

Being oneself while practicing a high level male sport: The composite strategies of identity elaborated by Tunisian women

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Abstract: *The way women invest in high- level sports conforms to the role of national culture and the institutions that deal with these sports , which are and will always be stereotyped whenever female and male practice is available (Eccles & Harold,1991). Differently , high- level sports are invested by women whom some of them invested and succeeded in masculine -related sports (Lachheb,2013). This study deals with the identity relation between high- level Tunisian athletes in their practice of masculine- oriented sports .The method we adopted has two stages:*

1)A quantitative approach which relies on the scale of masculinity/femininity of test-questionnaire MMPI and allows to position the psychological profile of high-level Tunisian athletes who are interested in male sports (N=56);

2) A qualitative study dealing with the CV of those sportive (N=8: 4 presenting a T score masculine and 4 presenting a T score feminine; T=5h; 2500 words) concerning the analysis of thematic content.

Thus the findings show that the studied athletes react individually and are contextualized for having/appropriating different identities in context.

Key-words: *identity strategies, gender, femininity, high-performance sport, male sport, Tunisia.*

I. Introduction:

The field of sports practice and particularly established sports focus on dominant masculine scope in which the choice of the type of sport is obviously sexual and inequitably allocated reflecting the role of the society in standardizing the suitable sport to each sex (Eccles & Harold, 1991; Deeter, 1998, 1990; Louveau, 1981,1988; DAVISSE& Louveau, 1998). Individuals invaded some sportive sphere which not meant for women putting their identity in question.

In Tunisia, some athletic women practice sports which are clearly unacceptable (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983) (i.e. Football , boxing ,rugby , weight lifting) and need sudden physical contact or physical devotion that obliging energetic mode which puts stress on strength, power, aggression and speed . In order to be high-level athletes and successful in their sportive career, the Tunisian women have objected the social ruling standards for femininity and suggest a sportive alternative/ option for feminine. The rising question is to know how these female athletes arrived at owning the plan of identical sportive practices managing the identities for being compatible, accepted and negotiate their identities in a complex Tunisian society. Thus, Tunisian female athletes have replaced their first names by codes related to the abbreviation of their sportive practices

1. Theoretical cadre/framework :

The practice of masculine-oriented sports is capable of promoting to women the construction of a particular identity. This identity is apprehended as a complex process which is built in the women's interaction with others and also by the articulation of socialization frames (Lahire, 1998). For a woman accustomed that represents the feminine subordination and the negative pole of cultural and moral values, practicing football suddenly seems to represent a form of liberating actions. A woman playing football upsets the symbolic edifice of social order. The formalization and institutionalization of football rugby, boxing heavy lifter deconstructs the self consistent and going to Tunisian unconscious structure of the collective imagination. The penetration of Tunisian woman in the sports area certainly takes the form of a release of the patriarchal yoke: In fact, a woman playing football is fighting for the symbolic edification of the social order. She transforms back the practitioners by reconfiguring their identities.

1.1 Sex, gender and identity conflicts in sport: Harding's theory

Courcy& al. (2006) are inspired by Harding's theories (1986) in which 3 major processes contribute for the social construction of gender: 1) "gender symbolism"; 2) "gender structure"; and 3) "individual gender". The first process symbolism of genre excludes the usage of binary metaphors which have no connection with the sexual differences aimed at representing the sex (for example: force, fragility, violence/sweetness: the

sexual stereotypes are the following manifestations. The restructuration according to the genre -2nd processes- is the usage of these binary metaphors in order to proceed to sexual social activity-division.

The usage of genre stereotype for justifying the separation of sports disciplines according to the sex, or for again cautioning the establishment of standards or different sportive tests according to the sex, illustrate this process. Hence, the third process the individuals building of gender's identity excludes the individual experiences of diverse forms of femininity and masculinity which are different of the symbolic representations of genre (Laberge, 1994,p.59). This symbolic representations put in evidence the inherent difficulties to this out-of-norm engagement. If sportswoman identifies in rather masculine genre by having the specific traits of this masculine practice, she certainly judged performant in the sportive realms but she expose herself to social sanctions which target women who behave like men in the sports field. On the contrary if she shows gender capital feminine she risks of being judged incompetent of equivalent performance. In these two cases she's not put into consideration because she's not either a real sportive or because she's not a real woman. The choices between the two categories depend in one part of the dispositions of gender and body rapport and of the international and institutional conditions relative to the club and sportive discipline. In fact, women investing in these disciplines are searching for rather to reconcile between both necessities of being a woman and a performant. The question is to understand how these women manage their daily life and if that results in their career and personal life view point.

1.2 The social transgression of gender modalities of concerning sportive practice: a virility case?

The social representation of feminine and masculine body is different: "the attractive beauty is sufficient for defining a woman and the femininity as courage and action the man and the masculinity" (Davoine & Louveau, 1991, p.43). Power, force and courage are known as the main characteristics of man, sensibility and emotion (Perrin, 1985) the sense of esthetics, corporal treatment and paying attention to gesture forms are culturally attributed to women, even if these practices concern the masculine population. The share of representative spheres is directing the tastes and the distaste for the practice. Being a cultural theme, the dominant social norms of masculinity and femininity are monitored by sports and constitute an ideal area for the process of "reproduction" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1975; Hargreaves, 1994; Louveau, 1981). The implementation of the norms is defined by a sexual discrimination of practice and practitioner's practices. The physical activities related to women (ex: ice skiing, gymnasium, tennis) are in contrast with those of men (example: Football, weight lifting, sports cycling, boxing, rugby). It's for man to do and for woman to please (Louveau, 1981).

With the Tunisian feminist's movement women have the sense of belonging progressively to -with differences in their social class (Louveau, 2006)- sports known exclusively for men; they also invest the world of ice skiing, football, cycling, marathon revolting against the standardized norms of femininity. This experience of "transgression of social requirements of gender" (Coursy & al, 2006, p.29) in the sportive field objects the process of building an identical sexual definition "forcibly" problematic (Mennesson, 2000a ; Roussel, 2000) since the traditional masculine sports practice has a recursive influence on the way of being and the women gendered identity. On that point, Louveau (2004b, p.178) denounces the "trial of virilisation" of girls who break the gender structure of sport: physically, "sports of male tradition would require the development of the musculature, which runs counter to the norms of femininity that are mainly based on appearance" (Louveau, 2004b, p.174). This trial concerns also the transformation of representations of women's identity (Anderson, 1999; Caudwell, 1999; 2003; Kelly, Pomerantz & Currie, 2005; Mennesson, 1995, 2002, 2005a; Roussel & Griffet, 2004; Theberge, 1998, 2003). "The experiences these women go through have often an ambivalent and paradoxical effect on their practices, these latter sometimes reproducing the dominant norms of femininity and sometimes challenging them" (Coursy et al. 2006, p.30). The construction of identity among high-performance sportswomen is therefore based first and foremost on the functional dimension of their activities (Dubar, 1994) which gives rise to a special form of socialization through specific cognitive and moral frameworks in which individual views grow (Coupland, 1993).

Thus, the masculine/ feminine notion of identity result in double transaction (Dubar, 1998): in part, internal transaction in which a person produce an internal dialogue for defining what type of individual she estimates to be given time in her life. In another part, a relation transaction is operated in that the individual attempts to be considered by others (spouse, family, institutions partners...) the need/ declared identity legacy according to the personal image stability extent.

1.3 Identical duality ambivalence mimics the identical athlete's strategies

Laberge (1994) showed the social judgment ambiguity generated by the contradiction between the stereotyped feminine associated to the practitioner (body representation and biological sex) and the masculine genre associated to certain sports (cultural representation of the activity). The identities are understood according to certain dynamisms (La Cecla, 2002, p.264): "there is no identity which doesn't know

how to plan, form itself, modeled and redefined every quarter of an hour by its interaction with other identities". The ambivalent character of masculine sportive athletes indicates these athletes' life between two worlds; they "live in two cultures, that of sports and that of the society in which the ideals coincide" (Krane & al, 2004, p.315). Dubar (1998) shows this complex identification configuration is considered as a result of double transaction internal (of biographical nature) and external (of relation nature). It's within this perspective that Harding (1986) distinguishes the 3 levels of social construction of sexual differences stated above and which are: i) the gender symbolism that is the permanent expression of the sexual difference and based on the binary oppositions ; ii) the occupational structure according to the gender structure that exclude the sexual segregation both at work and in the social organization, and iii) the individual identity according to the individual gender identity) which refer to the femininity and masculinity's diverse experiences that are less conform to the gender(s) symbolic representations. In this model, same objective positions as well as subjective experiences are commonly taken into account. Moreover identical sexual forms will be the result of a combination of biographical transactions and relative relationship to the sexual identity definition (Menesson, 2005c).

The testimonies of high-performance sportswomen involved in male disciplines show that these women build through mimicry differential gender identity-based forms depending on the context in which they live. This is not always easy to handle because they are forced to cope with a double bind: being competent while remaining feminine (Laberge, 1994). Mercier-Lefèvre (1996, p.253) states that "in order to convince the same sex world of sport, you must be as efficient as a man and / or as beautiful as a woman defined by man." By internalizing the female ideal type, athletes comply with it intermittently and claim other identities during practice. This swing of the pendulum between conformity and a sense of identity in a given context has been demonstrated in various studies (George, 2005; Menesson & Galissaire, 2004; Menesson, 2006). According to George (2005), athletes would exploit two context-dependent "body types": the performance body in the sport setting and the appearance body of everyday life. Menesson (2006) also notes conformity to gender norms in female boxers although this is an internalization of norms imposed by men. For Butler (1990), compliance with gender norms, changing according to context, would call into question the traditional view of identity and suggest the idea of a "fluid identity": the gender identity is likely to change depending on the context. Mercier-Lefèvre (1996) goes as far as to classify the female athletes in the legend of Hermaphrodite: her identity was neither of the order of the feminine, nor of the order of the masculine, she would belong to an imaginary human form possessing both male and female sexes.

To put into account this conflict created by the female athletes, Markus (1977) posed "the theory of self-schemas". According to this model, the same person could cope with different identities in function of the context in which she exists: Thus women can develop sportive identity which opposes the masculine values such as aggression context social public feminine identity. The developments of this different oneself allow the women avoiding any kind of conflict regarding their masculine practice. Royce, Gebelt & Duff (2003) stipulated that the athlete women conceive their sportive identity and their feminine identity as two distinct aspects of their personality which permit them assume an apparent ambivalence. These athletes manage their behavior out of sportive field by putting stress remarkably on the feminine identity by being partial to their way of clothing. But although, these women's change of their behavior such as taken in this sportive or extra sportive context, certain characteristics mainly physical remain constant. This sentiment of satisfaction regarding generated power by high-level physical capacity creates certain trouble to this same body which interferes in the other social contexts. Krane & al (2004) made up the hypothesis that this feeling of self-satisfaction could engender certain difficulty for the athletes to manage the paradox between sportive identity and that of feminine concept.

1.4 The others' outlooks

In spite of the discourse which pretends the possible women's access to sports, the masculine sports remain as a man business and this permanent and common view continue to exist in Tunisia. As a solution the woman is not done for being evaluated in the masculine field of activities because the latter attributed her the aesthetics of movement and the body beauty. Masculine sports need power, energy and endurance while flexibility, aesthetic, expressiveness are aspects attributed to feminine sports (Bedhioufi, M'rabet & Ayachi, 2011). Woman implicated in masculine sports no longer correspond to that existing in human imagination that consider that "woman was conceived only for inherent things related to maternity and house chores" (Klen, 2010, p.19). She will be doubted whether of being a transfused (outcast child or homosexual) or to contest social sexual order by inconvenient practices, or aiming at existing by imitating her masculine spouse. The problematic doesn't reside only in designed traditionally for men but in all the types of sportive practice according to the Tunisian public areas; capital/district, city/countryside, coastal areas, city centre/ quarter.

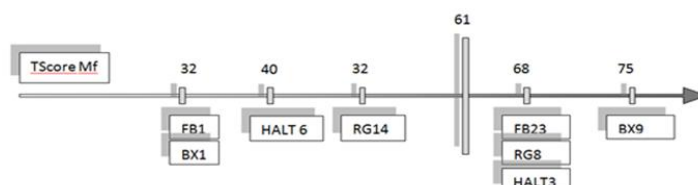
In these conditions, it's interesting to wonder about what directs high-level Tunisian athletes to the practice of masculine-oriented sports. How they proceed to agree upon the different identities viewed by the Tunisian public in an Arabic Muslim that issued the personal code statutes (CSP) promulgated by the president Bourguiba in 1956.

II. Method

To access that which makes sense for the women practicing sports, the method of investigation was based on semi-structured interviews with female athletes chosen according to a specific psychological profile. After translation and transcription, a discourse analysis was proposed for the purpose of accessing the arguments and ideas guiding the identities of sportswomen in their everyday life.

2.1 Study population and MMPI personality test T score

The study population was composed of eight Tunisian high performance female athletes involved in male-connoted sports: football, rugby, boxing and weightlifting, two athletes from each specialty. They were selected according to the Tscore on the Mf scale of the MMPI personality test. The athletes were selected in pairs from each specialty on either side of the 61¹ value and were represented as follows:



Their ages ranged between 23 and 30 years and their experience in the competitive practice of the so-called male sports ranged from 4 to 10 years in the high level category.

The group was also quite heterogeneous: three physical education teachers: (one of whom is in the Sultanate of Oman under cooperation contract), one female weightlifting teacher in a promotion center, one final-year female university student in the Science and Techniques of Physical and Sports Activities, one female textile factory worker, two drop-outs who limited themselves to a sport activity (one of whom is waiting to become a sport facilitator). They came from different regions of Tunisia, mostly from the working class.

2.2 Semi-structured interviews

This qualitative approach aimed at describing the identity strategies adopted by Tunisian high-performance female athletes involved in "manly" sports. We have chosen to conduct semi-structured interviews; given the importance this method places on the subject's speech. The interview lasted one hour on average and was conducted at various locations chosen by the athletes. It has been structured according to a guide organized around modalities of identity construction in high performance male-connoted sports (eg social identity, athletic identity, identity duality). On condition of anonymity, an identification code has been developed on the basis of the sport practiced (Fb for Football, Bx for Boxing...).

The corpus has been subjected to a thematic reading grid intended to bring out meaning from speeches about oneself (Bardin, 1975; Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001). The objective was to highlight the effects of individual (and different) worlds in four "manly" sports (Football, Rugby, Boxing and Weightlifting) on the social construction of gender. First, ownership by these athletes of the sporting activity and its requirements, which contributed to the transformation of the body habitus (hexis) and its marking by typical traits of masculinity. Next, we studied the identity strategies used by these female athletes in and off the field and the ways of staging their feminine attributes. And finally, their attitudes towards others' judgments and perceptions have been given special attention

III. Results

3.1 Recomposed Identities and Identity Strategies

All Tunisian having the right in principle for practicing their preferable sports but girls' femininity could be found modified in certain contexts: the must respond to the exigencies which contribute to the "hex corporal" transformation (Bourdieu, 1980). We, then witness the production of an identical mark characterized by masculinity typical traits. For example in the context of a football match, (Fb1) necessitates purely masculine character of his practice and stresses on the necessary mixture of trainings to affirm that there is only one of the ways of playing; it's the one reserved for men.

The Fb is the Fb there's aggression, the coup: It's the same Fb. We haven't different ways of playing for Fb. You fall, you do harm, you undergo fractures [...] We play like children, we train with them. I practice sports with young categories with senior Club African team's goalkeeper. It was the same kind of training which usually done by men. The coach makes us work in the same way male players do. As for me, when I dive, it's the same way of man's plunging. I swear by God, I watched goals that were scored by men that I could keep. In my viewpoint there's no feminism in football (Fb1: 1.195-201).

¹According to the Tunisian MMPI scaling, this corresponds to the limit value between the female profile and the male profile in women.

Fb1 affirms and require total similitude of men and women's mode of engagement in the practice of football: she concludes that the modes of engagement and that of training must be identical and affirms even being at least capable of well-doing. For her, adopting feminine specificities to masculine game is an absolute necessity for sportive success (Lachheb,2013). The question of adapting the practice to feminine specificities or that of possible "feminine style" of game is not in question: It's for feminine players to attach themselves to masculine practice and for doing that; the contract between men and women seems to be necessary and natural. In this effect, we must admit that football is managed as an identical fashion to masculine practices in contrast to certain adapted sports such as hockey game: "the feminine game evidently and clearly remain different of the game of corporal contacts of high-level masculine players, because we rarely see the strong performer's failure which are one of the characteristics of masculine Hockey at this level."(Théberge,1995, p.110).

The performers equally own masculine specific social comportments which indicate the appearance of their identity: the "speaking loudly" as a mode of expression often is popular within the family frame is taken in the field of game as in class.

(Masculine ?)Is not related to my way of wearing rather my way of speaking.Since I am always crying in the field of game, as a goalkeeper. I sometimes consider this fact as heritable when I see how my mother cries at home. The fact of crying in the field, I feel that has an impact on my personality ; even when I am teaching, I feel that I am in need of crying and that gets on my nerves. (Fb1; 1.138-142)

Fb1 module however, its assertion in insisting on technical virtuosity as a means of compensate certain physical defects (force or speed) regarding their masculine homologues. The compliments paid to them serve in return for their quality assessment:

we played a match vs some young children living in the capital and I have heard gender commentaries concerning some girls: [tabarkallahaliha !].(I what performer girls). They said "what a ball control! what a shooting ! how nice they play football!". (Fb1; 1.185-187)

Whoever girls and children are, they distinguish from each other by the fact of speaking forming oneself or acting their aptitude and their potentials and their know-how. Opposing NemeAbouna&Lacombe (2008, § 57) for whom "comparing women to men leads to a feminine asymmetric construction whose duty will be clearly adapting to masculine norm", the recognition of expertise related to feminine is acquired by a successful confrontation with masculine model. The case of boxing is presented differently.

Feminine boxing is an Olympic sport in 2012at Olympic games in London: Masculine boxing has started since 1904 (Saint Louis) whereas the investment in English feminine boxing- characterized of being "hard" in comparison with French boxing- present to the number of symbolic implications . In fact, this recent existence of feminine boxing, accepted historically for men, leads to a reinterpretation of women's body by putting in cause the masculine physical pre-eminence upon the mode of will and determination, courage and resistance: These realms must be conquered/invaded and the sense of corporal violence is made up according to unuttered modality (Moreno, 2012). Hence, the athlete (Bx1) described proudly her resistance to the coup/putch and her powerful character at competition:

I concentrate on my opponent and I feel that I am strong. I must do all my best and strike quickly, I am not worried about strikes I received(Bx9; I.59-60).

The (Bx1) commentaries confirm Mennesson&Clément (2009, p.79)'s works/research: "the female boxer "hard" express their readiness for the combat, manifest less apprehension regarding the coup and they please using their fists". For (Bx9), boxing training is mixed for that reason; female boxer must fight like man:

[...] I no longer know how a fist strike happend/managed and the guy goes forwards and backwards(Bx9;I.30.31).

Thus, "the female boxers' experience "hard" daily confronted with men often dominating the training session. So it's evidently a hierarchal question between the sexes in the field which is extremely masculine due to the usage of physical violence. Their way of engagement and that of pugilistic socialization reinforce their assimilation to men's fighting group, typical-ideal of masculine virility" (Mennesson&Clément, 2009, p. 79). Bx9 denies temporary her status as female and her quality herself of "man" for insuring her coach; it's her way/manner to say that she will win the combat.

[...] I went up the ring, and turning to my coach telling him not to bother about competition result , you sent a man not a mere woman to the ring [maandikenerjel]".The combat didn't last too much even less than 10s, the time for a fist strike and she fell by KO (Bx9; 1.62-65).

I felt strong, over-motivated in the ring because I must hit strongly, and must win. In the ring, I felt very powerful, it was my ring(Bx9; I.218-220).

(Bx9) boxer joined the "hard boxers" "who enjoyed the same mode of practice as men and they recognize themselves the "masculine" character, they see themselves as" warriors", of their "practice" (Mennesson& Clément, 2009, p.81).In the English boxing context, feminine performance permits the development of new identical forms/kinds of expressions which clearly put in cause the sex/gender system as a whole. The biological dimension is no longer to be the major and natural explanation for power exercise; the

technical configuration of body takes new cultural dimension which modifies in context the gender's identical modalities (Moreno, 2012). All happened as if practice acquisition over masculine mode is going in return reconfigure the body techniques but also the attention paid during the corporal engagement mode. Now, we are going to deal with rugby game.

According to Bourdieu (1979, pp.234-235), rugby game "is in affinity with the most typical popular disposition, virility cult and the desire for fighting, everlasting "contact" and resistance to fatigue and tiring and to pain, a sense of solidarity ("friends") and a feast ("the third half)". If this kind of sport is a virility bastion, women's access to it seems in priori difficult regarding the practice exigency. This form of stigmatization clarifies body which is opposing to the femininity norms. Moreover, boxing or judo and rugby match is associated to its practitioners' anatomy, rapport with the body of instrumental type. Interviewed rugby women (Rg14) and (Rg8) agree with rugby game' aggressive character and with feminine standards contradiction without feeling virile:

Yes, I feel a little bit less feminine in the field. We must show aggression but not a destroying one. As for me, I don't see it as virility (Rg8; 1.228.229).

Girls having such a kind of aggression "seem to have gained a pregnant quality which is necessary to gain their opponents. She is even being accepted as a criterion of the players' success" (Lachheb, 2013, p.53). It's interesting to remark for their case that it's the game that necessitates aggression without recognition of oneself to be aggressive. Similarly, (Rg8) proudly proclaims her way to "play like a boy"

[...] On the contrary, I'm glad it's a guy sport and I can play, I was able to play like boys. There is no difference between me and a boy. I was captain of the national team, I come down on the field, I play, I give everything I have (Rg8; 1.234-237).

By integrating into the men's model of game, the rugby women interiorize corporal masculine techniques producing required and strong identification: femininehexis-corporal needs in return, a total engagement focusing on the masculine mode (Le Hénaff & al, 2007). Without qualifying this process of "identical over-auction", what is left is that the mode of identical engagement focuses on inversed practice which clearly affirms the like identical practice.

In the case of ice skiing (Halt6)-categories of weight 58kg-, the like/acquisition of masculine practice is made of the reinterpretation mode: It's not a matter of owning/acquiring a great force in order to succeed in this sport but is the fact of gaining specialty technique. Practicing ice-skiing sport (Halt6) considers not seeing her physical appearance transformed and could keep her feminine identity to the extent that the observer didn't see morphological difference.

Surely, I feel powerful, but then I didn't feel that compared to the other girls, when we sit for the tests, test of flexion... at this level I got the average mark while sitting for a technical test I was always the best of all in the group less than that from 2008 to 2010 (Halt6; 1.123.126).

Outside of the room, no one doubt about that I practiced that kind of sport because I haven't no strong mussels or form (Halt6; 1.91-92).

To this respect include Anais Michelle (French champion, 72 kg): "We know that we remain feminist but we could be fine because at this sport, the force is not originated in the hands but in feet"².

In a gender' sportive environment, whatever masculine practice is, each interviewed athlete gets dominant culture characteristics according to the different modality in context. The feminism's engagement in masculine sport open the horizon to find out new pleasure. Certainly, it necessitates

Corporal dispositions and less frequent techniques for women (Menesson, 2004, 2005a) but it require a gender' posture that allows the appropriation of masculine practice in context. These exigencies of practice produce temporary corporal hexis metamorphose as well as behavioural mimics. If the sportive dispositions appear homogeneous and of high quality, an individual variability appears however, in the mode of managing their appearance outside of the practice spaces.

3.2 woman's image: beautiful, fine and like provocation

The woman's body brings gender's social marks/indications. These marks are visible such as: clothes, hairdressing, make up, jewelry. They are incorporated and concerns the way of walking, speaking, moving. They are undergoing the others' interpretation which deals with these identical markers. So the appearance responds to daily self-formation in the way of presenting and representing (Le Breton, 2012). She supposes exposing gender's aesthetic practice which responds to the obligation of masculine and feminine social construction (Pagés, 2001).

"From this fact to be woman and sportive will construct a challenge to social roles prescribed and necessitate a particular self-formation, in the sense of Goffmanian of the term, that's to say, the role representation in the sports field without taking the risk of being exposed to a conflict of norms" (Mercier-

²Interview by Romain Scotto journalist for the newspaper *minutes.fr* 20, published on 28 October 2011.

Lefèvre, 2005, p.369). The majority of interviewed athletes prefer the femininity through the feminine apparent attributes (skirts, dress, high-heeled shoes, haircut, and make up) as if establishing identical continuity out of sportive context:

When I finish combating or training I become an attractive girl. Boxing didn't impact either my way of dressing or that of speaking or walking (Bx1; 1.60-62).

I'm feminist in my dressing but I am not so at work! In my daily life, I don't often wear skirts and dress. It's more practical to wear jeans and baskets, but sometimes I put on skirts, I put on dresses and high-heeled shoes on the occasion of marriages [...] even when I like hair cut, I changed my look and dressing and I do it on purpose to put on my skirts (Fb1; 1.199-105).

In my district, they don't doubt that I practice rugby, they are surprised. The fact of being and appearing and playing rugby are not interrelated (Rg14; 1.44-47).

There again, the perfect connection with the world of feminism is totally needed, the advanced argument is the exterior look which is indifferently concentrated on them; the athletes are seen as women.

They (international Rugby women players) put on mini-skirt, high-heeled shoes, makeup. What's a girl! In behavior, in the way of walking, in speaking....I am a girl, I won't change, I don't see that I must change (Rg8; 1.245-246).

Surely, I am (feminist) (Halt6; 1.37-38).

The sportive here present totally different masculine/feminine image according to the space and the context of their activities and affirms their identical unity. Far from being opposed to totally identify themselves to the dominant masculinity configuration (Lachheb, 2008) they assume the variation of their identity on a valued mode, in conformity with what Bedhioufi sees (2002, p.273): "It's recommended that woman give importance to well-being in terms of health and to appear beautiful to be always desired [...] It's considered classical to associate femininity to tenderness, to charming for seduction". Being desirable in being as lacking the masculine characters, engaged in violent sports minimize the importance of the elaborated strategies. Women have been always searching for being desired and display their attributes: "Eyes and lips makeup, the care for her hair, they are signs of attraction which show the belonging to certain sex and confirmation of power" (Kerbrat, 2007, p.1).

It seems that putting on skirt constitutes the feminine standard by excellence and the mini-skirt is associated to certain forms of seduction but also as a form of emancipation.

According to Bourdieu (1998) if the feminine clothes are symbols of a hatreminder to corporal hexis, this practice is holding a value-added for what they have in contrast with the masculine sports practitioner. Bringing it as a proof to confirm the femininity's image, she makes up a show/a scène which relies on exterior trick that attracts attention: "we must show it by smiling, the makeup, haircut, the aspect..." (Mercier-Lefèvre, 2005, p.376) and this strategy redouble the seduction by the fact of contrast. In trying to describe, some sportswomen attributed typically female Tunisian qualifiers related to "delicacy" but without falling under the epithet "little kitten".

I am "delicate" and "fit" (Bx1; 1.76).

I really don't feel that I am a girl with full delicacy (Fb1; 1.96).

Out of the room, no one could doubt that I practice this sport (Halt 6; 1.92)

They always told me: "You who is delicate, could you practice such a kind of sport?" (Halt3; 1.61).

These sports women construct and acquire their sex identity by exposing their bodies to the other's sight. Doing so, they redefine and invent new femininity mode independent of the precedent generation's views "where woman personifies passivity, docility, softness, slowness, they are qualities that arabo-musulman recognize as feminine's nature. Her body is marked by signs of modesty, detention, fragility, and weakness" (Tlili, 2002, p. 56). So those sportswomen appear being "authentic" women by which the gender translate the sex: they "are engaged in a sport which is considered as "masculine" and they think they prove, more than the other women their belonging to sex (Menesson, 2005c, p.71)³. Far from, practicing this form of overcompensation, certain exceptions made to resemble however to children whatever the contexts are: this profile was closely rejected.

It's true that certain girls have changed with practice; they have their hair I don't know how it appears, they put on droopy trousers....it's not my case (Bx1; 1.62-64).

There are many girls who look like me; just two or three cases who have the inclination towards masculinity (Bx1; 1.104-105).

For example when I was in Kef last year, there was a girl in our team, she was calm with us in the team, she had long hair, she was cute, she walked normally a putting on normally as a girl (tight trousers). When

³In his article "identity sexual forms" of women invested in "male" sports", Christine Mennesson identifies four identity sexual forms: i) the "real" women ii) women "even women" iii) women presentable and iv) women "in their head"). Far from practicing this form of over-compensation, however, some exceptions do everything to look like boys whatever contexts: maybe this profile is firmly rejected.

I came back this year, I find the girl with short hair, bristly over her head, falling trousers, I have bought the same for my brother. Wallah (by the name of God) , and god would be my witness don't lie I bought the same trousers for my brother. She is dressing with trousers for guy, falling, with baskets, a vest I don't how and a masculine t-shirt too, glasses ...Briefly, without any relation to femininity how strange it is !!!(Fb1; 1.86-93).

In reality, the people who don't know me and who reproach me after telling me that I am the most feminist in the team. Me and M, brother player of the team we are indeed different from other players (Fb1; 1.107-109).

[...]After that came my generation team there are some that are tricky but it does preclude that there are "masculine"! (Halt6; 1.241-242).

The rejected model, by the interviewee doesn't show any boredom which reflects masculine appearance in conformity with their masculine sport; they dignify their masculinity into the extra-sports world. This form of reversal or androgyny doer consistency and appearance: in" jeans falling on buttock or "cut short spiky hair," testifies the rejection of the agreed figure of "women and women assimilation by ways of being" man "they wish to display" (Lacheb, 2013, p.458). The athlete (Fb23) and (Bx9) are approaching this profile mentioned in testimony.

I do not like wearing dresses. I think I have not worn since kindergarten. I'm still in pants, it has not changed. I've always been like that. This is not because I came to Tunis play Fb that changed (Fb23; 1.39-41).

I felt that I was not a girl [female] in this society, especially where I live; it is a great popular area. I felt that I was irrelevant compared to the other girls. Girls directed me to speak. You imagine, when I came home from training with my bag on my back, with my male approach [nimchibektafi], a real man [azriazri]. Okay, now I no longer have the same approach (BX9; 1.190-194).

[...] In the ring, in the street, at home, I felt a man. With my brother, I put shorts, shirt marcel, flip flops and I told him to go to the cafe together, knowing that the coffee in our neighborhood are not mixed. He told me "Stop, it will not? [Yizziyihdik rabbi]. No, stayhome! ". Or I go walking with my brother arm in arm [mhamlinbaadhna], dressed in the same way (BX9; 1.196-200).

If the soccer player (Fb23) claims to masculine -at least in terms clothing- from an early age, it seems that the practice of football is in the consequence: in contrast, the boxer (BX9) attributes his virility to the practice of boxing that influenced his behavior and his way of being and appearing:

Yes, I feel that was returned girl because I am no longer in boxing, but boxing is still in my heart, I matured. Before, when I walked in the street, I felt in myself a lot of manhood [roujoula] (Bx9; 1.216-218).

By integrating values, behavior, body attributes related to a sport such as boxing, the sport also includes the values, behaviors and attributes connoted as masculine. She feels difficulty in positioning her identity, bringing forth a conflict of genres it up to the judgment of practice (Desertrain& Weiss, 1988; Miller & Levy, 1996).

To summarize temporarily, it appears that six athletes (Bx1; Fb1; Halt6; RG14; Rg8 and Halt3) occasionally enjoy exposing them a feminine appearance without being overbearing or accept a kind "too masculine": the identity procedures are complex and operate as gradient located and carefully dosed. (FB23) and (BX9) are distinguished by their rejection of female identity in favor of attitudes "male"; they are the last classified in the continuum of femininity, their scores were 68 and 75 and characterizing subjects rarely identified with traditional female roles (Bisson 1997). Ultimately, attitudes high level sports invested in practices masculine connotation appear relatively heterogeneous and reflect contrasting inter-individual variations. Six of them challenge the masculine terms on the sport and try to feminize their appearance in the extra-sports area, while two fully adhere to the attributes of the dominant masculinity. This diversity of socialization patterns and the multiplicity of social reference contexts lead to the construction of a system of diverse provisions, even contradictory and ambivalent (Lahire 1998).

3.3 The principle of duality as construction: or how to "get out of his gloves"

In this analysis, we will study the case of identified sports as the "real" women, are six athletes on the eight surveyed⁴. Their comments reflect a similar behavioral ambivalence sometimes boys in sports context and sometimes conform to dominant norms of femininity outside sport. These athletes describe how compliance with the standards of femininity depends on the context:

Once I fought in El Menzah; after the fight, they had to give us the medals. I played in 48 kg category. After the fight, I went into the dressing room, I let the hair, I put a mini skirt and a tank top and I am on the podium. I dress like all girls, I am not aggressive, I feel a normal girl "delicate". I am of calm nature, it has never happened to me to hit someone on the street, even if you provoked me. It's not because I do ... Already boxing, boxing is called a noble sport. That was not affected at all (Bx1; 1.65-71).

⁴See above 3.2 woman's image: beautiful, fine and like provocation

Everything in its place: the ring, that's one thing. After that, it is something else. I normally dress, I blow dry, I'm getting the eyebrows, I make up, I put on a short skirt, suspenders ... (Bx1; 1.100-102).

Aside from combat, Bx1 attaches importance to feminine appearance which also covers a much gendered feminine posture. The fact that she changes identity at the time of the coin rebate contributes to assume the duality of her identity, duality which she plays with peers and spectators:

In boxing, when I climbed into the ring, I transformed myself, even my teammates told me, "Oh, you're M. completely transformed! ". In life, I am very calm (Bx1; 1.145-147).

Maybe in the field, I become more masculine. Because you scream, you push, you strike ... I feel stronger in the field. Besides, it is another thing. Life is normal, without stress, without competition ... Because stress of the match, it's something else. It makes you get out of your gloves. Sometimes I even hit my teammates on the ground to shake, as in everyday life, I will never do it. Maybe do I call it the will to win (Fb1; 1.233-238).

I have to be aggressive on the set, concentrated. But once outside that's it, I become again normal. Of course in competitive periods, there is the stress and everything. But in normal times is everything in its place. When you're in training, you are focused on your training. You go out of the drive, you live your life normally; I will study, I saw a little bit with my family, I go out with my boyfriend as we were engaged for a long time, since the bac (Halt6; 1.116-121).

This return to normal, resume her place of women in society as if nothing had happened. The continuity between sport and civil life is lived on a natural but perfectly compartmentalized fashion:

Me, my fiancé A., had long been part of my life. So me, this is the sport on the one hand, and my private life on the other, I do not mix you see ! ... I live my life (Halt6; 1.197-199).

Rg14 for its part recognizes, however, change its identity while reaffirming its uniqueness:

When I leave the field, I change completely. I'm a kind of shy girl; I forget the aggressiveness of rugby and my behavior on the ground. The land is one thing, and everyday life is something else. I am a very normal girl off the field; I normally dress, not often sportswear outfit, it's not my type. I walk normally, I normally entails. The only thing in common is my personality. I can even say that it is rugby which I forged the personality. This is one of the things I have gained by playing rugby (Rg14; 1.36-42).

It is true that rugby is aggressive, but aggressive on the field. You have to be aggressive on the field. But then outside, you're a girl like the others (Rg8; 1.221-223).

Licensor specificity of an original divine nature, Rg8 reaffirms its practice the same sport as a man:

There is always the feminine side of me. On the field, I'm still a woman. But there are requirements in practice where you cannot make a tackle softly. No, it's your sport; you have to plates that way. There are no differences between boys and girls. Even when we play between girls and boys is like that. They are perhaps stronger than we; the good god maybe gave them more strength and speed, but we play the same rugby. You can not be a woman and delicate (fine) on the ground. Outside, it's something else (Rg8; 1.239-345).

The same statement of "normality" in everyday life makes the individual sporting achievement in that it is the sole will of character of the athlete. In doing so, it has established itself as a willingness foolproof in competitive environment;

In everyday life, I am a normal girl. We always say that I am "delicate". On the field, I feel strong. Besides I must be strong. When I'm at the bar, I tell myself "I am strong, I can carry." There is a huge difference between the field and the street (Halt3; 1.31-35).

This section has highlighted the fact that certain social roles, such as gender roles or gender identity may involve duality and thus contradictory behavior. This could lead the person to feel identity conflicts that, in turn, lead to negative consequences. The apparent temporary transformation BX9 (1.196-200) or that narrated about another sport by Fb1 (1.86-93) are a striking example. Anyway, these behaviors contribute to a scrambling bit already defined borders between male and female to the point where athletes must provide guarantees of their subjugation to male domination model for an identity compliance movement women in the public sphere.

Finally, the content analysis of interviews to suggest that the majority of interviewees sporting firmly adheres to male values of their practice while remaining women in everyday life. The main problem they face is the fact that they have to continually justify and manifest their femininity with the company to counter the image that it returns (Héas et al., 2007). Louveau (2007, p.65) explains the perseverance of women to assert and confirm their feminine gender identity as follows: "As the other women and they can be even more, sports are required to be (re) presentation of femininity and they cannot transgress sustainable social compliance obligation without risk of losing their identity, or rather a "certain order of nature" as some say, which is an order of culture (in the sense social organization) ". Indeed, regardless of who they appear, women who engage in male practices are subject to suspicious looks and disdainful of their judgments rather distant circle who dons of the adjectives of "male", "virile" or "asexual." From the moment they "came out of spaces and roles that were strictly assigned to them" (Daviise& Louveau 1991, p.121), it is as if the athletes had to present identity guarantees that not only get the benevolence of the public eye but also institutional support. These sports do they not undergo therefore unwittingly a "masculinization of trial"?

3.4 The eyes of others, a powerful engine

Women who practice male sports are subject to powerful ideological debates that challenge their femininity and sexual orientation (McCrone, 1988; Vertinsky, 1990, 1994). "The history of women's sport" French "for example, is littered with cries of hatred and resentment, which have nothing to envy those conservative current" Maghreb ". [...] The conservatives of the time treat all the names. They are traitors to their initial conditions, they are lost for their femininity "(Barreau, 2002, p. 262). The qualifiers as "mannish", "virile", "male" or "lesbians" are often associated with these sports. Nevertheless, they manage to escape this process of exclusion to the point where some are only valued for their sports performance.

Subjected to fire from the eyes of others, interviewees attest all sports because they have been dealing with pejorative judgments relative to their male sports. These assessments range from disgust, disdain, curiosity, astonishment and reproach.

I often hear, "Oh !a girl that makes boxing! ". They see it as something strange. Sometimes when I talk to boys, they are surprised that I do in boxing because of my puny physical (Bx1; l.73-75).

At first it was kind of surprised, like, "You're going to box? It is not men? You will become aggressive ... "(Bx1; l.141-142).

The astonishment even people -and men- particularly well denotes the lack of parity in their representation of what should be male sports practices.

In fact, by far, people have all their prejudices. They have to say that I'm aggressive. What is that? What is she doing? But when they approach you and speak with you, they change their minds. Still, they say they still cannot imagine a girl who did weightlifting (Halt6; l.143-146)

I feel that people will always have a special look towards wrestling, boxing and weightlifting that are practiced by girls (Halt6; l.152-153).

[...] There are those who do not know it and just watching on TV or hear about some sport; they are the ones who criticize and do not encourage saying "drops, you risk hurting you: what are you going to make this sport? "(Rg14; l.73-76).

This awareness of the discriminant and disapproving gaze of the entourage and common sense is substantiated by risk and by a differential violence stereotype sports. It is as if the form of practice was plated on the person of sport, naturalizing look at a gradient masculinity.

People, when they see me in the street tell me "You do not go near it, you make rugby! ". They see me aggressive and brutal ... and masculinized [Mestarjla]. Then, when they see us, the rugbywomen, they tell us that there is a difference with girls soccer, so we are more feminine than they (Rg8; l.218-221).

With us, they can tell you that tennis is a good sport when there is a lot of femininity. But rugby, for them, you throw one another, you go up one over the other, you push yourself ... (Rg8; l.226-228).

[...] When we said "it is a sport of guys," it does not bother me at all (Rg8; l.233-234).

When asked what kind of sport I practice, they are shocked: how can a girl do weightlifting? [...] There is no difference between men and women, whether in weightlifting or elsewhere. It's true that they think it is an aggressive sport, but it is not true (Halt3; l.53.-58).

For them (the villagers), only boys play football, how can a girl to play football?(Fb23; L.26).

Trying recognition by sports results is futile since the inappropriateness of the practice downgrades practitioner, even high level:

But there are some who do not accept, but nothing more. We always have a different look at the woman who played sports, not just Fb. Even if the woman is brought back medals and performances, sport remains reserved for men (Fb23; l.56-58).

The sport has much to lose by getting involved in practical as a male, "to want to play like men, (to want to imitate, say the most resistant to the intrusion), the high-level sports was losing his sexual identity by becoming a kind of monstrous excrescence: anabolized woman, mastodon or butch"(Baillette, 1999, p.48). In trying to compete with men "on their property" and want to abolish the differences (especially physical), they lose their quality woman: "They are ugly, they are not women" (quoted by Saouter, 1995 p.24). The same look of men of the same players disqualifies female sports practice as an anomaly. But the criticism did not come only from the outside; the entourage, even professional sports, may also issue sliced judgments relating to male sports:

Even the director of the center (sports medicine) feels that girls weightlifting are vulgar. But from the moment he took the opportunity to speak with you, it changes printing. But at first you feel prejudice. They always feel that weight lifting is vulgar, aggressive...(Halt6; l.234-236).

This is the female family environment that is most reluctant to male practice: the argument is the hardness and impropriety.

In my family, my aunts and my grandmother ask me how I can practice such a sport. It is very hard for a girl (Halt3; l.88-89).

My friends were shocked "oh Y! You make boxing as the guys? Forget it, it's not good for you. Instead of doing the dance, aerobics ..." (Bx9; 1.183-184).

As with male connotations practices are only recently available to young girls, "they suffered [not only] the reproach of sports, but also often their own family, their neighborhood and their workplace" (Héas& al, 2009, p.23). Some sports have sometimes already integrated these gender bias vis-à-vis their sport before you invest in it, like the case of (Rg14) and (Rg8).

It is the degree of violence they rely first and made their mark a pause before practicing; it is not violent because it seems to them that they invest it. The approach of appropriating a masculine sports "despite" the level of violence and not "because" this form is essential as it shows that sports are not trying to "pretend" their male counterparts but rather "do despite" the specifics of the male sport.

It (rugby) seemed a little violent, that's why I've never thought (Rg14; 1.21-22).

At first it surprised me because I always made the individual sport and I think that rugby is a vulgar and aggressive sport. Finally that's how I saw him before. In fact it is as everyone now. They see the aggressive rugby and it is a sport that is not made for girls (Rg8; 1.36-39).

(Fb1) found that some prejudices are based but should not generalize. It evokes the reported speech by recounting his ex- husband a very real phenomenon in sports in general and sports in particular male connotation; Homosexuality remains a taboo subject in the Arab-Muslim society.

He (my ex-husband) was a bad idea on the foot, like what it is poorly attended, the girls drink and smoke, they are lesbians ... and many other things. [...] While there is some truth in what he says and thinks everyone is responsible for his actions, we will not judge people that (Fb1; 1.65-70).

I know it (homosexuality, alcohol and tobacco) exists in other sports in Handball in volleyball. I have friends in other disciplines and I know that it exists! (Fb1; 1.76-77).

An amalgam is made between the masculine and takes misbehaving: it is as if vis-à-vis tolerance male behavior differences (Here to homosexuality, alcohol and tobacco) was reduced to zero address women. The latter thus suffer a degree requirement / differential tolerance and see their margins of freedom trimmed from expectations of their male counterparts.

In fact, if people feel that way about the sport and the sport is because girls appear so. They have his hair cut, they begin to walk like boys. They sit in cafes and do foolish things. They behave as if they were really guys. They thought they were the stars of the FB and behaved as if they were the stars of the World FB (Fb1; 1.79-83).

In the common look, women in male sports differ from those of women-or women's sports in general-by their body hexis. The operated sliding process is to assimilate to homosexual (rightly or wrongly) because of their muscular physique (Russell, 2004). Such discriminatory categorization is not without consequences and finds expression in certain forms of verbal harassment of supporters, heterosexist prejudices, discriminatory treatment from coaches or administrators, negative bias on the part of the referees during competition and less attention from the media (reported by Krane, 2001).

If the perspective on athletic explicitly notes a reduced tolerance for the deviation from the norm, it appears that besides all these severe and negative judgments manifest admiration and recognition. Indeed the realization of performance-especially International- level generates a certain admiration vis-à-vis sports:

Even when I got off the ring and as I climbed into the stands to encourage my teammates, spectators were saying "bravo, continue!" [Tabarkallahalik] (Bx1; 1.135-136).

[...] I am a star in the neighborhood, especially after the Olympicsgames(Halt6; 1.222-223).

Support -spectateurs notified crowds or close quarters is clear but focused. Media coverage brings to the aura of the champion and literally turns the gaze of onlookers:

On the recognition from people, the fact of finding your picture in the newspaper or in a magazine ... even the youngsters who have never seen me play, colleagues from High School are proud of me (Rg8; 1.294-296).

The public consecration can take unexpected forms, such as being whistle and cheer in the street by men coffee, putting the sport in a state of extreme confusion:

[...] They were all proud of me (the locals). As the first international tournament in which I participated was transmitted on TV and everyone looked at me. It was a huge thing for them, they said "Y the daughter of our neighborhood boxing and win, congratulations [yaatihaessahha]. She's good [toktol], it does not look. Poor -her opponent-, she massacred. «Once I passed in the street and suddenly all the men who were in the cafe came out to whistle and applaud, I turned around and they said, "Well, Tayson we watched you boxer, bravo". I was really confused and proud at the same time. I cheeks burning (BX9; 1.202-209).

For Fb1 is being smart and "understand" Discussions coaches legitimize as a woman:

They (the football's coaches) do not see me as a boy. I am a girl with whom they can discuss and understand what they say. As you make all of Fb, I can talk to them about any topic in this area (Fb1; 1.247-250).

Social recognition and notoriety at the neighborhood level and internationally build self-esteem and value the efforts and sports performance. This could be for those who engage in male sports extra motivation to continue to improve but that's clearly not the case: the public nature of their image is designed as a pleasant but unexpected consequence of their practice high level and not as a quest in itself.

3.5 God and the Nation

The themes of the faith in God and patriotism are discussed spontaneously by athletes interviewed and were not planned in the procurement protocol. They appeared after a lexicometric study in the presence of words such as "Al Hamdou li Allah" and "Insha'Allah" that show a faith in God. Furthermore phrases like "raise the flag of my country" refer to a real patriotism. These two components thus fall under the theme of religious and nationalist identities.

3.5.1 Religious identity, a support and reference

In Islam, the relationship to God is significant because it is he who is responsible for everything that happens for good or evil, which implies thank: faith is a gift of God deposited in the man when created. In the Arab-Muslim society in general and Tunisia in particular, faith in God does not necessarily mean less prayer and headscarves for women. In acts as in speech, divine support is systematically applied to the point where it became a recurring discursive formula and truly devoted more than a sign of proselytizing faith. In the remarks below, athletes each express their satisfaction for the accomplishment of a fact by saying "Al Hamdou li Allah": this expression sounds in Tunisia [Hamdoullah] and means "Thank God" in token of thanks. Yes, [Al Hamdou li Allah] I made the right choice (Halt6; 1.163).

My dream was having finished my athletic career staff to enter and start my coaching career. [Al Hamdou li Allah ya Rabbi] thank you God! I was called, I was asked if I was available to be in the technical staff of less than 18 ... (RG8; 1.177-179).

We take care of us very well since we often play for first place. Compared to other teams, we say [Al Hamdou li Allah] (Fb23; 1.51-52).

The athlete (Rg8) uses the phrase [Al hamdou li Allah ya Rabbi] to emphasize that it has benefited from a divine unexpected chance: Halt6 is relieved to have chosen well. Fb23 is satisfied with the leadership it enjoys in comparison to other teams. The meaning of the word is plural in different contexts and can express satisfaction, recognition and enthusiasm, but also the feeling of being "chosen" or privileged.

The expression [Inshallah] for its part used to express an intention to do something under the divine control and which means "God willing". This expression systematically accompanies the formulation of a project and emanates from the belief that everything happens by the will of God. But I heard they will rebuild another team [Insha'Allah] God willing (BX9; 1.141-142).

The athlete (Bx1) also uses the term [Mach'Allah] which means "what God wants" or "what God wanted" to express his satisfaction in the fulfillment of its performance. This term is also used to express feelings of astonishment, admiration and contentment to an exceptional phenomenon or perfect beauty: this is to remember that it is by God's will they exist. The expression [tabara'Allah] who decides in Tunisia (tbarkallah) means "to be blessed by God." It employs is pretty much in the same context that the expression [Mach'Allah] but also serves to protect from the evil eye by a form of superstition.

[...] I feel good, I have confidence in myself [Mach'Allah]. I face the enemy without any fear; I was already best female boxer in 5 fights. I have 5 gold medals, one bronze medal, [Mach'Allah] (Bx1; 1.54-56).

I heard about girls kind of comments: [tabark'Allahaliha!](Fb1; 1.186).

Boxer (BX9) calls God before entering the ring pronouncing the words [ya Rabbi] which means "my God"; this formula in the form of invocation is to ensure the divine presence at his side to help during the battles:

I told [ya Rabbi] "O my God! "And I climbed into the ring ... (BX9; 1.60-61).

The expression [Rabbi maaya] which means "God is with me" or "God is with me" postulates a divine presence that is beneficial and facilitates caregiver victory:

[...] I won, [Rabbi maaya] the good Lord was with me ... (BX9; L.83).

[Rabbi maaya] The good Lord helped me and allowed me to continue my studies and I will soon be a graduate ... (Bx9; 1.91-92).

For now, seniors are Kenya [Rabbi maahom], God be with them (Rg8; 1.181-182).

The expression [Rabbi maahom] means "God be with them" in this context is used to wish good luck and good luck.

The expression [Allah ghaleb] whose literal translation is "God is winning" means in this context the "fate" or "fatalism" (Ammar, 2006). It works at the loss of something for which we can do nothing, for example during a defeat stronger than the personal will, the divine presence so decides and it is not God's will that do is carried out.

My coach told me that I had done the right thing but [Allah ghaleb] I have to accept defeat (Bx9; 1.78-79).

[Allah ghaleb] I was made for boxing. The Good God gave me this gift (Bx9; 1.172-173).

This refers to the notion of [mektoub] which means "the writing of God," which corresponds to the French notion of "destiny" or "fate" (Ben Rejeb, 2006).

In his remarks, (Bx9) describes his punching bag of "sacred" but recovers immediately saying [li Allah ettakdissobhanahouwataala] which means "there is sacred as God." The term [sobhanahouwataala] often follows that of [Allah] or is working alone to say "God" and means "high and exalted be He".

The punching bag, I saw it as something extraordinary [normal mouch] sacred, [li Allah ettakdissobhanahouwataala] although it is only God that is holy (Bx9; 1.262-268).

The most frequently used word is [Wallah] and refers to an oath to Allah: "On behalf God" implies "I swear" and is often used to guarantee the veracity of words taking God to witness. Lying having sworn in the name of God is considered a true blasphemy in Islam.

[Wallah] in God's name and God be my witness, I do not lie (Fb1; 1.90-91).

The use of these different terms by women athletes clearly marks the strong presence of religious identity imbued with great faith in God. Any event (misfortunes, successes, failures, etc.) is brought back to God and thank the athlete at any time for anything that happens to him as well as evil. The expressions which are very common in everyday language well mark the association of the divine presence in their sport trajectory senior, trivializing one hand their effort under divine will and magnifying their exploits on the other thanking God. This dialectic of the effort and recognition also marks a humble posture charged with a feeling of helplessness assumed: it characterizes both fervent believer and determined woman but full of gratitude to the divine will. At no time did the athletes claim their success by their own will and their own efforts, which is to recognize the small share they take in their destiny.

Before concluding, it is fair to note in passing that during interviews, four of the eight athletes are presented veiled, including (Fb1) that still practice football. When awarding questionnaires two years ago, none of them was. It must be said that before the revolution, Ben Ali banned the veil. Since January 14 and the return of Islamists on the social scene, the notion of the veiled body is however more topical (Bedhioufi, M'rabet&Ayachi, 2011). The next election will tell what form will these top athletes in public context.

3.5.2 National identity, recognition of an exception

In this last part of the content analysis of high-level sports men practicing sports, we will address the theme of national identity and nationalist exacerbation in his report to sport. Indeed, sport occupies a prominent place in the process of building national identities and development of patriotism, as was shown wandering (1992). Just like some independent nation states of the Arab world and Africa, where political, fits, and shapes sports orientations (Fates, 1994), "Tunisian political leaders realized early the value of sport as a medium of national identity" (Abbassi, 2007). Already, in the aftermath of independence in 1956, the former president, Habib Bourguiba (1960), stated: "We have need us to where sports competitions are held they are Arab, Mediterranean or global [...]. The prestige as good as the sporting achievement is undeniable. It reflects on the entire nation. ". In Tunisia, as in many other countries, the feeling of belonging to a common national identity is by no means a natural evidence "Designating both a sense of belonging and an awareness of being part of a national whole, it is a construction that is part of the time" (Archambault, 2004, p.38).

In Tunisia, where the financial stakes hardly weighs on women's sports, don the jersey of the national team and hoisting the national flag high in international competitions in itself constitute a consecration for athletes. Sport is not just to exalt the individual physical and moral values, which are also the antithesis of nationalism triumph of modern sport. It is rather a manifestation of patriotism based on the feeling experienced by sports to invest in a "national mission". Nevertheless, patriotism competitive sport appears only once reached a certain level in national team (Calmat 1992). The top athletes will become aware of this national dimension in the aftermath when they represent their country in international competitions.

To qualify for the Olympic Games, weightlifter (Halt6) has all the physical and technical qualities to be selected and represent Tunisia in this prestigious event. In her remarks, (Halt6) considers her participation in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games with great pride, for herself and for her country. Although she did not go to the finals, she considers that being part of the Tunisian delegation in the Olympics is a victory:

I explain that already going to the Olympic Games (Beijing 2008) is a consecration in itself. Tunisia is a small country. The fact that you are present and the flag of Tunisia is hanging in the hall; it's already something (Halt6; 1.224-227).

In international competitions, boxer (BX9) fights to honor her country and hoists up the flag. These international sporting events give rise to patriotism and the flag becomes the emblem of national pride and a total commitment:

This is the 1st time I went to [play] for the flag of my country (BX9; 1.69-70).

[...] I have raised the flag of my country and I remained in the national team. I was very happy because it's a good thing when you fight for the flag of your country to the end (BX9; 1.83-85).

In the words of (Rg8), that patriotism is rooted in a team sport in which individual performance and feelings disappear behind the collective result, quite to make sacrifices:

Once we left for Spain and the coach told me that there was no equipment. I said, "No problem. I'm going to play for the Tunisian flag. Just give us the jersey and the shorts with which they will play on the field. "We went there, we played ... all for the Tunisian flag (Rg8; 1.266-269).

Whether practitioners in individual sports (boxing or weightlifting) or team sports (rugby or football), interviewees' athletes are all sensitive to patriotic demonstrations: they are not only competing for their own satisfaction but for the glory of their country they embody the representation. "The most natural expression of patriotism in sports is evident in the solemn moments surrounding the competition: its pride as she runs at the opening of the Olympic Games in the national delegation; the podium [for top performers], the center of national sentiment with the emotion that gripped when the flag of his country rises slowly mast, his throat is tied, her tears well up in her eyes from the first notes of the national anthem. These are unforgettable patriotic feelings "(Calmat 1992, p.52)

The investment of male sports practitioners to high level and the access to international events are the result of an intensive work that requires, in addition to physical and moral capacities, a strong sense of belonging to a nation. This sense of the national is perhaps exacerbated by the fact that Tunisia is a relatively a young nation and must be welded to fortiori in favor of recent events, a sense of belonging that makes a social and cultural pact. The diversity of languages in the territory leads to further strengthen on one hand regionalism and on the other national unity. The positioning of the athletes in the national and globalized perspective shows that they do not individually commit themselves for titles but with a collective consciousness oriented to the common benefit.

IV. Conclusion and Outlook

In this study, the focus was on the plurality and the complex identities of sportswomen invested in male sports. Different identities coexist and overlap without merging. First, the practice of a male sport athletes forced female athletes to adopt intermittently a male identity to succeed, without completely cutting themselves from their feminine identity. They try indeed to strengthen it off the field to prove that they can be successful while maintaining their femininity. Feminine appearance attributes are used at the same time to bring back the receipt of the identity reversed image, reassure relatives and intrigue self-energy. This intermittent segment of identity is updated in context and takes various forms according to the personal profile of the sportswomen. Moreover, religious belief leads athletes to attribute success as failures to a divine will that disengages the person but also disempowers him/her .This belief serves as an external voice that encourages and decides instead of the human, putting the female athlete in front of favorable undecidable circumstances. So they accept fatalistically and serenely any event as part of their destiny [mektoub]. Finally, a strong patriotic footprint denotes an even stronger national feeling by participation in international competitions. Being the instrument subject to the divine will, athletes go to the status of national flag bearer: in both cases, they are deprived of free will and naturally offer their exploits as gifts and without opposing, they even engage at their expense.

These athletes thus have a multi-identity profile: invested in sporting activities that were socially reserved for men, they break with the standard image of the female ideal type that exists in the human imagination. Taking the risk of being accused of a tomboy or homosexual, they defy appearances by multiplying the feminine / masculine expressions to invest a half-divine mission, part national. This plural identity refreshes differentially according to spaces and meetings, as if women knew, like the chameleon, to imitate in order to survive. To this end, the metamorphoses also operate away from the sports career since they can just as well take a more conventional and socially acceptable profile out and after their careers.

Finally, the **identity conditions** that athletes attributed denote highly circumstantial and located strategies. Playing appearances to recompose their identity at the discretion of the contexts, they give to see a composite social image in terms of genre that oscillates between mimicry and claimed inversion. The eyes of others are playing the role of powerful engine of censorship and extroversion that guides ambivalent postures of onlookers and relatives between admiration and contempt. The strong presence of religious consciousness attributes to God successes and failures, guarding the young woman of independent thinking and personal satisfaction. The sense of community is exacerbated in the nationalist sentiment that sublimes the presence of the athlete at the international level. This study has helped to restore the identity and dynamic complexity of the trajectories of Tunisian male athletes in high-level sports. It characterizes the neat and disgruntled strategies of individuals, caught in a pervasive social and cultural dynamics, however, escape the trends and popular and family pressure to complete their high-level career.

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