

Culture and Physical Education: an ethnographic analysis of two pedagogical proposals

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to understand the dilemmas, possibilities and limitations faced by Physical Education in two school institutions with proposals considered distinct. We used the ethnographic method and remained at the two schools between August and December 2007. The results show that although the academic debate sees them as distinct realities, their curricula in action bring them close. We conclude that the two pedagogical proposals are successful to the extent that practical constructions represent accumulated knowledge in the area and answers to the main dilemmas of Physical Education intervention at school.

Keywords: Culture. Physical Education. School.

1 INTRODUCTION

Physical Education at school is a field of intense academic debate and part of it has been related to its different functionalities and goals. During the 1970s and 1980s, the debate was marked by the struggle to assert proposals that (re)oriented the directions Physical Education should take at school. Generally speaking, that debate innovated by criticizing the different pedagogical models of Physical Education in order to present the “ideal model” that would meet today’s demands, forming citizens who seek justice, equality and democracy. That period was marked by the “discovery” of the so-called alienating function of school Physical Education (MOURA, 2012).

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According to Lovisolo (1995), this profusion of often conflicting proposals emerged due to the lack of tradition and agreements in Physical Education debates. This lack of tradition has been an ingredient for the coexistence of different ways of understanding Physical Education at schools. In this context, discourses seem to have been somehow polarized. On the one hand, models anchored in the critical movement¹ of Physical Education; on the other hand, models influenced by skill enhancement and sports fundamentals (MOURA, 2012).

One way of identifying the critical movement's proposals was the use of the term *culture* as physical culture, movement-based body culture, movement culture, among others. Each of these terms, proposed by different authors, suffered different influences and acquired different meanings. However, according to Moura (2012), all terms were used as a political claim for a new Physical Education and a new profile for its practitioners. The idea was that the Physical Education teacher resembled more an intellectual than a coach.

However, while the critical movement had higher visibility and academic production, such production did not provide subsidies that could guide teachers more directly (CAPARROZ, 1997, MOURA, 2012). Oliveira (2001) analyzed the critical movement's production and said that it was all based on conjecture not supported by empirical evidence. The debate was much more concerned about prescribing what Physical Education classes should be like than seeking solutions for intervention.

Starting from these considerations, one has to wonder whether such academic works have an impact on schools' daily life. We seek to approach two schools whose proposals are considered antagonistic: the self-styled "body culture" movement and the one known for appreciating sports performance. Thus, our goal was to understand the dilemmas, possibilities and limitations faced

¹We are calling critical movement the debate led by intellectuals of physical education who appropriated the references of critical theories of education and Marxism-inspired analyses to explain the sociopolitical aims of education (MOURA; SOARES, 2013).

by Physical Education in two school institutions with different proposals.

2 METHODOLOGY

The ethnographic method has its origins in anthropology. It was initially practiced to understand the so-called exotic cultures that are different from the researcher's literate reality. It demands long observation in direct contact with the researcher. However, researchers are using the ethnographic method more and more to study the so-called urban-industrial or complex societies (VELHO, 1994).

While studying in complex societies may be apparently easy due to familiarity with the habits of their cultures when compared with simple societies, the main challenge lies precisely there. Researchers must interpret their own culture and question its assumptions that, in many circumstances, are crystallized among individuals and the academic community.

Ethnography uses mainly the participant observation strategy, which, in turn, seeks both to discover hypotheses and to test them (BECKER, 1997). According to Becker, field research has advantages compared to other methods because people who are investigated feel compelled to act differently in the absence of the researcher. In the ethnographic method, there is commitment and prolonged contact between the parties, thus reducing the possibility of informants to omit or lie about any given situation.

Therefore, the effort made by researchers using the ethnographic method is to perform an interpretation that is always partial since "*cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is*" (GEERTZ, 1989, p. 20). What defines ethnography is the intellectual effort of conducting an interpretation that approximates an understanding of the reality studied (GEERTZ, 1989). After all, what characterizes ethnography is not an obsession with describing

details, but rather attention to those details, which can be arranged into a whole and provide new understanding (MAGNANI, 2002).

Ethnography's effort is to perform a translation of the culture of the group being studied. However, we cannot understand a group's culture only as accumulated historical heritage. Culture is dynamic and constantly rebuilds itself from social actors' interchanges in a process of struggles and challenges. The two institutions selected were the Lourenço Cardoso School (CLC) – a traditional suburban private school that provides elementary and secondary education and the Senator Sobrinho School (ESS), which belongs to the Rio de Janeiro Department of Education and provides elementary education.

We observed CLC's Physical Education classes because that private institution claims to use references of the critical movement carrying the term culture. ESS, in turn, is recognized for approximating Physical Education teaching to traditional sports practice.

Observation was conducted during the second half of 2007 (August-December). The classes that took part in the study were suggested by the schools' coordinators and teachers. We followed lessons of each class, totaling 20 days of observation at CLC (60 hours) and 16 days at ESS (48 hours).

3 ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BODY EDUCATION

Systematic body education at CLC is associated with two curriculum spaces: Physical Education and the Culture Center. The Culture Center offers art workshops – such as theater, visual arts and dance – sports courses and practice for sports teams that represent the school at events. Currently, Mr. André was the teacher coordinating both Physical Education and the Culture Center. The Culture Center offers afternoon/evening activities, after the end of classes. The sports courses are also offered to the general community. Lessons cost R\$ 40.00 (*reais*) per month per modality

for students enrolled in the school and R\$ 55.00 for community members.

Sports teams represent the school in the following sports: judo, men's basketball, men's/women's volleyball and artistic gymnastics. Teams are formed through selective processes, and the activity is provided free of charge by the sports center.

ESS has a similar structure: curricular Physical Education and a sports center – where teams participating in students' games and other sports events are formed. To teach classes at the sports center, teachers have an extra weekly workload of 12 hours. Note that, being a public school, all activities are free. The center carries out the following activities: handball, futsal, basketball, volleyball, chess and table tennis. They take place from 7:20 a.m. to 9 p.m.

According to ESS's teacher Fernando, the sports center has high participation: "We joke that you usually have to close the school gate for students not to leave; sometimes we have to close it for them not to come in". This high participation is a phenomenon that involves the whole school and creates intense sociability and a sense of belonging to the school. On several occasions, we witnessed former students visiting the school and looking for Physical Education teachers.

The practice of sports teams happens before or during competitions, usually on weekdays. Sometimes teachers are also willing to conduct practice sessions on Saturdays and Sundays, although they are not paid for them. However, such dedication eventually generates prestige of physical education in the curriculum. It has become the "school's darling", according to Mr. Fernando.

At first glance it may be said that both schools offer similar structures for body education, but we shall see that the speeches are pedagogically different.

4 CURRICULAR DISCURSIVENESS

A curriculum is not just a document listing curricular subjects and contents; it is an identity document, since it reflects determinations of a social and political group (SILVA, 2007). According to Neira (2010), the curriculum as an instrument is not technical, neutral or disengaged from social construction. According to Goodson (2008), there is a prescribed curriculum and the curriculum that is built in the classroom. The former is the document setting guidelines on subjects and the school while the latter is built according to the school's dynamics. However, they shall not be seen as a dichotomy because they are in constant interaction and subject to new appropriations. Although none of these two schools had a prescribed curriculum for Physical Education classes, some sort of curricular discursiveness could be found in teachers' descriptions, which might reflect interaction between prescription and everyday life in classes.

Next, we will see below how the proposals of the two schools reflect curricular constructions based on struggles, tensions and consensus in the school's everyday life (SILVA, 2007).

5 THE PROPOSALS

CLC's proposal for Physical Education was established in 2001 as a response to a series of ideological and pedagogical concerns pointed out by teachers. One indicator of this concern was a class book containing all activities that should be conducted in Physical Education lessons. For teachers, that book restricted teacher intervention in that it included programmed lessons with prescribed activities that only had to be applied.

The first changes began in 1996, after Mr. André graduated and took on the position of Physical Education coordinator. However, his first period leading CLC's Physical Education was dedicated to sports teams and the organization of events. In 2001,

Mr. Felipe took over the coordination. It was under Mr. Felipe's leadership and with Mr. André's support that CLC's proposal began to be outlined. One of the main motives in the construction of that proposal was the findings of a survey conducted by Mr. Felipe pointing that "students did not think that Physical Education professionals studied much or thought they studied less than math teachers". Note that, as in the critical movement, the perception of a negative image of Physical Education was among motives to build a new identity for it in that school (MOURA; SOARES, 2012).

The proposal had the following guiding elements: curricular organization of content, lessons and written tests, and projects for students on medical leave.

Mr. André compares CLC's physical education proposal to "patchwork." This means that the proposal reflects an appropriation of several sources and influences; it is hybrid in Goodson's (2008) terms. Hybridism is reoriented by the needs and tensions experienced by actors in the school dynamic. Mr. André, reflecting on the curriculum, says that he "was not creating anything new. It is not an innovative proposal, but it is a proposal that contributes" to raise awareness about the importance of physical activity for students' lives. Even though its authors claim that they based it on a critical perspective on the curriculum, we noted in the preceding speech that Mr. André sees raising awareness about the importance of physical activity for students' lives as a core value. This goal differs little from those formulated for Physical Education termed as conservative by critical thinking in Physical Education. We can see that in the curriculum experienced in school life there is a connection between the debate coming from the critical movement and those from other theoretical matrices. This fact makes us wonder if the concept of opposition advocated in academic production is found in the everyday life of schools.

At CLC, elementary education contents of Physical Education are organized so that subjects taught are not repeated. This is a

current dilemma in the field of Physical Education regarding curriculum prescription. The question is how to organize them so that complexity of content taught increases progressively. CLC's decision was to organize the content into two units per semester. The fundamentals of a particular sport are taught in the first semester and the game itself is practiced in the second one. Organizing Physical Education lessons' content with a focus on offering different sports is very similar to prescriptions from the traditional practice of sports teaching. This statement will be examined below.

ESS's Physical Education proposal began under the athletics project created by Pedro, who was a Physical Education teacher at the school. The teacher began a project called CorCur (Curicica runners) 25 years ago. It was not related to the school, although it recruited its students. Reports reveal that the former principal did not want the project to be carried out within the school. When Principal Carlos took over, the project was included in the school's curriculum. Mr. Pedro's exclusive commitment to the athletics project was instrumental for the school to achieve results in students' sports, external investments, and sponsorships for its sports. Here we see how curriculum dynamics can be affected by the interactions of social actors and the school surroundings.

While Physical Education was valued in the curriculum under Mr. Pedro because of students' participation and school victories in student athletics competitions, his retirement brought changes in Physical Education and to the projects associated with it at ESS. According to Mr. Fernando, after Mr. Pedro left, Physical Education teachers felt more comfortable "to do it their own way". With space for dialogue, ESS's proposal gained a new impetus. The offer was expanded from two sports – athletics and basketball – to seven. It was also during that period that teachers began to be paid for the extra workload of 12 class hours to work at the sports center.

ESS's proposal for Physical Education expanded the offer of sports and tried to integrate Physical Education and its projects

to other disciplines. According to Mr. Fernando, the Physical Education team “achieved something that used to bother [him], it brought the school’s Physical Education [...] to work more closely together”. This is a local problem that somehow reflects the dilemmas of Physical Education in elementary school. Currently, Physical Education teachers develop actions with teachers of other disciplines. Mr. Fernando reports that such approximation was positive. Sports and arts centers have always operated as unrelated instances, which generated complaints within the school community. Today, complaints remain only in the arts center.

While Physical Education’s relation with sports exerted fascination and brought it some recognition, the subject and its projects were not well accepted among the other teachers. According to Mr. Fernando, ESS’s teachers themselves had a “misconception” according to which Physical Education was intended to form athletes. This connection of Physical Education with sports created internal conflicts, because part of the school community accused Physical Education of being detached from the school. In the case of ESS, Physical Education gained prestige within the school dynamics when it began to participate effectively in school events and to seek integration with other subjects. It was only when Physical Education shared space of its events with the other subjects that it gained recognition and legitimation.

Principal Carlos was instrumental in the process. He seeks partnerships with companies and local businesses in order to better equip and support Physical Education and the sports center.

So far, this report shows the following similarities: teachers from both schools start acting from different curricular spaces and times in order to change the meanings and significances of their respective practices in the pursuit of legitimacy and identity for the subject in the curriculum. Note that contents and their organization are similar and proposals are based on expanding the offer of sports modalities.

6 THE PROPOSAL AT WORK: IMPACTS ON THE PRACTICED CURRICULUM

The curriculum is built on actors' interactions, inspired by prescribed curricula and by pedagogic theories. While there is no formally prescribed curriculum in the two schools studied, it is possible to identify curriculum discursiveness that shapes their teachers' interventions. However, that discourse is re-contextualized in "practice". According to Goodson (2008), curriculum construction takes place through interaction of individuals in a process of struggles, negotiations and contradictions, as in any social interaction. Thus, understanding the dynamics between the prescribed curriculum and the practiced curriculum is necessary to bring them closer in school's everyday life.

7 PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLASSES

7.1 CLASSES AT CLC

At CLC, each modality is divided into units I and II and developed during two consecutive two-month periods. Unit I activities pertain only to teaching the technique of each fundament, and unit II covers the game itself, preceded by a brief warming up section.

We observed four practical lessons in unit I – two of volleyball and two of badminton. Those lessons followed a routine: the teacher gathered students, called the roll and provided some institutional notices. Then some exercises were performed on the modalities' fundaments.

The exercises were done in groups of two, three and four students – and students themselves defined the groups. Their main feature was to be leveled according to sports skills. Throughout the time of the exercises, Mr. André monitored groups and tried to assist them in implementing the correct technique, despite the curricular

discursiveness of that school giving secondary importance to motor performance. He sought to explain the biomechanics of the fundamentals worked on. Improvement of technique was insistently pursued in those classes.

We observed five classes in unit II, three of volleyball and two of badminton. Unit II classes had a similar routine. The teacher used gathered the students and called the roll. Then a stretching or warming up section occurred, sometimes in the form of a playful game. Finally, the game itself happened. In those classes, the teacher just watched the students at the game and made no intervention whatsoever.

It is interesting to consider that on the one hand, CLC's Physical Education lessons meet demands pointed out by the critical movement such as diversity of content beyond traditional sports; on the other hand, teaching methods used in those lessons are closed and traditional. That reflects some of the effects of the critical movement, which invested little in more concrete issues of pedagogical intervention at school (CAPARROZ, 1997; OLIVEIRA, 2001; MOURA, 2012).

Another point to underscore is the emphasis on executing mechanical gestures considered correct at CLC classes. The debate made by the critical movement made several criticisms saying that the repetition model was outdated, often calling it too technicist or mechanistic for a model based on reflection. Vianna and Lovisolo (2009) pointed out that learning techniques, which requires the effort of training routines, came to be seen as a process of mechanization and social analgesia, indicated as an instrument of adaptation and social control. We can observe that inclusion of technical components in CLC classes can also be understood as a critical stance towards the critical movement front in order to legitimize the need for technical learning without ignoring cultural issues.

7.2 THEORETICAL CLASSES

Theoretical classes appeared in the year 2001. However, the experience was not new. Between 1992 and 1996, Saturday classes were established including students on medical leave. At the end of each class, they performed tasks to be graded.

According to Mr. André, Physical Education theoretical classes were created in order for students to “appreciate Physical Education classes, to get out of practice for the sake of practice”. The teacher’s criticism refers to the lack of theoretical reflection about practical classes. This kind of judgment is present in the critical movement of Physical Education. Moura and Soares (2012, 2013) point out that the critical movement resorted to strategies of overappreciation of intellectual skills to the detriment of those related to movement. According to the authors, such intellectualization was intended to deconstruct the idea of Physical Education as an essentially practical subject. However, conceptual knowledge eventually overlapped with those experienced through body movement.

Notice that, despite its positive value, intellectualization of that movement was based, as has been said, on the rupture with the view identified as traditional in the field and on an identity-based argument internal and external to the specific field of debates. The process of intellectualization of classes can be understood as part of legitimizing strategies in Physical Education’s curricular space.

We observed four theoretical classes at CLC. Despite concerns manifested by Mr. André about critical reflection about practice, the topics of the theoretical classes did not take into account the contents of practical classes. In the school semester in which we conducted the observation, the topics of lessons were: aerobic and anaerobic activities, introduction to human anatomy, physical activities in old age and sports in the East. It is worth noting that theoretical classes covered content taken from the higher education curriculum of Physical Education, albeit in reduced or simplified form.

The theoretical classes were given at CLC's video room. They followed a certain routine. On the first day, the teacher projected a text and students copied it; on the second day, the teacher commented on its content. Most of the questions were asked at the end of class. With regard to the pedagogical strategy used, it was not possible to see any sign of innovation. However, the debate present in the critical movement sees the reflection of knowledge about body culture as pedagogical progress. Thus, the class model is far from provoking students' critical thinking. In the context, we observed that those lessons served primarily as repertoire for content memorization and subsequent evaluation.

While we see a great effort by the teacher to encourage debate on the topics presented, students' interest was focused on recording information to respond later on the test. At those moments, there were questions such as: "What if I write like that on the test..."; "Is it right if I write..."; "You'll lower my grade if I say...".

7.3 THEORETICAL WORKS

Another element of the CLC's proposal is theoretical works for students on medical leave. These works were done during Physical Education practical class. They are essays of at most 20 lines and varied topics. Although works were delivered, we did not check their return or correction. The theoretical work functions as a sort of coercion for students in perfect health who do not participate in the Physical Education practical lessons by claiming to have health problems. This also ends up being as a sort of punishment for those who actually have physical limitations or do not wish to participate in class.

7.4 CLASSES AT ESS

At ESS, although there is no formal organization indicating teaching strategies, we could see agreements among teachers regarding the use of two of the institution sports' courts. On the

first day of observation, we saw teachers using courts. They would ask each other: “Will you teach fundamentals or game today?” The question was important to negotiate the use of space. From that, we perceived the organization of classes, which were divided between game and fundamentals.

7.5 Game classes

We observed eight game classes at ESS, when the main activity was the game itself. As the teacher stated, their goal is to evaluate students’ collective organization.

Game classes always followed the same routine. Firstly, the teacher would gather students, explain the dynamics of the game, divide them in teams and watch them. Students took turns as referees, scorekeepers and sometimes they passed instructions to players as if they were coaches. Generally, students chosen for these roles were those with greater skills, leadership and knowledge of the game’s rules.

7.6 Classes on fundamentals

We observed five lessons on volleyball and basketball fundamentals. In them, teachers tried to guide students on sports’ gestures, but without much focus on technical details. The aim was to work on all fundamentals of one particular modality in the same lesson. Mr. Fernando explained the exercise but made no corrections individually – he just watched. Some different exercises were done, in which students practiced two or three fundamentals of the sport in question.

7.7 Participation in class

At CLC, participation in Physical Education practical lessons is conditioned on wearing a specific uniform (shoes, socks, shorts and Physical Education shirt). We saw that some students attended

school, participated in classes of other subjects, but were not present in Physical Education classes. According to teacher André, many students say they did not bring their uniforms in order not to do the lesson.

Throughout the observation period at ESS, we did not see any student absent from class or not taking part in it, except for health-related cases. All students participated in classes. This does not mean that some did not try to leave, but Mr. Fernando always warned them and they returned to the activity. We did not see any student publicly complaining or asking to be absent from classes, which indicates the existence of solid agreements between teachers and students about participation in Physical Education classes.

At both institutions, participation in class is mandatory. However, we noticed low absenteeism at CLC, that is, some students were in the school and did not take part in Physical Education classes. At ESS we found that all students attending the school participated in classes. Therefore, we noted that Physical Education acquires different values in each school's daily life.

Such high adherence to Physical Education classes contrasts with some studies showing students' low interest and participation in classes (SOARES et al 2010, MOURA et al, 2013). Such massive participation by students indicates that both schools are able to build forms of legitimation in school's everyday life that demarcate the importance of Physical Education classes as a learning space.

7.8 FREE CLASSES AND CANCELED CLASSES

During the observation period, classes were cancelled for several reasons. At CLC, ten Physical Education classes were canceled. On those occasions, there were free lessons. A free lesson has no pedagogical mediation, leaving students to choose the activities they want to do or to decide not to do any activity.

Classes were canceled twice because of institutional activities.

On four occasions, classes had to be canceled because the locker room was closed and rain had caused puddles on the court. At two other times, classes were canceled because of events being held. Mr. André concluded that “Physical Education is like that: sometimes classes are called off because of rehearsals, parties and water shortages in the school”. On those occasions, there were games of ping-pong and group conversations. During ping-pong, the teacher used to take the role of observer, speaking only about disciplinary and material conservation issues.

At ESS, free lessons were observed in the time and space of six Physical Education classes. They had different reasons: days off, sports events, use of space for other activities. Free lessons were introduced as part of the curricular experience of Physical Education classes. The agreement is legitimized among students and teachers, and it also serves as a bargaining chip in pedagogical relations. Because of indiscipline, we sometimes witnessed Mr. Fernando threatening to cancel the quarter-end free lesson, which is expected by the students.

Comparing the two schools, there were ten free lessons during our 20-day visit to CLC, while in the 16-day visit to ESS they occurred six times. Bassani, Tori and Vaz (2005), studying a public school in Florianópolis, showed that less than 50% of scheduled Physical Education lessons occurred due to a variety of reasons such as bad weather, school schedule activities and teacher participation in events. Interestingly, replacement of classes was never considered either by the teacher or by students. This allows us to conclude that, while Physical Education has “legal significance”, its pedagogical role can be considered expendable or at least lower and/or different from other disciplines (BASSANI; TORI; VAZ, 2005 LOVISOLO, 1995).

7.9 EVALUATION

At CLC, the evaluation process was one of the elements that underwent most changes with the implementation of the

new proposal. Before its creation, that was a weakness identified by teachers. According to Mr. André, the evaluation “was 0-10. Exercise circuit against the clock. Best times got the top grade; worst times got a zero”. After 2001, with the implementation of the proposal, the evaluation began to be made according the sum of points on a theoretical exam (maximum 4 points) with attendance (up 4 points) and participation (up 2 points). For students on medical leave, attendance is computed by performing theoretical works.

The main tool to evaluate student participation is teachers’ subjective observation. In the words of Mr. André, “It’s what the student does on a daily basis, and it’s two points that we assign”. When evaluation was based on motor or physical performance, the idea of failure, he says, was a “headache” for Physical Education. According to him, by starting to evaluate knowledge about sports and health topics through written tests, teachers earned students’ respect and now they have arguments to justify cases of recovery and failure in Physical Education before the school’s management and parents. According to the teacher, there are cases in which students fail Physical Education, but we did not observe any such case in fieldwork.

At ESS, the evaluation is performed taking into account attendance and participation. Mr. Fernando gave us his opinion about the evaluation process: “This year, even because of these troubles in the municipality, we think our evaluation process was weak. There was none! It relied almost only in presence in class. And we want to rethink that...”

Confirming the previous analysis, during the period we were at ESS, no use of any type of evaluation instrument was observed. Furthermore, we did not observe any dialogue in class about the process of evaluation and grading. In Mr. Fernando’s view, “evaluation is still something for which we need to create an identity [...]”.

There is a trend in physical education to use attendance

and participation indicators to conduct evaluation. Attendance and participation are not indicators of classroom learning. This shows that Physical Education, in school curricular space, is more concerned with meeting compulsory attendance than with effective learning of physical techniques or knowledge of sports and related content that share knowledge about gender inequality, health problems and physical exercise, consumption, violence, etc.

705

Participation and attendance indicators are used for evaluation in Physical Education at both institutions studied. In the case of participation, we lack instruments to measure or qualify it. About attendance, evaluation occurs by the amount of presence and absence during the two-month period. The category of participation, with its load of subjectivity, is not clear and thus limits students' understanding of it as just being in class. If learning indicators are not explicit, students are required to shape their behavior after a subjective image they have of their teachers and of what they think teachers expect from them.

Evaluation is identified as the main element to be improved in the proposals of the two institutions. At CLC, a school that calls itself critical, evaluation was the aspect that most changed after the implementation of the Physical Education proposal. Change in evaluation criteria generated a decrease in demands for high grades associated with poor physical or motor performance. In general terms, the new criterion provided, according to statements, a "more serious" image for Physical Education. We saw that, once again, evaluation was an element that may have served more to affirm it in the contested space of the curriculum than to change the way of learning and teaching in the classroom (SILVA, 2007).

CLC's effort to build a critical proposal for Physical Education directed the weight of evaluation to the so-called theoretical contents. However, when the weight of evaluation is placed on the written test, the result is a perverse effect of overvaluation of theoretical lessons at the expense of practical ones. In the written

test, there is no way to verify what was learned in practical lessons. CLC's strategy was positive in that it allowed to reduce the emphasis on traditional evaluation of physical performance, but it lowered the value of practical lessons and body experiences in the classroom. We can see the changes in CLC's Physical Education curriculum as an attempt to appropriate the discourse of the critical movement. However, that movement's criticism to the weight of motor and physical performance in the Physical Education curriculum often creates appropriations and hybrid discourses that run counter to pedagogical change ideals of the critical perspective on curriculum. In that specific case, what we see in evaluation at CLC was a realignment of the Physical Education discipline to pedagogical frameworks of other subjects. That is, it is as important as the other subjects in that it is also placed in the same evaluation model. With that, teachers believe they have overcome the false image that the subject is mere recreation or that it aims to educate for leisure, with no commitment to learning.

8 FINAL REMARKS

Although academic production usually places the proposal for education on "body culture" as antagonistic to perspectives for stimulating sports performance, we observed that the curriculum in action brings them close in methodological terms. In other words, in the school's everyday life, the two proposals have more similarities than differences, regardless of what is said by their leading protagonists.

Physical Education proposals at both institutions are created and re-created in a historical time and respond to a specific public. Therefore, they are constantly being discussed. Far from being ideal, tested theoretical models, the two proposals are real responses to certain concrete needs and difficulties in school dynamics. Those realities are influenced by a number of local, historical and ideological factors, and they shape discourses and practices in both schools. The schools' proposals became "a patchwork", to employ

the term used by Mr. André. In short, we can say that the two pedagogical proposals can be considered successful to the extent that they represent practical constructions responding to the main dilemmas of Physical Education intervention in schools.

Experiences with implementation of those two proposals highlighted some dilemmas that are central to Physical Education, besides approaching difficulties of application of an approach or a specific way to teach lessons.

Some of those were partly solved, such as high adherence and the need for reconciliation of technical learning with critical training, but others were still far from more effective responses, such as evaluation and ways of working with open methods.

From these data we can conclude that there is a need for construction of educational subsidies that dialogue more specifically with teachers' realities.

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