

# Social inclusion through sports project: notes about the evaluation

*José Antonio Vianna\**

*Hugo Rodolfo Lovisolo\*\**

**Abstract:** The different objectives of sports projects are guided to foster social inclusion. The purpose of this study is to analyze and discuss the value of administrative data based on existing research on the social inclusion of lower income population via sports. The main empirical field addressed was the Social Inclusion Project (PIS) located at Cidade de Deus, Rio de Janeiro, where administrative data for programs was analyzed and discussed in order to evaluate relevant issues (enrollment and turnover), whereby new ways to refine administrative data related to the programs are thought and identified. This study was based on quantitative and temporal information, e.g. 6,932 registration forms related to 5,462 participants.

**Keywords:** Sports. Social inequity. Evaluation

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The acknowledgement of sports as a means of positive socialization or social inclusion is revealed by the growing number of sports projects funded by governmental and private institutions addressing youngsters from the low income population. Literature on physical education, sports and recreation, sociology and other areas show the benefits yielded by regularly practicing sports, the moral formation or the personality of those that practice sports (ELIAS; DUNNING, 1992; DANISH; NELLEN, 1997; TUBINO, 2001). Hence, traditional beliefs about the role of sports established in the twentieth century and often influenced by long-standing

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\* Doctor's degree from Universidade Estácio de Sá. Rio de Janeiro, RJ. Brazil. E-mail: javianna@hotmail.com

\*\*\* Doctor's degree from Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro. UNISUAM. Rio de Janeiro, RJ. Brazil. E-mail: lovisolo@globo.com

concepts seemed to return with full force in the present. A good example of the new language can be seen in the comparison between the denomination given by Dom Bosco to street kids in the nineteenth century and current language<sup>1</sup>. He called them “endangered”, i.e. they could take the bad or the good path. His missionary task and that of future Salesian educators was to create the right conditions for these youngsters to choose the path of righteousness through education and activities that included games and sports in an environment of “affectionate vigilance”<sup>2</sup>. Nowadays, overtaken by the security and epidemiological language, these programs more often than not classify children and youngsters that spend a significant part of their day on the streets or who are homeless as being under a “risk” situation. The risks of failing in school, of dropping out, drugs, unsafe sex, becoming misfits and suffering accidents, to mention but a few, are signals to say that children must be removed from the streets and placed in a controlled, stimulating and educational environment. Despite the difference between endangerment and risk, the plan for continuity is strongly in place.

Over the last years, the participation of famous athletes, especially soccer players - given the important role this sport plays in society - in setting up organizations dedicated to offering sports and cultural activities to children and youngsters from the lower income population is a privileged indicator of the strength of the beliefs associated to sports. However, the dedication to these activities can be construed or justified based both on social responsibility and on giving back, the reciprocity or gratitude for the support and benefits that the athlete got during his career. Quite often, athletes set up centers where they develop their projects in the communities where they came from and give enthusiastic statements about them. The attitude of the athletes should be

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<sup>1</sup> Doctorate thesis by Silva (2002) and Borges (2005) address physical activities practiced in Catholic schools.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘*amorevoleza*’, which is core to Salesian pedagogy, was translated ‘affectionate vigilance’.

encouraged and supported. The focus hereunder addressed some observations about how data can be refined in order to provide a better understanding of the projects' effects.

Brazilian media, in their turn, seem to emphasize four major groups of benefits ensuing from practicing sports that mirror theoretical and political proposals: the possibility of professionalization, body sculpting, the positive impact on health and the multifaceted field of recreation, sociability and entertainment.

However, there seems to be a contradiction between scope and the apparent depth of beliefs people hold about its benefits and the low rate of enrollment in regularly practicing a physical activity. The statements given by children and youngsters about being sports professional, especially in soccer, for example, are outstanding. Media support and statements given by children and youngsters highlight the importance of questioning the “non- participation” and proposals as the focus of investigations in order to understand their processes. The “non-participation” can be seen both in the low rate of participation in activities when estimating the actual rate of participation compared to potential participation, and the high rates of dropouts, mainly in relation to the actual average time of enrollment with the program's activities.

Field work shows that it is difficult to obtain the required data to address the issues at hand. The researcher often has the impression that project coordinators or directors think only in terms of the total number of participants, without taking into account, for example, the rate of turnover of projects or programs, or data related to long-standing absent enrolled participant. High demand may conceal data on “dropping out” or quitting the activities. From the administrator's point of view, there is always someone willing to enroll, or if the drop out and enrollment balance out, why should they try to understand why people leave or remain absent for an extended period of time? In fact, if the average time of participation in the program is poor, i.e. less than six

months, attaining the anticipated goals will be impossible for most of the participants. It is difficult to justify sports or moral education in such short periods of time. However, it is also difficult to create reasonably lasting mechanisms of enrollment in the physical activity. Hence, generous goals seem to be at “risk” when facing the abovementioned behavior.

Attempts to explain the relatively low rates of enrollment are made mainly by health aficionados, i.e. advocates of the relationship between physical activity and health. There are two types of main arguments to explain low enrollment rates in physical activities: conditions and awareness, i.e. economic, social and cultural. The defenders of lack of conditions have multiplied significantly both the equipment and offers in Brazil. Those who have put their chips on intentionality reinforce the idea of campaigns to foster enrollment and to raise the awareness of its need and the ensuing benefits (LOVISOLO, 2002a; 2002b).

Predominantly, research that deals with conditions and reasons for enrollment receive input from adults. The reasons for not enrolling are worn out from the perspective of motivation to do in the present what has proved to be ineffective in the past. However, things should be different for children and youngsters, as it is believed that both have an elective affinity with sports, movement and games.

Despite the awareness raising component in programs for children and youngsters, another type of perception is required. It seems somewhat useless to admonish a 10 year-old child that if he or she fails to undertake a physical activity regularly their life will be worse when they grow old. Despite the interpretation of these recommendations, for the better or the worse, they would seem senseless from the perspective of a 10 year old. Hence, not joining the type of program at hand should seek other hypothesis to understand it, both in the case of the low rate of participation and high rate of turnover. Perhaps by bringing the perception and research of, for example, the resistance to join gym classes in the school

context. What is clear, after many years of experience, is that the pastoral preaching of physical activity has poor influence in terms of the objectives of its advocates.

Hence the need to understand or explain the alternatives for the high rate of non-participants, and more strategically, for the number of “quitters” based on personal experience with sports and their self-assessments. This specifically means to ponder on such events in the case of programs targeted on children and youngsters from the lower income population. Comprehensive offer does not mean that the problems will go away, as evidence presented herein.

Entities that provide funds and guidance to social-sports programs for the underprivileged Brazilian population seem to notice only sports-related possibilities as a means of making their dreams come true, failing to address the possibility of frustration. It is believed that the generous enthusiasm of sponsors only focuses on the accomplishments and never on the dark side of frustration. The mapping of PIS carried out by Gomes and Constantino (2005) in the Brazilian Sports Atlas does not give the reasons why participants joined the program nor provide details on their performance. The authors use information provided by the managing entities of PIS, which is mainly formed by individuals that joined the program; they fail to inform for how long, which would probably reveal the huge number of “quitters” and turnover of participants (SILVA MELLO; LOVISOLO; VOTRE, 2008). In a recent analysis carried out on a supposedly involving program (SOARES; DUARTE, 2007) that goes from business training to social inclusion, including physical activities, conclusions are similar: despite its good qualities, there is a high number of “quitters”.

Hence, it could be imagined that failing in school would lead to failure in sports, i.e. not reaching the desired or expected level of performance would greatly compromise psychological or physiological aspects, thus leading to quitting. It is noted that the school practice of “compulsory

promotion” or “continuous promotion” has attempted to address the “failure-quitting” chain of events; however, “compulsory promotion” in sports is apparently impossible or inefficient as each participant can perceive the level of performance. In the case of sports practiced by children, giving a medal to each participant was the defining factor for failure in terms of expectations. Experience with one’s child show that being awarded a medal without actually winning the game is not the same as winning the competition. Furthermore, the satisfaction of winning a medal just for taking part in the competition loses its allure as children grow older.

The relationship between beliefs and experiences of people who practice sports should be observed and analyzed within context. The compromise between beliefs and practices implies socially designed and symbolic processes that can only be accomplished locally (LOVISOLO, 1995). This implies in the active mediation of values and objectives, reasons and assessing the results yielded by experience, especially in the early stage of changing beliefs and behaviors.

A study carried out in 2005 investigated the formulation of alternative explanations (VIANNA; LOVISOLO, 2005) for social elaboration within specific contexts. Two sweeping generalizations were observed: a) there are a number of coexisting social concepts on the influence of physical activities, and b) individuals arrange their beliefs and make decisions based on the signs or results from their practical experiences. Hence, the place where beliefs stand among beliefs and their hierarchical position is influenced by the practical experience of each individual. It is understood that the expression “in my own experience” in itself implies a certain measure of self-assessment of their performance.

Despite the growing number of projects, current theories about the relationship between sports and the groups at risk or those set aside by poverty fail to understand the local rationality of individuals and the justification for their actions and underlying assessment that reinforce or modify the

reasons and initial practices. In truth, what is frequently overlooked is that this is not about abstract health or sports in general, but rather a specific and qualified health and significant sports based on local interactions.

In the attempt to help understand the phenomenon at hand, this study proposed to investigate the enrollment of youngsters from lower income populations in extracurricular sports activities in a Social Inclusion Project (PIS). The exploratory observation was carried out in a center of extracurricular physical and cultural activities operating since 1995 in the Cidade de Deus *favela*, in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro.

The objectives of the study were: a) to assess the youngsters' start, length of stay and dropping out from groups of physical and cultural activities, b) to observe their level of commitment, and c) to verify if there are different types of enrollment of participants according to gender.

It is believed that the description and the understanding of the enunciated aspects could provide feedback to the interventions, refining their coherence to local dynamics, favoring agreements between institutional proposals and the aspirations of the intervention process agents.

## 2 INFORMATION

Information was obtained from 6,932 registration forms related to 5,462 students of both genders in the 5-24 years old age bracket enrolled in the project from 1998 to 2003. The difference (1,460) between registration forms and the number of students refers to re-enrollment. The forms identified the student, including their address, age, school and grade. They also informed the type of activity and frequency per week. Participants renew their enrollment every year providing their name, year of birth, gender, name of responsible and/or filiation, school, grade, class and activities they wished to take

up. Data enabled the identification of the number of schools benefitted; the number of students per activity and their gender; the number of students per age and grade; and the number of students per activity. Information on enrollments and dropouts obtained from the registration forms helped focusing on the individuals that best represented the subject-matter addresses in the doctorate thesis of (2007).

### 3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The fact that PIS is located in a *favela*, operating from the Neighborhood Association facilities seems to have facilitated the participants' access as they do not need to depend on a public transportation. The flat streets with little traffic were favorable for the participants who lived far to ride their bicycles. Despite the favorable factors, Table 1 shows that based on the total number of subjects (not enrollments) nearly 80% continued in the program for less than one year and almost 16% for 1-2 years. On the opposite site of the distribution band, participants 5-6 years old accounted for only 0.02%. This small percentage would make sense if the program's objective were to train athletes via technical selection processes. But this is not the case! However, data show a high rate of dropouts or the inability of the program retaining the participants. Their short time in the program raises doubts if the program is capable of attaining its goals, especially in the case of socialization and forming habits for 95% of the participants. It can be inferred that the total number participants is a weak indicator in the assessment of programs that generally have a wider-scope goal, e.g. a social inclusion. Furthermore, they can also conceal dropout rates to the program administrators.



**Table 1.** Rate of students per year of participation

<b>Years of Participation</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>%</b>
Up to 1	4338	79.42
1-2	871	15.95
2-3	177	3.24
3-4	59	1.08
4-5	16	0.29
5-6	1	0.02
	<b>5462</b>	<b>100</b>

One criterion to join the program at hand that is shared by many ongoing programs was that participants were obliged to be enrolled in a school. This common requirement to all programs can be easily understood as it reinforces or awards regular school attendance. The strict enforcement of this criterion could lead to double exclusion, both for those who are not enrolled with a public municipal school, but rather with a state, private or community school, and those who are not enrolled with any school at all. However, this requirement was not strictly enforced and for this reason stunts from a state or private school were able to enroll and enjoy the activities. But the duration of this criterion makes it impossible to deduct what the enrollment rate would be if it has not existed or if students from any school system were accepted<sup>3</sup>. In practical terms, the criterion was flexible enough for 3.3% of the participants to say they belonged to the community or to fail to give information about their education status. Hence, individuals that did not belong to any type of school were also able to enroll, which was conducive to reintegrate them to formal education. Field records inform that some participants returned to formal education. However, there is no reliable information available to determine its statistical significance. In total, approximately 7% of participants were not enrolled with a municipal school. In order to align a program flexibility

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<sup>3</sup> Criterion points out to the difficulties to establish a national education system, which is shared by MEC. The lacking belief in the system is the result of a long process, implying that it is possible to create an alternative or complementary program just for municipal schools.

to the local level, its flexibility should be stressed as a positive factor as it creates more possibilities for requirements that are not necessarily part of the objectives. For this reason PIS coordinators and instructors perform the role of mediators to solve problems that sometimes occur between students and their schools, such as in the case of dropping out or lack of openings, where they negotiate with school principles of the Regional Education Coordination to find a solution to the problem.

The main idea that needs to be redeemed is how important it is for programs to think about a National Education System in order to avoid unjustifiable exclusions, and if school reinsertion is part of their objectives, then their processes must be clear and have in mind fostering the actions.

**Table 2.** PIS enrollments per school system

<b>School</b>	<b>Students</b>	<b>%</b>
Municipal	6462	93.2
State	155	2.2
Private	93	1.3
Community	156	2.3
No information	66	1.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6932</b>	<b>100</b>

Participation in PIS activities would seem to be affected by the possibilities of transportation, which generally depends on distance and age. It is assumed that a shorter distance from the home to the venue where activities are held would increase the possibility of participation, which also would be higher depending on the age and consequent independence to come and go. Participation in terms of age show that starting at seven years of age there was a progressive increase in the number of enrollments, e.g. approximately 1%. This increase jumps to 3% in the 9-10 year old bracket, when children can go

out unescorted; direct observation also shows that they can come and go without friends or older siblings by their side.<sup>4</sup>

It was noted that there is a higher rate of PIS participants in the 10-13 age bracket, e.g. 49.3%, where children and youngsters enjoy more freedom to walk around the community. It was noted that when participants are in the 13-14 and 14-15 age bracket there was a 2.5 decrease respectively, where this falls to an even lower figure as participants grow older. Following the same line of thought, it can be construed that the older the subject the greater freedom to come and go in and out of the community and the new possibilities, both in terms of sports activities, and working and studying. In many ways, the ability to come and go could hinder their staying in the program: the reserve of clientele imposed by the restriction of coming and going ends. From another point of view, when individuals go elsewhere to practice sports activities could be pointing to their dissatisfaction with the options offered within the community. Hence, the curve of the higher number of dropouts after a certain age bracket should be a red flag to the administrators of the levels of satisfaction with the program.

In the case of the program under study, dropping out can be construed as “desinclusion” from sports based on individual decisions. It is important to investigate why these decisions were made, which that seem to involve failure in school, evidenced by successive flunking, to the insertion in the formal or informal job market, joining the drug trafficking world, the impositions made by family life and the disappointment or frustration with sports, especially when one of the expectations was to be a professional<sup>5</sup>. Program administrators and agents should have justifications that could

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<sup>4</sup> Coming and going in the community expands the circle of friends and possibility of learning codes and signs that mean safety or risk in moments of Peace or conflict in the community. They meet each other and are known both by people who live there and the local outlaws. They know the times and places when it is safe to be outside and walk by. The regulation participation in projects requires the assessment of risks involved in coming and going to the venue where they take place.

<sup>5</sup> This task was partially carried out by Vianna (2007).

be verified as to the reasons and decisions that led to dropping out.

**Table 3.** Number of enrollments per age

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	TOTAL	%
Age								
5	15	4			1	2	22	0.3
6	71	31	8		27	34	171	2.6
7	80	123	77	37	54	78	449	6.8
8	98	113	95	60	89	86	541	8.2
9	113	138	102	47	106	109	615	9.3
10	151	214	121	61	118	137	802	12.1
11	172	278	140	52	124	145	911	13.7
12	156	325	104	35	91	118	829	12.5
13	118	328	92	37	60	96	731	11.0
14	95	275	62	28	34	67	561	8.5
15	43	249	62	9	13	34	410	6.2
16	32	132	34	10	15	20	243	3.7
17	11	81	24	8	8	8	140	2.1
18	10	46	17	8	10	12	103	1.6
19	1	27	10	1	5	4	48	0.7
20		9	9	2	3	3	26	0.4
21		5	1			5	11	0.2
22			4	1	2	2	9	0.1
23		1	1				2	0.03
24			4				4	0.06
						<b>TOT AL</b>	<b>6628</b>	<b>100</b>

An important observation is the number of PIS participants per grade<sup>6</sup>. Municipal schools encompass students from Childhood Education (EI) to the eight grade of Elementary School. However, the highest number of enrollments with PIS is of students from the first grades of Elementary School. The number of students from EI and the literacy grade (5.7%) added to the number of students from the fourth grade corresponds to 67.1% of the total of students enrolled in 1998-2003, where distribution pattern accounts for

<sup>6</sup> The reader can see the great difference of enrollment in each of the years. In 1999, it exceeds 2300 enrollments, while in 2001 it barely reaches 400. In another study, Vianna and Lovisolo (2005) addressed exclusively the underlying dynamics that may be the cause of the fluctuating annual enrollment rate.

22% of the total from enrollments of third grade students. The number of participants falls dramatically in the next grades, where students from the fifth to the eighth grade account for 32% of the total. Enrollment of Middle School students total 0.9%.

**Table 4.** Number of enrollments per grade

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	TOTAL	%
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Grade</b>								
EI	32	57	2	1	9	21	122	1.9
CA	75	139	17	1	5	9	246	3.8
1	128	251	91	51	66	71	658	10.2
2	147	306	106	56	72	89	776	12.01
3	212	416	222	103	224	241	1418	21.95
4	211	399	114	57	157	174	1112	17.21
5	143	325	132	50	119	142	911	14.1
6	74	214	96	28	93	101	606	9.43
7	58	131	56	28	39	48	360	5.57
8	32	73	32	5	28	21	191	2.95
E.M.								
1	1	3	6	1	5	3	19	0.3
2	1	2	9	4	3	6	25	0.4
3		1	7	1	1	4	14	0.21
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1114</b>	<b>2317</b>	<b>890</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>930</b>	<b>6458</b>	<b>100</b>

A series of relationships between students' age and grade can be observed in PIS. Signs of failure in school are shown on the table that compares the number of enrollments with PIS per age and per grade. Despite the increase in the number of enrollments per age, the curve of enrollments per grade did not follow the same pattern, establishing significant differences in terms of rate of participation per age and grade. Especially in the case of the third grade, which is typically made up by nine year olds, corresponding to 10.9% of enrollments, there are almost twice as many participants from that grade (22.2%). The table shows that 14 year old (10%) account for only 3% of eighth grade students. The third and fourth grades represent the school progress bottleneck for PIS participants. In the case of 11 year olds that should be in the fifth grade, the age/school grade relationship is better

balanced. However, Table 5 shows that lack of synchronicity, where there is a higher number of older students per grade who should be actually in that grade.

The most important question that should be asked to evaluate inclusion programs is: do they address the regulation of age/grade? This evaluation criterion would assess the number of school children that remain in the program, as well as the regulation relationship, mostly when program functions are support, extracurricular or reinforcement classes.

**Table 5.** Relationship between student's age and grade

Age	%	Grade	%
5	0.4	EI	1.9
6	3.0	CA	3.8
7	8.0	1	10.3
8	9.6	2	12.1
9	10.9	3	22.2
10	14.2	4	17.4
11	16.2	5	14.2
12	14.7	6	9.5
13	13.0	7	5.6
14	10.0	8	3.0

From the gender viewpoint, the rates of male and female participation are significant to assess their difference in the program. The difference between the male and female presence increased depending on the time of permanence. Up to two years, the males participants are in a greater number than females by 20%. Students that stayed on for three years corresponded to at least 50% of youngsters and one third of the total. The trend shows that the longer the time of practicing the lower the number of girls. This distribution per time of permanence or years of practicing is shown in Table 6.

The reasons for the decline of female participation are worthy of being assessed in detail. In face of these issues, program participants, agents and youngsters usually justify house chores and sometimes pregnancy as the reason for dropping out. However, unsystematic field data point to

different expectations in relation to sports practices and which programs it could affect. It is common knowledge among physical education school instructors that in the fifth grade students start showing greater resistance to these classes, especially by girls. Another factor is that they have a different relationship with their body compared to boys, in that they do not want to feel sweaty and dirty after the practice for the lack of proper locker room facilities. Another factor are the different sports modalities and what is expected of each one of them. One good example is martial arts, where the type of outfit shows the progress of the practitioner until he or she becomes a master in that modality. These are only but a few suggestions for the participation of the female gender that should be extended to coed participation.

There was also the occurrence of sports modalities; martial arts are one such example, where the student's development can be followed by the color of the belt, since the beginning until they become a master. These are some suggestions to understand the participation of women that should make sense in the general context of participation.

**Table 6.** Subjects per years of practicing and gender

Years of practicing	Subjects	M	F	No info
	Up to 1	43.38	2332	
1-2	871	463	405	3
2-3	177	119	57	1
3-4	59	42	17	0
4-5	16	113	3	0
5-6	1	1	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5462</b>	<b>2970</b>	<b>2463</b>	<b>29</b>

## 4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Worthy of noting are the conclusions hereof, which should be used as recommendations to refine program follow-up.

Many public and private projects are similar to those under the PIS at hand. Quantitative data divulged by media, sites and folders highlight the growing participation of children and youngsters, but never mention the number of dropouts that in most cases start during the first months after enrollment. Information leads to the conclusion that the success of these projects is overrated, while failure and what causes it is played down. Comparative studies should be carried out with the individuals that remain in the program for a few years and those that drop out before six months/one year. In other words: what are the defining factors for “dropping out” of and “loyalty” to the program, according to terminology proposed (1973) for the program under study.

“Dropping out” mechanisms should somehow be in place by the data system in order to monitor the activities. The first important information should be to record the incidence of dropouts in order to expose the actual rate of participants in relation to enrollments. Secondly, programs should also address the re-enrollment mechanism to prevent it from being tallied as a new enrollment.

The many public and private institutions that use sports activities to minimize the “risks” in the lives of underprivileged children and youngsters, which are closely related to supposedly negative influences from the street, still presuppose that their participation in these activities, as a social right or the right to inclusion, are a positive experience in socialization and citizenship. Enrollment and dropout turnover, the exploitation of sports models by participants, are all important variables for taking into account the programs’ effect.

The relationship between goals, strategies and procedures to evaluate the social impact is not always clearly visible. Investigation carried out by Alular (1994) on



ethnographic basis show that projects stemming from spontaneity and fortuitous experiences did not meet the expectations for 14 year old students when the goal is probably to include them in the job market, and the higher number of youngsters involved in organized crime. The observation that projects end up as a venue to keep children busy and out of the streets for a relatively short period of time that is not long enough to involve them in a relevant socialization Project should also be an important concern.

Administrators and social agents must be especially qualified in order to address processes that are not always very clear on a day-to-day basis, where high rates of dropping out can be observed. It appears that program efficiency depends on establishing a strong agreement between proposals and participant expectations, the lack of which will result in not reaching the desired impact by public and private investments, as well as the good will of project designers. Hence, knowing the local rationale and participant expectations should be the key element to optimize the social inclusion process via physical education, sports and recreation.

**Projetos de inclusão social através do esporte:  
notas sobre a avaliação**

**Resumo:** Os objetivos dos projetos esportivos são orientados para a inclusão social. A partir de pesquisas já realizadas sobre a participação das camadas populares através do esporte — tomando por campo empírico principal o Projeto de Inclusão Social (PIS), situado na Cidade de Deus, Rio de Janeiro —, objetiva-se analisar e discutir o valor dos dados administrativos dos programas, para darem conta de problemas relevantes (adesão e rotatividade). Trata-se de refletir e apontar caminhos de refinamento dos dados administrativos dos programas. A experiência contou com uma base significativa, quantitativa e temporal: 6.932 fichas de inscrição, referentes a 5.462 participantes.

**Palavras-chave:** Esportes. Iniquidade social. Avaliação.

**Proyecto de inclusión social a través del deporte: notas sobre a evaluación**

**Resumen:** Los objetivos de los proyectos deportivos (niños y jóvenes) son orientados para la inclusión social. A partir de investigaciones realizadas sobre la participación en camadas populares — tomando como campo empírico principal el “Proyecto de Inclusão Social” (PIS), situado en la “Cidade de Deus”, Río de Janeiro — se propone analizar y discutir el valor de los datos administrativos de los programas para dar cuenta de problemas relevantes (adhesión y rotatividad). Tratase de reflexionar y apuntar caminos de refinamiento de los datos administrativos. La experiencia contó con una base significativa, cuantitativa y temporal, 6.932 fichas de inscripciones referentes a 5.462.

**Palabras clave:** Deportes. Inequidad social. Evaluación.

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