

**66 - SOCCER: THE REINSTATEMENT OF THE PROFESSIONALISM WHAT IS THIS STORY?****Dr. JOSÉ GERALDO DO CARMO SALLES**Universidade Federal de Viçosa Viçosa MG Brasil  
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The perception of soccer as a social phenomenon of mass agglutination is directly related to the industrialization and urbanization process of the major cities in the beginning of the twentieth century. Its expansion through the world was the result of the expansion of the British Empire's businesses. From the condition of sport used and cultivated as elite pastime and/or as the pacifier activity of the student English youth, it was quickly appropriated by the working class, becoming a space for entertaining, manhood formation, betting and as means to earn its living. This does not mean that for the elite soccer was just a place of distinction to form the civilized Englishman or of any other nationality. We believe that the urban and civilized man's *ethos* can be described in one of its dimensions as the search for excitement and safety, concepts that at first glance seem contradictory and to form a dialogic if we think in the way of Elias (1993).

If we understand culture as a place of struggle for significance affirmation among individuals, groups, classes and between individuals or subgroups inside of a same group or class, we can deduce that the elite cannot be homogenized and nor singled out. In this sense, even among the ruling elites of the sport some tensions regarding the organization and development seem to have extrapolated national borders. In the case of soccer, one could think that the amateur discourse defended by part of the elite meant beyond the maintenance of social distinction and status emulation, as in Veblein (1974), a moral fight for controlling betting within the elite itself. We know the end of that story, soccer quickly wins the masses and the leaders see that the sport grows as a show associated to the incipient entertainment industry in the metropolises. The amateur discourse or ideal is not in any way swept of the sport field, it is absorbed and re-signified in the professionalization process. It becomes polysemous and turns criterion to define the ideal of fair play, the athlete's love for its team and the sport, besides other positive significances. However, the concept remained in the sport organization for a long time as criterion for demarcation of job and leisure markets and as evaluating criterion to estimate teams and players' income. In the latter case the amateur is the one who plays the sport with low competence or income.

Let us consider that soccer professionalization opened the job market for those having virtuosity with the ball regardless of the social class - and consequently the dialogue, many of the times in conflict, between athletes and sport leaders in the discussion of contracts and wages. Independently of the clear capital-work relationship, the sports and other artistic activities had problems in explain this relationship. Here, the amateur discourse has always served as a counterbalance in favor of the leaders, since the athlete or the artist must before anything else demonstrate love for his or her art, bonds with his or her community, and consequently his or her art is the place for the development of the genius' subjectivity. Despite the fact that the capital-work relationship has been naturalized in almost all spheres of social life that presuppose some kind of work, one should remind that such transformations in soccer and sports in general caused countless conflicts and disturbance along the time. "The professionalism seems to have appeared as a new rule that was imposed on the sport organization, mainly to add value to the show. Professionalism would be the viability for the show commercialization. The spectacular image started to produce interests and differentiated values" (SALLES, 2004, p.461).

The aim of this article is to look into one of the dilemmas faced by some professional soccer players in the last decade: the right to reinstatement of professional to amateur status, as a mechanism to continue reaping the financial benefits that the amateur status can provide, as well as to hold out hope of professionalizing again in another moment. In this way, we will attempt to analyze the amateur re-significance in the organizational structure of the Brazilian soccer. It seems contradictory before the difficulty in opening doors to get the first professional contract. When giving up professionalization will free them for a new restart without giving up the hope that the soccer world can provide. Our sources are CBF official documents, newspaper articles and an interview with a former professional soccer player that requested CBF to be reversed to amateur's condition.

1- This article is based on Chapter XIII of the thesis: Between passion and interest - professionalism and amateur status in Brazilian soccer. Salles, José Geraldo do Carmo. Rio de Janeiro. UGF, 2004.

2- We are using this neologism in the descriptive sense to explain the fast migratory movement and the development of the European central cities and also of some Latin American countries in function of local and international markets that were formed from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Mandell (1986) points out important aspects which promoted sports development in Brazil and other American countries: the emergence of great metropolises linked by extensive communication and transport net, the continual experimentation of new technologies, the new industrial production systems and favorable predisposition of Governments.

3- Archetti (2003).

4- A type of moral code. The good citizen in playing sports should not compete for money or other monetary compensation

5- The elite that developed and/or controlled the sport, soon realized that with its own resources only would be impracticable to keep the good game level as a financed show, as well as to manage the club infrastructure.

6- This discussion would demand more space. The reasons should be analyzed in terms of history and *habitus* developed in the field of sports and arts, and the ways that these activities are introduced into the market.

7- This former professional soccer player, who requested not to be identified, told a story very similar to the ones found in the newspapers. However he made other arguments that improved our notes. The informer is from Ponte Nova, MG. He is 28 years old, married with two children, and he still earns his living with soccer. He plays for bonuses of teams in regional tournaments. His education went as far as the 2nd degree in senior high school, but he plans to finish it and take a physical education course at a university, as he believes that his way is the world of soccer.

8- "Folha de São Paulo", 23 Feb. 1997. Special Section: The Soccer Country, p.3.

9- Table 1 - Reference salaries of Brazilian players based on contracts registered at CBF

References Values (In minimum wages)	1996 (*)	2000 (**)	2002 (**)
1 MW	50,8	44,91	47,29
1 a 2 MW	30,2	41,63	35,12
2 a 5 MW	8,2	5,82	8,4
5 a 10 MW	4,1	2,79	3,54
10 a 20 MW	2,4	1,5	2,05
+ de 20 MW	4,3	3,35	3,57

Sources: (\*) Folha de São Paulo: The Soccer Country. Special Section 23 Feb 1997.

In the year 1997, "Folha de São Paulo" published in the Special Section a series of reports denominated The Soccer Country. In these daily reports, countless data on the reach of soccer in the Brazilian society, such as: financial involvement in the game; number of clubs coming out annually in Brazil; wages; behavior of fans, among others.

In one of those reports, Marcelo Damato demonstrated that the economic gap created a world of few millionaires and thousands of paupers. In the memory of common citizens, these data seem different from the popular representation that soccer players are citizens economically very successful (SALLES; SOARES, 2003). We can see in note no. 9 that recent numbers are similar to those showed by Damato.

Among the numerous discussions and data presented by this newspaper at the time, using graphs and comparative numbers, what caught our attention was the headline: "Athletes reinstate to amateur status in search of better wages" (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 23-02-1997, p.3).

At first, it seemed just an impact sentence to catch readers' attention, an editor's strategy. After all, how to get better wages in the amateur scene? It seems that we are before a paradox or an apparent contradiction if we take the traditional amateur concept in sports. The battle of pioneers of professionalism in the 20s and 30s could be seen as against history if analyzed out of the context of re-significance of the soccer market (SYRUPS, 1990; SALLES, 2004).

The report showed in real numbers that every year in Brazil thousands of players quit the profession. "About a thousand of them make it officially" (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 23-02-1997, p.3), applying at CBF for reversing to amateur status, which is called "reinstatement". This possibility is founded by the CBF itself in its *Organic Rules of Brazilian Soccer* (NOFB), resolution no. 01/91. The official site of the institution brings the information that the reverse is on the responsibility of the Department of Registrations and Transfer. What would be the justifications for a player to choose that situation, once we know about the difficulties in getting into the select group of soccer professionals?

The article put that the reverse almost always "means to give up a dream - to win fame and fortune in soccer." (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 23-02-1997, p.3) But, why would athletes give up dreams?

The editor believed that this abandonment takes place in expectation of looking for "a stable income in another profession or even informal wages in an amateur club" (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO 23-2-1997, p.3). Why then do athletes request the official quittance, once it is not prohibited by labor laws for the soccer player to carry out regularly another profession? Obviously that the companies would not be interested just in the formal work of these individuals, similarly to soccer players' employers in the 20s and 30s in last century.

One justification for this reinstatement would be the amateur leagues, which in some regions of the country get greater interest than the official championships. Being free, through reinstatement by CBF, means the right of playing in these leagues, representing a company that can offer a stable job. The article 255<sup>th</sup> of NOFB establishes the necessary conditions for the reinstatement process:

"Art. 255<sup>th</sup> - Reinstatement with transfer to integrate soccer team, will be made with immediate playing condition, since: a) There is agreement with the team the athlete had the last contract with; b) The contract has finished, for lapse of time or rescission, for more than thirty or ninety days, respectively; c) The athlete establishes proof that he/she has worked for the company for more than 180 days, with labor document regularly logged and signed."

However, other athletes appeal for reinstatement believing that the return to amateur status will allow them to sign a new contract. In this case, the reversion would free them from the bond with the club that keeps them restricted to its squad of athletes, which most times will not use them as member of the competition team, making it unfeasible a transfer or a more advantageous contract. The reversion for some can become a new professional opportunity within the sport, for not being ostracized, without a good salary (or none), just in a training team. It would mean the possibility of still dreaming and getting noticed in the soccer world.

The article 258<sup>th</sup> establishes a period of 720 days from the reversion date so that the professional reverted to his former amateur state can integrate a team of professionals again. We see that the dream of getting a new team and to settle down in the professional soccer persists. However, the athlete should wait almost two years without participating in official competitions. For newer athletes, perhaps this solution is the possibility of returning to the sport. For players regard as veteran, the time they should stay out of the fields is probably crucial.

Some athletes that request reversion dream of signing an international contract in countries without great soccer traditions, according to agent Viana: "Countless players disappointed with the possibilities of getting a good contract in Brazil look for solutions in countries without importance in the soccer world. After reversion, they move to countries where the dream will persevere" (VIANA, 2000).

The director of the Department of Registration and Transfer at CBF, Mr. Luiz Vieira, declared that usually the advanced age is the most influencing factor in reversion, many young players however applied for the reinstatement to the amateur status. Mr. Vieira justified that the counter professionalism was due to low wages and also to the disputes with clubs. Mr. Vieira affirms that although the clubs can question the reversion, arguing about the rights over player trading and/or about their formation, the players have always had their requests granted.

Antonio Galante, a FIFA agent, argues that "unfortunately most clubs do not prepare the athletes that are not being used. Many players were removed from their families, most times poor families, and find themselves all of a sudden without housing, food and social life." (O GLOBO, 23-05-2003, p.50)

Quitting the professional status brings new opportunities in ways that some players are hired by companies in different economic sectors that are "more interested in their soccer ability than in their competence in the new profession" (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 23-02-1997, p.3). The report affirmed that the industries hired them concerned with the contest for the Labor Games, "in which the championship yields prestige to the leader of the winner company". (FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO, 23-02-1997, p.3) This situation was also common in the twenties. The wealthy associates of major clubs used in their businesses the players from the soccer team of their clubs (CUNHA s/d: 83). Although, at that time, the players' job was a form to cheat on laws prohibiting the participation of idle and unemployed people in official competitions (PEREIRA, 2000). Now the process is the opposite. On the one hand, the reinstated player sees in his return to amateur status the possibility of a stable job in a company, but on the other hand the company that hired him wants that this former- soccer professional could improve the sport competence of its team, without using mechanisms from the past.

(\* \*) O Globo: The picture of an illusion called soccer. 25 May 2003, p.21.

10- Book IX, Chapter I - On Professional Athletes Transfer. Section IV (On the Reversion) belongs to Title IV (On Transfers, removals, reversions, contracts, registrations and applications) in NOFB, resolution approved by the board, on 21 Feb. /1991, and sanctioned by President Ricardo T. Teixeira.

11- An example of this bond can be seen in the board of athletes registered at CBF by Palmeiras and Vitória - BA. On April 6, 2004 CBF published that Palmeiras keeps recording of 140 athletes, and other eight (3 new contracts and 5 borrowed athletes) did not appear in this list. Vitória BA keeps 104 athletes under contract (Jornal Lance, 23 Apr. /2004, p. 6). A top team in the Brazilian soccer often use on average 30 athletes per championship (Jornal dos Sports, 19 Feb./2002, p. 13).

12- No futebol, o atleta que se aproxima dos 30 anos passa a ser considerado veterano.

13- Viana, Marco A. (2000). There is still hope... The dream has not finished! Accessed on: 19 Feb./2002. [www.gabineteesportivoglobal.com.br/noticiariobrasil](http://www.gabineteesportivoglobal.com.br/noticiariobrasil)

14- CBF Annual Report - Year 2002.

15- CBF Annual Report. Department of Registration and Transfers. (2002).

16- See the interviewee's description in note 7.

The reversion process has become frequent, although it seems to get little attention from the media. The sport press has difficulties of incorporating the investigative journalism. Let us see the numbers in the following tables:

Table 02 - Number of athletes that officially requested reversion from professional to amateur status between 1992 and 2002

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	2002 <sup>1</sup>
Nu of reversion	1091	1225	1318	993	1010	1034

Sources: Folha de São Paulo Special Section "The Soccer Country", 23 Feb.. /1997, p.3

Data from 1997 were fully displayed per region and State (Table 03):

Table 03 - Absolute numbers of professionalized players (P) and players that requested reversion (R) at CBF

South	P	R	Northeast	P	R
Paraná	122	75	Alagoas	82	0
Rio Grande do Sul	199	81	Bahia	140	29
Santa Catarina	91	89	Ceará	204	20
			Maranhão	55	0
<b>Southeast</b>			Paraíba	28	0
Espírito Santo	45	31	Pernambuco	242	11
Minas Gerais	140	96	Piauí	36	0
Rio de Janeiro	418	68	Rio Grande do Norte	94	85
São Paulo	683	333	Sergipe	76	1
<b>Middle-West</b>			<b>North</b>		
Distrito Federal	98	40	Acre	30	0
Goiás	99	16	Amazonas	62	0
Mato Grosso	24	11	Amapá	1	7
Mato Grosso do Sul	45	11	Pará	72	4
			Rondônia	18	0
			Roraima	57	0
			Tocantins	50	9

Source: Folha de São Paulo - Special Section "The Soccer Country", 23 Feb.. /1997, p.3

The economically developed regions of Brazil (Southeast and South) hold the main professional soccer clubs, and also most industries. According to the Tables showed in this article, it is verified that the largest numbers of reversion requests also took place in these regions. In the State of São Paulo, there was 48.75% of reversion in relation to the number of players becoming professional. In Santa Catarina, there was a significant percentage of 97.80% for the proportion professionalization in relation to reversion. We recommend more local studies in this state to understand better this phenomenon and the culture of the business soccer.

In the year 2002, 4.778 players were registered as professionals and 6.529 canceled the contract with their clubs. In this same year, 1.034 players also requested the reinstatement to amateur status.

The report in Folha de São Paulo still brings as example Reinaldo Xavier's trajectory, who played for Palmeiras in 1982 and 1983. Reinaldo was one of these athletes that after passing for some minor clubs in São Paulo and being sold to a Middle East team requested CBF the reinstatement of professional to amateur status officially, ending a career initiated with the junior team Coritiba - PR, in 1980.

However, before being granted the reversion, he had requested the free pass in the hope of being transferred to other teams. The free pass would be his possibility to keep on dreaming about the soccer world, looking for a new professional contract to meet his expectations of athlete. Nevertheless, as he did not succeed and was unemployed, he moved to his hometown Taubaté, in the state of São Paulo. Once the dream of continuing as soccer professional through the free-pass was undone, Reinaldo saw the opportunity of working for Volkswagen and he knew that such possibility would become possible through his ability with the feet. But, as he was still registered as professional at CBF, he could not play for the Volks team in the Taubaté Amateur League, which motivated the request for reversion. Reinaldo declared he did not know how that situation progressed, and for this reason, a director of the Taubaté League dealt with everything. Reinaldo became a worker of a multinational company, which started to represent in the amateur league.

Another similar case can be described based on our interviewee's statements. He still has soccer as an objective, although his speech reveals presage and disappointments. His trajectory was in a certain way common to other players. He went through a screening at Cruzeiro Belo Horizonte when he was 14 years old, but he could not afford to stay in the capital. Disappointed, he returned to Ponte Nova until he managed to go to Campinas - São Paulo.

The interviewee tells that he believed his sport life would begin there. He got his first professional contract at the age of 16, earning minimum wage: "At that time the payment was enough for me to stay, since they gave me food and shelter. He lived in a pension with some other athletes of the club" He began to look for a position in the professional team, but he would always make trouble with the coaches and ended up being out of the main team. He tells that he was several times punished for indiscipline. He would also have tried the club to trade his pass with others clubs, but such proposal was always refused.

The attempts to join a professional team lasted until he was 18, when a local leader asked him if he would be willing to play in the amateur league. Without a clear understanding of what it meant, he ended convinced and confirming the interest. According to him, he did not know that it would be so complicated to quit the club that held his registration at FPF. Then, a battle to get the official release through the sport justice, once he was already committed to the official regulations of the profession, and the club would not release him. He eventually got released in 1998, at the age of 20.

He started to play in the amateur leagues in 1999, and in each season he played for a different club. He has been in the state of São Paulo for 4 years, being paid to play for several clubs. Although he had gotten the opportunity to work in an electronics company, he decided not to take it, as what really interested him was soccer. At present he still dreams about the possibility of working abroad. He even said that the free trade would make a new contract possible, and that this time he believed it would be an international one. He said: "An agent is arranging a contract in a Chinese team for me." Meanwhile he plays in amateur clubs in the region of Ponte Nova, hometown where he returned to after his father's death. He declared that he gets paid per game and productivity. A value is negotiated for each game, as well as the value for each goal he scores. Such values vary between 100 and 200 reals. He affirmed that he plays at least 3 matches every week.

Based on the reports and the stories told, we can reach the following conclusions: (a) the soccer market is not limited to the main leagues, and there are other forms to carry out the profession that the legal soccer structure insists on classifying it as amateur in spite of the social dynamics; (b) the reinstatement mechanism demonstrates anachronism and adaptation before the labor relationships enlarged by the business soccer market. Finally, the ruling elites of the sport insist on controlling a market that has grown and proletarianized the dream of social ascent of great part of Brazilian boys when becoming adults in the work field.

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**SOCCER: THE REINSTATEMENT OF THE PROFESSIONALISM WHAT IS THIS STORY?****ABSTRACT**

The objective of this article was to analyze one of the dilemmas faced by some professional soccer players in the last decade: the right to reinstatement to the amateur status, as a mechanism to continue reaping the financial benefits that the amateur status can provide. Quitting professionalism is initially sustained by three perspectives: a) look for a stable salary in another profession, through his sport competence in representing the employer company in amateur soccer leagues; b) right to informal wages in amateur soccer clubs; and, c) request free pass for a new restart in another professional club. In this way, we will attempt to analyze the amateur re-significance in the organizational structure of the Brazilian soccer. Our sources are CBF official documents, newspaper articles and an interview with a professional former-athlete that applied to CBF for reinstatement to amateur status. The analysis demonstrates that: a) the soccer market is not limited the main leagues and other forms of carrying out the profession that the legal soccer structure insists on classifying it as amateur in spite of the social dynamics; b) the reinstatement mechanism demonstrates anachronism and adaptation before/in front the labor relationships enlarged by the business soccer market.

Keywords: Soccer, Professionalization, Reinstatement, Amateur.

**FOOTBALL: RECONVERSION DU PROFESSIONNALISME QU'EST CE QUE C'EST QUE CETTE****HISTOIRE?****RÉSUMÉ**

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser un des dilemmes vécus pas certains footballeurs professionnels lors de cette dernière décennie : le droit de reconversion en tant qu'amateur afin de continuer à profiter des bénéfices financiers qui peuvent être procurer par le statut d'amateur. L'abandon du professionnalisme se tient à trois perspectives : a) la recherche d'une rémunération stable dans une autre profession du à ses compétences sportives et ainsi représenter une entreprise dans des ligues amatrices ; b) avoir des salaires non déclarés dans des clubs amateurs de football ; et c) acquérir la libre circulation pour un nouveau départ dans un autre club professionnel. Ainsi, nous essayerons d'analyser la resignification de l'amateur dans la structure organisationnelle du football brésilien. Nous utilisons comme sources, des documents officiels de la CBF, des articles de journaux et une revue dans laquelle un ex footballeur professionnels sollicite une entité spécialisée dans la reconversion de sportif professionnels en athlètes amateurs. L'analyse démontre que : a) le marché du foot ne se limite pas seulement aux principales ligues, mais il existe aussi d'autres moyens d'exercer la profession. La structure légale du football insiste en les qualifiant de structure amatrice, malgré la dynamique sociale ; b) le mécanisme de reconversion démontre un anachronisme et une adaptation face à des relations de travail amplifiées par le marché du football entreprise.

Mots clés : Football, Professionnalisation, Reconversion, Amateur.

**FÚTBOL: REVERSIÓN DEL PROFESIONALISMO QUE HISTORIA ES ESA?****RESUMEN**

El objetivo del artículo es analizar uno de los dilemas vividos por algunos atletas profesionales de fútbol en esa última década: el derecho de reversión a la condición de amador, como un mecanismo para mantenerse usufructuando de los beneficios financieros que el estatus amador puede proporcionar. El abandono del profesionalismo se sostiene inicialmente

en tres perspectivas: a) búsqueda de remuneración estable en otra profesión, a través de su competencia deportiva representando la empresa empleadora en las pandillas de fútbol amateur; b) derecho a salarios informales en clubes de fútbol amateur etc. e c) adquirir pase libre para un nuevo comienzo en otros clubes profesional. En esa dirección, intentaremos analizar la resignificación del amateur en la estructura organizacional del fútbol brasileño. Utilizaremos como fuente documentos oficiales de la CBF, artículos en periódicos y una entrevista con un ex-atleta profesional que solicitó la entidad la reversión a la condición de amateur. El análisis demuestra que: a) el mercado de fútbol no se limita a las principales pandillas y existen otras formas de ejercicio de la profesión que la estructura legal del fútbol insiste en clasificarlas como amateurs a pesar de la dinámica social; b) el mecanismo de la reversión demuestra anacronismo y adaptación frente de las relaciones de trabajo ampliadas por el mercado del fútbol de empresa.

Palabras Clave: Fútbol, Profesionalización, Reversión, Amateur.

#### **FUTEBOL: REVERSÃO DO PROFISSIONALISMO QUE HISTÓRIA E ESSA?**

##### **RESUMO**

O objetivo do artigo é analisar um dos dilemas vividos por alguns atletas profissionais de futebol nessa última década: o direito de reversão à condição de amateur, como um mecanismo para manter-se usufruindo dos benefícios financeiros que o *status* amateur pode proporcionar. O abandono do profissionalismo se sustenta inicialmente em três perspectivas: a) buscar de uma remuneração estável em outra profissão, através da sua competência esportiva representando a empresa empregadora nas ligas de futebol amateur; b) direito a salários informais em clubes de futebol amateur; e, c) adquirir passe livre para um novo recomeço em outro clube profissional. Nessa direção, tentaremos analisar a resignificação do amateur na estrutura organizacional do futebol brasileiro. Utilizamos como fonte documentos oficiais da CBF, artigos em jornais e uma entrevista com um ex-atleta profissional que solicitou a entidade à reversão à condição de amateur. A análise demonstra que: a) o mercado do futebol não se limita as principais ligas e existem outras formas de exercício da profissão que a estrutura legal do futebol insiste em classificá-la como amadora apesar da dinâmica social; b) o mecanismo da reversão demonstra anacronismo e adaptação diante das relações de trabalho ampliadas pelo mercado do futebol de empresa.

Palavras Chave: Futebol, Profissionalização, Reversão, Amateur.