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EDUCAÇÃO E ESPORTE: ANALISANDO O TEMPO
ESCOLAR DO ESTUDANTE-ATLETA DE FUTEBOL¹

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ARTICLE

EDUCATION AND SPORT: ANALYZING THE SCHOOL TIME OF THE STUDENT-ATHLETE OF SOCCER

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the Time Spent in School (TSS) of students-athletes of soccer, based on an adaptation of the model proposed by Neri (2009). The variable time was used to verify the investment of the student-athlete in this dual career. We conducted research with 62 student-athletes, aged 14 – 17, residing in a traditional Rio de Janeiro soccer club's accommodation. The data were obtained through a survey using a structured questionnaire, and analyzed by adapting the Neri (2009) methodological model to calculate the TSS. We observed that studies in the area of education and physical education suggest that the time dedicated to sports training competes with and damages the time dedicated to school. The results of our study suggest that the problem of student-athletes' reduction in TSS is caused by non-compliance and flexibility in school rules on the part of the school institution itself.

Keywords: dual career; education; sport. time spent in school, student-athlete.

EDUCAÇÃO E ESPORTE: ANALISANDO O TEMPO ESCOLAR DO ESTUDANTE-ATLETA DE FUTEBOL⁵

RESUMO: O artigo analisa o Tempo de Permanência na Escola (TPE) dos estudantes-atletas de futebol a partir da adaptação do modelo de cálculo proposto por Neri (2009). A variável tempo nos serviu para verificar o investimento do estudante-atleta na dupla carreira esportiva. Realizamos a pesquisa com 62 estudantes-atletas residentes no alojamento de um tradicional clube de futebol do Rio de Janeiro, cuja faixa etária está entre 14 e 17 anos. Para o levantamento de dados, foi utilizado um questionário estruturado e, para a análise, o modelo metodológico para o cálculo do TPE de estudantes-atletas. Observamos que estudos na área da educação e da educação física insinuam que o tempo de dedicação aos treinamentos

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esportivos concorrem com o tempo escolar e o prejudicam. Os resultados do nosso estudo sugerem que o problema da redução do TPE dos estudantes-atletas é provocado pelo descumprimento e pela flexibilização das normas escolares por parte da própria instituição escolar.

Palavras-chave: Dupla carreira, educação, esporte, tempo de permanência na escola, estudantes-atletas.

EDUCACIÓN Y DEPORTE: ANÁLISIS DEL TIEMPO ESCOLAR DEL ESTUDIANTE-ATLETA DE FÚTBOL

RESÚMEN: El artículo analiza el Tiempo de Estancia en la Escuela (TEE) de estudiantes-atletas de fútbol a partir de un modelo de análisis propuesto por Neri (2009). La variable tiempo nos sirvió para verificar la inversión del estudiante-atleta en la carrera deportiva dual. Realizamos la investigación con 62 estudiantes-atletas que residían en el alojamiento de un tradicional club de fútbol en Río de Janeiro, cuyo grupo de edad tiene entre 14 y 17 años. La encuesta se realizó a través de un cuestionario estructurado y analizamos los datos adaptando el modelo metodológico de Neri (2009) para calcular el TEE de los estudiantes-atletas involucrados. Observamos que los estudios en el área de educación y educación física sugieren que el tiempo dedicado al entrenamiento deportivo compite y perjudica el tiempo escolar. Sin embargo los resultados de nuestro estudio sugieren que el problema de reducción del TEE de los estudiantes-atletas es causado por el incumplimiento y la flexibilidad de las reglas escolares por la propia escuela.

Palabras clave: Carrera dual, educación, deporte, tiempo de estancia en la escuela, estudiantes-atletas.

INTRODUCTION

In this article, the theme of such dual careers is addressed in order to understand how student-athletes manage to reconcile educational obligations with sports training routines, competitions and travel. This theme is the result of a social phenomenon that affects a portion of the youth seeking sports training, perhaps leading to a career. This dual career, by definition, is the way individuals and institutions organize themselves to pursue a career project that involves at least two fronts with their respective demands and obligations: schooling and sports training (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2007). Thus, we consider that, since there are strict requirements for entry and remaining in sports institutions, the education of athletes generates dilemmas and difficulties for school institutions, the athletes themselves and their families.

Research in Brazil and in several countries present results that reflect a latent concern in relation to the cases of student-athletes who aim to become sport professionals (SOUZA et al., 2008; MELO, 2010; MELO, SOARES, ROCHA, 2014; MELO et al., 2016; ROCHA, 2013, 2017; SOARES, ROCHA, COSTA, 2011; SOARES et al., 2013; CORREIA, 2014; COSTA E SILVA, 2016). The time devoted to routines in sport and at school is widely discussed in research on dual careers, motivating guidelines for management policies for this student-athlete population engaged in high-performance sport in conjunction with academic life (BLODGETT, SCHINKE, 2015; CHRONI, DIAKAKI, PAPAIOANNOU, 2013; METSÄ-TOKILA, 2002; TSHUBE, FELTZ, 2015; MATEU, VILANOVA, ENGLÉS, 2018).

The theme involving this dual career deals with the management of student-athlete activities, seeking strategies to reconcile the tasks inherent in sports training and those of academic training (school/university). In Brazil, the results of studies on such dual careers suggest that the time dedicated to sport, both in soccer and other sports, competes with the time invested in basic education (MELO, 2010; MELO, SOARES, ROCHA, 2014; MELO et al., 2016; ROCHA, 2013, 2017; SOARES et al., 2013). The

aforementioned studies deal with addressing school and sport time management from quantitative and/or qualitative analyses, which describe both the average time spent by student-athletes and the type of investment dedicated to the two institutions concerned.

Seeking to understand the reconciliation of routines in this dual career, the research by Melo (2010) pointed out that student-athletes of soccer in Rio de Janeiro State devised strategies that varied from flexibility in the regular school rules to changing school institutions, seeking schools that made the rules more flexible to favor the student remaining in the sport. Although the school day of these student-athletes is very similar to the time spent in school by non-athlete students in Rio de Janeiro State, Melo (2010) indicated that this condition was achieved at the expense of school institutions' mechanisms for leniency towards student-athletes.

The analysis of the research shows that the tendency of the works on such dual careers is to regard the sport and the school as competing institutions, with almost incompatible routines (SOUZA et al., 2008; MELO, 2010; MELO, SOARES, ROCHA, 2014; MELO et al., 2016; COSTA, 2012; COSTA E SILVA, 2016; SOARES et al., 2013). It is possible to notice that studies on this theme were concerned with seeking a relationship of dependence between the two routines, those of the sport and the school. The problem is that the orientation of the studies carried out so far have isolated the sport from the issues that involve the broader social relations, and viewed it as an obstacle to dedication to school. Thus, when facing sport as an independent variable that would affect the school routine in some way, these investigations created a kind of interpretive bias, indicating that the way to reconcile the dual career would involve flexibility of the students' curriculum and obligations.

Considering that the Brazilian educational system suffers harsh criticism about its curricular organization, its academic bias and the perpetuation of inequality in school opportunities (SCHWARTZMAN, 2011, 2016; RIBEIRO, 2009, 2011; CARDOSO, 2013), we must pay attention to the problem of such a dual career, since these student-athletes are affected by the problems of the Brazilian educational system and still have to adjust to the demands of academic and sports training.

In this sense, we use the time variable as a fundamental foundation to treat this research data, indicating possible consequences of an investment in such a dual career. We are dealing with student-athletes who dedicate themselves to soccer in order to reach a high professional level in their sports careers, and their academic ambitions do not go far beyond the fulfillment of the obligatory schooling. Consequently, this article deals with analysis of the Time Spent in School (TSS) by student-athletes of soccer based on the Neri (2009) calculation model, also considering journey times comparing them with the time in sport training. The study thus seeks to demonstrate how conciliation between the training routine and competition with the school routine occurs in its objective dimension. The use and adaptation of this model seeks to advance the analysis of the time in school in a manner closer to their experiences in these institutions.

We assume that the harmonious organization of these dual career routines can create more satisfying opportunities and transitions for athletes in and outside sport. Studies such as López de Subijana and Equiza Vaquero (2018); Pato, Isidori and Calderón (2017); and Rodríguez Martínez, Cruz and Torregrosa (2017) suggested that public or institutional policies would allow greater success in the process of holistic development of athlete training in such a dual career. Therefore, considering the individual (psychosocial) and collective (academic, sporting, financial, etc.) aspects, we think that balanced investment in this dual career may be dependent on joint action among the club, school, family and actors involved in the project aimed at the student-athlete's development. In this sense, the time variable can be a central element in understanding the balance in dedication to this dual career.

STUDY PARTICIPANTS

The study investigated 62 youths from the under-15 and under-17 athlete categories, residing in the accommodation of a prestigious soccer club in Rio de Janeiro, a Training Club Certificate (TCC) holder.

The TCC is the seal granted by the Brazilian Football Confederation (BFC) to clubs that respect the fundamental rights of the student-athlete, providing support and attention to his health, schooling, family life, etc. This certificate is a consequence of the reform of the Pelé Law (BRAZIL, 1998), which gave new meanings to the legal provisions and instituted compensatory mechanisms to clubs that had proven investments in the training of the athlete (BRAZIL, 2011).

Data collection took place in 2015, in October and November, which presented some particularities, since October was the month for student-athletes to return from an international trip. The trip to Europe removed student-athletes in the under-17 category from school obligations for a long period, and, therefore, some analyses that took into account the time spent in school were considered.

TIME SPENT IN SCHOOL

The elementary point for the development of this study was to take the variable time as a comparative axis, considering the estimate of the researches on this dual career about the importance of such a variable. Both in sport and at school, the time spent dedicated to tasks in dual training is understood as essential for student-athletes to achieve the intended success in both careers. We view time as a variable in two distinct ways, namely: (1) the school day; and (2) the time spent in school, according to the model used by Neri (2009) in the study entitled “Time Spent in School” (TSS).

The calculation of the TSS takes into account the construction of three indexes to generate the final reference index, consisting of the Enrollment Index (EI), the School Attendance Index (SAI) and the School Days Index (SDI).

The EI takes into account the total number of school-age students and the number of them enrolled in an educational institution. Thus, the ratio between the Number Enrolled (NE) and the number in the Universe (U) of school-age individuals represents the Enrollment Index. This equation is represented mathematically as:

$$EI = \frac{NE}{U}$$

For the composition of the TSS, we have to take into account the SAI. This indicator is calculated from the number of School Days (SD) during a month, and how many times the student-athletes actually went to school in that period. First, a period is considered and, from it, how many school days there were in that period is indicated. Then, the interviewee is asked how many absences he had in that demarcated period. In the end, the Number of Absences (NA) is subtracted from the number of school days, and the ratio between the result of this subtraction and the number of school days in the reference period is calculated according to the equation below:

$$SAI = \frac{(SD - NA)}{SD}$$

The School Day Index (SDI) is constructed from a Reference Day (RD) that Neri (2009) utilized in his calculations. This Reference Day is 5 hours. For the purpose of calculating the SDI, it suffices to divide the School Day (SD) declared by the student-athletes by the RD.

$$SDI = \frac{SD}{RD}$$

The last step that precedes the calculation of the Time Spent in School is the construction of the Time Spent in School Index (TSSI). This indicator is based on the multiplication of the three previous indexes. The value shown in the result of this equation must be multiplied again by the 5-hour reference day to proceed to the data on the length of the school attendance. The TSSI is the result of the equation that multiplies the EI by the SAI and SDI.

$$\text{TSSI} = \text{EI} \times \text{SAI} \times \text{SDI}$$

The TSSI, the calculation of the attendance time in school, must be multiplied by the 5-hour reference day, and, thus, reach the value of the school attendance time, in accordance with the equation below:

$$\text{TSS} = \text{TSSI} \times \text{RD}$$

Journey time to school and training

The commute times to school and to the training center were calculated from the student-athletes' statements. We enquired about the estimated time it took the student-athletes to travel from the training club's accommodation to the school or vice versa.

Training day

To survey the data of the training day, we also asked student-athletes what time it was customary to start the training routine and what time such sessions ended. The difference between these values provided the Training Day (TD).

The treatment applied to the TD was not the same as that applied to the Time Spent in School. This methodological adjustment is justified due to the following arguments about the context: (1) as all these students trained, the enrollment index would be 1; (2) the absences from training were always due to sports-related reasons, such as treating injuries, participation in games or training in other categories, etc. Therefore, the frequency index would also be 1; and (3) there is no reference day for estimates of the training day index. For the aforementioned reasons, we can consider the Training Day equal to the Training Time.

Ethical aspects

All interviews and questionnaires were completed by a researcher, obeying the ethical criteria for research with human beings. The participants were informed about the risks and benefits of the research, and authorization was obtained from those responsible for the club to carry out the work phases through an informed consent term (ethical committee permission no. 131/2010, approved by the Gama Filho University Ethics Committee).

RESULTS

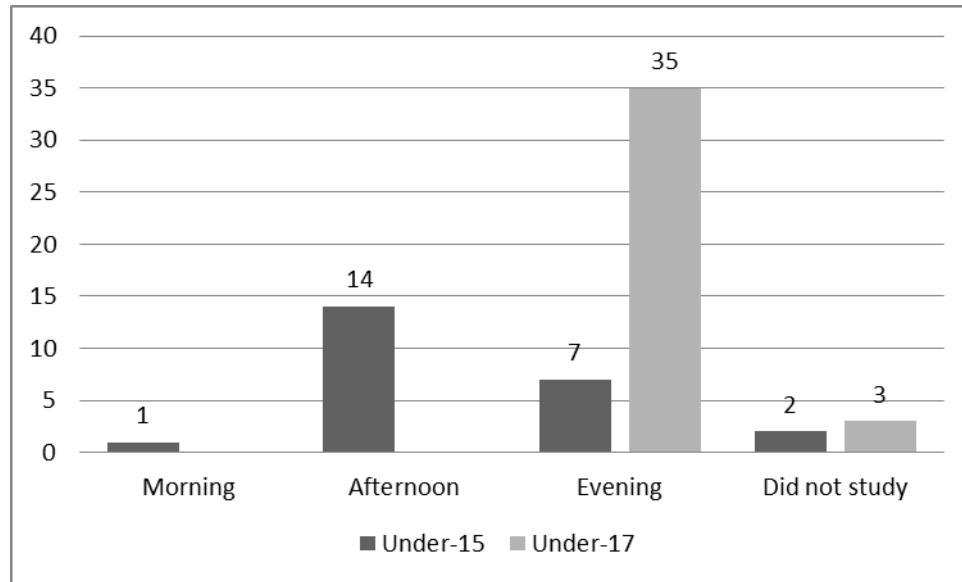
The 62 athletes interviewed corresponded to the total number of student-athletes residing in the club at the time of the survey, and the questionnaires were applied to all the residents. Thus, the study dealt specifically with the student-athlete group housed in the club's training center. Therefore, the findings should not be treated as a generalization applying to the entire population of student-athletes in Brazilian soccer. However, this case is not limited to the club studied, since, in the soccer training model, there are many clubs in Brazil that adopt the accommodation regime for athletes from the grassroots categories.

Of the total number of young people participating in the study, 57 were regularly enrolled in school at the time of the survey. In the case of the under-15 category, the number of athletes investigated was 24 and the total number of athletes enrolled, 22. For the under-17 category, the total number investigated was 38, and only three were not enrolled at the time. It is noteworthy that, in this category,

one athlete had already graduated from high school in the data collection period and, therefore, was no longer a student in basic education and also did not attend a further education institution.

Regarding the study shift of student-athletes, we found that students in the older age group tended to enter night school (Graph 1).

Graph 1. School shift attendance by age category.



Source: Devized by the authors.

In the group of student-athletes in the grassroots soccer categories, we observed that the enrollment index was not 1, which showed that not all were regularly enrolled in a school at the time the data were collected. This is justified by the fact that some of the student-athletes had arrived at the club in the week they were interviewed. Thus, they did not have enough time to regularize their enrollment in an educational institution. One of the characteristics of soccer training is the intense migration of athletes between clubs, cities and states (Table 1).

Table 1: Enrollment Índexes

Category	Enrollment Indexes
Under-15	0.916666667
Under-17	0.921052632
General	0.919354839

Source: Devized by the authors.

To calculate the SAI, we used a reference month with 30 consecutive days and 22 school days, that is, disregarding weekends. It is noteworthy that this adaptation for the reference period was necessary, as the questionnaire application period lasted two months, and, in each, some athletes had participated in a trip to international competitions. If, for example, the September 7 holiday had been considered, the number of school days in September 2015 would have dropped from 22 to 21, which would not have changed the final calculation. In addition, since we were dealing with a group of 62 student-athletes, the

number of absences used in the final base of this equation was equivalent to the average number of absences declared by the student-athletes.

Taking the categories together, the School Attendance Index (SAI) was 0.729472141, with an approximate absence average of 5.95 days. The average number of absences in the under-15 category was approximately 5.29 days in the reference period, producing an SAI of 0.7559469697. In the under-17 category, among those who had made the international trip, the average absence was 6.37 days, generating an IF of 0.710526316 (Table 2).

Table 2: School Attendance Indexes

Category	School Attendance Indexes
Under-15	0.759469697
Under-17	0.710526316
General	0.729472141

Source: Devized by the authors.

The survey data showed that the average school day of student-athletes in soccer was 3 hours, 24 minutes and 45 seconds, making the SDI = 0.6825. In the under-15 category, the average school day was longer, reaching a value of 3 hours, 52 minutes and 42 seconds, making the SDI = 0.775666667. It was found that the lower School Day average value lay in the under-17 category, in which the class load a student-athlete had was 3 hours, 7 minutes and 6 seconds. This value was reflected in an SDI of 0.623666667 (Table 3).

Table 3: School Day Indexes

Category	School Day Indexes
Under-15	0.775666667
Under-17	0.623666667
General	0.6825

Source: Devized by the authors.

Thus, by multiplying the data previously indicated, the IPE was calculated (Table 4).

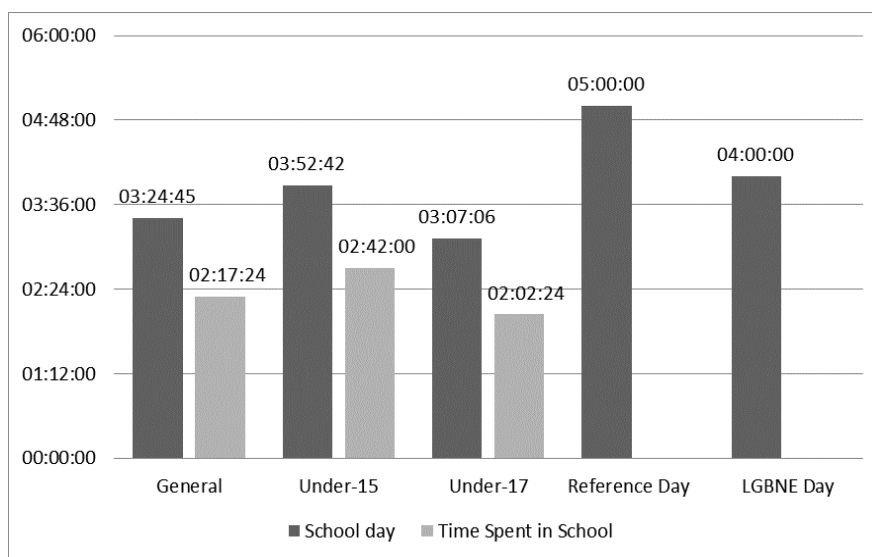
Table 4: Time Spent in School Index (TSSI)

Category	Enrollment Indexes	School Attendance Indexes	School Day Indexes
Under-15	0.916666667	0.759469697	0.775666667
Under-17	0.921052632	0.710526316	0.623666667
General	0.919354839	0.729472141	0.6825

Source: Devized by the authors.

The final value of the Time Spent in School (TSS) was obtained by multiplying the TSSI by 5, resulting in: (1) for the total group of athletes, the TSS was approximately 2.29 hours, or 2 hours 17 minutes and 24 seconds; (2) in the under-15 category, the TSS was approximately 2.7 hours, or 2 hours and 42 minutes; and (3) in the under-17 category, the TSS was approximately 2.04 hours, 2 hours 2 minutes and 24 seconds (Graph 2).

Graph 2: Daily School Day Time and Daily School Time by category.

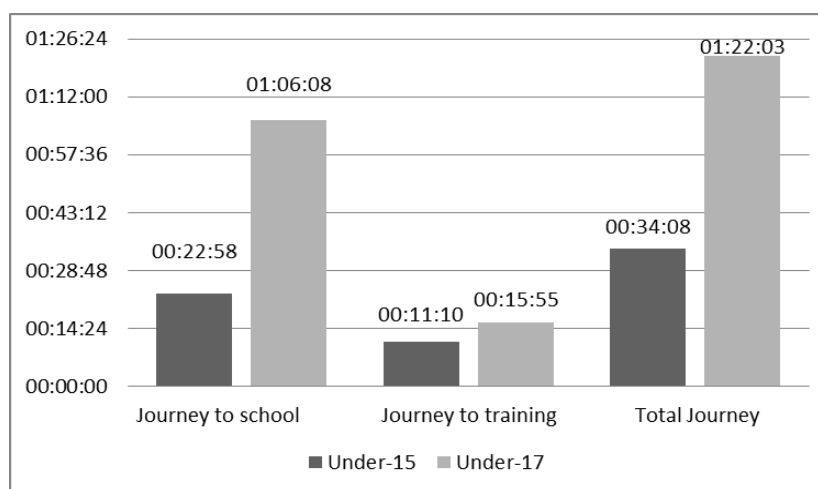


Source: Devized by the authors.

The TSS proved to be much lower than the School Day declared by the student-athletes. This difference was attributed to two indexes: (1) the frequency of the student-athletes; and (2) that which concerns the School Day itself.

Graph 3 shows a reality for the student-athletes in the under-15 category different from those in the under-17 regarding the commute time to school and training. Whereas the journey time for training is almost the same for the categories, when it comes to school, the value for the older category increases considerably. This is justified by the fact that the school where the athletes of the under-17 category studied is further from the club.

Graph 3: Average daily commuting time by category.



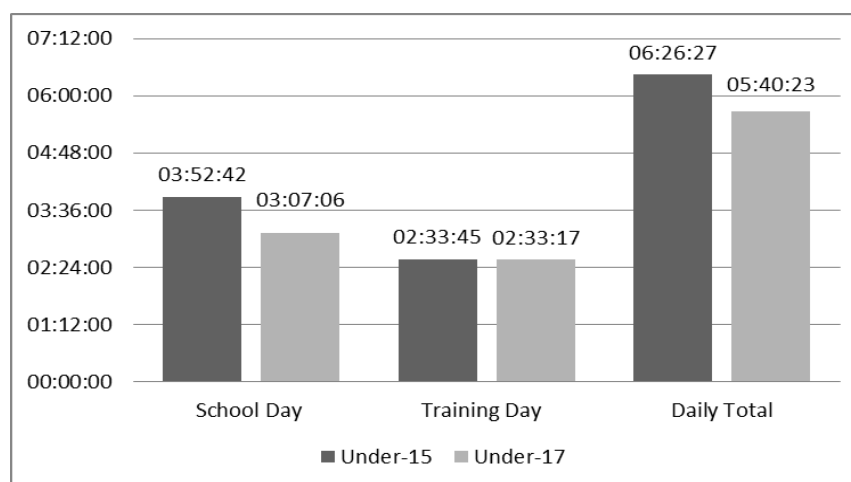
Source: Devized by the authors.

The Training Day begins each morning at around 8:30 and ends at 11 a.m. On average, the time spent training reaches a total of 2 hours, 33 minutes and 28 seconds. In the under-15 category, the average time spent training is 2 hours, 33 minutes and 45 seconds, and in the under-17, 2 hours, 33 minutes and 17 seconds. It was observed that the training time in both categories did not change

significantly. The average time spent training compared to the School Day declared by the student-athletes may indicate that the competition between one and the other is not so fierce.

Comparing the declared School Day (SD) with the Training Day (TD), it was observed that the latter remains practically constant, while the former undergoes some variations. In the general average, for both cases, the difference between SD and TD is less than 1 hour (51 minutes and 17 seconds). In the under-17 category, the average difference between the SD and the declared Training Day has the worst performance scenario: the difference between the two variables is 33 minutes and 49 seconds. In the under-15 category, the difference between the SD and the TD is 1 hour, 18 minutes and 57 seconds. (Graph 4)

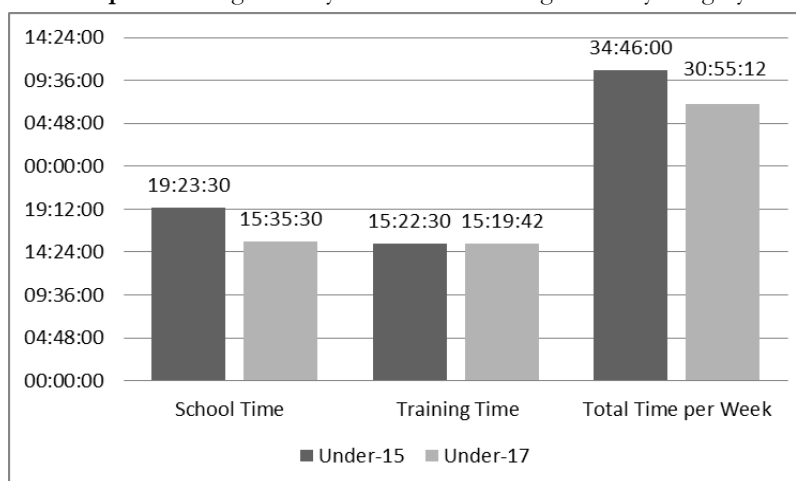
Graph 4. Average school day and training day by category.



Source: Devized by the authors.

The panorama undergoes some further changes when considering the days of the week this daily schedule is practiced. For school, the athletes dedicate five days a week, whereas, for training and competitions, the number of days per week can reach six. Thus, the weekly time of involvement with activities related to soccer is similar to those of dedication to school. (Graph 5).

Graph 5: Average Weekly School and Training Times by category.

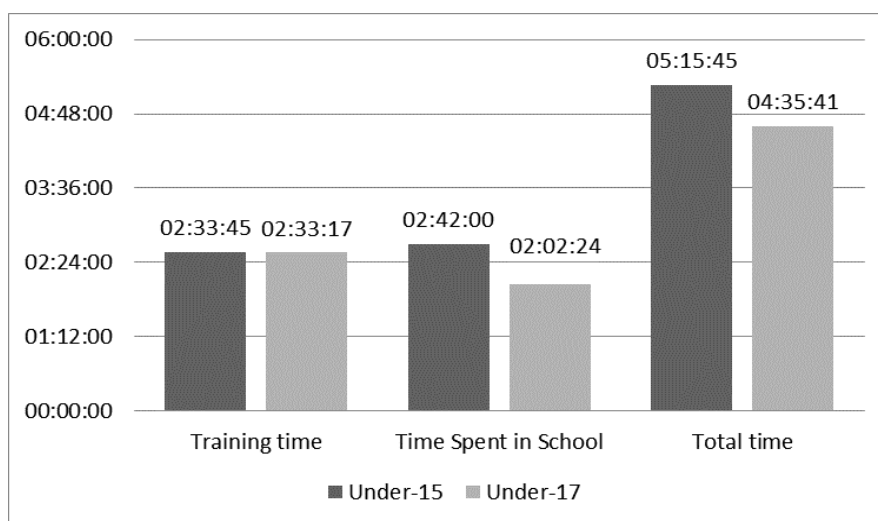


Source: Devized by the authors.

Graph 6 shows the comparison between the Training Day and the Time Spent in School. The TSS only surpasses the TD in the under-15 category, albeit with a relatively small difference of 8 minutes and 15 seconds. Overall, the difference between the TD and the TSS was 16 minutes and 4 seconds in

favor of the TD. In the under-17 category, we noticed a difference between the TD and the TSS, the former being approximately 30 minutes and 53 seconds more.

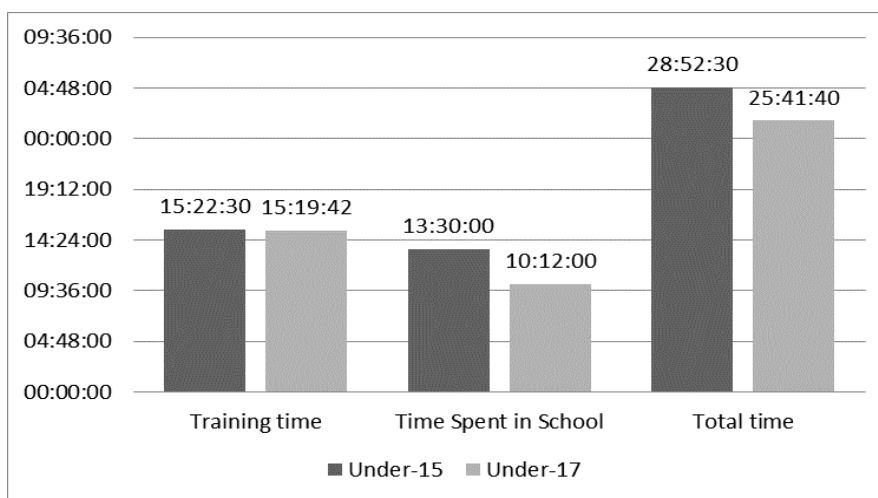
Graph 6: Average Daily Times in Training and Attending School



Source: Devized by the authors.

In Graph 7, we observe that the weekly soccer Training for both categories occupied around 15 hours. On the other hand, the school lost ground as the student-athlete approached professionalization in soccer. When comparing the difference between the weekly TD and TSS, there was a configuration completely unfavorable to the educational institution: (1) in the general average, the difference between the TD and the dedicated TSS during the week is 3 hours, 53 minutes and 48 seconds; (2) in the under-15 category, the difference is smaller between the compared variables, reaching a value of 1 hour, 52 minutes and 30 seconds; and (3) the under-17 category presents the most impactful scenario, in which the difference between the weekly training and the weekly school attendance reaches 5 hours, 7 minutes and 42 seconds.

Graph 7: Average weekly training day time vs. time spent in school



Source: Devized by the authors.

DISCUSSION

The study indicated that the TSS of these youths can be affected both by the frequency and the school day of the educational institutions. Considering what was presented by Soares et al. (2013), who indicated that the School Day of the student-athletes of soccer in Rio de Janeiro State was similar to that of non-athlete students, the test of the new TSS analysis model, which takes into account and details other indexes in the composition of this measurement shows that, in the Brazilian case, school attendance can be even more affected when related to sport.

It is noteworthy that the fact of having reduced the analysis to a single club and with a sample restricted to athletes in an accommodation regime allowed us to identify that the decrease in the TSS may occur due to problems in the management of the night school, and even the way of constructing the identity of student-athletes with the schooling process (COSTA, 2011; CORROCHANO, 2013). The results indicated that the TSS of student-athletes of soccer is negatively affected by two indicators: (1) the school attendance; and (2) reduced school hours at night school. Although we can suggest that such a process of migration to night study stems from the demands of soccer (MELO, 2010), in theory, if we had uniformity in the structures and organization of school routines in educational institutions, we should not have significant disparity (about 45 minutes) between the school study period in the afternoon and that in the night shift.

Viewing Graph 1, when we present the school shift in which student-athletes were enrolled, it is possible to verify that most of those in the under-17 category were in night school. However, we can also see in Graph 2 that both the declared School Day and the TSS of student-athletes in the under-17 category are the lowest indicators found by our research. This suggests that the night SD presents a reduction in school time for student-athletes, and perhaps for non-athlete students too, when compared to other teaching shifts. Even if it does not directly imply a mismatch in the educational structure in the night school, we can assume that this reduced school day accompanies the night school maladjustments, as stated in the existing criticisms. Krawczyk (2011) emphasized that the content used the night shift may be reduced by teachers' planning, although some teachers use the same teaching strategies adopted in other shifts. For the author, in general, the night student suffers academic loss in both situations: first, by being deprived of deeper content; second, by not having his specificities as a night school student met by the teaching methods utilized.

Another relevant factor is the way in which secondary education is organized in Brazil. Krawczyk (2011) highlights that this stage of basic education faces the challenge of making it more attractive to the student. In addition, since the creation of secondary education, there has been a characteristic dilemma between achieving the objective of seeking general training for the exercise of citizenship and another specific training for entry into the labor market (LEÃO, 2018). These tensions are reflected in the school's project to serve the student and are not always planned to meet the specificities of the target public. The student-athletes reported leaving class before the estimated time for the end of the school activities, as well as arriving after the scheduled time. Their reports point out the lack and absenteeism of teachers, as well as their physical and mental fatigue at night. However, the problems that involve night study apply to all students, not only student-athletes. Thus, we corroborate Costa's (2011) argument when indicating that structured night study in Brazil does not meet the specificity of the public that enters.

The student-athletes in this case did not meet the requirement of 75% attendance as provided for in the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LGBNE) (BRAZIL, 1996). It is noteworthy that the specificity of the activity developed by such students, which is not yet recognized as a work modality (ROCHA, 2017), has peculiar characteristics, such as the need to travel to competitions and, often, does not have legal support that allows absence or replacement of classes in such circumstances (GUIDOTTI, CORTIS and CAPRANICA, 2015; PATO, ISIDORI, CALDERÓN, 2017; STAMBULOVA, WYLLEMAN, 2019).

Failure to recognize sports activity as a work modality or internship for young apprentices places the student-athletes in a condition of legal uncertainty, as non-compliance with the guarantees of their fundamental rights, such as access to schooling, is analyzed at the discretion of the legal authorities. Thus, it is up to the school institution whether to consider the special condition of the student-athlete as a young worker or an apprentice in the profession of athlete (ROCHA, 2017). However, the lack of specific regulation for such cases leaves the school unable to justify the absence of student-athletes, even in the provision of tasks and support that may fill the study gaps experienced by these individuals. The agreements between club, student-athlete and school are made individually and are not always favorable to the student-athlete's schooling project, as well as rarely guaranteeing that the school and the club will meet the specificities of his individual conditions.

As an example, one may highlight that, from a sociological point of view, the regulation of a social fact that has been producing inequality of opportunity would serve to discipline the institutions and individuals involved (BECKER, 2008). The disciplinary process in reconciling the student-athletes' dual career can contribute to balancing their investment in the demands generated by sport and education. López de Subijana and Equiza Vaquero (2018) compared the sporting and educational trajectory of athletes who had different investments in the dual career, taking into account the type of institutions they attended, namely: institutions with support for the dual career and those that did not provide any form of support. The authors concluded that student-athletes who attended institutions with support for these dual careers had less difficulty in reconciling routines, planning transitions between sport categories, retirement from sport, and even arranging professional retraining and reintegration into the mainstream labor market.

It is observed that the planning of public or institutional policies can be a way to support the institutions and individuals involved in this dual career. Although it is a process for adjusting behavior, the European experience in the regulation of such dual careers has been suggesting possibilities for intervention that may present paths for the management of student-athlete routines. Emmerick (2019), when conducting a review of studies on such dual careers, identified that, in the European community, institutions operating some kind of student-athlete advisory program had better results in managing the objective dimensions, such as: organization of the time; planning for studies, training and competitions; adaptation to the test schedule; among other tasks inherent to schooling and sports training. Although this dual career is a holistic phenomenon, which also has an influence on the subjective (psychosocial) issues of the student-athlete, a latent consequence represented in several studies in Brazil and Europe is the difficulty of organization to meet the demands and objectives of both careers.

Despite this, in the Federal Senate, there are attempts to regulate actions that seek to mediate the relationship among the student-athlete, the club and the school. Bill No. 2.493/2019 (BRAZIL, 2019a) and No. 4.393/2019 (BRAZIL, 2019b) aim, respectively: (1) to amend the provisions of Law No. 9.394/96 (BRAZIL, 1996) and No. 12.711/2012 (BRAZIL, 2012), with the objective of allowing student-athletes to be able to complete their basic education without abandoning sport and still guaranteeing access to higher education, including technical or technological education, employing the distance learning modality in the federal education network; and (2) to allow home or distance education for student-athletes who are in competitions or artists in presentation of shows that are far from their educational institutions (BRAZIL, 2019a, 2019b). We emphasize that, contrary to European policies for such dual careers, Brazilian legislators have decided to include student artists by analogy, as artistic training also creates obstacles to school attendance due to rehearsals, shows and travel.

We think this initiative indicates that the Brazilian parliament is beginning to move the debate about school combined with a sports or artistic career towards formulating public policies and regulating this issue, which affects a specific group of our young people. However, such initiatives are still in progress in the legislative chambers, subject to changes or impediments to voting. Even so, the notes presented in these draft laws cannot dispense with broader debate with sports/artistic academic institutions (elementary school and university) and with society in general, in order to meet the demands and needs of student-athletes or student-artists. We are still far from a deeper debate on the topic. It started in 2007 in the European Union (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2007) and was consolidated in the "EU Guidelines on

Dual Careers of Athletes Recommended Policy Actions in Support of Dual Careers in High-Performance Sport” (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2012). This guidance suggests models for reconciling sport and academic training, as well as programs for entry into the mainstream labor market after a sports career.

Discernment about the rights to education must be accompanied by reflection that leads us to question the schooling project offered by educational institutions in Brazil. This project has a propaedeutic character, which makes regular basic education become focused, almost exclusively on its structuring, upon entry to higher education (SCHWARTZMAN, 2011). In this case, the Brazilian education project is presented as self-sufficient, and, consequently, does not perform the role of training persons capable of developing their individual skills and broadening their social participation. Besides this, a dilemma is created as a result of this schooling project neither considering the different individual projects existing in the school, nor offering a compensation mechanism in order to, at least partially, mitigate the social differences reflected in unequal treatment at school.

The Brazilian educational system, in addition to having a standardized project for individuals who join it, has other indicators that highlight inequalities in educational opportunities. Schwartzman (2016) observed that:

An important indicator of inequality of special interest to Brazil is the number of young people who drop out of the school system. International comparisons confirm that school dropouts are strongly related to students' socioeconomic characteristics and also to the organization of school systems. Students from poorer, less educated families, living in more isolated regions, tend to drop out of school more often. In countries where secondary education is less differentiated, access to higher education is broader, but school dropouts tend to be greater. Conversely, in the most different countries, dropout rates tend to be lower (p. 26).

Although the quote by Schwartzman (2016) indicates that dropping out of school may be closely related to socioeconomic conditions and the organization of school systems, we do not necessarily claim that student-athletes in the research are part of the group of young people who drop out. The number of enrollments is very close to the ideal level, and those who were not enrolled at the time of the research corresponded to less than 10%, that is, five student-athletes of the total number of athletes accommodated, justifying their non-enrollment because they had already completed their middle school education, or had recently arrived in the city and joined the club at the time of the data collection. However, the variables, School Day (SD) and Time Spent in School (TSS) are data to be highlighted as negative points, even in the case of enrolled student-athletes.

Rocha (2017) pointed out that the socioeconomic profile of student-athletes in soccer in Rio de Janeiro applies to families with a family income equivalent to the middle classes, corroborating the findings of the study by Melo (2010). Thus, we could suggest that the unfavorable situation for the schooling of these student-athletes may be associated with the level of organization of the educational institutions they attend, and the management of these students' careers by the club itself. The data showed that the variable that most affects the length of time spent in school is the school day itself, mainly in the evening period. Failure to comply with legal regulations, or the leniency of school managers and/or the club, indicates that student-athletes in the under-17 category, according to their own testimonies, lose almost 2 hours of their time in school when we compare what LGBNE (BRAZIL, 1996) requires, that is, a 4-hour school day.

This reduction in the time spent in school was discussed by Neri (2009), who associated a greater time of dedication to the school with better results in standardized proficiency tests, such as Prova Brasil and the National High School Exam. Therefore, the student-athletes of the research, when placed in dispute in the proficiency tests with other non-athlete students more dedicated to school, would, in theory, be at a disadvantage.

The research data indicated that the public night school in Rio de Janeiro has a level of organization that differentiates it in terms of the number of study hours offered to its students, if we compare student-athletes in the under-15 and under-17 categories. The former category study in the afternoon, whereas the older attend at night. This suggests that evening teaching is viewed less rigorously

than afternoon teaching. When we assess the time spent in night school, we notice it is shorter than the afternoon shift, which is almost exclusively due to non-fulfillment of the hours required by the legislation. We suggest that such differentiation can contribute to potentiation of the inequalities in access to opportunities to the means of professionalization through school pathways. The length of school attendance can be an important factor to increase students' performance in proficiency tests (NERI, 2009). When pointing out the deficiency in night study, we must highlight that this type of education is secondary or devalued by the school institution itself (COSTA, 2011). Although the data show that such a process of migration to night study stems more from the demands of soccer than from the irregular school trajectories of student-athletes (SOARES et al., 2013), we observed that the organizational inequality between afternoon and night schools may be the factor that best explains the reduction in school hours in the evening.

Costa (2011) criticized public and private night study experiences, emphasizing the lack of systematization and the absence of mechanisms that allow proper functioning of this type of training for the group served. Thus, those who did not obtain formal education in the mandatory schooling period are displaced to institutions whose forms of schooling would not contemplate the basic premises of regular education, much less meet the compensation necessary to school the type of student who chooses or is displaced to night school.

If we think about the condition of youthfulness and being a worker, we imagine that the school directly or indirectly affects both the expectations and the quality of schooling of these individuals. Corrochano (2013), when analyzing the aspirations of young workers for access to higher education, concluded that entering graduate courses was part of the set of projects of these young people. However, these expectations were stifled by immediate needs; or their hopes were to reach this goal, but in the very distant future, and dependent on a more favorable professional occupation. A portion of young workers, in their continuing educational projects, face obstacles to the point of curbing their expectations of reconciling work and academic training. Thus, they end up discouraged from seeking higher education (CORROCHANO, 2013). INEP data from 2019 indicate that only 21.4% of young people between 18 and 24 are enrolled in further education in Brazil (BRAZIL, 2020).

Although there is legal provision to mediate the student-worker relationship with his formal employment relationship, it is known that the legal guarantees do not meet the needs of this type of student, and are also not sufficient for the demands generated by the student-athletes. The characteristic of the sport ends up demanding exclusivity from the athlete at certain times, which differs from the ordinary worker, whose work contract generally follows a scrutinized and almost always constant routine. Furthermore, there is still the idea that working students are more likely to occupy a low status position in the job market in the future, often motivated by the demand generated by the double shift of both work and education (BRITO, 2009).

As far as we know, it is dangerous to assume a pessimistic discourse, since there are schools with students with an unfavorable socioeconomic profile producing results beyond the expectations estimated by research in education, we must observe that the school apparatus can still reproduce inequality, offering better opportunities to the detriment of others (SOARES; ANDRADE, 2006). In addition, there are the characteristics of adolescents and other young people who tend to deal with emotions more intensely and take more risks in their decision-making (SCHWARTZMAN, 2016).

In this context, student-athletes engaged in the professional training universe of the big soccer clubs, believe that opportunities in high-performance sports are more feasible than academic training (ROCHA, 2017; CORREIA, 2018). Of course, desires, beliefs and the perception of opportunities help to shape decisions in these contexts (ELSTER, 1994; 2009). As a result, high-performance student-athletes of soccer manage their sports and school careers by betting more on the first than on the second (SOARES et al., 2013). Thus, schooling is administered due to the requirement and social pressure to complete basic school.

The daily routine of a student-athlete in professional training has all his time scheduled and limited by some mandatory activity. Whether through school or training, student-athletes have little free

time for leisure and other social activities (MELO, 2010). An advantage of residing in the club's own accommodation is that the commute time for training is very short, leaving them more time to rest or perform some other activity they may want or need. However, this limits their social interaction with the family and the reference community (MELO, 2010; SOARES et. al., 2013).

On the other hand, when analyzing the commute time to school, the data of student-athletes showed different realities for the two age ranges. While the journey time for training is almost identical for both categories, when it comes to school, the time for the older category increases considerably. This is due to the fact that the state schools, where the under-17 student-athletes were enrolled, are more distant from the club's headquarters, while most of the under-15 athletes studied in the afternoon in a municipal school just meters from the club. We also noticed that in the under-17 category, all enrolled athletes attend school at night due to the soccer training demands. The closer the student-athlete comes to reaching the professional level, the more he is required to participate in training and travel in his category, the main aspects making it more difficult to undergo schooling during the day. The night-time athletes have more difficulties in moving around the city and also generally depend on public transport, which cannot always be relied on to match their schedules (SILVEIRA; COCCO, 2013). This data corroborates the debate about the decrease in the time spent in school, and the possible forms of lenient adaptation to which the school is submitted when dealing with the contingencies that involve nocturnal school administration.

Soccer is a sport that requires a lot of effort and dedication to training from athletes, and it is common to see that they start these careers very early in life. In addition, the physical fatigue reported by them, as a result of the training and competition routines, possibly generates, as they report, difficulties in concentrating to follow the school classes on a daily basis (BLODGETT, SCHINKE, 2015; CHRONI, DIAKAKI, PAPAIOANNOU, 2013; METSÄ-TOKILA, 2002; TSHUBE, FELTZ, 2015; SOARES et al., 2013). Carvalho (2015), in a survey of student-athletes dropping out of higher education, found that 35% stated that physical tiredness and long commutes were the main causes.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The time student-athletes in soccer spent in school (TSS), comparing it with the time spent in training in this sport, demonstrates how there is reconciliation between the training routine and competitions and the school attendance. The time variable was used to understand that the time allocated is an important factor in deciphering how much people invest in a given activity. In the case of soccer and school, the study suggests that the obligations of the two activities are in opposition, not complementary, as would be desirable. In fact, competition between these two training agencies has shown that soccer demands more dedication from an objective point of view. The dedication of student-athletes presents constant time, without variation in relation to schooling and sport activities. In another direction, the average length of school attendance, in addition to being lower, varies between categories and among the student-athletes themselves.

Considering that: (1) there is a context of legal uncertainty to guarantee the right of student-athletes to access and attend school; (2) the demands of soccer drive the student-athlete of this modality to adopt night study; and (3) the disorganization and non-compliance with legal regulations demonstrate that the schooling project for night students can be treated as secondary by the teaching institution itself, due to the contingencies it involves and the athletes themselves, based on their decisions, choices and desires, we can affirm that the non-recognition of the specific condition of the student-athlete as a worker or apprentice of a profession in the sport causes the individuals involved (athletes, club, school leaders and institutions) to establish informal agreements in the conciliation process of this dual career. These agreements do not always ensure a bond and dedication on the part of the student-athlete to the school.

We must understand that the inflexibility of the club regarding its schedules and routines, and the flexibility of the school, especially in night study, stem from the perception, goals and expectations that both institutions bear in relation to the young people who attend them. Thus, it is concluded that the

schooling project of student-athletes who attend night school is being neglected, since the legal regulations are not fully met. It should be noted that the disorganization of the night school's operating structure affects the population of students who attend this type of education (Youth and Adult Education), which is already, due to its very existence, an effect of the mechanisms that reinforce inequalities in educational opportunities. However, we draw attention to the fact that, in addition to belonging to the night-time student population, the condition of student-athlete brings some obstacles for this group with specific characteristics, of a type of work or professional learning that lacks regulation in school attendance. In this sense, it is envisaged that the inequalities in educational opportunities can enhance student profiles seeking a sports career as a means of professionalization.

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