THE CONTRIBUTION OF ETHNOMETODOLOGY TO SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN BRAZILIAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

A CONTRIBUIÇÃO DA ETNOMETODOLOGIA PARA OS ESTUDOS SOCIOLÓGICOS NA EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA BRASILEIRA

LA CONTRIBUCIÓN DE LA ETNOMETODOLOGÍA PARA ESTUDIOS SOCIOLOGICOS DE LA EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA DE BRASIL


Abstract: This paper presents a survey of the literature produced in the sociocultural field of Physical Education, which uses ethnomethodology as a theoretical and methodological framework in order to understand the courses traveled by that area of area so far and those to be traveled. Three categories were built from the data analysis.

Resumo: Este trabalho oferece um levantamento da produção bibliográfica produzida no campo sociocultural da Educação Física, que se utiliza da etnometodologia como referencial teórico-metodológico, de forma a compreender os caminhos já percorridos e a serem percorridos nesta área de estudo. Três categorias foram construídas a partir da análise do material coletado.

Palavras-chave

Keywords

Resumen: Este trabajo ofrece un levantamiento de la producción bibliográfica producida en el campo sociocultural de la Educación Física, el cual utiliza la etnometodología como referente teórico-metodológico, de forma a comprender los caminos ya recorridos y los que aún deben ser recorridos en este campo de estudio. Tres categorías fueron construidas a partir del análisis del material recopilado.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Ethnomethodological studies emerged after Harold Garfinkel, in the late 1950s United States. The first book in that stream, *Studies in ethnomethodology* (Garfinkel, 1984), has been translated and published in Portuguese since 2009, chapter by chapter, as a result of the group headed by Paulo Gago and Raul Magalhães (2009) at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora. However, some works written in Portuguese in the 1990s have influenced Brazilian researchers in their studies in the field of sociology.

The books *Ethnometodologia* (COULON, 1995a) and *Ethnomethodologia e Educação* (COULON, 1995b) and the article *Etnomethodologia* (HERITAGE, 1999) were adopted by certain graduate programs as references for theses and dissertations.

A search conducted in June 2014 on Portal Inovação showed 256 specialists associated to the descriptor “etnometodologia”, of whom 43 were from Rio de Janeiro, 27 were from São Paulo, 25 from Bahia, 24 from Rio Grande do Sul, 21 from Pernambuco and 116 from other Brazilian states. There are 150 PhD holders, 60 master’s degree holders, 20 college graduates, 11 specialists, eight in secondary education and seven who did not report their educational level.

The goal of this study is to survey the literature produced in the field of Physical Education that uses ethnomethodology as a theoretical and methodological framework, in order to understand the paths already traveled and those yet to be traveled in the field.

2 ETHNOMETHODS

The corpus of ethnomethodological research is the set of ethnomethods. Ethnomethodology is the study of ethnomethods, i.e. those methods that every individual uses to describe, interpret and construct the social world.

Ethnomethodology corresponds to a practical sociological reasoning employed by the members of society when managing their daily business. This concept has forced a review of practical knowledge and scientific knowledge. Garfinkel’s sociology is based on the recognition of every social actor’s reflective and interpretive ability.

It also redefines the objectivism-subjectivism dichotomy. Objectivism separates observers and observed. It relegates the researcher to an exterior position and considers subjectivity as a parasite of the research process. It focuses on quantification or metronomic obsession with measuring everything. It admits that a global order in which the actor is not aware of the meaning of his or her actions is reproduced. It results in the idea of fixity, universality, and the relative stability of order.

For subjectivism, the object is always inter-related to the person who studies it. Therefore, the researcher’s subjectivity is restored and analyzed as a phenomenon to be taken into account. The fact is that social settings result from continuous construction, from permanent creation of norms by actors themselves. From this perspective, subjectivism rehabilitates the transitional, the trend and the unique.

Garfinkel (1984) has Talcott Parsons’s (1968) theory of action as one of his main sources. In criticizing Parsons’s theory, he introduces the notion that social actors “are not incapable

1 Available at: http://www.portalinovacao.mct.gov.br/pi/#/pi.
of judgment who only reproduce the cultural and social norms they would have previously internalized – without being aware of them” (COULON, 1995b, p. 24).

Parsons (1968) argued that social actors’ motivations are integrated into normative models that regulate conduct and reciprocal assessments. Under that proposition, an internalized system governs our behavior and even our thoughts. Symbols acquire meaning in totalities like language, which preexists our encounters, as a reference system and as an eternal, inexhaustible and stable resource. Parsons (1937, 1968) undergoes reinterpretation and mitigation with respect to normative character.

According to ethnomethodology, the relationship between actor and situation is not due to cultural contents or norms; it is produced by processes of interpretation. Thus, the normative paradigm gives way to the interpretative paradigm. For Parsons (1968), actors submit to social norms, which, in turn, determine their actions; they are then deprived of reflexivity and therefore unable to analyze their dependence to that set of standards. Instead of considering reflexivity as an obstacle, Garfinkel (1984) places it as the first condition for understanding social order. Norms are present and influence actors, but actors interact by interpreting, adjusting and modifying them.

Based on and in opposition to Parsons (1968), Garfinkel (1984) sees actors as active subjects in the construction of reality, introducing the concept of reflexivity. He incorporates the thesis of reciprocity of perspectives: while individuals never have similar experiences since each one has his or her own way of interpreting, they assume they are identical for practical purposes.

Garfinkel (1984) presents the notion of understanding in contrast to explaining, and proposes the study of interpretation processes we use in our everyday lives to ascribe meaning to our actions and the actions of others. Everyday language hides a whole treasure of pre-established types and features of social essence, which harbor unexplored content. The social world is that of everyday life, experienced by people who have no a priori theoretical interest in the constitution of the world: it is an inter-subjective world of routines in which everyday life actions are generally carried out in practice.

Social facts should be considered as practical achievements. The social fact is a product of the continuous activity of human beings, who apply their knowledges, processes, rules of behavior. The analysis of these is the real task of the researcher.

Ethnomethodology is interested in actors’ creative role in the construction of their everyday lives. It devotes special attention to the details of that construction. It is based on the theoretical tradition according to which social objects are constructed. We ascribe meaning to objects in the course of our interactions. Even the meanings that enjoy stability over time must be renegotiated with each new interaction. Interaction means negotiated, temporary and fragile order, which must be permanently reconstructed to interpret the world.

The view of permanent construction of society by itself implies, on the other hand, forgetting such construction and transforming the works of practical activity into a practical-inert world. Ethnomethodology captures institution in the active sense of instituting rather than its stability. It insists on the ordinary instituter operating in everyday life, on the everyday life institution work.

The view of an active subject in the process of construction of reality could, for example, be interpreted from another perspective, as one of the manifestations of an ideological masking,
which would be aimed at preserving the determinant role of production relations on which that subject is dependent.

Abric (1994, p. 217) asks the following question: “[...] do social practices determine representations or is it the other way around? Or are they inextricably linked and interdependent?” Abric (1994, p. 229) tends to admit that the system of representation seems to determine practices and behaviors. He says: “[...] we have seen more precisely that the representations constituted and sometimes deeply anchored in collective history allow us to explain individuals’ choices”.

However, it seeks a compromise by saying that this finding “[...] cannot result in an outright exclusion of the role played by practices in representations” (ABRIC, 1994, p. 230). It ends by concluding that practices and representations are interdependent.

However, if we look at Letizia’s (2010) reflections opposing the idea that revolutionary action is “determined” by class consciousness, claiming that action indeed determines class consciousness, we would agree with the idea that social practices (actions) affect representations and not the opposite.

Despite Letizia’s appreciation of action, the ethnomethodological view criticizes approaches for: a) their methodological irony, representing social actors as beings who are fundamentally ignorant of their condition – “cultural imbeciles”, in Garfinkel’s term; b) for advancing a priori theoretical categories c) for their tautologies (self-granted immunity against any kind of criticism, which will be deemed “alienated”).

Ethnomethodology articulates ideas considering representations important, but the influence they ultimately have on individuals is subject to the methods of interpretation that these individuals put into practice in their everyday experience. The actions built by social actors allow integrating individual experiences and histories, thus supporting group heterogeneity and contradictions. Therefore, social actors are active in the construction of representations rather than mere reproducers of the influences they receive from society.

The ethnomethodological perspective does not displace the lived world, interaction and the language of social relations of production of everyday life. Awareness of the fact that the world has been based on capital, that communication has been treated as a commodity, that language is negotiated all the time (since actors realize in practice the inexistence of free communication in the different social spaces they occupy) are characteristics that lead us to understand that ethnomethodology and other approaches could even converge in some aspects, but somehow ethnomethodology is a disruptive pathway, which usually is not juxtaposed to any other.

3 METHODS

This is a survey-based, qualitative and quantitative study. Data were collected in the following databases: NUTESES (Brazilian Center of Thesis and Dissertations in Physical Education, Sports, Education and Special Education), Portal Inovação (Ministry of Science and Technology) and Google Scholar. Apart from these, the survey was conducted in some journals2 classified between concepts A1 and B3 by Qualis CAPES, which published predominantly articles in the socio-cultural area.

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2 Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte, Movimento, Motriz, Pensar a Prática, Revista da Educação Física/UEM, and Revista Brasileira de Ciência.
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The following keywords were used: *etnomетодologia*, *etnométodos*, *etnomodelos* and *etno*, in isolation and also as pairs with “educação física”.

4 RESULTS

For data analysis, works found were organized in three categories: 1) works that mention ethnomethodology; 2) pluri-methodological works on ethnomethodology; 3) works with ethnomethodology as their main theoretical reference.

The first category refers to studies that mention ethnomethodology in their methodology, but do not use its key concepts. To better analyze the data, the table below briefly exposes the works included in this category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 - Works that mention ethnomethodology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Jogos de gênero: o recreio numa escola de ensino fundamental.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Só quero mesmo que melhor... sentidos e significados dos cata- dores do lixão a respeito do seu mundo e da educação física.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Para além do ostracismo no futebol: um estudo de caso de um ex-jogador famoso.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Crítica a uma proposta de educação física direcionada à promoção da saúde a partir do referencial da sociologia do currículo e da pedagogia crítica-superaadora.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imagens da prática profissional em academias de ginástica na cidade do Rio de Janeiro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cultura escolar da educação física no EJA: o paradoxo entre a ruptura com a noção de atividade e a falta da prática corporal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: authors

The second category includes works that used ethnomethodology as a theoretical and methodological framework in conjunction with others, thus characterizing a pluri-methodological approach. Eleven works were included in this category.
Table 2: Pluri-methodological ethnomethodology work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
<th>Publication/ year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Processos de comunicação entre o movimento do corpo cênico e da educação física</td>
<td>Dickel</td>
<td>To examine the contribution of dramaturgy languages to examine relations between body movement and human movement. To reflect on the different communication aspects related to the realization of human movement, trying to show the interrelationships of the languages of the theatrical arts and Physical Education</td>
<td>Do not appear.</td>
<td>Master’s dissertation (UFSM/RS) 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Ciclopoiesis – Reflexões sobre o se movimentar de bicicleta e a obra de Maturana</td>
<td>Ferrari and Cardoso</td>
<td>To describe the characteristics of networks of conversations as a concrete example of the day-to-day on the road; reflection on a bike trip and the work of Maturana.</td>
<td>Do not appear.</td>
<td>Anais do IV Congresso Sulbrasileiro de Ciências do Esporte, 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) A prática da Educação Física entre os catadores de lixo: realidades e perspectivas</td>
<td>Ramos, Silva and Cardoso</td>
<td>To analyze the motor and verbal discourse of garbage collectors about the meaning and significance of their world and Physical Education classes for their social life.</td>
<td>Garbage, ecology and environment.</td>
<td>Cadernos de estudos e pesquisas, 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Entre o drama e a tragédia: pensando os projetos sociais de dança na cidade do Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>Assis</td>
<td>To investigate the meanings of social projects in dance offered free of charge to low-income communities in the city of Rio de Janeiro.</td>
<td>Favela, social projects of dance, social imaginary and tragedy.</td>
<td>PhD Thesis (UGF/RJ) 2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Ethnomethodology: this work used it as a reference. It also employed Steve Woolgar’s reflective ethnographic method of ethnoscenology (methodology of inter-theoretical relationships between different universes of knowledge) and ethnosciences. Key concepts approached included: practice, realization, and membership.

2) Ethnomethodology: it uses ethnography and hermeneutics as its theoretical framework. It cites Alain Coulon and speaks of ethnomethods. It does not address the key concepts.

3) Ethnomethodology: authors use the anthropological approach of ethnomethodology and the analysis of content. The key concepts do not appear.

4) Ethnomethodology: it is present in the understanding of the reality constructed by social actors, as well as in the theory of social representations. Key concepts identified in this study were: reflexivity, indexicality, membership, accountability and practical actions.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5) Ethnomethodology: It is possible to implicitly identify the key concepts of ethnomethodology as researcher and research subjects experience interaction games with negotiation of interests where, in addition to information, they exchange affections, anxieties, tensions and frustrations. The study's methodology was discourse analysis and ethnomethodology. The latter was used in the second phase of the research providing the basis for immersion in the investigative field. The key concepts of ethnomethodology are not overtly explicit.</td>
<td>O estado da arte nos estudos sobre discurso, conteúdo e significado na educação física</td>
<td>To analyze studies on discourse, content and meaning in order to offer suggestions for a minimum program of research methodology in semiotics of physical and sports activities and social representations.</td>
<td>Semiotics, postulates, social representations, anchoring and objectification</td>
<td>Movimento, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Ethnomethodology is mentioned alongside discourse analysis, social representations, social imaginary, ethnography, semiotics, philosophy of language and cultural anthropology. These partnerships establish a bias towards a micro-level approach, focusing on the contributions of individuals to production of meanings, actions and reactions in real situations of interaction and practice. The key concepts of ethnomethodology are not explicitly stated.</td>
<td>O discurso do profissional de ginástica em academia no Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>To analyze the discourse on the work process of gymnastics professionals in Rio de Janeiro gyms.</td>
<td>Gymnastics, leisure, gender, representations</td>
<td>Movimento, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) The main methodological framework is content analysis. In the methodology, the author says he uses some concepts of ethnomethodology, citing Coulon and Garfinkel, but he does not say which concepts. The key concepts of ethnomethodology do not appear in the text.</td>
<td>Sobre a formação profissional dos professores de educação física e as teorias do saber docente</td>
<td>To discuss the theories that focus on the knowledges and the work of teachers in Brazilian education.</td>
<td>Teacher training, teaching knowledge, epistemology of practice, teaching work</td>
<td>Pensar a Prática, 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Ethnomethodology is cited next to behaviorism, cognitivism and phenomenology as approaches derived from the human and social sciences that contribute to the field of study on teachers’ knowledges. Also together with symbolic interactionism and ethnography, ethnomethodology is mentioned as an approach from a sociological perspective. The study is focused on the way teachers’ knowledge is built in the professional and even pre-professional socialization process, in areas such as family, school and the university, among others. Key concepts used included: practice and reflexivity.</td>
<td>A representação social de nataadores campeões sobre sua prática competitiva na natação.</td>
<td>To identify the elements of social representations of master swimmers on competitive swimming, locating any differences related to age.</td>
<td>Social representation, master-level swimming and competition</td>
<td>Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte, 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) The pluri-methodological approach of the study was based on social representations, discourse analysis and ethnomethodology, focusing on four categories (competition, health, aging and leisure). The membership and indexicality were the key concepts used.</td>
<td>Trilhas interpretativas: reconhecendo os elos com a educação física.</td>
<td>To discuss the theoretical and social dimension in the organization of interpretive pathways in order to approach the body culture and the environment to maintain institutional and community exchanges.</td>
<td>Interpretive trails, environmental education and Physical Education</td>
<td>Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte, 2007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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10) Data were collected through tools such as: interviews, observation, photography, footage, protocols and records of the physical assessment process, and then given a descriptive and interpretive treatment according to Coulon’s (1995) analysis of conversation. Reflectivity is the key concept that stands out.

11) Ethnomethodology was used with the biographical approach that acknowledges life story as a guide for research. The key concept that stands out is reflexivity.

Eleven works were listed in the third category – ethnomethodology works that use it as a central theoretical reference.

**Table 3 - Ethnomethodology works as the main theoretical framework.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) Revelando a dança funk como expressividade da linguagem corporal na escola: uma pesquisa ação em etnomетодologia na educação física.</td>
<td>Ramos</td>
<td>To analyze students’ constructions and explanations, social-actors from ethnomethods recognized in the particular vocabulary of ethnomethodology, described in indexical processes, membership and practical or accountability notions.</td>
<td>Funk, ethnomethodology and dance</td>
<td>Educación Física y Deportes 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Etnométodos e etnomodelos de inclusão e exclusão: uma abordagem etnopadagógica.</td>
<td>Silva</td>
<td>To identify, map and interpret students’ representations about ethics in the context of Physical Education.</td>
<td>Ethnomethodology, ethics, moral, Physical Education, social inclusion</td>
<td>Revista Corpus et Scientia, 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>O contrato lúdico na prática de futebol lazer – estudo da representação social.</td>
<td>Salles</td>
<td>To understand how the playful contract is established in the practice of football and leisure.</td>
<td>Do not appear.</td>
<td>Master’s dissertation (UGF/RJ) 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encanto e fascínio: dimensões da sedução na educação.</td>
<td>Silva and Votre</td>
<td>To describe the phenomenon of enticement in the pedagogical relationship based on the speech of students of a Physical Education.</td>
<td>Physical Education, power, violence</td>
<td>Pensar a Prática, 2009.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguagem discriminatória e etnométodos de exclusão nas aulas de educação física escolar.</td>
<td>Silva and Devide</td>
<td>To map representations of sixth graders at a private school located in Rio de Janeiro about discriminatory metaphors used by them to exclude colleagues who deviate from the standards set by the group in the context of Physical Education classes.</td>
<td>Physical Education, exclusion, inclusion</td>
<td>Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte, 2009.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educação física, folclore e religião: relações e interferências.</td>
<td>Silva and Silva</td>
<td>To understand and analyze the universe of meanings shared by teachers, students, parents and legal guardians of students with regard to relations and interference of religious beliefs in folklore practices in a public school in Rio de Janeiro.</td>
<td>Physical education, religion and prejudice</td>
<td>Revista da Educação Física (UEM/Maringá), 2009.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor de educação física – um ator-educador em políticas públicas de saúde?!</td>
<td>Guimarães</td>
<td>To analyze the educational praxis of Physical Education teachers in a program of intervention in a gym in Recife.</td>
<td>Educational practice, dialogue and teachers’ knowledge</td>
<td>Congresso Nacional de Educação Física, Saúde e Cultura Corporal, 2008.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: authors

5 FINAL REMARKS

The first of the three categories above – works that mention ethnomethodology – shows us the space still to be covered with regard to the use of ethnomethodology; 12 works in Physical Education cited that theoretical framework as an opportunity for research, but key concepts do not appear.

All works included in the second category – pluri-methodological ethnomethodology works – used ethnomethodology together with other approaches, for example, discourse analysis, social representations, social imaginary, content analysis. The key concepts of ethnomethodology identified in the studies were: reflexivity, indexicality, membership, accountability, and practical actions.

Of the eleven works located in the third category – works with ethnomethodology as the main theoretical framework – we can say that all of them mention and use it as their central theoretical framework. However, the low number is a warning sign to the need for more research.

To perform those studies, the authors used interviews, participation in meetings, field observations, questionnaires, photographs, and some resorted to participant observation and field diary. In some of them, key concepts – reflectivity, accountability, indexicality, practical actions and membership – were very well developed.

This survey allows us to state that there is room for ethnomethodology in the sociological field of Physical Education, taking into account that it can contribute in qualitative research.
Ethnomethodology has been growing slowly, with the help of some teachers that disseminate it in graduate courses and consequently with the help of their students who accept the challenge of writing works under that theoretical framework. The creation of research groups using ethnomethodology in master's and PhD courses in Physical Education would allow the inclusion of essential readings.

Ethnomethodological ideas could be considered disruptive in a context where directive forms of teaching, research and university outreach programs still prevail.

The ethnomethodological approach allows reversing perspectives, especially to accept the concept of reflexivity and reciprocity of perspectives. When considering knowing, doing, being and coexisting as practical actions built from weak interactions that require a constant process of adjustment and negotiation, the ethnomethodological approach establishes a dimension in which effective and reflective processes of construction of the social world are shared.

In the teaching field, traditionally marked by directive and, in some cases, active methodologies, the ethnomethodological perspective opens up paths to disruptive learning, which focuses on knowledge built in interaction whose evaluation takes place by documentary methods developed individually and collectively, from the interpretation of indexical elements that occur in group actions and are manifested through different languages. Accountability is one of the elements that allow actors (teachers, students, legal guardians, community, principals, coordinators, secretaries etc.) the answerability necessary for knowledge to be embodied by society and not just internalized.

Still in the field of teaching, the ethnomethodological approach allows valuing different forms of learning, attentive to individual and collective expressions, however disparate they may seem. What sometimes appears to us as absurd is in fact disruptive of practices so far standardized as crystallized normal forms. Social actors, attentive to the ethnomethodological perspective, understand that the subject who learns and the subject who teaches mix, support, complement, drive, educate each other.

In the field of research in Physical Education, the ethnomethodological approach strengthens the area of socio-cultural research with a qualitative approach. Valuing tacit knowledges, the various languages of the groups studied, the construction of the object of study together with the group, making and checking the study’s categories with the group studied are all instrumental examples that ethnomethodology has to offer to sociological studies in our area. As for substantive aspects, it establishes a perception that values the unique, the fragment, while it is aware of the standards and what they conceal in social groups.

In university community outreach programs, the ethnomethodological approach allows reworking knowledge considered explicit based on the contact with knowledge considered tacit, which is present in everyday actions. Without valuing explicit over tacit, ethnomethodology understands the scope of non-exclusive knowledge of the university, establishing the reflective capacity of every social actor as a principle. This everyday sociology that the actors put into practice is the foundation of an outreach practice that collaboratively fits into the community in order to construct the social world.
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