1 Introduction
This article is about a research in multiple ways soccer intervene in the youngsters subjectivity; in other words, in the sociability and in the education. Taking the project as empirical cut and using the methodology (WACQUANT, 2002) it was analyzed matters such as: what other knowledge is inside soccer besides the technical knowledge? How does soccer practicing interfere in the social life of its participants? How does this project participation affect the sociable code and subjectivity constitution of its participants? Why do children and youngsters like so much to come to this project’s workshops? And, at last how do their relatives and educators evaluate their participation in the project? The option in delimitating the empirical cut was, among other reasons, the fact of this study to be an action that aims to put in practice the associability of education, research and extension in the university.

2 The “Futebol à Tardinha” project: empirical field
It is 6:30 pm. Today there are less boys than girls in the project; the van that brings the participants from CICI (Children and Elderly Integration Center) broke so they didn’t come today. The game started in both soccer fields. Nataaneal and other two boys were with their hair dyed in red (I think they are trying to act like soccer players). Besides all the care the older ones take of the younger ones, it is visible the competition during the game. Nicolas (8 years), one of the youngest in the groups, never gives up, it doesn’t matter how difficult it can be for him (Observation done in 02/14/2003).

Futebol à Tardinha is a project of extension that has been developed at ESEF/UFPel since 2001, that is involved with about 100 children and youngsters from popular social classes of both sexes between 9 and 17 years old each semester. The project proposal consists in offering indoor soccer workshops and soccer practices two or three times a week, from 6 to 8 pm. It works differently from the private schools that follow pedagogical principles, where there is an emphasis in the repetition and in the improvement of the performance during the game (passes, reception, kicks, dribble, etc...), the project workshops prior the soccer experience of each participant. So, the meetings are basically soccer games when 2 teams play for 10 or 15 minutes, then more 2 teams play for 10 or 15 minutes, the winner of both rows play the final; and finally internal championships.

The pedagogical proposal of the project is oriented by a methodology that values participants’ soccer knowledge: experience at the streets, in varied soccer fields where they live, etc...

This pedagogy, besides producing a playful and esthetical soccer (happy and beautiful), is efficient and winner; even if many physical education theoretician, techniques, and professors avoid it. João Batista Freire says that “this street pedagogy was one of the few implemented to establish and form Brazil’s soccer”. The author still affirms that “barefoot people, ball, games are some of the magical ingredients” (2003 p.2). The project is public and taxless. However it is opened to the community since the beginning, there’s been a predominance of children and youngsters belonging to popular social classes. This supremacy is because of its location, that is right in the periphery and, mainly because of the identity between soccer and popular social classes in Brazil.

Some youngsters from the medium social class also attended the project, but just a few of them continued for a long period of time: many of them start and just from nothing stopped coming. Those who continued were more experienced in soccer, and established friendship with children and youngsters of popular social classes. Besides the singularities that differ them, certainly what brings them together is the love of soccer; love that makes them the same, members of the “soccer tribe”.

3 Public space: a place for socializing
Currently, the number of public spaces with an infrastructure adapted and available for sportive practices and leisure has decreased drastically, being available to popular social classes basically some public squares. The principal cause is the increase of the medium and big cities.

In this context, soccer, once more, seems to have developed a very peculiar situation. If contrary to the pessimists at least in Brazil, the popular soccer is still far to disappear, but it is undeniable the decrease of the public space for such practices, so soccer becomes farther and farther from the popular social classes. Consequently, social exclusion indices are visible in Brazil soccer. This (un)popularization movement in soccer is getting more and more worrying when is noticed at the same time that the decrease of the public spaces increases the interference of the private initiative by building new stadiums, syntactical soccer fields, etc., to be rented. Usually in such private spaces, there are the private soccer schools that dispute students, spreading soccer not ethically: using ex-professional player’s name as a marketing strategy to capture students and parents that dream their son to be as famous or as gifted as the professional player mentioned.

Usually the private soccer schools invest in the urban medium social class. Maximo Pimenta (2001) said that the components of the median social class usually see soccer as career opportunity and not as a leisure time, so they invest in soccer as they would invest in a second language acquisition, for instance.

This tender of the soccer privatization is producing ways of subjectivities in the youth urban culture that deserves to be seen more clearly by their parents and educators that deal with soccer. Sooner a child is inserted in the disciplined, competitive, selective and demanding professional soccer world, more susceptible will be to risks and biopsychosocial frustrations that follow the “clubbing” methodologies: risks left behind in order to build perfect athletes; besides depriving them to simply play soccer in a playful and happy way.

The costs to apply and keep a child in a private soccer school is increasing and if we consider that, other than the appliance, it involves also expenses of transportation, food during the practices, trips to games, etc. Dona R., who is a mother of one of the project’s participants, talked about her economical difficulties and how grateful she was for such a free space as the one offered by the project: “we can’t afford a private soccer school, because it is the elementary school, the bus tickets, this and that... I thought it was like this, or you have a paid school, isn’t it... If I had heard about this place before, I could have brought him earlier.” (Interview, 2003).

1- In the first three years, the project supported only boys. After 2004, because of the request of a group of girls that watched the activities, the project supported also female soccer. Even being aware of the importance of the gender in the Brazilian soccer, the considerations and the analyzes made at this project will be centered, exclusively, in the male soccer. The singularities brought by the female inclusion in the project shall be treated in another study. Besides the different neighborhood of the participants (Dunas, Cohab Tablada) also participated the project children and youngsters from home shelters, like the in 2002 e 2003 the boys CICI (Children and Elderly Integration Center), and in 2004 some girls from Casa do Cariño.

2- The “tribo” concept will be used in this study according to Michel Maffessoli (1987), in his book “o tempo das tribos: o declínio do individualismo nas sociedades de massa”. Maffessoli use this concept to talk about the current social state that profilers use more and more with the small groups, the “urban tribes”, that besides being ephemerions are formed by esthetical affinities.
In a social hegemonized context by private interests, by valuing public spaces to practice soccer is to obstruct the individual capitalist subjectivities; but by promoting the increase of friendship and social relations, public spaces for leisure act in the youth culture diluting the omnipresent "me", so typical of the modern subjectivities (Ortega (2002), by theorizing the friendship methodological, claims that public spaces are strategic elements to think in friendship politics that face a new sociability and that is able to go through its own limits (stipulated by the bourgeois modern family). From this perspective, the objective of this project is to believe that, through soccer, is possible intervene in the education of children and youngsters that meet two or three times a week to build a child-youth subjectivity that escapes the uncivilities that limits the social relations.

4 who hasn’t dreamed to be a soccer player?

Because of its popularity, mainly after the 20th century, and some singularities, many youngsters don’t see soccer as leisure, but as a dream to be pursued, a “dream that passes”, a starting point of a soccer trajectory, soccer is a great dream, before a sport or an art” (Pimenta, 2000, p.85). The same author alerts to the fact that the lack of orientation or leadership may lead them to interrupt their studies or to not believe in any other professional perspective besides soccer.

In the project, we easily identified this universal dream to become a soccer player as the informal conversations as in more elaborated testimonies we collected, mainly among the younger ones, almost all of them about this wish. For instance, Peter (16 years old) said “My project is an untried, excited about his goal he is 16 years old regarding us about his dream and let us know how his life is organized for that: he plays in the project, out of the project, in weekend championships, etc.

How to deal with the ambiguities of this modern dream of becoming a soccer player? This is one of our concerns since the beginning of the project and it is more difficult to solve than we can think about. On one hand, we know clearly the role of the game but still to stimulate fake illusions, but explaining them how difficult to become a soccer player, it is very common among children of 9, 10, 11, and 12 years old, but not so common among youngsters of 15, 16, 17 years old. Concluding, most of the children is aware of the reality with the time.

The velocity the participants return every time the project is interrupted (strikes, vacations, holidays, etc.) is another factor that calls the attention. Using strategies of some letting the others know about the restarting, most of them is back on the first or second day of activity. Attendance is practically the same in hot, cold, sunny or rainy days. By asking one of them why he comes even when it is raining, he answered it was very good to be there playing soccer in the gymnasium and it was better it was raining because he has nothing to do outdoors in such days.

The pleasure to play soccer is notice too in the way they position in the field: many practice even if they are not wearing the appropriate outfit, sometimes even barefoot. The speed they get in the field and have their positions, the seriousness they play, the way they try to keep on playing beyond the time allowed are some considerations that illustrate the value and the intensity of playing soccer. All of these considerations are responsible for a kind of a esthetical pact, built much more by the love than by the rules and utilities.

5 Disputes, fights, reconciliations: negotiable sociability.

Today it is raining a lot. Some student teachers commented that maybe there wouldn’t be any project because of the rain. I told them it was too early and they would come anyway. At 6:30 pm they started the games, there was participants for 5 teams (3 with the older ones and 2 with the younger ones). In the beginning of the games I realized that one of the older teams was much stronger than the others (the green team). I knew it, right in the first minutes of the game, they made 2 to 0 and won the game. At this moment, I called the student teacher and I suggested him to alter the green team for the next set because it was too strong for the other 3 teams. Later we realized it had been set before, one of the participants (Tigana) as he heard my suggestion shouted: “oh, no, my team will remain the same, unaltered; soccer is like this, if the others are not good, unlucky them!” (observation done at 06/02/2003)

According to our notes and observations and other data we have collected, it is possible to answer the questions underlined previously. The project provided to its participants a singular opportunity to amplify their friendship and their social practices.

As well as, there are groups of friends urban tribes that arrive together at the project, “I come with my cousin”… humm, I have four cousins that play here, so, you know, I come with them” (Interview H.G. M., 11 years old, 2002); there are also participants that have never met before the project. The possibility of new friends was mentioned by K.A. that lives at CICI (Children and Elderly Integration Center): “before I didn’t know many people, just those who live with me”, (Interview, 2002).

Part of this sociability reconfiguration comes from the necessity imposed to the participants to learn to respect and deal with rules in order to succeed the project. Most of the rules of the game are stipulated in group by the participants. The older ones obviously also participate as referee. The decisions about the team formation and the order of the games follow the principle of non-exclusion, where all teams can play more or less the same number of times each meeting.

The velocity the participants return every time the project is interrupted (strikes, vacations, holidays, etc.) is another factor that calls the attention. Using strategies of some letting the others know about the restarting, most of them is back on the first or second day of activity. Attendance is practically the same in hot, cold, sunny or rainy days. By asking one of them why he comes even when it is raining, he answered it was very good to be there playing soccer in the gymnasium and it was better it was raining because he has nothing to do outdoors in such days.

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This reconfigured and negotiable sociability became possible according to what was discussed in the big group, for example, to decide about how long and when each team would play, or still about the decisions that shall be taken every day during the game. The decisions shared and assumed by the group transfer their effects beyond the game and the project, as Eline Deccache-Maia, “this ruled soccer practices make important values that rules social life to be felt in a very deep way”. (1999, p. 200).

Beyond the favorable experiences by the game, the disputes, the corporal, contact, the emotion in each movement in the field, every and any contact out of the field are also extremely important. The experiences that happen during the game out while they are waiting for their turn to play are very important for the group socialization. Although, many of them mightn’t have been noticed by the educators, the participants had the opportunity to know each other better, to form their teams, etc. When they are waiting, they learn and they produce knowledge.

This intensity, from and out of the fields, evolving disputes, fights, friendship is part of the contract of living together that is conquered slowly and supported by their common interest in soccer which is possible by the fact of provoking in its participants “some non planned and non conscious acts that are internalized through the quid pro quo interaction of the same cultural space” (GUEDEIS, 1998, p.124).

In these three years we followed the project, it was visible its intervention in the reconfiguration of the children and youngsters subjectivity and sociability whom met to play soccer.

We can say that occurred something similar to what Eline Deccache-Maia observed and commented about the experience with soccer at Morro do Borel where she claimed that “the soccer school can be noticed as a kind of “school of

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3- In his article “Esportes: normas, utilidades e gostos”, published in the book “Estética, Esporte e Educação Física”, Hugo Lovisolo (1997), discuss these three dimensions of the human life, with more or less intensity, they are present in the decisions of the modern subject and influence in the decisions and options of the practice of one or other sport and/or the other corporal practices.

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morality” (1999, p.200). In our case, the morality is referenced as a code of ethics that mention values, conducts and corporal postures, defining the way the body is seen and treated in and out of the fields.

The way the body is lived by the children and by the youngsters from the project acquires an especial importance, mainly if we think as Denise Najmanovich and believe that “nowadays we can aspire to a richer and different, more intelligent and affective, more social and subjective body than the one we heritage”, but for that alerts the author, “it is necessary to break the barrels of contention that excision philosophy and the modern individualism practices built and sustained” (2002, p.99-100).

6 References


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“FUTEBOLÁ TARDINHA”: NOTES ABOUT EDUCABILITY
Abstract: This study is an investigation about the ways of interventions of soccer in the subjectivity of young people from popular classes. As empirical sample of the research we delimited the Project of extension “Futebol à Tardinha” (Evening Soccer), which occurs three times a week at ESEF/UFPel since 2001. Utilizing a methodology that associates image sources (photographs), oral relates and observant participation we analyzed how the participation in the Project is reconfiguring the subjectivity of its participants, intervening in the friendship relations, in the behavior and in the sociability of these children and young people.

Key words: Soccer, sociability, youngsters.

FOOTBALL AU DÉCLIN DU JOUR : DES NOTES À PROPOS DE L’ÉDUCABILITÉ

FÔTBOLO DE TARDECITA: NOTAS EN EL EDUCABILIDAD
Resumen: Este estudio es una investigación referente a las formas de intervenciones del fútbol en la subjetividad de jóvenes de las clases populares. Como recorte empírico de la investigación, delimitamos el Proyecto de Extensión Fútbol de Tardecita, que ocurre tres veces por semana junto a ESEF/UFPel desde 2001. Utilizando de la Metodología de la Participación Observante, analizamos de que manera la participación en el Proyecto está reconfigurando la subjetividad de sus participantes, interfiriendo en las relaciones de amistad, en el comportamiento y en la sociabilidad de estos niños y jóvenes.

Palabras claves: Fútbol, sociabilidad, jóvenes.

FUTEBOLÁ TARDINHA: NOTAS SOBRE EDUCABILIDADE
Resumo: Este estudo é uma investigação referente às formas de intervenções do futebol na subjetividade de jovens das classes populares. Como recorte empírico da pesquisa, delimitamos o projeto de extensão Futebol à Tardinha, que ocorre três vezes por semana junto a ESEF/UFPel desde 2001. Utilizando principalmente da Metodologia da Participação Observante analisamos como a participação no projeto está reconfigurando a subjetividade dos seus participantes, interferindo nas relações de amizades, no comportamento e na sociabilidade dessas crianças e jovens.

Palavras-chave: Futebol, sociabilidade, jovens.