1993). Many young girls from these groups tend to consider marriage, housekeeping and childrearing as the most important tasks in their future. They are more interested in going out with friends, in trying on make up and clothes, in reading, listening to music, in being “trendy and sexy … in order to be accepted by girlfriends and attractive to boys” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.157). These ideas have an impact on their involvement in sport.

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4 The same can be said in relation to boys who may be educated to see some sporting activities as more feminine, not to be entered by “real men”.

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because as Hargreaves (1994, p.157) notes, for them “sports ... have no connection with their idealized images of femininity”.

In terms of geographic location, asymmetries also exist. Women from rural areas and from the interior of Portugal have always been less involved in sport than women from the main urban centres and from the coastal areas. For example, in the early years after the revolution, when the sport policies followed were directed towards the democratisation of sport, it was in the region of Portugal called Lisboa e Vale do Tejo (Lisbon and Tejo Valley) that there was the highest involvement of women in sports, immediately followed by the north region. The contrasts between rural and urban and interior and coastal districts were clearly visible. The highest numbers of women involved in sport were found in coastal areas such as Lisbon, Setubal, Porto, Aveiro and Faro. The districts with the lowest women’s participation in sport were the more rural, interior areas – Bragança, Viana do Castelo, Guarda, Viseu, Braga, Castelo Branco and Portalegre (Alves et al., 1980). This showed that sport was not accessible to everybody equally. Almost 20 years later, the same trend was found. In the study carried out in 1998, the rural areas continued to be those with a lower involvement of women in sport. The highest involvement continued to be in the major urban centres such as Lisbon, Porto, Braga and Setúbal (Marivoet, 2001b). The asymmetries that had prevailed since the revolution and that were still visible in the 1998 study are related to factors such as women’s working conditions, sporting facilities, cost of sports facilities, the maintenance of stereotypical gender images and the importance given to sports activities. Some women living in the rural interior of Portugal are still strongly involved in agriculture, housework routines and taking care of the children and have little time to engage in sport. Perhaps, more importantly, these areas are areas where the Catholic Church still has a very powerful influence, and tend to be much more traditional in terms of stereotypical gender images than urban areas which tend to be much more open, flexible, cosmopolitan and subject to new influences. In rural areas, women, and especially those who have children, are strongly constrained in relation to homemaking and childrearing. A woman besides being involved in agriculture has to devote herself to housekeeping and childrearing. The man has to be a good husband, father and provider and he is not expected to be involved in domestic activities. The smaller involvement of women from these areas is also related to the relatively low provision of sporting facilities for women in these areas.

The economic cost that sports practice can involve is also a relevant consideration. Sporting facilities owned by private companies require the payment of fees. For some women, even employed women, such fees might be prohibitive. Access to such facilities is, for women (and men) in the lower socio-economic groups, conditioned by their financial
resources (Gomes, et al., 2000; Marivoet, 1998a). But the cost involved is not the only factor. The culture and lifestyles of people from lower socio-economic groups is also important. For people from lower income groups sport is not a high priority. For such people securing an adequate income and looking after large numbers of children are likely to be seen as of more importance than practising sport.

The 1998 study also revealed that women’s involvement in sport remains at a lower level when compared to that of men, as can be seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of female athletes</th>
<th>Percentage of females in relation to the total number of athletes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>2788</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987/88</td>
<td>41196</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This lesser involvement of women when compared to men is observable in all age groups, as can be seen in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Handball female</th>
<th>Basketball female</th>
<th>Tennis female</th>
<th>Track and field female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bambis</td>
<td>2061</td>
<td>3113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minis</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>3874</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kids</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngers</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginners</td>
<td>2053</td>
<td>4861</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadets</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the youngest age groups the differences in terms of female and male participation in sports are not that high. However, as age increases greater differences can be seen. This suggests that amongst the younger generations the impact of traditional gender stereotypes is not as strong as in the older generations. That is, younger people are being socialised into less rigid gender stereotypes. The differences observed between women and men among older people reflect the patterns of socialisation and the levels of participation of men and women in earlier periods; more precisely, during the New State regime when women were much less involved in sport than men. Older people were, when young, socialised into ideologies of the New State regime. These ideologies and especially those concerning women, their role in society, their bodies, femininity and women’s involvement in sport had repercussions upon women’s involvement in sport and in the acquisition of sporting habits, as discussed in chapter six.

Although more women are nowadays involved in traditionally male activities, they still tend to be much more involved in sports traditionally regarded as feminine appropriate, as can be seen in the following table:
### Chapter nine

#### Table 33 - Percentage of female athletes per sporting federation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>1977/78 %</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>1998 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federations with more than</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50% of female athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>Trampolines and acrobatic</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federations with 40 to 50%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of female athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korfball</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>Equestrian sports</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federations with 20 to 40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of female athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>Sporting hovercraft</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roller skating</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Modern pentathlon</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>Handball</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Water skiing</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roller Skating</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Five a side football</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Table tennis</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skiing</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Minigolf</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federations with 10 to 20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of female athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Aikido</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Shooting (with a bow)</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under-water activities</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taekwondo</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Triathlon</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese martial arts</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chess</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Squash</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Body-building</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surf</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federations with 0,1 to 10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of female athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-water activities</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Jet ski</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handball</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>Billiards</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor car racing</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Archers</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycling</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Parachuting</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Free flight</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chess</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Football</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Motorcycling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federations without female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Model aircraft building and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td></td>
<td>flying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td></td>
<td>Field hockey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rugby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field hockey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Almeida (1999, p.7); Alves et al. (1980)
Gymnastics is the sporting activity in which women are most heavily involved. At the level of sports federations, women’s presence in sports such as boxing, football, motorcycling, five-a-side football or rugby was very low or non-existent in 1998. It is clear that women are less involved in sporting activities traditionally defined in terms of aggressiveness, competitiveness, strength, physical contact and resistance, features traditionally associated with men. Women tend to be more involved in sporting activities that have been traditionally regarded as better suited to women (gymnastics, swimming for example), for enhancing feminine grace, for emphasizing aesthetics, for not being too aggressive, for not involving too much physical contact between competitors, for not developing an excessive musculature.

However, women’s participation in sports traditionally considered as male preserves has also increased in recent years. Women’s participation in football, five-a-side football, weightlifting, cycling, boxing and rugby are good examples of women’s incorporation into sports traditionally associated with men. For example, in 1977/78 there were no women registered in the football federation, but by 1990 there were 451 women football players. By 1996 this number had increased to 636 and in 1998 there were 2439 female athletes registered in the football federation. In weightlifting, this incorporation is also evident. In 1977/78 there were no women registered in the federation but by 1998 women represented 13.4% of the total number of registered weightlifters. Similarly, in 1998 there were no women in the rugby federation, but by 2000 there were 76 registered women rugby players.

Entry into traditional “male sports”

Before 1974 women were participating and competing in sports such as gymnastics, basketball, tennis, swimming and volleyball among others. But women’s participation in sports traditionally considered “as bastions of male identity and privilege” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.27), such as football, rugby, handball or judo, developed only in the years after the 1974 revolution. For example, the first judo national competition for women took place in 1975. In handball the first women’s national competition took place in 1975/76. The first national competition in roller hockey organised under the aegis of the federation took place only in 1991. The first official competition in women’s cycling took place in 1990. In rugby the first competition amongst women was organised under the aegis of the rugby federation only in 2000/2001. However, the first women’s rugby game took place in Coimbra in 1970, organised by the rugby section of the Associação Académica de Coimbra. In 1994/95 the rugby federation, in order to promote rugby amongst men and women, organised several games for male and female teams. In 1995 the first Portuguese women’s team – The Lusitanas – played
against Germany and lost by 50-0. Since then until 2000/2001, most of the female competitions have been promoted by juvenile rugby which is played on fields of reduced dimensions and with teams composed of 5 players (Federação Portuguesa de Rugby, n.d.). Due to an increasing interest in rugby on the part of girls and to an improvement in the quality of the games, in 2000/2001 the first women's national competition was established. The teams are composed of 12 players and the game is played in fields having the same dimensions of male rugby. At the present time, there are 8 female teams taking part in the female national championship (Caparica, Agronomia, Loulé, Évora, Agrária de Coimbra, Santarém, Crav, Técnico) (Federação Portuguesa de Rugby, n.d.).

In football, the first women's national competition organised under the aegis of the football federation – the women's national football cup - took place in 1985. However, women were involved in football long before that date. As indicated in the chapter on women and sport during the New State, in the 1930s some women were already playing football. Moreover, in the latter 1970s, there were also some Portuguese women playing football and taking part in national and international competitions organised by clubs rather than by the national federation or sporting associations. In fact, at that time the main supporters of women's football were the sports clubs. The federation and associations were not involved in the promotion of women's football. In 1984/1985 the first national championship for women was organised. This competition has continued to be held regularly since then and currently involves 24 female teams. Most of these female teams are not part of the larger and most well known Portuguese clubs, but are found within quite small clubs. As far as the female national team is concerned, according to one of our interviewees, in 1981 Portugal took part in an international competition. Those who organised this participation, due to the good performance by the players, became very enthusiastic and decided to register the team in the first women's football European Championship. But after the participation in this competition the national team ceased to exist, apparently due to a lack of financial means. The female national team was re-established once again in 1993. Since then, the team has participated in several international competitions, including qualifying games for the VI and VII European Championships and for the World Championship (Os Primórdios do Futebol Feminino, n.d.; Silva, 1998).

Stereotyped ideas surrounding women's participation in sports

Girls and women's football continues today to face several problems, especially financial problems. According to a former female football player (Leirianet, n.d.), the lion's share of finance goes to men's football and only after that is female football considered. This
former player argues that sometimes the clubs question the maintenance of women’s teams, allegedly due to a lack of financial resources, but they do not do the same in relation to men’s teams. Apart from the financial problems, there is sometimes, as well, insufficient support from parents or other relatives of the players. For example, as a former player and now coach put it:

Sometimes there is a lack of support from the husband or boyfriend. They do not tell them not to play, but they do not show any interest in supporting (cited in Leirianet, n.d., para. 7).

Women’s gradual growth in participation in sports traditionally considered as men’s sports has not been straightforward. Some Portuguese female athletes, when they started practising such sports, were told that these sports were for tough people or they were called tomboys. Their involvement in these sports was not taken as seriously as men’s involvement. In spite of these difficulties, those girls and women did not give up and continued practising, thus challenging traditional ideas of femininity as well as of masculinity.

Though nowadays more women are playing football, their presence was, and still is, sometimes criticised. After the revolution a climate of suspicion in relation to women’s involvement in football continued to exist. Football continued to be viewed as a male activity. Because it is seen as symbolizing male power, women’s entry into football, as well as in other team games such as rugby, constitutes a threat to popular definitions of masculinity (Hargreaves, 1994) as well as a threat to traditional notions of femininity. Women’s involvement in football has continued to be regarded by many as unladylike. Moreover, due to the strong association traditionally made between football and masculinity, women who got involved in football have tended to be regarded as less feminine, and their femininity was sometimes questioned. According to Dunning (1999), the femininity of women athletes involved in sports conventionally regarded as male appropriate such as football, in addition to being compromised in the eyes of others, is also sometimes compromised in the eyes of the athletes themselves. This happens because they “have internalised the ‘group charisma’ of those who are more established, in this case males” (Elias and Scotson, 1994 cited in Dunning, 1999, p.239). A former female football player who later became a coach in an interview with the magazine Executiva, says that when she started playing football, she “was labelled tomboy just because she played football” (cited in Miranda, 2000). Later, when she became a student and mentioned that she liked to play football, people looked at her with suspicion. Women who play football, or who are involved in sports traditionally considered as male appropriate, face the risk of being ostracised since they are involved in sports that do not
conform to conventional ideas of femininity. The suspicion in relation to women’s football can be seen through the words of one of our interviewees, a former female football player who started playing in 1976\(^5\). Though she was highly supported by her family and friends, the club she represented, and which was a pioneer in terms of women’s football, encouraged her parents to become more involved in order “to see that it had a good ambience, ... that it was interesting and that it was an activity that could even help me in terms of self-confidence, discipline, etc”. It appears that, because of the suspicion in relation to women’s football, the club itself sought to reassure the parents that football did not constitute a threat to their daughters’ femininity. She also mentions that the club travelled frequently to different areas of the country to play matches. A lot of people attended those games because, as she says, it was something new. But she remembers hearing some less agreeable comments at the beginning of the games: “Go home” or “What is this? Women playing football? Go home. Sew the socks”. But such comments were only at the beginning of the games because, after the public had seen them playing, they would change their comments to “Eh, you wish you could play as well as they do”. At the beginning there was, then, some suspicion in relation to their participation in football, but after watching them playing this distrust tended to diminish. Due to their technique, the quality of their games and their persistence, pre-conceived ideas tended to change.

At first, the initial impact was sarcastic...they went to the circus, not to a football field, they went to see the “show” ... this is going to be fun! After, due to the quality of the game they became more sympathetic to women’s football and found out that it was valid to be there to watch the game and not the girls.

But, it is still possible to find those who are critical of women’s participation in football. For example the writer Alvaro Magalhães, in an article published in the newspaper *Jornal de Noticias* (19 November 1999), says that the only “real” football is male football. Though formally acknowledging the necessity of promoting equality between women and men, he argues that this does not apply to football, since “football is a specific and undoubtedly masculine activity” (Magalhães, 1998). This comment indicates the continuing hostility of some people to the fuller participation of women in sport.

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\(^5\) This female football player started playing football in 1976 at the age of 12. She represented several clubs and at the present time she is a women’s football coach. She played several times for the national team.
Comments similar to that above are also found in other sports. For example, the Olympic champion Fernanda Ribeiro, in a recent conference\(^6\) mentioned that when she started practising track and field she used to hear “go back to the kitchen”.

The climate of suspicion in relation to the femininity of some female athletes tends to be stronger in those sports such as football, rugby and boxing. Although muscular women are now more easily accepted, the sexual identity and femininity of female athletes continues to be questioned (Louveau, 2001).

The derogative comments female athletes sometimes have to endure may be seen as an attempt to preserve sport as a male domain. For some men as well as some women, women’s participation in some sports not only challenges traditional definitions of femininity and masculinity, but is also regarded as a threat to male hegemony in sport.

Women’s participation in those sports, in particular, has not been easy. Besides the derogative comments they sometimes hear, they do not usually have the same financial support as male athletes, and clubs do not give the same attention and support to female and male athletes and teams. For example, in relation to women’s involvement in football within some clubs, female teams have been disbanded. For example, two years ago a female football team, the national champions several times, was disbanded. In spite of their good results, the club decided to disband the female football team while keeping the male team, even though the men’s team obtained less good results. The former female football player mentioned above (who was the coach of this team), said in her interview that she went to several club assembly meetings in order to discuss this decision. In some of them she heard comments such as: “I am an associate of male football”. These comments show the way some people understand football and the way they continue to regard women’s involvement in football.

After the revolution in 1974, men’s and women’s participation in sport, and especially in traditionally male appropriate sports, can be considered as an established-outsider relationship of a particular type. As has been noted in chapter seven, with the revolution the social position of women changed more rapidly. Since then there has been greater participation of women in the public sphere with women gaining increasing access to positions of power. These changes in women’s power chances within the wider society had repercussions upon their participation in sport. Gradually women began to enter sports traditionally considered as male appropriate sports. Because they began to enter social spaces traditionally regarded by many males as “sacred” places, women’s involvement in traditionally male appropriate sports has been regarded by many males (and also some

\(^6\) In the II international conference on Women and Sport that took place in November 2003 in Portugal and that counted with the presence of well known Portuguese female athletes and coaches Fernanda Ribeiro on one of her interventions mentioned such fact.
females) as a threat. These women were regarded by many males as intruders, as outsiders who did not know their place.

As a response to this perceived threat to their position, many males - who as a group can be considered as an established group – drew upon a variety of techniques to assert their superiority and to repulse what they perceived as an invasion of their sacred spaces. It is in this context that the sexual orientation of many female athletes involved in traditionally male appropriate sports came to be questioned. There is a tendency to imply that female athletes involved in, for example, football or rugby, are less feminine, or are lesbians, as if ‘normal’ feminine and heterosexual women would not wish to take part in such sports. The image that is developed in relation to these female athletes – the outsiders – thus tends to be modelled on a stereotype of the minority of the worst. Because some of these women are in fact lesbians, or present a less feminine image (characteristics which have tended to be negatively evaluated by many males and females) this image tends to be applied, by the established group, to all the members of the outsider group, so that they all share in the group disgrace. Some women come to accept and to internalise this view of themselves and as such they help to reinforce the dominance of the established group. While the image developed in relation to the outsiders tends to be based on the minority of the worst, the self-image of the established group tends to be based on the minority of the best. That is, because some members of the established group (though not all members), are in fact more aggressive, have more strength, and are more competitive – characteristics which tend to be positively evaluated among males - that image tends to be generalised to all members of the established group. Through such strategies the established group tries to protect its “identity as a group and [to assert] its superiority” (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p.xxii).

**Women and sporting leadership**

Although taking part in many sports including sports traditionally considered as male appropriate, women’s presence in leading administrative positions (club presidents, vice-presidents etc.) continues is very small. Although a few women hold leading positions, they are a tiny minority. According to Almeida (2000), who studied women occupying different positions within the management bodies of several sporting federations, women constituted only 10% of such bodies. In all the federations involved in the study, there were 957 men occupying positions within management, compared with 110 women. Of these 110 women, the position where most women were found was the board of directors (39%). The position with fewest women was in the area traditionally considered a “male” area - the Fiscal body (2%). Amongst the 110 women there were only 11 occupying the position of president (1 in
the general assembly, 3 in jurisdictional councils, 3 in referees’ councils and 4 in disciplinary councils). Almeida (2000) indicates that those federations where most female athletes were found were also the ones where more women occupy positions in the management bodies. For example, in gymnastics 75% of the registered athletes were women, and in this federation women occupied 35% of management positions. In 1998 women’s presence as athletes in the Portuguese federations of boxing, football or rugby was very limited or non-existent and the same trend was found at the level of their representation inside management bodies (no women were involved in any position).

Who are these women in management positions? Are they married, do they have children, what sort of education do they have and what kind of occupations do they have? Almeida’s study indicates that more than 50% of these women were between 25 and 39 years of age, were married and had children. The majority had a university degree or a postgraduate degree. The ones who had a better education (higher education) were the youngest women. 86% of these women were employed, many of them in the most qualified professional categories. Amongst those who were employed, 42% were technical-scientific professionals (teachers, medical doctors, higher level staff), 28% were liberal professionals (lawyers), 16% were managers and management staff and 14% were administrative technicians.

But not only at the federation level are women under-represented. The same trend is found in the Portuguese Olympic Committee. In 2002, only 18% of the members in the Portuguese Olympic Committee were women. Inside the Portuguese Olympic Committee some positions are occupied almost exclusively by men (executive commission: 15 men, 1 woman; member belonging to IOC – International Olympic Committee – is a man; juridical commission: 8 men and no woman; medical commission: 3 men and no woman; ethics commission: 6 men and no woman; technical-sporting commission: 4 men and no woman; athletes commission: 10 men and 1 woman; employees: 3 men and 6 women; women and sport commission: 3 women) (M. Hasse, personal communication, November 2002).

The limited presence of women in management positions is also confirmed in a study carried out by Marivoet. According to Marivoet (2001a), men were much more involved in positions in management in clubs and sports associations. Of the total number of men involved in sports clubs 11% occupied positions in management bodies. Of the total number of women affiliated to sports clubs only 2% occupied management positions (Marivoet, 2001a).

However, it is possible to find some women working and occupying positions in the management bodies of sports clubs (just to mention a few examples: in 2003: Fernanda
Chapter nine

Meneses – vice-president of Futebol Clube do Porto; Isabel Trigo – member of the Sporting Clube de Portugal Council; Adelina Trindade Guedes – Presiding the jurisdictional department of Vitória de Guimarães; Alice Costa – President of the Conselho fiscal of Paços de Ferreira; Maria José Vicente – 1st substitute of the Assembly table in Rio Ave; Suzete Cardoso – president of the Valpaços Club; Rosalina Mendonça – President of the sporting group Ilha; in the club O Moreirense there are five women working in the media department and in public relations (O Norte Desportivo, 1 November 2003). Some of these women, when interviewed by the newspaper O Norte Desportivo, said they had not experienced any kind of discrimination. Some of them indicated that at the beginning there was some distrust, but that soon disappeared:

At the beginning they were suspicious, it is not easy to enter, but when we managed to enter in their domain and we demonstrated our capacities, men accepted us, sometimes they are even surprised when we show them that we also know about football and they respect us (Isabel Trigo cited in O Norte Desportivo, 1 November 2003).

Of those women interviewed by the newspaper, one suggested that, though not experiencing any kind of discrimination, she believed that within clubs some positions are better suited to women:

There are positions more suitable for women, such as public relations (Laura Garrido cited in O Norte Desportivo, 1 November 2003).

This perhaps suggests a continued acceptance by some women of elements of traditional gender stereotyping and a reluctance to become involved in what continue to be seen as “male” activities such as financial control.

Women and coaching

Women are also less represented than men in coaching. According to a study carried out by Pinto (1994) in Lisbon, only 22 of 174 coaches from different federations were women. Gymnastics was the sport where women were most represented (15 coaches). In sports (football, wrestling), traditionally regarded as male activities, there were no women coaches. In swimming, usually seen as a suitable activity for both men and women, there were 3 women coaches and 24 men coaches.

The lower representation of women among coaches is also indicated by the number of male and female coaches accompanying the Portuguese athletes taking part in the Olympic Games. In the 1984 Olympic Games there was only one female coach among nine coaches.
accompanying the Portuguese athletes to the Games. In the 2000 Olympic Games there were two female coaches and 29 male coaches (Comité Olimpico de Portugal, 1984, 2000).

**Women athletes and financial rewards and support**

Although taking part in various types of sports, women are less involved in sports than men and are less represented than men in certain areas, such as management positions and coaching. But the inequality is greater where the financial rewards are concerned. In certain sports the financial rewards given to male and female athletes are significantly different. Women athletes in some sports receive prize money which is much less than that of men. Athletics is a good example of a sport where this situation often occurs. In athletic events organised by the Athletics Portuguese federation, the prize money for men and women is the same. But there are many other events organised by private organisations, where the situation is different. Examples include the following:

- **2002: XIII Grande Prémio S. Paio.** For the first 3 positions it was stipulated – men: 1st place 400 euros, 2nd place 300 euros and 3rd place 200 euros; women: 1st place 300 euros, 2nd place 200 euros and 3rd place 150 euros (XIII Grande Prémio S. Paio: Prémios, 2002).

- **2002: 1ª Milha Urbana de Leomil.** Men: 1st place 250 euros, 2nd place 150 euros and 3rd place 100 euros; women: 1st place 150 euros, 2nd place 100 euros and 3rd place 75 euros (1ª Milha Urbana de Leomil, 2002).

- **2003: 6ª Corrida de Atletismo do Castelo.** For the first 3 positions in the seniors competition the prizes were as follows – men: 1st position 650 euros, 2nd position 500 euros and 3rd position 400 euros; women: 1st position 500 euros, 2nd position 400 euros and 3rd position 350 euros (Corrida do Castelo – Santa Maria da Feira: Lista de Prémios, 2003).

- **2003: Grande Prémio da Trofa** (involving the presence of some of the most prestigious female Portuguese athletes such as the Olympic Champion Fernanda Ribeiro). Men: 1st position 1000 euros, 2nd position 750 euros and 3rd position 500 euros; women: 1st position 750 euros, 2nd position 500 euros and 3rd position 350 euros (Grande Prémio da TRofa: Prémios, 2003).

There are other events where the prize money for the first three positions is exactly the same, but from the fourth position downwards the situation changes considerably. For example the **Oni Meia Maratona de Portugal (2002)** - for both male and female athletes down to the 3rd position the prize was exactly the same (1st position 2500 euros, 2nd position 1500 euros and 3rd position 1000 euros). But for the 4th position men received 800 euros and
women 500 euros. For the 5th position men received 600 euros and women received only 300 euros. In October 2003, this situation was also found on the *Meia Maratona de Ovar*. Athletics is not, however, the only sport where this situation occurs. For instance, the women’s Portuguese roller hockey team, which came second in the World Championship in 1998, won the World Championship in 1997 and won the bronze medal in 1996 did not receive from the state the same prize money that the men’s team, in exactly the same circumstances, received (Santos, 2001). While each female player received 250 euros, each male player received 1745 euros. When questioned about this, the member of the government responsible justified this by saying that “female roller hockey was still taking its first steps” (cited in Santos, 2001, p.106).

This same situation occurs in football. For instance, the *Associação de Futebol de Coimbra*, in order to promote football among youngsters, gives some financial aid (called participation contribution) to every club taking part in the competitions organised by the association. But the contribution to women’s teams is less than that given to male teams (250 euros per female team, 500 euros per male team).

In tennis, for the 1987 national championships the federation, before the competition, stipulated the financial rewards to be given to the first male competitors, while in relation to female athletes nothing was decided. When the federation was questioned about this it replied that there was no reason to give prize money to female players, especially considering that the national champion did not even take part in international competitions.

Some of the women involved in sports accept such inequality, without any reaction. But other female athletes do not accept passively the inequality in terms of prize money. One of the strategies they use to show their disagreement consists of boycotting some competitions because of the unequal prize money. For example, at the beginning of November 2003, the women’s track and field team from *Sporting de Braga* refused to participate in the national road competition, saying that they would not take part in this competition while male and female prize money was not exactly the same. The same strategy had already been adopted by the Olympic champion, Rosa Mota, 15 years ago at the time of the *Amendoieiras* Cross country competition. She refused to take part in the competition because the prize money given to male and female winners was not the same. The prize money in this competition is now the same for male and female athletes. Another Olympic champion, Fernanda Ribeiro, at the beginning of November 2003, similarly withdraw from a competition where she was the favourite to win.

Besides the inequalities observed in terms of financial rewards, female athletes and women’s teams frequently do not receive the same type of financial support from clubs as
male athletes. In football, for example, most of the female players are not paid. Those who receive some financial aid receive such a small amount that, as a former female football player interviewed said, “It does not compensate for the expenditures ... that an athlete has, for the sacrifice she makes and taking into account the competitive level that she already has reached”. Five-a-side football and handball are also examples of sports where women do not receive any kind of financial help. In five-a-side football, the small payments to women players may not cover their expenses, as Maria João, a player pointed out:

Women have to pay to play five-a-side football. For a long time I came from Braga just to play five-a-side football and the compensation I got was not enough for the expenses (Maria João cited in O Norte Desportivo, 1 November 2003).

According to some athletes interviewed by the newspaper O Norte Desportivo, this lack of financial support from clubs is, in part, responsible for girls dropping out from sport.

The lack of financial support from clubs is also evident in other sports, such as volleyball. For example in 1990 the volleyball section of the club S.C.Vila Real decided to dissolve the female team, allegedly due to a lack of financial support from the club. Almost all the financial funds, even those that were allocated to the volleyball section, are frequently directed to men’s football (Jornal de Noticias, 16 March 1990).

However, it should be noted that the lower financial rewards and support sportswomen tend to receive when compared to male athletes cannot be analysed simply in terms of the persistence of traditional gender stereotypes on the part of those who run sport. In the analysis of this issue there are also economic considerations that cannot be ignored. On economic grounds, if people like to watch men playing handball or volleyball or football it is important to maintain male teams even if this means reducing or even cutting completely women’s salaries or rewards or even dissolving female teams. Since men’s sports tend to attract more people, because more people like to see male athletes and teams playing, because they consider men’s sport more exciting or more entertaining, those who organise and finance sport tend to prioritise men’s sports because it can generate more profits. Those who seek to make a living by financing sport are, of course, constrained by market considerations and, almost inevitably these influence decisions about what activities are commercially most valuable and which activities therefore receive most funding.

**Women’s sports and the printed media**

The inequalities between men and women occur also in the sports printed media. The printed media in Portugal follow the tendency observed in other studies (Duncan et al., 1994;
Hargreaves, 1994; Pederson, 2002; Theberge and Cronk, 1994; Vincent et al., 2002; Shiflett and Reveille, 1994 cited in Whannel, 2000) in other countries. In Portugal, the printed media concentrates much more attention on men’s sports than on women’s sports. This pattern is clearly revealed by an analysis of the sports sections of the general daily newspaper, Jornal de Noticias, and in the sports newspaper A Bola. An analysis of the photographic and written coverage of men’s sports and women’s sports for the month of March 2003 indicates that both newspapers devoted much greater coverage to men’s sports than to women’s sports (table 35):

Table 34 - References of men and women’s sport, Jornal de Noticias and A Bola – March 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Jornal de Noticias</th>
<th>A Bola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of photographs of male athletes *</td>
<td>84.9%</td>
<td>80.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of photographs of female athletes *</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of photographs of both male and female athletes *</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage male athletes written references b</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of female athletes written references b</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of written articles concerning both male and female athletes b</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* in relation to the total number of photographs
b in relation to the total number of written references

Moreover, in both newspapers articles about males and photographs of male athletes occupied on average more space (cm²) than articles and photographs concerning female athletes, as indicated in table 36.

Table 35 - Physical space in square centimetres devoted to written references and photographs by gender in Jornal de Noticias and A Bola

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jornal de Noticias</th>
<th>A Bola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male articles</td>
<td>225 39,3848</td>
<td>335 111,2550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female articles</td>
<td>31 20,8497</td>
<td>72 86,2736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male photos</td>
<td>135 42,0467</td>
<td>337 113,5469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female photos</td>
<td>22 24,9127</td>
<td>66 109,9805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to several studies (Harris and Clayton, 2002; Duncan, 1990, Duncan et al., Harbrook, 1988, Mckay, 1997, Theberge, 1987 cited in Pederson, 2002; Hindson, 1989, Klein, 1988 cited in Vincent et al., 2002) when women’s sports are covered, female athletes’ photographic coverage tends to be different from that of male athletes. Female athletes tend to be captured more in passive, posed shots or non-competitive settings while male athletes tend to be depicted in action and competitive settings. This trend can also be found in Portugal. For example, an analysis of the photographic content of two daily newspapers (Jornal de Noticias, and A Bola) during the Sydney Olympic Games, revealed the same tendency observed in other studies. Following the methodology used by Vincent et al. (2002), the
photographs of male and female athletes were analysed on the basis of four categories: “competitive”, “non-competitive”, “active” and “posed”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 36 – Presentation of male and female athletes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jornal de Noticias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male photos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the sports newspaper, A Bola, photographs of males outnumbered photographs of female by over four times. Of the 305 male photographs, 179 (58.7%) were of men competing in their own sport, 70 (23%) were of men posing and 55 (18%) were of men that were not depicted as actively taking part in their sport but that through the setting or the clothing was possible to identify their sport. In relation to women’s sport, of the 107 female photographs 44 (41.1%) were categorised as “posed”, 39 (36.4%) as “competitive” and 24 (22.4%) as “non-competitive”.

In the Jornal de Noticias, men’s photographs similarly outnumbered women’s photographs. Moreover, as in A Bola, the photographs showing men competing in their own sport considerably outnumbered the number of photographs showing women athletes competing. Of the 161 male photographs, 108 (67.1%) were of men competing in their own sport, 28 (17.4%) were of men posing and 25 (15.5%) were of men that were not depicted as actively taking part in their sport but that through the setting or the clothing was possible to identify their sport. In relation to women’s sport, of the 66 female photographs 30 (45.5%) were categorised as “competitive”, 24 (36.4%) as “posed” and 12 (18.2%) as “non-competitive”.

In addition female athletes who are involved in traditionally female appropriate sports tend to receive more coverage than female athletes taking part in other sports (Lee, 1992 cited in Vincent et al., 2002). This fact was evident in the two newspapers analysed during the Sydney Olympic Games.

7 When the athlete was captured actively taking part in his/her own sport, the photograph was included in the category competitive. When the athletes were not depicted actively taking part in his/her own sport but through the setting or the athletes clothing was possible to identify his/her sport, the photograph was included in the category non-competitive. The category active related to those athletes that were physically doing some other sport (other than his/her own). The category posed had to due with those athletes depicted in non-sporting settings or by head/shoulders.
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Table 37 - Presentation of male and female athletes, by sport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Jornal de Noticias</th>
<th>A Bola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handball</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roller hockey</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car racing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle racing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beach volleyball</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water polo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teakwood</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surf</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field hockey</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equestrian sports</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triathlon</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
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In *Jornal de Noticias*, of the total number of female photographs 36 (54.5%) were of women competing in track and field events, 7 (10.6%) of women competing in swimming, 4 (6.1%) of women competing in volleyball, 4 (6.1%) of women competing in gymnastics. Of the total number of male photographs, 21 (13%) were of men competing in track and field events, 19 (11.8%) of men competing in swimming, 16 (9.9%) were related to men involved in sailing events, 11 (6.8%) were of men competing in judo, 13 (8.1%) were of men competing in cycling.

In the newspaper *A Bola* the same trend was found. Of the total number of female photographs 64 (59.8%) were related to track and field events, 8 (7.5%) to gymnastics and 5 (4.7%) each to swimming, beach volleyball, sailing and judo. Of the total number of male photographs, 56 (18.4%) were related to athletics, 33 (10.8%) to basketball, 31 (10.2%) to swimming, 27 (8.9%) to cycling and also to sailing, 23 (7.5%) to handball and also judo.

In both newspapers, women involved in athletics, gymnastics and swimming received more photographic coverage than those involved in other sports. While men’s photographic coverage was more equally distributed amongst many different sports, women’s sports photographic coverage was concentrated on those few sports. The photographic coverage of
females involved in athletics also reflected the good results obtained by some Portuguese athletes.

The greater attention devoted to those athletes who performed well of course reflects economic concerns on the part of newspapers publishers. Athletes who perform well and obtain good results help to sell newspapers. This is clearly visible in the words of an editor of a Portuguese sports newspaper:

Only in the Olympic Games and World Championships ... when female athletes perform well and obtain excellent results [do] they get on the first page. [Otherwise] it does not sell. Nowadays, newspapers, in order to sell, seek what the public likes (cited in Coimbra, 2005, p.53).

Female athletes and the language employed in the printed media

Language not only reflects the culture of different groups but is also an important vehicle of transmission. Language might reinforce, or even develop biased attitudes in relation to gender, by a process of concealment of women and the masculinisation of everyday life. Through an analysis of language it is possible to observe the expression of prejudices in relation to gender.

According to several studies (Bernstein, 2002; Chrisholm, 1999, Jones et al., 1999, Urquhart and Crossman, 1999, cited in Harris and Clayton, 2002; Pirinen, 1997; Theberge and Cronk, 1994), female athletes are not only under-represented in the printed media, but when they do receive attention, they are sometimes treated in a different manner from their male counterparts. In other words, the comments and words used to describe female athletes may be different from those used in relation to male athletes. For example, journalists frequently refer to female athletes as “girls” or “young girls”, while they refer to male athletes as “men”. In the sports newspaper, A Bola, journalists very frequently use the word “girls” when referring to female volleyball and basketball players. Furthermore, journalists, when describing female athletes, also frequently mention their roles as wives, mothers or girlfriends. A good example of this can be found in A Bola during the Olympic Games of 2000, in a reference to the female athlete Sandra Godinho (judo athlete). In addition to describing her performance, the journalist also referred to her boyfriend and to his involvement in different sporting activities. The same tendency was found in a special edition

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8 In 2005 Marta Coimbra conducted a study under my supervision where she interviewed editors of the three Portuguese daily sports newspapers. In this study it was our purpose to understand how the written references and photographs were arranged and what were the criteria used within the newspapers to decide what sports were covered and the ones that received less attention, what games received more attention and the ones that received less attention.

9 See for example: articles regarding volleyball players on the 4th and 5th of March 2003, article regarding beach volleyball players on the 17th September 2000 or article concerning basketball female players on the 31st of March 2003 in the newspaper A Bola.
of the sports newspaper *O Norte Desportivo*, which was totally devoted to women’s sports. In some of the articles (some devoted to female athletes and others devoted to women’s involvement in management bodies inside clubs) the journalists frequently mentioned not just the women’s achievements in the sports sphere, but also their status as wives, mothers or girlfriends. In addition, journalists tend to refer to the physical attributes of women athletes. Several examples found in the Portuguese printed media are presented below to show that the Portuguese press exhibits the same tendency found in the printed media in other countries.

In the sports newspaper *A Bola* in March 2003, an article on women’s involvement in surfing was entitled “the Goddesses of the water”. In this same newspaper on the 30th of March 2003, there were other references concerning Italian women volleyball players. The Portuguese journalist referred to the women’s Italian team in the following terms:

Women’s volleyball games catch the attention not only due to the perfect technique but especially due to the physical attributes of the players. The beauty is a talisman especially in a form of the Brazilian Ana Paula Monteiro of 31 years of age…with long blonde hair, who always had similarities with Brigitte Bardot in her most golden times…, a girl with amazing measurements (1,70m for 90x63x85) and also fan of the São Paulo native Vanessa Menga, the blonde tennis player with green eyes (27 years of age, 1,73m for 85x63x90 with 51cm of thigh)

The same newspaper also carried the following comment in an interview with Sara Duarte (a weightlifting female athlete):


Women’s achievements are also occasionally compared to men’s sporting achievements, as though women’s achievements on their own terms somehow lacked legitimacy. For example, in *Jornal de Notícias* on the 25th of March 1990 the title that appeared in an article concerning the women’s cross country World Championship was: “The Portuguese women run like men”.

All these examples indicate the flavour of comments frequently used to describe female athletes. The focus on women’s physical attributes, it may be argued, trivializes and devalues women’s sporting performances. Even after the revolution of 1974, and the end of censorship, the printed media continued in some respects to reproduce traditional gender stereotypes. Instead of presenting more female athletes that could work as role models to young girls the printed media continued to devote less attention to women’s sport. This under-representation, together with the use of language which trivialises women’s sporting
achievements, helps to perpetuate the "myth of female passivity and frailty" (Theberge and Cronk, 1994, p.290), and also helps, as Pederson (2002) notes, to reinforce male supremacy in sport. The way the printed media treats women’s sports thus helps to sustain the idea, as Hargreaves (1994, p.196) points out, that women’s sports “are less important than men’s sports and that men are keener to participate and naturally better suited to do so”.

It has to be noted, however, that besides the persistence of traditional gender stereotypes on the part of those in the media responsible for the coverage of sport, there are also economic concerns that constrain people to give more attention to men’s sports and to discriminate women’s sports. More precisely, those in the media, and in this case in the printed media, are concerned with selling as many newspapers as possible. If men’s sport attracts more people, if those people want to read about men’s sport, then those in the media will be constrained to give more attention to men’s sport, simply because it will help to sell more newspapers. That is, they are constrained to cover in greater detail what they believe to be what the public wants to read and see and what it is profitable for them. There are then external market concerns constraining the journalists, reporters and editors of newspapers. This aspect is clearly evident in the words of an editor of a Portuguese sports newspaper

"The market constrain us, when I say the market, I am referring to the public, obviously any daily sports newspaper is mainly bought by men ... Therefore, when covering a basketball or an handball or a volleyball game we give more attention to men’s sport than women’s sport (cited in Coimbra, 2005, p. 48)."

Due to these market constraints it is difficult for editors to give equal coverage to women’s sports, even if they personally wish to do so. Their job is to sell newspapers and they are judged for that, therefore, they are constrained to cover in greater detail what helps to sell more newspapers.

Women’s initiatives

Since 1974 women’s participation in sport has not been a major topic of any great reflective discussion. A limited number of studies have been carried out, a few articles have been published and there have been a few master and doctoral theses on this issue. Before 1996, almost no organised actions or initiatives were carried out to raise the issue of women and sport. Moreover, until 1998 there was not in Portugal any special action group to promote women’s sports. Such groups are of particular importance in the attempt to change the low status of women in all areas of sport, because organised groups are more easily heard and can more easily obtain support for their causes.
The first initiative carried out in Portugal to raise the issue of women and sport took place in 1991 in Coimbra. The gynaecology service of the Maternity Bissaya Barreto\textsuperscript{10} organised the first symposium on women, health and sport.

In 1996 the Movimento Democrático de Mulheres - MDM (Women’s Democratic Movement), with the support of the Lisbon City Council, organised the first conference on women and sport. This conference was the first step in Portugal towards implementing the Brighton Declaration\textsuperscript{11}. For the first time women from all areas (current and former athletes, coaches, university teachers, women in leadership positions) got together to discuss the situation of women in sport. Because it was the first initiative of this kind, this conference received quite a lot of attention from the printed media. Several newspapers (sports newspapers, national daily newspapers, local newspapers) published articles about this conference, or invited well known people within the sports world to write and comment on this event. At the end of the conference it was decided that all efforts had to be developed in order to create a special action group on women’s sport. In 1998, and following developments in other countries, the Associação Portuguesa a Mulher e o Desporto (Portuguese Association on Women and Sport) was established. The association has since promoted several initiatives. For example in March 1999, in order to celebrate the International Day of Women, the Association organised games of five-a-side football amongst girls from Lisbon, and also promoted public debates. In 1999 it promoted another conference on women and sport. This was the first international conference organised by the Association. In 2000 the Association published a book on equity on physical education and sport at school. In 2001 a special issue of the magazine Ex-aequo (edited by the Associação Portuguesa da Estudos sobre as Mulheres – Portuguese Association of Women’s Studies) was devoted to women and sport. In November 2003 the association organised the second international conference on women and sport.

It can be said that it was only in the 1990s that people became more aware of the issue of women and sport. Following broader social changes, particularly the greater awareness of women’s issues in general, the 1990s mark the decade during which the issue of women and sport became more discussed, with more initiatives and more studies being carried out. This

\textsuperscript{10} Maternity Bissaya Barreto is a maternity hospital in Coimbra.

\textsuperscript{11} The Brighton Declaration emerged from the first international conference on women and sport that took place in Brighton in 1994. The delegates from all the countries representing governmental and non-governmental organisations that participated in such conference endorsed the declaration. This declaration “provides the principles that should guide action intended to increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles” (The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport, n.d., p.1). The main purpose of this declaration “is to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport (The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport, n.d., p.2).
was, then, the period during which the issue of women and sport attained more visibility and more knowledge was produced.

In terms of governmental intervention, it can be said that little has been done to change the patterns of discrimination still visible in different areas of the sport figuration. In 1997 the First Global Plan for Equality of Opportunities included the first political statement on women and sport: “To promote equality between women and men in sport politics” (Resolução do Conselho de Ministros, 1997, p.1324).

Women’s gradual and greater involvement in different types of sporting activities has not been a simple process. Apart from becoming involved in sporting activities that before 1974 were regarded as not suitable for women, women have also fought for changes in other areas of life, such as better education, equal opportunities to different types of jobs, changes in the civil code in order to bring changes in their social status and civil rights, and also for greater involvement in decision-making processes in general. It can be said that, since the revolution, women’s involvement in sport has been a part of the larger movement for social transformation that has been taking place since 1974. Women have not been fighting simply for a greater participation in different areas of the sport figuration. They have been also involved in other struggles in order to change the position of women within society more generally. As McCrone (1988) has noted, growing women’s involvement in sport can be considered as one part of a broader social process.

In spite of being involved in sports traditionally considered as male appropriate, women continue to be under-represented in the sports sphere, as we have seen. Most of the sporting organisations continue to be a “world of men infiltrated by a tiny number of women” (Hargreaves, 1994, p.234). With few exceptions, men continue to occupy positions of great power, that is, positions that involve decision making procedures. Moreover, as far as financial rewards are concerned, male athletes tend to be more highly rewarded than female athletes. The printed media also tends to focus more on male athletes rather than female athletes. However, it is important to note that not all women involved in sport are consigned to less important or inferior positions. While some women continue to participate in traditional female sports and follow traditional notions of femininity, other women have challenged and continue to change traditional notions of sport, femininity and masculinity. Increasingly, women are now entering traditionally male sporting activities. Some women have achieved excellent results in national and international sporting spheres. Other women occupy leadership positions within certain sports clubs. Women have been, then, gradually entering sport in greater numbers than before. However, effectively changes in the positions
and ideas about women's involvement in the sports figuration has not been easy. In sport, as in other areas of life, gender relations are relations of power and are not easily changed due to their strong relationship with other social practices, such as those in the family, the mass media and the state. Although such relationships are not easily changed, it can be said from a figurational point of view that since the revolution there has been occurring a shift in the balance of power between men and women, towards a greater equalisation.
CONCLUSION

The New State regime, which was characterised by a clear and powerful ideology, tried to control all major aspects of society and for that purpose it used all the means available, including education and the media, to spread and inculcate its ideology, as well as state organisations (FNAT, MP and MPF) and the control of other sports organisations (via control of their budgets, statutes, the appointment of directors, etc). The regime also made use of a strong repressive apparatus – censorship and political police. Government control was, however, never complete. The social control desired by the New State regime, in order to be completely successful, had to reach all Portuguese people in all areas of the country. This proved to be an impossible task since it involved large numbers of interdependent people with different life conditions, living in different areas of the country, with different interests and with different expectations, with different power ratios, all struggling for their own perceived interests. Moreover, for this policy to be completely successful also required totally eliminating any space for opposition, and this also proved impossible. There were social spaces, though within certain limits, that were used by groups to express ideas different from, and sometimes opposed to, those disseminated by the regime. In other words, some sources of opposition persisted; these included university students, some newspapers, political parties working clandestinely, groups of workers and some women. It is nevertheless important to note that most of the actions carried out by these opposition groups were immediately repressed. Whenever any of these groups, through strikes, demonstrations or meetings, openly demonstrated their opposition, the regime, through the police (military and political police), immediately acted to repress them. Many of those involved in these actions were pursued, imprisoned, sometimes tortured and even killed. Those who were considered communists or whose behaviour was considered by the regime as suspicious, were followed closely by the political police.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, Portugal underwent some economic, financial and social changes. These changes generated internal conflicts. In addition, during the 1960s, Portugal began to open to the exterior for political and economic reasons. The contacts it established with other countries and foreign organisations contributed to a lengthening of interdependency chains. As a result, the actions of the Portuguese, as well as the actions of those in other countries, became increasingly constrained. The New State regime was much less able to determine on its own the path of Portugal’s development. Drawing on Elias’s game models it can be said that in the 1960s and early 1970s, people within Portugal were living in a complex situation involving great number of interdependent players on several
differently levels, all of them with different power ratios, with different interests and goals and all of them constraining each other's actions. The interweaving of the actions of this large number of interdependent players led to outcomes that had not been planned or anticipated - and that were not certainly desired - by the New State regime. The regime was overthrown, the organisations connected to the regime and that had helped to spread its ideology and to maintain its power were closed, and the colonies that Portugal had tried to keep, through the colonial war, were finally lost.

The New State regime was not particularly interested in promoting the development of sport *per se* as it was not interested in the significance of sport on an international level. The regime's interest in sport rested mainly on the use it could make of it for its own, domestic, purposes. Since physical and sporting activities can attract large numbers of people, those in power saw the possibility of using sport as a means to spread the regime's ideology, and thus seek to influence the development of individuals who would, it was hoped, accept the New State ideology and not threaten the status quo. The New State intervention in the sports sphere was, then, essentially geared towards the utilisation of sport as a means of internal social control. Throughout the period of the New State regime, those in power were particularly interested in controlling the kind of sporting activities that were promoted, the way they were organised, the intensity of sporting activities, the way sports organisations were organised, the designation of sports directors, the training of sports technicians, and the competitions that were organised. By doing that they were, in effect, transmitting encoded messages about the desired forms of political and social life and, in addition, they were trying to prevent the development of organised opposition. The New State regime was not particularly interested in increasing the levels of sports participation, or in constructing sports facilities, or in spending great amounts of money in sport, or promoting it abroad. Its interest was to "educate" the Portuguese people according to the New State ideology, and thus to prevent the development of opposition movements. The intended social control was, however, limited in its effects. While there were those committed to this overtly political use of sport, there were also those within the sports sphere who saw the more general social significance of sport, and who wished to promote its development for its own sake. In addition, some others saw sport as a vehicle for the transmission of ideas different from those disseminated by the regime. Though there were less powerful than those in the regime, they were not entirely powerless and the regime was continually forced to respond to these opposition groups.
Conclusion

Following the revolution of April 1974 there were some important changes in the kind of state intervention in the sports sphere. These changes were closely related to the political changes in Portugal after 1974.

The two years following the revolution were marked by a political orientation radically different from that during the New State period. The socialist orientations of those in power had some impact upon the sports policies in this two year period. Their intention was to change the way sport was understood and to make it accessible to everyone. In this period, the various provisional governments tried to make sport accessible to everybody in the country. In the process of promoting sport all over the country, the state sports organisation (DGD) was assisted by city councils and local sports organisations. During this period, the central government and local authorities took the major responsibility for the promotion of sport. Regional sports associations, big sports clubs and sports federations were not prioritised by government in this period since it was believed by those in power that these organisations were more interested in promoting sport for an elite, rather than in promoting sport for all throughout the country and making it accessible to all Portuguese citizens.

However, despite all the initiatives carried out to promote sport, at the end of this two year period sporting provision was still not reaching equally all areas of the country, and therefore sport was still not equally accessible to everyone in the Portuguese territory.

The implementation of a new sporting policy after 1974 proved to be a difficult task. This process of policy development and implementation did not involve just one or two players. It involved hundreds of thousands of interdependent people with different power chances and different interests and goals. Those in power were, of course, relatively powerful, though they could not entirely control the actions and interests of other groups such as sports clubs, sports regional associations and sports federations. In this process of implementation of a new sports policy there were those who were committed to the implementation of this policy, but there were others who did not fully understand the policy, or did not understand why it was necessary and who therefore did not make a great effort to implement it effectively, in some cases perhaps, because they did not see the new policy to be in their own best interests.

With the nomination of the first constitutional government and the publication of the Portuguese Constitution, the sports policies and the forms of state intervention in sport began slowly to change. The various constitutional governments that were elected did not neglect the importance of sport for all, though they focused much more on competitive sport, and especially high performance sport. In this period, sports policies became much more oriented towards elite sport.
State financial investment in sport increased in this period but, when compared to other countries, continued at a low level. Most of this investment was directed to competitive sport. With the transition from the New State regime to the democratic period, the state did not lose its central position as the main financial supporter of sport. However, there had been a growing involvement of the private/commercial sector in the financial support of sport and, especially of competitive and high performance sport.

The ideology of the New State defined for men and women different spheres of social life. Women were expected to place marriage, husbands, motherhood and the education of their children above their personal interests for the good of the Portuguese nation. While the public space was an essentially male space, the private sphere was the main space of women's activities. The New State ideology proclaimed women's most important task to look after the house and the family. Within the family women, though performing important tasks, occupied an inferior and more dependent position.

In order to protect the family structure, considered as the "social cell par excellence" (Salazar, 1937 cited in Georgel, 1985, p.75), women were expected to stay at home. Women's interest in working outside the house could, it was held, create instability and with that not only would the family suffer but also the whole nation.

In terms of education, the New State supported feminine appropriate education, and tried to integrate women in technical schools which provided an education in professional occupations held to be appropriate for women.

The New State regime employed a variety of means to disseminate its ideology concerning women. However, this ideology was not equally felt or accepted by all groups of women. The policies of the New State regime, despite its control of education and despite its attempts to keep women out of the labour market, had only limited success. Many women continued to enter the labour market and to attend in great numbers different levels of education. In this regard, it is important to emphasise that women are not a homogeneous group. While some women accepted traditional gender roles, other groups of women resisted. While many women were able to stay at home without working, other women, especially from the working class, were compelled to work in order to boost their families' incomes. This became more evident in the 1960s, when many men emigrated and many were sent to Africa to fight in the colonial war. The New State ideology then, besides having a gender dimension, also had a class dimension.

In spite of insisting that women remain in the household, of asserting the social and educational mission of women and of limiting women's access to professional occupations,
the economic and political policies followed by the New State regime constrained many women to enter the labour market and the public sphere in greater numbers than before. That is, it had unplanned outcomes. As is commonplace, the interweaving of the actions of large numbers of interdependent people with different interests, resulted in an outcome that was not planned or anticipated.

With the revolution of 1974, the legal and social position of women changed considerably. The restrictions concerning access to professional occupations disappeared and women began to enter the labour market in greater numbers than before. This does not mean that women were not involved in the labour market before the revolution. As noted in chapter four, women during the 1960s worked in the labour market in great numbers, although, there were constraints regarding certain professional occupations. The revolution and the legal and social changes, concerning women and their position in society, that were introduced contributed to a faster increase in the numbers of women entering the labour market. Within the family, the husband and wife were given equal legal rights and duties. The legal principle of equality between women and men was established. Advances in household technology gave women more possibilities to engage in activities other than housekeeping and childcare. Women began to organise themselves in groups and make their voices heard. For the first time, issues of particular relevance for women, such as contraception and abortion, began to be openly discussed. The entry of women into the public sphere after the revolution helped, as Brinkgreve (2004, p.147) notes, to gradually erase “the sharp demarcation line between men’s and women’s domains”.

Improved education and a greater involvement in the labour market undoubtedly gave women more independence and power. However, as has been noted in chapter six, despite the reduction of many of the obstacles that had prevented women from entering some professional occupations, women continued at the end of the twentieth century to be underrepresented in decision making positions. Such under-representation cannot be explained just on the basis of men excluding women. Women may also contribute to their own exclusion. They withdraw or do not dare to enter such spaces. For many women, and especially those who have families and children, to combine a job with family care is quite hard. Other women may not feel confident in such social spaces, or may be treated with suspicion by their colleagues (Brinkgreve, 2004). Nevertheless, the greater participation of women in the public sphere since the revolution has been associated with an increase in women’s power chances.

The New State ideology also had an important impact upon women’s involvement in physical and sporting activities. This ideology emphasised that men and women had to be
strong and healthy for the good of the nation. In the case of women this was important in the sense that, if they were not healthy and strong, they would be less likely to give birth to healthy and strong children and as such the nation would suffer. It was in this context that women were encouraged to take part in sport. However, the regime’s interest was in making women strong and healthy, not on making them athletes. A variety of arguments, grounded in aesthetics, morality and biology, were put forward to encourage women’s involvement in sport. These same kinds of arguments were, however, also used to control the kind of sports in which women could be involved, as well as the intensity of sports practice. Women were encouraged to take part in sports, but only in those considered by the regime and its supporters (men and women) as female-appropriate, that is, sports that would not constitute a threat to traditional ideas about femininity and masculinity. Women were also discouraged, by members of the regime, and by doctors, teachers and intellectuals who supported the regime’s ideology, from taking part in competitions and intensive sports practice.

However, this ideology concerning women’s involvement in sport was not equally accepted by all Portuguese women. While some women accepted the regime’s ideology concerning women and their involvement in sport, other women resisted this ideology, though their ability to resist was limited by the existence of a strong repressive state apparatus.

For many women motherhood, marriage and the development of the type of femininity praised by the regime (and strongly supported by the Catholic Church) were important aspects of their lives. In this context a controlled and limited participation in sport was regarded by some women as something natural and, as such, easily accepted. But for other women the regime’s ideology concerning women’s participation in sport was less acceptable. Many women who had experienced sports in school and within the MPF context, and who were members of families that valued sport or who had parents strongly involved in sport, were not prepared to give up sports after leaving school, or after marriage, or even after giving birth. Previous pleasurable experiences of being involved in sports, and also having families that had supported their interest in sport, were important considerations. As has been noted in chapter five, some women continued to take part in sport even after marriage and after giving birth.

The state’s control of women’s involvement in sport was never complete. Some women resisted this control by pursuing sports that were not regarded as appropriate for women, by being involved in sports in a more intensive manner, and by using newspapers and other means in an attempt to spread ideas different from those transmitted by the regime. By doing that they helped to demonstrate practically that most of the conventional ideas
surrounding women’s sports lacked reliable medical and scientific supporting evidence, and that they were mainly based on ideological assumptions.

There were, then, spaces within the sports figuration that were used to express ideas different from those disseminated by the regime. In this context the campaign for women’s sport (which included men as well as women), which was supported by the newspaper República and the radio station Graça, and which developed in the 1930s, was important. The campaign for women’s sport, and the reactions that this campaign provoked, clearly show that during the New State regime there were sources of resistance, by women and men, to the official ideology about women and their involvement in sport.

It is important to note here that, during the New State period, women’s involvement in sport generally followed a pattern found in other countries. Although with some “time-lag” between Portugal and some other countries, such as for example England, the arguments employed in Portugal during this period to limit and control women’s participation in sport were similar to those employed in England in the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, as has been described in chapter two.

The legal and social changes that occurred in terms of women’s position in society, as well as the sports policies that were followed after the revolution, had an impact upon women’s participation in sport. The social, economic and legal changes that occurred with the revolution, besides giving women more independence, also gave them relatively more autonomy to determine their own actions, including what they wanted to do in terms of sports participation. This does not mean, however, that conventional ideas about women and their position and roles in society and their involvement in sport simply disappeared with the transition into the democratic period. These ideas remained strong, though they gradually ceased to be the dominant ones and were no longer a part of official government policy.

As part of the sport for all policy, women, besides being encouraged to take part in sport, gradually entered sports traditionally regarded as male appropriate sports such as football, rugby, and weightlifting. This does not mean, however, that women’s participation in sport increased only after the revolution and that women entered traditionally male-appropriate sports only after the revolution. This was not, however, due simply to the revolution. As noted in chapter six, women’s participation in sporting activities had increased during the New State period, though this increase was small and slow. Furthermore, women’s participation in sports traditionally regarded as male-appropriate sports was already happening before the revolution, though in small numbers. What can be said is that the revolution and all the legal and social changes in relation to women and the changes in sports policies that followed, contributed to a faster increase in the numbers of women taking part in
sport generally, and also in traditionally male-appropriate sports. It can be said that the process of changing patterns of gender participation in sport that had been set in motion before April 1974 was accelerated with the revolution. It is also important to note that this process of changing patterns of gender participation in sport did not occur just in Portugal. Similar processes took place also in other European countries independently of political revolutions. For example, in England similar processes have been taking place without any political revolution.

The increase in women’s participation in sport and especially the entry into sports traditionally associated with masculinity, does not mean, however, that women did not face any resistance. Conventional notions of femininity and masculinity have become weaker with the transition into the democratic period, but they have not disappeared. Elements of traditional ideas about femininity, masculinity and sport were still visible throughout the twentieth century, especially amongst the older generations. In the education of their children and grandchildren, older people have in some respects continued to transmit conventional and stereotypical notions of femininity, masculinity and sport since these traditional ideas have been deeply internalised. However, traditional conceptions relating gender to sport are increasingly being challenged by girls and boys. As far as girls and women are concerned, while many still conform to traditional gender stereotyping, others do challenge them (the same is true for boys/men). Whilst many girls and women aspire to a certain ideal of femininity, regard domesticity and motherhood as important aspects of their lives and see sport as an essentially masculine domain, other girls and women conform much less readily to these ideas. The increasing entry of women into sports traditionally considered as male appropriate can be regarded as a form of challenging and thereby transforming stereotypical ideas about femininity and also masculinity, and also constitutes “a change in the power relations between various women and various men” (Colwell, 1999, p.224).

The participation of many women in traditionally male appropriate sports generated considerable resistance. Since traditionally male appropriate sports have conventionally been considered as privileged spaces for the affirmation and expression of masculinity, women’s participation in them has been regarded, by many women and men alike, as a threat to conventional notions of masculinity and also femininity. Women who take part in such sports are regarded by some people with suspicion because they are involved in sports that do not conform to conventional ideas of femininity. The suspicion that exists in relation to women who become involved in conventional male-appropriate sports indicates the presence of residues of traditional notions of femininity and masculinity. Women who do become involved in such sports often tend to be regarded as less feminine, and sometimes their
sexuality may be questioned. By calling women's athletes sexuality into question, those
groups (composed of both men and women) within the sports figuration that have relatively
more power than other groups attempt to maintain such sports as essentially male domains.
This indicates that, even with the transition from the New State regime into the democratic
period sport, or at least some sports, continued to be seen as a "primary vehicle for the
masculinity-validating experience" (Dunning, 1999, p.229). For many men and women, sport,
or at least some sports, continued to be regarded at the end of the twentieth century as a
privileged space for the creation and expression of a masculine identity.

In addition to this increase in female participation in traditionally male-appropriate
sports, women have also become, in the democratic period, much more involved in sports
traditionally regarded as feminine-appropriate.

However, despite the gradual increase in terms of women's participation in sports
traditionally considered as male appropriate, inequality between women and men continues to
exist not only at the level of participation as athletes, but also at the level of sports
administration, coaching, financial rewards and media coverage. Most of the sporting
organisations continue to be a "world of men infiltrated by a tiny number of women"
(Hargreaves, 1994, p.234). With few exceptions men continue to occupy the major positions
of power, that is, positions involving decision making procedures. Moreover, as far as
financial rewards are concerned, male athletes tend to be considered as superior to female
athletes. The media also tend to value male athletes more than female athletes by giving to
male athletes more attention than female athletes. In addition, the language employed in
commentaries, often tend to trivialise and minimise women's sporting performances.

However, it is important to note that not all women involved in sport after the
revolution were consigned to less important or inferior positions. While many women took
part in traditional female sports and followed traditional notions of femininity, other women
challenged and helped to transform traditional notions of sport, femininity and masculinity.
Some women have achieved in the national and international sporting spheres outstanding
results. Other women occupy leadership positions within sports clubs. Women have been,
then, gradually entering sport in greater numbers than before. However, changes in the
positions and ideas about women's involvement in the sports figuration have involved
opposition and struggle. In sport, as in other areas of life, gender relations are relations of
power and are not easily changed, since this always involves a challenge to vested interests.
Though these changes have been difficult, it can be said that throughout the period under
analysis in this study there has been occurring a shift in the balance of power between men
and women towards a greater equalisation between them.
APPENDICES
**Women**

**General information**
1. Can you give me a brief description of yourself? (That is, your age, education, if you were an athlete, a coach, a member of any sport organisation)

**Involvement in sport**
1. What sport or sports did you practise?
2. When did you first become involved in sport?
3. Which club did you represent?
4. What was your level? That is, recreational, competitive, national team, international team. If you never took part in an international competition, what, in your opinion, was the reason for that?
5. Why did you practise sport? Give me some reasons). Were any health concerns for your involvement?
6. When did you stop practising sport and what were the reasons for dropping out?

**Family influence in their involvement in sport** (to gather information concerning the importance of the family in the process)

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**Men**

**General information**
1. Can you give me a brief description of yourself? (That is, your age, education, if you were an athlete, a coach, a member of any sport organisation)

**Involvement in sport**
1. What sport or sports did you practise?
2. When did you first become involved in sport?
3. Which club did you represent?
4. What was your level? That is, recreational, competitive, national team, international team. If you never took part in an international competition, what, in your opinion, was the reason for that?
5. Why did you practise sport? Give me some reasons). Were any health concerns for your involvement?
6. When did you stop practising sport and what were the reasons for dropping out?

**Family influence in their involvement in sport** (to gather information concerning the importance of the family in the process)
of involvement in sport and the role of the family in the transmission of the regime’s ideology)

1. Were your parents involved in sport?
2. Do you have brothers and sisters involved in sport?
3. Was it you who decided to become involved in sport, or were you encouraged by someone to practise sport? If it was not your own decision who encouraged you most to become involved in sport? Parents, friends, teachers, brothers/sisters
4. Who introduced you to the sport you practised? (parents, siblings, friends, school?)
5. Did your parents support you? What about other people, that is, siblings and friends?
6. Did your parents support you in the same way as your brother(s)

**Women’s sport during the New State** (to gather information concerning how women’s involvement in sport was seen during the New State and the influence of the regime’s ideology in relation to women and sport)

1. How did your friends and siblings see your involvement in sport? That is, did they support you or made comments that you did not like?

1. Were your parents involved in sport?
2. Do you have brothers and sisters involved in sport?
3. Was it you who decided to become involved in sport, or were you encouraged by someone to practise sport? If it was not your own decision who encouraged you most to become involved in sport? Parents, friends, teachers, brothers/sisters
4. Who introduced you to the sport you practised? (parents, siblings, friends, school?)
5. Did your parents support you? What about other people, that is, siblings and friends?
6. Did your parents support you in the same way as your sister(s)

**Women’s sport during the New State** (to gather information concerning how women’s involvement in sport was seen during the New State and the influence of the regime’s ideology in relation to women and sport)

1. How did your friends and siblings see your involvement in sport and your sister(s) involvement?
2. Have you ever heard less agreeable comments (giving me some
2. If you ever heard less agreeable comments (giving me some examples) concerning your involvement in sport, how did you deal with them?

3. When you became involved in sport were you more stimulated to certain sports and less encouraged to take part in others?

4. If you were encouraged differently, to which sports were you more encouraged and to which sports were you less stimulated?

5. What kinds of arguments were used to encourage your involvement in certain sports?

6. If you were less encouraged to become involved in certain sports, which reasons were put forward to discourage you?

7. Who presented those reasons? That is, men, women, men doctors, women doctors, etc.

8. Apart from you, have you ever noticed other women being more stimulated to certain sports and less encouraged to take part in others?

9. In your opinion did the reasons presented to discourage women from taking part in certain sports had the results that were planned by the government?

10. Did those arguments constrain you and other women from taking part in certain sports? That is, how did you deal with those examples) concerning women's involvement in sport?

3. What was your reaction to them

4. When you became involved in sport were you more stimulated to certain sports and less encouraged to take part in others?

5. If you were encouraged differently, to which sports were you more encouraged and to which sports were you less stimulated?

6. Did you notice women and for example your sister(s) being more stimulated for certain sports and less encouraged to other sports?

7. What about women and for example your sister(s)

8. What kinds of arguments were used to encourage women's involvement in certain sports?

9. If women were less encouraged to become involved in certain sports, which reasons were put forward to discourage them?

10. Who presented those reasons? That is, men, women, men doctors, women doctors, etc.

11. What did you think about women's involvement in sport?

12. Did you agree with the reasons presented?

13. In your opinion did the reasons presented to discourage women from taking part in certain sports had the results that were planned by the government?
arguments? Did you accept them or did you ignore them? What about other women (colleagues from your sport, friends), how did they use to react to those arguments?

11. In your opinion, which groups of women accepted the arguments presented and which, groups contested them?

**Funding of women’s sport**

1. What kind of financial support did you receive from the club you represented, whenever you had to travel to a different place to compete?

2. What about the male athletes in your sport and in your club? Did they receive the same financial support as you and your colleagues?

3. Apart from the club, did you and your colleagues receive any another kind of financial support?

4. What about the male athletes?

**Democratic period**

1. Are you still involved in sport nowadays?

2. If yes, what sort of involvement?

3. If not, give me some reasons for that non-involvement

14. Did those arguments constrain women from taking part in certain sports? That is, how did they deal with those arguments? Did they accept them or did they ignore them?

15. In your opinion, which groups of women accepted the arguments presented and which, groups contested them?

**Funding of women’s sport**

1. What kind of financial support did you receive from the club you represented, whenever you had to travel to a different place to compete?

2. What about the female athletes in your sport and in your club? Did they receive the same financial support as you and your colleagues?

3. Apart from the club, did you and your colleagues receive any another kind of financial support?

4. What about the female athletes?

**Democratic period**

1. Are you still involved in sport nowadays?

2. If yes, what sort of involvement?

3. If not, give me some reasons for that non-involvement
4. With the transition into the democratic period, did you notice any change in women's sport?

Were any health concerns when you became involved in sport? That is, was your health one of the concerns/reasons for your involvement in sport?

Who superintended the organisation where you were involved? How was organised/structured your organisation?

What about the financial support of the organisation in which you were involved. How was it supported. That is, do you have an idea from where the money came from?

Were any women in the organisation occupying an important position. If not, why do you think that happened?
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