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Sport within the extracurricular school context: meanings and contradictions related to futsal teaching*

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Abstract

The practice and teaching of sport, which are expressed in different environments such as school, leisure and high performance environments, derive from sociocultural components related to the pedagogical context in which these processes take place, as well as the involved social agents' cultural background. Understanding school as a space for social protection and socialization, the care related to pedagogical actions is important, as possible social inequalities in the offering of learning opportunities can be reflected in other dimensions of students' lives. At school, futsal teaching happens both in Physical Education classes and extracurricular activities, being the later called in this study as extracurricular sports practices (ESP). The aim of this study was to investigate and analyse the reasons and meanings of teaching futsal as an extracurricular sport practice, for teachers/coaches in a country city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. Through semi-structured interviews with futsal teachers/coaches, and data analysis based on Grounded Theory, the main results are expressed in three thematic axes: 1) goals of teaching sport at school: moral education as a relevant contribution; 2) dispositions of teachers/coaches for the overvaluation of the sport competitions' results; 3) sport participation as a privilege for the few students with better competitive performance. We concluded that even knowing more appropriate pedagogical actions for ESP, teachers/coaches address their pedagogical acting to the achievement of optimal competitive results, causing social exclusion and unequal offer of learning opportunities to students in ESP.

Keywords

Extracurricular school sport – Coaches – Futsal – Sociology of sport – Sport pedagogy.

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Introduction

Sport is a sociocultural phenomenon, being also an educational space with several meanings, exchanges, encounters and confrontations (RODRIGUES JÚNIOR; SILVA, 2008), transforming the lives of participants (SANCHES; RUBIO, 2011). The practice and teaching of sport, which happen in different environments such as school, leisure and high performance (MARQUES; GUTIERREZ; ALMEIDA, 2008), derive from sociocultural components related to the context in which this process occurs, as well as the cultural background of the involved social agents (BARKER-RUCHTI; SCHUBRING, 2016; BARKER-RUCHTI *et al.*, 2016; COAKLEY, 2011).

Among many sport practices, futsal is the product of a social and historical transformation process, being a result from different ways of appropriation by the involved social agents. It is remarkable the process of transformations and influences from ball games with the feet adapted for courts in the 1930s, until it became the sport called futsal in the late 1980s, and the constitution of its contemporary and spectacularized form in the 21st century (BERDEJO DEL FRESNO, 2014; MARQUES; MARCHI JUNIOR, 2019; MARQUES *et al.*, 2021; MOORE *et al.*, 2014; SANTANA, 2008a; SCAGLIA, 2011).

In Brazil, futsal is a very widespread sport, being the most practiced in schools (VOSER; GIUSTI, 2015), being among the four leisure activities that most involve teenagers' participation (BRASIL, 2015). Many young Brazilian players that dream of a football professional career switch to futsal (MARQUES *et al.*, 2021). At school, futsal teaching happens both in Physical Education classes and extracurricular activities. (OLIVEIRA, 2016; RICCI, 2018), being the later called in this study as extracurricular sports practices (ESP) (LETTNIN, 2005).

Understanding school as a space for social protection and socialization (SANTOS, 2019), the care related to pedagogical actions is important, as possible social inequalities in the offering of learning opportunities can be reflected in other dimensions of students' lives (SILVA; AZEVEDO, 2018).

ESP are a possibility to provide opportunities for students to practice various sports at school, in a context with different meanings in comparison with Physical Education classes (MARQUES; GUTIERREZ; ALMEIDA, 2008). ESP offer a more specific and in-depth approach to sport, often preparing students to participate in school competitions. Such forms of sport practice usually occur in the after-hours of regular Physical Education at school, with pedagogical goals that can be closer or farer from those related to curricular classes (LETTNIN, 2005; LUGUETTI *et al.*, 2015).

The ways in which ESP occur derive mainly from the dialectic between the dispositions and the meaning attributed to them by the social agents involved, and the pedagogical context of the school institution where it happens (OLIVEIRA, 2016). Such sociocultural configuration, called learning culture, structures the criteria and moral values on teaching (HODKINSON; BIESTA; JAMES, 2008), guiding questions related to competitiveness and opportunities for different students to participate in sport training and competitions sessions. Learning cultures influence, in different ways, the constitution of dispositions for sports practices (CUSHION; JONES, 2014), in order to enhance or

difficult learning processes and incorporation of a sports culture in the students' daily lives (BARKER; QUENNERSTEDT; ANNERSTEDT, 2015).

Within this context, any pedagogical activity involves not only technical-procedural teaching, but in a dialectical way, also ethical and sociocultural issues, including its results having a close relationship with the previous conditions and cultural background of the students (BLOOMER; HODKINSON; BILLET, 2004; HODKINSON, 2005).

The pedagogical action that connects individual and collective development, when organized in a welcoming and safe environment, could provide social actions for youth socio-political empowerment, a dimension often ignored by sports programs (COAKLEY, 2011). Thus, the teacher/coach, in addition to the tactical-technical teaching of sport, assumes fundamental importance in structure the meanings of practice and ways of sport culture incorporation by students (COAKLEY, 2017; CUSHION; JONES, 2014), thus influencing the directions and constitution of learning horizons (BLOOMER; HODKINSON; BILLET, 2004). The meaning of pedagogical action, within this context, derives from the goal and significance attributed to the practice by those involved social agents (BOURDIEU, 2004).

Applied to the teaching of sport, especially at school, Marques, Gutierrez and Almeida (2008) propose a typology of meanings for the practice that considers two forms in particular:

- a) Official meaning, requiring a mandatory performance from practitioners, being guided by the regulation, systematization and universalization of the rules, with the main goal of seeking for victory and direct comparison between athletic performances;
- b) Re-signified meaning, aiming to adapt and meet the practitioners' needs and expectancy, considering the idea of a possible performance for their engagement in practice.

When re-signified, the competition results become as secondary in relation to changes in the activity structure, favouring a more equal participation of all the involved social agents, according to their potential and aspirations (MARQUES; ALMEIDA; GUTIERREZ, 2007).

To the same extent, the insertion of official sport at school can create a scenario of different offering of opportunities for practice among students, as well as a greater valuation of those with better sports performance, in detriment of those who may be considered less able to compete (MARQUES; ALMEIDA; GUTIERREZ, 2007). The official meaning could hamper, at school, the full participation of some students, as well as hinder the creation of taste and dispositions for sport practice (BALBINO et al., 2013; SADI, 2013).

The occurrence of the official meaning can be illustrated when a teacher/coach privileges those students considered to be more capable of producing an optimal competitive result, offering them more minutes into the game than others considered to be less capable (SADI, 2013).

In a study of a futsal competition between ESP school teams in a country city of São Paulo state, Brazil, it was found that students received unequal opportunities

for participation from their teachers/coaches during the games. Such a scenario not only produced an irregular distribution of opportunities for practice, but mainly created very different conditions for learning and sports development. In the same study, it was evidenced that many players stayed almost all the time competition on the bench, without actively playing, or participated for a very short time (RICCI; MARQUES, 2018).

The child or even the adolescent training has the purpose of prepare them to play and actively participate in the sports experiences available. Without living the concrete experience of training and compete, the students will not access to sufficient and adequate learning conditions for improving performance, and building a disposition for sport practice (SANTANA, 2018).

The teaching of sport in an official meaning, as in the example described by Ricci and Marques (2018), suggests a practice in which the bench could be associated with the place of the unsuccessful players, the less able and defeated in the competition for a position into the team (SANTANA, 2018). Regarding a re-signified perspective of sports practice, with greater rotation among the participants, the bench could be considered a place of transition, where players wait for entering into the game, and the one who is playing understands that at some point will get out for a teammate play, in other words, a space for sharing the opportunity to actively participate in the game. Teaching these moral values in a re-signified meaning could be considered by the teacher/coach as even more important than winning the game or being a champion (RICCI; MARQUES, 2018).

Facing the issue related to the meaning of pedagogical practice by teachers/coaches in futsal activities at ESP, and their possible educational consequences, the main questions of this study were: a) What is the meaning of practice assigned by teachers/coaches when teaching futsal in the extracurricular school environment?; b) How are such practices organized in these educational contexts?

Considering such questions, the aim of this study was to investigate and analyse the reasons and meanings of teaching futsal in the extracurricular school environment, adopted by teachers/coaches from a country city in the State of São Paulo, Brazil.

Method

This study fits into a qualitative research approach, with the Grounded Theory (GT) method being adopted (CHARMAZ, 2009). The GT was developed by the sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss as an alternative to the hypothetical-deductive tradition of qualitative research. Thus, based on divergences regarding some of the methodological procedures, the GT assumes three different methodological perspectives: the classic, the Straussian and the constructivist (SANTOS *et al.*, 2018).

The option adopted in this study was the constructivist perspective, based on the construction of a theory from data. The studied phenomena are collective constructions that strongly respond to the interpretive tradition (CHARMAZ, 2009).

Data were produced from semi-structured interviews with seven futsal teachers/coaches that work in private schools in a country city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil.

Initial contacts and invitations to participate in the study were made directly with the teachers/coaches, who indicated the dates and the appropriate places for the interviews.

The concepts of initial sampling and theoretical sampling were used for the selection and recruitment of participants. Theoretical sampling guided the conceptual paths until enough information was obtained to explain the codes, thus resulting in theoretical saturation. In other words, theoretical sufficiency to answer the questions of the study (CHARMAZ, 2009).

The initial sample consisted on three teachers/coaches who met the initial criteria. After the first three interviews, the need of better qualifying the sample was felt by researches and the following criteria were defined for the theoretical sample: a) graduates in Physical Education; b) ESP futsal teachers/coaches of students from the sixth to the ninth grade of Elementary School; c) participation in at least one school futsal competition between 2015 and 2017 (in order to guarantee a group of participants who share the same recent competition context); d) declare themselves available to participate in the study.

To ensure a more rigorous homogeneity in relation to the context of pedagogical profile among the participants of this study, researchers decided to interview teachers/coaches only working in private schools, who participated in municipal interschool competitions. Table 1 presents the characterization of the participants, identified in this study as T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6 and T7 to guaranty their anonymity.

Table 1 - Characteristics of participants

	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7
Gender	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men	Men
Age in the date of interview	27	49	29	44	29	55	46
Previous experience as futsal practitioner	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Youth soccer	Elite level soccer
Pedagogical role at school	Physical Education and ESP	ESP	ESP	Physical Education and ESP	Physical Education and ESP	Physical Education and ESP	Physical Education and ESP
Years from graduation	4	25	7	21	7	31	25
Years of experience as futsal teacher/coach	8	22	3	19	4	23	20
Has concluded any futsal academic course in the recent years?	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Previous experience as futsal coach out of school	College futsal	College futsal	No	Youth soccer	No	No	No

Source: Data from this study.

The interviews took place in a personal, individual way and were audio recorded. When necessary, a second round of interviews was carried out so that important or missing points in the first intervention could be in-depth addressed.

The data analysis followed the guidelines from constructivist GT (CHARMAZ, 2009):

- Simultaneous involvement in data production and analysis;
- Construction of analytical codes and categories from data and not from preconceived hypotheses;
- Use of a constant comparative method, which comprises the preparation of comparisons during each stage of analysis;
- Advancing theory development at each step of data production and analysis;
- Writing memorandums to elaborate categories, specify their properties, determine relationships between categories and identify gaps; sampling addressed to the theory construction;
- Literature review after the development of an independent analysis.

This study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee from the University of the Last Author of this article, and each participant received and signed an informed consent form. To ensure the accuracy and fidelity of the data produced, each teacher/coach received copies of the transcripts of their interviews, in order to review, correct and include information they deemed necessary.

Results and discussion

The concept of substantive theory, theoretical interpretation of a problem delimited to a distinct area (CHARMAZ, 2009), is a point of convergence between the three perspectives of GT (KENNY; FOURIE, 2015). The results presented here through the interface between Sport Pedagogy and Sociology of Sport build a substantive theory based on the data. This process is presented in this section in three major thematic axes (TA), also counting on excerpts from the participants' speeches and discussion with the literature: 1) Goals of teaching sport in the school environment: moral education as a relevant contribution; 2) Dispositions of teachers/coaches for the overvaluation of the sport competitive result; 3) Participation as a privilege for the few students with better skills for competition.

TA 1: Goals of teaching sport in the school environment: moral education as a relevant contribution

In TA 1 there are four main analytical categories as results: a) the differences between the teaching of sport in curricular classes and in ESP; b) the teaching of sport in the ESP is not only aimed at tactical-technical learning, but also moral education; c) ESP can be seen as the beginning of a culture of practice constitution, as well as the changing of students' active lifestyle; d) the development of the taste for and pleasure in sports practice as a priority goals in the training process of athletes.

The speeches from teachers/coaches are initially related to a broad perspective of sports education, not linked, at least in idealized and preliminary terms, to an official sense of practice. For the interviewees, the difference between teaching futsal in curricular

Physical Education classes and in ESP exists and is well established. In the curricular classes, the meaning is related to an introductory learning of the sport. Within this context, the teachers/coaches indicate a great difficulty to teach futsal. They consider that the groups of students are usually very numerous and heterogeneous, with little interest in learning (including some descriptions of gender issues and discrimination that will not be discussed in depth at this article, as they are not its central topic). In the PEEs, the teachers/coaches indicate a better context to teach futsal, especially due to the interest of practitioners in learning and specializing in this sport. The quotes from T1 and T7 exemplify this comparison:

In the [teaching of] extracurricular futsal, more [attention] to the tactical, technical, more in-depth teaching. In Physical Education [curricular], we teach an introduction, trying to make students more interested in the sport by showing the rules. [The aim is] That they increase their knowledge about the sport, but not as deeply as in the extracurricular. (T1).

It's very different working in the Physical Education compared to training [extracurricular] futsal. In the Physical Education is more the basic learning, I teach passing, shooting, understanding of the rules. In the Physical Education, boys and girls are together and then we cannot specify [the teaching and learning] as in training sessions. (T7).

These quotes are close to what is expected for curricular Physical Education classes, where children should know the diversity of contents of body culture, and the sport preferably taught in a broad way (LUGUETTI et al., 2015). The participants' discourses are also consistent with what is expected for extracurricular training. The ESP can enable a deepening of knowledge and experiences of cultural sporting events taught in curricular Physical Education classes (LUGUETTI et al., 2015).

Another outstanding result in this first thematic axis was the relevance directed by the teachers/coaches to the teaching of moral values through sport. T2 and T5 exemplify such considerations:

Sport is the best answer for the education of a citizen (T2).

Sport is a tool for socializing students. If you can talk, if you can have a good relationship, if you can have discipline within the game, the situations that life offers to you, you will be able to manage them better (T5).

Sport is a sociocultural phenomenon that, like any other, teaches moral values, being characterized by a polysemy that is distinguished mainly by the meaning attributed to the practice (MARQUES; ALMEIDA; GUTIERREZ, 2007). Participants of this study were concerned with demonstrating an ethical dimension of their classes, which go beyond the technical and tactical aspects of the sport, making people more capable of civilizing relationships in society. Such a perspective, in several times participants manifested puritanical, salvationist, and consequently utilitarian discourses on the teaching of

sport, reinforcing the sports myth as a solution to the ills of society (COAKLEY, 2015). T7 exemplifies this dimension:

The boy who doesn't practice sport can consume drugs. The more physical activity you can insert in this boy's life, I think the better it will be for his education. (T7).

This evangelizing dimension of sport needs to be carefully analysed, as it is grounded on the belief that sports participation would already have a positive impact on the practitioner moral education. However, this can be beneficial when it favours the empowerment of young people to make choices based on a critical awareness of the factors that negatively affect their lives, enabling change (COAKLEY, 2017).

Sport can teach positive moral values, but it can also teach discriminatory, segregationist and unethical attitudes as a result of the relationship built jointly by teachers/coaches and students associated with the meaning given to the practice (CARON et al., 2017; MARQUES; GUTIERREZ; ALMEIDA, 2008).

Another dimension that emerged from the participant discourses, related to the contributions of sport to the moral education and students' habits, can be exemplified by the quote from T1. It concerns the constitution of a lasting disposition to practice sports as a result of participation in the ESP.

Training [in ESP] not to be an ace in the sport, but to never stop practicing. When he gets there at the university, let the student be interested in some sport, playing in a tournament, or playing football with friends, to have a more physically active life too (T1).

Teachers/coaches recognize the potential of ESP to influence the constitution of a more active lifestyle. In this sense, all those involved are part of a learning culture structured by the agents themselves, but which also directs not only contents of learning, but also relevant moral issues (HODKINSON; BIESTA; JAMES, 2008). Thus, pedagogical guidelines can favour the conditions for learning moral values in a convergent way to the initial intentions (COAKLEY, 2017; CUSHION; JONES, 2014; SANTANA, 2018).

Thematic axis 1 suggests that the participants of this study recognize the potential of teaching sport beyond the technical and tactical aspects. They consider other pedagogical goals beyond the optimal competitive sports result, for example, the potential of sports practice to teach moral values and thus provide a meaning different from the official one.

In the following thematic axes, when teachers/coaches describe their pedagogical practices through in-depth details, the official meaning emerges as a guide for many actions. Then, they offered discourses associated with the search for an optimal competitive sports result in school competitions, and with the teaching of moral values not so consistent with those described by themselves in the interviews.

TA 2: Dispositions of teachers/coaches for the overvaluation of the sport competitive result

In thematic axis 2, there are three analytical categories as main results: a) even not being pressured for optimal results in competitions, teachers/coaches prioritize these

goals in their pedagogical actions; b) the students' parents charge teachers/coaches to achieve optimal competitive results more than the school board members themselves; c) the search for optimal competitive results is part of the teachers/coaches' disposition for pedagogical actions.

It was evident, a disposition from teachers/coaches for searching optimal competitive results in interscholastic tournaments. It occurs even in the absence of such expectations from the management board of the educational institutions (schools). According to the participants themselves, the schools' managers are more concerned with the behaviour of students when representing the school than with competitive results. T1 and T4 exemplify this scenario and T3 presents a counterpoint, being the only one of the seven interviewees who expressed suffering some kind of pressure from the school managers for optimal results in competitions:

From the [school] administration, I'm sure there is not [pressure for competitive results]. That is not the main goal of them. (T1).

The [management of the] school wants the children to be disciplined and to behave well in competitions in other places. Because it is a way of showing the school and its education (T4).

Sometimes there is an award that is interesting for the school, to disclose the school's brand, they [management board] prioritize it a lot [...] we suffer pressure from both, the [managers of the] school and the parents. (T3).

T3 suggests that the extracurricular sports environment can be interpreted as a place for the development of teams that represent the brand of the school, being used as marketing tools for publicizing the institution and attracting new students (LETTNIN, 2005). However, the predominant lack of pressure from the management board of schools could mean as a kind of freedom for teachers/coaches to organize their goals in a way that they do not necessarily direct their pedagogical actions with the main sense of winning games in school competitions.

The parents of the students, agents with an important role in children sports, were also mentioned by the study participants as people who participate in the structuring of this learning culture, influencing the value and importance given to the competitive result, and consequently the meaning of practice.

The teachers/coaches described a good relationship with the students' parents, even if they put more pressure than the school administration for good competitive results. T2's discourse exemplifies the feeling of the teachers/coaches in this study. T3 once again presents himself as an exception and reports suffering a lot of pressure from the parents of his school.

The father is there and supports him [student]. It's the best influence he has in life, the father's presence is essential. (T2).

Parents put a lot of pressure on them [students], so they put a lot of pressure on their children. And it ends up pressuring the teacher even more. [...] we feel pressured. (T3).

The participation of the parents is sometimes paradoxical in relation to the training and competition processes. It means an important motivational and supportive factor to structure a pleasurable relationship of the children with sport. However, when exaggerated, it can have negative effects (GOMES, 2010; JORAND *et al.*, 2019).

The third result of this axis demonstrates that even in the face of low pressure and in some cases the absence of pressure for optimal competitive results, teachers/coaches overlap this goal in front of so many others that could emerge in the environment of ESP. In this case, they clearly opt for the official meaning of sport at the expense of the re-signified meaning, sometimes contradicting many of the assumptions linked to the teaching of moral values expressed by them and portrayed in thematic axis 1 of this study. T1, T4 and T6 exemplify this situation:

The highest pressure to win, I think, comes from myself. My desire of winning. But always with a limit. (T1).

Winning is important, first place is important, because second or third is worthless. Runner-up is worthless. (T4).

There is [pressure for good competitive results] on ourselves. In competition nobody likes to lose. (T6).

Prioritizing the pedagogical process in the search for winning, even being competition a parcel of the education process in the sports field (MONTAGNER; SCAGLIA, 2013), could mean a reductionism in the face of the complexity involved in teaching sport, especially in the school context. Pedagogical possibilities more related to the development and offering of egalitarian learning opportunities to students are in the background of the searching for an optimal competitive sport result. It is necessary to emphasize that there are other goals in sport in addition to the reference based only on performance. There are pedagogical assumptions that could be prioritized, such as overcoming the children own limits, feeling well, learning to cooperate and winning in a sustainable way (MONTAGNER; SCAGLIA, 2013).

TA 3: Participation as a privilege for the few students with better skills for competition.

In thematic axis 3, there are three main analytical categories as results: a) the teachers/coaches select the students who have better sport performance; b) teachers/coaches call few students to participate in games and competitions, so that they do not need to give opportunities to everyone; c) offering fewer opportunities to participate in games to students considered as less talented is a strategy to improve the team's chances of winning competitions.

Thematic axis 3 describes some pedagogical actions carried out by teachers/coaches that prioritize a need to win games in detriment of other possible pedagogical goals. Participants detailed their criteria to select students to participate in school competitions, and especially described how they substitute their players during games. Offering opportunities for equal participation to more students, or offering more balanced participation are options that were not considered by the teachers/coaches.

T2 and T4 exemplify a student selection process related to the choice of those considered as best players.

I try not to work with many players to avoid problems, when it is a group that trains for competitions [...] but the main criteria are, without a doubt, the futsal skills. (T2).

That's it! "You can't make an omelette without eggs". There are the best [players]. For those who perform well futsal, you know. (T4).

Expressions such as "you can't make an omelette without eggs", indicate that these teachers/coaches privilege in their callings the students who, under their evaluations, would have greater capacity to play futsal and obtain good competitive results. When the official meaning of sport is predominantly used as a pedagogical principle, there is a greater appreciation of the objective comparison of performance during the competition, and exclusion of those considered as less skilled, and in the recognition of those who demonstrate better skills, even if ignoring their history and previous unequal opportunities for learning and sports development (RICCI; MARQUES, 2018).

Such perspective transforms the ESP, doing it not as a context of specific and in-depth learning of the sport, but in a moment of selection and offer of opportunities of practice for student sports elite at school, something that we disagree. Our position is related to the official meaning presented by the participants, in addition to contradicting them regarding the meanings of moral education (expressed in ET 1), presenting a pedagogical context based on the exclusion of many and legitimation of few students as athletes. Sport in this context, when used only to achieve optimal competitive results, is presented in a demagogic way (SANTANA, 2008b).

In addition, teachers/coaches call few players to competitions, as they do not need to make substitutions that could disturb their main goal, to win games. Other remarkable quotes from participants reinforce the concern to select for the competitions only those considered as good players.

How are you call a boy who can't perform well, just to let him? (T4).

So I analyse the group of students. I try to call as few [students] as possible, so I can compete better. (T5).

In competition, we can't always put everyone [to play]. I'm the one in charge of the team. (T7).

The teachers/coaches' ways of selecting students for games and championships to obtain optimal results is the main aim of teaching futsal in the analysed context of ESP. It is possible to consider that these teachers/coaches also have concerns about the training demands, but it is secondary, especially in periods of competition. What is expected from a teacher/coach work in ESP is the teaching of a sport to everyone, regardless of the child's skill level. After all, it is about teaching sport in a school environment. Learning opportunities could be less restricted in this context.

The participants' discourses also show that they do not make substitutions that could disturb the team performance during the competitions. They describe that either do not make players substitutions, or make them when the result of the game already seems to be defined, once again demonstrating the centrality of the official meaning of sports practice. A quote from T1 illustrates this situation:

If you're winning a game with a large goals gap, or losing, you can get opportunities for all [the players] to play. There are always those who play more [time], who are those who have a better skill, a better understanding of the game, who have training with me for longer. I usually talk to them like this: "Be prepared to play either the 30 minutes or the 30 seconds of the game". (T1).

The teachers/coaches' selection of players criteria indicate a process of social reproduction, always favouring the same students to develop their skills through practical sports experiences, both in training and in competitions. In other words, a process of legitimizing the inequality of access to sports learning opportunities, similar to the one described by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (2013) about the context of French education system in the 1960s.

A consequence of it is the causality of the probable (BOURDIEU, 2015). This concept considers that social agents are culturally constituted through their schemes of perceptions and appreciation, and admits that a social agent's subjective aspirations and expectations are constituted as a function of the objective conditions by which they are involved (BOURDIEU, 2012). These experiences shape their individual dispositions that allow them to make concrete choices or not, thus claiming a more likely life trajectory for their social profile (BOURDIEU, 2015). In view of their expectations, agents differ in relation to the expected gains from the practice of sports (RIAL, 2008; SOUZA et al., 2008), which influences the construction of their horizons for action (HODKINSON; BIESTA; JAMES, 2008).

Within this context, most of the students of the ESP guided by the teachers/coaches participating in this study may be submitted to a process of unequal opportunities for participation and learning in sports. In addition, they incorporate expectations and perceptions of legitimation or delegitimization of their potential and participation in sport, assuming their position of protagonist or reserve player.

Final thoughts

The aim of this study was to investigate and analyse the reasons and meanings of teaching futsal in the extracurricular school environment, adopted by teachers/coaches in a country city in state of São Paulo, Brazil.

The answers to the study's central questions indicated a worrying scenario in which the official meaning of sport is predominantly applied by the teachers/coaches that participated in the study, during their pedagogical activities in the ESP.

What calls our attention is that these teachers/coaches are aware, in some extent, about more appropriate actions for the context of the ESP, expressed in their discourses related to moral education and the constitution of habits related to sport practices, mainly expressed by the thematic axis 1 of this study. However, when performing the daily work of teaching futsal, they present pedagogical practices more associated with the official sense of sports, mainly related to the achievement of an optimal competitive result, and to the actions of exclusion and unequal offer of learning opportunities to students.

The official meaning of sports practice indicates a series of mandatory requirements that the practitioner needs to adapt to in order to participate. Its main characteristic is to identify the practice of sports as a place for few people, namely those considered to be more skilled or talented. Such a perspective contributes little to the constitution of dispositions for the practice of sports for life to all children.

It is not our intention to devalue the official meaning of sport, which is very suitable, for example, in the context of high performance. The idea is not to spread an essentially negative stereotyped discourse. The criticism made in this study is addressed to the inconsistency between the official meaning and the school environment, especially related to educational perspectives expressed by teachers/coaches, mainly in the first thematic axis. We concern about the possible consequences to children and adolescents involved with ESP facing the reproduction of this meaning of sport practice. How many students would like to participate and are excluded? How many diversified possibilities of promoting the sport are left behind? How many students did not even receive the opportunity to participate in training and competitions? How to develop a disposition for sports among students within this context?

Working for the inclusion of as many students as possible in the activities of the ESP does not mean that everyone wants to be included in the same way, or to participate in the same manner. However, it is necessary to expand the possibilities of those who wish to participate fully in this context. This serious problem needs to be faced by all the agents involved with the teaching of sport in the context of the ESP.

An alternative to this scenario is the use of the re-signified meaning of sport, mainly because it allows other goals that go beyond the centrality of the optimal competitive result. By adapting the practice of sports to the practitioner, giving new meaning to the activities, adaptations are necessary, including rules in games, training and competitions. Such measures value other aspects than the victories in interschool competitions. This alternative approach can increase the possibilities for more people to engage in sport in a more equitable and successful way.

It was observed that the teachers/coaches interviewed, at first, even indicate in their speech, possibly biased by a perspective seen as politically correct and linked to the salvationist myth of the sport, that the teaching of futsal in the ESP would be guided by the promotion of disposition for the sport practice while contributing to the teaching of positive moral values, such as solidarity, a sense of collectivism, respect for others.

The teaching of futsal would then have a priority intention to educate a good citizen, empowered with values learned through sport practices. However, with the deepening of the questions and answers, the teachers/coaches demonstrate that in their pedagogical practice they are based on the official meaning of the sport. A willingness to win and be champion can be noticed as points of great importance in their pedagogical interventions, even if such goals are divergent from those of most schools in which they work.

This central goal on winning competitions is very evident when teachers/coaches describe the ways in which students are selected and invited to participate in such events. They organize their teams, demand good performance from their students and perceive their success based on sport results related to victories in school competitions. The priority of choice and selection of players is clearly aimed at those who would possibly favour the achievement of victories. This causes a differentiated and unequal participation for the players. The unequal offer of practice opportunities does not favour the development of all, so some become privileged, and many are excluded from the practice, evidencing a reproduction process that increases the performance difference between those who have more learning opportunities as a result of better aptitude, and those who receive fewer opportunities for learning and developing their skills.

In order to achieve more equal participation and opportunities for students, it would be necessary to deconstruct the priority focus in the optimal competitive result in this context. This would be the result of a process of educating teachers/coaches sensitive to the differences in practice environments and to the re-signification of their meaning. At the same time, it also involves the awareness of parents and school managers of what really represents, or could represent, the context of ESP, which at the same time differs from curricular Physical Education classes, and also the sports clubs. Finding this balance is an arduous task for ESP teachers/coaches. And it requires good theoretical education and sensitivity to understand the context in which the sport practice takes place, as well as the needs and expectations from students.

This study, favoured by the use of GT, which allowed a reciprocal construction between the researchers and the teachers/coaches based on data from the participants' discourses, promoted a meeting between sociology and sport pedagogy, allowing a diagnosis of the social context and the possibility of suggestions for practical interventions.

A review of the school competition system is recommended so that rules that allow greater participation of students could be adapted. Thus, the possibilities and commitment of the children to learn and develop through sports competition are expanded. There is also the need for moments that promote reflection on the educational potential of ESP, whether in Physical Education graduation, in continuing education courses, or in technical congresses prior to competitions.

It is necessary to consider the importance of integration between practical aptitudes, as possible adaptations and changes in competition rules would only have positive effects if associated with a change in the perspective of the meaning of competition for the agents involved.

This study was carried out in a specific context and in relation to the practice of futsal. This is a virtue, as it listened to the teachers/coaches, responsible for the pedagogical

organization of the ESP. On the other hand, this characteristic is a limitation, as its results cannot be generalized to other environments. Thus, it is suggested as possibilities for future studies, carrying out investigations also in the context of public schools, or involving other sports practices present in the ESP environment.

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