114 - THE SCHOOL SPORT BY USING CAPITAL'S THEORY OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

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THE THEORY OF THE CAPITALS

For Bourdieu (1983c) the understanding of the society is only possible as we discovered the 'first generator' that creates the differences in the objectivity, the distribution from different ways of power in the structure. For society (social spaces), the author uses the concept of 'field' originating from the social anthropology, with one field of forces and one field of fights, in which the individuals confronted each other. Therefore, to investigate the social space as a field, it means to unmask fights and forces locked in its interior and even out of him, in search of the conquest or of the preservation of the different capital types. The 'capitals' can be accumulated for the social agents, with the objective of dominating the field (preserving or transforming it) in agreement with their interest.

The established fights depend on the positions that the agents occupy in agreement with theirs capitals. The unequal distribution of capital determines the structure of the field, and, above all, the agents' location in its interior, forming the group of the dominant ones (they possess capital accumulation) or of those dominated (the ones that do not possess it), predisposed use some strategies to defense of the structures. Depending on the habitus and of the individuals' interest, the accumulation can be of 'economical capital' (wage), 'cultural capital' (family, education) or social capital (social relationships). The social spaces can still be investigated second another three dimensions: the global volume of the capital; the structure of the capital and the evolution in the time of the volume and of the structure of the capital. The fights intensify whenever the relative value of the different capital types are checked, especially when the established balances, among responsible instances for the reproduction of the field of the power are threatened. The dominance is not the direct effect of the action exercised by the agents (dominant class) invested of coercion powers, but the indirect result of actions that each one of the dominant ones suffers on the part of all the other ones. The Institutions' and the agents' operations that are involved in the fights depend on the position that they occupy in the structure of the field, which it lead them to perpetuate or to subvert the rules of the game.

Analyzing the cultural capital, we verified that it is reproduced and distributed firstly by the family and later for the School Institutions. The families tend to perpetuate yours 'be social', with all their powers and privileges, using the most several reproduction strategies (matrimonial, inheritance, economical and educational) as form of maintaining lives. Bourdieu identified that the families build a 'system of references' for the more youths, starting from their capital economical or cultural, in other words, they tend to privilege certain aspects of the culture or of the power in the detriment of other. When producing certain preferences (structures of capital) it guides the more youths in their choices (school and social) for certain field of power (intellectual, cultural or economical). For that that dominant families are extensive and integrated by the habitus, with the purpose of they preserve the economical capital (patrimony), symbolic capital (the name) and, above all, the social capital (established relationships).

The school uses extremely complex mechanisms to reproduce the distribution of the cultural capital and, like this, the structure of the social space. The school system objective to assure the preexistent order, maintaining the separation among students endowed with unequal amounts of cultural capital; through a series of selection strategies, for example, separating the students owner of inherited cultural capital, of those that do not possess it. The school classification is, therefore, an ordination form that establishes social differences of statute, in other words, the elect ones are marked for a lifetime and outstanding of the remaining of the group.

Thinking about the School Sport, the reproduction of the cultural capital, is easily found already in the first classes of Physical Education, when the teachers select certain students, preferably, 'the better endowed', 'with innate talent', 'with gift' to participate in the 'training groups'; in other words, those whose habitus, genetic or cultural inheritance, already distinguishes them of the great majority. Rarely the Sport Teachers choose students 'little endowed' and give them some experiences capable to create new possibilities for acquisition of this kind of capital.

Symbolic capital is the property of one of the different kind of capital (economical, cultural and social) subjectively valued by the social agents. For example, the honor in the Mediterranean societies is a social representation, established by those that share of the same group of faiths, what does that certain conducts are noticed as honorable or disgraceful. Therefore, any property (body strength, wealth) are noticed by the social agents, as symbolic efficient (magic power), capable to answer to the collective expectations in relation to the faiths, and to accomplish some action at the distance (power without physical contact) it becomes symbolic capital of certain groups. So that a symbolic action represents a magic effectiveness, it is necessary that a previous action have been produced in the people, so that they have the sensation of having to obey, without at least to question because. Like this, an order is obeyed quickly, in a magic way.

The State is the concentration place and exercise of the symbolic power, its function is to transform the diffuse symbolic capital, supported only in the collective recognition, in an symbolic capital objective and guaranteed for the bureaucratized State.

METHODOLOGY

The procedures methodological employees in the study are of qualitative nature and the elect instruments for the field research were directing interview and observations of the atmosphere and of those involved. Eight teachers and eight students' representatives of the winner teams of the school championship of the capital were interviewed, of the junior category, in the year of 2001. Therefore, the distribution of the schools for modality, in the area of São Paulo, came in the following way:

With relationship to the criterion of the interviewed student's choice, we passed the responsibility to the teacher of the team, establishing the following observations: the teacher could choose any student of the junior category. He had participated indeed of the trainings and of the competitions in the year of 2001, independently of the time of training, of the age, of the obtained results, and of the position in relation to the team. The interviews were improved with observations, as much of the individual as of the atmosphere. The analyze of the interview took in consideration, the most detailed interviews, it completes and spontaneous, without interference from us, in other words, the interviewee talked free about the theme being only interrupted when we felt need of larger explanations regarding the concepts or described situations. Therefore, with the purpose of facilitate the communication, we just established an initial question that was: "What means school sport for you", to which each interviewee answered in the wanted way.

DISCUSSION

The action's philosophy of Bourdieu (1996), or also as he suggests, relationship philosophy, has for characteristic the relationship among social agents in certain field, supported on three basic concepts - habitus, field and capital. To the net of social relationships, capable to unite different human beings around an objective, the author denominated social structure, through which the relationship dialectics is constituted among objective "structures (social fields) and incorporate structures (habitus)".

The accumulation of certain capitals determines the power relationships in the field; therefore, when we analyze the

structure of the school sport should necessarily examine the economical and cultural disparities presents among the schools, questioning the equality of opportunities to win the competitions. Like this, we understood that the agents, depending on the position that they occupy, uses certain strategies with the purpose of obtaining the "maximization of the profits". For that, they choose certain capital and in it, they invest all their capacity, seeking to accumulate it more quickly the possible, seeking the power in the field. Some look for to intensify the relationships with the pairs or with those that maintain the power (social capital), other they look more to the studies, (cultural capital), without the only and exclusive purpose of producing knowledge, but to accumulate certain capital that will guarantee them a dominant position in the field. Several are the strategies that they can use. If we analyze the field in detail, we were capable to recognize different actions with the intention of accumulating certain capitals.

Firstly what identified in the field research is that the dimensions of a great metropolis as São Paulo interferes significantly in the structure of the School Sport, once schools of downtown offer differentiated material conditions (economical capital) of the periphery schools, such as facilities and equipments for sporting practice. The financial difficulties as much of the students as of the school, they induce to an undeniable differentiation in the results of the games, since they don't just interfere in the objective aspects of the team, as well as in their subjective aspects.

Bourdieu's theoretical presuppositions appear that through the historical "accumulation of experiences of success and of failure", the social groups build an unconscious practical knowledge, of the real reachable capacities for their social agents. The possible strategies of they used depend on the accumulation and of the types of capitals, in other words, the people choose the "safest and profitable" strategies to the detriment of the "riskiest". Starting from that statement it is possible to understand why certain teacher affirmed frequently that the public schools had larger difficulties for obtaining of results in the school championships, in comparison with the private schools. It is possible that the teacher's observation is truthful, why the lack of economical capital interferes directly in the accumulation of cultural capital, because the possibilities of the teams to acquire larger experience, for half, for instance, of friendly, courses, lectures, exchanges, it is almost null. We confirmed, the field is really the place of unequal fights.

Many teachers justify the continuity in the field of the School Sport, in spite of all adversities, tends in view the accumulation of different types of capitals, that it is not necessarily the capital economical or cultural. For the professionals' great part, above the financial subjects, it is the accomplishment in the career or the recognition of the work for their pairs, subjective factors capable to stimulate the permanence in the field. Moreover, the recognition on the part of the students, the school, or still, the community, is preponderant factor of motivation. Accumulate symbolic capital means: "make theirs name recognized", it removes the man of the common person's invisible form. The professionals want to be recognized by their pairs, for the "value of their product (reputation, prestige, authority, competence etc...)" above all, for the fact that being their direct contestants has been accentuating the critical capacity of work.

Besides the economical and cultural capitals in the interference of the structure of the School Sport, we still found, the outstanding presence of the social capital (personal relationships with coordinators, bringing own benefits). The distribution of privileges is a central subject, since it determines the subjective differences interfering in the structure of the field. The oldest professionals are conscious that "privileges" exist distributed by the commission, and that these depend on the acquired social capital, in other words, of the relationships built along the time with the coordination. It is known that the teachers that are not part of the select group of the 'always winners' difficultly will have access to such information and certainly will obtain disadvantages in the distribution.

Therefore, symbolic capital is the property of one of the different capital types (economical, cultural and social) subjectively valued by the social agents. The symbolic capital is the result of the incorporation of the objective structures, attributed of value for the social agents, based so much in the rational knowledge, as in the social recognition. It is in this group that we found people to devote their life to an ideology or even to die for her. Bourdieu (1996) when introducing the notion of symbolic capital (and of symbolic profit) sees with total skepticism the sacred actions - ascese or the devotement ends" affirming that its main objective actually is the search of the symbolic "profit of sanctity or of celebrity."

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis that we elaborated of the School Sport of the city of São Paulo, using the Theory of Pierre Bourdieu capitals, it showed us that there are disparities among the teams in the competition, once the accumulation of the different types and volumes of capitals define different positions in the field.

The differences found among the competitors were: different economical capital among periphery and central schools (materials, facilities, equipments); cultural capital, between new coaches and those there is more time in the field; and social capital (established relationships with the coordination of the championship). The inequalities of economical capitals are decisive in the distribution of the schools in the field of the School Sport, above all if we consider the complexity of the city of São Paulo, that presents disparate social-economical-cultural conditions among their inhabitants, also reproduced in the sport.

The next step was to understand as certain schools; located in periphery areas of the city (economical and cultural capital differentiated of the central schools) they obtained satisfactory results even so in the competition. Our investigation sent us the analysis of different capital types. In other words, the schools that had serious financial problems, they have to overcome such difficulties, and they invest their energies, in the accumulation of other capital types: social and symbolic. The social capital was developed, not in the relationship with the organizers of the competition, but with the students and with the direction of the school, propitiating the reach of their objectives. At the same time it was possible to notice as these teams built a need of accumulation of symbolic capital, through 'sacrifices', 'recognitions' finally, a vast range of 'symbolic senses' attributed to the work. What did with that in the end, their result was compared to the schools that presented monopoly in the field.

It was possible starting from this study, we understand the constitution of the field of the School Sport and to analyze as they settle down the social relationships, seeking the acquisition or maintenance of a certain position in the field, by the accumulation of different capital types. Leaving of those presuppositions, we verified parallel that the School Sport is an autonomous field inside the School Institutions, with their own rules and laws, which frequently is running into the pedagogic proposals and education guidelines, above all for its capacity of reproduction of the unequal structure of the society. Therefore, the central theory of the sociology of Education of Bourdieu and Passeron (1975), regarding the reproductive aspect of the School, of the social disparities, it is a theory capable to reaffirm what found in the field of the school sport. Mainly why the central point that the students are not competing in equalitarian conditions, since they bring incorporate family habitus in different scales, for the school atmosphere (cultural capital), it is observed easily in our study.

Bourdieu (1992) affirms that the students bring to the school, certain accumulation of inherited capitals or developed by the family (cultural, economical or social), which by itself already determines a difference among the students. Like this, what was divulged before as "talent" or "gift", it passed to be questioned. In the area of the School Sport, we can rethink what mean the "selections", with intention of determining the elect ones that they will participate in the trainings. Usually the applied criterion for the teachers of Physical Education is the talent, but as it is possible to evaluate a student's corporal talent objectively, independent of the acquired experiences. Therefore, the choice certain learner is really for it what presents as physical quality, or for corporal experience done obtain in the activities before the school? So, as educators it is our function, be aware of the responsibility that competes us, when denying, excluding certain students of the opportunity that they would have to enlarge their habitus, with regard to the corporal culture.

Finally, to accept the School Sport as a fact in the Institution of Teaching, it is not nothing else than to recognize it as legitimate cultural phenomenon, that it should be transmitted to the students. However, we should analyze it in a critical way, avoiding that we become reproductive of a dominant culture, but that we can use the sport as an important instrument of

transformation of the subject and of the society.

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THE SCHOOL SPORT BY USING CAPITAL'S THEORY OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

ABSTRACT

The present study analyzed the sport in educational institutions, by using theoretical presuppositions of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The used methodological procedures were of qualitative nature. Teachers and students of the junior teams were interviewed. They were winners of the school championship in the city of São Paulo, in the year of 2001. The interviews were analyzed and discussed starting from the point of view of Bourdieu's analytical categories from Bourdieu, what resulted in the identification of fights inside the field and of disparities caused by the different accumulations of capitals, indicating the presence of significant inequalities among the participants of the competition.

Key-words: culture, school sport, habitus, capital's Theory.

LE SPORT SCOLAIRE EN UTILISANT LA THÉORIE DE CAPITAL DE PIERRE BOURDIEU

LE RÉSUMÉ

L'étude présente a analysé le sport dans institutions pédagogiques, en utilisant des présuppositions théoriques du sociologue français Pierre Bourdieu. Les procédures méthodologiques usagées étaient de nature qualitative. Professeurs et étudiants des plus jeunes équipes ont été interviewés. Ils étaient vainqueurs du championnat scolaire dans la ville de São Paulo, dans l'année de 2001. Les entrevues ont été analysées et ont discuté commencer du point de vue des catégories analytiques de Bourdieu, ce qui a résulté en l'identification de bagarres à l'intérieur du champ et de disparités causées par les accumulations différentes de capitaux, en indiquant la présence d'inégalités considérables parmi les participants de la compétition.

Les mots-clé: Culture - sport scolaire habitus Bourdieu - Théorie de capital.

EL DEPORTE ESCOLAR A PARTIR DE LA TEORIA DE LOS CAPITALES

RESUMEN

El estudio presente analizó el deporte en las instituciones educativas, mientras las presuposiciones teóricas del sociólogo francés Pierre de Bourdieu, responsable para la bibliografía extensa en el universo simbólico de la cultura. Los procedimientos metodológicos utilizados fueron de naturaleza cualitativa. Se entrevistaron profesores y estudiantes de los equipos infantiles, ganadores del campeonato escolar de São Paulo, en el año de 2001. Las entrevistas fueron analizadas y discutidas a partir de las categorías analíticas de Bourdieu, esto promovió la identificación de las luchas entabladas dentro del campo y de las disparidades que germinaron en la acumulación de diferentes capitales, indicando la presencia de desigualdades reveladoras entre los participantes del certamen.

Palabras-claves: Cultura, deporte escolar, *habitus*, Teoría de los capitales.

O ESPORTE ESCOLAR A PARTIR DA TEORIA DOS CAPITAIS DE PIERRE BOURDIEU

RESUMO

O presente estudo analisou o esporte nas instituições educacionais, a partir dos pressupostos teóricos do sociólogo francês Pierre de Bourdieu, responsável por extensa bibliografia sobre o universo simbólico da cultura. Os procedimentos metodológicos utilizados foram de natureza qualitativa. Foram entrevistados professores e alunos das equipes infantis, vencedores do campeonato escolar de São Paulo, no ano de 2001. As entrevistas foram analisadas e discutidas a partir de categorias analíticas bourdinianas, o que resultou na identificação de lutas travadas no interior do campo e de disparidades advindas dos diferentes acúmulos de capitais, indicando a presença de desigualdades significativas entre os participantes da competição. **Palavras-chave:** cultura, esporte escolar, *habitus*, teoria dos capitais.